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## CORI Research Analysis

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**Country:** Algeria

**Issues:** Algerian Sunni converting to Shi'ite sect of Islam

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1. **Description of the ethno-religious composition of Algerian society.**
2. **How does one convert from Sunni to Shia sects in Algeria? What are the legal (including Sharia) or practical ramifications, if any, of such conversions?**

### **Ethno-religious composition of Algerian Society**

#### ***Ethnicity***

99% of the Algerian population are of Arab, Berber or Arab-Berber mixed ethnicity with Europeans making up less than 1% of the population<sup>1</sup>. Although one US government source states that "almost all Algerians are Berber in origin, not Arab",<sup>2</sup> several sources stress a shared Arab-Berber history<sup>3</sup> and common lineage in Algeria creating permeable boundaries between the two ethnic groups.<sup>4</sup> One source states that "identification with the Berber or Arab community

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<sup>1</sup> US Central Intelligence Agency. [World Factbook: Algeria](#), 24 February 2009; US Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs: [Profile, Algeria](#), October 2007

<sup>2</sup> US Central Intelligence Agency. [World Factbook: Algeria](#), 24 February 2009

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, [Ethno-politics and globalization in North Africa: The Berber Culture Movement](#), Journal of North African Studies Vol.II, No.1, 01 March 2006

<sup>4</sup> Helen Chapan Metz, ed. [Algeria: A Country Study](#). Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994. Aicha Lemsine, [Berberism: An historical travesty in Algeria's time of travail](#), 16 February 2001

is largely a matter of personal choice rather than of membership in discrete and bounded social entities.”<sup>5</sup>

Since Independence in 1962<sup>6</sup>, programmes of Arabisation have been introduced regulating society and public life<sup>7</sup> as a result many Algerians identify as Arab.<sup>8</sup> Estimates suggest that Algerian Arabs represent 80% of the population and are culturally and politically dominant.<sup>9</sup> Berber groups experienced the process of Arabisation as the repression of their cultural and linguistic identity.<sup>10</sup> Reuters reports that tensions between Arabs and Berbers stemming from economic, linguistic and religious differences and have boiled over into clashes periodically in the last 20 years.<sup>11</sup> The BBC reports that in 2001 the government agreed to officially recognize Tamazight, a Berber language.<sup>12</sup> However its status is as a national, rather than ‘official’ language.<sup>13</sup>

Since 1966, the Algerian census stopped using a category for Berber ethnicity, therefore figures concerning their percentage constituent of the population are only estimates.<sup>14</sup> Estimates on the percentage size of the Berber speaking population range from 17%<sup>15</sup> to 30%.<sup>16</sup> Minority Rights Group International (MRGI) state that the Berber-speaking minority makes up over one quarter of the population, and is concentrated in the mainly mountainous areas of Kabylia, Aurès, the M'zab and the Sahara.<sup>17</sup>

According to MRGI the Kabyles who represent half of the Berber-speaking population are concentrated in the mountainous areas east of Algiers in Kabylia; the Kabyles have moved in large numbers to cities in Algeria. The second largest Berber group, the Shawiya, inhabit the mountains of eastern Algeria. Two smaller Berber communities are the Mozabites of the area around Ghardaia and the Tuareg nomads of the south. The 12,000 Tuareg, who are nomadic Berbers, live almost exclusively in the mountainous massifs of Ajjer and Ahaggar in southern Algeria.<sup>18</sup>

## **Religion**

According to the US State Department (USSD) 99% of the Algerian population is Sunni Muslim<sup>19</sup> of the Malikite school<sup>20</sup> and 1% Christian or Jewish.<sup>21</sup> The Algerian constitution declares Islam as the state religion.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Helen Chapan Metz, ed. *Algeria: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994. Aicha Lemsine, [Berberism: An historical travesty in Algeria's time of travail](#), 16 February 2001

<sup>6</sup> US Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs: [Profile, Algeria](#), October 2007

<sup>7</sup> UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, [Country Profile: Algeria](#), November 2008; BBC, [Only Arabic for Algeria](#), 22 July 1998

<sup>8</sup> AllAfrica.com, [Africa: Arabisation of continent and spread of Islam](#), 26 July 2008, Helen Chapan Metz, ed. *Algeria: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994; Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, [Ethno-politics and globalization in North Africa: The Berber Culture Movement](#), *Journal of North African Studies* Vol.II, No.1, 01 March 2006

<sup>9</sup> Helen Chapan Metz, ed. *Algeria: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994

<sup>10</sup> North of Africa.com, [Nine years ago, the regime adopted the generalization of the Arab language](#), 22 July 2007; BBC, [Only Arabic for Algeria](#), 22 July 1998; International Herald Tribune, [Algeria's songs of defiance live on](#), 10 October 2005

<sup>11</sup> Reuters Alertnet, [Arab-Berber clashes shake Algeria town](#), 18 May 2008

<sup>12</sup> BBC, [Language victory for Algeria's Berbers](#), 12 March 2002; BBC, [Country Profile: Algeria](#), 10 March 2009

<sup>13</sup> Algerian Embassy to the Republic of Korea, [Presentation](#), undated; International Herald Tribune, [Algeria's songs of defiance live on](#), 10 October 2005; US Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs: [Profile, Algeria](#), October 2007

<sup>14</sup> Helen Chapan Metz, ed. *Algeria: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994

<sup>15</sup> Oxfam, [Ethnic Groups: Berber](#)

<sup>16</sup> BBC, [Country Profile: Algeria](#), 10 March 2009

<sup>17</sup> Minority Rights Group International, [World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Algeria : Berbers](#), May 2008

<sup>18</sup> Minority Rights Group International, [World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Algeria : Berbers](#), May 2008

<sup>19</sup> US Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs: [Profile, Algeria](#), October 2007

<sup>20</sup> Also spelt as 'Malekite', also known as Maliki, University of Cumbria, Overview of World Religions; [Malikiyyah](#), undated Algerian Embassy to the Republic of Korea, [Presentation](#), undated; Economic and Social Council. 9 January 2003; [Civil and political rights including the question of religious intolerance. Report by Mr. Abdelfattah Amor, Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2002/40. Addendum: Visit to Algeria \(16-26 September 2002\)](#), E/CN.4/2003/66/Add.1, pgph 30

<sup>21</sup> US Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs: [Profile, Algeria](#), October 2007

Minority Rights Group International states that all Berbers apart from Mozabites are Sunni Muslims.<sup>23</sup> Mozabites practice a form of Islam called Ibadi.<sup>24</sup> Ibadi Muslims number 150-200,000 people.<sup>25</sup>

No information was found concerning the number of Shia Muslims or the nature of their communities in Algeria.

There is no official data available on the number of Christian and Jewish citizens,<sup>26</sup> however the US State Department reported that practitioners have estimated their combined number at 50,000.<sup>27</sup> The USSD report stated that according to Christian community leaders, evangelical Christians, mostly in the Kabylie region, account for the largest number of Christians followed by Methodists and members of other Protestant denominations, Roman Catholics and Seventh-day Adventists.<sup>28</sup> The Special Rapporteur reported figures suggested by communities themselves of 10,000 Catholics and between 5,000 and 20,000 Protestants in Algeria, with one Adventist church said to have a congregation of about 20.<sup>29</sup> The USSD report stated that Christians were mainly concentrated in the large cities of Algiers, Annaba and Oran.<sup>30</sup>

The USSD reported that the Jewish community had diminished to virtual non-existence due to fears of terrorist violence, the community was not considered to be active and there was no working synagogue.<sup>31</sup> The Special Rapporteur reported that according to the Ministry of the Interior's Director of Public Liberties, there may be around 1,000 Jews living in Algiers, Blida and Constantine.<sup>32</sup>

### **Political attitudes towards Sunni-Shia conversion**

The Centre on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World reports that in the Middle East, "The Sunni-Shi'a divide is becoming a central feature of regional politics, reflecting the reaction of Sunnis to what they term the "Shi'a surge" or "tide" (*al-madd al-Shi'i*)."<sup>33</sup>

The Economist reports that the Iranian President and the supreme guide of the Muslim Brotherhood accuse Israel and America of stirring Sunni-Shia tensions. Iran is a Shia state and The Muslim Brotherhood an influential Sunni organization.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> US Department of State, [International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Algeria](#), Economic and Social Council, 9 January 2003; [Civil and political rights including the question of religious intolerance. Report by Mr. Abdelfattah Amor, Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2002/40. Addendum: Visit to Algeria \(16-26 September 2002\)](#), E/CN.4/2003/66/Add.1, ppgh 30

<sup>23</sup> Minority Rights Group International, [World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Algeria : Berbers](#), May 2008

<sup>24</sup> Oxfam, [Ethnic Groups: Berber](#)

<sup>25</sup> Economic and Social Council, 9 January 2003; [Civil and political rights including the question of religious intolerance. Report by Mr. Abdelfattah Amor, Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2002/40. Addendum: Visit to Algeria \(16-26 September 2002\)](#), E/CN.4/2003/66/Add.1, at ppgh 31

<sup>26</sup> US Department of State, [International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Algeria](#), 19 September 2008; Economic and Social Council, 9 January 2003; [Civil and political rights including the question of religious intolerance. Report by Mr. Abdelfattah Amor, Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2002/40. Addendum: Visit to Algeria \(16-26 September 2002\)](#), E/CN.4/2003/66/Add.1, ppgh 32

<sup>27</sup> US Department of State, [International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Algeria](#), 19 September 2008

<sup>28</sup> US Department of State, [International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Algeria](#), 19 September 2008

<sup>29</sup> Economic and Social Council, 09 January 2003; [Civil and political rights including the question of religious intolerance. Report by Mr. Abdelfattah Amor, Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2002/40. Addendum: Visit to Algeria \(16-26 September 2002\)](#), E/CN.4/2003/66/Add.1, ppgh 32

<sup>30</sup> US Department of State, [International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Algeria](#), 19 September 2008

<sup>31</sup> US Department of State, [International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Algeria](#), 19 September 2008

<sup>32</sup> Economic and Social Council, 9 January 2003; [Civil and political rights including the question of religious intolerance. Report by Mr. Abdelfattah Amor, Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2002/40. Addendum: Visit to Algeria \(16-26 September 2002\)](#), E/CN.4/2003/66/Add.1, at ppgh 33

<sup>33</sup> Israel Elad-Altman, [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World, 6 April 2007

<sup>34</sup> The Economist, [Shias and Sunnis: The widening Gulf](#), 01 February 2007, available at [www.ikhwanWeb.com](http://www.ikhwanWeb.com)

However Arab media sources have reported that conversions of Sunni muslims to Shia Islam is causing concern to governments of Arab and Muslim countries<sup>35</sup>.

Al Jazeera reports that the Head of the International Federation of Muslim Scholars has criticized Iran for trying to promote Shia beliefs in Sunni countries, saying that such attempts might cause resentment,

“It is not right for a sect to try to promote its belief in a country that fully embraces different sect. What is your interest in going to a Sunni country like Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, Algeria or any other Sunni Muslim country, and try to convince people to convert to Shia? How many will give up their belief? Eventually, you will be cursed and people will hate you.”<sup>36</sup>

Several sources report on conversions as an increasing trend.<sup>37</sup> Contributing factors are stated to include Iranian missionary activity and the perceived success of Hezbollah in the war with Israel in July and August 2006.<sup>38</sup>

The Centre on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World reports that Sunni governments in North Africa are “on alert” to activities perceived to be attempting to spread Shiism.<sup>39</sup>

“In November 2006 Algeria's minister of education reportedly dismissed eleven teachers for conducting Shi'a missionary work (*dawa*) in the schools. Teachers who are Shi'a expatriates from Iraq, Syria and Lebanon are held to be primarily responsible for the spread of Shiism in Algeria, but Hezbollah's al-Manar television channel is influential as well.”<sup>40</sup>

News source Al Aribya.net reports that the eleven teachers were transferred to administrative posts to prevent them coming into contact with students and were forbidden to have any contact with students. It reported that this measure was aimed at combatting Shi'ite proselytism as the number of conversions were spreading in Algeria<sup>41</sup>.

An Algerian news source reported in January 2007 that security services opened investigations into two Shia groups run by converts in the area of Mascara. The groups were alleged to have been attempting to spread Shia beliefs and convert young men by holding debate meetings in houses and public places. The article reported the executives of the Mascara Religious Affairs Direction as condemning this on the grounds that proselytizing to a certain Muslim creed among a different Muslim community is forbidden.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ahmed Janabi, [Iran and the Shia Legacy](#), 01 February 2009, Al Jazeera.net; Salah Hemeid. Al Ahram Weekly Issue No.826, [The Iranian Iraq](#), 28 December 2006 - 3 January 2007; Israel Elad-Altman. 6 April 2007. [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World

<sup>36</sup> Ahmed Janabi, [Iran and the Shia Legacy](#), 01 February 2009, Al Jazeera.net

<sup>37</sup> Israel Elad-Altman, [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World, 6 April 2007; Religioscope. 15 April 2007. [Monde musulman: craintes de prosélytisme chiite](#); Chawki, Freiha. 20 February 2007. [Le Maroc poursuit six activistes soupçonnés de promouvoir le chiisme. Qum s'attire les nouveaux convertis](#), MediArabe.info

<sup>38</sup> Israel Elad-Altman, [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World, 6 April 2007; Religioscope, [Monde musulman: craintes de prosélytisme chiite](#), 15 April 2007; Chawki, Freiha, [Le Maroc poursuit six activistes soupçonnés de promouvoir le chiisme. Qum s'attire les nouveaux convertis](#), 20 February 2007, MediArabe.info;

<sup>39</sup> Israel Elad-Altman, [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World, 6 April 2007

<sup>40</sup> Israel Elad-Altman, [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World, 6 April 2007

<sup>41</sup> Al Arabiya.net, [L'Algérie prend des mesures pour lutter contre la "chiitisation"](#), 18 December 2006, available on MediArabe.info

<sup>42</sup> www.algeria-events.com, [Shia groups proselytize in western Algeria](#), 06 January 2007

News sources also reported instances of the following Shi'ite activities in Algeria; adoption of typical rituals of Iranian Shiism<sup>43</sup>; Shiism training sessions and centres<sup>44</sup>; an Algerian imam based in Iran organising travel to Iran for study<sup>45</sup>; Hezbollah running several Shiism training sessions in 2007<sup>46</sup>; participation in rites associated with Shiism<sup>47</sup>; internet sites spreading Shiite literature<sup>48</sup>. Radio France Internationale also report satellite TV channels and clandestine CD propaganda distribution networks.<sup>49</sup>

The Centre on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World reported that Sunni Arabs in the Middle East are fearful of their societies being “*subject to a sinister religious and ideological invasion, not only by Shiism, but also by nationalistic Iran.*”<sup>50</sup> One Arab media source stated that Sunni Muslims are fearful of ‘contamination’ by Shia Islam.<sup>51</sup> The Algerian newspaper, *El Watan*, carried an interview with an Algiers university professor speaking in terms of a Shi'ite “invasion” and the “threat to the social and religious unity of Algeria”.<sup>52</sup>

The Centre on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World stated that conversions have not previously generated this level of debate or concern and that this was linked to the current political climate in the region.<sup>53</sup> The Centre states that, “Arab Shi'a communities in Sunni-majority or Sunni-ruled countries, like those of the Gulf Cooperation Council, may also well become the target of growing Sunni suspicion and animosity.”<sup>54</sup>

### **Conversion process**

The Washington Post and New York Post report that conversion from Sunni to Shia can be a simple process in which a Sunni attends a Shi'ite mosque and adopts the Shi'ite manner of performing Islamic rites.<sup>55</sup> This may involve changing the wording of prayers and changing posture while praying by holding arms at the sides rather than in front.<sup>56</sup> For a more formal conversion, the Washington Post states that “a Sunni can go to a Shiite cleric and declare his belief that the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law Ali is his rightful heir, which Sunnis do not believe”<sup>57</sup>

### **Implications for Sunni's who convert to Shiism.**

No specific information was identified about the implications for individuals resulting from conversion. However sources speaking to the New York Times and Washington Post including converts, wished to remain anonymous due to the sensitivity of the issue<sup>58</sup> and for fear of recrimination.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Religioscope, [Monde musulman: craintes de prosélytisme chiite](#), 15 April 2007

<sup>44</sup> Béni Azia, El Khabar , [Des membres du Hezbollah libanais pour encadrer des sessions de conversion au chiisme](#), 07 July 2008

<sup>45</sup> Béni Azia, El Khabar , [Des membres du Hezbollah libanais pour encadrer des sessions de conversion au chiisme](#), 07 July 2008

<sup>46</sup> Béni Azia, El Khabar , [Des membres du Hezbollah libanais pour encadrer des sessions de conversion au chiisme](#), 07 July 2008

<sup>47</sup> Al Arabiya.net, [L'Algérie prend des mesures pour lutter contre la "chiitisation"](#), 18 December 2006, available on MediArabe.info

<sup>48</sup> Chawki, Freiha, [Le Maroc poursuit six activistes soupçonnés de promouvoir le chiisme. Qum s'attire les nouveaux convertis](#), 20 February 2007, MediArabe.info; Religioscope, [Monde musulman: craintes de prosélytisme chiite](#), 15 April 2007

<sup>49</sup> Radio France Internationale, [Alger veut encadrer l'islam, tout comme Rabat](#), 29 September 2008

<sup>50</sup> Israel Elad-Altman, [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World, 6 April 2007

<sup>51</sup> Chawki, Freiha, MediArabe.info , [Le Maroc poursuit six activistes soupçonnés de promouvoir le chiisme. Qum s'attire les nouveaux convertis](#), 20 February 2007

<sup>52</sup> Hassan Moali, El Watan [Et si c'était vrai? Prosélytisme chiite en Algérie](#), 19 February 2007; Hassan Moali, El Watan, ["Il faut débusquer les prosélytes porteurs de fitna" Mohamed Benbrika, professeur de philosophie à l'université d'Alger](#), 19 February 2007

<sup>53</sup> Israel Elad-Altman. 6 April 2007. [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World

<sup>54</sup> Israel Elad-Altman. 6 April 2007. [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World

<sup>55</sup> Washington Post, [Jordan fears growing Shi'ite influence](#), 17 November 2006, Andrew Tabler, New York Times, [Catalytic Converters](#), 29 April 2007,

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Tabler, New York Times, [Catalytic Converters](#), 29 April 2007

<sup>57</sup> Washington Post, [Jordan fears growing Shi'ite influence](#), 17 November 2006

<sup>58</sup> Washington Post, [Jordan fears growing Shi'ite influence](#), 17 November 2006

<sup>59</sup> Andrew Tabler, New York Times, [Catalytic Converters](#), 29 April 2007

The Algerian newspaper, *El Khabar* reported that people are fearful of openly announcing their conversion and don't do so through belief in the principle of hiding one's course from those who do not share it, resulting in little being known about the issue of conversion in Algeria<sup>60</sup>. The Centre for Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World concurred that many converts keep their conversion a secret due to the sensitivity of the issue, the Centre also reports that this secrecy is an accepted and sometimes recommended practice of Shiism<sup>61</sup>.

### **Legal implications**

The Algerian Constitution adopted on 28 November 1996 provides that freedom of conscience and belief are inviolable (art. 36.)<sup>62</sup> However the US State Department reported that the Ordinance 06-03, in effect in September 2006 and enforced since February 2008, and the 2001 Penal Code for Muslim Worship limit the practice of religions and restrict public assembly for the purpose of worship. It reported that the law requires organised religious groups to register with the Government and increases punishments for individuals who proselytize Muslims. It stated that: *'Credible reporting indicates that the Government has used the Penal Code to restrict Shi'a worship'*<sup>63</sup>.

The US State Department reported that amendments to the Penal Code in 2001 established harsh punishments for any person, who acts "against the noble nature of the mosque" or acts in a manner "likely to offend public cohesion" but that the amendments do not specify what actions would constitute such acts<sup>64</sup>.

Radio France Internationale reported in September 2008 that the Algerian Minister of the Interior wants to reinforce government control over the mosques to respond to the proliferation of new rites adopted from abroad. Radio France Internationale also stated that in addition to closing sites of non-authorized muslim sects, the Algerian government has decided to undertake a more extensive training of imams. The Minister intends to give an accelerated and obligatory training to imams in order to favour a strict application of the malekite rite [Sunni practice] and intends to reduce the influence of practices from outside the country<sup>65</sup>.

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Al Ahram Weekly  
Al Arabiye  
Algeria-events.com  
Algerian Embassy in Republic of Korea  
Aljazeera.net  
AllAfrica.com  
Amnesty International

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<sup>60</sup> B. Yacine 07 July 2008. [Des membres du Hezbollah libanais pour encadrer des sessions de conversion au chiisme](#), El Khabar

<sup>61</sup> Israel Elad-Altman. 6 April 2007. [The Sunni-Shia Conversion Controversy](#), Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World

<sup>62</sup> Economic and Social Council. 9 January 2003; [Civil and political rights including the question of religious intolerance. Report by Mr. Abdelfattah Amor, Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2002/40. Addendum: Visit to Algeria \(16-26 September 2002\)](#), E/CN.4/2003/66/Add.1, at pgph 36

<sup>63</sup> US Department of State. 19 September 2008. [International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Algeria](#);

<sup>64</sup> US Department of State. 19 September 2008. [International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Algeria](#);

<sup>65</sup> Radio France Internationale, 29 September 2008. [Alger veut encadrer l'islam, tout comme Rabat](#)

BBC  
Canada Immigration Board  
Centre on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World (Hudson Institute)  
EI Khabar  
EI Watan  
FIDH  
Fondation Méditerranée d'Etudes Stratégiques  
Freedom House  
Harvard University Centre for Middle East Studies  
Human Rights Watch  
International Crisis Group  
International Herald Tribune  
IRIN News  
Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization  
La Tribune  
Le Quotidien  
MediArab.info  
Middle East Institute  
Minority Rights Group International  
Muslim Brotherhood  
Oxfam  
Radio France Internationale  
Religiscope  
The Economist  
The Middle East Media Research Institute  
The New York Times  
The Washington Post  
UN Committee Against Torture  
UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division  
UN Economic and Social Council  
UN Human Rights Committee  
University of Cumbria  
US Census Bureau, International Population Database  
US Department of State  
US Library of Congress