

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

TITIA LOENEN 1

1	Introduction.....	1
2	Citizenship: European Muslims.....	1
3	Religious pluralism and the European Convention of Human Rights	3
4	(Non)selectivity in the treatment of different religions.....	4
5	Accommodation of religion and its limits.....	5
6	Religion versus culture.....	8
7	Religion and freedom of expression.....	10

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN RIGHTS: FROM MUSLIMS IN EUROPE TO EUROPEAN MUSLIMS

ABDULLAHI AHMED AN-NA'IM..... 13

1	Introduction.....	13
2	Islam, Muslims and human rights.....	19
3	Rights and citizenship.....	25
4	The evolution of citizenship.....	29
5	Global citizenship from a historical perspective.....	33
6	Global citizenship in current discourse.....	37
7	Demographic profiles and public perceptions of Muslims in Europe	41
8	Muslims in Europe or European Muslims?.....	50
9	Concluding remarks.....	53

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM, HUMAN RIGHTS AND MUSLIM CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE: SOME PRELIMINARY REFLECTIONS ON AN EVOLVING METHODOLOGY FOR CONSENSUS

SHAHEEN SARDAR ALI 57

1	Statement of the problem.....	57
2	Pre-requisites for engagement: some critical preliminaries for meaningful dialogue.....	59

Table of Contents

3	From Makkah to Ethiopia, Medina and beyond? – Application of the concept of hijra in the Islamic legal tradition to voluntary migration of Muslims to Europe	61
4	Classification of Europe as <i>dar-al-harb</i> , <i>dar-al-Islam</i> or <i>dar-al-sulh</i> . What does it mean for European Muslims?	65
5	From divine <i>Sharia</i> to <i>qanun</i> via <i>siyasa Sharia</i> : Creating space for secularity?	69
6	Constructing contemporary <i>dar-al-sulh</i> in Europe: Some possible discursive sites	69
7	‘Islamic Institutions’ and ‘Islamic Authority’: A critical analysis	72
8	Muslim Shariah councils, friend or foe: Emerging plural legalities in Europe	73
9	From Muslim migrant to Muslim citizen: Some tentative reflections on the contours of a framework for consensus	76

FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND LEGAL PLURALISM

JAVID GADIROV	81
-------------------------	----

1	Introduction	81
2	Discourses of Refah Partisi	82
2.1	Militant democracy and state exclusivism	82
2.2	Legal pluralism and religious normative orders	84
3	Religious freedom and Hegel’s theory of state	88
4	Legal plurality framework	91
5	Conclusion	93

THE PRACTICAL PRIORITY OF THE SECULAR LEGAL ORDER.

A Response to Javid Gadirov

HEINER BIELEFELDT	97
-----------------------------	----

1	Introduction	97
2	The State as the guarantor of freedom	98
3	Political versus doctrinal secularism	99
4	Concluding remarks	101

EQUAL TREATMENT OF RELIGIONS? An international and comparative perspective

	SOPHIE VAN BIJSTERVELD	103
1	Introduction: Choosing the starting point	103
2	Church and State relationships	105
	2.1 National models of Church and State relationships	105
	2.2 The international legal dimension	107
3	The subconstitutional level	110
	3.1 Religion and the structures of law	110
	3.2 State neutrality towards religion	111
4	A few examples of tailor-made provisions	113
5	Fundamental rights theory	114
6	And limitations?	115
7	Conclusion	117

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN EUROPE.

Equality in the regulation of religion

	MARCO VENTURA	119
1	Equality is not (simply) a good principle lacking adequate implementation	119
2	Avoiding stereotypes	120
3	Different legal treatment for different religions	121
4	Differentiation can be consistent with equality	122
5	Differentiation can also be discriminatory	123
6	The principle of equality needs an accurate assessment of reality	124
7	Seizing the global turn affecting equality in law and religion	124
8	Interpreting equality by coping with new actors	126
9	Interpreting equality through new tools	126
10	The challenging balance between equal treatment and same treatment	127

HEADSCARVES IN SCHOOLS: EUROPEAN COMPARISONS

	HEGE SKJEIE	129
1	Introduction: 'Hijab vs. Gender Equality'	129
2	Accommodation of religious pluralism	131
3	Multicultural vulnerabilities	134
4	Religious attire in the public classroom: European variations	137

Table of Contents

5	Hijab in the workplace: Headscarf bans as illegal gender discrimination	139
6	A new demarcation line: The headscarf versus the face veil	141
7	Soft drawings of the line – A viable policy solution	143

DEALING WITH DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS AND PRACTICES

	AART HENDRIKS	147
1	Introduction	147
2	Freedom to believe and to manifest one’s belief	148
3	Interpreting the freedom to believe and to manifest one’s belief	150
	3.1 Preliminary questions	150
	3.2 Weighing (potentially) conflicting rights, freedoms and interests	150
4	Conclusions	154

HEADSCARVES AT PUBLIC SCHOOLS. The issue of open neutrality reconsidered

	HANS WERDMÖLDER	155
1	Introduction	155
2	Only a piece of cloth?	156
3	Introduction of headscarves at Dutch schools	159
4	Where should the line be drawn?	163
5	Conclusion	165

TWO CITIES IN CONFLICT

	MATTHIJS DE BLOIS	167
1	Imagine	167
2	Religious freedom: background and justification	170
3	The scope of religious freedom	172
	3.1 The nature of the practices	172
	3.2 The content of the belief	174
4	Violation of human rights norms	175
5	Three observations	177
	5.1 Horizontal effect of human rights	177

5.2	Human rights as instruments of emancipation	179
5.3	Secularised human rights.....	179
6	Concluding remarks.....	182

A ‘CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS’ AND A ‘CONFLICT OF CITIES’

JAVAID REHMAN	185
---------------------	-----

1	The inevitability of a conflict.....	185
2	Western state ideologies as representing a secular outlook – Fallacy of the argument	186
3	Addressing the central question.....	189

**THE ACCOMMODATION OF ‘UNCONTROVERSIAL’
RELIGIOUS PRACTICES**

PETER CUMPER	195
--------------------	-----

1	Introduction.....	195
2	Accommodating ‘uncontroversial’ religious practices	196
2.1	The accommodation of religious practices in the workplace	197
2.2	The accommodation of core religious practices beyond the workplace	200
2.3	The limits of religious accommodation in a liberal democracy... ..	202
3	Factors relevant to the accommodation of religious practices	205
3.1	The accommodation of religious practices in ‘public’ life.....	205
3.2	The ‘necessity’ of religious practices.....	206
3.3	The ‘choice’ principle.....	208
4	Conclusion	209

**EQUALS IN FAITH – FAITH IN EQUALITY. Equality as an additional
standard for decisions on the accommodation of religious practices**

MARJOLEIN VAN DEN BRINK	211
-------------------------------	-----

1	Introduction.....	211
2	Equals in faith	212
3	Faith in equality	216

CULTURAL RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

KIRSTEN KETSCHER 219

1 Introduction: Mapping the landscape 219

2 Cultural rights: An underdeveloped and neglected kind of human rights? 221

2.1 ‘Cultural rights’ as a conservation project protecting traditional values 225

2.2 Conclusion on the status of cultural rights 226

3 Religious rights as a specific kind of rights 227

3.1 Male supremacy 229

3.2 Religious hostility against homosexuals 230

3.3 ECHR Article 9 on public religious manifestations 231

3.4 Religious clothing and ethnic discrimination 232

3.5 Praying in public 233

3.6 Concluding remarks on religious protection 234

4 Rethinking religion as a protected legal principle within the notion of cultural rights 234

PROTECTION OR PROSCRIPTION?

Cultural practices against the background of religious pluralism

BAS DE GAAY FORTMAN 239

1 A field of intricate issues 239

2 Human dignity protection in context 242

3 Protection of cultural freedoms and entitlements through cultural rights 245

4 Proscription of cultural rules and practices that violate human dignity 248

**RELIGIOUSLY-MOTIVATED DISCRIMINATORY SPEECH:
‘HOMOPHOBIA’ AND EQUALITY DENIAL**

IAN LEIGH 251

1 Introduction 251

2 Laws prohibiting homophobic expression 254

3 The status of religiously-motivated speech 257

4 Reconciling the conflicts 262

5 Conclusion 265

**FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND RELIGIOUSLY-BASED IDEAS ON
HOMOSEXUALITY: EUROPEAN AND DUTCH STANDARDS**

JAN-PETER LOOF 267

- 1 Introduction: The Netherlands and freedom of expression *anno* 2006 .. 267
- 2 The broader perspective: Severe incidents related to freedom of expression and diminishing tolerance for religious opinions..... 269
- 3 Dutch legislation on discriminatory speech and the ECHR perspective 271
- 4 Dutch case law on religiously motivated remarks regarding homosexuality 273
- 5 Some questions and points of discussion regarding the Dutch case law 276

GLORIFYING TERRORISM

CHRISJE BRANTS 279

- 1 Introduction..... 279
- 2 Glorifying terrorism or legitimate public debate..... 281
 - Glorification in the context of the mass media 283
- 3 Glorification in the context of Islam 286
 - The case of The Netherlands 288
 - The double message of the Dutch proposal to criminalise glorifying terrorism..... 291
- 4 Conclusion 293

**TOWARDS THE ABOLITION OF HATE SPEECH BANS:
A ‘VIEWPOINT ABSOLUTIST’ PERSPECTIVE**

ERIC HEINZE 295

- 1 Introduction..... 295
- 2 The western European context 296
- 3 Viewpoint absolutism..... 299
- 4 Common objections 306

**RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN EUROPE:
REFLECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

JENNY E. GOLDSCHMIDT and TITIA LOENEN	311
1 Introduction.....	311
2 Position of the state in a religiously pluralist society.....	314
2.1 Separation of Church and State: Different models.....	314
2.2 Neutrality of the State challenged.....	315
3 Accommodation of religious pluralism: Legal obligations & policy considerations	317
3.1 Legal obligations	317
3.2 Policy considerations.....	319
4 Religious pluralism and conflicts between fundamental rights and principles	321
4.1 Freedom of expression versus discrimination.....	322
4.2 Headscarves in public education.....	323
4.3 How to approach conflicting human rights?.....	325
5 Religion, culture and change: Reflections for the future	326
CONTRIBUTORS	331