

Fall 2018

The Islam of Europe: Challenges of Governance

Erin Baranko
SIT Study Abroad

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection

 Part of the [Family, Life Course, and Society Commons](#), [Islamic Studies Commons](#), [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#), and the [Sociology of Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Baranko, Erin, "The Islam of Europe: Challenges of Governance" (2018). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. 2966.
https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/2966

This Unpublished Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the SIT Study Abroad at SIT Digital Collections. It has been accepted for inclusion in Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection by an authorized administrator of SIT Digital Collections. For more information, please contact digitalcollections@sit.edu.

The Islam of Europe: Challenges of Governance

By Erin Baranko

Fall 2018

International Relations and Multilateral Diplomacy

Dr. Gyula Csurgai

Claremont McKenna College

History and Legal Studies

Abstract

As practicing Muslims become an increasingly large share of the population in Western European countries, governments encounter the challenge of preserving liberal democratic societies in the face of a force often considered to be in direct opposition to the values of those societies. This paper discusses the challenges of the governance of Islam in Western Europe and evaluates the validity of the perceived threat of Islam to European values. Through analysis of scholarly work and interviews with experts in relevant professional and academic fields, this paper identifies three myths about Islam that contribute to this perceived threat: Islam is anti-democratic, anti-modern, and cannot function in a secular society. This paper attempts to deconstruct the manufactured binary between East and West that paints Islam and Europe as oppositional forces by highlighting the many common values and ideas shared by both worlds.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank my professors at Claremont McKenna College for teaching me the skills necessary to succeed in an educational endeavor of this magnitude.

I would like to thank my new friends in this program. Thank you for supporting me like an old friend from our very first day.

Most importantly, thank you to my family. Thank you for cultivating my love of learning.

Table of Contents:

Abstract.....	2
Part I: Introduction	
A Clash of Civilizations.....	5
Literature Review.....	7
Research Methods and Ethics.....	8
Defining ‘Muslims’.....	10
Part II: Past vs. Present	
A Brief History of Islam in Europe.....	12
Integration.....	14
Part III: Three Myths	
Islam and Democracy.....	18
Islam and Modernity.....	21
Islam and Secularism.....	23
Part IV: Towards a Solution	
A Balancing Act.....	27
Building Consensus.....	28
Part V: Conclusion	
The Future of European Governance.....	29
Limitations of the Study.....	29
Recommendations for Future Study.....	30
Bibliography.....	31

Part I

Introduction

A Clash of Civilizations:

In 1996, Samuel P. Huntington wrote about a “clash of civilizations” in which people’s cultural and religious identities would be the primary sources of conflict in the modern era. As millions of migrants seek refuge abroad and populist political parties employ the powerful rhetoric of hate, the “culture wars” of which Huntington wrote do not seem so far-fetched. In fact, according to Bronwyn Winter (2008), almost two-thirds of French citizens believe that religion is more likely to be a source of conflict than of peace. Why is this the case? Are we truly living in a ‘clash of civilizations’?

In the last several years, violent conflict in the Middle East has forced millions of people to flee their home countries and migrate to Europe. In 2016, Muslims made up 4.9% of Europe’s population—up to 8.8% in France—which is a 6.3 million increase in European Muslims migrants in the past ten years (Pew Research Center, 2017). This trend is likely to continue. According to the Pew Research Center, even if all migration into Europe were to immediately stop, the Muslim population of Europe would still be expected to rise to 7.4% by 2050 due to birth rates. But as armed conflicts in the Middle East rage on, it is unlikely that migration will cease. Based on current trends of migration, the Muslim population in Europe could reach anywhere between 11.2% and 14% by 2050 (Pew Research Center, 2017). This dramatic increase in the presence and visibility of Islam in Europe has not only caused social friction; it has challenged European methods of governance.

Europe has historically been a continent of emigration rather than immigration. Western Europe has only recently begun to experience the religious pluralism that has existed for decades in countries like the United States, Canada, and Australia. According to Phillip Connor (2010), the growing population of religiously active immigrants “has created immense pressure” on European governments to “devise appropriate strategies for immigrant incorporation” (p. 377). Diversity puts a strain on political establishments by forcing them to accommodate for different value systems and lifestyles.

Despite Western European democracies’ commitment to the principle of freedom of religion, some governments have come dangerously close to infringing on the religious rights of Muslims.¹ Governments are faced with the difficult task of preserving traditional Western ideals in the face of something they believe to be entirely oppositional: Islam. After looking extensively at contemporary discourses about Islam, both scholarly and of the general public, I have identified three pervasive myths that contribute to the manufactured idea that Islam is incompatible with Western societies: first, that Islam is anti-democratic; second, that Islam is anti-modern; and third, that Islam cannot exist in secular societies. This paper explores the relationship between Islam and the West in an effort to prove that they can, and do, coexist. I will prove that despite many differences in values and cultures, the West and Islam are not incompatible. Islam is not a threat to the European way of governing. I will also suggest

¹ See Osmanoglu and Kocabas v. Switzerland, Achbita v. G4S Secure Solutions, Bougnaoui v. Micropole SA, Quardiri v. Switzerland, Hasan and Chaush v. Bulgaria, and many others.

ways that European governments and Muslim immigrant societies can make adjustments that benefit both parties by promoting a peaceful coexistence.

Literature Review:

The subject of Islam and Europe has been studied extensively. One estimate claims that there are a few thousand publications on the topic (Foner & Alba, 2008). The majority of these publications were written recently; according to Viet Bader (2007), the number of works on the Muslim presence in Europe has “literally exploded” in the last ten years (p. 872). The history of scholarship on Islam has been marked by a shift from studying the internal structure of Islam and Muslim culture, to studying the formation of Muslim associations, organizations, and identities, and finally, to studying the ways in which societies react to Islam (Bader, 2007). Overall, research has evolved from an internal to external focus.

However, the existing body of scholarship on the topic is inadequate because it perpetrates a false dichotomy between Islam and the West, which fuels the paranoia that Islam is a threat to Western society. According to Nancy Foner & Richard Alba (2008), “religion is generally viewed as the problem, not the solution for immigrant minorities” (368). Thus, scholars extensively analyze the ways that Islam acts as barrier to immigrant integration. These claims have helped to cultivate the widespread mindset that Islam and the West are irreconcilable. In essence, the majority of scholars have used their position as intellectual elites to reinforce the alarmist rhetoric of the ‘culture clash’.

Furthermore, the existing body of scholarship largely ignores the role of governance. Governance is the manner of governing a state, including the establishment of policies and continuous monitoring of their proper implementation. According to Viet Bader (2007), the concept of governance is not reflected in the “literatures on multiculturalism in general and on religious minorities in particular” (p. 873). Scholars, particularly sociologists, tend to focus on describing and explaining the diversity of religious beliefs and practices. The governance of this religious diversity has been widely neglected, however.

Research Methods and Ethics:

The ideas in this paper are informed by a variety of primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources are published books and journal articles written by scholars of relevant topics or research reports published by reputable nonpartisan fact tanks. These sources were collected from both physical libraries, such as the United Nations library, and online databases, such as JSTOR and Academic Search Premier. Secondary sources were gathered based on their relevance to the topics of Islam in Western Europe, the concepts of religious freedom and secularism, and the governance of liberal democratic societies and Islamic societies. Primary sources consist of personal interviews with experts in the field of the research. These interviews were conducted in Geneva, Switzerland, Paris, France, and Brussels, Belgium. Interviews were both formal and informal in structure. Formal interviews consisted of a pre-arranged appointment where I asked the expert a fixed set of questions. Informal interviews, on the other hand, happened at opportunistic moments and more closely resembled a conversation

between parties. These informal interviews helped me generate ideas about this research and gain insight into possible solutions, but will not be quoted directly in the body of this work.

I approached formal interviewees primarily because of their expertise on the subject. Other considerations included willingness to participate, references by professors, and ease of access. I conducted four formal interviews. Dr. Maya Hertig-Randall is a professor of public law at the University of Geneva, specializing in European comparative constitutional law with an emphasis on human rights protection. Dr. Michel Oris is a professor at the University of Geneva, where he teaches demography, economic and social history, and socio-economy, specializing on dynamics of social structures. Dr. Abbas Aroua is the director and founder of the Cordoba Foundation of Geneva, an independent non-profit organization working on violence prevention and peace promotion through unique expertise in Islam. Dr. Brigette Maréchal is a professor of sociology at the Catholic University of Louvain in Brussels, Belgium. Her work focuses extensively on European Islam.

Interviews were conducted with ethical considerations in mind. Each interviewee was aware of their right to refuse to answer any question or stop the interview at any time. These interviews were recorded, but only after the interviewees gave consent to be recorded. The recordings were transcribed and the interviewees were given the opportunity to amend the transcript if necessary. Having entire transcripts of the interviews also serves as a safeguard against the misinterpretation or misrepresentation of data on my part. None of the interviewees in this research project expressed concerns about their privacy. The nature of the research did not solicit personal information or anecdotes. Rather, I asked questions geared towards their academic and professional

experience. Furthermore, interviewees were asked to speak about an entire population of people, not about individuals. These factors contributed to the theoretical and intellectual nature of the research. However, each interviewee was nonetheless given the option to remain anonymous.

Defining 'Muslims':

Researching an entire social, ethnic, or religious group is an endeavor that requires acknowledgement of the heterogeneity that exists within the group. Muslims come from a diverse range of identities, including, but not limited to nationality, ethnicity, culture, socioeconomic class, and political affiliation. We must especially be careful to avoid what Nadia Jeldtoft (2009) deems the “ethnification of Islam,” as there is no exact relationship between ethnicity/nationality and religion. Since religion is only one aspect of Muslims’ identities, there is likely significant variability in *how* religious individuals actually are and how important the Muslim identity is to them. Thus, I acknowledge the reality of the many nuances within the term “Muslim.” However, in order to create the descriptive data set for this research endeavor, it was necessary to simplify these groups.

To respect these diverse identities, “Muslims” should be viewed as a category, not a group. People belong to the same category because they share at least one attribute, however prominent that attribute may be. Groups, on the other hand, have many more attributes in common, and are usually characterized by a certain degree of interdependence, group self-identification, and favoritism, also known as in-group bias (Rabbie & Horwitz, 1988). Muslims are a category because individuals may identify as

Muslim but do not see themselves belonging to the same group as another Muslim. This method of distinguishing categories versus groups gives researchers “a platform for empirical studies” of the complex realities of Muslim minority groups in Europe (Jeldtoft, 2009, p. 10).

Furthermore, it is crucial that I, as the researcher, acknowledge my positionality. I am not Muslim, nor European. I should not, and will not, pretend to have a firsthand understanding of the struggles of Muslim immigrants or European communities tasked with accepting migrants. We must remember that Muslims in Europe are minorities that “have been described mainly by the majority” (Jeldtoft, 2009, p. 11). Research is a process that should reinforce the agency of its subjects, not further marginalize the marginalized. The purpose of this project is to better understand the nuances that exist in European Islam as it relates to cultural integration, religious freedom, and governance. While the individual stories of Muslim migrants to Western Europe are valuable, they are not the focus of this project.

Part II

Past vs. Present

A Brief History of Islam in Europe:

Popular media uses attention-grabbing headlines like “the rise of Islam in Europe” and “will Islam conquer Europe?,” which insinuate that the presence of Islam in Europe is a new phenomenon. However, Muslim communities have existed in some part of continental Europe for centuries. According to historians Jørgen Nielsen & Jonas Otterbeck (2016), the history of Islam in Europe can be divided into three phases. The period of Islamic Spain and Muslim rule in Sicily and southern Italy introduced the European continent to Islam. In 711, Muslim General Tariq ibn-Ziyad launched a campaign that brought most of the Iberian Peninsula under Islamic rule. The Normans expelled the Muslim presence from Italy in the eleventh century, but the last Muslim foothold in Spain lasted until the 1492 Spanish Reconquista.

The second phase of Muslim presence in Europe was the result of Mongol armies during the thirteenth century. The successor states established by these armies became Muslim populations. As traders and soldiers, many of these communities established colonies in places such as Finland, Poland, and the Ukraine. In fact, one of these communities known as the Khanate of the Golden Horde left a permanent Muslim population stretching from the Volga River basin north of the Caspian and Black Seas all the way down to the Crimea.

The third phase is a more well-known period of Islamic history: The Ottoman Empire. During the height of the empire, the Ottomans expanded into the Balkans and central Europe. Faced with the occupation of an Islamic empire, many of the subject

populations converted to Islam. This pattern occurred so frequently that Albania became a country with a Muslim majority during this time. Many Muslim Turkish populations who settled in Europe during this time still exist today in parts of Bulgaria, former Yugoslavia, Romania, Macedonia, and Greece. After losing Vienna, the Ottoman Empire retreated back towards West Asia. This retreat left behind many Ottoman soldiers, either as stragglers or prisoners. There are many historical accounts of these individuals taking up trades and professions and settling permanently in the area. Throughout history, Muslims have lived and thrived in Europe, contributing extensively to European culture and development.

History clearly demonstrates that the distinction between a Muslim East and non-Muslim West is blurry at best. Thus, discussions about ‘Islam and the West’ reinforce a binary that has little historical validity and is predisposed to focus on conflict.² Through this binary, created by the denial of historical fact, Islam becomes the ‘Other’. Ironically, according to H. A. Hellyer (2009), European identity itself was even created through the process of “defining ‘Europe’ through contradistinction to Islam” (p. 2). We must recognize that this school of thought is essentially Orientalist. Orientalism, a theory created by Edward Said (1978), is based on a distinction between ‘the Orient,’ or the East, and ‘the Occident,’ the West. The Orient is one of Europe’s “deepest and most recurring images of the other” (Said, 1978, p. 9). Not only is the relationship between East and West one of sharp division, it is also “a relationship of power, of

² This is the reason behind the title of this work, ‘The Islam of Europe’. Naming the paper “Islam and Europe” would only reinforce the same binary I seek to discredit in this paper.

domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony” (Said, 1978, p. 13). In other words, “Orientalism is the Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said, 1978, p. 11). Essentially, Orientalism is the belief that a sharp binary exists between ‘us’ superior Europeans and ‘those’ inferior non-European peoples and cultures. Orientalism perpetuates the myth that Islam is incompatible with democratic, modern, and secular societies.

It is crucial to understand the historical context of the Muslim presence in Europe in order to analyze the roots of the debate and create future solutions. Clearly, the West has written the historical narrative. The idea that Islam is fundamentally in opposition to Western governance loses credibility when we use history as a tool. When our analysis is based in historical fact, we can begin to break down the manufactured dichotomies between East and West and recognize these arguments for what they really are: a product of Europe’s Orientalist tradition.

Integration:

If Islam has been present in Europe throughout history, what distinguishes its present-day circumstances? For one, the Muslim presence in Europe today exists on a much larger scale. Islam is the second largest religion in Europe after Christianity and the fastest-growing religion in the world. More importantly, however, today’s discussion of Islam in Europe concerns integration. In the three historical phases described above, Islam came to Europe through imperial force. In each phase, Muslim and European empires fought for dominance and decision making was concentrated on a large scale. Today, however, Muslims migrants come to Europe as individuals searching for safety,

peace, and economic prosperity. And the task ahead is not territorial conquest; it is integration into the local host community.

It is important to note the distinction between integration and assimilation. According to Dr. Maya Hertig-Randall, integration means “respecting the legal order,” while assimilation, on the other hand is to “live like the others” (personal communication, October 18, 2018). Immigrants have a duty to integrate into their host culture³; they do not, however, have a duty to assimilate. Furthermore, this duty does not fall entirely on the immigrants themselves. Both the immigrants and the natives play a role in facilitating successful integration. As Justin Gest (2012) describes, it is an “equilibrium of adaptation” where each party must adjust their preferences to reach a “mutually acceptable set of relations” (p. 192).

In popular media, it is often said that Muslims value their faith obligations above civic duties. Thus, they are supposedly incapable of successfully integrating into liberal, democratic countries, such as those of Western Europe. This, in turn, puts the entire cohesion of European societies at risk. It is true that the Islamic societies from which these Muslim migrants come are strongly religious in their values, while most Western countries are almost always more secular (Norris & Inglehard, 2012). However, research demonstrates that Muslims migrants *are* successfully integrating into European society, despite the difference in religiosity. For example, a 2012 study by Justin Gest, which

³ For example, see Switzerland’s Federal Act on Foreign Nationals. Other examples include policies that require immigrants to meet certain integration criteria before residency permits are renewed or federally mandated courses in the national language for all immigrants.

surveyed key integration indicators, including national identity and fertility rates, demonstrates that Muslims and their descendants are integrating into Western societies “the way others did before them” (p. 190). Gest’s research proves that Muslim migrants are not more inhibited by their religious faith than other immigrant groups.

Take, for example, the topics that have shown to be the most different between Muslim and Western societies: religiosity, gender roles, and sexual norms. Analysis by Pippa Norris & Ronald Inglehard (2012) shows that the opinions of Muslims living in Western societies fall “halfway between the dominant values prevailing within their countries of destination and origin” (p. 230). In other words, Western Muslims may be more ‘conservative’ on these issues than non-Muslim Europeans, but they are certainly more ‘liberal’ than Muslims living in predominantly Islamic societies in the Middle East. The research of Norris & Inglehard (2012) suggests that Muslims are adopting aspects of European culture while still retaining some portion of the value system of their home country. The work of Pippa Norris, Ronald Inglehard and Justin Gest clearly disprove the common misconception that Muslim migrants are simply importing their own culture, society, and value system to the West.

Europe’s Orientalist scholarship has contributed to the cultivation of three myths about Islam that contribute to the understanding of Islam and the West as irreconcilable, opposing forces. First, that Islam is inherently anti-democratic and that the religious convictions of Muslim citizens prevent them from participating in a democratic system of government. Secondly, that Islam is inherently anti-modern, directly contradicting the West’s commitment to liberal, progressive societies. And third, that Islam cannot exist in a secular society, thus damaging the very foundation of European governance and freedom of religion. These powerful myths lay the

groundwork for the widespread paranoia that Islam represents a threat to the European way of life.

Part III

Three Myths

Islam & Democracy:

One of the main reasons that Islam and the West are viewed as incompatible is because Islam is seen as an anti-democratic force, which threatens the democratic basis of European governance. It is true that very few governments of Muslim-majority countries are democracies. This is because autocratic leaders and militaristic regimes have used Islam as a tool to manipulate the public, like many other religions in the past. But Islam itself, as a religion, is not inherently anti-democratic. There is nothing within the beliefs and practices of Islam that make it impossible for Muslims to live in and participate in democratic systems of governance. It is dangerous to make “baseless claims” that “Islamic religiosity influences the attitudes of individuals and communities in ways that are different from other religions” (Gest, 2012, p. 190). In fact, many ideas in Islam reflect the same values as democratic societies. There are ten basic Islamic concepts that guide Muslims’ beliefs, practices, and lifestyles⁴: Din, Islām, Imān, Ihsān, Rahma, Haqq, Karāma, Adl, Jihad, and Shari’a.

Karāma and Adl most clearly illustrate how democratic principles are reflected in Islam. Karāma is the Arabic word for ‘dignity’. According to Abbas Aroua (2013), Karāma, or dignity, is considered to be “one of the pillars of human right in Islam, along

⁴ Islamic principles come from two sources: The Quran and the Hadith. The Quran is believed to be the word of God, containing about 6,500 verses, and the Hadith is the compilation of sayings from the Prophet Muhammad, containing about 25,000 verses.

with peace, freedom, fairness and equality” (p. 33). Thus, practicing Muslims attempt to live according to Karāma by respecting the human rights of others, especially through commitment to human dignity. Aroua (2013) notes “the dignity of the human being must therefore be protected and promoted by the community/State” (p. 33). It is important to note two things about this interpretation. First, the state plays a role in enacting the principle of Karāma. Islamic societies live by Karāma in both the private and public spheres. Secondly, Karāma requires an active approach. Not only must Muslims abstain from interfering with the dignity and human rights of others, they must also actively and consciously promote it. Furthermore, this commitment applies to all people because dignity is a value “shared by all the human family,” which means that “there is no privileged gender, class or cast,...people or nation” (Aroua, 2013, p. 33-34).

This description of human rights closely resembles the rights and freedoms protected by the European Convention on Human Rights.⁵ For example, the Convention protects: the right to life guaranteed by Article 2, the freedoms from torture and slavery guaranteed by Articles 3 and 4, the right to liberty guaranteed by Article 5, the right to privacy and family life guaranteed by Article 8, and the prohibition of abuse of rights guaranteed by Article 18, among others. These rights and freedoms apply to all citizens

⁵ The Council of Europe was created after World War II to protect human rights and the rule of law and to promote democracy in the 47 member states. The Council created the Convention on Human Rights in 1953. Today, the European Court of Human Rights enforces the rights and freedoms laid out in the Convention. The ECHR is similar to the English Bill of Rights, the United States Bill of Rights, the French Rights of Man, and the German Basic Law.

of the signing nations regardless of race, gender, creed, etc. The similarity between Islamic human rights according to Karāma and European human rights according to Conventions and constitutions demonstrates that Islam is compatible with modern democracies in regards to their commitment to human rights.

Similarly, ‘Adl is an Islamic principle that encompasses fairness and justice. Living according to ‘Adl means “being fair and just in dealing with others” (Aroua, 2013, p. 36). Like Karāma, ‘Adl goes further than interpersonal interactions; in fact, “fairness is viewed in the Islamic tradition as the pillar of governance and the foundation of civilization” (Aroua, 2013, p. 37). According to Islam, the state has a responsibility to ensure fairness and justice. Furthermore, like Karāma, ‘Adl applies to all people “irrespective of their social status” and not only with fellow Muslims, but also “when dealing with non-Muslims” (Aroua, 2013, p. 37).

Again, the principle of ‘Adl is reflected in the European Convention on Human Rights. For example, the right to a fair trial guaranteed by Article 6, the freedom from punishment without law guaranteed by Article 7, and the prohibition of discrimination guaranteed by Article 14. These protections in the ECHR intend to make sure that every citizen is treated fairly by the state, by institutions, and before the law. Fairness and justice are fundamental conditions of democracies because they ensure equal participation in political and social life. Without fairness, the democratic order would collapse and peace would no longer be sustained. The Islamic principle of ‘Adl demonstrates that Muslims are committed to the same sorts of fairness, justice, and equality that are essential to the foundation of democracy.

Islam and Modernity:

The second myth that contributes to the manufactured binary of Islam versus the West is the idea that Islam is not and cannot be modern. This misunderstanding is partly due to views about religion generally in an increasingly secular and non-practicing world, and partly unique to Islam. Since the Enlightenment in Europe, “religion has been perceived as a dogma that is against ‘rational’ or ‘universal’ (liberal) values” (Malik, 2016, p. 68). Emmanuel Kant, one of the leading philosophers during the Enlightenment period, was instrumental in arguing that using reason is superior for understanding all issues except lofty metaphysical ones. Moreover, the influence of religion was inappropriate in all matters except those of this specialized sphere. Thus, religious beliefs are often viewed as “superstitious nonsense, a collection of weirdly unscientific claims that must surely be swept away over time by the greater powers of reason” (Marshall, 2008, p. 140). According to first name Malik (2016), it was on “this division of intellectual labor that Western modernity was founded” (p. 68). Essentially, Western definitions of modernity exclude any reference to religious value systems and beliefs.

This strain of thought has been exacerbated by the growing non-religiousness of many Western societies. Religiosity has experienced a “drastic and dramatic decline throughout most European societies since the 1950’s” (Casanova, 2009, p. 210). According to Dr. Maya Hertig-Randall, as European society becomes less religious, there is “less patience for religious demands because it doesn’t seem rational” (personal communication, October 18, 2018). Again, rationality dominates society and religion is relegated to the sidelines because reason is considered to be the basis of modernity. Furthermore, the idea that religion is anti-modern is particularly present in discussions

on Islam because of its association with the Eastern world. Over time, modernization has become increasingly synonymous with ‘Westernization’. However, as societies modernize, they do not necessarily Westernize. The two terms have been socially constructed to be equivalent. Thus, there is a false understanding that Islam is stagnant; it lives in the past and is averse to progress.

However, there are aspects of religion that actually promote modernity, in the sense of progress and development. Maszlee Malik (2016) wrote extensively on this relationship in *Foundations of Islamic Governance*. For example, religion motivates people to participate in civil society, thus serving goals such as poverty eradication and education. Education is particularly tied to religious activities, as seeking knowledge and accumulating wisdom is often encouraged. The values espoused by Islam cultivate personal traits of “ethics, thrift, honesty, and openness to people” (Malik, 2016, p. 72). These traits may increase levels of trust and reduce levels of corruption and criminal activities. The value of honesty is particularly relevant because it increases adherence to business ethics, which is essential for healthy growth of economies.

In fact, Adam Smith (1976) acknowledged the contribution of religion to the success of the modern capitalist economy in his book *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Smith explains how religion creates the “moral enforcement” mechanism of economic development and an environment of “good temper and moderation,” both of which are essential to sustained growth and governance (p. 793-794). All these religiously motivated activities contribute to what Malik calls “social capital, which is essential to growth and development, hence good governance” (p. 72). The many ways in which Islamic values contribute to societal

progress and prosperity demonstrate that Islam is not anti-modern and its role in society may even help to *promote* modernity.

Islam and Secularism:

The third myth contributing to the false claim that Islam and the West are incompatible is the idea that Islam cannot exist in a secular society. Proponents of the third myth often point to the term ‘ummah’ as evidence. ‘Ummah’ is an Arabic word for a Muslim community. The word is used to express the unity and equality of Muslims from diverse cultural and geographical backgrounds. In the Quran, it refers to people to whom God has sent a prophet or to people who are part of God’s divine plan of salvation. The problem from a Western perspective is that the term has both the “religious meaning of a community of believers and the modern secular meaning of nation, that is, a political community organized around common laws” (Winter, 2008, p. 81). Therefore, the term is used to make the argument that there is no separation between religion and state in Islam. However, according to Bronwyn Winter (2008), the fact that the same term has both these meanings “does not denote any necessary or automatic link between the two [religion and state] in Islam” (p. 81). While the term ‘ummah’ is used in the Quran, “nowhere in the Quran is there any suggestion that what is contained therein should be the basis for a political system” (Winter, 2008, p. 82). Ironically, at other points in history, the idea of separation of religion and state has been even more unthinkable in Catholicism than it is in Islam today.

Arguments such as these warrant a closer examination of the definition of secularism. Secularism is the policy of the separation of government institutions and

religious institutions. Secularism is based on the principle of freedom of religion. Freedom of religion is a human right under the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, and the constitutions of most liberal democratic nations. It is a complex concept that implies many smaller freedoms. According to Viet Bader (2007), it is “a constellation of overlapping and sometimes conflicting claims for specific freedoms” (pg. 131). For example, freedom of religion encompasses the freedom from persecution or discrimination because of religious beliefs or practice, freedom from state-sponsored religion, freedom of religious association, freedom to enlist state cooperation in carrying out religious purposes, freedom to express, publish, distribute, and teach religious views, and many more. These many freedoms that make up the principle of religious freedom can be classified into two types of freedoms: negative and positive. Negative religious freedom is the freedom of religion from state control and interference. Positive religious freedom is the freedom to believe and practice.

While secularism is supposed to enable the exercise of freedom of thought and expression, this freedom is only possible at the price of submission to the authority of the state. Bronwyn Winter (2008) describes this double standard; secularist policies both “[grant] equal status to all religions and...[keep] a watchful eye and even a controlling hand over what religious organizations are doing” (p. 8). Thus, secularism is not truly the separation of government and religious institutions; it is the domination of religious institutions by the government. Furthermore, secularist policies intend to maximize equal treatment of all religions under the law (Bader, 2007). In theory, this puts all religions on an equal playing field. But in practice, “the actual playing field in the religious market has been massively and unfairly shaped by governments” by

historical and cultural predispositions (Bader, 2007, p. 134). States have privileged specific religions throughout history and cannot be culturally neutral. Thus, “states have systematically or structurally disadvantaged minority religions” (Bader, 2007, p. 134).

The comparison of Islam and Christianity in secular Western European governments is example of the disparity between religions due to historical and cultural factors. The European Wars of Religion were a series of religious wars waged in 16th and 17th century Europe after the Protestant Reformation in 1517. These wars continued until about 1710. The settlements after these centuries of religious conflict resulted in deeply institutionalized religious identities. According to Nancy Foner & Richard Alba (2008), the Christian religion has been institutionalized in Europe in a way that makes it difficult for Islam to achieve equality. For example, France uses a system of *laïcité*, wherein religion is completely excluded from the affairs of the state. While *laïcité* is the official ideology, the state owns and maintains most Christian churches and allows them to be used for regular religious services (Foner & Alba, 2008). It is due to patterns of “special privileges accorded to majority denominations” that “Muslims cannot help but be aware of the secondary status of their religion” (Foner & Alba, 2008, p. 381).

Furthermore, the specific policies of secularism in Western Europe disproportionately affect Muslims due to the nature of the practice of Islam. Maya Hertig-Randall notes that Islam prescribes many more guidelines for daily life, from what to eat to how to dress to when and how many times per day to pray. This is a major distinction from Christianity, which prescribes much fewer and less specific lifestyle rules. Thus, the public nature of Islam is something to which the Christian majority has trouble relating (Hertig-Randall, personal communication, October 18, 2018). The result is that “forms of social and cultural activity based on religious principles are

frequently seen as illegitimate” (Foner & Alba, 2008, p. 378). The denial of Islam’s legitimacy is the basis of discrimination against publicly religious individuals that, according to Michel Oris, exists *only* against Muslims (personal communication, October 16, 2018).

Secularism is idealistic; it functions in theory, but fails in practice. The types of secular policies that currently exist in Western European nations fail Muslims. What impact does this have? The language of this paper is theoretical, but these policies have tangible effects on the lives of thousands of people. Religion is an inextricable part of one’s identity. It shapes how we view ourselves, our relationships with others, and the world. Religious identity cannot be separated from other parts of our lives. This is why freedom of religion is a human right. Unfortunately, according to H. A. Hellyer (2009), “European laws on the right to religion as a basic human right do not contain the necessary elements for assuring the same rights for Muslims in Europe as for all others” (p. 5). It’s time to reevaluate the role of secularism in Western liberal democracies.

Part IV

Towards a Solution

A Balancing Act:

While research demonstrates that Muslim immigrants can and are integrating into their host communities in the West, there remains significant frustration that they are not doing enough to adapt, particularly in regards to religion. Research by Phillip Connor (2010), demonstrates that acceptance of Muslim immigrants is closely tied to their outward religiosity; “less religiously active immigrant Muslims...are associated with more welcoming contexts of receptivity,” and vice-versa (p. 394). Brigitte Maréchal also noted this phenomenon, describing how acceptance is more difficult for Muslims with “strong religious appearances” (personal communication, October 2, 2018).

Furthermore, there is a “reactive effect” for those publicly religious individuals who are not greeted with receptivity: their “religious resilience actually deepens” (Connor, year, p. 394). Michel Oris reinforced this pattern by making a sociological observation that humans tend to intensify their identities when rejected by others (personal communication, October 16, 2018). When minorities such as Muslims feel that their identities are not respected by the law and accepted in society, they may become increasingly strict in their religious convictions and rigid in their practice and way of life, making the governance of Islam even more difficult. Social exclusion and deprivation of recognition will only make the Muslim presence immutable for those that wish it gone. Western European societies must encourage Muslim immigrants to integrate while also resisting the urge to force assimilation. Governance of Islam is a balancing act for European host nations.

Building Consensus:

What measures can Western European governments take in order to facilitate social harmony and just governance of Muslim immigrants? Philosopher John Rawls (year) developed the theory of ‘overlapping consensus’ in order to address situations where identity groups have drastically divergent cultures, lifestyles, and worldviews, such as the situation of Muslims in Europe. ‘Overlapping consensus’ is the theory that a diverse society can achieve social and governmental cohesion if both parties come to consensus on a conception of justice. Political notions of justice that are founded solely on self or inter-group interest are “inevitably fragile” (p. 2). But when faced with “opposing religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines” that result in different “conceptions of the meaning, value, and purpose of human life,” stable social unity can be secured *only* if the hybrid society’s conception of justice is based on consensus (p. 9). Even if each party starts out with a different premise, their principles, standards, and ideals eventually intersect or converge, thus forming the basis for consensus. With the public recognition of a common conception of justice supported by a constitutional government, society can overcome the deep divisions of religious and cultural pluralism.

The concept of ‘overlapping consensus’ can be applied to the situation at hand. Islamic societies and European societies value similar concepts like human rights, fairness, and equality, and have similar definitions for these concepts. Thus, both groups would likely be able to agree on a common understanding of justice that can be practically executed. Policy makers should utilize similarities between the two societies to break down the manufactured binary between Islam and the West that has dominated history and address the ways that both parties can move forward together.

Part V

Conclusion

The Future of European Governance:

Discourses about Islam in Western Europe are riddled with the assumption that Muslims cannot thrive in European society. This assumption is generated from the deeply rooted myths that Islam is inherently oppositional to democracy, modernity, and secularism, formed by a tradition of Orientalist thought. European governments and societies must accept that religious landscapes are diversifying. It is no longer a question of *if* there will be Muslim communities in Europe, rather, the question remains what those communities will look like. Will they be characterized by continuous violations of Muslims citizens' right to the freedom of religious expression? Or, will they reflect a true effort to promote social cohesion, just governance, and legal equality based on consensus? The future of European governance must not be colored by false notions of history, insurmountable cultural divides, and ignorance of the other. A 'Clash of Civilizations' can be avoided if we acknowledge the manufactured binary between East and West that is so deeply ingrained in our understanding of Islam.

Limitations of the Study:

This study observes patterns in the discourses about Islam in the West. However, there are always exceptions to patterns. Each European country has their own social and political circumstances that must be considered. The conclusions of this paper may not be applicable in every situation.

Recommendations for Future Study:

Dr. Abbas Aroua believes the biggest barrier to resolving disputes between Muslims and Europeans is ignorance of Islam (personal communication, September 20, 2018). Future study should be used to disseminate knowledge about the values, belief systems, and practices of Islam. Researchers should focus their attention on the similarities between Islamic and European societies in order to generate solutions that promote social cohesion, just governance, and true legal equality.

Bibliography

- Connor, P. (2010). Contexts of Immigrant Receptivity and Immigrant Religious Outcomes: The Case of Muslims in Western Europe. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33 (3), 376-403.
- Europe's Growing Muslim Population. (2017, November 29). *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>.
- Gest, J. (2012). Western Muslim Integration. *Review of Middle East Studies*, 46(2), 190-199.
- Hafez, K. (2014). Conclusion: The Reinvention of Liberal Society in Europe. In, *Islam in "Liberal" Europe: Freedom, Equality, and Intolerance* (103-110). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Norris, P. & Inglehard, R. (2012). Muslim Integration into Western Cultures: Between Origins and Destinations. *Political Studies*, 60(2), 228-251.
- Nielsen, J. & Otterbeck, J. (2016). *Muslims in Western Europe: Fourth Edition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Foner, N. & Alba, R. (2008). Immigrant Religion in the U.S. and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to Inclusion? *International Migration Review*, 42(2), 360-392.
- Winter, B. (2008). *Hijab & The Republic: Uncovering the French Headscarf Debate*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Bader, V. (2007). Religious Freedoms and Other Human Rights, Moral Conundrums and Hard Cases. In, *Secularism or Democracy? Associational Governance of Religious Diversity*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bader, V. (2007). The Governance of Islam in Europe: The Perils of Modelling. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33 (6), 871-886.

- Malik, M. (2016). Religion and Governance: A Philosophical Inquiry. In *Foundations of Islamic Governance* (68-77). London: Routledge.
- Guigni, M., Gianni, M., & Michel, N. (2013). The Impact of Religion on the Political Participation of Muslims: The Case of Switzerland. In Hart, J., Dekker, P., & Halman, L. (Ed.), *Religion and Civil Society in Europe* (251-266). New York: Springer.
- Warner, C. & Wenner, M. (2006). Religion and the Political Organization of Muslims in Europe. *Perspectives on Politics*, 4 (3), 457-479.
- Jeldtoft, N. (2009). On Defining Muslims. In Nielsen, J., Akgönül, S., Alibasic, Maréchal, B., & Moe, C. (Ed.), *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe, Volume I*. Leiden: Brill Publishing.
- Hellyer, H. (2009). Muslims of Europe: The 'Other' Europeans. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Aroua, A. (2013). The Quest for Peace in the Islamic Tradition. Kolofon Press.
- Said, E. (1978). Introduction. In *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Huntington, S. (1997). The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. New York: Touchstone.
- Klausen, J. (2005). The Islamic Challenge. Politics and Religion in Western Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rabbie, J. & Horowitz, M. (1988). Categories versus Groups as Explanatory Concepts in Intergroup Relations. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 18 (4), 117-123.
- Marshal, J. (2008). Religious Identity. In *Personal Freedom through Human Rights Law? Autonomy, Identity and Integrity under the European Convention on Human Rights* (139-161). Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Smith, A. (1976). *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. R. H. Campbell & A. S. Skinner (Ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Casanova, J. (2009). The Religious Situation in Europe. In Joas, H. & Wiegandt, K. (Ed.), *Secularization and the World Religions*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Rawls, J. (1987). The Idea of an Overlapping Consensus. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 7 (1), 1-25.

Work Journal:

Chronology:

Date:	Activity:
September 7	Met with Dr. Matilla to discuss the topic of my research
September 9	Reached out to possible interviewees
September 12	Reached out to possible interviewees
September 20	Interviewed Dr. Abbas Aroua
September 26	Reached out to possible interviewees
October 2	Interviewed Dr. Brigitte Maréchal
October 4	Reached out to possible interviewees
October 5	Visited the Institut des Cultures d'Islam and spoke with Bénédicte Villain
October 12	Reached out to possible interviewees; Refined my research question
October 15	Prepared interview questions for Dr. Hertig-Randall and Dr. Oris
October 16	Interviewed Dr. Michel Oris
October 18	Interviewed Dr. Maya Hertig-Randall
October 19	Met with Dr. Matilla to discuss the direction of my research, possible contacts, and the goals of analysis
November 6	Created an outline for the paper
November 7	Reached out to possible interviewees; Began gathering secondary sources
November 8	Attended Geneva Peace Week at the UN; Listened to a lecture by Professor Vicken Cheterian; Asked Professor Cheterian a few questions after the lecture
November 9	Gathered all secondary sources; Added to and refined existing outline
November 10	Began closely reading and taking notes on secondary sources
November 13	Finished taking notes on all secondary sources; Met with Dr. Matilla to discuss progress and discuss analysis of the research
November 14	Organized sources into the outline
November 15	Wrote the 'Research Methods and Ethics' section; Wrote the 'Defining Muslims' section

November 16	Wrote the 'Historical Background' section; Wrote the 'Literature Review' section
November 17	Wrote the 'Islam and Democracy' section
November 18	Wrote the 'Islam and Modernity' section; Wrote the Introduction
November 19	Went to the SIT office to look at examples of previous ISPs for tips on organization; Edited the existing writing; Wrote the 'Islam and Secularism' section
November 20	Wrote the 'Towards Solutions' section
November 21	Wrote the Conclusion section
November 22	Edited the complete draft
November 26	Completed final edits of paper; Organized other materials needed to submit the project

Interview Questions and Write-ups:

Formal Interview #1: Dr. Abbas Aroua, Director of the Cordoba Foundation of Geneva

Islam as a religion is not that different from the ones we are more familiar with in the West. Why is perception of Islam so far from the truth?

- Ignorance of Islam is a huge barrier.
- People use terms and concepts from Islamic tradition without deepening their understanding of Islam.
- Journalist and politicians especially must be careful to uphold intellectual rigor and accuracy so they don't spread false information about Islam.

In what ways does religion fuel conflict?

- Religion constitutes an important element of one's identity. We cannot get rid of it. It's important because it addresses the inner aspects of life. It shapes our worldview, including how we see our past, future, and life purpose.
- When you have different communities with different values and worldviews living in the same territory, sometimes they find themselves in conflict.
- Conflict is okay, it is a human phenomenon. The problem is violence.
- The best way to deal with these conflicts is to focus not on the differences, but on the similarities. We should focus on concrete things that could, and should, be done together.
- If you want to interact positively with another community, focus on a goal you can achieve together.
- Religion can ignite or fuel conflict, but it is also a good way to transform or resolve conflict. Religious actors can also be actors in creating peace.

How is religion used to perpetrate violence?

- In Islam, some groups have twisted the concept of jihad to use it to perpetrate violence
- Jihad is the fight for goodness and justice. It can be internal, within oneself, or external, by addressing persecution and discrimination. Jihad is not a goal or an end point, it is a manner of living. There are many forms of jihad, like dialogue.
- Jihadism, on the other hand, is an ideology that considers jihad as a goal. Furthermore, they use armed jihad without first considering non-violent means. These people see armed jihad as an obligation.
- People do not understand the nuance between jihad and jihadism.

What is the future of Islam in Europe?

- With emerging populist rhetoric, Islam is oversimplified. This poses a problem for Muslims in Europe.

Formal Interview #2: Dr. Brigitte Maréchal, Professor at the Catholic University of Louvain

How are Muslim migrants integrating into Western European culture, particularly in regards to religion?

- Europe has borders that are much more porous than, say, the United States.
- Muslims who have a more religious outward appearance, such as a long beard or headscarf, will have more trouble integrating because members of the host community find it to be excessive. These physical signs are very important in integration.
- In some cases, being religious might help you because you may have networks of people in that religious community who can help you.
- Migrants still feel an obligation towards their country of origin.

What are the main challenges faced by the migrants themselves?

- First, migrants have to know the language, the institutions, and frameworks of the society.
- They must have competencies or skills that allow them to get a job, which in turn, allows them to pay rent, buy food, etc.
- There are so many factors besides religion that have to be taken into consideration when talking about integration.
- Immigrants are just trying to be autonomous.

How do Western European governments balance the need for freedom of religion with their governmental interest to have an integrated society?

- There is a polarization on Islam
- People do not feel at ease because of terrorist attacks. These attacks are something that really shapes people's images of Muslims
- Many Europeans don't know much about Islam and, in fact, are not particularly interested in knowing more about it.
- If you know the history of Muslim countries, you can understand why what is happening there is happening and the root of these tensions.
- Integration cannot happen if Europeans do not open up. Both sides are afraid to make the first move. But if no one puts in any work, then nothing will happen.
- In Belgium, for example, immigrants are required to take a course to learn the language of the region. They consider that knowing the language is compulsory. This allows immigrants to speak to their neighbors, help their kids with their homework, and participate in political life.
- They also educate immigrants on their rights and duties as members of the society, which is very good.
- We cannot just accept migrants and then not follow up. After accepting them, there is a job to be done. If governments don't put in the work towards integration, then there will be people on the streets, stealing and causing unrest.
- The far-right is also a big problem. If we don't solve the migration crisis, we will have many social problems which fuels the far-right. We are in a difficult time

where there is a lot of pressure on society. In this sense, Islam is only the tip of the iceberg.

Formal Interview #3: Dr. Michel Oris, Professor at the University of Geneva

Do you think the European Court of Human Rights has been adequately addressing claims that governments have violated article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights?

- Declined to give a personal opinion.
- The court is deciding according to the law and according to the principle of human rights in cases of the European Justice Court.
- It is these principles that the Court must interpret and the Court sometimes has to weigh what is more important.

How much should a government adjust laws in order to accommodate the cultural differences of immigrants? What factors should the state consider when balancing respect for individual freedoms with the desire for social unity and cohesion?

- It is difficult to know the precise opinion of individuals involved, which is an issue. The individual freedom belongs to the individual, not to the community that he or she is a member of.
- Integration is a bit different in different parts of Europe. In the French tradition, for example, you only need to fill in the paperwork under the condition that you want to become French, and then you are. In German culture, however, you need to really belong to the community.
- In some places today, there are municipalities that still vote on an individual case by case basis on the naturalization of immigrants. This has led to some scandals.
- For example, there was a case in Basel where parents were refused naturalization because they refused to shake hands with the examiners on the basis that it was against their religion.
- There was also a situation where two Muslim male children refused to shake hands with a female professor.
- So, we need to consider the traditions of each region because in some areas things like this would be a problem and in some it wouldn't.
- 95% of the time, situations like these are solved diplomatically. But when it is not, the media latches on to the case and it becomes very important.

Do you think the growing secularization in Western Europe will ever jeopardize freedom of religion for those that do continue to practice and believe?

- There is a difference in this between the United States and Europe. It is impossible to be elected the president of the U.S. if you say that you are not a

believer. But, in Europe, many presidents and prime ministers are not believers and have had no problems with this.

- A behavior or attitude against religious practice in Europe in the last two decades is something that has existed only against Muslims, not against Catholics, or against Protestants, or others.
- Humans keep their identity for two reasons. First, you keep it because you have a positive reason; you have a language, a celebration, cultural capital to transfer to your children, and so on. But you also keep your identity when you are rejected by the others.
- The Jews in France in the late 19th century are an example. Many people did not even know they were Jewish because they did not participate in public practices like going to synagogue or eating Kosher. But the wave of Anti-Semitism after the Dreyfous case pushed them to be stricter, more rigorous Jews.

Formal Interview #4: Dr. Maya Hertig-Randall, Professor at the University of Geneva

Do you think the European Court of Human Rights has been adequately addressing claims that governments have violated article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights?

- The court used to be much more liberal in terms of freedom of religion cases. They said it was the individual freedom that was more important than other things. These other obligations are not fundamental to the person's chances in society.
- The Court has changed its case law a bit and now it is stricter in the sense that it forces people to do certain things that they claim are against their religion.
- She finds the later approach to be not respectful enough of freedom of religion. She thinks the Court should have been more generous.
- Yet, the European Court of Human Rights is there to safeguard a minimal standard. It is an international tribunal so it doesn't have the same sort of strong legitimacy as the American Supreme Court.

Can you speak a bit about integration and it's standing as a legal argument?

- She does not find integration to be a convincing legal argument.
- Integration means respecting the legal order, but it does not necessarily mean that one must live like the others.
- Foreigners have a certain duty to integrate, but not if it violates freedom of religion. This system is similar to 'reasonable accommodation' in the United States.
- If you force people to integrate by denying their religion, it might be counterproductive.
- Courts have been rather generous on some specific issues of religion, such as giving leaves for religious holidays. There is not a bright line policy for special

dispensation. It is unclear what would happen if people objected to sexual education, or something of the sort, based on religious grounds.

What is the future of European law in regards to these issues about religion in public life that seem to keep arising?

- That is still to be decided. It is up to the people's vote.
- There are situations where people have voted for or will vote on banning veils and burkas in public. She thinks that is a major issue.

Do you think the growing secularization in Western Europe will ever jeopardize freedom of religion for those that do continue to practice and believe?

- As society gets more secular, there is less patience for religious demands because they don't seem rational.
- If you look at the Christian religion, it doesn't prescribe very much daily life. This is a major distinction when it comes to Islam, which regulated things like dress and food. The Christian, often non-practicing, majority simply can't relate to this.
- Because of 9/11 and the fight against terrorism, there is an idea that Muslims are generally radical. People tend to assume that anyone wearing religious garments is radical or dangerous.

Locations of Research:

1. United Nations Library: Avenue de la Paix 8-14, 1211 Geneva
2. University of Geneva Library at Uni-Mail: Boulevard du Pont-d'Arve 40, 1205 Geneva
3. The Graduate Institute (IHEID): Chemin Eugene-Rigot 2, 1202 Geneva
4. Ex-Machina Café: Rue du Vieux-Marché 11, 1260 Nyon
5. Municipal Library Pâquis: Rue du Môle 17, 1201 Geneva
6. SIT Office: Rue de Monthoux 64, 1201 Geneva
7. Ecole-Club Migros: Chemin du Créve-Coeur 1, 1260 Nyon

Human Resource List:

Name	Title	Place of Employment	Phone	Email Address	Area of Expertise
Abbas Aroua	Director	The Cordoba Foundation of Geneva	+41 (0) 22 734 15 03	abbas@aroua.com	Islam, Islamic Society and Governments, Conflict Resolution, Peace Studies, Cross-Cultural dialogue
Brigitte Maréchal	Professor of Sociology	Université Catholique de Louvain	+32 10 47 42 51	brigitte.marechal@uclouvain.be	European Islam, Political Islam, Relations between Muslims and non-Muslims
Bénédict e Villain	Assistant Director	Institut des Cultures d'Islam	+33 1 53 09 99 86	benedicte.villain@ici.paris	Islamic Society and Culture
Michel Oris	Professor of Demography, History, and Socioeconomics	Uniterité de Genève	+41 (0) 22 379 71 11	michel.oris@unige.ch	History, Dynamics of Social Structures, Demography, Religion and Morality
Maya Hertig-Randall	Professor of Public Law	Université de Genève	+41 (0) 22 379 8530	maya.hertig@unige.ch	European Constitutiona l Law, Comparative Constitutiona l Law, Human Rights law
Vicken Cheterian	Professor of International Relations	Webster University Geneva		cheterian@webster.ch	Political Islam, Genocide, Nationalist Movements, Armed Conflict, Revolutions

Interactive Log:

Organization	Contact name	Address/email	Phone	Date(s) & time of interview	Formal/informal interview
The Cordoba Foundation	Abbas Aroua	Chemin des Vignes 2BIS, 1209 Geneva abbas@aroua.com	+41 (0)22 734 15 03	September 20 th , 2018 at 12:15	Formal
Université de Genève	Maya Hertig-Randall	24 Rue du Général-Dufour, 1211 Geneva Maya.Hertig@unige.ch	+41 22 379 85 30	October 18 th , 2018 @ 14:15	Formal
Université de Genève	Michel Oris	24 Rue du Général-Dufour, 1211 Geneva Michel.Oris@unige.ch	+41 (0)22 379 71 11	October 16 th , 2018 @ 15:00	Formal
UN: Geneva Peace Week	Lecture by Vicken Cheterian: Genocide and Writing the History of the Middle East	Palais de Nations, UN Headquarters in Geneva Avenue de la Paix 1211 Geneva Annie.weromian@yahoo.com	n/a	November 8 th , 2018 @ 13:00	Informal
Université Catholique de Louvain	Brigitte Maréchal	Place Montesquieu 1, 1348 Leuven, Belgium	+32 10 47 42 51	October 2 nd , 2018 @ 13:30	Formal

		Brigitte.marchal@uclouvain.be			
Institut des Cultures d'Islam	Bénédicte Villian	56 Rue Stephenson, 75018 Paris benedicte.villain@ici.paris	+33 1 53 09 99 86	October 5 th , 2018 @ 16:00	Informal