

INDEX

Abu Hanifah, al-Numan ibn Thabit Ibn Zuta	Badinter, Elisabeth, 95, 241, 245, 257, 260
(d.767), 148	Bakht, Natasha, 214
Accoyer, Bernard, 199	Barelwi movement, 52
administration of justice, and veil wearing,	Bauer, J., 195
72, 282–5	Baz, Abdul Bin al-, 141, 143, 148
Afghanistan	Beauvoir, Simone de, 292
burgas, 3, 43, 164, 267	Béchillon, D. de, 198
UK face-veil debate and, 119	Beckford, J., 62
women's rights, 80, 184	Begum, Shabina, 243
Agamben, Giorgio, 258	Belgian ban
Agrama, H., 264	see also Belgian face veil wearers; Belgium
Ahmed, Leila, 38	arguments for, 78
Ahmed, Sara, 268	assumptions, 113–14
Al Huda International Welfare Foundation,	Belgian values, 179
146	criminality, 102
Al Qaeda, 103	gender equality, 174, 207
Albani, Muhammad Nasiruddin al-, 143, 148	human dignity, 174, 176, 177
Algeria, 270, 290	human rights and, 171
Alibhai-Brown, Yasmin, 208, 210	oppression, 207
Ammitzbøll, Pernille, 68	proportionality, 173–4
Amnesty International, 1, 165, 167, 237	public security, 171, 172–3
Amorós, Celia, 227	safety, 102–7, 181
Anidjar, Gil, 263	social cohesion, 94–5
anti-Semitism, 233, 234, 239, 256, 263, 288	women's rights, 80, 179, 184
Appadurai, Arjun, 251, 264	Belgian values and, 246
Arendt, Hannah, 256	Constitutional Court decision, 9, 168, 253,
arranged marriages, 289	258–9
Asad, Talal, 264	creation of false knowledge and, 240
Ashcroft, B., 292	criminalization issue, 108
Asian Youth Movements, 160	democratic process, 165–6
Ataturk (Mustapha Kemal), 285	hasty adoption, 113
Austria, 12, 186, 238	lack of consultation, 109, 113, 236,
autonomy	244, 248
Belgian veil wearers, 86–8, 113	lack of knowledge, 208
deficit, 242–5	legal history, 8–9, 77–8
ECtHR jurisprudence, 178	political consensus, 240, 252, 253,
French veil wearers, 244	256–7, 261
Azmi, Aishah, 120	political debate, 164



INDEX

Belgian ban (cont.) effect	divorce, 90
	educational environment, 96
abandonment of veil, 110–12, 113	empirical study, 13, 14
assessment, 112–13	methodology, 78–80
experiences, 107–13	representativeness, 80
outsider views, 114	experience of ban, 107–13
police confrontations, 110–12	police confrontations, 110–12
reactions, 107–9	reactions, 107–9
safety, 107, 113	experimenting, 81, 84
seclusion, 176	family reactions, 86
social interaction, 101, 113	fear of, 99
women's rights, 113	feminism and, 90–3
exceptions, 9, 78	gender mixing, 91–2
French model, 166	husbands and, 83–6, 88, 246
human rights organizations and, 1	coercion issue, 244
legislative provisions, 78	role patterns, 88–90
local bans, 4, 79, 110, 253–4	numbers, 78, 167
next step fears, 109, 208	overall conclusions, 113–14
non-discrimination and, 179–81	part-time use, 81, 106
outsider's society, 114, 252	qualitative research, 3
parliamentary history, 236–7	reasons for wearing
political context, 1–2, 255	attraction, 82
political discourse, 78	chastity, 83
popular concepts of security and, 173–4	harassment, 83
producing individuality through law, 257–60	overview, 82–4
proportionality, 101	rejection of western values, 95
public participation in enforcement, 110,	safety argument, 78
112, 287–8	conclusions, 107, 113
restoring national pride, 253–7	identification issue, 103, 107, 109, 113
return to persecuting society, 246	insider views, 103–7
right-wing propaganda, 287–8	outsider views, 102–3
sanctions, 78, 173	survey, 102–7
sense of urgency, 252, 253	terrorism, 80, 85, 103, 106
state sovereignty, 166, 251–61	veiled women as risk, 103
survey, 77–114	veiled women's safety, 103–7
travaux préparatoires, 78, 80, 95	self-respect, 92
Belgian face veil wearers	social cohesion argument, 78
see also Belgian ban	
	communication, 97–100
first-generation immigrants, 79	conclusions, 101–2
second-generation immigrants, 79	effect of ban, 101
abandonment	insider views, 95
post-ban, 110–12, 113	outside views, 94–5
reasons for, 86	positive interaction, 100–1
agency, 80–7	social interaction, 95, 96–7, 102, 113
autonomy and strength, 86–8, 113	survey, 94–102
Belgian identity and, 108	starting, 81–2
citizenship, 108	strong attachment to veil, 113
coercion issue, 81–2	violence against, 103–7
criminal law and, 94	women's rights and, 78
empirical evidence, 93–4, 191, 210	arguments, 80–94
husbands, 83–6, 88, 244, 246	autonomy, 113
insider views, 87–8	coercion issue, 81–2
communication, 97–100	conclusions, 93–4
converts, 79	effect of ban, 113
criminality issue, 102	feminism, 90–3
decisions, 81–2	gender patterns, 87–93
discrimination against, 106	husbands' attitudes, 83–6



INDEX

hypocrisy, 93	Commission for Racial Equality, 160
insider views, 81–93	communication
Islamic views, 91–3	Belgian face veil wearers, 95, 97–100
outsider views, 80	Dutch issue, 24, 35–7
work environment, 96	converts
Belgium	see also specific countries
banned symbols, 186	empirical evidence, 13, 176
bicameralism, 77	popular discourse and, 181
Centre for Equal Opportunities and	Zeal of the Convert, 176
Opposition to Racism, 165	Council of Europe, 165, 175, 176, 237
citizenship, 108, 256	court proceedings, face veils in, 72, 282-5
constitutionality of legislation, 9, 78	criminal law
face-veil ban see Belgian ban	Belgian ban, 108, 235–7
Human Rights League, 175	coercion issue and, 94, 166
political crisis (2010), 77, 165, 252, 255	French ban, 235–7
religious dress restrictions, agenda, 1	persecuting society, 232–5
right of evocation, 77	role, 166
Vlaams Belang, 235, 287–8	critical theory, 218
Benelli, Natalie, 219	cultural Muslims, 129
Benhabib, S., 291	D 111 242
Berger, J., 290	Dahlab case, 243
Besson, Eric, 240–1	Danish face veil wearers
bin Laden, Osama, 103	administration of justice and, 72
biopower, 258, 260	burqa affair, 43, 72–3
Blair, Tony, 119	coercion issue, 50, 62, 72
Bolkestein, Frits, 23	converts
Bouteldja, Naima, 210, 213	burqa affair, 72
Bowen, J. R., 240–1, 245, 248	empirical research, 52, 53
Bracke, Sarah, 272–3	high proportion, 45, 291
Brazil, banned symbols, 187	priorities, 64
Brewn, Eva, 165, 208, 210, 240	reason for veil wearing, 61, 63
Brown, Gordon, 119 Browne, Jeremy, 286	statistics, 67, 69 counter-discourse, 62
Bunting, Madeleine, 119	criminal law changes, 72
burqa	defectors, 50–1, 64–6
meaning, 3–4, 43	educational bans, 64–5
terminological use in Belgium, 80	elusive population, 44–5
terminology of European debates, 164, 267–9	empirical study, 12, 14, 42–73
Butler, Judith, 268, 272	conclusions, 71–3
24der, jadran, 200, 212	context, 43–4
Canada	methodological challenge, 42, 44–6
fair trial, 282, 283	political effect, 2, 72–3
female dress code debate, 278	sampling, 45–6, 56
R v. NS, 282–4, 285	ethnic backgrounds, 50, 52–4
veil debate, lack of knowledge, 209	exclusions, 64–6
veil in court, 282–4	functional bans, 64–5, 72
Casalini, Brunella, 219	gatekeepers, 47, 55
chadris, 3	gender oppression issue, 60–1, 62
Charta 2000, 284	integration issue, 53–4, 176
citizenship	interviewees
Belgium, 108, 256	access and selection, 46-50
France, 6, 202, 240–1, 247–8	gatekeepers, 47, 61
Netherlands, 24, 289	list, 48
clash of civilizations, 247	structure of interviews, 50
Clegg, Nick, 286	legal regulation, 235
coercion see oppression issue	marriage patterns, 53
colonialism, 38, 257, 269–71, 280, 290, 293	misrepresentation, 46



INDEX

Danish face veil wearers (cont.)	domestic violence, 94, 220
motivations, 59–61	Drider, Kenza, 116, 236, 241
attraction, 60	Ducarmes, Denis, 255–6
critical evaluation, 61–4	Dutch bans
preventing sexual attention, 60	2005 parliamentary resolution, 19
religious identity, 63	debate, lack of knowledge, 209
sign of strength, 60	Draft Law, 24–5
spiritual journey, 59–60, 62, 63	Explanatory Memorandum, 28,
networks, 45, 46, 49, 53, 55–6, 57	32, 35
numbers, 167	secular terms, 30
part-time use, 66	education
political debate, 43–4	communication issue, 24, 35, 36
political strategy, 236	Equal Treatment Commission rulings,
proposed ban, 11–12, 43–4, 286	20–1
decision against, 237	objective grounds, 30, 33
gender equality concerns, 246–7	functional bans, 24, 25
influence of empirical evidence, 2,	local bans, 4, 5, 286
181, 237	parliamentary debate, 21, 164
integration initiative, 176	proposed ban, 10–11, 286
model of non-persecuting society, 245	security grounds, 33
small numbers involved and, 164	subjectivity, 33–7
qualitative research, 3, 46–50	Dutch face veil wearers
quantitative research, 66–73	assessment, 37–9 characteristics, 26–8
Copenhagen, 68–9	
informants, 67–9	coercion issue, 213, 225
Odense and Aarhus, 67–8, 69	communication issue, 35–7
triangulation of estimated numbers, 70–1	converts, 26–7, 31–2
under-coverage bias, 70–, 70	culturalization of politics, 20–5
religious affiliations, 54–9	double standards, 32, 37, 39
Salafism, 47, 49, 54, 63–4, 65, 291	Dutch identity and, 37, 39
Shia communities, 53	Dutch values and, 36
similarities of stories, 62, 71–2	education levels, 27
stigma, 45	empirical study, 12, 14
target of identity politics, 72	fear of small numbers, 264
terminology, 42–3	identification issue, 33–4, 35
urban phenomenon, 46	integration issue, 36
Dean, Mitchell, 266	Islam and women's subordination, 28–33
degrading treatment, 88, 169, 206, 223, 293	media discourse, 239–40
see also inhumane treatment	motivation, 30–2, 38–9
Delphy, Christine, 223	numbers, 26, 167
democracy	qualitative research, 3
Belgian ban and see Belgian ban	recent migrants, 26
poor democratic process of bans, 163–7	shift to subjectivity, 33–7
veil wearing and, 185	survey, 19–39
Denham, John, 119	violence against, 34–5
Denmark	
anti-Islamic cartoons, 120, 237	Egypt, 31, 257, 279–80
Danish People's Party, 236, 237, 238	El Gundi, F., 291
Freedom Party, 238	El-Khalid, Mohamad, 68
Muslim community, 52–3	empirical studies
veil wearers see Danish face veil wearers	influence, 2
deterritorialized Islam, 63	insider experiences and veil debate, 2-3
Dewinter, Filip, 287	oppression issue and, 191–2
discrimination	overview, 12–15
gender see gender equality	polysemy of the veil and, 225-6
symbols, 188–9	presentation, 14–15
veil bans and, 179–81, 228–9	reasons for wearing face yeils, 209–10



INDEX

representativeness, 191, 210	Islamic countries, 279
similarities, 13–14, 62, 71–2	poor democratic process, 163-7
UK differences, 13–14	public order and see public security
value of information, 192	return to persecuting society, 245–8
English Defence League, 238	sex discrimination, 228-9
Enlightenment, 247	social cohesion and see social cohesion
Esmeir, Samera, 257	symbolism see symbolism
Eurabia, 238	terminological choices, 164
Eurocentrism, 280, 292	xenophobic control, 223
Europe	face-veil debate
face veil debates, 263–75	duplicitous rationales, 288
discursive economies, 264–9	East and West, 291–3
post-colonial fantasies, 269–71	hard case, 166
voices of veiled women, 272–4	human rights, 163–82
Islamization of Europe, 238	insider experiences and, 2–3
model of persecuting society, 232–5	polysemy of the veil, 224–6, 281, 290–1
sexualization of women, 289–90	face veil wearers
Western Consensus, 290	see also specific countries
European Convention on Human Rights	autonomy, 226–8, 242–5
see also specific rights and freedoms	background, 167
Belgian veil ban and, 2	court proceedings and, 282–5
non-discrimination, 180	insider experiences, 2–3
European Court of Human Rights	motivations, 190 numbers, 164, 167
banning symbols and, 187	
free expression, undemocratic speech, 187 freedom of religion, 170, 172	reasons for intense debate, 278–82 reasons for study, 1–2
French ban and, 2, 121, 168, 232	reasons for wearing, 209–10
arguments, 247, 287	overlapping reasons, 211–12
headscarf cases, 207, 209, 214, 243	seeing without being seen, 95, 275
margins of appreciation, 170, 281–2	terminology, 3–4, 42–3, 164
non-discrimination, 180	voices, 272–4
personal autonomy, 178	Fadil, Nadia, 272–3
European Union, racist symbols and, 185	false consciousness, 192, 273
Evans, Carolyn, 208, 215	Falun Gong, 188
,,,	Fanon, Frantz, 270, 290
face-veil bans	female genital mutilation (FGM), 220, 252
autonomy deficit, 242–5	Femen, 290
Belgium see Belgian ban	feminism
coercion see oppression issue	arguments against bans, 226-30
complicity of political elites, 237–42	arguments on women's oppression, 222-6
creating false knowledge about Muslim	context of decisions and, 244-5
women, 237–42	false consciousness, 273
duplicitous rationales, 288–90	French 'Pro Choice' feminists, 279
effects, 215	justification of bans and, 241
European debates, 263–75	legal theory project, 280
discursive economies, 264–9	meaning of the veil and, 291
post-colonial fantasies, 269–71	polysemy of the veil, 224–6
voices of veiled women, 272-4	power discourse, 222, 244
European legal positions	radical feminism, 218, 227
see also specific countries	sexualization of women and, 289
current developments, 9–12	women's oppression and veil bans,
local bans, 4–6	218–30
nationwide bans, 6–9	Fillon, François, 117, 195
overview, 4–12, 285–8	Fischer, M. M. J., 291
feminist arguments against, 226–30	Fonck, Catherine, 254
France see French ban	forced marriage, 91
gender equality and see gender equality	Fortuyn, Pim. 23, 38



INDEX

Foucault, Michel, 257, 258, 260, 265–6, 270 France	Council of State report, 195–6 human dignity, 201–2
assimilation policy, 293	redefining public order, 197–9, 203
ban see French ban	debate
body scarification, 204	creation of false knowledge, 240-1
citizenship, 6, 202, 240–1, 247–8	lack of consultation, 116, 236, 241, 248
colonialism, 270, 293	lack of knowledge, 209
dwarf-tossing ban, 177	political debate, 164
Enlightenment, the 247	ECtHR and, 2, 121, 168
face-concealing exceptions, 196	arguments, 247, 287
freedom of religion, 194–5	effect
Front National, 235, 238, 242, 247,	abuse, 203
248	assaults, 288
gender equality, 6, 115, 197–8	police, 202
headscarf ban, 125, 126, 278	seclusion, 176
human dignity, 197–8, 201–2	enactment date, 116–17
Human Rights League, 181	enforcement, 179
laïcité (secularism), 195, 197	citizenship courses, 202
territorial exceptions, 195	fines, 287
pornography, 204	public order incidents, 204–5
'Pro Choice' feminists, 279	sanctions, 8
religious dress restrictions, agenda, 1	Trappes riots, 204
Republican values, 6, 7, 205, 247–8, 256,	exceptions, 8
287	fears of rising Arab immigration, 279
veil ban see French ban	Gérin Commission, 3, 7, 115–16, 160, 236,
veil wearers see French face veil wearers	241, 242
ree assembly, 169	
	human rights and, 197
ree expression	legislative provisions, 8, 116
banning symbols, 185–90	next step fears, 208
justifying restrictions, 171	non-discrimination and, 179–81 origins, 6–8, 236
margins of appreciation and ECtHR, 170	
necessity of bans, 173	public order justification, 171, 172–3, 194–205
non-verbal expression, 169	Constitutional Council, 200–3
proportionality of bans, 173–4 veil bans and, 169–74	Council of State report and, 197–9
reedom of religion see religious freedom	popular concepts of security,
reedom of rengion see rengious needom freedom of speech see free expression	173–4
French ban	redefining public order, 197–9
2009 partial ban, 196	religious radicalism and, 256
arguments for, 171	_
	return to persecuting society, 246
autonomy deficit, 245	UK asylum policy and, 293
coercion, 202 French values, 179, 246	French face veil wearers abuse experience, 153–5, 156–7, 203
gender equality, 174, 178, 197–8, 206	assaults, 158–60, 288
	assamilation issue, 240–1
human dignity, 174, 176, 177–8, 197–8, 201–2, 203, 207	autonomy, 244
proportionality, 173–4	citizenship, 6, 240–1, 247–8
public order, 171, 172–3, 194–205,	coercion issue, 133–4, 160, 211, 215
287	converts, 122, 150
Belgian ban and, 166	demonization, 117
commencement, 78	education level, 123, 124–5
Constitutional Council decision	empirical study, 13
	background, 115, 117–
human dignity and public order, 203–4 women's autonomy, 245	date of publication, 116
constitutionality, 7, 8, 121, 122	sampling, 122–7
Constitutional Council decision, 200	employment status, 123
proportionality, 200	ethnic backgrounds, 122
proportionanty, 200	camic backgrounds, 122



INDEX

family's role, 131–4 husbands, 133–4 opposition, 132–3 Gérin Commission, 3, 7, 115–16, 160, 236,	Green, Damian, 121 Grice, Andrew, 121 Griffiths, G., 292 Grillo, Ralph, 248
241, 242 Islamic education, 128–31 Islamic references, 142–3 lack of Muslim solidarity, 156–7	Haddad, Sheikh Haitham al-, 141–2 Hammarberg, Thomas, 175 Hamon, Benoît, 121
marginalization, 116, 156, 196	Hanafi Deobandi tradition, 148
media discourse, 116	harassment, experience, 13
numbers, 117, 122, 167	Harman, Harriet, 119
confidential report, 196	headscarves
growing phenomenon, 127-8	ECtHR cases, 207, 209, 214, 243
patterns of use, 66, 140	focus on, 1
public debate, political consensus, 119, 120-1	French ban, 125, 126, 278
qualitative research, 3	gender equality and, 206, 208, 243
quantitative research, 67	justifying bans, 208
reasons for wearing, 150, 151–2	Turkish ban, 209, 279
Salafism, 142, 160	wearing before face veil, 133, 211
social networks, 139	heretics, 233, 234, 239, 246–35
	Hitler, Adolf, 189
gender equality	Hollobone, Philip, 121
see also specific countries	homosexuals, 234
arguments, 206–8	Hörnle, Tatjana, 188
constitutional principle, 227	Hultén, Gösta, 284
debate, 273	human dignity justification, 171, 174–9, 201–2
empirical evidence and, 191–2, 210	203, 207
caveats, 210–12	human rights and veil bans
ethnicization of sexism, 219–20	challenge, 167–81
intersectionality analysis, 220, 229	conclusions, 181–2
justifying bans, 171, 174–9	debate, 163–82
assessment, 212–15	framework, 281
autonomy deficit, 242–5	freedom of religion and expression
duplicitous rationale, 288	arguments, 169–74
false premise, 212	justifying restrictions, 171
feminist assessment, 218–30	margins of appreciation, 170
survey, 206–15	necessity issue, 171
lack of knowledge, 208–9	proportionality, 173–4
misconstruction of oppression, 220-1	validity of aims, 171
political manipulation, 218–20, 241	French ban and
racist bigotry and, 281	Constitutional Council decision, 200
trading off, 227	Council of State report, 197–9
western gender practices, 92–3	gender equality, 174–9
gender mixing, Islam and, 91–2	human dignity, 171, 174–9, 201–2,
Gereluk, D., 211	203, 207
Gérin, André, 116, 117, 119, 236, 241	non-discrimination, 179–81
Gérin Commission, 3, 7, 115–16, 160, 236,	relevant rights, 168
241, 242	Human Rights League, 165
Germany	Human Rights Watch, 165, 175, 209–10, 237
anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda, 288	Hungary, banned symbols, 172, 186, 187–8
headscarf wearing, 209–10, 214, 242, 243	Hussain, Zubair Butt, 67
Nazi symbols, 185–6, 189	
partial ban, 164	Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad (d.855), 148
public discourse, 181	Ibn Qayyim al Jawziyah, Shams al-Din Abu
religious swastikas, 189	Bakr (d.1350), 148
Glavany, Jean, 121	Ibn Taymiyya, Taqi al-Din Ahmad (d.1328),
Gogh, Theo van, 23	148



INDEX

inhumane treatment, 21, 191, 257	Le Pen, Marine, 242
see also degrading treatment	legal positivism, 254–5, 257
Institute of Race Relations, 160	lepers, 233, 239, 241
integration issue, 36, 53–4, 176, 213	Levinas, Emmanuel, 260
intersectionality analysis, 220, 229	Lister, R., 211, 212
Iran, 80, 279, 286, 291	Lithuania, banned symbols, 187
Iraq, 119	Livingstone, Ken, 119
Islam	Loekke Rasmussen, Lars, 286
basic tenets, 128	Loenen, T., 208
clash of civilizations, 247	Londonistan, 238
deterritorialized Islam, 63	Ludin, Ferisha, 242
European anti-Islamic movements, 238–9	Lyon, D., 213
face-veil wearing and, 140–9, 291	Marking on Catherine 222 229
Islamic education and French/UK	MacKinnon, Catherine, 223, 228
interviewees, 128–31	Mahmood, S., 264
Islamization of Europe, 238 migrants defined as Muslims, 22–3	mahram, 131 Mamère, Noël, 121
'Muslim question' debates in Europe, 263–4	Mancini, S., 281
discursive economies, 264–9	manipulation, 218–20, 241, 280
paternalism, 207, 213–14	Marshall, J., 213
persecuting Muslim women, 245–8	Mathieu, B., 198
Prophet's wives, 59, 82, 133, 140–1, 149, 151	misrepresentation of European
violence and, 172	experiences, 13
women's rights and	Moldova, banned symbols, 186
Belgian veil wearers, 91–3	Moore, R. I., 232–5, 237–8, 239, 241, 242,
Dutch veil wearers, 28–33	245–7, 249
forced marriage, 91	Moors, Annelies, 210, 213, 239-40, 264
IslamQA, 144	moral panic, 293
Italy	Morsi, Mohamed, 280
draft ban, 9–10, 164	Moussoui, Mohammed, 141
local bans, 4, 5, 179, 235, 286	Mudde, Cas, 287
public discourse, 181	Mullally, S., 207
Public Order Protection Act, 5	multiculturalism, 239, 273
	Munajjid, Sheikh Muhammed Salih al-, 144
Jehovah's Witnesses, 62	Muslim Brotherhood, 58
Jenkins, Simon, 118	Myard, Jacques, 6
Jews, 233, 234, 239, 256, 263, 288	
Jihadism, 281	nation states, defining contours, 251
JIMAS (Society for the Revival of the	Nazism, 185–6, 189, 288
Prophetic Way), 144	Nekkaz, Rachid, 287
Joppke, C., 211, 213	Netherlands
***************************************	anti-Islamism, 23
Kahf, Mohja, 194	citizenship, 24, 289
Keller, Nuh Ha Mim, 59, 63	constitution, 5, 28
Khadijah, 120	culturalization of politics, 20–5
Killian, C., 211, 212	Dutch identity, 37, 39
Knight, India, 119	Equal Treatment Commission, advisory
Koussens, D., 204	rulings, 20–1
Kühle, Lene, 68	freedom of religion, 28
I -11 - C4-:1- 210 224	gender equality debate, 206
Laborde, Cécile, 219, 224	migration, 22–3
Laneyrie-Dagen, Nadeije, 263, 268, 271 Larcher, Gérard, 199	neo-nationalism, 23
Lateran Council (1215), 233	public discourse, 181 securitization of society, 23–4
Latvia, racist symbols, 186	veil bans see Dutch bans
Le Doeuff, Michèle, 229	veil wearers see Dutch face veil wearers
Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 247	Newham Monitoring Project, 160
De I ell, Jeun Mune, D 11	in intering i toject, 100



INDEX

NGOs	pornography, 204, 289
Belgian ban and, 1, 165	Portugal, banned symbols, 186
face veil debate, 3	positivism, 254–5, 257
UK anti-racist organizations, 160	post-colonialism, 269–71
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 270	Povinelli, Elizabeth, 252
niqab, meaning, 4, 42–3	privacy rights, 169, 197, 247
non-discrimination see discrimination;	public nudity, 289, 290
gender equality	public order
nudity, 289, 290	enforcement of French ban and, 204–5
114410), 200, 200	French justification of ban, 171, 172–3
Obama, Barack, 194	assessment, 194–205
Oborne, Peter, 120	Constitutional Council decision, 200–3
Okin, Susan Moller, 273	Council of State report, 197–9, 203
Open Society Foundations, 13, 115–16, 180	ECtHR and, 287
oppression issue	human dignity and, 203
see also specific countries	redefining public order, 197–9, 204
argument, 207–8	justification for bans, 171
criminal law and, 166	French ban, 171, 172–3, 194–205, 287
empirical evidence and, 191–2, 210	necessity, 171
caveats, 210–12	popular concepts of security, 173–4
feminist arguments, 222–6	popular concepts of security, 175–7
internalization of subjugation, 192	racism
justifying bans, 175–6, 207–8	cultural racism, 238–9
assessment, 212–15	ethnicization of sexism, 219–20
autonomy deficit, 242–5	gender arguments and, 281
duplicitous rationale, 288	intersectionality analysis, 220, 229
false premise, 212	racialization of counter-terrorism, 238–9
lack of knowledge, 208–9	religion and, 179
misconstruction of women's oppression,	
220–1	responding to, 220 symbols, 185
political manipulation, 218–20, 241	veil bans and, 181, 293
racist bigotry and, 281	reciprocity, 95, 199
symbolism see symbolism	religious freedom
Western women, 289	ECtHR jurisprudence, 170, 172
orientalism, 269, 280–1, 290, 291–3	face veil in courts and, 282–5
orientalism, 200, 200 1, 200, 201 3	justifying restrictions, 171
Pahlavi, Reza Shah, 286	margins of appreciation and ECtHR, 170,
Pakistan, 3, 102, 130, 146–7	281–2
Panopticon, 270	necessity of bans, 171
paternalism, 207, 213–14, 224, 245	neutrality, 170
Pearson, Allison, 118	proportionality of bans, 173–4
Pedersen, Abdul Wahid, 67	race and religion, 179
persecuting society	veil bans and, 169–74
complicity of political elites, 237–42	rule of law, 24, 185, 247
creating false knowledge about Muslim	Rushdie, Salman, 119
women, 237–42	radiate, Januari, 115
European model of persecution, 232	Saadawi, N., 290, 291
Moore, R. I. 232–5	Sahin, Leyla, 243
Muslim women, 245–8	Said, Edward, 290, 292
rhetoric, 238	Salafism
Phillips, A., 289	Danish veil wearers, 47, 49, 54, 63–4, 65, 291
Phillips, Melanie, 238	Dutch veil wearers, 31
pillarization, 22	French popular opinion and, 117
Poland, banned symbols, 187	French veil wearers, 142, 160
political manipulation, 218–20, 241, 280	influence, 291
polygamy, 289	scholars, 143, 144
polysemy of the veil, 224–6, 281, 290–1	Tunisia, 166
	•



INDEX

Salafism (cont.)	religious symbols, 169, 170
UK veil wearers and, 144, 148–9	topless sunbathing, 228
Western attitudes to, 281	totalitarian symbols, 172, 174
Sarkozy, Nicolas, 7, 8, 29, 159, 194, 195, 241	veil as demonism, 288
Saudi Arabia, Salafi scholars, 143	veil as symbol, 190–2
Scheffer, Paul, 23	veil as symbol of Islamist fundamentalism
Schmitt, Carl, 258	43–4, 53–4
Scutt, Jocelynne, 280 Sedghi, H., 291	veil as symbol of women's oppression Belgian ban, 80–7
sexual discourse, 265–6	colonial discourse, 38
Shah, Imran, 67, 68	Danish debate, 61
Shah, Prakash, 248	denials, 94
Shevchenko, Alexandra, 290	Dutch debate, 21, 28–30
Silvestri, S., 207, 213	empirical evidence, 191–2, 252
sisters' circles, 147	French debate, 195, 206
sitar, 80, 85	public discourse, 176, 184–5
Smith, Joan, 118	UK feminism, 118
snowballing, 46, 47	veil bans and, 181, 184–92
social cohesion	Syria, 279
Belgian ban and, 94–102	, ,
effect of bans, 181, 213	Taliban, 184, 207, 220
reciprocity, 95, 199	terminology
social interaction, Belgian veil wearers	Belgian discourse, 80
argument for ban, 102, 113	critical inquiry, 267–9
empirical evidence, 95, 96–7	face veil wearers, 3–4, 42–3
positive interaction, 100–1	popular debate, 164
Spain	terrorism
banned symbols, 186	Belgian discourse, 80, 85, 103, 106
local bans, 4, 5–6, 235, 286	Netherlands and, 23
proposed bans, 11, 164	racialization of discourse, 238
public discourse, 181	Salafism and, 57
wearing trousers, 228	Tiffin, H., 292
Spelman, Caroline, 122	topless sunbathing, 228
Spini, D., 213	Tunisia, Salafism, 166
Spivak, G. C., 272	Turkey, 52, 209, 279, 285
state sovereignty and Belgian ban	UK face veil wearers
French rulings and, 166	
producing individuality through law, 257–60	see also United Kingdom
restoring national pride, 253–7 survey, 251–61	2nd generation migrants, 126 abuse experience, 153, 155–6
Stratton, Allegra, 121	assaults, 158–9
Straw, Jack, 117, 118–19, 239	political tradition and, 160
Sufism, 59, 63	arranged marriages, 135–6
Sweden, 284, 286	coercion issue, 138, 211, 225
Switzerland, 12, 163, 164, 243	converts, 122, 134–5, 150, 152
symbolism	court proceedings and, 284
banning symbols, 185–90	debate, 12, 239
Belgian ban, 255	education level, 123, 125-6
communist symbols in Eastern Europe,	empirical study, 13
186–8	background, 116, 118-19
construction, 281	sampling, 122–7
discrimination, 188–9	employment status, 123–4
headscarves, 243	ethnic backgrounds, 122
Nazi symbols, 185–6, 189	family's role, 131, 134–40
polysemy of the veil, 224–6, 281,	extended family, 136
290–1	fathers, 134–6
post-colonialism, 269	husbands, 136–9



INDEX

Islamic education, 128-31, 144-8 Valcárcel, Amelia, 228 Islamic references, 140, 143-9 Van Gulik, G., 213, 214 Islamic scholarship, 141-2 Verdonk, Rita, 24, 38 legal regulation, 235 violence media discourse, 118-20 Belgian veil wearers, 103-7 Muslim solidarity, 157 domestic violence, 94, 220 numbers, 122, 127-8 Dutch veil wearers, 34-5 parliamentary consensus, 121 French ban and, 204-5, 288 patterns of use, 140 Islam and, 172 proposed ban, 286 UK and French veil wearers, public debate, 12 158-60 UK anti-Islamic violence, 120 qualitative research, 3 reasons for wearing Vrielink, Jogchum, 2 freedom and confidence, 152-3 harassment, 150-1 Warburg, Margit, 210 Prophet's wives, 151 Webner, Pnina, 239 survey, 149-53 websites, 144, 149-53 Wilders, Geert, 21, 23, 24, 28, 30, 33, 38, 238 triggers, 135 religious affiliations, 147-9 women's rights Salafism, 144, 148-9 see also oppression issue school dress, 120, 126-7 autonomy deficit, 242-5 sexualized public space, 119 Belgian veil wearers and, 80-94, 184 face veil bans and, 168 social networks and, 139-40 starting, 115 conclusions, 181-2 tolerance, 13-14 feminist assessment, 218-30 UN Human Rights Committee, 169, 177 freedom of expression and religion, United Kingdom 169-74 gender equality, 174-9, 206-15 anti-Islamic movements, 238 anti-Islamic violence, 120 human dignity, 171, 174–9, 201–2 anti-racist organizations, 160 non-discrimination, 179-81 ban on Scottish dress (1746), 285 relevant rights, 168 Barelwi movement, 52 sexualization of women and, hate crimes and, 160 289-90 Islamic dress cases, 120, 126-7, 243, 244 symbolism see symbolism Londonistan, 238 UK debate, 118 refugees from France, 293 veil wearers see UK face veil wearers xenophobia, 220, 223, 288 United States 9/11 terrorism, 23, 57, 106, 238 Yeğenoğlu, Meyda, 269-70, 291 domestic violence, 220 Ye'Or, Bat (Gisele Littman), 238 ethnicization of sexism, 220 Young, Iris Marion, 222 female dress code debate, 278 Young, R. K. C., 294 mosque near Ground Zero, 164 racism, 288 Zaalouk, Malak, 280 Uthaymeen, Sheikh Abu al-, 148 Zapatero, José Luis Rodríguez, 11