

**NON-RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN POLICY AND PRACTICE**  
**Panel on Law and Policy (Domestic and International)**

**Real Life:**  
**the European Background**

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**A collective belief  
that attains a sufficient level of  
cogency, seriousness, cohesion and  
importance and  
that relates the nature of life and the  
world to morality, values and/or the  
way its believers should live.**

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**4: uses status as state (Holy See)**

**5: enjoys special status in EU**

**("Article 17")**



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**3: they differ on the meaning of  
secularism**

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**2: Orchestrated use of “conscientious objection.”**

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**1: The non-religious as such, lacking a clear identity, suffer little direct discrimination**

**2: They do not complain: hesitant to oppose religious demands.**

**3: Protecting their identities is in practice about reining in religious exemptions and privileges.**