

French Focal Point: CEDRA
Rapid Response

“Islamophobia and the situation of the
Muslim communities”

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I. The situation of Muslim communities

I.1 Demographic and other data/information

I.1.a Demographic data/information

Since 1872, there have been no official statistics gathered on religious denominations in the census or in any administrative data file or any survey conducted by the public statistical institutions in France. This prohibition derives from provisions included in the laws on the secularism of the state and has been reinforced by the data protection act of 1978 (amended in 2004). Due to this general prohibition, there is no detailed information regarding the number of Muslims in France, and no need to say that we don't know much about their socio-demographic characteristics.

Contrary to Great Britain where ethnic and religious information are collected in the census since respectively 1991 and 2001, the French census only records data regarding nationality and country of birth. For a long time, the definition of populations potentially discriminated against by their official nationality constituted the essence of the French approach, a definition that was only recently challenged and changed. Since 1990, a new category of "immigrants" has been adopted by the census and widely spread across providers of statistics. This category is defined as follows: 'a person born abroad with a foreign nationality'. Indeed, the category 'immigrant' does not cover all the populations 'stemming' from immigration. It includes only the primary migrants, whether they came as adults or as children ('the foreign-born'). The number of so-called "second generation", i.e. the children of immigrants born in France, can nevertheless be estimated through a survey connected to the 1999 census: the Family History Survey (EHF).

The figures give a broad picture of the immigrants and second generation living in France and can be used as "proxy" to evaluate the size of the Muslim population. Transposing the method implemented in the Netherlands, where the number of Muslims is estimated on the basis of the country of origin of the immigrants or of their parents, we suggest here to give a rough estimation of the number of Muslims living in France on the basis of the national/ethnic background. One should keep in mind that in any case these figures give a picture of Muslims as affiliated to a religion. Coming from an ethnic background of predominant Muslim culture does not mean that the individual would consider him or herself as a Muslim, nor that he or she would declare that he/she's a practicing Muslim or a believer. We know through selective surveys that only a small amount of people from Muslim background declare

themselves as practicing Muslims or believers, even if most of them actually would define themselves as “Muslim” in a broader sense¹.

For the purpose of this rapid response on Islamophobia and Muslim communities in France, we will provide figures that have been collected in the EHF survey and the census in 1999 (Borrel and Simon, 2005). The main countries that can be described as “predominantly Muslim” are: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Sub-Saharan Africa² and Turkey. New immigration waves coming from Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan or Iran on one side, and Bosnia and Kosovo on the other side would require further estimations, but their level remains quite low compared to the large groups mentioned above (less than 100 000 including Middle East countries and Indonesia). Adding the first and the “second generation”³ of the stock coming from the selected areas, we found approximately 3.5 millions of so-called Muslims, to which one should add migrants coming from the other “Muslim countries”, the “third” and “fourth” generations (if this concept has any meaning in a demographic evaluation) and of course the Muslim converts who cannot be derived from the country of birth.

The second generation of immigrants makes up 8% of the total population, and this share is going to increase when the children born in the 1980s become adults (especially among Turkish, Asian and African immigrants)⁴. The Italian second generation is the largest group (23%), closely followed by the Algerian (14%) and the Spanish (13%). More recent immigration groups, i.e. Portuguese, Moroccan, Tunisian, African, and Turkish are starting to produce their own second generation. The proportion of mixed couples among parents is a major element of differentiation among the second generations. Around half of the Spanish, Italian, Algerian or Moroccan second-generation youth are from a mixed origin, i.e. one foreign-born parent and one native-born parent. The proportion is even higher for Tunisians, Africans and Asians, while Portuguese and Turks show lower rates of intermarriage⁵.

¹ We know by the MGIS survey that one third of the “second generation” from Algerian background declare no religious denomination and another third do not practice, even if they acknowledge a religion. It leaves one last third of practicing Muslims, with different levels of observance.

² Sub-Saharan Africa is not as predominantly Muslim as North African countries, but it is assumed that the share of non Muslim migrants in the African communities is very low, especially among West Africans. A sizeable Christian migration comes from Central and Eastern Africa.

³ The second generation is defined here as the persons born in France with at least one parent immigrant from the selected areas. The offspring of the French living in these areas, notably the so-called “Pied Noirs” of Algeria, are not counted as second generation.

⁴ The distribution by origin reflects the history of migration with an average time lag of about 30 years. It also depends on the total number of immigrants and on the family size which has a multiplying effect.

⁵ We can compare the share of the second generation and the proportion of mixed couples with U.S. data collected through CPS surveys (Jensen, 2001). In his description of the second generation, Jensen estimated their numbers in the U.S. as 30 million, representing 14% of the population in 1997. This share is very close to the French

Table 1 – Selected origins of immigrants and “second generation”, France, 1999

| | Immigrants | Second generation | Total |
|--------------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Algeria | 574 208 | 636 322 | 1 210 530 |
| Morocco | 522 504 | 413 355 | 935 859 |
| Tunisia | 201 561 | 194 550 | 396 111 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 393 289 | 254 924 | 648 213 |
| Turkey | 174 160 | 151 951 | 326 111 |
| Total | 1 865 722 | 1 651 102 | 3 516 824 |

Source : INSEE, Census and EHF, 1999, extract from (Borrel and Simon, 2005)

This general picture does not provide any information on the religious affiliation as such, notably the differentiation by rituals or traditions (Sunnite or Shiite). The consequence of intermarriage should also be taken into account when defining the Muslim population: which classification should we retain in the case of a North African mother and a French father, or the reverse case, a North African father and a French mother? The rules of transmission of the Muslim identity are based on the lineage of the father, unlike the Jewish one. But religious norms do not always coincide with social perceptions, and most of the second generation of a mixed origin may define themselves as Muslim whatever the gender of the native parent. The reverse may be true as well. According to an opinion poll done for *Le Monde* and conducted by the polling institute CSA on October 5th 2001, 36% of the French Muslims declared themselves as religious and practicing, a third said that they prayed everyday, 20% that they went to the Mosque on Friday and 70% that they did the Ramadan.

For the same reason as mentioned before, there is no data on the proportion of Muslims employed in schools, universities or in any public services. Moreover, there are no statistics providing information on the ethnic background of the workforce in the sector of education. The breakdown by citizenship/nationality may be collected but it's obviously a very indirect data, as French citizenship is required to be a permanent civil servant.

References :

Borrel C. and P.Simon (2005) « Les origines des Français », in *Histoires de familles, histoires familiales. Les résultats de l'enquête Famille de 1999*, C.Lefèvre et A.Filhon (Dir.), Les Cahiers de l'INED, n° 156, p.425-442

results. The proportion of mixed couples among the parents of second generation children is higher in France : 55% versus 48% in the U.S.

I.1.b Research studies and reports on Muslim communities and Islamophobia

In France, there are very few serious studies regarding Muslim communities or Islamophobia. You will find hereafter a selection of the most recent reliable surveys.

Opinion polls

- « Les musulmans et la laïcité » (Muslims and secularism), CSA/Le Parisien/Aujourd'hui en France, phone survey, January 21st 2004, quotas, N=402 Muslims.
- « 20^{ème} anniversaire de la Marche pour l'égalité » (20th birthday of the March for equality), TNS Sofres/L'Hebdo des socialistes, 24-26 November 2003, quota, 400 young people aged between 18 and 30 years from Algerian, Moroccan, or Tunisian descent in cities over 10 000.
- « L'orientation politique des Musulmans de France » (Political orientation of Muslims in France), Ifop/Journal du dimanche, April-November 2003, 4 waves, December 10th 2003, 18 years old and more.
- On October 5th 2001, the field institute IFOP realized an opinion poll, ordered by Le Monde and conducted interviews with 940 non Muslim people and 548 people who declared belonging to a Muslim family
- (two previous similar studies were conducted in November 1999 and October 1994).

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Benkirane, R. (2004) *Le désarroi identitaire : jeunesse, islamité et arabité contemporaines*, préface par Salah Stétié, Paris : Editions du Cerf.

Bouzar, D. (2004) *Monsieur Islam" n'existe pas : pour une désislamisation des débats*, Paris : Hachette littérature

Collectif contre l'Islamophobie en France, (2004) *Rapport d'étape du CCIF sur l'islamophobie en France 2003/2004*, Paris : CCIF

<http://www.islamophobie.net/CCIF%20-%20Rapport%20Islamophobie%20en%20France%202003-2004.pdf> (06.05.2005)

Cesari, J. (2004) *L'islam à l'épreuve de l'occident*, Paris : La Découverte

CNCDH (2005) *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie – Rapport d'activité 2004*; Paris: La documentation française

Geisser V.(2003) *La nouvelle islamophobie*, Paris, La Découverte

Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (2000), *L'Islam dans la République*, Paris : HCI

Khosrokhavar, F. (2004), *L'Islam dans les prisons*, Paris, Balland

Papi, S.(2004) « L'insertion des mosquées dans le tissu religieux local en France: approche juridique et politique » in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger* (2004-09/10) t.120:n°5, pp.1339-1353

Sarkozy, N. (2004) *La République, les religions, l'espérance : entretiens avec Thibaud Collin et Philippe Verdin*, Paris : Editions du Cerf

Tribalat, M (2004) « Une estimation des populations d'origine étrangère en France en 1999 » in *Population*, vol.59, n°1, pp.51-82.

PhD

Kakpo N., thèse pour le doctorat de sociologie de l'Université Paris 8, sous la direction d'Edmond Préteceille, le lundi 29 novembre 2004, « Jeunes issus de l'immigration et islam. Famille, école, travail et identifications religieuses»

Venel, N. (2004) *Musulmans et citoyens - préface de Malek Chebel – postface de Frédéric Sawicki.*, Paris : Presses universitaires de France.

Other reports

We can point here at the report of the « Direction Générale des Renseignements Généraux » regarding communitarian recess in France, which analyses some districts where behaviours, violence, religious practices, relationships between men and women move away from allowed social practices. In this report, 630 districts are analysed and 300 are considered as presenting signs of communitarian recess.⁶

International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF), (March 2005) *Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims in the EU Developments since September 11*, data regarding France are pp. 60-74.

⁶ Smola, P ; (2004) « Les RG constatent un phénomène de repli communautaire dans la moitié des quartiers sensibles surveillés », in : *Le Monde*, (05.07.2005)

1.2 Legislation affecting the Muslim community

1.2.a Specific legislation or significant policies in place on religiously aggravated crimes

The Law for the Adaptation of Justice to the new forms of Criminality (Perben 2)

The Law for the Adaptation of Justice to the new forms of Criminality (Perben 2) has been adopted on March 16th, 2004⁷. It extends from three months to one year the time limit to prosecute racists statements and aggravates the sanctions related to racist violence. The reinforcement of the anti-discrimination penal regime appears in Chapter IV of the Law, entitled “Dispositions concerning the fight against discrimination” (articles 38 to 45) and addresses 4 main issues:

- 1) The delay to prosecute racist statements (insult, defamation, incitement to hatred, discrimination and violence) as well as revisionist affirmations is extended from three months to one year. This reform was claimed for many years by NGOs in order to facilitate, amongst others, the indictment of websites that disseminate explicit racist, anti-Semitic and xenophobic messages in quasi-impunity. The law does not however address the offence of “apology of crimes against humanity”.
- 2) Sanctions incurred in relation to the offence of discrimination are increased to a maximum of three years imprisonment and a 45 000 € fine (article 225-2). In addition, the law creates an aggravating factor in relation to discriminatory refusal to sell or give access to a public place (discos, shops, public services etc...), sanctioned by a maximum of 5 years imprisonment and a 75 000 € fine. The same sentence is applicable to discriminations enacted in public services (article 432-7 Penal Code).
- 3) The aggravating factor related to racist and homophobic motive is extended to death threats, theft and extortion. This reform completes the list established by the Law of February 3rd, 2003 in relation to sentences applicable to crimes committed with a racist, anti-Semitic or xenophobic motive.
- 4) The list of infractions for which anti-racist NGOs have the right to act in courts is enlarged, subject to the consent of the victim.

⁷ France / Loi n° 2004-204 du 9 mars 2004 portant adaptation de la justice aux évolutions de la criminalité (10.03.2004) (published in JORF n°59 du 10 mars 2004 p. 4567)
<http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/WAspad/UnTexteDeJorf?numjo=JUSX0300028L>
(03.05.2005)

Administrative instruction regarding the protection of cemeteries and burial places.

On January 11th, 2005, with the goal of implementing the fight against racism and discrimination, the Home Office has addressed an administrative instruction addressed to the Prefects of each Department⁸ regarding the protection of cemeteries and burial places. The Minister asked the Prefects to reinforce the watch of cemeteries, which are the most exposed to the risks of desecration, by the police forces or by video watch. The administrative instruction also recalls the penal device:

- The article 225-17 of the Penal Code sanctions by a maximum of one year imprisonment and 15.000 € fine violations of the respect due to dead persons.
- The article 225-18 of the Penal Code lays out that, when the attacks defined in article 225-17 are made because of the true or supposed belonging or not belonging of the dead person to an ethnic group, a nation, a race or a religion, the sanctions are increased to a maximum of three years imprisonment and 45.000 € fine.
- The law n° 2003-88 (03.02.2003), aiming at reinforcing the sanctions punishing the offences with racist, anti-Semitic or xenophobe characters, stipulates that the destruction, damage or deterioration of property belonging to others is worsened by the two following circumstances: -
 - o when the acts are intended against a worship place
 - o when the acts are intended because of the belonging or non-belonging, true or supposed, of the dead person to an ethnic group, a nation, a race or a religion

1.2.b Existing Legislation regarding headscarves, religious practices and mosques

In France, the Home Office is in charge of the cults according to the Law of December 9th 1905 which states the separation of Church and State.

In accordance with this principle, religious practice should be developed in the private sphere. Public manifestations of religious affiliation are considered to jeopardize the unity of the French people and to create divisions within French society. In recent decades, the growing visibility of Islam in French society has reactivated the debates about the definition of boundaries between the public and private sphere and the limits of the respect of religious freedom. For some

⁸ France / Circulaire n° NOR/INT/05/00008/C du 11 janvier 2005 sur la protection des cimetières et des lieux de sépulture. (11.05.2005)
http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/rubriques/b/b5_lois_decrets/05-00008/INTD0500008C.pdf
(03.05.2005)

years, the French public authorities have started a dialog with the main Muslim federations in order to improve the conditions of Islamic practices. In 2003, was created the “Conseil français du culte musulman (CFCM - French Council of the Muslim Cult) was created on the behalf of the Home Office (see point I.3.d below).

The Foundation for the works of Islam

In France the Muslim cult encounters two main difficulties:

- The number of worship places is too small in comparison with the size of the community (1.685 versus 2.500 in Germany where the Muslim population is slightly less important, around three millions) and 20% of these places are not well suited for religious offices.
- There is no university training for the imams and 30% of them do not speak French (there are 1.200 imams officially registered by the Home Office, most of them come from Egypt and the Gulf countries)

As the 1905 Law does not enable the State to finance religious cults, the Home Office has made a proposal to create an ad hoc legal tool to raise funds for the Muslim cult and improve the conditions of religious practices.

On March 20th 2005, Dominique de Villepin, Home Office Minister, proposed to the “Conseil français du culte musulman”, the creation of a foundation for the works of Islam in France (Fondation pour les oeuvres de l’Islam en France)⁹. According to him it is "the best legal tool to make possible the building of a true Islam of France". On the following day, the minister met the four presidents of the major Muslim federations (GMP, FNMF, UOIF and CCMTF – see point I.4 below), who signed, as founders, the standard status for the creation of the foundation, which will be a private institution financed by private donations and whose financial management will be ensured by the “Caisse des Dépôts” (a major public financial institution).

The funds collected by the foundation will allow for mosques building and French imams training

Before the effective creation by the Foundation of a specific training for French imams, the Home Office decided, in February 2005, to set up a training in French to improve the language competencies of the imams to quickly learn French. The Prefects, in connection with the Regional Councils of the Muslim Worship (CRCM) and with the financial support of the FASILD (Fonds d’Action Social pour l’Intégration et la Lutte contre les Discriminations), supported, in all regions, French training courses to the imams. The formation is modulated according to the level of the imams, which is evaluated at the beginning of the training course. The length of the formations ranges between 300 and 600 hours. At the end of the course, a degree sanctions the ability of the Imam in French.¹⁰

⁹Official statement of the Home Office (21.03.2005)
http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/rubriques/c/c2_le_ministere/c21_actuallite/2005_03_21_CF_CM (04.05.2005)

¹⁰ Official statement of the Home Office (09.02.2005)

Legislation regarding Aïd el Kebir

In France, slaughter is considered as a technical act which has to be practised in a slaughter-house. These houses are the only legal place for animals slaughter, even if it takes place in rituals or specific festive. The slaughter of animals is regulated by articles 7 to 12 of the decree n°80-791 of October 1st 1980 and by the decree n°81-606 of May 18th 1981 modifying articles 10 and 11 of the previous decree and regarding the practice of the Jewish and Muslim ritual slaughter.

The decree n°97-903 of October 1st 1997 which transposes directive 93/119/CE of December 22nd 1993 on the protection of animals during their slaughter states that the ritual slaughter can be carried out only by a competent sacrificer, proposed by a religious organization (Mosque of Paris, Lyon and Evry), which is approved by the State. Article 13 of the decree provides that if no religious organisation has been approved, the Prefect of the department in which the slaughter takes place, can grant individual authorisations on the basis of a grounded request by the interested parties. The insufficient number and the localisation of slaughter-houses compared to the significant number of requests for ritual slaughters by the Muslims at the time of Aïd, did not make it possible to respect the obligation imposed by law. A solution had been tested until 2001: the authorization to use irregular sites (such as hangars) for the purpose of ritual slaughter. The sacrifices were carried out in the presence of the veterinary and state appointed services. Competent sacrificers as well as a limited predefined staff were also present and took care of the good implementation of the acts. Four points were scrupulously respected on each site: public order, human health, animal protection and environmental protection. This type of site was made available, in a variable number according to each department, from 1992 to 2001. However the State was regularly condemned to pay fines because of these exemptions, under the pressure of animal protection associations which lodge complaints with the Administrative Courts.

An administrative instruction of the Home Office and the Ministry for Agriculture on December 10th 2001 points out the provisions of the decree n°97-903 which prohibits the ritual slaughter apart from a slaughter-house. This circular also specifies that no deviant site is authorized for 2002. This decision follows up a decree of the Conseil d'Etat of October 2001 which "*excludes any possibility of using any sites deviating from the rules defined by the decree of 1997*" (our translation) Thus, Muslim families which went to these exceptional sites are since 2002 confronted with the anarchistic situation of before 1992, reinforced by the closing of some slaughter-houses.¹¹

http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/rubriques/a/a5_communiqués/2005_02_09_formation_imams (04.05.2005)

¹¹ For more detailed information, see ORIV website: <http://www.oriv-alsace.org/pages1/3-prod/ficheislamonzaidreglementaire.pdf> (09.05.2005)

The Law on the application of the principle of secularism in public schools

The Law on the application of the principle of secularism in public schools (not universities) has been adopted on March 15th, 2004 and published on March 17th, 2004)¹².

It forbids "...in public elementary, secondary and high schools, the wearing of signs or clothes by which a student ostensibly manifests his or her religious beliefs" (our translation). Discreet religious signs remain authorized. The law further instructs each school to adopt in-house regulations for the school year 2004-2005, in order to set up internal procedures to manage the enforcement of the law by a process of mediation and dialogue with the students, followed by, ultimately, disciplinary proceedings. In view of the debates raised by this new law, the text itself calls for an evaluation of the results of its enforcement in September 2005.

The administrative instruction of May 18th, 2004, on the conditions of enforcement of the above mentioned law, which has been redrafted three times, was published on May 22nd, 2004¹³.

It states that "the prohibited signs and clothes are those by which one is immediately identified by one's religious beliefs such as Islamic Headscarf, whatever the word by which it is designated, Jewish skullcap or a cross of manifest excessive dimension." (our translation). However, it emphasises the necessity of organising a genuine mediation procedure with professional support in order to limit disciplinary sanctions to cases of deliberate refusal by the student to abide by law.

According to the Ministry of Education, in the academic year 2003-2004, 1200 young girls came to school on the first day of class wearing the Islamic headscarf¹⁴. Although the numbers are not yet available, the Minister of Education declared that after a proper mediation, the number of girls refusing to take off their headscarf on the school premises was substantially inferior to those of the previous year.

In parallel, with the aim to implement the principle of secularism the Home Office adopted an administrative instruction addressed to the Prefects of each Department¹⁵ reiterating that secularism implies the respect of a balance

¹² France / Loi n° 2004-228 du 15 mars 2004 encadrant, en application du principe de laïcité, le port de signes ou de tenues manifestant une appartenance religieuse dans les écoles, collèges et lycées publics (17.03.2004) (published in JORF n° 65 du 17 mars 2004, p. 5,190)

¹³ France / Circulaire du 18 mai 2004 relative à la mise en oeuvre de la loi n° 2004-228 du 15 mars 2004 encadrant, en application du principe de laïcité, le port de signes ou de tenues manifestant une appartenance religieuse dans les écoles, collèges et lycées publics (published in JORF n° 118 du 22 mai 2004, p. 9,033)
www.education.gouv.fr/bo/2004/21/MENG0401138C.htm (03.05.2005)

¹⁴ Libération « Un lendemain de rentrée calme sur le front du voile » (03.09.2004)

¹⁵ France / Circulaire N° NOR/INT/A/04/00086/C relative au respect de la laïcité et à la prévention des manifestations d'intolérance religieuse

between freedom of religion and the separation of religious institutions from public institutions. It stresses that the action of the State in the present context must aim at the prevention of expressions of intolerance towards religious communities, but equally at protecting individuals against violence of all sorts, whether or not they are committed to these communities. The Prefects are instructed, before the beginning of the school year 2004-2005 and in collaboration with the Regional Inspector of Education (*Inspecteur d'académie*), to make their best to communicate with the representatives of each religion in order to prepare all necessary measures of information, prevention and mediation.

I.2.c Specific data protection legislation and existing policies regarding religious minorities

Regarding more specifically data protection, the amendment, in August 2004, of the 1978 Law on “freedom and data computing” (due to the transposition of the European Directive of 1995) states in Chapter 2, Section 2 “Provisions specific to certain categories of data” article 8 that “*it is forbidden to collect or disseminate data which reveal, directly or indirectly, racial or ethnic origins, political, philosophical or religious opinions, trade-union membership of the individual, or are related to the health or the sexual preferences*” (our translation)¹⁶. The general interpretation of this provision is that it prohibits the collection of data on religion, race or ethnicity. France is very strict about religious data protection as religion is considered as part of a person’s “private” life. Recently, the CNIL (Data protection body: Commission Nationale Informatique et Liberté) has engaged a revision of its doctrine regarding sensitive data, and some evolution of the legal framework is expected to meet the need of statistical information on discriminations, including on religious discrimination. In any way, nevertheless, one could expect the introduction of a religion question in the census, as it has been made in UK for the 2001 census.

In France there are no specific data protecting legislations and a policy regarding religious minorities since the very notion of “minority” is not relevant in the French political and legal framework (the universalistic values of the republican model). France has refused to sign the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the European Council. As a result, Muslims are not considered as a minority and are not protected as such. Nevertheless, individuals of islamic beliefs should not be hindered in their rights and

¹⁶ France / Loi n° 2004-801 du 6 août 2004 relative à la protection des personnes physiques à l'égard des traitements de données à caractère personnel et modifiant la loi n° 78-17 du 6 janvier 1978 relative à l'informatique, aux fichiers et aux libertés (07.08.2004) (published in JORF n° 182 du 7 août 2004, p.14,063)
<http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/WAspad/UnTexteDeJorf?numjo=JUSX0100026L>
(05.05.2005)

opportunities. In the 1789 Declaration of Human rights (Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen), which is included in the Constitution of the 5th Republic, article 10 states that “*no one should be worried for its opinions, even religious, provided that their expression does not disturb the legal public order*” (our translation)¹⁷. Moreover, the Law of December 9th 1905, regarding the separation of Church and State, states in article 1 that “*the Republic ensures the freedom of conscience. It guarantees the free exercise of worship under the only restrictions enacted hereafter in the interest of law and order*” (our translation)¹⁸.

I.2.d Statutory bodies designed to counter Islamophobia

In France there is no statutory body specifically in charge of countering Islamophobia. Nevertheless there are two statutory bodies which have the mission to study and fight discriminations in general: the CNCDH (Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l'Homme) and the HALDE (Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discrimination et pour l'Egalité).

The Haute Autorité de lutte contre les discriminations et pour l'égalité

The HALDE is an independent administrative body competent for all discriminations, direct and indirect, that are forbidden by the laws of the Republic or “by an international engagement ratified by France”, which allows it to adapt to future legal evolutions. It will cover discrimination on the grounds of actual or supposed race or origin, sex, handicap, age, health, religion, sexual orientation, opinions, appearance, union activities, in all domains regulated by law.

Its decisional structure comprises a college of eleven members designated by the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Presidents of the two Assemblies, the president of the Conseil Economique et Social, by the vice-president of the Conseil d'Etat and the first president of the Cour d'Appel. This college will set up an advisory committee associating qualified personalities to its work. Lastly, the HALDE will dispose of some administrative services and some territorial delegations. On March 3rd 2005, the President of the Republic appointed Louis Schweitzer, former chairman of Renault, to the post of President of the HALDE.

The HALDE has two main missions: treatment of cases of discrimination and actions promoting equality.

¹⁷ Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen du 26 août 1789 – Constitution de la Cinquième République.

<http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/textes/d1789.htm> (05.05.2005)

¹⁸ France / Loi du 11 décembre 1905 concernant la séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat – version consolidées au 22 juin 2000.

<http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/texteconsolide/MCEBW.htm> (05.05.2005)

The HALDE has competence to investigate on the basis of individual and collective complaints, whether the investigation is initiated of its own accord or by written demand of the claimant. Its investigative powers allow it to request explanations from any public or private person, including communication of documents and hearing of relevant witnesses. In case of non compliance, the law proposes that it be in a position to request a court order. It may also ask that all required investigations be effected by any service of the state and may proceed to visits in all non private premises after due notice and consent of the owner.

When in presence of a criminal offence, it will transmit the claim to the penal courts. Otherwise it may offer mediation to the parties or complete the investigation, in which case it will issue its conclusions and recommendations to the parties who will have a certain delay to comply. In case of non compliance, the HALDE will have the power to call public attention to its recommendations. In addition, it may alert the relevant authorities in cases that call for disciplinary sanctions against the respondent.

The HALDE has also been conceived as an auxiliary of Justice. The law creates the possibility for the criminal, civil and administrative courts to seek its observations in cases under adjudication. In addition, the HALDE will have the possibility to seek permission to submit its observations in criminal matters.

The second mission of the HALDE will be to ensure the promotion of equality, by conducting studies and research, by promoting initiatives of public or private organizations on this subject. It will also have to identify and recognize good professional practices regarding equality.

Lastly, the HALDE will be able to recommend legislative or lawful modifications and will be consulted by the government on texts or questions concerning the fight against discriminations or the promotion of equality

The Commission Nationale Consultative des droits de l'Homme

The CNCDH has been entrusted (under the terms of article 2 of the law No. 90-165 of July 13, 1990) with the presentation to the government of an annual report on the fight against racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia in France. These reports have been published since 1990. The CNCDH compiles and publishes statistics on racist and anti-Semitic acts and threats. The statistics are presented by type and by geographic region for the entire French territory (with the exception of the overseas territories). The statistics determine the victims profile, as well as the profile of offenders arrested by the police and gendarmerie. The CNCDH analyses these statistics in its annual report and comments trends over several years. The report also includes statistics on sentences pronounced by the courts.

In addition, the CNCDH carries out thematic studies (e.g. racism on Internet, discrimination, "Islamophobia", anti-Semitism, etc.) of which summaries are published in the annual report. Furthermore, the report includes a synopsis of undertakings and measures adopted by specialised associations, trade unions and the public authorities. Lastly, every year (except 2000) it polls French

opinion on all issues of racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, immigration and religion.

I.3 Strategies and activities concerning Muslim communities

I.3.a Definition of Islamophobia in France

The term “Islamophobia should be used with care, as it is controversial. The public opinion perceives most acts of Islamophobia as equivalents to “anti-North African” or “anti-Arab” racism, as most victims of these acts are of North African origin. Certain observers just see it as a semantic shift to designate ancient forms of racism and discrimination, their religion being the latest stigma for characterising/naming the “otherness” of immigrants.¹⁹ The League of Human Rights object to this term, as they believe that it masks the problems of segregation that people of North African origin suffer from in France.²⁰ For the MRAP (Movement Against Racism and for Friendship between Peoples), Islamophobia is “a fear of Islam” that is a modern extension of classical anti-Arab racism.²¹

In a way one can draw a parallel between the debate on the rise of a specific “islamophobia” on the one side, amalgamating Islam, Islamic fundamentalism, and terrorism, and the debate about the “new judeophobia”, as defined by Pierre-André Taguieff, based on radical anti Zionism, presenting Israel as the absolute evil, on the other side.²² In both cases, the international context (Iraq, Middle East conflict, September 11 terrorist attack) weighs heavily on the perception of the concerned minorities. Many French anti racist organisations prefer to use the less confusing term of “anti-Muslim” acts, designating violence against individuals or their belongings because of their identity, practise, actual or alleged belonging to the Muslim faith.

Even though they object to the term “Islamophobia”, the CNCDH²³ has in its two last reports discussed the issue of “Intolerance and acts of violence against Islam in French society”.²⁴ In 2004 a summary, written by the subcommittee (of

¹⁹ CNCDH, 2004, *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport d'activité 2003, La documentation française, 650 p.

²⁰ CNCDH, 2004, *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport d'activité 2003, La documentation française, 650 p.,

²¹ Mouloud Aounit, entretien, in *Différences*, revue trimestrielle du Mrap, n°247, juillet 2003.

²² Pierre-André Taguieff, *La nouvelle judéophobie*, Paris, Mille et Une Nuits, 2002.

²³ CNCDH, 2004, *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport d'activité 2003, La documentation française, pp 217-230.

²⁴ CNCDH, 2004, *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport d'activité 2003, La Documentation française, Chapitre 6, pp 217-230 (PUBFR1248). The MRAP initiated a reflection and action programme against Islamophobia in 2003 continued in 2004. On September 20th, 2003, the MRAP organized a colloquium at the Senate with the participation of experts of the Arab and Muslim world. It published a report on this issue and on extremist movements on the Internet.

the CNCDH) on “Racism and Xenophobia”, defined “Islamophobia” as **an overall negative attitude towards Islam and Muslim people**. The study furthermore presented the points of view of a number of key figures interviewed on this issue, an analysis by the CEVIPOF (N. Mayer, G. Michelat) of French public opinion on Islam, as well as the written contributions of the members of the CNCDH. The aim of the study was to inform the public and the authorities about **this specific form of racism**, by making a first assessment of the problem and by suggesting how to improve the situation. Although there is a rise of specifically anti Islam and anti Muslim violence (aggressions, damage against mosques and Muslim graves, islamophobic publications (see section II), the last two opinion polls for the CNCDH²⁵ show that opinions are more complex. Islam has the worse image of all religions, with 22% of the sample saying it evokes for them “something positive” in 2004 (versus 30% in 2003). Yet a large and growing majority considers French Muslims are as French as anybody (77%), defend their rights to practise their religion and more strongly than ever condemn the anti Muslim violence.

I.3.b Initiatives by Public Power and Organisations regarding integration of Muslim communities

Integration of Muslim communities

At the third meeting of the Interministerial Committee for the Fight against Racism and anti-Semitism (see point I.3.c below) on March 18th 2004, the Prime Minister emphasised the fact that no confusion should be made between the criminal authors of the bomb attacks in Madrid and French Muslims.

The many obstacles that are put in the way of Muslims who wish to build mosques show that the public authorities (and especially local representatives afraid of shocking their voters) don't want Islam to be too visible in French society. The Muslim faith has not been given the same possibilities of worship and religious expression as the other religions.²⁶ Numerous academics and intellectuals have suggested various measures that could be taken by the public authorities in order to treat the Muslim faith equally and make Islam more visible in French society²⁷: the possibility to get leave in order to be able to celebrate Muslim holidays, demolishing the fences around the Muslim sections of cemeteries, more places to carry out ritual slaughters, the possibility to get pork free meals in canteens and cafeterias, developing the presence of chaplains in hospitals, prisons (see Khoroskhavar, 2004), and the army.

²⁵Poll carried out by the CNCDH between November 24th and December 5th 2003 and 22-26 November 2004 on a sample of over 1000 representative the population living in France (aged over 18).

²⁶ CNCDH, 2004. *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport d'activité 2003, La documentation française, 650 p., (PUBFR1248)

²⁷ "La République et ses immigrés, l'exigence laïque du respect mutuel", Yamina Benguigui, Henri Rena-Ruiz, *Le Monde diplomatique*, janvier 2002, p 4-5.

Each year, the Ministry of Civil Service makes a list of the main religious holidays (including Muslim ones) on the basis of which believers can ask for exceptional holidays.²⁸ If the same calendar was used in the private sector, it would be a major advance.²⁹ Also, the prefects should inform religious Muslim organisations on the Law of 1905 and the advantages they could draw from having a specific status as a religious organisation³⁰ instead of a status of ordinary voluntary association (law of 1901) which is the case of most Muslim organisations. Furthermore, the Home Office should create a method to identify systematically and count anti-Muslim acts, just as anti-Semitic acts.

The CFCM (and its local committees) was created in 2003 under the aegis of the Home Office to give an official representation of Islam taking into account the diversity of the community, and also to be able to discuss policies with recognized representatives. Since then some groups have tried to gain a political recognition of Muslims. That is notably the case of the new Council of Democratic Muslims in France, created in October 2003, that has signed a commitment to the Republic and its values, as well as the French Council of Secular Muslims created in May 2003.³¹

Inter-Faith dialogue

In April 2004, a series of attacks on Muslim institutions and property was carried out in Strasbourg. In a joint statement, representatives of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religions in Alsace expressed indignation over the escalation in aggressive acts against the Muslim community in Strasbourg and expressed their solidarity with the Muslim leaders of the region. And on May 6th 2004, an ecumenical celebration was organised in Alsace, after the desecration of Jewish and Christian cemeteries. Representatives of the four main French monotheist religions (Catholic, Protestant, Muslim and Jewish) attended the celebration.

In order to promote initiatives of dialogue and meeting between cultural and religious communities having for objective to reinforce social cohesion, mutual respect, tolerance and better comprehension, The regional Council of Alsace financially supports intercultural or/and inter-religious initiatives led by associations, local communities and religious confessions. In order to be eligible, initiatives can take various forms: cultural, festive events, meetings on

²⁸ France / Circulaire PF/7 n° 2034 du 16 octobre 2002 de J.P. Delevoy, ministre de la Fonction Publique.

²⁹ Among these advantages, one finds exemptions from council and property taxes, tax exemptions at the reception of donations and legacies, and tax exemptions for donors, in CNCDH, 2004. *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport d'activité 2003, La documentation française, 650 p

³⁰ Ces avantages comprennent des exonérations de la taxe d'habitation, de la taxe foncière pour les locaux, réceptions des dons et legs exonérées de taxe, exonérations fiscales pour les personnes consentant à des dons manuels, in CNCDH, 2003. *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport d'activité, La documentation française, p ?.

³¹ CNCDH, 2004. *La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport d'activité 2003, La documentation française, 650 p

various topics, charitable or humanitarian actions, training courses... The projects must associate at least three of the main religions present in Alsace: Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Muslim. The initiatives selected by the Regional Council will receive 1,500 Euros.³²

Religious education and Muslim schools

Public schools are strictly secular in France and do not offer any religious instruction (except in Alsace-Lorraine ruled by a special system, the Concordat), although religious facts are taught as part of the history curriculum. Many Muslims reportedly consider it important that information about contributions of Islam be better integrated into the teaching in public schools. Furthermore, the lack of knowledge of Islam is a factor that leads to rejection and acceptance of stereotypes. In order to counter these very negative representations of Islam, a revision of the contents of schoolbooks on the history of religions should be made, and information campaigns and inter-religious meetings should be organized.

About 17% of all students at the primary and secondary levels attend private schools. Most private schools hold contracts with the State, the state providing subsidies on condition that the schools comply with a nationally approved curriculum. There is one private Muslim school that has had a contract with the State for more than a decade, while another one was approved for a three-year trial period in 2001. An increasing number of Muslim students attend private Catholic schools, and in some areas with a high concentration of Muslims, up to 70% of the students in such schools are Muslims.

1.3.c Institutional monitoring and existing mechanisms to assess, report and review the effectiveness of all measures taken by the authorities

In France, there are no institutional monitoring or mechanisms specifically devoted to assess, report and review the effectiveness of the measures taken by authorities for the purpose of combating intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. Nevertheless, we can mention in this report three structures: the HALDE, the CNCDH (see point 1.2.d above) and the Interministerial Committee for the Fight against Racism and anti-Semitism. Established by the Order in Council of December 3rd 2003, this committee has been entrusted with the following tasks: defining the orientations of the policies to fight racism and anti-Semitism; surveying the coherence and the efficiency of preventive and repressive actions; establishing a programme of actions. It held its first meeting on December 9th 2003 and immediately decided to prepare a 'Republican

³² http://www.region-alsace.fr/V2001/alsace/cdr_flash.htm (09.05.2005)

Booklet' and a monitoring system of audiovisual broadcasts that contain racist or anti-Semitic remarks.

On January 27th 2004 the second meeting of the Interministerial Committee for the Fight Against Racism and Anti-Semitism was held at Matignon. The Minister of Justice insisted on the necessity to address the problems related to ethnic relations in penitentiaries as well as the need for the presence of chaplains of all confessions. France should have its first Muslim national chaplain for French prisons. Until now it only had regional ones (77, compared with 513 catholic ones). The Interministerial Committee met for the third time on March 18th, 2004. This meeting concentrated particularly on the means to fight against the diffusion of racist and anti-Semitic ideas spreading via the Internet and the decision was taken to organize an international conference on this theme in Paris on June 16th and 17th 2004. At the fourth meeting of the Interministerial Committee Against Racism and Anti-Semitism on May 3rd, 2004, the Prime Minister met with the Chief Rabbi of France and the President of the French Council of Muslim Faith.

1.3.c Official channels of communication with the Muslim community

While the country's Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities have had formal representative bodies for a long time, a body representing the French Muslim community was only recently established. After a decade of negotiations, the government and the leaders of three major Muslim associations – UOIF, FNMF and the Mosque of Paris – eventually reached an agreement in December 2002 to create the French Council of the Muslim Religion (CFCM)³³. The CFCM comprises an 18-member board, a 64-member administrative council and a 197-member general assembly, the members of which are partly appointed and partly elected by indirect suffrage (by 4,032 representatives designated by 995 French mosques or worship places). The role of the CFCM is to serve as a negotiation partner for the government on issues related to the practice of Islam in France, including the construction of mosques, the management of Muslim sections in public cemeteries, the training of imams and ritual slaughter³⁴.

³³ Ministère de l'Intérieur – protocole d'accord du 12 décembre 2002
http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/rubriques/c/c2_le_ministere/c21_actuelite/2002_12_16_pr otocolmusulman (09.05.2005)

Ternisien, X. (2002) « Les participants à la consultation sur l'Islam réunis pour deux jours dans l'Essonne » in : *Le Monde* (20.12.2002)

Ternisien, X. (2002) « Accord sur la composition du futur Conseil du culte musulman » in : *Le Monde* (21.12.2002)

³⁴ For more details see ORIV website <http://www.oriv-alsace.org/pages1/3-prod/ficheislamseptcfcml.pdf> (09.05.2005)

In the first elections to the CFCM, which were held in April 2004, some 4,000 representatives elected the members of the general assembly, the administrative council and 25 regional bodies. The UOIF did better than expected by winning 14 seats on the administrative council. The traditionally oriented FNMF won 16 seats, while the more liberally oriented Mosque of Paris won only 6 seats³⁵. However the position as chair of the administrative council went to the rector of the Mosque of Paris, Dalil Boubakeur, as previously agreed. Some Muslim leaders have criticized the CFCM for having a non-democratic structure since smaller Muslim organizations are not represented and since part of its administrative council is not elected.³⁶ Already several members have resigned (Mrs Betoule Fekkar-Lambiotte, and then Mrs. Dounia Bouzar) and the second elections have been postponed.

I.4 Muslim organisations

Due to the law of 1905 on the separation of Church and State, most French Muslim organisations have been created on the basis of the Law of 1901 on voluntary associations, thus not separating their religious activities from their social and cultural activities. They were personal initiatives and many of them are under the influence of their founders countries of origin. There are federations, movements or groups of brotherhoods. Their diversity makes it difficult to hold a single representation of French Muslims.

UOIF – Union of Islamic Organisations of France

UOIF was founded in 1983 and gathers more than 200 associations distributed over all the French territory. In accordance with its status, these associations constitute the General Assembly, which is the highest authority of the UOIF, and they meet each year. These annual meetings take place in Le Bourget, they gather twenty to thirty thousand people. For a few years they have been very much covered by media and when he was the Home Office Minister in 2003, Nicolas Sarkozy attended the 20th annual meeting of the UOIF.

UOIF aims at fulfilling the worship, cultural, educational, social and humanitarians needs of French Muslims. Among its various activities we can quote: financial and legal assistance to the acquisition of decent places of worship; organisation of conferences, meetings, theological seminars; the edition of documents and the diffusion of information meant to help Muslims in their religious practice such as the annual calendar with the prayers schedule.

³⁵ Ternisien, X. (2003) « Défaite de la Mosquée de Paris au scrutin pour le Conseil musulman » in : *Le Monde* (15.04.2003)

³⁶ Ternisien, X. (2003) « Le premier Conseil français du culte musulman élit son bureau » in : *Le Monde* (04.05.2003)

UOIF's three most important plans for the future are: to edit a newspaper, to ensure a policy of self-financing, to work for the representativeness of Muslim organisations.

UOIF advocates a strictly conservative interpretation of Islam and has been suspected of links with the international Muslim Brotherhood movement. Its impact is growing stronger. UOIF website: <http://www.uoif-online.com/index.php> (06.05.2005)

FNFM – National Federation of the Muslims of France

FNFM was founded in 1985 in opposition to the Mosque of Paris considered to be too dependent on Algeria. It brings together associations with a strong Moroccan or Turkish presence. Its influence is fluctuating. Like UOIF it is tradition oriented, but it is less known.

The Mosque of Paris

Built after the World War One in recognition for the contribution of the Muslim soldiers fallen for France, its legal status links it with the Algerian government which makes it dependent on Algeria. The members of the Islamic Institute of the Mosque are Algerian civil servants. With Sheik Abbas who was the vice-chancellor between 1983 to 1989, it has taken an important place in France. Many places of worship and mosques in France refer to it. It favours the insertion of Muslims in the French society and seeks the support of the public authorities. For several years, its influence has been declining compared to the past.

The Tabligh

It is a movement founded in 1927 in India, by Muhamad Ilyas. It is the greatest missionary movement of Islam. Its proselytism consists in making door-to-door propaganda in order to bring back the Muslims to the religious practice. It defends strictly religious objectives and does not engage in politics. Since 1985, the association is placed under the authority of an advisory council of four members. The movement is very centralized: its European HQ is in England, in Dewsbury, and the “emir” of this country has authority on the European zone. The supreme chief of Tabligh still is the emir of India, the successor of Muhammad Ilyas.

In France, since 1968, this movement has been strongly engaged in Seine-Saint-Denis (suburbs of Paris), in the North, in Marseille and Mulhouse, through the association managing the Koba mosque. It played a dominating part in the re-islamisation of immigrants from popular districts, parents and young people.

Foamed Khedimellah³⁷, researcher in EHESS and specialist in Tabligh, notes that the movement allowed many young Muslims in social difficulties to recover their dignity. In France, Tabligh acquired a legal existence in 1972, under the name of “Association Faith and Practice” and in the 90’s it split from the Tabligh wa dawa. Presently its influence in the suburbs seems to be taken over by the Salafist movement, pleading for a more rigorist Islam.

Associations of young Muslims

Union of the young Muslims of France (U.J.M.), Young Muslims of France (J.M.F.), Muslims Students of France (E.M.F.) were born during these ten last years from the will of young Muslims to find an expression of their desire to be at the same time Muslims and members of the French society. The majority of these young people is French, was born in France and intends to play a part in the management of the country. They defined themselves as "French but also Muslim". Their links with U.O.I.F., the Teaching League, and some members of the Catholic Church are well-known. Their religious references are very marked. They are in search for a fidelity to Islam. Tarek Ramadan and Tarek Aubrou are currently their intellectual (and very controversial) guides. Among them, we find executives, professors, researchers. They are militants, involved in social and cultural activities. Many young people of the suburbs and popular districts follow them.

UJM website: <http://ujm.free.fr/> (06.05.2005)

³⁷ Khedimellah, M. (2001) “Jeunes prédicateurs du mouvement tabligh. La dignité identitaire retrouvée par le pluralisme religieux » in : *Revue socio-anthropologique*, N°10 – septembre – octobre 2001, pp.5-18

II. Manifestations of Islamophobia

Intolerance against Muslims has reportedly been on the rise in France in recent years. This development has taken place in a political climate where there have been growing concerns about criminality and violence in disadvantaged suburbs hosting a large number of Muslims and where “communitarianism” in the sense of closing up on one’s group, having a stronger commitment to one’s religion and culture than to the country where one lives, has become more pronounced. The last survey for the CNCDH³⁸ shows that 47% of the sample thinks French Muslims consider themselves as “Muslims above all” and 57% that they form “a group apart”. For the moment, data regarding islamophobic acts for the period January 1st to April 15 2005 are not available but one can outline the trend.

We also would like to underline here that it is very difficult to collect data regarding manifestations of Islamophobia in France, as Islamophobia is not used as a specific category. The CNCDH tries to count anti-Muslims acts by analysing the statistics of the police forces and the court cases, but the collection is not exhaustive and it is imperfect.

Unofficial Data

According to Muslim groups, intolerance against Muslims has developed during the post-September 11 period. As Islam has increasingly been associated with oppression of women, religious fundamentalism and terrorism in public debate, Muslims have experienced increasing suspicion and distrust in their interactions with members of the majority population. They have also experienced pressure to justify their commitment to republican values, e.g. in the context of job interviews.

A growing number of attacks on Muslims have been observed, ranging from verbal harassment to physical assaults and vandalism. The French Organisation against Islamophobia in France (CCIF: Collectif contre l’islamophobie en France) was established in 2003 to monitor acts of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims (it is a non official organisation). During the period from October 2003 to August 2004, this organisation registered 26 cases of verbal and physical assaults on Muslims, 28 cases of vandalism and attempted arson targeting mosques, and 11 cases of desecration of Muslim graves. Four of the attacks on individual Muslims were considered serious, and over 70% were targeted at Muslim women wearing the headscarf.

³⁸ Between November 22nd and November 26th 2004, the field institute BVA conducted 1,036 face-to-face interviews with people representative of the French population (quota method: gender, age, profession).

In its first monitoring report published in October 2004, the CCIF also listed a considerable number of internet sites considered to spread anti-Muslim propaganda.³⁹

Official Data

For the moment in France there is no specific official data regarding Islamophobia in general. Islamophobic acts and threats are not registered separately (like anti-Semitic acts), they are part of statistics regarding racism in general. In 2004, the Home Office considered the possibility to identify and count anti-Muslim acts separately, just as anti-Semitic acts.

In France, statistical data on racism are collected by the Home Office thanks to the “Direction Centrale des Renseignements Généraux” (DCRG). The method consists in gathering all the data that can be identified by the regional departments of the DCRG. The DCRG collected data which go from attacks to racist graffiti. But the data collected are only based on complaints lodged with the police. Anti-Semitic acts are counted separately, but not anti-Muslims acts. The information is ranked in two categories:

- acts that have serious consequences are defined as “acts” (for example physical aggressions)
- acts that were not particularly prejudicial are defined as “threats” (for example insults).

The data collection is not intended to be exhaustive and some racist acts are not included in the data because victims did not lodge a complaint with the police force.

Nevertheless, on the base of police statistics, the rise in hostility against Muslims has been noted with concern by the Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l’Homme (CNCDH), which highlighted the problem of racism against Muslims in its 2004 annual report⁴⁰. According to Home Office statistics, in 2004, there were 123 violent acts against Muslim people (+ 251% compared to 2003). They represent 21% of the global racist violence in France in 2004 (compared to 15% in 2003 and 12% in 2002).

Anti-Muslims violence for 2004 are reported in Annex below.

³⁹ CCIF (Collectif contre l’Islamophobie en France), (2004) Rapport d’étape du CCIF sur l’islamophobie en France 2003/2004, Paris : CCIF
<http://www.islamophobie.net/CCIF%20-%20Rapport%20Islamophobie%20en%20France%202003-2004.pdf> (06.05.2005)

⁴⁰ CNCDH (2005), La lutte contre le racisme et la xénophobie – Rapport d’activité 2004; Paris: La documentation française.

ANNEX: Anti-Muslims violence in France in 2004.

Non-exhaustive list of the most serious facts, we registered the facts which are clearly against Islam (damage of Mosques, Hallal butchery, desecration of cemeteries...). Sources : Home Office - DCRG.

| Date | Place | Dept | Facts |
|------------|-------------------|------|--|
| 12.01.2004 | Manosque | 04 | Damaged Hallal butcher shop |
| 19.01.2004 | Angers | 49 | Damaged Mosque |
| 15.02.2004 | Pertuis | 84 | Damaged worship place |
| 16.02.2004 | Porto-Vecchio | 2A | Attempted attack against a Hallal butcher shop |
| 22.02.2004 | Vierzon | 18 | Punitive raid organized by high-school pupils against the North African population after a conflict with a pupil from North-African origin |
| 05.03.2004 | Anney | 74 | Two mosques were burnt most probably by the same arsonists. A Celtic cross had been painted on one of them. |
| 11.03.2004 | Comines | 67 | Damaged Mosque |
| 16.03.2004 | Bastia | 2B | Punitive raid organized by 15 high-school pupils against North African pupils coming from another high-school |
| 16.03.2004 | Clichy | 92 | Desecration of six Muslim tombs |
| 24.03.2004 | Clichy | 92 | Desecration of three Muslim tombs |
| 29.03.2004 | Bussy-Vecqueville | 52 | Attempted arson against a worship place |
| 29.03.2004 | Oberhaus Bergen | 67 | Damaged Muslim funeral parlor |
| 31.03.2004 | Creil | 60 | Attempted arson against a Mosque |
| 03.04.2005 | Oberhaus Bergen | 67 | Damaged Muslim funeral parlor |
| 05.04.2004 | Strasbourg | 67 | Five steles (four Muslim ones and a Jewish one) damaged in the military cemetery of Cronembourg |
| 14.04.2004 | Hagenau | 67 | In the night, the Moroccan mosque was covered with racist |

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|----|---|
| | | | inscriptions |
| 20.04.2004 | Strasbourg | 67 | Unidentified persons covered the entrance of the Turkish mosque Eyyub Sultan in the La Meinau neighbourhood of Strasbourg with tags "Death on the Arabs!" and swastikas. |
| 24.04.2004 | Alencon | 61 | Three worship places damaged, one North African Mosque, and one Turkish Mosque |
| 23.05.2004 | Porto-Vecchio | 2A | Damaged Hallal butchery |
| 26.05.2004 | Ile-Rousse | 2B | Aggression of a man who came out of the Mosque |
| 31.05.2004 | Strasbourg | 67 | The home of a member of the Regional Council of Muslim Faith in Alsace was covered with racist inscriptions |
| 09.06.2004 | Marseille | 13 | Three Muslim graves were damaged in the Cannel cemetery |
| 14.06.2004 | Strasbourg | 67 | Three graves in the Muslim part of the Le Meinau cemetery were desecrated. Swastikas and neonazi tags were painted on about fifty graves and on the cemetery wall, alongside with threats against the president of the Regional Council of Islam and the president of the Regional Council of Alsace. |
| 17.06.2004 | Escaudain | 59 | Three gunshots were fired against the Mosque and the walls were covered with racist inscriptions |
| 24.06.2004 | Haguenau | 67 | Around fifty tombs of Muslim soldiers, most of whom were Moroccans who died for the liberation of Alsace in 1944-45, were desecrated. Seven steles were knocked over and 48 others were covered with swastikas, celtic crosses and SS signs, drawn in red paint. The inscription "HVE junior" is a reference to a neo-nazi group founded in 1988. |
| 26.06.2004 | Nanterre | 92 | Xenophobic inscriptions discovered on the walls of the Mosque |
| 18.07.2004 | Lyon | 69 | Damaged office of a Muslim |

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| 06.08.2004 | Strasbourg | 67 | Desecration of fifteen Muslim graves in the military cemetery of Cronembourg |
| 30.08.2004 | Evry | 91 | Aggression of an imam |
| 04.09.2004 | Strasbourg | 67 | Damaged mosque in Cronembourg |
| 03.04.2004 | Villeurbanne | 69 | Damaged mosque in the street of May 8th 1945 |
| 06.10.2004 | Schiltgheim | 67 | Attempted arson of the mosque, references to the American movement "World Church of the Creator" |
| 09.10.2004 | Wattwiller | 68 | Desecration of a Muslim grave in the military cemetery of Wattwiller |
| 16.10.2004 | Chambéry | 73 | Damaged Mosque in Italy street |
| 24.10.2004 | Ile-Rousse | 2A | Damage to the Mosque of the "Union des Marocains de Balagne" |
| 18.11.2004 | Vescovato | 2B | Damaged Hallal butchery |
| 26.11.2004 | Vecqueville | 52 | Damaged worship place |
| 27.11.2004 | Sartene | 2A | Attempted murder of an imam |
| 02.12.2004 | Ajaccio | 2A | Damaged room occupied by three pupils from Muslim origin |
| 16.12.2004 | Mulhouse | 68 | Aggression of a woman wearing the Islamic headscarf |
| 28.12.2004 | Denain | 59 | Aggression of a woman wearing the Islamic headscarf |