REPORT ON THE PREVENTION OF RACISM, ANTI-SEMITISM AND XENOPHOBIA
DEFINITIONS

Anti-Semitism
• Systematically hostile attitude towards Jews, persons perceived to be Jews and/or their religion.

Racial discrimination
• “Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life”. [Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination]

Islamophobia
• Systematically hostile attitude towards Muslims, persons perceived to be Muslims and/or their religion.

Prejudice
• Hastily-reached opinions and preconceptions regarding an individual, or group of individuals, or their way of life, consisting in categorising them without any foundation or knowledge.

Racism
• Ideology predicated on the belief that a hierarchy exists between groups of human beings, termed “races”. By extension, a systematically hostile attitude towards a given category of persons.

Xenophobia
• Systematic hostility manifested towards foreigners and/or persons perceived as being foreigners.
A SURVEY OF RACISM IN FRANCE
The opinion poll commissioned by the CNCDH since 1990 was carried out this year between 4 and 11 January 2016 by the IPSOS polling institute. The results were analysed by researchers Nonna Mayer, Guy Michelat, Vincent Tiberj and Tommaso Vitale.

After a decline in tolerance for four consecutive years, followed by a levelling out in 2014, the longitudinal tolerance index in France rose markedly in 2015 towards greater tolerance.

Evolution of the longitudinal tolerance index (1990 - 2015)

The longitudinal tolerance index was created in 2008 by Vincent Tiberj, a university Professor at the Centre Emile Durkheim de Sciences Po Bordeaux. His goal was to measure trends in French public opinion on diversity in a concise manner using a metric that was comparable over time, starting from 1990.
This general increase in tolerance, which was already perceptible in November 2014 and March 2015, was confirmed during the most recent round of the survey conducted in January 2016 (+ 5 points), and was applicable to all groups, for whom there appears to be greater acceptance. This finding was astonishing to say the least, with the past year not having provided, on the face of it, conditions that would have provided an explanation.

It therefore appears that since the recent spate of attacks, and despite the discourse of certain public figures, French society has refused to lump people together and is accepting of others.

The social psychology of emotions reveals that anxiety-producing situations, such as those created by the attacks, change mental activity, leading to a questioning of ways of thinking and acquired habits, making critical re-examination easier. The high level of non-responses serves to illustrate this alteration in public opinion.

The researchers propose four explanations for this, among others, namely the “Republican” response to the attacks, anti-Front National mobilisation, changes taking place on the right (with a particularly marked increase in tolerance in this segment) and the desire to appear “politically correct”.

Nor was any racist backlash observed following the 1995 attacks and there has even been an increase in tolerance in the light of the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre. Although since the 2007/2008 economic crisis, tolerance in France had been declining, it is still too early to assess the robustness of this increase in tolerance.
Statistical reporting by the Interior Ministry

Representativeness of the figures in question

The data from the Interior Ministry has the merit of highlighting the role played by racism in the law enforcement field, which includes the police forces and the gendarmerie. However, its statistics are not without their faults: many victims are “invisible”, there are “unofficial figures” due to criminal acts being largely under-reported, the incorporation of guidelines is less than perfect, and the listing of criminal acts is incomplete, and, in particular, fails to include acts of discrimination. These are all factors that should be taken into account for the purposes of analysis.

Interior Ministry figures on criminal acts (“acts” and “threats”) of a racist, anti-Semitic or anti-Muslim nature, reveal, when compiled, a significant increase of 22.4% for 2015: in 2014, 1,662 acts of a racist, anti-Semitic or anti-Muslim nature were recorded; in 2015 the total was 2,034, which is the highest ever level since these figures were collected.

The trajectory of apparent offences of a racist nature therefore continues its worrying ascent.

Evolution of acts of a racist nature between 1992 and 2015
Looking at the detail it may be observed that:
- Anti-Semitic offences fell slightly by 5.1%, to a total of 808 criminal acts, compared with 851 in 2014;
- Anti-Muslim acts more than tripled (+223%), with the number reaching 429 criminal acts, compared with 133 in 2014;
- Other criminal acts, i.e. neither anti-Semitic nor anti-Muslim, recorded under the general category of “racist acts” increased by 17.5% to 797 acts (compared with 678 in 2014).

**Conclusion**

2015 was characterised on the face of it by an apparent contradiction between trends concerning acts of a racist nature and those of racist opinions with the two factors following different logics.
- Happily, prejudices have not systematically resulted in the manifestation of racist acts.
- Equally, the change in French public opinion as a whole cannot be assessed merely in terms of an increase in the recorded number of racist acts, which may be carried out by particularly active violent minorities.
- However, this disparity between acts and opinion is limited in that crimes of a racist nature are necessarily the product of racist prejudice.

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**Categorise**
- ...as [being part of] a group and make a general judgement about the whole group

**Hierarchise**
- ...by allocating specific characteristics to a group, having positive or negative connotations

**Discriminate**
- ...by using that hierarchy to treat persons belonging to the group in question unequally
The CNCDH is firmly convinced that fighting racism must act above all upon representations and stereotypes.

This task is made all the more difficult as in a context of economic and social crisis and the poor examples provided by certain political leaders, anti-racist discourse is all too infrequently heard, the excuse being that it would be “righteous” or anachronistic.

Nonetheless, the sharp increase in the tolerance index, and multiple citizen movements and initiatives calling for the rejection of hatred, for unity and for solidarity that transcends the particular characteristics of each individual, which have proliferated throughout 2015, provide grounds for optimism.

Action must be taken to exploit this potential in order to permanently change what are sometimes negative and biased views of other individuals, namely through education and awareness-raising. The CNCDH is convinced that the way this is framed by the legislature and by the media has a crucial role to play in this regard. With temptation to radicalise on every front, and the lumping together of individual acts with those of a group, empty rhetoric about the need for national cohesion is not enough. By drawing upon positive dynamics in play within society, public discourse and action must be oriented in such a way as to promote living and acting together.
There are a number of indicators that would suggest a particularly marked decline in anti-Semitism in France in 2015, as if the violence of the acts committed against the Jews were arousing an instinctive sense of compassion and solidarity towards them among public opinion. Nevertheless, long-standing anti-Semitic prejudices remain, and the violent acts to which they fall victim, in absolute terms, mean that care must still be taken.

**Anti-semitic acts**

A statistical report produced by the Ministry of the Interior indicates a 5.1% decrease in anti-Semitic offences recorded by the police and gendarmerie services, with 808 acts reported in 2015 as opposed to 851 in 2014. Nevertheless, in absolute terms, the number of acts reported remains high, with the threshold of 800 acts having been exceeded only twice since 2005 - in 2009 and in 2014.

Whilst the Jewish population now accounts for less than 1% of the total population, it still finds itself the target of 40% of racist acts committed in France (as opposed to 51% in 2014).

**A minority that remains one of the most widely accepted among public opinion**

Longitudinal minority tolerance indices show that Jews are still the most widely accepted minority, with an index of 82 - 3 points above the black community, 13 points above the Maghreb population and 20 points above the Muslim community. With this in mind, of the four indicators concerning the minorities that make up French society, namely recognition of citizenship, degree of integration into society, the need to punish insults and the positive or negative image of the religion, people’s opinions of the Jewish community are undeniably more favourable than they are of other minorities.
The resistance of long-standing anti-Semitic prejudices

The 2016 survey, however, reveals that certain long-standing anti-Semitic prejudices, associating Jews with money and power and chastising them for their communitarianism and their fondness of Israel, remain to this day. Whilst such clichés are sometimes portrayed in a positive light, associated with work and endurance, there remain certain prejudices that essentialise a group and have the potential to create a sense of envy and resentment. It should be noted that anti-Semitism does not appear to be particularly strongly correlated with the image of Israel and of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, thus challenging the idea of a new form of anti-Semitism driving out and replacing the old.

According to minority tolerance indices, the Jews come top of the list, with a difference of over 20 points between this population and the Muslim minority, which is the least widely accepted after the Romany population.
2015 was a particularly difficult year for Muslims in France. The Jihadist attacks encouraged conflation between Islam and radical Islamism and, whilst the image of the body of little Aylan sparked a great deal of emotion, a number of mayors, and notably those of Roanne and Belfort, have announced that they would be in favour of accommodating Christian refugees as a matter of priority.

Anti-Muslim acts

Such acts have reached their highest levels since the Ministry of the Interior began recording them. Despite the decrease observed in 2014, the figures recorded this year have confirmed the upward trend observed since 2011 (+30% in 2011, 28% in 2012, 11.3% in 2013, -41% in 2014 and +223% in 2015). The incidents recorded appear to indicate an increase in the scale of the violence we are observing, including the firing of real bullets, the throwing of grenades, assaults, arson and attempted arson, among other things.

The distribution of acts over the course of 2015 reveals peaks in the levels of violence observed following the attacks that took place in January and November. 58% of all incidents reported took place in these two months.
Lesser exclusion of the Muslim minority

Recent changes in opinion regarding both Islam and Muslims would indicate that the individuals concerned are less strongly excluded now than they were. Muslims are still, however, the least widely accepted minority, with this exclusion extending from the Muslim religion to those who practice it. Criticisms relate primarily to the most visible of religious practices (such as the wearing of the veil), with private practices apparently more readily accepted. It is difficult to say, at this stage, whether these positive changes will last or whether they are linked to the context of the attacks, and whether those asked always say what they really think about this sensitive matter.
The Roms are the least well known groups and those that find themselves excluded to the greatest degree by the rest of the population. Since January 2015, however, such negative feelings appear not only to have ceased to intensify but indeed to have significantly decreased.

What exactly are we talking about here?

We find ourselves living alongside a mosaic of ethnic fragments, with the multiple legal statuses bestowed upon them (French citizen, foreign national, stateless, etc.) only complicating the situation further. According to official estimations, populations living in slums - who are not all of Romany origin - account for between 15,000 and 20,000 of the individuals living in France, that is 0.03% of the French population - a figure that has remained stable over the past decade. Contrary to popular belief, the Romany populations living in France are not travelling communities, with the slums becoming their default settlements. It is important to distinguish between two distinct populations:

- the Romany or migrant Romany populations consisting of individuals living within the country and hailing primarily from Central and Eastern European countries, who identify themselves as Roms; and
- travellers, who fall within a certain administrative category. The vast majority of these individuals are of French nationality and lead a traditional lifestyle based on mobility and travelling, even though many of them are now settled.

Heightened racism against a little known minority

The Roms are the subject of many prejudices:

- A group that is perceived as being homogeneous and nomadic, abusing social welfare benefits and not wanting to integrate;
- Associated with poverty, uncleanliness and begging.

Racism against Roms is expressed through both a rejection of cultural difference as a threat to national order and through reference to scientific racism, whereby Romany populations are assimilated with an inferior group, even going as far as to deny their humanity.
**Institutionalised prejudices sparking violations of fundamental rights**

- Public discourse that aims to blame the failure of initiatives designed to promote integration on the attitudes of the beneficiaries alone.
- Rather than putting in place firm political guidelines designed to resorb slums through integration, the emphasis has been on a repressive approach that has notably resulted in the forced evacuation of foreign Roms and consequently a situation of organised roaming (13,483 individuals in 2014).

When preconceived ideas are used to guide public action they effectively hinder access to rights and to integration. This being the case, too many families are still being discriminated against and deprived of rights as fundamental as the rights to safety, health, education and free movement.

**A relative improvement in their image**

The ‘Romaphobia’ scale, which ranks responses to the questions on the CNCDH barometer according to the intensity of the attitude gauged, helps evaluate the degree of hostility that exists against the Romany population. Hostility against Roms has decreased since late 2014, with the proportion of high scores down from 53% to 31.6% and the percentage of low notes having significantly increased from 17% to 33.8%.

Whilst prejudices, stereotypes, poor understanding and feelings of fear and hostility are still combined with particular strength and intensity in the case of Roms, the trend does, nevertheless, appear to be reversing. In January 2016, only 57.4% of the CNCDH barometer sample believed that Roms did not want to integrate into French society, as opposed to 77% in December 2014. The efforts that have been made since 2009 with regards to the rights of Roms are clearly starting to pay off and to encourage greater familiarity with the groups that this label encompasses.
France is party to the majority of European and international instruments designed to promote human rights and fight racism, with which it must comply and that require it to report to international bodies (such as the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, for example). It is yet, however, to ratify certain essential standards, namely the following:

- **Additional Protocol n°12 to the European Convention on Human Rights**, dated 4 November 2000 and providing for a general ban on discrimination;
- **the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families**, dated 18 December 1990 and prohibiting any discrimination against such individuals with regards to their fundamental rights.

The fight against racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia in France was particularly topical in 2015 at both national level, with the President of the Republic declaring it a major national cause, and on the international stage, and many European bodies, along with the United Nations, have spoken out regarding the situation in France.

- The **new National Action Plan Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (2015 – 2017)**, produced by the DILCRA, was welcomed as progress.

- **France has been questioned regarding the increase in racism and xenophobia in France**, relayed through certain public and political discourses instilling racial hatred and the freedom of racist speech online. Such concerns were particularly intense in the context of the migration ‘crisis’ and the tightening up of security policies, and there are fears concerning the impact of this on the discourse regarding migrants and the Muslim minority, as well as on the use of racial profiling.

- Strong concerns have been expressed regarding the **situation of the Romany population** in France, as a vulnerable minority that has been subject to a systematic forced expulsion policy since 2012.

- **The specific nature of racism overseas** has once again been highlighted.

- **A strengthening of policies designed to fight ‘racial’ discrimination and the effective implementation of the repressive legal tools available** has been recommended.
The CNCDH outlines a number of recommendations in its full report, the most salient of which are summarised below.

Firstly, it is important to remember that the principles of equality and universality on which the fight against racism is based must support the measurements put in place in its name, as part of a comprehensive and integrated approach that involves no element of ‘victim competition’. Nevertheless, every manifestation of racism requires particular attention and an appropriate response.

Secondly, the CNCDH would highlight the need for transversality and decompartmentalisation when it comes to fighting racism, along with the need to avoid dissociating racism and the fight against the associated discrimination, among others, in order to carry out a comprehensive, coordinated and effective fight. Finally, the CNCDH maintains that the fight against racism is something that involves us all and requires a degree of commitment on the part of all citizens.
1. The CNCDH would encourage ministries to implement the tools required to help **more effectively measure the discrimination** that occurs within their respective fields and to provide exhaustive data regarding measures designed and initiatives put in place to fight all forms of racism.

2. The CNCDH would recommend **encouraging debate in schools**, raising sensitive issues unashamedly and without taboo. In this respect, it would recommend introducing platforms of free speech within schools that could take the form of a module on interpreting current affairs and social developments.

3. Putting the effectiveness of the principle of secularism at the heart of the balance between freedom of religion, freedom of conscience and the neutrality of the State and of its various departments, the CNCDH would recommend **introducing a new article into the Charter of Secularism that highlights the sense of openness that secularism promotes, protecting diversity, religious pluralism, freedom of conscience and consequently individuality and the idiosyncrasies of the individual.**

At the same time, it would recommend increasing the importance placed on secular religious teaching within school curricula to enable pupils to critically interpret the information conveyed in the media, ensure a better understanding of the world and prevent the downward spirals (in terms of both intolerance and radicalisation) that often stem from ignorance.

4. The CNCDH would ask that the government pay particular attention to the recommendations outlined in its opinion on fighting hate speech on the Internet, adopted on 15. February 2015, in which it notably recommends **the adoption of a national action plan on digital education and citizenship.**

5. The CNCDH does not believe that an **effective policy for fighting identity checks based on racial profiling could avoid the introduction of a personal certificate of verification**; the latter would benefit significantly from more widespread consideration of the legal system governing identity checks in France and the formalisation of the legal framework governing the pedestrian camera system.

6. The CNCDH solemnly recommends **that any offences relating to abuses of freedom of expression continue to be governed by the law of 29 July 1881 on the freedom of the press**, but that any provisions thereof that no longer appear to be appropriate be revised.

7. The CNCDH would recommend that **specific training in hosting and meeting the needs of victims of acts and threats of a racist and anti-Semitic nature** be provided for all gendarmerie and police personnel.
FOCAL POINT 1
NATIONAL PLAN FOR FIGHTING RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM
(PNACRA)

The PNACRA, presented by the Prime Minister on 17 April 2015 in Créteil, is coordinated by the Interministerial Delegation for the Fight Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (DILCRA) and represents a logical continuation of the first action plan (2012 - 2014), which reflected the commitment France had made to international bodies. The Plan is indicative of a greater degree of willingness and is based on increased means. It will require some 100 million euros over a period of three years, for the purposes of implementing initiatives at national level and contributing at local level to making policies designed to promote civic rights more dynamic.

Four priority avenues have been identified and broken down into 40 targeted initiatives:
- Mobilising the country as a whole
- Punishing all racist or anti-Semitic acts and protecting victims
- Protecting Internet-users against the propagation of hatred
- Shaping citizens through transmission, education and culture

Given that the Plan was produced as a matter of urgency following the attacks that took place in January, the CNCDH would hope that civil society would be more widely consulted throughout its implementation and that the practical terms surrounding the plan, some of which are rather vague, would be clarified. The CNCDH, in its capacity as an independent National Rapporteur, will be responsible for evaluating the Plan.

The Plan comprises a number of relevant, demanding and diverse measures, including the following:
- An overhaul of local policies designed to fight racism and the introduction of territorial plans
- An associative and participatory communications campaign, #DeboutContreLeRacisme ('Standing Up Against Racism'), designed to encourage society to take action
- The creation of a national unit responsible for fighting online hate speech within the Pharos reporting platform
- The development of alternative rehabilitative penalties, and community placement programmes in particular
- Education in the values of tolerance and respect for others, both at school and beyond, by developing schemes such as civic sponsorship, civic service and civil reserve, for example
The CNCDH has certain reservations regarding some of the measures put forward, and the following in particular:

- The tipping point for abuses of freedom of expression in the form of racist or anti-Semitic offences relating to incitement, insults or defamation, as outlined in the law of 29 July 1881 on the freedom of the press, in the French Criminal Code;
- The use of summary penalty orders in cases of racist insults and a simplified procedure reserved for straightforward, minor incidents, reflecting the need to assimilate mass litigation (such as road safety issues) with disregard for the rights of the defence (absence of any dispute).

Finally, there are a number of avenues worthy of exploring:

- Comprehensive, voluntary and offensive action aimed at changing the sometimes negative and biased representations of minorities and diversity in France. The role of political leaders and the media is vital in this respect.
- Fighting discrimination based on origin
- Fighting racism towards overseas populations and migrant Roms who find themselves faced with particular difficulties
- Fighting persistent exclusion in schools by promoting social and academic diversity and by working to stamp out discrimination in schools
- Improving relations between the police and minority populations, notably by putting an end to so-called 'racial profiling' identity checks

« I am the colour of those who are persecuted ». Lamartine
Associative campagne #deboutcontreleracisme, novembre 2015
FOCAL POINT 2
THE FIGHT AGAINST ONLINE HATE SPEECH

Holding web service providers more strongly to account

The Internet has become a powerful tool where freedom of expression is concerned, but the anonymity that Internet-users can enjoy from behind the screen, combined with the augmenting effect of circulating content on the web, means that the Internet can also be perverted for hateful purposes.

Whilst the CNCDH is inherently concerned about the safeguarding, and if need be the extension, of the public space for free expression, it is nevertheless convinced that the Internet cannot, under any circumstances, be a ‘lawless zone’ where absolutely anything can be said, done or circulated. It is also radically opposed to any rudimentary monitoring of online content that would resemble a widespread censorship regime and would result in the demise of the Internet.

The public authorities must be able to rely on the cooperation of web service providers if they are to implement a policy that is effective in fighting hate speech on the Internet.

The vast majority of sites containing hate speech are, however, hosted by companies that have their head offices in Ireland or the United States and that do not, therefore, consider themselves to be bound by the provisions of Article 6 of the French law on trust in the digital economy (LCEN), which stipulates the rules that apply with regards to regulating online content and the role of the various players involved.

As soon as Internet-user anonymity is combined with an absence of cooperation on the part of the service providers concerned, the public authorities all too often find themselves powerless.

The CNCDH would call for France not to surrender its sovereignty and to continue its efforts to fight hate speech on the Internet. With this in mind, it would recommend the following:

- simplifying and standardising reporting and notification systems with a view to making them more accessible to the general public;
- subjecting all companies conducting any form of economic activity towards France to the provisions of French law, accurately defining the scope of application of Article 6 of the LCEN;
- more effectively monitoring the regime of liability applicable to web service providers.
Freedom of both expression and opinion are fundamental rights and as such are crucial to democracy and pluralism. Online speech should nevertheless be responsible; not everything can be said or written. The right to self-expression ends once abuse begins. [Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights; Article 11 of the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen]

French law sanctions public defamation of a racial nature, public insults of a racial nature, public incitement to racial hatred, advocating war crimes or crimes against humanity, denial of crimes against humanity, non-public insults of a racial nature, non-public defamation of a racial nature, non-public incitement to racial hatred, discrimination of a racial nature and racist motives for certain common-law crimes and offences instituted under aggravating circumstances. Sanctions can notably take the form of fines, or even imprisonment. [Law of 29 July 1881 on the freedom of the press; provisions of the French Criminal Code]

Anyone who believes themselves to have been the victim of an offence of a racial nature is entitled to lodge a complaint at a police or gendarmerie station and the officer on duty is obliged to record their complaint. [Article 15-3 of the French Code of Criminal Procedure]

Any Internet-user can report online content that they deem to be of a criminal nature by means of the ‘Pharos’ reporting platform put in place by the Ministry of the Interior or a reporting platform specific to commercial Internet service providers, or even by contacting the relevant associations. [www.internet-signalement.gouv.fr]
Created in 1947 at the instigation of René Cassin, the National Consultative Commission on Human Rights (CNCDH) is the French national institution responsible for promoting and protecting human rights with level ‘A’ accreditation from the United Nations.

The CNCDH performs a three-pronged role that involves the following:

- **enlightening the public decision-making process** with regards to human rights;
- **monitoring the effectiveness** in France of rights protected by international human rights conventions, including the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;
- **overseeing France’s implementation of recommendations made by international committees**, including the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI).

The CNCDH is independent and operates based on the principle of the pluralism of ideas. This being the case, as the only institution that maintains continuous dialogue between civil society and French experts in the field of human rights, the Committee comprises 64 qualified individuals and representatives of non-governmental organisations with their roots in civil society.

The CNCDH has been an independent National Rapporteur on the fight against all forms of racism since 1990 and on the fight against the trafficking and exploitation of human beings since 2014.

**The CNCDH’s efforts as an independent National Rapporteur on the fight against all forms of racism extends beyond the annual report that has become a reference both in France and within Europe.**

The Commission submits regular opinions on the issues associated with racism and discrimination.

Furthermore, as part of its mission to educate people in human rights, the Commission produced its Graines de citoyen series of short films on respecting differences in 2014. The 5 animated films have since been widely circulated in primary schools. The CNCDH has also been running a training session focusing largely on different forms of racism and discrimination and attended by magistrates, lawyers, police officers and members of the prison service at the French National School for the Judiciary for over ten years.
A mandate backed by twenty-five years of expertise

In accordance with law No. 90-615 of 13 July 1990, in its capacity as National Rapporteur for Racism Prevention, the French Consultative Commission on Human Rights (CNCDH) submits a report annually to the government surveying racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia in France, and the tools adopted by the institutions of the Republic and by civil society to combat these.

The need for a thorough, analytical methodology

Preparing a report on racism in France involves a complex process that requires great sensitivity. Furthermore, the CNCDH is committed to basing its analysis and recommendations on a varied and complementary set of tools, such as public opinion polls, a diversity tolerance index developed by partner researchers of the CNCDH, statistical reporting on racist acts, anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim acts prepared by the Interior Ministry, that of the Ministry of Justice regarding response by the justice system, and also numerous contributions from institutions, associations and international actors.

Assessing opinion in the wake of the 2015 attacks

The principal goal of the opinion poll conducted from 4 to 11 January 2016 was to determine how public opinion had changed after these tragic events, whether towards genuine “national unity” or, conversely, towards heightened prejudice.