

www.islamophobie.net



A word from the President

Dear friends,

2015 has been a terrible year for our country with two attacks in 10 months, with a result of 146 victims. The islamophobic acts we recorded fit directly in the context of these two tragic events. In the wake of the attacks of January, within three weeks, 120 acts were recorded, of which nearly 30 of them, aimed at places of worship. The CCIF had never seen so many attacks in such a short period of time.

We have also heard from parents of young victims of bullying, arising from the attacks. We still have in mind the emblematic case of Ahmed from Nice, an eight-year-old child, questioned at the police station for "glorification of terrorism"!

Even if the bloody attacks of last November 13th in Paris were not followed by islamophobic acts as numerous as those recorded earlier in the year, the CCIF has registered several public hatred messages against Muslims. The following weeks have been marked by the resurgence of desecration of religious sites, as well as attacks against people of Muslim faith. The targeting of Muslim citizens who have been raided and put under house arrest, in the context of both a state of emergency and an ineffective, misleading fight against terrorism, worries us.

I still remember the testimony of a mother, still under shock, two weeks after being raided. While she was feeding her one-year-old twin daughters, the police broke into the apartment. She did not even have time to move her children in another room. Her babies witnessed the whole scene: the weapons, the masked policemen, their mother put on the ground. The father was absent and the stipulations of the by-law were satisfied with vague accusations without any evidence. The CCIF is currently processing over 220 cases related to the state of emergency. In the shadow of these figures, there are women, children, and men, deeply marked by the brutality of these arbitrary decisions.

This past year was marked by a clear increase of islamophobic acts, both in the number and violent nature of those acts. This is where the statement made by the Interior Ministry, which sounds the alarm of a significant rise of islamophobic acts, meets ours.

More and more researchers, academics, jurists, lawyers, civil society stakeholders and representatives of national and international government bodies, recognise both the increase in violence and discrimination acts towards people targeted because of their real or supposed belonging to the Muslim faith, but they also recognize the structural nature of Islamophobia. This is even more disturbing, as successive governments refuse to recognize this reality that is corroborated by the work, investigations and hearings of specialists in social issues and who struggle for equality.

It is deplorable to see that the fundamental principles of our civilization, repeated in the media as a discourse stripped of its meaning, actually only cover a very relative reality, when it comes to letting the Muslim component of the society benefit from it. It is worrying to see prominent French politicians, focusing on more and more divisive postures while the security and socio-economic challenges faced by our society, require instead a reasserting that our nation is one, rich in its diversity, proud of its identity.

Their attitude confirms what the CCIF has been denouncing for years about Islamophobia: a stance of suspicion and systematic questioning whenever citizens are perceived as Muslims, and that Muslims are presumed suspects and guilty whatever they do, even when they struggle against racism and for a united France.

At the present time, France is living a crucial moment in its history, between the temptation of an authoritarian trend and the commitment to the fundamental values that define it. It behoves everyone to get involved in transforming this moment of crisis and take a step towards a fairer and more egalitarian society.

De Gaulle used to say that "politics is nothing but the art of reality". From the moment these political realities are ignored, it is to the intellectuals, scholars, civil society and the population that we must turn to, so that together we shall undertake our common destiny and restructure our social contract, according to the principles that have allowed our country to shine across the world.

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THE CCIF AT A GLANCE —

Our history

In October 2013, Claude Imbert, figure of French journalism and member of the HCI (High council of integration) declared in the course of a debate broadcasted on television: "Let's be honest. I'm a bit islamophobic myself. It doesn't bother me to say so."

A spontaneous gathering followed in front of the office of the magazine "*Le Point*" of which he's the founder and one of the columnist. This mobilisation has to be linked to the larger context of the stigmatisation of the Muslim community for several years.

At the initiative of civil society stakeholders who were shocked with the lack of response from antiracist institutions, the Collective against Islamophobia in France (CCIF) was founded in the late 2003 with the aim of taking actions against the violence and discriminations targeting a part of the French population that had no structures whatsoever to turn to, to assert its rights.

This antiracist organisation registered under 1901 law status – non-religious and apolitical – is a human right advocacy group that specifically focuses on defending the rights and freedoms of Muslims in France.

Our action

For the CCIF, Islamophobia has a clear definition:

It consists of all acts of rejection, discrimination or violence against institutions or individuals on the basis of their real or perceived belonging to the Muslim faith.

The CCIF is structured into five divisions:

- The **"watchdog" division** makes list of the islamophobic acts, writings and speeches observed in France. The CCIF's intranet platform, designed as a full-fledged integrated records management system, makes it possible to inventory accidents and compile the data collected in order to produce a quantitative analysis of the phenomenon, and carefully qualify each act after verification of the facts by the legal department. A report is prepared each year to provide an overview of islamophobia in France and quantify the phenomenon.
- The "communication" division prepares and distributes press releases, articles and testimonies related to Islamophobia. These contents are available on the organisation's website (<u>www.islamophobie.net</u>). Since 2015, a new "fundraising" branch was developed. It aims at supporting the actions carried out by the CCIF and to maintain its financial independency. Among other events, the annual dinner of the CCIF marks every year the opportunity to raise awareness towards the struggle against islamophobia with our many benefactors.
- The "legal" division, the CCIF's key division, acts in several stages. Initially, complaints and reports by victims are collected over the telephone, by email or online. They also come to us through our smartphone application, which can geo-locate victims in distress. Afterwards, the legal division contacts each person to record the facts of the report in detail, collect all the items necessary to qualify the act and examine the evidence provided by the victim. Lastly, our legal team investigates each case in order to initiate proceedings, which vary depending on the nature of the case (filing complaints, mediation, building a case for legal proceedings, putting the victim in touch with a lawyer, etc.) in order to help the victim assert his/her rights. The CCIF legal division also boasts a national network of top lawyers who are able to represent victims when cases go trial.
- The "international relations" division is responsible for maintaining and strengthening relations and partnerships with international bodies (Council of Europe, OSCE, and more). The CCIF has had the status of special advisory member to the UN since 2011.

- The "**psychological support**" division, more recently established, takes care of people in distress. For example, the latter can include mothers and their children being denied the right to educational support on the basis of the religious symbols they wear, as well as victims of severe violence.

This system, with supervisory support from CCIF headquarters in Saint-Ouen (93) extends across the entire country thanks to over fifteen local branches (Angers, Nancy, Lyon, Grenoble, Béziers, Nice, etc.).

Our staff

The President, Samy Debah, relies on a team of four lawyers, a legal assistant, a head of communication, two project managers and four psychologists.

Lila Charef is the head of the legal department and in charge of relations with the institutions.

Yasser Louati is, since September 2015, the new spokesperson of the CCIF and the head of the international relationships department.

The staff of the CCIF has been enriched with two extra lawyers in order to manage the multiplication of islamophobic acts following the deadly Paris Attacks in November 2015, in the context of the state of emergency.

The CCIF also relies on dozens of volunteers trained to carry out actions throughout France and reinforce the local presence of the CCIF so that it can be close to the victims when they come forward.

Our independence

The CCIF is funded by its members and its donors. It also receives, occasionally, subsidiaries from international organisations through joint projects with partners, particularly in Europe.

The CCIF draws its legitimacy from its independence and its membership (over 2500 members in 2015). But first of all, the non-profit has gained strong legitimacy through its efficient work it has carried out with hundreds of victims of Islamophobia and the thousands of people who contact it each year.

Our annual reports, which include a quantitative and sociological analysis of the phenomenon, are viewed by our partners in the non-profit and/or institutional realm as a key element of our approach.

This economic and political autonomy contributes to the success of the organisation, whose work is recognized by European and international bodies.

Our partners

The CCIF is a national organisation defending a universal cause. This is why the team is in constant contact with all the non-profits and activists involved in the fight against social inequalities (religion, gender, ethnic origin, etc.)

Member of the Collectif Stop le contrôle au facies (collective to stop ethnic profiling / www.stopcontroleaufacies.fr), which brings together dozens of non-profits fighting against discrimination, the CCIF has therefore a strong network of national non-profit partners. Moreover, local branches maintain regular contact with local non-profits involved in the same struggle, as well as religious and cultural organisations that represent and bring together the populations which are the most vulnerable to Islamophobia.

Besides its presence within the ECOSOC council attached to the UN, the CCIF submits each year its data to the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) which uses them within its annual report on hate crime. The CCIF also participates in the annual conferences of the Department of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (DDIHR) in which the progress (and setbacks) in the field of human rights are examined. 57 countries participate in those sessions, including France.

2015 Timeline –

The year 2015 was marked by two waves of terrorist attacks, the deadliest in Europe since those in Madrid in 2004 (147 victims). The French national cohesion has been under strain between fears from a terrorist threat that is not fading, ideological and political instrumentalisation of the anxieties of the French population and implications of these fears on Muslim citizens, often held directly or indirectly responsible. In this particular anxiety climate, islamophobic acts have experienced a resurgence, exacerbating existing tensions.

Here, in a few dates, a non-exhaustive overview of the highlights and iconic cases of islamophobia as well as actions carried out by the CCIF that marked 2015.

January

7-9 January: Terrorist Attacks

Members of the satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*, two police officers and customers at kosher supermarket are murdered in a wave of attacks. The total number of victims amounts to 17.

8 January: Muslim place of worship are targeted

Several Muslim places of worship are targeted with firearms, grenades thrown or graffiti in the cities of Le Mans (Sarthe), Port-la-Nouvelle (Aude), Villefranche-sur-Saône (Saône) and Poitiers (Vienna). No casualties were reported.

8 January: Ahmed, 8, into custody for "glorification of terrorism"

An eight-year-old child is violently attacked by his teacher for not having respected the minute of silence and to have said *"I am not Charlie, I'm with the terrorists"*. Rather than calling the parents to discuss the case of Ahmed, the latter is directly reported to the police who will summon him for questioning, even though the child confessed not knowing what a terrorist is.

January 11: National Unity

National unity march for the victims and against the terrorist threat.

January 12: Government takes a stance for national cohesion

The Department of Justice sent a memorendum to prosecutors asking for action against acts of discrimination and attacks on places of worship because *"they are a threat to national cohesion"*.

January 13: Muslims are designated as troublemakers

Renowned journalist and heavyweight media figure Philippe Tesson openly declares on radio station *Europe 1*: *"Muslims are the ones who bring this shit to France"*. The CCIF took up the case and addressed a letter to the prosecutor general of Paris who summoned the author. The former later accepted his explanation of not having intended to offend Muslims.

January 15: The President of the Republic strongly condemns anti-religious acts

In a speech at the <u>Arab World Institute</u>, Francois Hollande stressed the equal recognition and protection of all French citizens: "French Muslim have the same rights, the same duties as all citizens. They must be protected. Laïcité (French secular law) makes it so because it has the same level of respects for all religions. (...) We must also understand that the republican order must be exercised firmly against those who are attacking places of worship, all places of worship, synagogues, mosques, churches, and we must prosecute all acts targeting a specific religion. Anti-Muslim acts, like anti-Semitism acts, must be denounced and punished severely."

January 16: Islamophobic murder

In the <u>Vaucluse department</u>, a Muslim man is stabbed 17 times in front of his wife who declared hearing him shout: "*I* am your God, I am your Islam". The perpetrator was sent to a mental institution and declared criminally irresponsible.

January 16: Challenging the term "Islamophobia"

Prime Minister Manuel Valls stated to *The Atlantic* its refusal to use the term "*islamophobia*" because in his opinion it would be served as a "*Trojan horse*" for the islamists "to silence any criticism of Islam"

January 28: A stigmatizing official campaign to "fight against radicalization"

The government launches the stop-djihadisme.gouv.fr platform with a series of videos and infographics supposed to help detect signs of radicalization. <u>Mocked</u> for its incongruous selection of radicalization signs, it is mostly criticized for not having been thought in collaboration with people and organisations dealing with these issues.

February

February 19: "We do not want veiled women"

Former president Nicolas Sarkozy declares on radio station *Europe 1* that he does not want veiled women in France. The former spokeswoman for the CCIF, Elsa Ray, replied to him in an article in which she denounced the danger of his words and his obsession to polarize French society.

February 23: Stigmatizing Muslims

The CRIF (Representative Council of French Jewish Institutions) president Roger Cukierman declared on radio station *Europe 1* that *"all the violence (in France) is committed by young Muslims"* and that Marine Le Pen (president of the far-right party, National Front) was an "irreproachable person". Following a CCIF lead mobilization, the French media regulation institution (CSA) sent a warning to *Europe 1* (June 26).

February 25: Government's willingness to deal with "France's Islam" (so called "Islam de France)

The minister of Interior Bernard Cazeneuve presented to the Council of ministers its communication plan on the "Dialogue with France's Islam" after the spike in islamophobic acts that followed the January attacks.

March

March: Series of physical assaults against Muslim women.

March 2: Saint-Etienne

A veiled woman is verbally and physically assaulted in the city of Saint-Etienne by another woman who also targets her daughter aged of 11 months by grabbing her arm. When the victim called the police, an officer hung up on her and another one refused to register her complaint once the victim arrived at the police station. The latter claimed that the attack was "*nothing serious*".

March 24: <u>Toulouse</u>

An eight month pregnant Muslim woman was physically assaulted after dropping her child at school. Clearly designated as the object of the attacker's hatred, her veil is violently pulled off. The victim received several blows to the belly. The attacker threatened her to death while fleeing the scene.

March 26: <u>Aulnay-sous-Bois</u>

A parent violently rips the veil of a student's mother in front a school exit. Despite the violence of the gesture and the hair that were pulled off, the police refused to register her complaint on the grounds that the victim "*had not been hit.*"

March 6: Success of a rally against Islamophobia

600 people attended the "Meeting against Islamophobia" at the <u>Bourse du Travail of Saint-Denis</u>. Eighty three civil society organisations were present, including the <u>CCIF</u>, <u>the Indivisibles</u>, <u>ATTAC</u>, trade unions and personalities from all sides (Michele Sibony the <u>French Jewish Union for Peace (UFJP</u>), Alain Gresh, editor of <u>Le Monde Diplomatique</u>, Laurence Blisson from the <u>National Union of Magistrates</u>).

The fathers of Yazid and Ayman, two children harassed by their school staff and wrongly reported for "apology for terrorism", testified before the assembly, on the state of confusion they felt while facing such institutional discrimination.

March 16-20: The CCIF at the United Nations, New-York

The CCIF which holds the <u>ECOSOC status</u>, traveled to the UN headquarters in New York to attend the <u>59th Commission</u> on the Status of Women (CSW59). The event was also an opportunity to make contact with American organisations such as the <u>Council of American Islamic Relations</u> (CAIR) dealing with the same issues as the CCIF.

March 17-19: CCIF hearing at the OSCE, Warsaw

The CCIF took part at the OSCE expert workshop on foreign terrorist fighters, anti-terrorism laws and the risk of abuses. The CCIF was invited to represent French civil society and to contribute to recommendations to member states alongside Interpol, European judges and OSCE experts.

April

April 4: #PrimarkDiscrimination

Despite having been issued a reminder of the law by workplace inspection, the retailer giant PRIMARK France maintained a discriminatory clause in its rules of procedures in which the wearing of religious symbols is prohibited. Marwa, one of its employees and who was wearing a headband, was suspended and threatened with dismissal by management. A mobilization campaign was launched on social networks with PRIMARK headquarters being copied. A few days later, Marwa succeeded in saving her job and returned to work with her headband.

April 26: Clash of civilizations and war rhetoric

Christian Estrosi who heads the <u>Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region</u> declares that a "third world war" is underway and says that "Islam fascism threats Judeo-Christian civilization" with particular reference to an "Islamist fifth column" in France.

April 28: #JePorteMaJupeCommeJeVeux (#IWearMySkirtAsILike)

Sarah, a schoolgirl aged 15, was excluded from class several times under the pretext that her long skirt, bought at a wellknown store, was a conspicuous religious symbol. The case sparked an outrage on social media to a point that national and international news outlets covered the story which was not the case for the hundreds of other girls who were harassed for their dress codes in French schools.

May

May 5: Racial profiling of Muslim school children

The mayor of the city of <u>Béziers</u> Robert Ménard declares on public TV station *France 2* having registered all the Muslim kids of his town, which in fact is strictly prohibited by French law. To do so, the mayor relied on the names of children, making no distinction between an Arab sounding name and belonging to the Muslim faith.

June

June 5: Sentence after the brutal assault of a veiled Muslim woman in Toulouse

The Toulouse criminal court convicted Mr. B for violence grounded on religion against Mrs. G. who was accompanied by her two children at the time. The CCIF was at her side and joined the civil parties through their lawyer Maître Mihih. The accused did not bother to attend the court hearing, but was ordered to pay $1,000 \in$ in damages to Mrs. B, 1 symbolic Euro to the CCIF, and $800 \in$ to cover legal costs for the two civil parties.

June 9: Questioning the Chatel circular (prohibiting veiled Muslim mothers from attending to school outings)

The Nice administrative court quashed the decision of the Jules Ferry primary school director in Nice who prohibited Mrs. D. from accompanying her child because of a headscarf.

June 11: Islam, the first concern of the French?

The UMP right-wing political party becomes "Les Républicains" (LR) and holds its first thematic convention on Islam.

June 15: The government wants a dialogue with French Muslims

A forum for dialogue with "France's Islam" is launched by the ministry of Interior as requested by president Francois Hollande. The CCIF attended the event as a human rights organisation combating islamophobia.

July

July 2: Six months after the January attacks in Paris, the CCIF report on islamophobia

The CCIF published its interim report *Six months after the January 2015 attacks* which concluded a 23. 5% increase of islamophobic acts.

24 July: The government taking measures against racism

The government launches a plan against racism and anti-Semitism with a budget of one hundred million Euros.

August

August 22-23: A burned down mosque

Arson ravaged the city of Auch Mosque in the Gers.

Eve of the school year: Controversy on alternative food in school cafeterias

Several elected officials from "Les Républicains" political party, sought to ban alternative meals in canteens in their constituencies. This measure primarily targeted Muslim children whom were all together targeted by the controversy while no religious claim was ever made by their parents. The measure has been implemented in cities like <u>Athis-Mons</u>, <u>Chalon-sur-Saône</u>, <u>Chilly Mazarin</u> or <u>Wissous</u>.

October

October 1-2: State of Islamophobia in Europe

The CCIF attends the annual meeting on the implementation of human rights, Human Dimension Implementation Meeting (<u>HDIM 2015</u>), organized by the OSCE in Warsaw. Islamophobia in Europe took a significant part of the discussions.

October 10: Muslims responsible for the rise of anti-Semitism?

Invited to the "Réplique" program aired on radio station *France Culture* and hosted by controversial philosopher Alain Finkielkraut, Georges Bensoussan, director of the Holocaust Memorial, said: *"Today we are in the presence of other people in the French nation, whom are hampering a number of democratic values that have elevated us. (...) There will be no integration as long as we do not get rid of this atavistic anti-Semitism that is being hushed like a secret. There happens to be an Algerian sociologist, Smain Laacher, whom with great courage, has said in the film that will be shown on (public TV station)* France 3: 'It's a shame to keep this taboo, namely that in Arab families in France, and everybody does know that, but nobody wants to say it, anti-Semitism, is suckled with the milk of the mother'." Smain Laacher condemned the statement and denied having said such thing. The CCIF reacted by calling for a mobilization which resulted by a warning to the radio station from the CSA on December 15, 2015.

October 20: Marine Le Pen sentenced for having compared street prayers to the "Nazi occupation"

After the complaint filed by the CCIF, president of the National Front Marine Le Pen is put on trial for her comments on street prayers that she compared to "*Nazi occupation*". After five years of litigation and the loss of her parliamentary immunity, she appeared before the sixth criminal chamber of the high court of Lyon. She finally was acquitted on December 15, 2015.

November

November 13: A series of terrorist attacks hit Paris and Saint-Denis in the northern suburbs

In the space of a few hours, several attacks were committed in crowded places in the capital: the Bataclan concert hall, several cafés, the Stade de France. 130 people were killed, 400 others were injured.

November 14: France under the state of emergency

Facing an exceptional situation, the government declares the state of emergency, an exceptional legal state that was implemented only twice before, during the Algerian war and during the 2005 social riots.

November 15: #NousSommesUnis (We are united)

The CCIF and dozens of organisations sign the #NousSommesUnis appeal calling for national cohesion in the postattack environment.

November 18: A Muslim woman assaulted with a box cutter in Marseille

A young veiled woman is assaulted in Marseille. Punched in the face and attacked with a box cutter, the victim is given a two day medical temporary work reduction.

November 26: Given the increasing number of house searches, the CCIF publishes a guide

The CCIF published its *House arrest guide* in face of the increasing number of abuses linked to the state of emergency, the guide aims to inform citizens of their rights in case of search or house arrest.

December

Excesses of the state of emergency:

Several families turn to the CCIF to complain of violent unwarranted searches and house arrests.

December 7: An ordinary story of sexism and Islamophobia

The newspaper *Libération* published a chronicle called "The veiled woman of the metro" causing an uproar because of its content deemed misogynist and islamophobic by many readers.

December 10: Double standards

In the midst of the state of emergency, the house of a man known for his islamophobic positions on *Facebook* is searched. The police found 17 guns, more than 3,500 rounds and 4.9 kg of black powder. He is nevertheless not put under house arrest.

December 11: Together for a policy of justice and dignity #meetingpjd

The CCIF attends a sold out public meeting under the theme "For a politics of justice and human dignity" at the <u>Bourse</u> <u>du Travail in Saint -Denis</u>. Yasser Louati, spokesman of the CCIF spoke alongside different personalities: Michel Tubiana, honorary president of the League of Human Rights (LDH), Laurence Blisson from the National Union of Magistrates, Ismahane Chouder, feminist activist, Marwan Muhammad, OSCE adviser on racism and Islamophobia and philosopher Tariq Ramadan.

December 13: Decisions in favour of mothers wanting to join school trips

The administrative court of Amiens canceled a decision from the director of academic services at the Amiens board of education that was addressed to principals. Instructions were to deny veiled mother the right to accompany their children during school outings. So far, the CCIF through its lawyer Maître Viegas, has taken action on 13 similar cases brought to the CCIF by students and counsel mothers. The rulings have all been in favor of the plaintiffs.

December 15: Le Figaro newspaper convicted of defamation

Sued for defamation by the CCIF, *Le Figaro* through its journalist Jerome Wise and publishing director Marc Feuillée, is sentenced to a conditional \notin 1,000 fine, one symbolic Euro in damages to the CCIF and respectively \notin 1,000 and \notin 2,000 to Mr. Sage and Mr. Feuillée in legal fees.

December 16: The CCIF against the continuous state of emergency

The CCIF signs the call initiated by the LDH (Defense Human League), "We will not surrender", against the state of emergency and the revoking of citizenship for bi-national sentenced for terror charges. The text is a call not to fall into the trap of abandoning individual freedoms in favor of enhanced security, despite policy failures.

December 25: Islamophobic climate in Ajaccio

In reaction to the assault of two firefighters in the Corsican city of <u>Ajaccio</u>, between 300 and 500 people attacked the Muslim community residing nearby, and holding it responsible for it. The prayer hall of the district was sacked without police intervening.

ISLAMOPHOBIA FIGURES

A Ministry Interior an out of touch with reality

The islamophobia figures presented by the CCIF are usually much higher than those reported by the minister of the Interior. This gap can be explained by the differences in data collection tools.

The ministry just takes into account filed complaints

The Interior minister only takes into account complaints that reach its offices labelled as "anti-Muslim" by the clerk who took down the complaint.

Meanwhile, the CCIF, thanks to the human and technical means at its disposal, can collect, in addition to the complaints, additional cases (resolved by mediation or involving intersectional discrimination, etc.). CCIF team have thus developed a methodology which enables them to work as closely as possible to the reality of the phenomenon of Islamophobia.

The CCIF's Internet platform makes it possible to measure acts of islamophobia in their entirety, thus highlighting the very small percentage of acts that are actually recorded after being lodged, even when circumstances and islamophobic motives are established.

The ministry's figures do not take acts of discrimination into account

The ministry of the Interior's statistics exclusively reflects "threats and activities" recorded by police stations. They leave out an entire segment of the reality of Islamophobia, as acts of discrimination that are happening both in the workplace (including barriers to free trade), or in the context of access to services (restaurant, health clubs, driving school, bowling, etc.). Those acts are left out by the ministry, even when victims of such discrimination file a complaint. In its 2014 report, the Human Right National Consultative Commission (CNCDH) voiced the same complaint with respect to the Interior ministry.¹

And yet, France has a comprehensive legal arsenal at its disposal to severely punish racist discrimination and violence. The CCIF's legal work unfortunately highlights the fact that this arsenal is not used in cases of anti-Muslims acts.

The criminal sanctions, rare and weak, fail to serve as a deterrent for the perpetrators of such acts and discourage victims from getting actively involved in the defense of their rights, which can often be seen as a veritable obstacle course.

For instance, the Interior ministry does not list discriminatory administrative disputes motivated by religious affiliation:

- Repeated, inopportune summonses, threats and sanctions against students for wearing a skirt considered too long, a tunic considered too baggy, or having a prayer callus on the forehead
- Refusing to let veiled mothers accompany their children on school trips
- Denying access to state-sponsored vocational training
- Inciting young children to consume meat (including pork, at times), in the school cafeteria, against the wishes of the parents.

It is important to note that a rapid resolution of these cases could be achieved through mediation, this makes the widespread training of all staff a necessity, in order to help them better deal with delicate situations in which they adopt a discriminatory attitude, and in which public services and administrations then become top places of discrimination and symbolic violence.

¹ CNCDH, La lutte contre le racisme, la xénophobie et l'antisémitisme, year 2014, 2015 : 66-74.

An underreporting phenomenon to take into account

The figures of the ministry of Interior, do not reflect the full extent of Islamophobia. The underreporting of acts to authorities is a major bias in the ministry's system for counting and recording the incidents.

The survey *Silent Victims*, led by the CCIF in 2014, on 1200 people, shows that only 20% of the victims of Islamophobia actually report those acts. It also indicates that Muslims, (50% of the respondents) identify political and media speeches amongst the first causes of Islamophobia.

This underreporting, also highlighted by the EU-MIDIS survey conducted by the Fundemantal Rights Agency $(FRA)^2$, can be explained by the fact victims of Islamophobia often don't trust the police. This lack of trust is due to the fact that police officers often underestimate the racist and islamophobic nature of the acts, often by reframing them in different terms or simply and outright refusing to take down a complaint. Very often, the victims are simply offered to have their incident logged, which does not give rise to any investigation, and therefore any legal action either.

In such cases, the CCIF has to help the victim so that the islamophobic nature of the act is recognized and the police investigation can start. It would be interesting to measure the extent of the government's commitment to the issue of Islamophobia, to examine the proportion of anti-Muslims acts ending in arrests, as well as the average sentence handed down to the aggressors and discriminators.

Working with victims also enables CCIF staff to identify and inventory the non-quantifiable consequences of Islamophobia, namely the internalization of this form of racism by Muslims for whom choices are conditioned by this phenomenon. Indeed, in 2015, the CCIF has received more than 2500 queries, and more than 50% of those were requests for information; which shows that people anticipate discrimination and rejection, and are making their life choices accordingly. These people want to inquire about their rights but also and especially about the steps to take should a problem arise.

A definition closer to the victims

For the CCIF, measuring the extent of Islamophobia must be done based on a dual definition of the phenomenon:

- the trivialization and accumulation of discourses and prejudices that demonize Islam and Muslims
 - All acts of rejection, discrimination or violence committed against institutions or individuals on the basis of their real or perceived affiliation with the Muslim faith.

Demonstration by examples:

- Following the terrorist attacks in January 2015, the journalist Ivan Rioufol took aside Rokhaya Diallo, also journalist on radio *RTL*: "the left calls on today to demonstrate, it's a very good thing and I will myself go to the demonstration. French Muslims, who obviously do not associate themselves with the attacks, also urgently have to demonstrate, otherwise conflations have to be feared". This type of discourse that paradoxically create the conflation that is said to be denounced, has been widely reiterated under the form of insisting and repeated injunctions, by a large set of media and political figures. By its repetition within the media sphere, this discourse has trivialized the idea implementing that French Muslim could be viewed as a foreign citizen body suspected to be compliant to the terrorist attacks committed in 2015. It is currently often reiterated, like the film director Mathieu Kassovitz who, on November 13th 2015, in several tweets (that he then withdrew) addressed his "Muslim friends" right after the attacks exhorting them "to voice their reservations" : "Muslims from France or elsewhere in the world cannot hide any longer behind the conflations of which they are the victims. They need to take a side", and "There must be one million Muslims in the street tomorrow to clearly express the difference between Islam and barbarity".
- More recently, on the 6th of January, the essayist Elisabeth Badinter affirmed on the radio channel *France Inter* that "*we do not have to fear to be labelled as 'islamophobics*" when it's about defending certain principles like secularism. The intellectual trivialize and legitimate the diffusion of islamophobic discourses, which is against the law. Islamophobia like any other type or racism is not an opinion but an offense.

² This survey finds that only 18% of the victims of discrimination in Europe report these acts. EU-MIDIS/FRA, *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey*, 2012.

What is meant by "all acts"?

It means criminal acts, punishable by law such as discrimination, physical and verbal violence, hate speech, or even degradation and profanation of worship places.

Who are the victims?

Persons or institutions. Islamophobia affects children, women and men, the young and the old, whether in the street, in government offices or in the workplace. It also targets mosques and Muslims schools, as institutions symbolizing belonging to the Muslim religion. Islamophobia is rampant in all spheres of society, and stems from a deeply structural racism.

What is meant by « real or perceived affiliation with Islam »?

It can be a person who, on the basis of his or her surname, physical appearance or lifestyle, is viewed, rightly or wrongly, as belonging to the Muslim faith.

Precision census and legal expertise

For years, the CCIF has been identifying and recording all the reports of islamophobic acts it receives before conduction a legal investigation. The intranet tool, introduced in 2014, has enabled the CCIF to gain in precision and efficiency in terms of production data, and graphical analyses of the phenomenon under study.

Islamophobia figures, whether monthly, semi-annual or annual, are produced in a legal framework. The CCIF legal department systematically investigates each report it receives. Facts are checked and cross-checked by lawyers who work directly with different parties:

- the victims, in order to collect evidence and supporting documents
- the discriminator, in view of an amicable settlement
- the police, especially in cases of physical violence
- the judicial branch, when the case requires legal proceedings

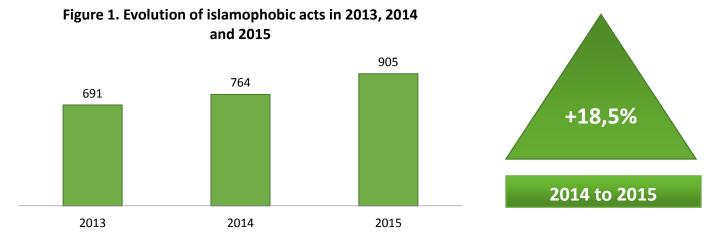
Besides, this platform automatically produces statistics based on the fields entered (types of acts, types of discriminator, types of victims, etc.).

Finally, this tool allows the CCIF to have a complete view of the number of people who contact it, the type of queries and the number of islamophobic acts, all of this in real time.

2015 tendency

A sharp progession of islamophobic acts

2015 has been characterized by a very strong progression of islamophobic acts. While the CCIF recorded 764 acts in 2014, it went up to 905 in 2015, namely an increase of 18.5 %.



This statistical reality confirms the CNCDH findings about racist climate within the French society. In 2014-2015, just like the previous years, the tolerance rates show that Muslims concentrate the most important figures of negative opinions, that is to say approximatively 47% of the French people questioned.³ Only 26% of the French people declare having a positive opinion about Islam. Islamic practices, such as the prayer or the fact to consume *halal* meat, are all considered as barriers to the concept of "living together" (respectively to 52% and 40%).⁴ This data confirms the "*radicalization of the public opinion*"⁵ against Muslims and those perceived as such.

Despite all the efforts made by the CCIF to get closer to the victims, this quantitative study reduces the extent of the phenomenon.⁶ Indeed, the feeling of exclusion, known by a lot of French people, cannot be measured.

As prejudices against Islam spread in the public space, a lot of citizens are internalizing their marginalized status, and are living according to it.

This feeling of social relegation is emphasised when they have been robbed of their free speech, their right to define themselves, especially in the mainstream media. We can then show the responsibility of the main media when they raise a minority of individuals as representatives of Islam, while they are considered as illegitimate by lots of Muslims.⁷

Linked to this first reason, some victims keep some of the attacks they live silent, as it is shown by graph 2. The difference between the acts actually committed (905) and the filed complaints (126) is problematic. Underreporting, as a form of silencing which can be partly explained by the lack of an institutional acknowledgment of Islamophobia⁸, contributes indirectly to the trivialization and normalization of this racism.

³ CNCDH, 2015: 216.

⁴ *Ibid*: 36.

⁵ Read the sociologist Raphaël Liogier, "La paranoïa face à l'islam augmente", interview realized by Zohra Bensemra, *Les Inrockuptibles*, November 13, 2012.

⁶ A deep criticism for those who contest the CCIF's figures, see Abdellali Hajjat, "Statistiques de l'islamophobie : misère du journalisme mensonger", *Médiapart*, February 26, 2015.

To go further in the construction of the « Muslim problem », see Abdellali Hajjat and Marwan Mohammed, *Islamophobie. Comment les élites françaises fabriquent le « problème musulman »*, Paris, La Découverte, 2013.

⁷ Marwan Mohammed, "En France, critiquer les musulmans est devenu un sport national", interview realized by Émilie Tôn, *L'Express*, January 9, 2016.

About the confiscation of the right of speech, and the recognition of non-representatives elite by the media, see the intervention of the political specialist, François Burgat, in the National Assembly, January 12, 2016: https://youtu.be/OOigQZf74l0 (accessed January 2016).

⁸ The sociologue Alexandre Piette whose work is about Islam and the working class prescribe a recognition of islamophobia "comparable to antisemitism" – see Alexandre Piette "Localement, la majorité des musulmans tient à preserver son indépendance", interview realized by Ixchel

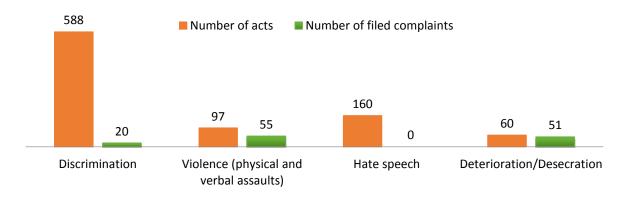
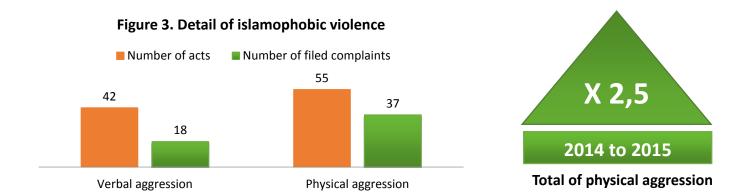


Figure 2. Allocation of the types of islamophobic acts

The phenomenon of Islamophobia has increased in all its forms. Compared to 2014, the CCIF has recorded an unprecedented increase concerning two types of islamophobic acts: physical and symbolic violence.

Physical attacks went up to 150%. Indeed, 22 cases were recorded in 2014, for 55 in 2015, surpassing the number of verbal attacks.



Those figures testify a more frequent acting out, which can explains the massive spread of islamophobic discourses.

Likewise, symbolic violence largely increased (+140% compared to 2014). This violence takes the form of degradations and desecrations: 60 reported cases in 2015, against 25 in 2014. This evolution is alarming, because through its worship places, this is indeed the religion which is attacked, targeted and rejected.



The CCIF regrets that freedom of religion, as a democratic right, as fundamental as the freedom of speech, is not defended in the same way by the protectors of the republican institutions.

Correlation between the attacks and the increase of islamophobic acts

The 2015 figures 2015 must be read with regard to the tragic context of this last year. Hereunder figure 4 shows indeed a strong increase of Islamophobia after the January attacks.⁹

Without giving any "excuse" to terrorists or islamophobic individuals, without putting the two on the same level, the goal, according to sociologist Bernard Lahire¹⁰, is to "*explain*", to "*pass from the register of emotion to one of reason*" and flee populism in which many political actors strategically seek refuge. This correlation between terrorism and Islamophobia must be deconstructed to fit the answers to these two social problems which are closely connected¹¹.

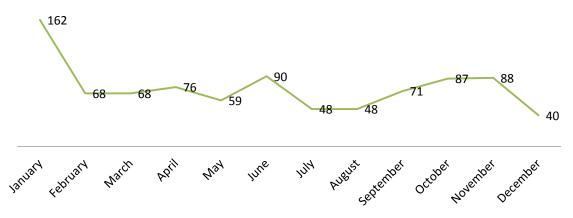


Figure 4. Evolution of the number of islamophobic acts in 2015

The rise of islamophobic acts in response to the attacks demonstrates a confusion between terrorism and Islam. The CCIF calls political leaders, journalists, and those who assign meanings to events to operate, without equivocation, in order to make a clear dissociation between the two. The radicalization of young French people must be seen as a consequence of their "desocialization", like a product of our society, as the sociologist Didier Fassin says.¹² A simple look at the French terrorists' lives, all from disadvantaged urban areas, is enough to underline the "*failures of public action towards the working classes*".¹³ Those suffer from urban segregation, inequality of access to education, mass unemployment, discrimination in employment¹⁴; problems which perpetuate social frustrations.

Therefore, the attacks must be seen as a "*return of the boomerang*" of French foreign policy, as suggested by the research worker Jean-François Bayart.¹⁵

Drawing the right conclusions will then be a good way to efficiently fight terrorism on one side, and to protect French Muslims from a "double punishment" on the other.

Moreover, the CCIF deplores the many calls made to the "Muslim community" in order for to "condemn" the attacks. This type of discourse isolates Muslims as if they were different French and, beyond, it approves a groundless communitarian approach. As explained by the political specialist Olivier Roy, "*the Muslim community does not exist*"¹⁶, Muslims constitute a heterogeneous group crossed by social, economic and generational differences, just like the French

⁹ The same peak cannot be seen for the November attacks. At the end of the year, discriminations have been committed under the name of the law in the frame of abusive house searches by the decrees issued by the interior ministry. If those discriminations are not registered in the total of islamophobic acts, the CCIF register and assist those victims of police and political abuses.

¹⁰ Bernard Lahire, "Nos responsables politiques ont tendance à refuser toute explication", interview realized by Marion Rousset, *Télérama*, January 6, 2015.

¹¹ To go futher see the analysis of Marwan Muhammad, advisor to the OSCE and former spokesperson for the CCIF,

[&]quot;Islamophobie et Daech, deux ideologies qui se valident l'une de l'autre", interview realized by Ramses Kefi, *Rue89.com*, november 28, 2015.

¹² Didier Fassin, "Notre société a produit ce qu'elle rejette aujourd'hui comme une monstruosité infâme", Le Monde, January 15, 2015.

¹³ Read Pierre Beckouche, geographer, article "*Terroristes français : une géographie sociale accablante*", *Libération*, december 28, 2015.

¹⁴ TEO survey findings, "Trajectoires et origines" led by the INED, published in January 2016, confirm the persistence of racial discrimination in the workplace

¹⁵ Jean-François Bayart, "Le retour du boomerang", *Libération*, November 15, 2015.

¹⁶ Olivier Roy, "La peur d'une communauté musulmane qui n'existe pas", Le Monde, January 9,2015.

society is.

If the religious question should be broached, it is to state the obvious, as it is right done by the specialist in contemporary Islam Jean-Pierre Filiu: "the discourse of the Islamic State can take only those who have no Muslim culture".¹⁷ The antiterrorism judge Marc Trévidic made the same observation: religion would only be a "varnish", a mobile claimed by only 10% of terrorist profiles.18

To overcome this social situation, the CCIF calls for a debate, but also to look for the socio-economic causes of this phenomenon, to build a dialogue with research world, to consult associations in order to build, together, a social cohesion.

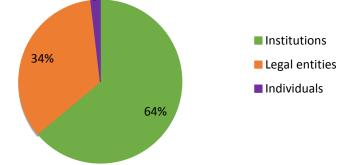
It is clear that the government did not make these choices, whether after the attacks in January, when the ministry of Education created the division within schools, or whether after the attacks in November, by decreeing the state of emergency and therefore allowing unreasonable searches and raids. These drifts prove the crystallization of Islamophobia within the institutions of the Republic.

An institutionalized racism? Criminalized children and house arrested parents

Still in 2015, Islamophobia remains a form of institutionalized racism. Specifically, for 64% of the acts of discrimination registered by the CCIF, French institutions are to be held responsible.

^{2%} Figure 5. Acts of islamophobia by types of perpetrators

Institutions 34% Individuals 64%



This result sheds a light on the lack of official recognition of the islamophobic phenomenon. Without a clear commitment in that prospect, this is a license to discriminate that is implicitly given to the representatives of the institutions.

Instrumentalisation of the French "Laïcité" (secularism)

Those institutional discriminations are also the result of radical ideological shifts on the concept of secularism¹⁹. Largely misguided by political spheres on both political spectrum, secularism is used as a tool to legitimize the most discriminating behaviour and the most vehement speech against Muslims. Within French institutions, it has become an instrument of stigma and exclusion. Jean-Louis Bianco, president of the Observatory of Secularism expressed his regret concerning the political exploitation of this legal concept: "Aristide Briand, Ferdinand Buisson, Jean Jaurès and ultimately Georges Clemenceau, had recalled that the law of separation of Churches and State was primarily a "law of liberty". Some want to undermine this basic principle, because for them, basically, anything that is linked to Islam is anti-republican by nature."²⁰

¹⁷ Jean-Pierre Filiu, "Le discours de l'EI ne peut prendre que chez ceux qui n'ont aucune culture musulmane", interview realised by Cécile Chambraud, Le Monde, January 18,2014.

¹⁸ Marc Trévidic "Le juge Trévidic, 'la religion n'est pas le moteur du jihad", *Le télégramme*, june 28, 2015

¹⁹ Jean Baubérot, *La laïcité falsifiée*, Paris, La Découverte, 2014.

²⁰ To read the whole interview, Jean-Louis Bianco "Ceux qui dénaturent la laïcité sont ceux qui en font un outils antireligieu" interview realized by Cécile Chambraud, Le Monde, january 19, 2016.

Criminalisation of children at school

The CCIF fought in the beginning of the year 2015 against the abuses within the National Education institution. While teaching and dialogue should have been the only answers to the confusion erupted in the minds following the attacks, denunciations, suspicion and repression were preferred in the name of a zero tolerance policy that should not have its place within the schools of the Republic. Police referrals of Muslim boys (primary and secondary levels) accused of "advocating terrorism" as insults, uttered by professors, conflating Muslim and terrorists are simply unacceptable.

This management of the events by the ministry of Education is even more disastrous when the school fails to fulfill its mission, which is allowing equal opportunities to all its pupils. Worse than that, the school system, because of its ideological orientation and despite successive reforms, greatly participates in the reproduction of social inequalities²¹ to the extent of the use of the terms "academic apartheid".²²

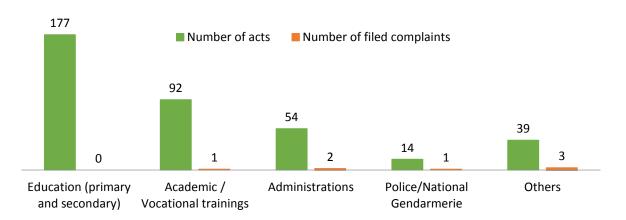


Figure 6. Allocation of discrimination by types of institutions

According to 2015 figures, the primary and secondary schools combine alone almost half (47%) of the discriminations perpetrated by institutions (117 cases).

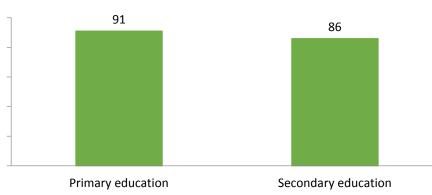


Figure 7. Allocation of discrimination by level of education

²¹ Romuald Bodin, Louis Weber (dir.), "Les inégalités devant l'éducation", Savoir/Agir, n°17, 2011.

²² Georges Felouzis, Françoise Liot, Joël Perroton, L'apartheid scolaire. Enquête sur la ségrégation ethnique dans les collègues, Paris, Seuil, 2015.

See also, on the treatment of islam in school textbook, Marlène Nasr, *Les Arabes et l'Islam vus par les manuels scolaires français*, Karthala, 2003 ; François Durpaire and Béatrice Mabilon-Bonfils, "L'islam des manuels scolaires : comment le musulman est transformé en terroriste potentiel", *L'Obs*, 1^{er} septembre 2014.

However, the types of discrimination perpetrated within these institutions are different according to the given context.

In primary schools, the overwhelming majority of cases of discrimination (over 90%) concerns the mothers of students who wish to accompany their children on school outings. They are forfeited by the direction of some educational institutions on the grounds that their dress would have a supposedly proselytizing character (most of the time, these mothers wear a simple *hijab*). This spurious ground is based on the Chatel circular, an obsolete regulatory act without legal significance and, especially, opposed to the law of 15 March 2004 which cannot be applied to student's parents, as highlighted by the council of State in 2013^{23} , and has been confirmed by a recent justice decision.²⁴

At middle and high schools, we find this same excessive focus on clothes considered as "Islamic": long skirts, loose and dark clothing, etc. The main targets of the law of 15 March 2004, Muslim girls are also victims of the fierceness of some members of the educational community who would like to extend its scope.

Random raids must stop

The 2015 figures of the CCIF do not include all discrimination perpetrated under cover of the state of emergency (for 152 searches, 56 house arrests and 7 exit bans territory between November 13 and December 31, 2015). This interference in individual freedoms – considered by sociologist Laurent Mucchielli as a "*legal and political*" danger and "*a symbolic defeat*"²⁵ – massively targets Muslims with a totally arbitrary character. By the own admission of Director of the Cabinet of the Prefect of Eure-et-Loir, searches conducted in the department aimed only Muslims "*who have a regular practice, who changed their behaviour or their dress appearance*", due to a "*preventive approach*" because "*they are not concerned in judicial affairs*".²⁶ Such practices, based on denouncement, ethno-racial prejudice and racial profiling is quite similar to the darkest days of our country.

The failure of searches, to be compared with their excessive number, only testifies the current security drift condemned not only by the CCIF, but by the judges themselves. The council of State, that is, the highest administrative court, "believes that the 3,000 operations after the attacks of November 13 generate a "serious matter" in terms of Article 66 of the constitution, which affirms that "judicial authority is the guardian of individual liberty"."²⁷ As such, the council of State decided to consult the high judges of the constitutional council on the absence of the judge in the process leading to administrative searches.

This reaction is in line with the conclusions of Jean-Jacques Urvoas, rapporteur of the parliamentary control commission, who believes that the state of emergency "*is slowing*".²⁸ In the same vein, the General Secretariat for Defense and National Security, shows the failure of the "regime of total security" and advocates the abandonment of State repression. In addition, it advocates the recognition of the expertise of civil society, including Muslims.²⁹

CCIF is concerned about the state of emergency outcomes and the consequences for those unjustly targeted by these "preventive" searches. These are sometimes conducted under very questionable methods, namely with a disproportionate deployment of human resources and the use of force (rugby-style tackle, handcuffs, property damage, etc.) and sometimes in front of children.³⁰ Such abuse of power gives cause of concern, especially since an investigation of Cevipof revealed that more than half of police and military forces (51.5%) voted, in the regional elections of 2015, for the National Front³¹, an explicitly islamophobic party.

²³ Counsil of state, Étude demandée par le Défenseur des droits le 20 septembre 2013, december 19, 2013.

²⁴ See for example the decisions of the administrative court of Nice (june 9, 2015) and the administrative court of Amiens concerning 13 pupils' mothers forbidden of school trips because of their veil (December 22, 2015)

²⁵ Laurent Mucchieli, "Le pouvoir exécutif a enclenché une surenchère sécuritaire inédite", *Libération.fr*, November 23, 2015

²⁶ "Avec l'état d'urgence, les perquisitions en Eure-et-Loir se font dans une 'optique préventive' ", *L'écho républicain*, December 11, 2015.

²⁷ Aurélie End, "'meurtris' et 'inquiets', les juges se rebiffent face aux mesures sécuritaires ", *PublicSénat.fr,* January 15,2015.

²⁸ Jérôme Hourdeaux, "Jean-Jacques Urvoas, l'état d'urgence 's'essoufle'", *Mediapart.fr*, January 13, 2016.

²⁹ Fabrice Arfi and Matthieu Suc, "Terrorisme : un rapport confidentiel-défense condamnait en 2013 le tout-sécuritaire", *Mediapart.fr*, January 11, 2016.

³⁰ Audition of the CCIF by the CNCDH, January 11, 2016.

³¹ Cevipof, L'enquête électorale française : comprendre 2017, December 2015.

Woman and Muslim: a double stigma

Yet again, the CCIF noted this year that Islamophobia, apart from being institutionalized, is also a form of sexism: 3/4 of the victims are women.

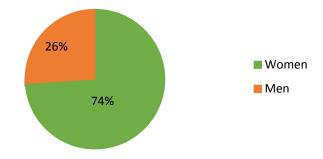


Figure 8. Acts of Islamophobia by gender

A significant part of the victims wear the veil. This one, in whatever form, has often monopolized public debate since the early 2000s. Overhyped and over-politicized, the headscarf issue has direct consequences on how the French public opinion views Muslims. The CNCDH highlights worrying data regarding the safety of these women and their religious practices in public space. For 79% of French respondents in 2014, the veil is an obstacle to "living together". This is a massive rejection expressed in the survey on the full veil: 93% of respondents believe that it has no place in our society.³² All this without giving any space to those who are targeted in the public debates.³³

Therefore for over a decade, there has been explicit sexist and racist violence towards these Muslim women, their clothes, their bodies. Such actions are part of a context:

- The political discourse³⁴ excluding Muslim women from the citizen body, denying their rights to their physical integrity.

- Media coverage depicts a picture always more stigmatizing veiled women to the point that they are dehumanized.³⁵

- The renewal of the mainstream French feminism is based on the figure of the Muslim women.³⁶ Depicted as oppressed, infantilized, women wearing the headscarf are subject to injunctions to standardize their body, to match a model of emancipation that are both ethnocentric and excluding.

In its sexist comprehension, Islamophobia reveals its intersectional dimension, which is based both on sexism and racism. "We are never only a woman" underlines the sociologist Amélie Le Renard; Muslim women are targeted because they are women and Muslim.³⁷ Women represent more than 80% of victims of islamophobic violence. Physical assaults illustrate perfectly the intersectionality of violence: the aggressors attack the Islamic symbols (such as headscarf) as well as the body of their victim (sexual touching).

³² CNCDH, 2015 : 35-36

³³ Pierre Tévanian, "Le voile médiatique. Un faux débat : l' 'affaire du foulard islamique'", Paris, Liber, 2005, and Ismahane Chouder, Malika Latrèche and Pierre Tévanian, Les filles voilées parlent, Paris, La Fabrique 2008.

³⁴ See for exemple the words of Manuel Valls on radio station *Europe 1*, on February 7, 2013: "*The veil that forbids women to be who they are, will remain for me and must remain for the Republic, an essential fight*". Or more recently, on the same radio, those of Nicolas Sarkozy on February 19, 2015: "*We do not want veiled women*".

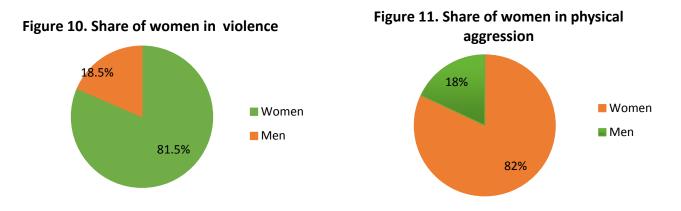
³⁵ On the global treatment of this aspect see the work of Thomas Deltombe, *L'islam imaginaire. La construction médiatique de l'islamophobie en France (1975-2005)*, Paris, La Découverte, 2005.

For a precise exemple of column mixing islamophobia and sexism, read Luc Le Vaillant, "La femme voilée du métro", *Libération*, December 7, 2015.

³⁶ Nacira Guénif-Souilamas, "La Française voilée, la beurette, le garçon arabe et le musulman laïc : les figures assignées du racisme vertueux" *in* Nacira Guénif-Souilamas (dir.), *La République mise à nu par son immigration*, Paris, La Fabrique, 2006, p. 109-138, and Saïd Bouamama, *L'affaire du foulard islamique. La production d'un racisme respectable*, Paris, Éditions Le Geai bleu, 2004.

³⁷ Words collected by Aude Lorriaux, "Les actes anti-musulmans cachent-ils une misogynie ?", *Slate.fr*, November 3rd, 2015.

These attacks are also often coupled with islamophobic, racist and sexist insults. In addition, many physical attacks target women in vulnerable situations: pregnant or with their children, alone in an isolated place, etc.



If Muslim women are over represented as victims of Islamophobic violence, this is especially the case regarding discrimination. In 2015, nearly 9 out of 10 reports involved women. As described above, most of the victims of discrimination at school are Muslim women. It is the same in many other institutions and areas of the public sphere: in town halls, prefectures, in police stations, etc., but also in access to goods and services, in access to leisure and medical care.

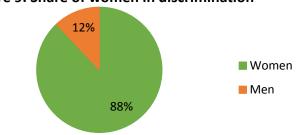


Figure 9. Share of women in discrimination

Within the workplace, discriminations constitute a symbolic violence that is not to be belittled. They deeply influence the choices of careers of these women. Quite often, they adjust their lifestyle, internalizing (consciously or unconsciously) the risk of being discriminated against because of both their religion and gender.

In 2015, 100% of discriminations registered by the CCIF in the field of academic and vocational trainings concern Muslim women only. But this is when it comes to employment that the extent of the phenomenon is revealed. On equal qualifications, women perceived to be Muslim are 3-4 times less likely to get a job interview³⁸ compared with other women. Their chances are almost zero when they wear the veil, placing them, as noted by Patrick Simon, director of research at INED (National Institute of Demographic Studies), in a situation of "*social death in the labor market*"³⁹.

All these elements combined depict a sad reality many Muslim women must face. At each stage of their life, for every move of their daily life, even the most trivial, they are likely to experience discrimination or violence, to be excluded for what they are, not to be respected in their physical integrity and to be denied of their humanity.

³⁸ Researchers like Marie-Anne Valfort and Pascal Tisserant have recently made CV testings in order to measure the 'muslim effect' and the 'headscarf effect' on spontaneous applications in various professional fields. The results of the inquiry are explicit.

Claire Adida, David Laitin and Marie-Anne Valfort, "Identifying barriers to Muslim integration in France", National Academy of Sciences, n°107 (52), 2010, p. 384-390.

Pascal Tisserant, "Discrimination à l'embauche liée au port de voile : les résultats d'un *testing* sur CV réalisé en France", 'The making of discrimination' meeting, November 6, 2014, University of Paris-Est Marne la Vallée.

Pascale Petit, Emmanuel Duguet, Yannick L'Horty, Loïc du Parquet and Florent Sari, "Discrimination à l'embauche : les effets du genre et de l'origine se cumulent-ils systématiquement ?", *Économie et Statistiques*, n° 464-465-466, 2013, p. 141-153.

³⁹ Words collected by AFP "Voiles à la fac : tensions dans le débat public, moins sur le terrain", *La Voix du Nord*, march 27, 2015.

To the government and French institutions

- Recognize Islamophobia as a form of racism and make it a national cause as it is the case for other forms of racism.
- Take concrete measures to collect and save ethnic and religious statistics grounded on perceptions and selfperceptions. Make sure that, for example, studies such as INED "Trajectories and origins" are regularly conducted in order to register precise information about discrimination based on sex, origin and religion.
- End any attempt to extend religious neutrality into public space and public places such as private companies.
- Open a dialogue with the civil society actors who fight against Islamophobia.
- Set up a delegate in charge of fighting against discrimination in every ministry (especially the ministries of National Education, Justice, Interior, Labor, Urban Affairs and Women's Rights) to follow and coordinate this fight within a context of a common action with civil society.
- Encourage the French Ombudsman (Defender of Rights) to host a "Testing <u>observatory</u>" on their website, thus enabling public access to the whole list of testing results that measure discrimination regarding access to employment, housing, public and private services, medical treatment and social services, education. The reliability of the referenced testings should be guaranteed by independent experts⁴⁰.

In the field of Education

- Strictly apply existing legislations.
- Establish quantitative and qualitative balanced assessments of the 15 march 2004 law since its enactment. Repeat this action every two years and draw conclusions.
- Repeal the Chatel circular of 27 march 2012, which does is not a legal document but is pledged and applied as such by certain agents of the National Education institution.
- Launch a training campaign targeting the education community. The campaign should deal with the concept of secularism and religious discrimination in schools, and more generally on the identification and deconstruction of stereotypes, in order to achieve a better apprehension of gender equality and equal opportunities. It should be organized in collaboration with different stakeholders of the civil society who are already engaged in such good practices.

To the police force

- Reform the present system of complaint logging. Data should be digitally stored and racial motivation, including islamophobic (or anti-Muslim), of the discriminatory act should be included in complaint reports.
- Establish data collection based on gender, religion or origin and based on victims declarations.
- Set up a vocational training program on reception, providing service for victims of discrimination (especially those related with origin and religion), as well as the diligence of the investigation.
- Organise professional training on the reception, the service displayed to the victims (including those linked to racial discrimination and/or religion discrimination), as well as the speed of the investigation that should be uphold in those cases of discrimination. In order to fight the refusal to register complaints and in view of making the police force aware of the phenomenon of underreporting and the importance of collecting necessary pieces of information to lead an efficient investigation. These trainings have to be thought and designed with the collaboration of non-profit, civil society organisations fighting against racism. These trainings need to prioritize enhancing the ability to establish the facts related to discriminations and identification of a racial, sexual or multiple stigma allowing to identify the aggravating factors of the offense committed.
- The cross-examination of witnesses of the offense and the collection of their identities have to be systematic during the intervention of the police forces in order to gather all the elements needed to lead an efficient investigation capable of revealing the truth.

⁴⁰ Valfort, 2015 : 60 (and next)

- Systematically relocate all the investigations for assaults and rebellion towards police officers in another police station, in order that they cannot be led by the police agents who filed the complaints.
- Under the state of emergency, systematically deliver a duplicate of the house search warrant and the official report following the search to the person who was raided.

In the field of justice

- Systematically retain the aggravating circumstances of the racial feature, in such religious affiliation when it is proven, and ensure that the investigators gather all informations needed in that matter.
- Strengthen the cooperation between the organisations fighting against racism and prosecutors, to bend efficiently the high rate of closing cases when it comes to discriminatory offenses, especially religious discrimination.
- Put in movement law enforcement without delay and with the higher penal qualification to pass severe sentences with no remission to prevent recidivism.
- Systematically associate the victim to the prosecution alternatives, including reminders of the law so that victims can be offered a symbolic reparation, victimhood recognition when the cases are to court.
- Identify and evaluate the actions of the antidiscrimination units to strengthen their actions and their links with the civil society following their unevenness of their action and their appeal from a prosecutor to another.
- Ensure the respect of the principle of equality between users of the public service by prosecuting complaints filed against agents of institutions as quickly as those filed by those agents against individuals.
- Under the state of emergency, call on the administrative jurisdictions to use their best judgments during the examination of white papers (notes written down by the SID management) delivered by the Interior ministry and regularly marred by errors.

In the field of Employment

- Remove (or do not introduce) any internal rules aiming at limiting religious manifestations in private companies beyond actual legal provisions.
- Initiate sessions of professional training and coaching on the antidiscrimination legislation, integrating the religious discrimination component, in collaboration with civil society's stakeholders.
- Disseminate pedagogical guide to all employers on the matter of religion and underline that the cases of religious claims within the workplace leading to a situation of stalemate cover an extreme minority.
- Disseminate good practices identified in the frame of diversity promotion (including religious diversity).

To the journalists and managers of editorial boards

- Call more regularly on civil society's stakeholders, whose legitimacy or intellectual recognition comes from their field of action or academic spheres, in order to share their knowledge and experiences on the issues they are experts on.
- Include, within journalists' training (educational or vocational), sessions on debunking concepts (classes on the etymology, construction and meaning of concepts such as "moderate Muslims", "jihadist", "terrorism", "integrism", "radicalism", etc.) aiming at deconstructing myths linked to their trivialisation in mainstream media and political discourses.
- Question, with the support of academics and civil society's leaders, the impact of journalists' practices and discourses on their audience, as well as on the making of the "public opinion".

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