Introduction

Islam in the West is one of the most contested subject of this century. The presence of Muslims and their religious practices have provoked numerous debates in Western societies. Although Muslims are not new in Europe, their increased numbers in the last two-three decades have forced European Christians to think that their western identity is at stake and that they are under attack. Muslims have a long relationship with the Western countries. They had historical trade and diplomatic relations with many European states after the advent of Islam. This relationship could be classified in several stages. Majorly this connexion could be categorized in three different stages, 1. Medieval relations stage, 2. Modern relations Stage 3. Contemporary relations stage.¹ The time period for the first stage i.e. medieval relations stage could be assumed sometime between 7th to 15 CE. The second stage could be determined between 15th to mid- 20th CE and the third stage from around mid-20th CE till date.² These three stages have witnessed almost all sort of phases, i.e. trades, wars, occupation, expulsion, colonization, attaining freedom, immigration etc. Twentieth century have witnessed permanent large scale migration of Muslim masses to Western soils. With such huge scale immigrations, Islam has been recognised the second or third largest religion in Europe and America.³ The presence of Muslims in great numbers have developed a sense of insecurity among Westerns.

After the Second World War European countries fulfilled their demand of cheap labour with large number of immigrants from Asian and African countries. The first generation of these immigrants were almost unaware of the culture and values of West. They did not try to interact more with Europeans. But, their second and third generation is practicing Islam and interacting with their co-citizens and are exploring their identities. They are in direct contact with the European culture and are trying to practice Islam in the most advance society of the world. Performing Islamic duties in societies who have

² Ibid
centuries’ long negative images of Islam and Muslim is not too soothing. It is a fact that Muslims are facing numerous issues and problems in Europe. When it comes to women, then they have to face majority of these issues and problems. At one hand Muslim women have to face family issues and on the other hand they are victimised at public places or work places. Veil Ban in France is one of the major issues Muslim Women are struggling with. According to Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper

“What is beyond dispute is that the role of women in Islam is a highly contested issue in Western Europe.”

Incidents like 9/11, the Madrid train bombings, the assassination of Theo van Gogh and the London transportation system bombings of 2005 and many more events of violence have created negative image and have made Muslims ultimate outsiders in Europe. Some Muslim terrorists and media stereotype were the force behind it. Western researcher Marco Cinnirella in his remarkable article “Think terrorist, think Muslim?” has discussed the psychological factors behind this apparent rise in anti-Muslim prejudice. There are Muslim immigrants of different cultural, social and political background residing in different parts of Europe. As western scholar Prof. Yasemin Yildiz agrues

“Migrations from North Africa (Algeria, Morocco) to France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, from South Asia (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh) to Britain, and from Turkey to Germany and the Netherlands have created the first substantial resident populations

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5 Theo Van Gogh, a Dutch film director was killed by a Dutch-Moroccan Muslim in 2004. He had received a death threat from extremists for his controversial film titled Submission (2004). In this film the treatment of women in Islam was criticized.
of Muslim background within Europe.”

Although there are countries in Europe with significant numbers of Muslims but France is the country with highest Muslim population in Western Europe. Most of the debates regarding Islam and Muslims are at their peak in France. Muslims are facing numerous issues and their women have to face majority of them. For this reason I have focused upon the issues of French Muslim women.

**Historical Background of Muslims in Europe:** Islam, a religion for all humankind, but its followers Muslims have become the topic of debate in Europe. The presence of Muslims in Europe is not new occurrence, and has its own history and is as old as Islam. Although, from the very early days of Islam, there were diplomatic and trade relations among Muslims and some Central and Southern European countries. As Western historians David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg observe

> “Islam in the West is both an old and a new phenomenon. In certain regions, particularly and Eastern Europe it has a very long history.”

According to Western historian Phillip K. Hitti, during the Umayyad period (660-750 C.E.) with the goal of expansion, Muslims moved towards Europe. They entered Europe through Spain first time in 710 AD, but the most remarkable conquest was in 711 AD. It

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8 In this thesis Muslims means all those people who are by birth Muslim, born to the Muslim parents or have embraced Islam. It does not matter from which country they belong to. As for many European thinkers, philosophers, historians and writers the term ‘Muslim’ and ‘Arab’ are synonym. In French context the term ‘Magribian’ is used for Muslims. The term ‘Magrib’ is specifically referred for Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. In this thesis I have applied the term ‘Muslim’ in a wider context and not limiting it to a certain region.

was such a historical conquest that even centuries after the Reconquista, Muslims are marked as invaders. These negative images still persist in European societies, especially in Spain and France. Traditional Festival of Moors and Christians (Moros y Cristianos), in which Reconquista is commemorated in almost 400 localities in all over Spain, Muslims are coloured with negative images. This festival commemorates the confrontation that took place in 13th century between Muslims and Christians. As

“The Festivals celebrate the Spanish Reconquest (Christain Victory over Islam) of the peninsula after eight centuries of Muslim presence, by the re-enactment of local victories over invading Moorish armies. The celebration basically consists of a symbolic battle for the local territory, a dramatization of the struggle of Moorish and Christian military units, resulting in the victory of Christians. In the Festival, the Moors are defeated in combat and then converted to Christianity, or in the case of some villages, they are “symbolically” thrown into the sea.”

The signs of conquest of Spain by Muslims in the early 8th century can be found even today. According to Hitti the peninsula Tarifa also known as jazirat’ (isle of) Tarifa, the southernmost part of Iberian Peninsula and continental Europe named after its conqueror Tarif, a client of Musa ibn- Nusayr, a celebrated governor of North Africa under the Umayyad rule. Tarif landed in Spain in 710 and succeeded in holding some of its part. In the year 711, another general of Musa ibn- Nusayr, Tariq Bin Ziyad invaded Spain with 7,000 men most of them were Berbers. The conquest of Tairq Bin Ziyad is a well recorded event in the history of Arabs as well as Westerners.

10 “Reconquista, English Reconquest, in medieval Spain and Portugal, a series of campaigns by Christian states to recapture territory from the Muslims (Moors), who had occupied most of the Iberian Peninsula in the early 8th century” source Britannica Encyclopaedia.
12 ibid
“Tariq landed near the mighty rock, which has since immortalized his name, Jabal (mount of) Tariq (Gibraltar)”\(^{13}\).

**Muslim Presence in France in early 8\(^{th}\) Century:** Spain paved the way for the conquest of some parts of present day France. In 716 AD North African troops, led by Arabian officers entered France via Spain\(^{14}\). Narbonne was conquered in 719 and was used as protectorate by the Muslims. Atrium of the Christian Basilica was converted into a mosque\(^{15}\). Muslim troops captured the areas beyond Lyon into Burgundy and in the West reached the outskirts of Toulouse.

“The first Muslims came to France centuries ago, following the occupation of Spain by the Moors in the eighth century. Some settled on the outskirts of Toulouse and even as far north as Burgundy, and there are remains of an eighth-century mosque in Narbonne”\(^{16}\)

Charles Martel proved to be a hero for the upcoming generations of French by defeating the Arabs in 732 at Poitiers and drove them out of Lyon\(^{17}\).

“In 732, Charles Martel defeated the Arabs at Poitiers’. This snippet of information, dutifully memorised by generations of French schoolchildren, does justice neither to the extent nor to the duration of the Arab-Muslim occupation of the territory which is now known as France”\(^{18}\).


\(^{15}\) ibid


\(^{17}\) ibid

\(^{18}\) ibid
It is the problem of French society from the middle ages that they have perceived Islam as their foe. They have always considered Islam as not compatible to their society. As the Western scholar Stéphanie Giry argues

“All Islam has been distrusted in Europe since the middle ages, and modern French colonial authorities took care to institutionalize their suspicion in France's overseas territories. As early as the 1870s, they set up a two-tier system in Algeria under which local Catholics and Jews could become French but Muslims could not. Islam was seen as a barrier to Frenchness and in one way or another it still is today.”

These briefly mentioned events could be seen as one of the major reasons behind the adverse appearance of Muslims in Europe especially in France. Apart from bitter experiences European countries particularly France had trade relations with the Arab world countries. They were in direct contact with the Mughal Empire of India, Safavids of Iran and Turkish Ottoman Empire. In this way Islam and Muslims were not alien for them. They had century’s long diplomatic ties with the Muslim Empires. They have learnt many good things from the Muslim intellectuals. According to European scholar of Orientalism John M. MacKenzie Jaun Sweetman

“Moorish and Islamic styles were more influential, and it is certainly true that they were applied to a greater range of buildings and rooms. They could be more effectively blended with major European forms (Classical and Gothic) and the Indian elements and became particularly important in the later nineteenth century as the architectural language of both exhibitions and leisure”.

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The above mentioned facts, which are usually elapsed and are not in discussions while arguing about Muslim and Islam in European context. As a result the young Europeans of other faiths or having no faith in religion consider their Core-European identity at sake because of the more visibility of Muslims in Europe. This visibility is and was there in their art and architecture. Also, some decades ago these European powers with their imperialistic policies were present in the Muslim lands which belong to the parents or grand-parents of most of the Europeans Muslims.

**Muslims in France in the contemporary Era:** France also known as the French Republic, is a country in Western Europe. It has several overseas regions and territories. But, in this thesis I would discuss only the mainland of France known as Metropolitan France. This Metropolitan France extends from the English Channel and North Sea to the Mediterranean Sea and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rhine. It is bordering Germany, Spain, Luxemburg, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Andorra and Monaco. In 2018, the population in France is estimated to be around 65.23 million.20

As stated above, France has a location in the Mediterranean basin, which is close to the African continent. It has very old associations with Muslim societies from the past. France's share similar view of Muslim women with the rest of the Europe. Almost all the religious elements of Islam are under attack. The so called secularisation and freedom of thought are proving to be a kind of weapon to destroy the symbols of Islam in France. In 2004, wearing headscarves at public schools has been made illegal. The grounds of such prohibitions was secularism. Muslim mothers who bring their children to school or want to accompany their daughter or son during any kind of school activity were asked to remove headscarves during the course of these activities. In the 2000s, headscarf and veil ban were converted into a challenging issue. Media played significant role in intensifying the issue. In 2011, burqa was banned in public places.

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Cities with Significance in France: As per an estimate during 2016 France has metro population of 6,47,50,000\textsuperscript{21} excluding overseas territories.

Paris: Paris is the largest and capital city of France. It is one of the cities with the significant Muslim population. This research scholar has conducted field work in this city. Paris is one of the most populous city of France as well as of EU. It has an estimated population of 2.24 million. This city is spread over 4,638 square miles. It has its own president and regional council comprising 12 million population. In this way this Paris population amounts for 18% of France’s total population.\textsuperscript{22}

If one talks about the number of Muslims living in and around Paris, then it is almost impossible to determine. French government do not allow census on religious grounds. Although, there lies some data and facts about the immigrants from different countries. As most of the immigrants from Muslim majority countries are Muslim, one could have an idea about the Muslim presence in France.

Marseille: The second largest city of France is located on the South coast. A city with the largest Muslim population in France is the capital of the department of Bouches-du-Rhone and region of Provence-Alpes-côte d’Azur. Its ancient name is Massalia and was among the most important commercial centres of Europe. It is still one of the most important ports of French Republic. Because of its significance in terms of trade, this city remained in the contacts of Arab Muslim traders from the advent of Islam. After the industrial revolution this city demanded cheap labour in huge numbers. Also, when the emigrational waves were strong, immigrants got most of the employment in this city. These are the reasons behind the largest Muslim population in this metropolitan. As, there is no governmental official data available regarding the number of Muslims in this city, only certain estimations are available through which one could determine the population of migrant as well as reverted to Islam. As an estimate there are almost 20 percent Muslims in Marseille.

“\textquote{For half a century, it has had the largest Jewish and Muslim populations outside of Paris, making the city, by some estimates,}”

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid
almost 10 percent Jewish and 20 percent Muslim. Moreover, these figures have remained stable. Marseille’s population fell by 12 percent between 1975 and 1990 – losing more than 100,000 residents – before stagnating in the past decade at around 840,000.”\(^{23}\)

**Nice:** It is the fifth most populous city of France with significant Muslim population. It is one of the most important historical cities of the country. Dating back to around 2000 years back, it has Roman architectures. It is one of the famous tourist attractions. Nice holds the largest Tunisian population. The Muslim population over here is facing almost the highest level of unemployment.

“The Muslim community itself is layered. There is a substantial sector of well-educated and integrated North Africans, but also a population that lives in bleak housing blocks in the city’s outlying districts, where in 2013 close to 40 percent of young people were unemployed, according to the French statistics office Insee.”\(^{24}\)

This city was in news after a truck attack in 2016. It was the evening of 14\(^{th}\) July, 2016, a young man of Tunisian origin crushed hundreds of people with a cargo truck. In this horrified incident around 86 people were killed and more than 400 were injured. In this way the city known for its Tunisian majority population was highlighted because of this attack and unfortunately the killer was of the origin of that ‘maghrebien’ country.

**Cheap Labour Major Cause of Large Scale Migration:** After the world war second most of the European powers including France achieved the demand of cheap labour from


most of its colonies in Asia and Africa. The Maghreb\textsuperscript{25} proved to be the major source of low-priced man force for France. They were called to contribute in the industrial growth of this country but later their upcoming generations had to face un-employment.

“Immigration from North Africa to France proper remained modest until World War II, but it picked up during the post war boom, when France's factory lines needed extra bodies. About a million guest workers came during the 1960s. But after the 1973 oil crisis, France shut its borders, offering those foreigners it already employed the option of staying and being joined by their families. Some immigrants were naturalized then, and many of their children were granted citizenship by virtue of having been born in France. (The termfrançais issus de l'immigration [FII] has recently arisen to describe this population and all other naturalized immigrants and their descendants.) With this status came thorough acculturation, thanks partly to strict linguistic requirements. But as a group of outsiders in the midst of an economic crisis, the immigrants and their offspring faced persistent unemployment.”\textsuperscript{26}

It is necessary to make an important point here that all French Muslims are not from Maghreb and all people from Maghreb are not Muslims, but the majority of them. As Stéphanie Giry argues

“VALID GENERALIZATIONS about the state of Muslim integration in France are hard to make, thanks to the diversity of the country's Muslim population and to French laws that ban the official collection of data about religion and ethnicity. Not all French Muslims come from North Africa (some come from Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa), and not all FII from North Africa, sub-

\textsuperscript{25}Maghreb is the term commonly used for the people from Algeria, Tunusia and Morocco.

Saharan Africa, and Turkey are Muslims (according to one study, about 60 percent of them are).”

This proves that majority of the Muslims in France is either guest workers (grown older) or their younger generation. At present either it is their second or third generation in France. France is witnessing an increase in Muslim population. According to Marc Helbling, head of the Emmy Noether research group, in most of the Western European countries including France, Islam has become the third largest religion. Muslims in large numbers have settled in the West including France and are demanding equal religious and political rights.

“Demands for the construction of mosques, Islamic religious education and gender-separated sports lessons- as well as provisions for the protection of cultural practices, such as forced marriages and female circumcision (which are also heavily disputed within Islam) - pose new challenges to some actors and groups in the host societies.”

There lies some fear among the French other than Islamic faith that Muslims are trying to Islamize this country. They relate this anxiety to the history of attempts of ‘Christianization’ of Europe. They are frightened that history could be revised and the way Europe witnessed the process of ‘Christianization’, Europe would be ‘Islamized’. Western scholar Jorgan S. Nielsen has given a very relevant point in his book Towards A European Islam. Around a hundred years back, in 1900 Western Churches were dreaming

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27 Ibid. p. 92-93.

29 Ibid
of the ‘Christianization’ of the world and after 100 years some Muslims are talking of the ‘Islamization’ of the world\textsuperscript{30}.

This has posed many challenges for Muslims in France. On one side, French Muslims are trying to maintain their identity and on the other hand, French Christians are complaining about the fear of loss of identity in their own society. Jorgen S. Nielsen has urged Europeans not to fear the increasing number of Muslims in their societies and has also invited them to review European history. According to him, Muslims are trying to fit into European societies. He encourages Europeans to understand the reality of the Muslim presence in their societies and suggests to them, to see it as an opportunity and not as a threat.

“But if Europeans are to learn to deal with the challenges presented to our accustomed way of doing things in public, social and cultural life by the Muslim communities now settled among us (communities here because we needed them at a certain time for short-term economic considerations), we must necessarily review our own history. In this way we will discover that there is nothing absolutely right about the way we organize ourselves. Through this discovery there is hope that Europe may be able to struggle into a future with space also for self-discovery by Muslim communities of where they fit in as partners in a common plural society, and we, the ‘old communities’, see not a threat but an opportunity.”\textsuperscript{31}

\textbf{Current Debates in France on Islam and Muslims:} The Muslim presence in Europe and their religious practices have provoked numerous debates. These debates are crowning in western societies. France, the founding member of European Union (EU) is the country hosting largest Muslim population in the Western Europe. Muslims are not


new here. The conduct of their co-citizen French of other faiths or having no faith in religion, have forced them to think that they are alien in this country. One of the major reasons behind all these apprehensions is migration.

**Migration:**

Actual problem started with huge migration\(^{32}\) and increasing number of immigrants\(^{33}\) in the Western societies. Immigrants were not only Muslims but people of different faiths. The falling birth rate of homogeneous and increasing population of immigrants have created panic among French. It has misbalanced the population ratio, with immigrants becoming the majority. As Western scholar Terri Smith observes

> “The birth rates in Europe are falling but the concerns about raising citizenship figure brought about by an increasing amount of immigrants into Europe have forced many countries to adopt a much harsher approach to immigration.”\(^{34}\)

Many immigrants faced crises such as unemployment in host countries and Muslims are not an exception. Muslims migrated from different Asian and African countries with different cultural backgrounds to different European countries. After the Second World War, within three decades (from 1946-75), in France the migrant population doubled. From 1990 onwards there has been a rapid increase noted in the number of North Africans migrated to France. Initially they were endorsed eagerly by the Western world for their labour. Post world war Europe needed a strong work force. The economic downturn of early 1970’s forced policymakers to consider the negative aspects of migration. This

\(^{32}\) Oxford dictionary defines migration as, “Movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions”.

\(^{33}\) According to the definition of Oxford dictionary, “A person who comes to live permanently in a foreign country”.

shows that immigration for the last three decades have become a major concern for Westerns in general and French in particular. It was not because of Muslim immigrants only. The number of immigrants was and still increasing in terms of birth and continuous migration.

Muslims in large number have migrated to Europe especially France. They came with their native cultural heritage. These Muslim immigrants assumed many aspects of their culture as religion and were still following those practices in France. They tried to preserve their cultural traditions. This resulted in the first generation of immigrants living in ghettos. They stayed away from the new environment. This isolated them from the native habitants of that society. Ghettos gathered around the minority community with same religious and cultural background. This created problem not only for Muslims but also created an atmosphere of mutual distrust. With the passage of time Muslim population increased in large numbers. The French of other faiths look the presence of non-French origin people in their society as a threat for their culture and identity. This played a major role in developing the attitude of “West and the rest”35 in the mind of Westerners. It is not the issue of Muslims alone but it is the issue of non-Westerners. The number of non-Europeans has increased in many European cities. This has led to a kind of fear among natives of these cities. They began to think that their culture is being hijacked by migrants. This issue gets further aggravated, when it involves the question of Muslims and their presence in Western societies. As the Weatherhead University Professor Samuel P. Huntington observes in his writings

“In the emerging world, the relations between states and groups from different civilizations will not be close and will often be antagonistic. Yet some inter-civilization relations are more conflict prone than others. At the micro level, the most violent fault lines are between Islam and its Orthodox, Hindu, African, and Western Christian neighbours. At the macro level, the dominant division is between "the West and the rest," with the most intense conflicts occurring between Muslim and Asian societies on the one hand,

35 “West and the Rest” the term used by Samuel P. Huntington in his article “The Challenger Civilization”.

and the West on the other. The dangerous clashes of the future are likely to arise from the interaction of Western arrogance, Islamic intolerance, and Sinic assertiveness.”

Most of the Europeans are not ready to accept that Muslims are now integral part of their society. It is assumed that integration is not easy process. The unskilled Muslim labourer is unfit for the European labour market. This discrimination pushes them away from integrating in the new environments. Although, this is second or third generation of immigrants living in most parts of France, the veil, halal, visibility of Muslims at public places have divided France in two different axis, 1. France and 2. Muslim France. Their increased numbers in the past three-four decades have forced other citizens to think that their identity is at stake, also they are under attack. There are questions such as “Is Islam a threat for them?”, “Can Muslims become an integral part of French societies?”, “Is it possible for a Muslim to be a true Muslim and a French the same time?”, and “Is it possible for them to be French and Islamic at the same time?” The list of questions is endless and all these issues need to be addressed. The young Muslim in France also has uncertainty regarding their identity. Questions like “How to practice Islam in France?”, “What about the identity of the country of our origin, which our parents have preserved for decades?”, “Is it possible for us to remain faithful Muslim and be an ideal French citizen?”

Whenever one talks about France and Muslims in this country certain restrictions on Muslims especially on Muslim Women came into the scene. Islamophobia, low wages, Veil, headscarf, burkini, No long skirts at schools, halal meat, co-educational institutions, and after every terrorist attack problem and harassment at work and public places, are some of the issues Muslim women are facing in this society. At one hand European Union promises Freedom of religion and religious practices to all its citizens.

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“Article 10- Freedom of thought, conscience and religion:
1. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right includes freedom to change religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.”

Also the integration of minorities and gender equality are one of the most important rights guaranteed by the European Union. On the other hand French law forbids distinguishing citizens or residents according to their faith. The 1905 French law ‘laïcité’ separates religion and state, although it is debatable and has been debated in this thesis in the next chapter. This law splits religion and state and does not allow religion to intervene in state’s matters. Although it was to limit the powers of church and the case of Islam in France is totally different (this case will be discussed in the second chapter). It does not mean it forbids religious practices. The same law also limits state power to intervene in the matter of religion. Many scholars claim that French administration misinterprets ‘Laïcité’ and mislead French masses. Western scholar Maurice Barbier’s remarks are one of the most significant to support this arguments. According to Barbier

“For some, it is defined by the separation of church and state effected by the law of 1905; for others, it consists in the state’s neutrality towards religions, which entails its respect for religious freedom. Apparently, there is no substantial difference between these two conceptions of secularism, which coexisted without clashing during the debates in 1946. Yet they are not identical and the difference between them will emerge later. The 1958 Constitution seems to privilege the second conception, for its first

article asserts that France ‘respects all beliefs’ – a formula added at the last minute which passed unnoticed (doubtless to reassure Catholics). In these conditions, constitutional secularism could be defined as state neutrality in religious matters, which would confirm the negative character of secularism. 7 But the 1905 law, which does not explicitly refer to secularism, suggests a different conception of it by effecting the separation of church and state. Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, this expression, which does not figure in the text of the law but only in its title, lacks clarity. In fact, such separation boils down to two precise components, which are negative: the absence of recognition of forms of worship and the absence of their public funding in the form of salaries or subventions. It thus consists solely in putting an end to the regime of recognized forms of worship established by the 1801 Concordat and the organic articles of 1802. But several articles in the 1905 law, notably those concerning religious associations and the fate of religious buildings, indicate that the state unconsciously interferes in the religious sphere and improperly limits freedom of worship. They are therefore in conflict with a complete separation.”

Number of Muslims in France

**Pew Research Centre and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Report on the Number of Muslims in France:** The present generation of Muslims living in France is either second or third generation of Immigrants from ‘Magrib’. Whether the ‘Laïcité’ is rightly defined or described by French authorities, there is no official statistics on number of Muslims in France. To getting an idea of the numbers of Muslims residing in France one has to depend upon the data’s of some reliable think tanks. According to the survey of Pew Research Centre Report published in 2011, there are 47 laks 4 thousand Muslims in

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41 file:///C:/Users/TAZEEM%20HAIDER/Downloads/French%20law%20ka%20band.pdf
France, which constitutes 7.5 percent of total population of the country.\textsuperscript{42} By 2016 it increased to 5.7 million comprising 8.8% of the country’s population.\textsuperscript{43} Presently the majority of Muslims in France are migrants. They hail from various nations, although most came from North African countries (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco known as Maghreb).

“About 60 to 70 percent of Muslim immigrants in France have come from the Maghreb: Algeria and Morocco have contributed the largest numbers, followed by Tunisia. Turks West Africans form the next largest groups.”\textsuperscript{44}

One of the most important data on the number of Muslims in France is the report of Central Intelligence Agency Report published in 2005.

“International awareness and interest in Muslim populations skyrocketed after the terrorist attacks on U.S. soil on September 11, 2001. It remains at an all-time high today due to the ongoing war against terror globally and escalating conflicts throughout the Middle East and Asia. This heightened awareness is amplified by the rapid growth of Muslim populations in major metropolitan areas around the world due to immigration, conversion to Islam, and natural population growth. This has been particularly true in western nations such as the United States and France, where Muslims now comprise the second largest monotheistic religious population in both countries. The most frequently cited estimates

\textsuperscript{42} Washington based Paw Research Centre is a fact tank that informs the public about issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. The data about the numbers of Muslims in France was published in its report titled, \textit{The Future of the Global Muslim Population}, 2011.


place both the U.S. and French Muslim populations at 3 to 4 million, which equals roughly 8 percent of the total French population and 1 percent of the total U.S. population (Central Intelligence Agency 2005).”

With such a large number of Muslims in France, they are facing discrimination at each and every level. The right wing movements attempted to draw negative images of Muslims in France and showed high level of discrimination.

“In the early 1980s, an extreme right-wing movement called the National Front, led by Jean-Marie Le Pen, rose to prominence on a nativist platform that played on colonial stereotypes of Arabs as lazy, shifty, and recalcitrant.”

In case of France, if there is a crime against Muslims, there will be no separate record of it. As European Union Military Committee (EUMC) report on Muslims in The European Union Discrimination and Islamophobia states

“Data on racist violence and crime is collected by the police and entered into the ‘STIC’ database, which was established in 2005 and is due to be operational nationwide in 2006. The DCRG (Direction Centrale des Renseignements Generaux) is responsible for both the data and the database. When someone lodges a complaint with the police it is normally registered in the police database, with details specified in relation to the date, place, description of the incident etc. The police can also specify the victim’s ‘origin’ and religion when entering information into the database, but it appears that data collection on anti-Muslim


incidents is not obligatory; as a result, what the police database contains is only a partial account of reports where the victim’s origin or religion – as Muslim – might be noted. 131 such incidents were reported in 2004 and 65 in 2005.”

There are findings of different groups that discrimination at work place prevails in France. If someone having a name similarities with Moroccans then chances of getting a job goes down by six times and if the name has likeness of Franco French then receiving a work offer increases.

“The exact reasons for these disparities are not always clear, but some discrimination seems to be involved. Jean-François Amadieu, a Sorbonne professor who runs the Observatoire des Discriminations, a think tank that studies discrimination in the workplace, found that of two French job applicants with identical credentials, the one whose name sounded Moroccan was six times less likely to get an interview than the one whose name sounded Franco-French. (Of six factors tested, only one-being disabled-was more penalizing than having North African roots.) A follow-up study confirmed that the prejudice was not about race or skin color but about national origin. In an up coming book about FII in the French army, Christophe Bertossi, an immigration expert at the Institut Fran ais des Relations Internationales, and Catherine de Wenden, a political scientist at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, write that FII, especially of North African descent, who joined the army to escape discrimination, get training, and improve their lot in civilian life ran into a wall of overlapping prejudices: immigrants were assumed to be Muslims, Islam was

confated with Islamism, and delinquency was seen as a byproduct of radicalism.”\textsuperscript{48}

With such discriminations one can easily observe their peak with French Muslim Women. News reports have revealed that France’s run down suburbs are becoming separate Islamic societies cut off from the state. French media claims Muslim communities are increasingly rejecting French cultural values. They prefer to retain their old identity by immerging themselves in their old Muslim culture and lifestyle. Muslim pupils often boycott school dinners if the meat is not ‘halal’ and they oppose marriages to French non-Muslim citizens. As a result France with the largest Muslim population is turning into a ‘divided nation’.\textsuperscript{49}

**Increasing Number of Muslims a Problem for Christians**

Their increased numbers in the last two-three decades have forced European Christians to think that they are under an indirect threat with Muslims and Islam. On the other hand Muslims have complaints about the discrimination in these modernized societies. Muslims are facing acumen at different levels. This discrimination is most awful with Muslim women and they are most victimized section of this community. It is an estimate that Muslim women face 65-70 percent of total discrimination faced by the community\textsuperscript{50}. They are minority within minority. Muslim women are not allowed to wear veil in the public places and are not allowed to wear a covered swim suit popularly known as Burkini at the beaches of different cities in France. They face discrimination at work place and face biasness at the hands of employers while providing work opportunities. Many Muslim Women have left their jobs as they prefer to cover their body in the Islamic way. These Women have started working from home, they are tax payers to the French Government but are not allowed to enjoy the citizens’ rights and have lost freedom of choice of covering themselves. Although, bringing women in the main steam jobs and

\textsuperscript{48} Stéphanie Giry ‘France and It’s Muslims’, *Foreign Affairs* Volume No, p.94.


increasing their proportion in the employment is one of the major concern of European Union.

“Women’s employment rates are well below those of men in most Member States. We are still far from the Europe 2020 employment target of 75%.“\(^{51}\)

Although European Union constitution guarantees the freedom of religion and no interference of the law in religion, still Muslim women are forced not to cover properly in the public areas. Although the veil\(^{52}\) could be an instrument to bring women in the mainstream and to contribute for the national growth for the European Union (EU) member states. As the veil allows them to attend co-educational institutions and work in male-dominated occupations that might otherwise be considered inappropriate for non-veiled Muslim women (Bartkowski and Read 2003). The present research will explore the issues of Muslim women in the France. Veil will be the central issue which will be discussed in the upcoming chapters because as the Islamic scholar Jen'nan Ghazal Read states

“Perhaps no single issue better captures the controversy over Muslim integration than the Islamic practice of veiling.”\(^{53}\)

Hence, the present research will examine the issues of Muslim women in the light of European Union Policies on the integration of Minorities and Gender Equality and will


\(^{52}\) Muslim women cover themselves in different ways and through different covering patterns. ‘Burqa’, ‘Niqab’, ‘Chador’ are some of them. Veil here means covering their heads and sometimes faces in order to hide their faces and hair with stranger males.

\(^{53}\) Sociology of Religion, Vol. 68, No. 3, Muslim Integration in the United States and France (Fall, 2007), pp. 231-236
centrally deal with the issue of veiling. It will also attempt to clarify the challenges faced by French Muslim women with the fold of the century.

After going through the available literature on this issue, it is examined that there is considerable literature on the issues of Muslim women in the Europe. But, when it comes to French Muslim women the figure diminishes. Whatever is written is from the western point of view and stereo-type of criticizing only Muslims and labelling them as patriarchal societies. Most of the available literature on this issue directly and sometimes indirectly blames Muslim societies for the backwardness of women. There lies a lack of un-biased research on the issues of French Muslim women. I have tried to go though some major works available (relevant) on the topic. I have preferred to go through the articles published in International Research Journals and then I go through some major works in the form of books.

5. Review of Literature

Articles Published in International Journals on Relevant Topic:

Title: France and Its Muslims
Author(s): Stéphanie Giry
Published by: Council on Foreign Relations

It is one of the most important articles written by focusing Muslims in the French context. Author Stéphanie Giry has tried to make a healthy critical remark upon the French intellectuals and political classes. After giving some statistical figures on immigrants living in France the author tried to established the fact that there lies diversity of origin among Muslims living in France.

“One serious obstacle remains the common misperception that Islam is inherently radical or resolutely incompatible with French republicanism. In the CEVIPOF study, respondents' opinions of Islam determined their opinions about the integration of FII: the
warier of Islam they were, the more they held FII responsible for the problems of integration. Yet there is little reason to think that such faulty associations, and distrustful views of Islam more generally, are beyond correcting through a bit of public education. The key would be to demystify Islam without either treating it as if it were entirely irrelevant to FII or concluding that French nativism and discrimination alone fuel fundamentalism. A more nuanced approach would not necessarily involve police escorting veiled girls to school, as National Guard troops once did African American schoolkids in the American South. But it would require dropping the assumption that the only "good" Muslims are those who eat saucisson with their red wine.

Abandoning inflated republican rhetoric would help, too. The problem is not that France's values are too restrictive or outmoded or antithetical to a pluralistic society; it is that too often they become a pretext for inflexibility. The lack of official data on FII-justified in the name of high-minded egalitarianism-can be a convenient cover for ignoring inequalities; and the specter of communautarisme, a good excuse for not addressing them. Some (but not too many) FII are sprinkled-like "glitter," as de Wenden puts it-in government or on television. But throwaway measures could make matters worse by conveying a false sense of progress. Amadieu takes issue with Sciences Po's program for just this reason: adding a special admissions track for students from depressed neighborhoods, he claims, allows the university to avoid revising its main admissions procedures even though they are a significant cause of the FII's difficulties (only Parisian elites who have gone to the right prep schools have much chance of getting in). Cosmetic tweaks mean that "the big-picture problem isn't being treated," he says, "and that finding a solution is getting delayed."

The main culprit for this delay is the country's ensconced intel
lectual and political classes. "The problem of minorities in France is symptomatic of the broader state of French society and of its other failures," says Sabeg. "French society is stuck because an elite of 5,000 people has a lock on the system and they don't know what the general good is." Economic stagnation, the tyranny of small differences, an overly ideological public debate, cynical political maneuvering-rather than scapegoating their Muslim fellow citizens, French elites would do well to focus on the real problems, which lie much closer to home." 54

The Post-9/11 "Hijab" as Icon
Author(s): Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad
Source: Sociology of Religion, Vol. 68, No. 3, Muslim Integration in the United States and France (Fall, 2007), pp. 253-267

This article contends that after 9/11 an increasing number of adolescents and young adults (daughters of immigrant Muslims) are assuming a public Islamic identity by wearing the hijab (headscarf). The author has labelled it as the “process of re-Islamization”, which has been accelerated in the aftermath of 9/11. Drawing on two decades of research on American Muslim communities and in-depth interviews with American Muslim youth, this study finds that the hijab has become a symbol of an American Islamic identity—a public affirmation of trust in the American system that guarantees freedom of religion and speech. According to the author of this article Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad the hijab has also become a symbol of anti-colonial solidarity and resistance to efforts to eradicate Islam in an American environment that is increasingly seen as anti-Islamic. Implications for the future role of the veil in the lives of American Muslims are discussed in this study.
“Muslim encounters with prevailing Western perceptions about Muslim women and their oppression in a patriarchal system predate their emigration to Europe and North America. Carefully choreographed stereotypes for several centuries were instrumental in the West's definition of itself over against an Islamic "other" (Daniel 1993). In the North American context, Muslim women academics assumed the responsibility of countering these stereotypes by unveiling the accumulated layers of prejudice that had shrouded Muslim reality from Western understanding. The focus of colonial rulers on the veil, according to these scholars, did not arise out of the colonialists' concern for gender equality or the liberation of women. Rather it was a way to demean conquered subjects, justifying the occupation of their lands and the usurpation of their resources. "Male imperialists known in their home societies for their intransigent opposition to feminism led the attack abroad against the 'degradation' of women in Muslim societies and were the foremost champions of unveiling. The custom of veiling and the position of women in Muslim societies became, in their rhetoric, the proof of the inferiority of Islam and the justification of their efforts to undermine Muslim religion and society" (Ahmed 1992:160-1). British and French conquests had been justified as benevolent acts by defenders of the colonial endeavor. The British were conquering Muslim nations driven by the "the white man's burden," while the French were on a "civilizing mission" (Zayzafoon 2005). For both, part of their mission was to unveil the women of Islam. The colonial thesis was adopted by the collaborators in the upper classes of Arab societies who profited from the occupation. The veil became an important component of the modernization discourse during the first part of the 20th century. Several of the Arab champions of the liberation of women in the Arab world, such as Qasim Amin (1996) in Egypt and Tahar
Al-Haddad (1972) and Habib Bourguiba (Salem 1984) in Tunisia, saw the veil as both the symptom and, more importantly, the cause of the backwardness of the Muslim world as it was being subjugated by the armies of Europe. These liberators represented, the Arab elite who bought into the Western paradigm of Islamic inferiority that justified colonialism. To counter their efforts, the Muslim Brotherhood as well as some nationalists, both male and female defended the veil either on the grounds that it is a commandment from God, or that it was part of the Islamic tradition (Haddad 1998). Consequently, the veil became an important symbol of resistance and the rejection of alien values. "The notion of returning to or holding on to an 'original' Islam and an 'authentic' indigenous culture is itself, then, a response to the discourses of colonialism and the colonial attempt to undermine Islam and Arab culture and replace them with Western practices and beliefs" (Ahmed 1992:237).

The Roots of Public Attitudes toward State Accommodation of European Muslims' Religious Practices before and after September 11
Author(s): Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper
Published by: Wiley on behalf of Society for the Scientific Study of Religion
This study provides very useful data of Muslim Populations majorly in Britain, France and Germany. Some of the useful data from this study will be utilized in this thesis. This article sheds lights on the religious rights of Muslims in Europe. This article determines the extent of popular opposition to state accommodation of Muslim practices and tests several leading theories of attitudes toward Muslims. Gender, Social class theory, education, views on church state arrangements, September 11 attacks are some of the
subjects discussed in this articles. It concludes that the most important determinants of attitudes toward Muslims are education and religious practice

“The final theory is that the September 2001 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington affected Europeans' attitudes toward state accommodation of Muslims' religious practices. In the aftermath of the attacks, West European governments became aware that many of the terrorists had lived in Europe, and that other radical Islamists were still in their midst (Waldman 2002). In response, Britain, France, and Germany passed laws to crack down on domestic terrorists and further to restrict immigration and political asylum (Daley 2002). In addition, the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia reported that Muslims across Western Europe had suffered increased hostility and physical attacks since September 11 (Allen and Nielsen 2002). In Britain alone, more than 300 assaults on Muslims were reported after the terrorist attacks (Guardian 2002). Finally, a British public-opinion poll taken shortly after September 11 found that 26 percent of the population felt that Islam was a threat to Western values (Travis 2001). If this theory is correct, public support for state accommodation of Muslims' religious practices in the schools should have decreased. To test this explanation, we had the identical policy questions from our July 2001 survey (Roper Europe 2001) added to a poll conducted in April 2002 (Roper Europe 2002)”.

Author(s): Ellen Wiles Source: Law & Society Review, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Sep., 2007), pp. 699-735
Published by: Wiley on behalf of the Law and Society
This article explores ways in which the headscarf problem is raised to characterize differentiated visions of equality. The author Ellen Wiles observes the formal interpretation of equality which underpins this law and which is characteristic of the French administration's approach to minority groups more generally, and map this onto France's distinct sociopolitical structure and history. She contrasts the French approach with the approaches of the United Kingdom and Turkey. The author proposes that, in a modern world characterized by cultural diversity, the legitimacy of any law affecting cultural practices depends on its consistency with a substantive vision of equality. Assessing the legitimacy of such a law consequently requires an active endeavor to understand the meaning and importance of those cultural practices for those affected within their particular context, in order to understand whether or not it ultimately imposes unfair disadvantage. According to Ellen Wiles this endeavor is particularly important in situations where such a law appears to target a minority group that is already experiencing widespread discrimination. On this basis, she argues that the French law is actively hindering French society in its efforts to improve integration and equality.

“The French legislation effecting a ban on headscarves is unique within the EU and has provoked controversy both domestically and internationally. On its face, the law imposes a prohibition on all overt religious symbols. The common tendency to refer to it as "the headscarf ban," however, demonstrates that this is widely understood as the government's primary intention. This understanding derives from a coalescence of factors including the events and discussions immediately preceding it, the broader social context of Muslims in France, the impact of the ban, and France's colonial and constitutional history. The law is an amendment to the part of the French Code of Education that concerns the constitutional principle of laicite or secularity. The roots of this principle go back to the French Revolution in 1789, when the French people sought to
overthrow the entire system of hierarchical, undemocratic power that included the Roman Catholic Church. Separation of church and state was for a long time only partial; it was not until 1905 that total secularism was imposed, and any state recognition, funding, or endorsement of any religious groups was prohibited; the Code of Education was accordingly amended to impose a prohibition on endorsement of any religion in state schools. This did not in practice lead to any restriction on religious dress; school administrators tolerated schoolchildren wearing a range of symbols from Christian crosses to Jewish kippahs, and no controversy over the matter arose for almost a century.

France enjoyed a sustained economic boom post-World War II. In an effort to fill the new array of available jobs, it encouraged a wave of immigration, primarily from Islamic North African countries, such as Algeria, which were former colonies. By the early 1980s, the Muslim population in France had risen to approximately 5 million (9-10 percent of the total population), the largest in Europe, making Islam the second biggest religion in France after Roman Catholicism. These immigrants were hardest hit when the economic boom came to its abrupt end. Finding themselves unemployed, many were pushed out en masse to live in housing estates (cités HLM) in the suburbs of the big French towns, where they became spatially segregated. Tension quickly mounted between Muslims and non-Muslims over this socioeconomic disparity. As a visible symbol of the difference between the two groups, the headscarf was seized upon as a factor in the tensions and escalated into a politically charged topic of debate. Passions in the media reached boiling point following the 1989 "headscarf affair" (affaire du foulard), when two schoolgirls were expelled for wearing their headscarves.
The Minister of Education sought advice from the Constitutional Council (Conseil) as to whether or not school administrators should be able to expel students for wearing religious symbols in view of the laicité principle. The Conseil took the view that not only was the right to wear headscarves compatible with the laicité principle, but it was legally constitutive of citizens' fundamental rights to exercise their freedom of expression and religion. It qualified this view somewhat by stating that the wearing of such symbols should not be "ostentatious or provocative" in a way that would constitute an act of proselytism or propaganda, or disrupt order in a school (Conseil d'Etat 1989). Grasping hold of this element of the analysis, the minister issued a nonbinding circular advising that "ostentatious or provocative" symbols should not be worn in schools. However, the Conseil proved unwilling to alter its interpretation of the law; in a judgment in November 1992, it found against a school that had imposed a rule prohibiting religious signs. Dissatisfied with the state of affairs, President François Mitterand set up a High Commission on Integration in 1993, which, in its first report, set out the philosophy underlying the government's attitude to cultural diversity resulting from immigration. The following extract represents the heart of the report:

The French conception of integration should obey a logic of equality and not a logic of minorities. The principles of identity and equality which go back to the Revolution and the declaration of the rights of Man impregnate our conception, thus founded on equality of individuals before the law, whatever their origin, race or religion ... to the exclusion of an institutional recognition of minorities (Haut Conseil a l'Intégration 1996:35).

This interpretation of "equality" as a concept that logically excludes minorities clearly underpins the increasing orientation of successive French governments toward cultural assimilation of
immigrants and their offspring. It manifests a conviction that a common republican identity must take precedence over any divergent aspect of an individual's identity that is religious, ethnic, or linguistic. It is this interpretation of equality as cultural "sameness" that underlies the French government's desire to ban the wearing of headscarves”.

“<strong>The Affaire des Foulards in France</strong>

The affaire des foulards is actually constituted by a series of different 'affairs' and perhaps should be categorised more accurately as an ongoing political debate. The question of the foulard first hit the headlines in France in October 1989 when a headmaster in Creil, a suburb of Paris, refused to allow three young Maghrebi women to come to school wearing their headscarves on the grounds that this would contravene the Republican principle of secularism. The debate surrounding this event soon widened to include not only the rights and wrongs of excluding these young women from school, but also the position of Muslims in French society. The importance of the subject was underlined by the violent reactions it provoked. An article by five Left-wing intellectuals in the Nouvel Observateur magazine likened the

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**Women, Islam and Rights in Europe: Beyond a Universalist/Culturalist Dichotomy**  
Author(s): Jane Freedman  
Published by: Cambridge University Press  
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097948  
Accessed: 20-09-2016 08:46 UTC

One of the most important article published on the issue of French Muslim Women’s right to veil in the public. Author Jane Freedman has tried to shed light upon the different political standpoints regarding the issue of veil.
acceptance of the headscarf in schools to the appeasement of Hitler in the 1930s and argued that the end of a strict secularism in schools could signal the downfall of the Republic itself. In response, others pointed to the 'secular fanaticism' involved in excluding young women from school merely because of the way that they were dressed. They pointed to the underlying xenophobia of those who wished to ban the headscarf, and the impossibility of integrating young Muslims if they were to be excluded from school. The political reaction to this issue was slowed by divisions within parties. The only party who had a clear line was the extreme-Right Front National for whom the fact that young Muslim women wished to wear a headscarf to school was a clear sign of an Islamic 'invasion' of France. Their spokesman, Bruno M?gret announced that:

A Muslim civilization has arrived in France. After its installation on French soil, it is now implanting itself symbolically by the wearing of the headscarf in schools. We must ask ourselves the question: Should France adapt her principles to those of immigrants, or should immigrants adapt their customs to the laws of our country? You can imagine our reply.

These sentiments were not without echo in public opinion. A poll published in Le Monde showed that 75 per cent of those questioned were hostile to the idea that young women should be allowed to wear a headscarf in school. This tide of opinion against the foulard was reflected in numerous other polls, and opinion seemed to move even more strongly against the young women's right to wear a headscarf as the political debate progressed. Other parties were divided over the issue, particularly the Socialist Party which was torn between long-standing loyalty to the Republican principle of secularism and a desire to pursue a policy more favourable to immigrants in France.
In an attempt to put an end to the debate, the Socialist Minister for Education, Lionel Jospin, turned to the Conseil d'Etat who ruled that wearing a religious sign to school was not in itself sufficient reason for exclusion from school, and overturned the decisions that had been taken to exclude young women wearing a headscarf. Although this decision brought a temporary end to the affair, the effects on political debates on immigration and integration were more far-reaching. Opinion polls showed that in the aftermath of the affair, immigration had risen rapidly up the issues ranked as important by voters, coming from eighth place in September before the affair erupted, to second place, beaten as an issue of concern only by unemployment.23 The polemics over the foulard, and the rising electoral importance of the immigration issue, can be argued to have contributed to President Mitterrand's announcement on television in December 1989, that France had reached a 'threshold of tolerance' as far as the number of immigrants was concerned.24 Meanwhile, the Front National continued to exploit the question of the headscarf. In a parliamentary by-election in the town of Dreux in November, the National Front candidate Marie-France Stirbois ran with a slogan of 'No to the headscarf in schools, no to mosques', and won the seat. The debate was rekindled in 1994 when François Bayrou, the Minister for Education, published a circular affirming that 'ostentatious' religious symbols should not be allowed in schools. Although he did not name the foulard as such, it was clear that this was the 'ostentatious' symbol he was referring to as he specifically excluded the wearing of a crucifix or a Jewish kippa which he declared were 'unostentatious'. It is significant to note the timing of this ruling by the Minister, made as the political situation in Algeria was deteriorating and the Front Islamique de Salut (FIS) was gaining power. Fears about the place of Islam in French society and the threat that fundamentalist Islam posed were growing in this
context, as signalled by newspaper headlines such as, 'Fundamentalism Attacks Schools',25 and 'Headscarves, the Plot: How Islamists are Infiltrating us?'26 Bayrou had been one of the Right-wing politicians who had supported the right of Muslim women to wear a headscarf when the affair first erupted in 1989, but he explained his change of attitude by reference to the fact that he now fully understood the threat posed by Islamic fundamentalism”.

Identifying barriers to Muslim integration in France

This paper uses a correspondence test in the French labor market to identify and measure this religious effect. The results confirm that in the French labor market anti Muslim discrimination exists: a Muslim candidate is 2.5 times less likely to receive a job interview callback than is his or her Christian counterpart. A high-n survey reveals, consistent with expectations from the correspondence test that second-generation Muslim households in France have lower income compared with matched Christian households. The paper thereby contributes to both substantive debates on the Muslim experience in Europe and methodological debates on how to measure discrimination. This paper claims that previous research has failed to isolate the effect that religion may have on an immigrant family's labor market opportunities because other factors, such as country of origin or race, confound the result.

“Keeping with the matching strategy outlined above to separate out region of origin and religion, our experimental design demanded three comparable CVs, two of them from women with an obvious
Senegalese surname (Diouf) but one with a well-known Muslim first name (Khadija) and the other with a well-known Catholic first name (Marie). The third CV was from a woman with a typical French republican name, with no religious connotation (Aurelie Menard). In addition to differences in the first names, we introduced two signals of religious identity related to the work and volunteer experiences of our fictitious candidates. One of Khadija's past positions was with Secours Islamique and one of Marie's was with Secours Catholique, whereas Aurelie worked solely in secular firms. Also, Khadija did voluntary work for the Scouts Musulmans de France, whereas Marie did the same for the comparable Catholic organization, Scouts et Guides de France.53 The remaining qualifications and backgrounds were identical for all three applicants: all were single French citizens, 24 y of age, and had 2 y of postsecondary education and 3 y of experience on the job market in either secretarial or accounting sectors. We deliberately chose occupations that entailed interaction with clients or company partners, such that recruiters would be paying greater attention to the expected reactions of these potential clients to their employees. The non-governmental organization, Inter Service Immigrants Centre d'Observation et de Recherche sur l'Urbain et ses Mutations (ISM-CORUM), collected job announcements nation-wide for both types of occupations published on the Pole Emploi Web site (the French national employment agency) during the spring of 2009. For each pair of job announcements matched by region, sector, company size, and position, ISM CORUM administrators sent the Aurelie/Khadija candidate pair to one and the Aurelie/Marie candidate pair to the other. Aurelie Menard was used principally as the "reference" candidate: her CV allowed us to avoid sending Marie and Khadija's applications for the same position. Because these applications were identical in both form
and content (except for the religious identity signals), sending both CVs would have inevitably awakened suspicion among recruiters. We first observe that the reference candidate, Aurelie Menard, received the same positive response rate from employers who received Marie's CV and from employers who received Khadija's CV (27% and 25% respectively, with no statistically significant difference between the two). This indicates that the companies receiving Marie's CV were, on average, similar to those receiving Khadija's CV, thus lending greater confidence to our comparison of Marie and Khadija's positive response rates.

**Muslim Women Negotiating Collective Stigmatization: 'We're Just Normal People'**

**Author(s):** Louise Ryan  
**Source:** Sociology, Vol. 45, No. 6 (DECEMBER 2011), pp. 1045-1060  
**Published by:** Sage Publications, Ltd.  
**Stable URL:** http://www.jstor.org/stable/42857598  
**Accessed:** 22-09-2016 08:43 UTC

The significant study about Muslim Women in Britain. Author Louise Ryan has tried to study the subject of Muslim Women in the West in post 9/11 and 7/7 era. In other words it is a study done through interview method and an attempt to trace analyse the impact of these terrorist attack incidents on the life of Muslim Women. In these interviews Muslim women have The sampling is quit different and good. The discussions are conducted of Muslim Women from different backgrounds. Interviewed women told about their issues and challenges in an environment having anti-Muslim attitudes.

**Books Review**

**Muslim Diaspora in the West: Negotiating Gender, Home and Belonging,**  
**Edited:** Haideh Moghissi and Halleh Ghorashi  
**Published By:** Ashgate Publishing Limited  
**England and USA, 2010**
One of the significant study on the Muslim Diaspora in the West. This book is the collection of articles of two conferences held in Toronto (2006) and Amsterdam (2008). Divided in Four parts and spreading over 15 chapters, this book covers almost all the major aspects of life of Migrant Muslims. This anthology endeavours to analyse and theorise the ways in which immigrants of Muslim descent are represented in local and transnational contexts in the West. Reflecting on the increasing Muslim presence in the mainstream ‘western’ public spheres, it seeks to evaluate both implemented and intended policies of integration, which have become significantly ‘Muslimised’ since September 9/11. Haideh Moghissi, in the first chapter expresses dual concerns about Muslim conservatism and misguided Western representations of minorities which have gone hand-in-hand to increase the pressures on this particular minority. Confronted with this interrelation, academics and activists have placed emphasis on the importance of deconstructing the prevailing identity representations of Muslim immigrants in the West. Mainstream discourse trends to portray Islam as a threat to Western values and culture and suggests that its public role should be limited in order to decrease its potentially distinctive influence. In the second chapter Halleh Ghorashi highlights the overwhelming presence of centralist approaches in the Netherlands. In her discussion of emancipatory projects directed towards migrant women, she distinguishes an intrinsically essentialising integration discourse which would focus its core attention on Islam as a homogenous and unified phenomenon, often prone to radicalism and on Muslim women as the ‘true’ subjects to be emancipated. It is in such a context that extreme calls are made in the public domain for policy makers to “(have) the ‘guts’ to solve problems of integration”, something which “leaves no room for either ‘compromise’ or for ‘taboos’” (p13). Seeing a politicize Islam as the sole constitutive element of culture, and simultaneously as the ultimate definition of it, equates religion with culture and represents both the static and monolithic

In chapter 3, Fauzia Erfan Ahmed explores Muslim women’s leadership in the United states in the intersecting contexts of nation, home, citizenship and state. She traces this leadership from the first enforced diaspora of enslaved African Muslims to the modern migration dating from the late sixties, concluding with a survey of the situation facing American Muslim women post 9/11. She argues that, in addition to challenging the
negative stereotypes of the US mainstream media, Muslim women have also needed to confront the dichotomous constructions of white Western feminists, who have overlooked the emancipatory efforts of Muslim women both within and beyond their own communities, and have instead represented them in terms of the orientalist opposition between white as modern and Muslims as backward.

Fourth Chapter highlights a new trend of transnational Muslim feminist activism in the West, in spite of the continuing lack of any related collective consciousness among women in the Muslim diaspora. Author of this chapter, Cassandra Balchin explains how feminist groups have existed among Muslim minorities in the West, but in an almost exclusively secular context, insofar as women who sought to develop a new and interconnected vision of Islam and feminism were not visible.

The fifth chapter is written by Sofie Roald, she examines the implications of overlapping legal framework for marriage in Sweden, where the certified religious associations are permitted to hold marriage ceremonies, but where the authority for divorce is still considered to reside solely with the state. This points to an area of confusion: for the state to cede a right of Islamic marriage seems to imply a legitimation of a migrant community’s practices, but the fact that Islamic divorces are not allowed brings the discourse of multiculturalism into question, since it is not clear which parts of the culture of the group are actually accepted. She also makes the point that the avowedly multiculturalist Swedish politico-legal system may overlook the possible gender inequality embedded in the traditional convictions of minority culture, and that this would impact upon less privileged community members such as women.

The sixth chapter by Vida Nassehi-Behnam discusses the Iranian community in Britain—an under studies topic-through analyzing case histories of individuals who migrated both before and after the 1979 revolution. There seems to be a recurrent theme in her case studies which needs more explicit discussion: many who think they do not fit into the Iranian culture and do not wish to return, nonetheless remain fond of preserving their ‘authentic’ culture inside diaspora. It appears that they have created an imagined separation wall between a ‘true’ national culture, which deserves to stay intact and an inauthentic, highly Islamised contemporary culture that is shaped by Iran’s governing
system. To these members of the diaspora, interestingly, the imagined culture can be combined with ‘modern’ life in the West, but the other, contemporary culture cannot. In seventh chapter Fataneh Farahani offers an analytical study of narratives of sexuality among first generation Iranian women in Sweden. She sheds light upon how migratory practices have shaped and challenged the ways in which Iranian women perceive their sexualities. The narratives of identity discussed in this chapter, and also in the next chapter by Haideh Moghissi seem to involve the construction of an imagined belonging among immigrants of Muslim background that is not necessarily rooted in their countries of origin, but its connected to a feeling of exclusion arising from their diasporic situation. In the light of these migrants’ narratives; one might argue that the boundaries between public and private have been redefined through the experience of displacement: the traditional definition of the family as a private domain has seemingly expanded to cover the whole community, while the ‘West’ and/or the host countries figures as the public domain. It is in this sense that the community might function as a limiting and prohibitory force, making its imagined terrority as ‘private’ and individual members’ beliefs and actions as the community’s ‘private’ matters which cannot be openly discussed in ‘public’. This in turn could significantly affect, for instance, women of the minority group who might fear to report familiar abuse, since this would be considered to violate the privacy of the community against the ‘Western’ public domain, and make the community hostile to them. Chapters 9, 10 and 11 by Thijil Sunier, David Thurfjell and Sepideh Farkhondeh respectively, reflect expensively on the positionalities of diasporic youth. Their accounts illuminate how Islam as a faith has become tightly interwoven with its politicized version, from which it cannot easily be removed; dominant policies of integration have encouraged the tendency for notions of migrant culture and Islam to be used interchangeably. As we see in the case of France in Chapter 11, this generalization and homogenization of Muslim identity seems increasingly to be a part of parcel of Muslim life on an everyday basis, which in turn affect the younger generation, who may then be interpellated either as radicalized or as assimilated. Thill Sunier, however, discusses the emergence of a diasporic performative religiosity among young people, which develops ‘individualized’ form of religiousness in line with ‘Western notions’ of religious belonging (126), to produce a
version of Islam that ‘makes sense in the West’ (135) of Islam, performing a certain knowledge about Muslims both to the community and also to the host country.

In the last section, on diasporic spatiality, we confront an imagined ‘home’ that appears to be a constitutive element of migrants’ identity. This identity is both temporal and spatial: it is experienced as embedded in the individual, but moves, as a form of imagined belonging, between the ‘host’ and ‘mother’ lands across different times and localities. ‘Homes’ and ‘belonging’ become products both of the migrant community and also of the host country, through their relentless destructive interaction. In 12th chapter, written by Marjo Buitelaar and Franke Stock, Farida, one of the respondents, says that ‘One’s Muslim identity tells one that there is a home somehow’ (p 176). She sees the Quran and Islam as ways to construct an imagined space, by developing a rhetorical site as a means of belonging, in the absence of a real space. Overall, the collection suggests that, in a climate of growing Islamophobia, Islam is perceived within mainstream integration policies as the primary maker through which someone’s identity is constituted. Individual immigrants are reduced to existing as performative components of an ‘theorized’ culture which has collectively deviated from the accepted norms of the host countries. While the book is a loudable attempt to conceptualize and challenge the normalization of such representations in the West, it could, if anything, reflect more depth on the ways in which Muslim women, for example may experience oppression from within their communities. Nonetheless, the contributors avoid the trap of simply reversing the dichotomous discourse of the West by adopting a similar binarism that merely transforms the orientalism of the ‘West’ into the Occidentalism of the ‘East’.

**Woman And Islamic Law**

**Author(s):** Safia Iqbal

**Publisher:** Islamic Publication (Pvt.) Ltd., Lahore, Pakistan

**Year:** 1989

It is a general study, sheds light upon the crisis and issues faced by Muslim women. The book deals with various aspects of a woman’s life such as Marriage, succession and aukaf, divorce, khula, halala are discussed in different chapters. Contemporary issues like ijtihad and uniform civil code and the role of women provide a framework for the reader to
understand the scope of Islam concerning women. A separate chapter concerning the titled “problems of women in modern times” discusses the female infanticides and other issues. The author has tried to touch almost all aspects crisis and issues of women but could justice with none. The second chapter Women’s Rights cover most of the rights Islam has promised a women, but the length of this section in comparison to the other chapters misbalances the study.

As this study is restricted to Indian Muslim women and does not deal with the Europeans, the scope of the study becomes limited. The author tries to touch almost all the aspects of women’s rights still the right to heritance which is one of the most important right does not gets weightage in the study.

Islam In The West: Critical Concepts In Islamic Studies:
Edited by David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg: It is one of the best books written on the subject of Islam in the West. It is a detailed study and is spread over four volumes. In its first volume it contains two relevant articles. 1. The Question of Euro Islam authored by Jorgen Nielsen. 2. Does French Islam have borders? Dilemmas of Domestication In a Global Religious Field inked down by John R. Bowen. After going through these two relevant articles it is found that they serve the purpose of theory. These two articles have the discussion of Muslims as a whole or Islam as a whole not the French Muslim women in particular. The brief review of these two articles is as follows.

The Question of Euro Islam: by Jorgen Nielsen
This article is about an Islam fit within the European spaces. The author has given significant attention to the Danish society. Which according to him is not of much importance. Then the author discusses the examples from United Kingdom. Giving the instances of Islamic Scholars like Tariq Ramadan, this author tries to find out the way for a Euro-Islam, a space open for discussion and meeting point of cultures. While discussing the term

“A term which has come into increasing use in recent years in this context is that of ‘Euro-Islam’. Apart from its questionable aesthetic character, it is a term which, like so many short-hand
terms, is in danger of disguising as much as it reveals. Professor Bassam Tibi claims to have been among the first to use it, but he uses it in a very particular sense. In his contribution to a series of round-table discussions held in Paris in 1992-3 under the title *Islams d’Europe: Integration ou inségration communautaire?*, Tibi called for ‘an Islam integrated into European societies’. He asserts that this integration is not a one-way process: ‘the two parties must share in this and, as the third religious community of Europe, “Euro-Islam” must accommodate and assimilate the socio-cultural evolution which Europe has accomplished.”

**Islam And The Media: Critical Concepts in Sociology**  
**Edited by: Anna Piela, Published by: Routledge, 2016, London and New York.**

A significant study, spread in four volumes. In these four volumes there are different chapters that elaborate the relationship between Islam and Media. Apart from the condemnation of stereotype, this book is an attempt to shed light upon the facts of Media and Islam on a vast range. Volume one consists of the introduction of paper to Islamic world through China which leads to print revolution and the development of Islamic press. The advancement of mass-media and emergence of TV channels and news agencies, with live coverage of the events of great importance for Islamic world as well as West are being discussed in this volume and the subsequent volume. While the third and fourth volume of this book are the collections of the chapters with the description of the discussions on the online sphere with special emphasis on the Islamic dialogs and identities. From the point of view of my thesis I have focused upon specific chapters of different volumes. Below are some of the relevant reviewed chapters from this significant work.

“**From Baghdad to Paris: Al-Jazeera and the veil**” by Sam Cherribi has been reviewed.

This article analyses the key ways in which Al-Jazeera brings the veil onto the screen and into its network current affairs, news, and religious programming and how it reported on the story of the veil in France between late 2002 and early 2005. Although much of the
extant literature on Al-Jazeera describes it as the “CNN of the Arab World”, it is more like an Islamic version of CBN (Christian Broadcasting Network) than the secular of nonreligious CNN (Cable Network News) because of the time it devotes to the views of Islamic religious leaders and the ways in which it promotes Islamic practices. Al-Jazeera is not a “liberal” or “neutral” channel, it is a religious and news channel that allows other programs that are liberal or neutral to be shown occasionally. If the news broadcast on Al-Jazeera is pluralist the religious message that it disseminates almost daily is nondenominational. The author argues that Al-Jazeera is using the issue of the veil in France to influence viewers in France and Europe, build a global Muslim identity, mobilize a shared public opinion and construct an imagined transnational Muslim community.

Titled:
“Muslim diaspora in Western Europe: the Islamic headscarf (hijab), the media and Muslims’ integration in France”
Authored by Chouki El Hamel

‘Hijab’, an Arabic word that is related to Islamic proper dressing, has become a buzzword in contemporary French popular discourse. In the Islamic tradition, both men and women are required to dress modestly. Women traditionally cover their hair, a practice called hijab. This hijab (Islamic scarf) seems to have created a controversy in France in recent years, and the French media have exploited the matter even further. Even scholars seem to have abstracted the cultural/religious symbol from its proper context. The controversy of the hijab in France therefore has actually revealed more about the character of the French society/mentality than about the Muslim community. I intend to use the controversy over the hijab to question and challenge the conventional reading of the integration of the Muslim Maghrebin people into secular French society. I will explore the concept of integration and the way this integration functioned as a source of privilege as well as a source of discrimination. I will use the debate over the hijab to further investigate the interplay of religion, immigration and citizenship in France.
To Be A European Muslim: A Study of Islamic Sources in the European Context by Tariq Ramaan:

To Be a European Muslim is one of the most important works of Tariq Ramadan. It has surprised and challenged its readers by its approach to the Islamic textual sources. His proposal is unique. The scholar has stressed upon re-reading of the basic Islamic texts. The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with many Islamic terms and the author has tried to establish the fact that many of these terms are now outdated.

In the second part of this book Tariq Ramadan has strived to relate different issues of European Muslims with basic Islamic teachings\(^5^6\), whether it is their stay in Europe or the following of their culture in the name of religion. He stresses upon the fulfilling of the religious duties and at the same time accepting the European culture to the extent it does not contradict with Islam. In this part issues like identity, belongingness with Islamic Umma, Assimilation and Alienation and the possibility of European Islamic Culture have been discussed. Although it is one of the most famous books written on European Muslims but the issue of Muslim Women has not been discussed in this major work. Also, the author has tried to blame the Muslims almost for all problems they are facing. As most of the European states do not provide official data on the numbers of Muslims they have. There are Non-Government Organizations, think tank and independent researches about the number of Muslims in Europe. Same is true in case of France which is the focused country of this research. There is no official data about the number of Muslims and Muslim Women in this country.

Reports:

Muslims in Europe: A Report on 11 EU Cities
Open Society Institute
New York, London, Budapest
Year: 2010

This is one of the most important document about Muslims in Europe. It is a comparative study of 11 cities of 7 European countries. It points out common trends and offers

\(^{5^6}\) Basic Islamic Teachings means, shahada, there is no God but Allah and Mohammad is his Prophet, Quran is the final revelation.
recommendations at the international level, including the European Union (EU) and to international organisations. This study has provided important data for further researches. This report sets out to explore the needs and primary concerns of Muslim communities and to assess whether local policymakers have understood and met these needs.

This research examines European contexts which shape and affect initiatives and experiences of integration at the national, municipal and neighborhood levels. Further, it focuses on the role of policies at the European level. The report explores issues of social cohesion, belonging and discrimination and looks at key issues arising in education, the role of schools, the education system and parents in supporting educational success. Data on labour-market participation also been analyzed in this study.

After the issues of Muslims in the field of education the report sheds light upon the different barriers that Muslims face in accessing and fully participating in the labour market. Apart from this perceptions and experiences of housing and their neighbourhood, including the tenure and quality of housing respondents live in and their experiences of discrimination in accessing housing have been analyzed. This section then looks at respondents’ subjective experiences of the local neighbourhoods they live in.

Muslim experiences of health care are also discussed in this study. It examines data on the health status of Muslims, or in the absence of data on religion, of predominantly Muslim minority-ethnic groups. It notes particular ways in which religion can be relevant to health status, and the experiences of Muslims with health services that are available in the different cities.

The report also deals with the issues of policing and security. It looks at levels of trust in the police and satisfaction with policing, as well as experiences of discrimination. It highlights the challenges faced in increasing the ethnic diversity of police officers and in increasing trust and support in local communities. Further the reports examines the levels of civic and political participation of Muslims, including the electoral processes as voters and candidates. The report also looks at the role of the media in integration, social inclusion and participation. Media can act as both a means towards enhancing citizenship, and as mechanism for exclusion.
At this stage it is necessary to formulate some research questions.

**Research Question**

- What are the rights of women promised to them by European constitutions, and what are the ground realities of these rights for French women?
- What are the issues and problems of French Muslim women?
- What kind of initiatives has been taken by Muslim society and European administration to resolve these issues and problems?
- Have Muslim women got any representation (whether social or political) in French society?
- Do they think they are properly represented in French society?
- How Muslim women are portrayed in French Media?
- What kind of activism and secret revolution of Muslim women taking place in French society?
- After the veil ban in France have the problem for the women worsened in French society?
- What kind of alternative jobs/work veiled women have adopted after the ban?
- What kind of violence French Muslim women are facing in the suburbs of Paris and rest of the country?

These research questions are enquired in a systematic way to fulfil the following objectives.

**Objectives**

- To investigate whether Muslim women in France bear the identity of ‘French Muslim Women’ or the identity of the country of their parents, grandparents or forefathers.
To study whether they face discrimination or not. If yes then the level of the discrimination they are facing in the advanced society of France.

To study their issues and problems and give concrete suggestions to improve their situation in France.

The hypotheses of this research are

**Hypotheses:**

- Muslim women are one of the most victimised sections of French society.
- Veil ban has worsened the situation for Muslim women.
- The terrorist attacks have also worsened the situation for Muslim women in France.
- Muslim Women want to enjoy a religious as well as well as Western way of life within the limits of the Sharia.
- They are quite active with the advanced tools of information technology and are articulating their ideas through new media i.e. internet.

**Methodology:** Both primary as well as secondary sources have been used in this research. I have to rely on the data of Pew Research Centre regarding the Number of Muslims living in France. Although, a survey has been conducted in France by myself to get a first-hand account of the French Muslim Women. Being an independent researcher, the survey has its own limitations. I choose three French Cities with the considerable Muslim population and they are Paris, Nice and Marceile. Reports in newspapers, available on Internet, references from articles and books written by Muslims as well as non-Muslim scholars both Western and some non-Westerners are used for the arguments. Chicago sixteenth edition has been used for the referencing.

**Scope of the Study:** It is a study on one of the most significant subject i.e. ‘Women’. After surveying the literature on Islam and the West it became quit evident that research about the issues and voices of women is still limited. There is still requirement for some Muslim Women issues centred studies to be conducted. As Louise Ryan quotes
“However, the voices of Muslim women are frequently absent from these public debates (Bilge, 2010) and, as noted by Diehl et al. (2009), more work is needed to explore the diversity of attitudes and experiences among Muslim women. Over the last decade in particular, there has been a growing body of work on Muslim youth in Britain, especially those of South Asian ancestry (Dwyer and Shah, 2009; Ramji, 2007). There has been far less research on adult Muslim women. The under-representation of women's voices tends to reinforce the view that they are passive or disengaged (Bilge, 2010).”

Research Design: This research is designed in the simple way. Apart from Introduction (with review of literature) and Conclusion it consists of five chapters. The first chapter titled “Rights of Women in Sharia and ground realities for French Muslim women”, discusses the rights of women in Islam and ground realities for French Muslim women. In this chapter basic Islamic text i.e. ‘Quran’ and ‘Hadith’ has been referred as a source to discuss the rights of women. In this part of the thesis the situation of French Muslim women has come to the light that they are barred to use the rights promised to them by Islam in the French society.

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The second chapter titled “The Rights of Women in European Union constitution and the ground realities for French Muslim women.” As the title of the chapter clears it discusses the rights of Women promised to them by European Union constitution and their real condition. These rights include civil as well as legal rights as guaranteed by the Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union. In this part of the thesis most of the situation will be clear that there is a big difference in theory and practical of the European Union Policies as well as European Union Constitution regarding Muslim Women.

The third chapter discusses the issues and problems of French Muslim women and the role of European administration. Issues and problems such as Islamophobia, veil ban, terrorism, education, health, gender pay gap, unemployment have been discussed. Also a field work on Islamophobia is a significant part of this chapter. Title of this chapter is “Issues and Problems of French Muslim women and the role of European administration and Muslim society”. Fourth chapter “The situation after the veil ban” is a description of the veil ban and the circumstances for women after this. As veil ban has made the situation worse for Muslim women. They are forced to stay at home. In one of the most advanced societies they are barred to use freedom of choice. Once again field work conducted in France is a part of this chapter to derive conclusion. A questionnaire which I distributed among the women in three different cities of France and results derived from it, is a part of this chapter. Three tables are drawn to illustrate the result.

Fifth Chapter titled “Online activism and Secret Revolution”, discusses virtual engagement of French Muslim women. This chapter includes their activism on social networking sites such as Facebook and You-tube. This Chapter concludes that women are trying to use the New Media technologies and are trying to raise their voices against any kind of discrimination.

The thesis concludes that France, a country witnessed one of the historical revolution with the slogans of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, almost 3 centuries ago. And in 21st century, women from a minority group are facing discrimination and several kinds of discrimination. These women wish to live a life of a French women with Islamic faith, but the State policies are not permitting them to stay in France with Muslim identity.