Constructing Muslims in France

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Constructing Muslims in France: Discourse, Public Identity, and the Politics of Citizenship.

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Notes

CHAPTER 1

2. Zinédine Zidane, a talented French soccer player born in Marseilles to Algerian immigrant parents, was largely credited with the win in 1998.
3. In a rare showing of race-consciousness, France embraced its World Cup winning team as “Black, White, and Beur,” the last word being a slang term for “Arabs.” In other words, France embraced the racial diversity of its soccer team in a deeply meaningful parallel to the “Blue, White, and Red” of the French flag. Such symbolism suggests that racial diversity is an integral part of France.
4. Forty square meters equals about 430 square feet. He shared the studio apartment with his mother, father, and sister.
5. The niqab and the burqa are garments that cover the face (although the niqab reveals the eyes). Although they are not exactly the same, the terms are often used interchangeably in French politics and will be used that way in this book.
6. For a thorough introduction to Islam, see Esposito 1999.  
8. The word “hijab” refers to both a general code of modest dress and a head covering worn by some Muslim girls and women that typically covers most or all of the hair and is pinned under the throat. Hijabs come in all colors and fabric and are worn in different ways. For an excellent overview of their historical origins and contemporary manifestations, see El Guindi 1999.
9. The banlieues, or suburbs of France, appear throughout this book. Unlike in the United States where patterns of white flight have led to the association of suburbia with
wealth and whiteness, France’s racial and religious minorities, along with the economically disenfranchised, tend to live in the banlieues.

10. When interview comments involve an exchange among multiple respondents, the speakers are distinguished by brief descriptors in bold, sometimes accompanied by further distinguishing numerals. The assignment of these numbers is unique to each recorded exchange (in other words, “Student 1” is not the same person throughout the text). My interjections during the interviews are set off in italics. The prepared questions are available in the Appendix.


12. It bears noting that this is a valid opinion, whether one agrees with it or not.

13. Unless indicated otherwise, the terms “liberal” and “republican” are used throughout this book to refer to political theories of social contract. Such references should not be confused with American political parties or markers of left-right political orientation.

14. This rather indirect statistic is provided because, as I explain later, it is illegal to collect information identifying people on the basis of differences such as race and religion in France. This makes the job of the researcher challenging.

15. Too roughly but often translated into English as mere “secularism,” laïcité is the French republican style of secularism that involves a strict separation of religion and state. Theoretically, no images or references to religion should appear in public discourse whatsoever. The degree to which this has been and is today the case in France is debatable. Public money, for example, goes to Catholic cathedrals but not mosques, because cathedrals are part of France’s “cultural heritage.” Laïcité has gone through different phases and meant different things. While it is frequently mobilized by politicians, the media, and intellectuals today as an obvious paradigm, it is anything but.

16. This title is not to be confused with the expression used to describe the Holocaust. While the phrase “the Jewish question” may in certain francophone contexts allude to “the final solution,” Bauer’s essay had a different goal altogether.

17. Scholars such as Wendy Brown (1995), for example, read Marx’s essay in light of the difficulties of using universal rights, which are based on the abstract individual, to demand protection for a particular identity. This is especially true when there is tacit social animosity directed at that identity. This is a generalizable claim that is not limited to European Jews in the nineteenth century. Without neglecting the disturbing rhetoric in Marx’s essay, we can still appreciate the analytical value of his argument about the nature of rights and (in)equality.

18. Wendy Brown (2006, p. 45) traces how important shifts in thinking about “particular” identities from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries collapsed the earlier focus on religious difference with a later interest in ascriptive (or, as some thinkers might say, biological) differences. This creates the impression that the “normal” or “neutral” citizen is secular while, for example, racial minorities are seen as fundamentally different due to religious-like “practices and beliefs.” Marx recognized this at some level, as his discussion of Jews in “On ‘The Jewish Question’” considers both Judaism as a religion and “Jewishness” as a socially constructed identity.

19. That is, there are parallels between Marx’s argument and the political debate in France. I am not suggesting equivalence between how Jews were treated in nineteenth-century Europe and how Muslims are treated in France today.

CHAPTER 2

1. An assertion supported by a Gallup poll that indicates that French Muslims embrace their French identity, despite the fact that the French do not embrace them (Sitte 2009).
2. *Voile* and *foulard* are French terms commonly used to describe the hijab. They translate as “veil” and “scarf.”

3. This is possible in France only because of the Constitutional Court’s power of abstract review.

4. Similarly, Jane Marceau (1981, p. 129) finds that in French business hiring practices, the reliance on “well-tried mechanisms of selection,” such as privileging graduates from a *grande école*, is seen as way to avoid recruitment “mistakes.”

5. Rouban defines “entourage” as presidential advisers, members of the prime minister’s cabinet, directors and deputy directors of ministerial cabinets, central administration directors, and secretary-generals of various ministries.

6. The ENA is a specialized elite school of administration initially formed by President Charles de Gaulle to democratize and make more transparent entrance into the higher ranks of civil service. The Institut d’Études Politiques de Paris, known more commonly as Sciences Po Paris, is the most prestigious school for the study of politics in France.

7. In the sense of an isolated, segregated group apart from the rest.

8. I was interested in how the National Assembly’s discourse defined and what it associated with Muslims as a group of people, so I avoided terms that might normally be considered at least obliquely related to Muslims, such as “Islam” and “immigrants.”

9. *Le Monde* is an important, mainstream left-of-center French newspaper.

10. Similarly, Ariane Chebel d’Appolonia (2009, p. 274) notes that the GIA bombings and a head-scarf debate that took place in 1995 acted as triggers that increased anti-immigrant sentiment during that year.

11. The random sample of *Le Monde* articles was generated by use of the R language for statistical computing.

12. The Conseil d’État is the top French administrative court, where all school-related legal disputes go. In strict terms, it does not have the power of constitutional review.

13. The term “médialisé” repeatedly came up in interviews with elites and activists and merits explanation. This handy French term, which strangely has no English equivalent, is an adjectival reference to media attention. It is also a noun in French (*médiation*) and a verb (*médiaiser*). Not necessarily part of an “echo chamber effect,” a metaphor used in media studies to describe the media’s repeated coverage of a single event in relative isolation from the facts of the event, *médiation* is a more general comment on media coverage. It is then coupled with other words to indicate the quality or nature of that coverage. “Très médialisé,” for example, is essentially a (less clumsy) way to say “highly media covered.”

**CHAPTER 3**

1. As I explain in Chapter 5, Muslims have been the subjects of illegal intelligence gathering in the workplace. Chapter 2 recounts how a marriage annulment could be overturned due to social outcry over the groom’s interpretation of Islam. Various political leaders have opposed the construction of mosques (Cody 2009; Erlanger 2009). These examples do not even consider the intersection of race and ethnicity with religion and the legal consequences of being Muslim and Arab or Muslim and black. Arabs and blacks, for example, are subject to more “random” police checks than other French citizens (Open Society Justice Initiative 2009).

2. This contentious statement worries some scholars, who fear that referring to people who do not follow the religion of Islam as “Muslim” is imprecise and reflects common but erroneous assumptions that, for example, all Arabs are Muslim (Brouard and Tiberj 2005). Worse, the notion of Muslims who are not religious might make Islam appear to be more
than a religion and less than a choice: it becomes seen as an inherited marker, which limits an individual’s freedom of conscience. Some people do, however, claim an affiliation with other Muslims even if they are not religious—they feel some sort of bond or tie or believe that they have shared experiences that lead to mutual understanding. Hence, Jytte Klausen (2005) speaks about “cultural Muslims,” and Nancy Venel (2004) speaks about “sociological Muslims.” It is best to keep these debates in mind, remembering that religion is a choice, but it is also a multifaceted social construction that includes more than the religious practice alone.

3. In France, a popular form of slang called verlan (from the French l’envers, or backward) consists of reversing syllables to create new words. Arabe in verlan becomes beu-ra, which for ease of pronunciation became beur. This term would later be reversed again, into another slang term for Arab in France: rebeu.

4. This trend continues to the present (see Chapter 6).

5. Richard Fogarty (2008, p. 132) provides a quote that is sometimes attributed to Napoleon and reflects the spirit of French Republican meritocracy: “la carrière est ouverte aux talents” (loosely translated as “to the talented go the jobs”).


8. Unlike the Bible, which is not wholly composed of direct revelation (and self-consciously so, as seen in the existence of a book that is specifically titled “Revelation”), Muslims believe that the Qur’an, in its entirety, is the final revelation of Allah made directly to Muhammad. Considering the supposed purity of the Qur’an’s authorship, it is important to many Muslims that the purity of that message be maintained by prioritizing the original text—which is in Arabic.

9. In this context, the word “liberal” refers to a kind of economic theory that, among other things, embraces the free market and depicts individuals as rational and self-interested actors who seek to maximize their benefits.

10. For today’s Banania logo, see http://www.banania.fr.

11. These are all of the photos of Muslim women that appeared in the forty-seven articles that resulted from searching for the term “Muslim women” on Le Monde’s website for one one-month period (February 19–March 18, 2010). Specifically, the images are from Bachir 2010; “Canada” 2010; Delli et al. 2010.

12. La Fontaine is a famous French poet of the seventeenth century and an icon of French culture. He is perhaps most famous for his Fables.

13. The idea of “social mobility” is expressed in French via the phrase “l’ascenseur social,” or “the social elevator.”

14. The HALDE is a nonjudicial administrative agency that specializes in resolving discrimination complaints (see Chapter 5).

15. This is in part due to the inability of lay individuals to access the Constitutional Court for judicial review in France. The French Constitutional Court traditionally accepted petitions from only the legislature and the executive. This hesitance to use the court for political goals may change, as the avenue to the Constitutional Court was widened in March 2010 when the high Administrative and Cassation courts were given the power to send cases up to the Constitutional Court for judicial review.

16. In this context, “liberal rights” is used to refer to the kind of rights Marx discusses in “On The Jewish Question”: individual rights that protect the citizen’s political freedom at the cost of corollaring certain practices in the private sphere.

18. It bears mentioning that not all antidiscrimination groups in France are progressive. The Alliance Générale contre le Racisme et pour le Respect de l’Identité Française et Chrétienne (AGRF [General Alliance against Racism and for the Respect of French and Christian Identity]), for example, is a conservative group that targets what it defines as “anti-French and anti-Christian speech” (Bird 2000, p. 409).

CHAPTER 4

1. The problematic but socially significant term “ethnic French” is laden with meaning. It suggests that there are “real French” people and that “French” is an ethnicity into which one must be born. The terms “ethnic French” and français de souche (souche refers to roots, and the term means something like “full-blooded Frenchman”) have similar connotations, and both are politically contentious—the latter perhaps more so.

2. The Bologna Process is the European Union’s effort to harmonize educational degrees across member states.

3. Think, perhaps, of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in the United States or the Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire (CERN [European Council for Nuclear Research]) in Europe.

4. Communalism, or communautarisme, may look like “communitarian,” but it carries a negative connotation that Anglo-Saxon theorists of communitarianism do not typically employ. The assumption is that those who adhere to communalism value a small subset of the national community, such as an ethnicity, over the nation writ large. As such, communalism is a threat to the French values of fraternity and the vivre ensemble (shared civic life) that is necessary for republican citizens to realize the common good.

5. And religions? This is not always clear, and may depend on the speaker. Amara’s introduction to Mixité(s) (in Huston et al., 2007), a consciousness-raising monograph aimed at youths and produced in partnership with the NPNS, suggests that there is tension between respect for religious difference and the value of mixité. Amara states, “Girls and boys, poor and rich, Arabs, Jews, Muslims, Catholics, . . . must all live together” (in Huston et al., 2007, pp. 6–7). She also criticizes, however, those who want to reserve certain hours in public pools for women-only swimming: “Why not return to separate schools?” (in Huston et al., 2007, p. 6). The women-only swimming hour is a cause associated with Islam and groups such as the PMF that fight for it (even though, arguably, some women of different backgrounds and personal convictions might also appreciate such a program). The argument made here, then, is that religion can be contrary to mixité; certain articulations of religion are opposed to the mixing of genders and therefore should not be tolerated. Whether there is indeed an unavoidable slippery slope between “women-only swimming hour” and state-sanctioned misogyny and gender inequality is open to question. What remains clear is that Amara sees the relationship between religion and mixité as ambiguous.

6. Fac is another term for university.

7. Quartier literally means “quarter,” a neutral reference to a part of town (i.e., “neighborhood”). In this context, however, it is a slang term for impoverished parts of town, a reference that sometimes includes the banlieues.

8. Bande dessinées (lit. drawn strips) receive a kind of wide-ranging respect in France that is not accorded to American comics. In fact, the awkward term “graphic novel” (with which some implicated authors, such as Neil Gaiman, have refused to be identified) reflects
the common American sentiment that comics cannot be serious or considered on par with novels or other works of art. This assumption is not as prevalent in France as it is in the United States.

The École Lumière is a highly respected film school named after the early French filmmaker Louis Lumière.

9. French schoolchildren begin attending school even before this, in maternelle, or kindergarten, which is for three- to five-year-olds. The term for middle school in French is collège, which should not, of course, be confused with the English term “college.”

10. Suleiman (1978, p. 277) criticizes such marginal, class-conscious selection policies as “unable to transform these institutions in any significant way” but ironically effective at “ward[ing] off criticism” about their insularity.

11. Similar to American college entrance exams, one’s performance on the baccalauréat will affect the admission decisions of French institutions of higher education. Unlike American college entrance exams, however, a passing grade on the baccalauréat is required for graduation. Taking the “bac” is a notoriously stressful experience.

12. Alsace-Moselle is a region of France that peculiarly is not as strictly secular as the rest, because it was still part of Germany when the French law on the separation of church and state was passed in 1905 (see Fetzer and Soper 2005).

13. The student is asking, “In seminar? Or in TD [travaux dirigés]?” Travaux dirigés typically brings together a smaller group of students for practice on course material, with direct assistance from an instructor when needed. In the American university system, we would say “In lecture? Or in your TA [teaching assistant] section?” The student was trying to assess the gravity of being insulted in class by asking what kind of class it was: was she being insulted by an instructor leaning down over her work so that few could hear or aloud before a class of hundreds?

14. Landes, part of the Aquitaine in southwestern France, is just south of the Department of Gironde, in which lies Bordeaux.

15. The French are voracious readers on trains. With so many people reading books of all sorts on French trains, it could understandably be seen as somewhat unusual to ask a stranger reading a book if he or she is a literature student.

16. The characteristics are drawn from Scott 2007. For more details, see Chapter 2 in this volume.

CHAPTER 5

1. Here unemployment is defined as those who have not worked even an hour in the previous week yet are old enough to work (fifteen and older), capable of work, and who have been seeking work in the past month: “Chômeur (BIT),” available at http://www.insee.fr.

2. The French presidential election took place in 2007, a period of low French political approval for the United States. French approval ratings of the United States dropped considerably during the presidency of George W. Bush, especially following the invasion of Iraq.

3. This includes the period from 1997 to 2012.

4. Earlier in the text, de Villiers (2006, p. 49) states, “There is nothing innocent, of course, about the pilgrimage to Mecca.” This statement, with its matter-of-fact tone (“nothing innocent, of course”), is an overstatement, at best. The pilgrimage to Mecca, or hajj, is an important religious observance for all who follow Islam (one of the five pillars of the religion, in fact), and it is not limited to Islamic militants. According to the Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia (see “Record number of pilgrims arrive for hajj” 2008), nearly two million
Muslims went to Mecca for the hajj in 2008. Such numbers are typical. Moreover, not all pilgrims are repeat visitors, as the hajj is usually done only once in a lifetime. This, according to de Villiers’s logic, would place the number of Islamic militants in the tens of millions.

5. In 2008, a constitutional reform led to an important change in state mediation in France, which was not implemented until in mid-2011: the collapsing of three independent review agencies into one larger ombudsman-like entity, the Défenseur des Droits (Piquemal 2010). To some people’s surprise, HALDE was also subsumed under the new Défenseur des Droits (Piquemal 2010). It is too early to evaluate how this might change what was once HALDE or the quasi-legal review of discrimination in France in general.


7. “Practicing Christian” in this context does not necessarily mean fundamentalist or born-again. Just as there are people who self-identify as Muslim but do not attend mosque, there are people who self-identify as Christian but do not attend church services. This is particularly true in France, where religiosity and religious practice have long been in decline. For example, while 64 percent of the French self-identified as Catholic in 2009, only one-quarter attended mass “regularly” or “occasionally,” and a mere 7 percent attended each Sunday (Institut Français d’Opinion Publique 2009, pp. 9, 13). In this climate, being a “practicing Christian” can be seen as somewhat unusual.

8. Foyer here refers to government-subsidized housing.

9. Haute-Savoie is a French department better known for its Alps than for its Muslims. According to l’Annuaire Musulman (http://www.annuaire-musulman.com), as of September 2013, the department has only seven mosques (compared with fifty in Bouches-du-Rhône, the coastal department of southern France that contains Marseille).

CHAPTER 6

1. The original word racaille is translated here as “dirt,” but it can also mean “scum” or “rabble.” Nicolas Sarkozy used this word to describe perpetrators involved in the 2005 riots (see Bernard 2007). Kärcher is the name of a company that manufactures motorized sprayers (known as pressure washers) that blast surfaces clean with high-power jets of water. During his presidency, Sarkozy responded to the gang-related shooting death of a child bystander in Courneuve by saying, “From tomorrow, we will clean the cité with a Kärcher.” The cité in question is La Cité de 4,000, the large housing project in which the child lived. (Cosnay 2010).

2. Tournantes is a purposefully blunt expression. It evokes the image of a lazy Susan as a sort of graphic metonymy for gang rape.

3. Interestingly, Le Monde ran an article in response to the riots that included a man-on-the-street quote describing the rioters as lacking “balls.” Killian (2007) illustrates how this accusation does not undermine the image of the hyper-virile and violent young man in France but is intended as a show of his disempowerment. In other words, his violence is seen by the newspaper interviewee as pointless and ineffective. Whether the 2005 riots were “strategic” or “effective” is open for discussion, but the powerful gendered message of men’s violence is clear.

4. Human geography is a subfield in the discipline of geography that focuses on human activity and meaning making in spatial terms.
5. Minguettes is a neighborhood in the Lyonnais suburb of Vénissieux.

6. Killian (2007, p. 27) also describes the media and political attention paid to gang rapes in the suburbs of France as a moral panic, displacing concerns about suburban socioeconomic difficulties with discourse about violent male youths from patriarchal African and Islamic cultures. Terrio (2009, p. 13) similarly argues that “representations of youth crime gave rise to moral panics and created a collective amnesia regarding other historical episodes of juvenile delinquency.”

7. While *cité* has multiple definitions, in this context, it is meant to refer to low-income housing projects.

8. I use the term “race” here with hesitation. It is the CNCDH itself that uses the term “racist” to describe acts that seem oriented toward a certain religion, such as bombing mosques. I am uncomfortable eliding the terms “anti-Semitism” and “Islamophobia” with racism, as it reinforces the notion that religion is not a choice but an inherited, visible characteristic with which one is born.

9. Determined by a reference to logement (housing) in the headline and lead paragraph.

10. Two of the references were unrelated to the discussion of quality of life; one was about food associated with Muslims (such as couscous); one was about the Maghreb under Vichy; one was about Muslims in Afghanistan; and two were about Islamic radicals.

11. Like *cité, quartier* is a word that has multiple meanings in French. It can simply mean “neighborhood,” but here the connotation is that of a rough neighborhood.


14. Tricia Danielle Keaton’s interviews with young Muslim women living in suburbs and on the outskirts of cities includes a range of life stories, reminding one to avoid easy assumptions. Even one of her examples of a family with a violent patriarchal figure somewhat defies expectations. Keaton relates that a young woman named Fatima lived with an extremely violent father who kept close watch over his daughters. In the same history, however, we learn that a brother physically defended Fatima from her father and that Fatima and two of her sisters were working hard to become lawyers to gain independence from and potentially even take legal action against their father (Keaton 2006, p. 169).

CHAPTER 7

1. I acknowledge, of course, that some French Muslims are part of the elite in France today—but they are few in number.

2. The djellaba, after all, is a garment that reflects Islamic views on modesty.

3. Marine is a daughter of the party’s founder, Jean-Marie Le Pen.

4. That is not to say that Catholicism, or Christianity in general, is always kept out of the public sphere. Catholicism sometimes has a sort of “invisibility” because of its social privilege, meaning that references to it may appear in the public sphere in ways that would be derided if done by other religions.

5. These divisions are evident in comparisons between Interior Minister Manuel Valls and Minister of Justice Christiane Taubira. Valls is known for his focus on security, criticism of the thirty-five-hour workweek, and desire to reduce levels of immigration (he is nicknamed “Sarkozy of the left”), while Taubira is known for her efforts to pass gay marriage and progressive penal reform legislation.
6. *Précarité* is a political buzzword in French politics. It literally means “precariousness” but is often used to describe insecurity, especially job insecurity. In its most general sense, it is used as a blanket term to describe “at-risk” populations. At risk for what? Whatever social ill is being discussed at the moment: unemployment, poverty, obesity, school failure, and so on.

7. Laborde (2010, p. 13) also presents a critique of “tolerant republicanism” as entirely too permissive in its pragmatic acceptance of difference. Very few examples of this are found in elite discourse today, and therefore it is not examined here.


9. The study was led by Éric Macé, a sociologist at the Université de Bordeaux.

10. A Muslim respondent in Killian’s (2006) study expressed a similar desire for schools to do a better job of fostering multicultural dialogue. Tricia Danielle Keaton (2006, p. 113) points out that “94 percent of the literature used by teachers [in French public schools] was by French writers of European descent. . . . Although there is a large body of literature written in French by people from countries once colonized by France, such works were nearly absent from teachers’ selections.”

11. The Exposition Coloniale of 1931 was an exhibition in Paris meant to demonstrate the wealth and cosmopolitanism of France through a showcase of its colonies. The expo included human zoos in which colonial subjects were placed in reconstructions of their home villages for show. Such exhibitions were wildly popular at the time.

12. The Ministry of Immigration, Integration, and National Identity, which combines immigration issues with the subject of national identity, was created by Nicolas Sarkozy. It was first led by Brice Hortefeux, then Éric Besson. A cabinet reshuffle in 2010 eliminated the post.

13. “Interview performed by telephone on 15–26 January 2010 of 1,000 people living in Metropolitan France, age 18 and older, . . . [a] representative national sample that is corrected for the French population according to the quota method (sex, age, region)” (Obéa-InfraForces 2010).

14. For further information about the development of the CFCM, a particularly excellent collection of articles on the subject is in *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2005).

15. The Tablighi Jamaat is “a movement which advocated a return to rigid faith”; it began in India in the 1920s as a form of identity consolidation (Kepel 2004, p. 261).

16. It also bears noting that French leaders do not always listen to the CFCM, either. In September 2013, a *charte de laïcité* (secularism charter) appeared in every classroom of every public school in the form of an informative poster. Dalil Boubakeur, head of the CFCM, complained that the charter makes “allusions to Islam” and will “stigmatize” Muslims (Battaglia 2013). When Boubakeur shared his concerns with Minister of Education Vincent Peillon, he says, “Monsieur Peillon swore to me that it is not a matter of targeting the Muslim community. But hell is paved with good intentions” (quoted in Battaglia 2013).

17. Justice John Paul Stevens skewered Roberts’s reading of *Brown* as a fundamental misunderstanding of the landmark case. In explaining what he describes as the “cruel irony” at the heart of Roberts’s reasoning, Stevens (*Parents v. Seattle* 2007, pp. 798–799) wrote, “The first sentence in the concluding paragraph of [Roberts’s] opinion states: ‘Before *Brown*, schoolchildren were told where they could and could not go to school based on
the color of their skin.’ This sentence reminds me of Anatole France’s observation: ‘[T]he majestic equality of the law, forbids rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal their bread.’ The Chief Justice fails to note that it was only black school children who were so ordered” (*Parents v. Seattle* 2007, Stevens’s dissent, para. 2).

Stevens, like the critical republicans described in this chapter, is bemoaning the “sociological deficit” of the chief justice. School segregation in the era of *Brown v. Board of Education* was far more damaging to African Americans than it was to whites. For Stevens, the lesson of *Brown* was not that race is off-limits as a legal category but, rather, that differentiations on the basis of race should have the goal of reversing social exclusion and inequality.

18. Sarrazin’s name, ironically, is similar to the inaccurate but historical word for Muslims in Spain at the time of the Crusades. In the epic poem *La chanson de Roland* (The Song of Roland), Charlemagne is fighting the Sarrasins (Saracens in English).

19. Interestingly, the Hybride Europäisch–Muslimische Identitätsmodelle (HEYMAT), a research center at Humboldt University in Berlin, gathered young Muslims for their own Youth Islamic Conference, in which some participants played the role of journalists. They reflected on what journalists can do to be more sensitive to how they depict Muslims in the news, and came up with a number of suggestions for journalists to improve their practices (“Youth Islam conference experimental game,” n.d., Deutsche Islam Konferenz, available at http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de).


22. This is not to imply that there are not articulations of Islam that are misogynist. There are, just as there are articulations of other faiths that are misogynist.