

## Islam in French Secular Society

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**Abstract:** This investigation is based on surveys given during the summer of 2015 in Lyon, and Pau, France to assess viewpoints about secularism (*laïcité*) and Islam. Terrorism and Muslims have received much attention in current news. Also, France recently passed laws that are claimed to support *laïcité*; however, some people consider those laws to be targeting Muslims in France. Overall, French people surveyed wanted more enforcement of *laïcité* and were certain that Islam is not synonymous to terrorism. However, the French seemed uncertain about Islamic teachings. Statistical significance between responses of French Catholics and of French people with no religious affiliation was evident in some questions concerning the hijab and the sale of halal food at restaurants.

**Keywords:** Secularism (*laïcité*), Islam, Muslims, France, hijab, halal food, perceptions of Muslims

### 1. Introduction

Although the presence of Islam in France is not new, it seems that there is a revived concern about its place in France. This perception could be linked to the decision of more Muslims to reside in France. Also, this view could be due to acts committed by radical Muslims, including Amedy Coulibaly, who took several hostages and killed four people at a kosher supermarket in Paris (Albertini, 2015). Moreover, today, Islam is the second most common religion in France (after Catholicism). Although it is illegal to ask about religion in a census in France, it was estimated that 2.1 million Muslims between eighteen and fifty years of age were present in France in 2008 (Laurent & Pouchard, 2015). Some groups have concern about the ability of Muslims to adapt to French secular society (Hervieu-Léger, 2000). It is important to remember that there is a difference between French and American secularism. This difference is made clear by the French Declaration of the Rights of Man suggesting that God watches over the rights of man and the American Declaration of Independence mentioning that God acts as an author of those rights (Baubérot, 2009). In addition, religious symbols are accepted more in political and public ceremonies in America than in France (Poëti, 2008). Throughout this essay, the words “secularism” and “secular” refer to French secularism (*laïcité*). In order to examine opinions French people hold about secularism, Muslims, Islam, and halal food, a survey was distributed in Pau, and Lyon, France.

## 2. Background

### 2.1. Issues of French Secularization

In 1905, France adopted the law that separated the church and state. Some important concepts related to this law are: Catholicism is no longer officially considered as the religion of the majority and the directors of religious cults are no longer given a salary by the state (Baubérot, 2009; Cholvy, 2005). This law also allows for the protection of all religious places of worship. In addition, it prohibits the French state from interfering with religious rules if these religions respect French law. The principal authors of that 1905 law suggested that the French state should not interfere too much with such issues as wearing religious symbols (Jocard, 2016). However, in 1989, the director of the middle school Gabriel-Havez in Creil decided to expel three young women from classes because they refused to remove their headscarves in class (Belaich, 2017). Later, the French government passed a law in 2004 prohibiting ostentatious religious symbols in schools. Due to these events, some have noted that not only can too much religion in the public arena pose societal conflict, but the “radicalization of secularism” can do that as well (Boudjahlat, Pina, Valentin, Lefebvre & Al-Husseini, 2017).

### 2.2. Discrimination and Fears about Islam

Incidents such as the one in Creil suggest that discrimination towards Muslims is present in France. Discrimination can be defined as the treatment of two groups that is not equal and that is founded on illegitimate criteria. Both direct and indirect discrimination exist. Direct discrimination includes a situation during which a group is not treated in the same manner in relation to another race, ethnicity, or to a handicap. On the other hand, indirect discrimination occurs when a practice that appears neutral puts specific groups at a disadvantage.

According to Amiraux (2005), some think that there is an indirect discrimination of Muslims in France that produces a dissymmetry between the privileges of religions in France. For example, a law passed in 2004, which prohibits wearing ostentatious religious symbols in public establishments, can be interpreted as a reaction to the increased presence of Islam in French society (Baubérot, 2009). Another law passed in 2010 prohibits covering the face in public, which is also viewed by some to target Muslims (Gaillet, 2012). A response to Boubakeur’s suggestion to transform empty churches into mosques can also be perceived as indirect discrimination. “Do not touch my church” in Valeurs Actuelles (Actual Values), the response to Boubakeur’s suggestion, was a petition signed by notable government officials such as Nicolas Sarkozy (Vécrin, 2015). Another form of indirect discrimination can be noted in conflicts surrounding the burkini worn by Muslim women on France’s beaches. However, the burkini is not banned under the law of 2010 because it does not cover the face (“Le port du burkini” [“The wearing of the burkini,” 2017]). The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has stated that prohibiting the burkini feeds religious intolerance. Approximately thirty towns prohibit the burkini, and arrests have also been made due to wearing the burkini (“Les arrêtés anti-burkini” [“The anti-burkini arrests,” 2016]). Surveys have also shown possible discrimination. Barthélemy & Michelat (2007) mentioned in the results of their 2003

survey that fifty-six percent of the people surveyed living in France thought that Islam was a threat to secularism.

### **2.3. Positive Views of Islam**

In support of the idea that Islam encourages peace, some comments of Postel-Vinay (2015) and Bouzar in Larousse (2014) suggest that the acts of jihadists are largely not provoked by religion. Disenchanted youth find that the jihadist directors have some simplistic ideas for comprehending life in a complex social environment. Jihadist groups encourage a state of ignorance and the attitude that believing is more important than knowing. After that, the youth are entrapped by propaganda that reinforces their new, dangerous ideas. Bouzar supports the idea that jihadist groups are sects that isolate passages of the Coran from their context to manipulate others (Larousse, 2014).

While some believe that Islam today subjugates women, others believe there was an improvement in women's rights during the seventh century when the Coran was revealed. For instance, women obtained the right to inherit (Mégevand, 2015). Larousse & Expilly (2015) say Mohamed designated a woman (Umm Waraqa) to lead prayer in Medina and invited friends to be taught by his wife Aicha.

While there is data to suggest the existence of discrimination against Muslims, there is other data to suggest that Muslims are integrated into French society. Zeghal (2005) mentions that in April 2003, Nicolas Sarkozy founded the Council of the Muslim Cult (CFCM), a liaison between the Muslim cult and the Minister of the Interior. The CFCM is symbolic because it represents Islam as "a religion like the others" in France (like Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism). In addition, after the Charlie Hebdo attack, nearly 400 people united in Pau, at the initiative of Muslims, to denounce terrorism. Abdellatif, an interim imam at the Pau mosque, pronounced that the terrorist attacks are not only a problem for Muslims who feel that they are French, but an issue for all French people who desire peace (Vissuzaine, 2015). Schittly (2015) describes the efforts of leaders of the Muslim cult and politicians to reduce groups that encourage violence in the region in and around Lyon. Schittly (2015) and Mens (2013) mention that Muslim leaders desire to reduce this problem by letting authorities know about radical ideas from minority Salafist groups that encourage an armed jihad. It is evident that the Minister of the Interior is doing his part to reduce the violence of small groups: since 2012, four imams have been expelled and twenty-two cases have been investigated (Guenois, 2015).

### **2.4. Immigration of Muslims**

A larger proportion of foreigners live in Lyon than in Pau. Boudet's map (2015) shows the proportion of foreigners in the French population in 2012: approximately 6.63% of the population in Lyon was composed of foreigners; however, in Pau, only 1.43% of the population was foreign. In the years to come, it is probable that immigrants will be favored in sectors that lose a lot of baby-boomers and in sectors that do not have success in recruiting the inactive population (Mens, 2014). It has been estimated that between 2010 and 2016, fifty-three percent of the migrants coming to Europe were Muslim (Saget, 2017). It is also important to note that

ever since 2000, pamphlets have been harking back to medieval conflicts. For instance, some remind people of the battle of Poitiers won by Charles Martel and the Christians in 732 against the Muslim troops of Abd al-Rahmân. These pamphlets link that battle to the prevention of a grand colonization by Muslims and use the battle as a symbol of French resistance against Muslim immigration (Naudin & Blanc, 2015).

## **2.5. Clothing Practices of Muslim Women**

The Quran mentions a veil three separate times. The veil serves to safeguard the modesty of women around strangers and reminds others to respect women (Papin, 2015). Different types of veils worn by Muslim women include the burqa, the niqab, the tchador, and the hijab. The burqa covers the entire body and has a grilled tissue that covers the eyes, while the niqab covers the whole body except the eyes. The tchador and the hijab cover the hair, ears, and neck while leaving the face uncovered (Larousse, 2014). Due to the 2010 law prohibiting face covering in public, the burqa and niqab are not allowed in public in France. The hijab and the tchador are allowed in most public spaces (Audouin, 2016). As mentioned above, the burkini is prohibited in specific towns (“Les arrêtés anti-burkini” [“The anti-burkini arrests”, 2016]).

## **2.6. Halal Food**

Since rituals that are used to sacrifice animals for halal food are important to Muslims, the French food industry has been faced with the consideration of offering halal food for sale in markets and restaurants (Benkheira, 1995; Mathieu, 2010). According to Mathieu (2010), Quick announced its intention to increase the number of its restaurants offering halal food in France in 2010. Quick announced that it would triple the number of restaurants with halal food after conducting experiments with halal cuisine in 8 restaurants in France (in Lyon, Toulouse, Marseille, Roubaix, and in the region of Paris). The first eight Quick restaurants selling halal food opened in areas where clients frequently bought fish sandwiches (a good alternative for Muslims when halal meat is not available) and fewer sandwiches with bacon. During the experiments at the eight restaurants, the sales of fish sandwiches diminished to the levels of the other Quick restaurants at the same time as the sales of halal sandwiches increased.

## **3. Methods**

### **3.1. Apparatus**

The survey distributed consisted of seventeen questions, four of which asked about religious affiliation, country of birth, age, and gender. The question of religious affiliation offered these choices: Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, no affiliation, and other. The question about age had these categories: 18 to 30 years old, 30 to 45 years old, 45 to 60 years old, and 60 years old and over.

### 3.2. Procedure

This project was conducted at two universities: l'Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour (Pau, France) and at l'Université Lumière Lyon II (Lyon, France). Individuals on the Pau and Lyon campuses were asked to participate in this survey in a random fashion. Surveys in Pau were conducted at the end of May through the middle of June, and surveys in Lyon were distributed on June 24, and June 25, 2015. The survey was given after clients were held hostage in a kosher market in Paris in 2015, but before the attack on the Bataclan in November 2015 and the attack on July 14, 2016 in Nice (Le Point.fr, 2016; L'Obs, 2015). The two-sided p-value is reported because this research is simply analyzing if there is a difference in the data due to categorical variables. When questions did not have a large enough number of people who gave a particular response, the Fisher's exact test was used. When the Fisher's exact test was not used, the Chi square analysis was conducted. A significance level of  $p=0.05$  was used.

### 3.3. Participants

Table 1. The Number of Participants Who Responded Each Response by Town

<b>Religion</b>	<b>Lyon (N = 88)</b>	<b>Pau (N = 92)</b>
Catholic	31	24
Protestant	1	2
Jewish	1	0
Muslim	7	1
No affiliation	42	57
Buddhist	2	0
Catholic and Jewish	0	1
No response	4	7
<b>Age (years)</b>		
18 to 30	77	79
30 to 45	6	7
45 to 60	4	4
60 and above	1	2
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	32	38
Female	56	54

Table 2. The Percentage of Participants Who Responded Each Response by Town

<b>Religion</b>	<b>Lyon (N = 88)</b>	<b>Pau (N = 92)</b>
Catholic	35.23%	26.09%
Protestant	1.14%	2.17%
Jewish	1.14%	0.00%
Muslim	7.95%	1.09%
No affiliation	47.73%	61.96%
Buddhist	2.27%	0.0%
Catholic and Jewish	0.0%	1.09%
No response	4.54%	7.60%
<b>Age (years)</b>		
18 to 30	87.50%	85.87%
30 to 45	6.82%	7.61%
45 to 60	4.54%	4.35%
60 and above	1.14%	2.17%
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	36.36%	41.30%
Female	63.64%	58.70%

All participants were born in France. Surveys were completed by ninety-two French people in Pau, and by eighty-eight French people in Lyon. Most participants in Pau were women 18 to 30 years old. Each age category had at least two participants, and each religion category listed on the survey had at least one participant. Only one Muslim participated in the responses in Pau. The majority of participants in Lyon were in the same categories of age and gender as in Pau. Each age category had at least one participant, and each religion category had at least one participant. Seven Muslims participated in Lyon. This study was approved by the Social, Behavioral and Educational Internal Review Board at the University of Toledo.

#### 4. Results

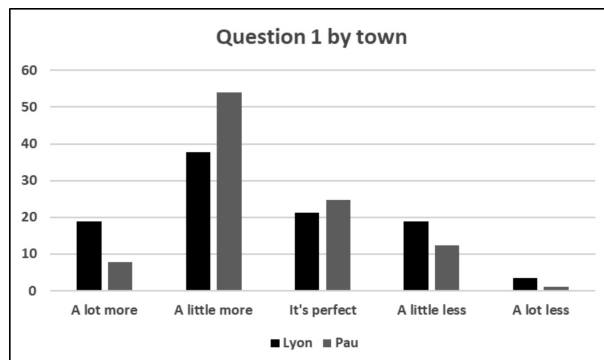


Figure 1. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 1 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The first question on the survey asked: “Do you think that the principles of secularism should be imposed more, less, or the same as they are currently?” 18.82% of people in Lyon marked “a lot more” and 7.87% of people in Pau marked the same response. The proportion of people surveyed in Lyon who marked “a little more” is 37.65%, but in Pau, the percentage is 53.93%. In Lyon, 21.18% of people responded “it’s perfect,” and 24.72% of respondents in Pau indicated the same response. 18.82% of people in Lyon marked “a little less,” and 12.36% of people in Pau responded with that option. 3.53% of participants in Lyon marked “a lot less,” and 1.12% of people surveyed in Pau marked that response. Significance was found between Catholics and people with no affiliation (see Table A2).

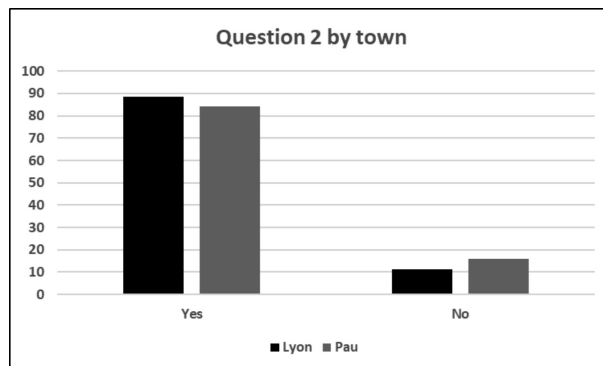


Figure 2. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 2 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The second question asks “Do you believe that the charter of secularism should stay posted in schools?” 88.64% of people in Lyon and 84.27% of participants in Pau responded “yes.” On

the other hand, 11.36% of people in Lyon and 15.73% of people in Pau responded “no.” The large proportion of people in the two cities with the response “yes” indicates that the majority of the survey sample supports the posting of messages with elements such as the duty of school personnel to transmit the value of secularism and the respect of rights to believe (or not to believe) at the same time. The purpose of the charter, which contains fifteen articles, reminds students and teachers that France is a secular society that offers secular education. However, the respect of beliefs does not permit wearing overt religious symbols. Parents are expected to help their children understand how to foster a secular school environment (Roucous, 2015).

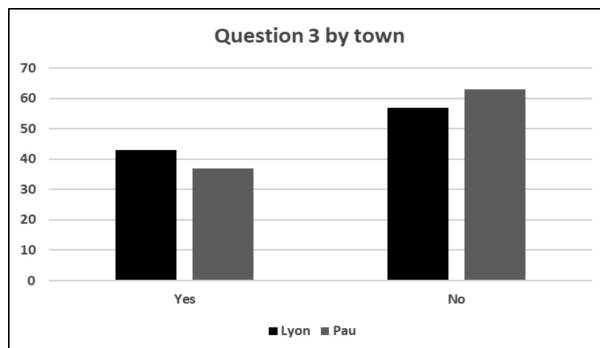


Figure 3. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 3 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The third question asked on the survey was: “Is it possible to perfectly attain the above definition of secularism?” Above, the survey mentions that “Secularism is defined by: ‘the respect of the liberty of conscience and of religious cult; the fight against any domination of religion by the state and society; the equality of believers of all religions, including non-believers.’” 43.02% of respondents in Lyon put that it is possible to attain, and 36.90% of people in Pau put the same response. In Lyon, 56.98% of people said it is not possible, and 63.10% of respondents in Pau did not believe that it is possible.

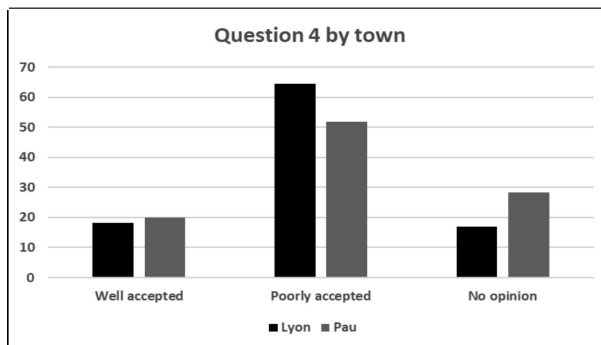


Figure 4. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 4 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns



The fourth question asked: “Do you believe that Muslims in France are well or not well accepted?” “Well accepted” was marked by 18.29% of participants in Lyon and by 20.00% of people in Pau. However, 64.63% of people in Lyon put “not well accepted”, and 51.76% of people in Pau responded the same. 17.07% of people in Lyon marked “no opinion”, and 28.24% of people in Pau had the same response.

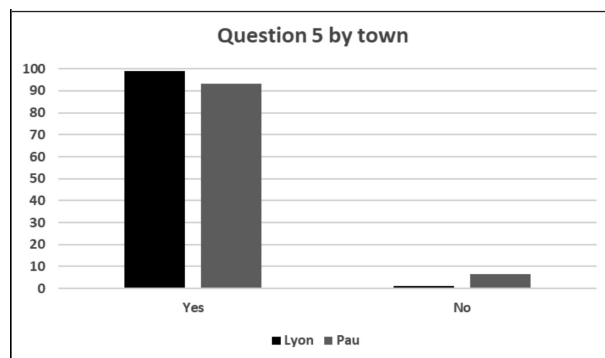


Figure 5. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 5 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The fifth question asked: “Do you think that a person can be Muslim and French?” 98.85% of participants in Lyon and 93.33% of people in Pau marked “yes”. The response “no” was marked by 1.15% of people in Lyon and by 6.67% of people surveyed in Pau.

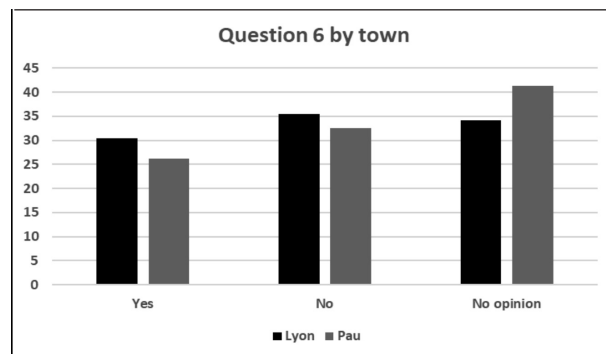


Figure 6. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 6 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The sixth question on the survey asked: “Do you believe that French political parties respect Muslims?” In Lyon, 30.38% of participants marked “yes” and in Pau, 26.25% of people responded the same response. On the other hand, 35.44% of people in Lyon and 32.50% of respondents in Pau marked “no”. 34.18% of people in Lyon and 41.25% of the population

of the survey in Pau marked that they had no opinion. A significance was found between the responses given by Catholics and by people with no affiliation (see Table A12).

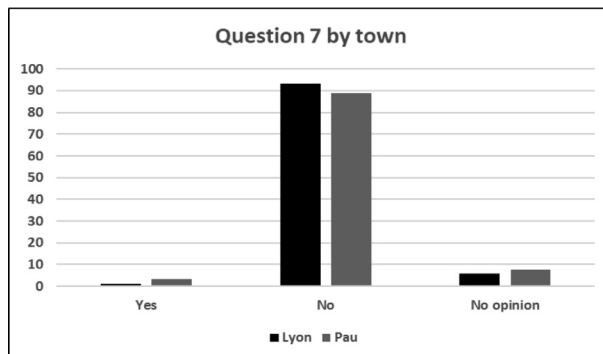


Figure 7. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 7 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The seventh question asks: “According to you, do radicalized Muslims represent Islam well?” 1.15% of participants in Lyon marked “yes”, and 3.30% of people surveyed in Pau put “yes”. 93.10% of people in Lyon responded “no”, and 89.01% of people in Pau marked “no”. 5.75% of participants in Lyon put “no opinion”, and 7.69% of people in Pau indicated that response.

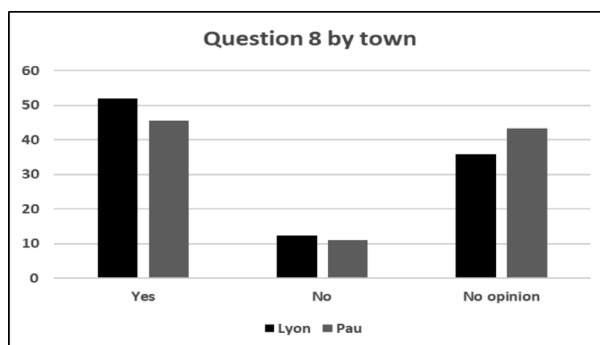


Figure 8. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 8 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

Another question (question 8) concerning Islam asked: “Does Islam encourage peace?” In Lyon, 51.85% of participants marked “yes”, and in Pau, 45.56% of people responded the same response. On the other hand, 12.35% of people in Lyon and 11.11% of respondents in Pau marked “no”. 35.80% of people in Lyon and 43.33% of the population of the survey in Pau marked that they do not have an opinion.

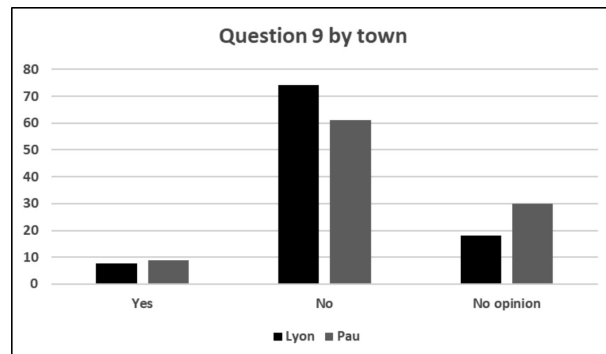


Figure 9. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 9 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The ninth question asks the inverse of the last one: “Do you think that Islam encourages violence?” In Lyon, 7.79% of participants marked “yes”, and 8.89% of people in Pau marked the same response. However, 74.03% of people in Lyon and 61.11% of respondents in Pau marked “no”. 18.18% of the population in Lyon and 30.00% of the population surveyed in Pau marked that they have no opinion. A significance between the responses of Catholics and people without a religious affiliation was noted (see Table A18).

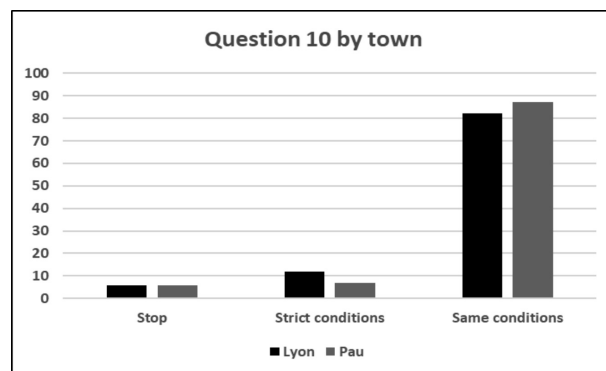


Figure 10. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 10 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The tenth question on the survey asked: “What are your opinions concerning the immigration of Muslims?” In Lyon, 5.95% of people said that France should stop the immigration of Muslims and 5.75% of people in Pau marked the same response. 11.90% of people in Lyon and 6.90% of respondents in Pau said that France should permit the immigration of Muslims under strict conditions. 82.14% of people in Lyon and 87.36% of people in Pau marked that France should permit the immigration of Muslims under the same conditions as other immigrants.

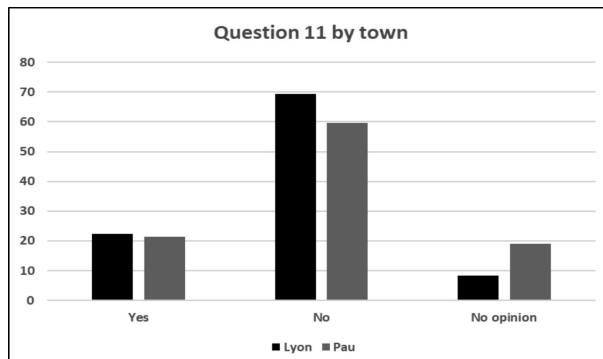


Figure 11. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 11 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

The clothing practices of Muslim women were also addressed with the question (question 11): “Should France prohibit the hijab in all public spaces (not only the burqa)?” In Lyon, 22.35% of participants responded “yes”, and in Pau, 21.35% of people marked the same response. On the other hand, 69.41% of people in Lyon and 59.55% of respondents in Pau marked “no”. 8.24% of people in Lyon and 19.10% of the population of the survey in Pau marked that they do not have an opinion. Significance between the responses given by Catholics and by people with no affiliation was noted (see Table A22).

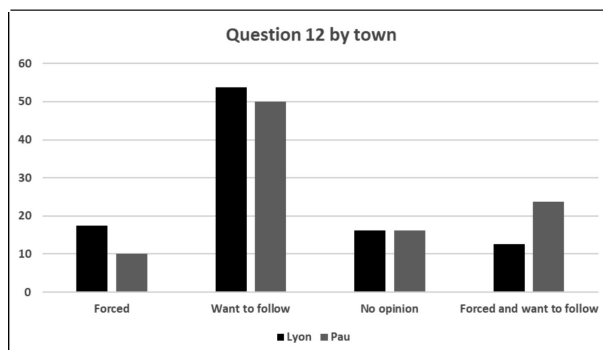


Figure 12. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 12 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

Then this question (question 12) was posed concerning clothing practices: “In your opinion, what is the reason for which Muslim women wear the hijab?” 17.50% of people in Lyon indicated the response “They are obliged to wear it by their families or by others” and 10.00% of people in Pau marked that option. “They want to follow the rules of their religion” was marked by 53.75% of participants in Lyon and by 50.00% of people in Pau. “No opinion” was indicated

by 16.25% of participants in Lyon and by 16.25% of people in Pau. The combination of “They are obliged to wear it by their families or by others” and “They want to follow the rules of their religion” was indicated by 12.50% of people in Lyon and by 23.75% of participants in Pau.

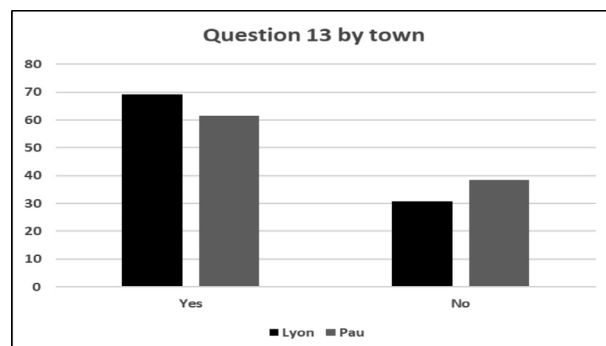


Figure 13. The Percent of People Who Responded to Question 13 Who Indicated Each Response in Both Towns

A question (question 13) concerning halal food was posed: “There are people who say that Quick should not offer halal food (the food that Muslims can eat according to their religion) in their restaurant. Do you believe that restaurants should offer halal food?” 69.23% of people in Lyon and 61.45% of people in Pau marked “yes”. However, 30.77% of respondents in Lyon and 38.55% of respondents in Pau marked “no”. Significance was found between the responses given by Catholics and the responses given by people with no affiliation (see Table A27)

## 5. Discussion

Among the weaknesses of this study were vague or ambiguous written responses, absence of answers, or contradictory answers. It is possible that some French people were not comfortable with certain questions about religion because the opportunities to discuss religion are often not available. Moreover, official statistics about religion are not permitted in France, so the participants could feel uncomfortable with some questions. Since non-answers were eliminated in the statistical calculations, it is possible that statistical power is a little insufficient to indicate significance for some questions. The population of our study could be considered as a weakness because the majority of participants are 18 to 30 years of age. Therefore, these results do not represent the beliefs of older French people well. In addition, some questions did not have enough nuance, which may have made it difficult for some participants to respond to questions. For instance, the first question did not take into account the different views and definitions the French may have of *laïcité*, which has been demonstrated in the book *Les 7 laïcités françaises: Le modèle français de laïcité n'existe pas* [The 7 French Secularisms: The French model of secularism does not exist] (Baubérot, 2015).

Even with these limitations of our study, our 159 responses to each question does allow us to determine some general trends among people 18 to 30 years of age. For example, many

of the people surveyed in the towns indicated that they have a belief about main concepts. For instance, participants largely answered that Muslims can be French, and the first article of the French constitution mentions: “France assures equality before the law of all citizens without distinction of origin, race, or religion. France respects all beliefs (French Const. art. I).” In addition, the majority thought that fundamentalist Muslims are not a good representation of Islam. However, there remains doubts about the details of Islam, the everyday life of Muslims, the treatment of Muslims, and halal food. It seems that participants are not sure if Muslims are well accepted or not well accepted, if political parties respect Muslims, if the religion encourages peace, if Muslims wear the headscarf because they want to follow the rules of their religion or because they are forced, and if Quick restaurants should offer halal food. It is important to note the certainties and the uncertainties because we can determine the subjects that are necessary to promote during a conversation about Muslims and their religion. Of course, it is necessary to first help the French feel at ease during a conversation about religion. Initiatives such as the IFCM (French institute of Muslim civilization) in Lyon, which has a partnership with the Grand Mosque of Lyon and allows people of all faiths to attend events, may help create this conversation (L’IFCM, 2017). If we can promote more discussion on Islam with targeted topics of conversation, it will be possible to create a bigger sense of how to live together, or “vivre ensemble.”

## 6. Statistical Analysis Notes

The p-values reported below are determined using listwise deletion due to missing data (answers sometimes not given to questions). It is assumed that the data is missing completely at random (MCAR) and that people most likely did not answer questions because of the long survey length. Also, as mentioned above, the missing responses could be due to a general unease about answering questions about religion and not due to the discomfort specific religious groups have about responding. The people not included would be considered to not differ in any way from the people included in the significance analyses. For the religion analyses, responses were done comparing Catholics with people with no affiliation because those two categories included enough participants for a more robust statistical analysis. Other groups did not have enough participants for a robust analysis.

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## Appendix A

Note: For each answer choice, percents are the percent of people marking that choice over all people responding to the specific question in each town. P-values indicate significance or non-significance between responses in Lyon and Pau or between Catholics and people with no affiliation.

### Question 1

Table A1. By town,  $p = 0.0569$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
A lot more	16 18.82	7 7.87	23 13.22
A little more	32 37.65	48 53.93	80 45.98
It's perfect	18 21.18	22 24.72	40 22.99
A little less	16 18.82	11 12.36	27 15.52
A lot less	3 3.53	1 1.12	4 2.30
Total	85 100.00	89 100.00	174 100.00

Table A2. By religion,  $p = 0.0190$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
A lot more	12 23.08	7 7.29	19 12.84
A little more	19 36.54	51 53.13	70 47.30
It's perfect	9 17.31	25 26.04	34 22.97
A little less	10 19.23	11 11.46	21 14.19
A lot less	2 3.85	2 2.08	4 2.70
Total	52 100.00	96 100.00	148 100.00

### Question 2

Table A3. By town,  $p = 0.3962$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	78 88.64	75 84.27	153 86.44
No	10 11.36	14 15.73	24 13.56
Total	88 100.00	89 100.00	177 100.00

Table A4. By religion,  $p = 0.7566$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	45 84.91	85 86.73	130 86.09
No	8 15.09	13 13.27	21 13.91
Total	53 100.00	98 100.00	151 100.00

## Question 3

Table A5. By town,  $p = 0.4156$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	37 43.02	31 36.90	68 40.00
No	49 56.98	53 63.10	102 60.00
Total	86 100.00	84 100.00	170 100.00

Table A6. By religion,  $p = 0.7593$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	20 38.46	39 41.05	59 40.14
No	32 61.54	56 58.95	88 59.86
Total	52 100.00	95 100.00	147 100.00

## Question 4

Table A7. By town,  $p = 0.1704$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	15 18.29	17 20.00	32 19.16
No	53 64.63	44 51.76	97 58.08
No opinion	14 17.07	24 28.24	38 22.75
Total	82 100.00	85 100.00	167 100.00

Table A8. By religion,  $p = 0.5662$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	13 25.49	17 18.48	30 20.98
No	27 52.94	56 60.87	83 58.04
No opinion	11 21.57	19 20.65	30 20.98
Total	51 100.00	92 100.00	143 100.00

## Question 5

Table A9. By town,  $p = 0.1179$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	86 98.85	84 93.33	170 96.05
No	1 1.15	6 6.67	7 3.95
Total	87 100.00	90 100.00	177 100.00

Table A10. By religion,  $p = 0.6661$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	51 94.44	96 96.97	147 96.08
No	3 5.56	3 3.03	6 3.92
Total	54 100.00	99 100.00	153 100.00

## Question 6

Table A11. By town,  $p = 0.6480$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	24 30.38	21 26.25	45 28.30
No	28 35.44	26 32.50	54 33.96
No opinion	27 34.18	33 41.25	60 37.74
Total	79 100.00	80 100.00	159 100.00

Table A12. By religion,  $p = 0.0128$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	21 39.62	22 26.51	43 31.62
No	10 18.67	36 43.37	46 33.82
No opinion	22 41.51	25 30.12	47 34.56
Total	53 100.00	83 100.00	136 100.00

## Question 7

Table A13. By town,  $p = 0.6457$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	1 1.15	3 3.30	4 2.25
No	81 93.10	81 89.01	162 91.01
No opinion	5 5.75	7 7.69	12 6.74
Total	87 100.00	91 100.00	178 100.00

Table A14. By religion,  $p = 0.6459$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	1 1.82	3 3.03	4 2.60
No	49 89.09	91 91.92	140 90.91
No opinion	5 9.09	5 5.05	10 6.49
Total	55 100.00	99 100.00	154 100.00

## Question 8

Table A15. By town,  $p = 0.6030$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	42 51.85	41 45.56	83 48.54
No	10 12.35	10 11.11	20 11.70
No opinion	29 35.80	39 43.33	68 39.77
Total	81 100.00	90 100.00	171 100.00

Table A16. By religion,  $p = 0.1585$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	20 38.46	47 49.47	67 45.58
No	5 9.62	14 14.74	19 12.93
No opinion	27 51.92	34 35.79	61 41.50
Total	52 100.00	95 100.00	147 100.00

## Question 9

Table A17. By town,  $p = 0.1780$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	6 7.79	8 8.89	14 8.38
No	57 74.03	55 61.11	112 67.07
No opinion	14 18.18	27 30.00	41 24.55
Total	77 100.00	90 100.00	167 100.00

Table A18. By religion,  $p = 0.0090$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	5 10.00	8 8.33	13 8.90
No	25 50.00	71 73.96	96 65.75
No opinion	20 40.00	17 17.71	37 25.34
Total	50 100.00	96 100.00	146 100.00

## Question 10

Table A19. By town,  $p = 0.5258$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Stop	5 5.95	5 5.75	10 5.85
Strict conditions	10 11.90	6 6.90	16 9.36
Same conditions	69 82.14	76 87.36	145 84.80
Total	84 100.00	87 100.00	171 100.00

Table A20. By religion,  $p = 0.0505$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Stop	5 9.26	4 4.17	9 6.00
Strict conditions	9 16.67	6 6.25	15 10.00
Same conditions	40 74.07	86 89.58	126 84.00
Total	54 100.00	96 100.00	150 100.00

## Question 11

Table A21. By town,  $p = 0.1109$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	19 22.35	19 21.35	38 21.84
No	59 69.41	53 59.55	112 64.37
No opinion	7 8.24	17 19.10	24 13.79
Total	85 100.00	89 100.00	174 100.00

Table A22. By religion,  $p = 0.0452$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	18 34.62	17 17.35	35 23.33
No	27 51.92	69 70.41	96 64.00
No opinion	7 13.46	12 12.24	19 12.67
Total	52 100.00	98 100.00	150 100.00

Table A23. By gender,  $p = 0.1114$ 

# of responses (%)	Male	Female	Total
Yes	10 14.71	28 26.42	38 21.84
No	50 73.53	62 58.49	112 64.37
No opinion	8 11.76	16 15.09	24 13.79
Total	68 100.00	106 100.00	174 100.00

## Question 12

Table A24. By town,  $p = 0.2089$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Forced	14 17.50	8 10.00	22 13.75
Want to follow	43 53.75	40 50.00	83 51.88
No opinion	13 16.25	13 16.25	26 16.25
Forced and want to follow	10 12.50	19 23.75	29 18.13
Total	80 100.00	80 100.00	160 100.00

Table A25. By religion,  $p = 0.5617$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Forced	8 16.00	12 13.48	20 14.39
Want to follow	21 42.00	48 53.93	69 49.64
No opinion	10 20.00	12 13.48	22 15.83
Forced and want to follow	11 22.00	17 19.10	28 20.14
Total	50 35.97	89 100.00	139 100.00

## Question 13

Table A26. By town,  $p = 0.3000$ 

# of responses (%)	Lyon	Pau	Total
Yes	54 69.23	51 61.45	105 65.22
No	24 30.77	32 38.55	56 34.78
Total	78 100.00	83 100.00	161 100.00

Table A27. By religion,  $p = 0.0180$ 

# of responses (%)	Catholic	No affiliation	Total
Yes	24 51.06	67 71.28	91 64.54
No	23 48.94	27 28.72	50 35.46
Total	47 100.00	94 100.00	141 100.00

## Appendix B

## Survey Questions in the Original French

**La laïcité est définie par:**

« le respect de la liberté de conscience et de culte; la lutte contre toute domination de la religion par l'État et la société; l'égalité es croyants de toutes religions, et y compris les non-croyants.»

- 1. Est-ce que vous pensez que les principes de la laïcité doivent être imposés plus, moins, ou le même qu'actuellement?**  
Beaucoup plus, Un peu plus, C'est parfait, Un peu moins, Beaucoup moins
- 2. Est-ce que vous croyez que la charte de la laïcité doit rester affichée dans les écoles?**  
Oui, Non
- 3. Est-il possible de réaliser parfaitement la définition là-haut de la laïcité?**  
Oui, Non
- 4. Croyez-vous que les musulmans en France soient bien ou mal acceptés?**  
Bien acceptés, Mal acceptés, Pas d'opinion
- 5. Pensez-vous qu'une personne puisse être musulman(e) et français(e)?**  
Oui, Non
- 6. Est-ce que vous croyez que les partis politiques français respectent les musulmans?**  
Oui, Non, Pas d'opinion
- 7. D'après vous, est-ce que les intégristes musulmans représentent bien l'Islam?**  
Oui, Non, Pas d'opinion
- 8. Est-ce que l'Islam encourage la paix?**  
Oui, Non, Pas d'opinion



9. **Est-ce que vous pensez que la religion musulmane encourage la violence?**  
Oui, Non, Pas d'opinion
10. **Quelles sont vos opinions en ce qui concerne l'immigration des musulmans?**  
On doit arrêter l'immigration des musulmans  
On peut permettre aux musulmans d'entrer en France sous des conditions strictes.  
On doit permettre aux musulmans d'entrer dans le pays sous les mêmes conditions que pour les autres immigrés
11. **Est-ce que la France doit interdire l'écharpe islamique dans toutes les espaces publiques (pas juste la burqa)?**  
Oui, Non, Pas d'opinion
12. **À votre avis, quelle est la raison pour laquelle les musulmanes portent l'écharpe islamique?**  
Elles sont obligées de la porter par leurs familles ou par des autres  
Elles veulent suivre les règles de leur religion  
Pas d'opinion
13. **Il y a des gens qui disent que Quick ne devrait pas offrir la nourriture halal (la nourriture que les musulmans peuvent manger d'après leur religion) dans leur restaurant. Est-ce que vous croyez que les restaurants doivent offrir la nourriture halal?**  
Oui, Non
14. **Quelle est votre affiliation religieuse?**  
Catholique, Protestant(e), Juif (Juive), Musulman(e), Pas d'affiliation, Autre
15. **Vous êtes né(e) en France? Si non, où?**  
Oui, Non
16. **Vous avez:**  
18 à 30 ans, 30 à 45 ans, 45 à 60 ans, 60 ans ou plus
17. **Vous êtes:**  
Un homme, Une femme

### Survey Questions in English

#### Secularism is defined by:

“the respect of the liberty of conscience and of religious cult; the fight against any domination of religion by the state and society; the equality of believers of all religions, including non-believers.”

1. **Do you think that the principles of secularism should be imposed more, less, or the same as they are currently?**  
A lot more, A little more, It is perfect, A little less, A lot less
2. **Do you believe that the charter of secularism should stay posted in schools?**  
Yes, No
3. **Is it possible to perfectly attain the above definition of secularism?**  
Yes, No

4. **Do you believe that Muslims in France are well or not well accepted?**  
Well accepted, Poorly accepted, No opinion
5. **Do you think that a person can be Muslim and French?**  
Yes, No
6. **Do you believe that French political parties respect Muslims?**  
Yes, No, No opinion
7. **According to you, do radicalized Muslims represent Islam well?**  
Yes, No, No opinion
8. **Does Islam encourage peace?**  
Yes, No, No opinion
9. **Do you think that Islam encourages violence?**  
Yes, No, No opinion
10. **What are your opinions concerning the immigration of Muslims?**  
We should stop the immigration of Muslims.  
We should permit Muslims to enter France under strict conditions.  
We should permit Muslims to enter the country under the same conditions as other immigrants.
11. **Should France prohibit the hijab in all public spaces (not only the burqa)?**  
Yes, No, No opinion
12. **In your opinion, what is the reason for which Muslim women wear the hijab?**  
They are forced to wear it by their families or other people.  
They want to follow the rules of their religion.  
No opinion
13. **There are people who say that Quick should not offer halal food (the food that Muslims can eat according to their religion) in their restaurant. Do you believe that restaurants should offer halal food?**  
Yes, No
14. **What is your religious affiliation?**  
Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, No affiliation, Other
15. **Were you born in France? If no, where?**  
Yes, No
16. **You are:**  
18 to 30 years old, 30 to 45 years old, 45 to 60 years old, 60 years old or more
17. **You are:**  
Male, Female