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The Muslim Communities Project

Edited and introduced by Suha Taji-Farouki

Volume 1:

Muslim communities in France

**The 'space' for Muslim identities
in modern and contemporary France**

by
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United Kingdom

L'intégration des Musulmans dans la société française

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Introduction

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The two papers in this volume launch the **Muslim Communities Project** at the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham. The objective of the Project is to publish work from a wide range of sources, disciplines and perspectives on Muslim communities in the contemporary world, with a special interest in those communities living in a minority context, which make up a significant and growing proportion of the global Muslim population. The first few volumes will address European Muslim communities, bringing together papers delivered at an international conference on *Minority Muslim Communities in Post-Bipolar Europe* convened in Amman, Jordan, in September 1994. The conference was organised by the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies and financed largely by Jordanian governmental sources. HRH Crown Prince Al-Hassan extended his patronage to it. Contributions were also received from the *World Assembly of Muslim Youth* (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia), and *L'Institut Européen des Sciences Humaines* (Saint Léger-de-Fougeret, France).

This first volume in the **Muslim Communities Project** series (published as *CMEIS Occasional Papers*) explores the problematic of identity and the thorny questions of integration and assimilation in relation to Muslims in France. The first author, **James House**, examines the various constructions of difference in French political discourse, which portrays Muslim identities in France as incompatible with 'French identity'. Relating his discussion to Muslims of Maghrebian origin (who make up the largest of the Muslim communities settled in France), he demonstrates the continuing significance of the historical debate for the contemporary situation. Central to his analysis is the notion of a (fluctuating) 'space' for Muslim identities in France. House examines the changing character of both assigned and claimed Muslim identities over the past century, pointing out significant developments that in recent years have issued in the increased 'visibility' of young people of immigrant origin. Through a survey of the most recent literature on the question the complexity of Muslim identities among young people in France is usefully highlighted, underlining the contingency of identities constructed, the relevancy of the socio-economic environment to the conditions of their production,

and the primacy of French references in the selection of aspects in their formulation.

While House's concern is to stress the complexities surrounding the formulation of Muslim identities in France and thereby to question the adequacy of current conceptual frameworks for analysing issues of religious, ethnic, and cultural diasporic identities, the second contribution to this volume approaches the question of Muslim identities in France from a very different perspective. **Ahmed Jaballah** writes as a Muslim intellectual involved at first hand in the debate over - and the actual process of - Muslim integration in France. Jaballah is clearly concerned that French society in practice seeks *assimilation* for its Muslim communities, as this is perceived as the least culturally threatening solution. He himself offers recommendations - both to his fellow Muslims in France and to French society at large - towards achieving an integration that will be based not on fear, rejection, and exclusion, but on respect and mutual enrichment. Jaballah is the Director of Academic Affairs at *L'Institut Européen des Sciences Humaines* established in France in 1991 with the initial objective of providing Europe's Muslim communities with an Islamic education and guidance that takes into account their special circumstances. Its activities currently include teaching Arabic, training preachers and *imams*, and preparing Muslim youth to spread the faith. The Institute works in close cooperation with the Imam Muhammad ibn Sa'ud Islamic University in Saudi Arabia, and under the guidance of the Saudi Arabian Ministry for Religious Affairs.

The 'space' for Muslim identities in modern and contemporary France

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In this paper, some of the historical aspects of the debate over the place for Islam and Muslims in France will be studied as well as the way in which these historical debates relate to the contemporary period.¹ The main concern will be with three different but linked arguments of central importance in defining the current 'space' for Muslim identities within France. These three main aspects are:

- firstly, the weight of assimilationist rhetoric and practice within French political culture, with special attention to the perennial debates around 'immigration';
- secondly, the negative perception of Islam and Muslims within French society and the changes within these perceptions - which are historical constructions - over time;
- thirdly, the need to go beyond the narrow definition of identity used when examining the attitudes of young people whose parents are Muslim and who have adopted hybrid forms of religious and cultural attachment for a variety of

reasons. This last point is particularly relevant in the light of recent debates in France which have focussed on the supposed incompatibility of any form of Muslim identity with that of 'French identity'.

If we take identification as the process by which the individual constructs a relationship to other individuals and groups across a variety of domains (religious, social, cultural etc.), then the concept of identity can be understood as the result of this process, but a result which is in constant evolution and denies easy categorization (Lipiansky, Taboada-Leonetti, Vasquez 1990). All three of these points concerned with the 'space' for Muslim identities will be studied from a perspective that examines the conditions of possibility for the 'visibility' of Muslims (i.e. in the cultural-religious domain) at a given moment in political discourse and the various *media* of social discourse. These themes will be applied to Muslims and their (grand)children from the Maghreb who make up by far the largest of the Muslim 'communities' settled in France, and whose

¹ All translations from the French are the author's own.

trajectories can arguably be interestingly studied in the light of colonial and post-colonial history.

' "Space" is here understood as the conditions which facilitate the construction of religious and socio-cultural identities for Muslims in France'

It is, however, necessary to define what is meant by the term 'space' for identities. 'Space' is here understood as the conditions which facilitate the construction of religious and socio-cultural identities for Muslims in France. These conditions have depended, historically speaking, on the attitudes of successive governments towards Islam and Muslims. These attitudes have been translated into the intervention (or not) of the State to define the place which will be 'allotted', in an institutional sense, to a religion judged 'different' and often thus 'dangerous' (or at least potentially so).

The second intervening factor in such a definition of 'space' concerns the balance at a given moment between what Leca (1991, 177) terms the three different "axes of citizenship". The first of these is the **"public-private"** axis, going from the pure "civic" (defined in terms of placing 'national interest(s)' as paramount) to the pure "civil" (placing kinship ties first and foremost). The second of these is the **"conformity-autonomy"** axis, where one's position is related to the willingness or not to criticize and/or challenge the existing political order from a position of independence. The third axis is that of the

"demand for rights-recognition of obligations". A fourth criterion should be added to this list, given that many (usually older) Muslims do not have French nationality and hence cannot vote. Since these factors have to be analyzed as being interconnected rather than separate, and studied both in their historical complexity as well as conjuncturally, it becomes apparent that this idea of 'space' will change over time, affected by transformations in the fields that have already been outlined.

Muslims (whether defined in terms of religious practice or in terms of the use of the word Muslim to signify cultural/religious identity) will see themselves *and be seen* differently as a result of historical events. These points will be developed further in Section One. The advantage of Leca's typology is that it is relatively open to an analysis which seeks to avoid the definition of an object - "Muslims" - as an institutionally-defined category, and allows for considerations of individuals and groups as subjects of their own action.

Assigned identities, imposed from the exterior and carrying a stigma (Goffman, 1963) due to the negative connotations they have for those that voice them, have often been reformulated (by some of the stigmatized group) into positive identities. In the case of young people of Maghrebian immigrant parents, these identities have been used to fight racism and to convey a feeling of positive collective identity, whether on an individual or a collective level. Muslims in France are still often viewed as immigrants, a description valid for the primary immigrants of (mostly)

Maghrebian origin, but inaccurate for their (grand)children.

'...the term *Musulman(e)* (Muslim) in French...has always operated as an *ethnic* and/or *racial* rather than purely *religious* term in both official and unofficial discourse'

The aim of the historical perspective within Section One is to attempt to explain how this situation came about. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to stress the complex use of the term *Musulman(e)* (Muslim) in French, which, due to colonial history, has always operated as an *ethnic* and/or *racial* rather than purely *religious* term in both official and unofficial discourse. This fact complicates the neat separation that methodological criteria would seek to achieve between the "cultural" and the "ethnic". Rather than giving up these methodological considerations as a lost cause, such preoccupations will be seen here as an integral part of the genesis of the contemporary situation, since the transition from the colonial to post-colonial eras can arguably be well illustrated by the notion of 'space' for identities.

Section One:

Historical perspectives

Nielsen has remarked that, until very recently, there was the presumption on behalf of most of the research approaches to Muslims living in Western Europe that their religious beliefs

would, in time, simply disappear from the sociological map, swept away on the tide of modernity (1992, vii). In the specifically French case, there is ample evidence to explain why these comments have analytical validity. For example, those French social scientists at the start of the twentieth century who sought to combat racism against non-Europeans started from the assumption that any differences that did exist in terms of religion and culture would ineluctably disappear in the path to a secularized, *laïque* West (cf. Finot 1905).

However, the 'ideal' solution for demographers (rather than economists) in the interwar years would have been to have found the supplementary workforce judged necessary to the French economy elsewhere than in French Algeria and Morocco and Tunisia (cf. Massard-Guilbaud 1995). Ageron's history of colonial Algeria has shown that the acquisition of partial citizenship for indigenous Algerians rested on "de-Islamization" (Ageron 1968, 347).

If there was one point on which advisors on immigration (whether self-proclaimed or officially appointed) agreed, it was that Maghrebians were largely 'inassimilable' due to differences of culture or 'race' (the two terms often being interchangeable) (Mauco 1932, 1937). The faith in the 'traditional' French 'model' of assimilation (a 'model' that has never been a consistent set of practices, and which therefore, through its lack of definition, can serve any political purpose) goes through cyclical crises, and the period 1924-39 was one of these (cf. Schor 1985).

What must be stressed, however, is that the specifically *religious* identities of the Maghrebian immigrants at this time remained relatively invisible in the often hostile debates concerning particularly Algerians in the press (MacMaster 1993; de Wenden 1991). It was the negative portrayal of these immigrants - who were often more temporary seasonal workers than permanent settlers - as "Arabs" (ignoring the large numbers of Kabyles amongst them) that is apparent from the writings of the time (cf. Pairault 1926; Nogaro and Weil 1926).¹ Gontier's overtly racist writing (1939) totally passes by the religious aspects of the Maghrebians he stigmatizes.

If the notorious French racial theorist of the 1930-40s, René Martial, judged all Muslims "unassimilable", and stressed how "(e)verything a Muslim does, everything a Muslim thinks has, however remotely, its origins in religion",² then this was more a continuation of the well-established stereotype of the supposed lack of intellectual independence of Maghrebians than a developed anti-Islam diatribe. The myth of Islam as the "natural enemy" was found not only on the far right during this period. Religious considerations come at the end of Fonville's list of reasons for the supposed undesirability of bringing Maghrebian workers to France (1924, 154-5). In general, racial theorists concentrated more on the physical as-

pects of "différence" than on the cultural.

'Where the religious aspects were given more consideration, it was often to ensure what is now termed "social peace"...'

Where the religious aspects were given more consideration, it was often to ensure what is now termed 'social peace' (Barou 1985) from Maghrebian workers, particularly during the First World War (cf. Messali Hadj 1982, 96-116 *passim*; Horne 1985; Stovall 1993; Vidalenc 1974), the idea of the administration being to use religion to separate off the 'colonial workers' (as they were termed) from the rest of the local population. This trend continued after 1918: Pierre Godin, a former colonial administrator in Algeria, was responsible for the setting up of what we would now call social services specifically targeting Maghrebians. But this respect for 'different' religions and cultural practices was more apparent than real, since the idea of the *Ville de Paris* (Paris City Council) and the Interior Ministry was to keep under tight surveillance a population deemed to be in danger of the proselytism of the nascent Algerian nationalist movement in the Paris region in the late 1920s and/or of the *Parti Communiste Français* (cf. Stora 1985, 1987). Godin refers to Maghrebians as "these condemned races" (1933, 82).

¹ More pejorative terms, such as *bicot* or *métèque* were commonplace before 1939. The conflation of the two terms 'Arab' and 'Muslim' in French by the time of the Algerian War of Independence has been studied by Périès (1992).

² René Martial (1933) *L'immigration continentale et transcontinentale*, Paris: Baillière, p. 29 (quoted in Schor (1985, 165)).

As such, these practices should be seen as the importation into France of the colonial system: the use of the 'religious' as an ethnic category being shown by the fact that the Muslim hospital, which opened in 1935 in the Paris suburb of Bobigny, would treat only colonial 'French-Muslim' subjects: a Turkish Muslim would not have been treated there.¹ The colonial lobby came down firmly against using workers from the Maghreb in France (Fonville 1924; Gomar 1931; cf. also MacMaster 1993 and Massard-Guilbaud 1995). Maghrebians appeared regularly at the bottom of the tables of degrees of 'assimilability' prepared by researchers such as Mauco (1937) (the use of the category 'cultural' in such surveys covering the 'religious').

In the academic field, studies devoted only a small place to the religious side of immigrants' lives. A good example of the collective assumptions of the time comes from the detailed thesis by Ray in 1939, *Les Marocains en France*. This work has nothing of the pamphleteering style of some of the academic publications on immigration at the time (cf. Fonville 1924; Pluyette 1930). Nevertheless, Ray (1939, 375) still considers the Moroccans he studied to be still in the Middle Ages (because of their use of

the Islamic calendar!) and essentializes his objects of study as Muslims (*ibid.*, 160).²

'We can see here the widespread belief in the opposition between Islam and modernity which has undercut the debates on ... Muslims in France'

We can see here the widespread belief in the opposition between Islam and modernity which has undercut the debates on (i.e. rather than *with*) Muslims in France. Where the religious side of the lives of Maghrebian immigrants is referred to, it is not given great attention: authors such as Catrice (1931) stress the non-observance of Islam amongst immigrants (rejoining the wider discourse of the time on the supposedly decadent and 'immoral' behaviour of immigrants in general)³ whilst demanding more social provisions and denouncing the conditions in which they lived. Dermenghem (1934, 20) is told by one of his Moroccan interviewees in the Paris suburbs that they "leave religion behind in Marseilles",⁴ which indicates the outlook many Muslim immigrants had to their time spent in France, a time during which

¹ On the story of the Muslim hospital, see Lamri (1993). In effect, these social provisions were interpreted by the Algerian nationalists as acts of deliberate segregation (cf. Messali Hadj 1982, 172-3), since all colonial French Muslim subjects were sent to the Hospital and were not allowed to be treated within the other hospitals of the Paris region. Messali's interpretation is confirmed by the report written by the instigator of such policies, Pierre Godin (1933, 82).

² I am grateful to Neil MacMaster for this reference.

³ The 'classic' literary example is *Sidi de banlieue* by Jean Damase (Paris, Fasquelle, 1937). See also Schor (1981, 1985). Birnbaum (1993, 267-8) has shown how the radical right (1919-45) would valorize the 'traditional' values of Islam within the colonial setting, but less so within France.

⁴ The title of Catrice's article is emblematic of his approach: "A few scenes of the Orient in Paris". The article by Dermenghem is much less judgemental.

religious observance was temporarily suspended. This point should serve to illustrate that relative 'silence' on the religious question was due not simply to the eurocentric blindness of the research methods of the time, but also came as a result of personal trajectories followed by many immigrants.

'...belief in the superiority of French civilization over that of the colonized, majority-Muslim countries...'

It is important to note that, in contrast with the contemporary period, there were few organizations willing to come to the defence of Maghrebians when they were the subject of discrimination and violence in France. This was because the belief in the superiority of French civilization over that of the colonized, majority-Muslim countries extended across both the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* (French Human Rights League), founded at the time of the Dreyfus Affair, and (in the 1930s) the *Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme*.¹ There was not so much (until 1945) a debate within these organizations about whether or not the French *mission civilisatrice* should end, but rather a discussion of what reforms could be undertaken in the French colonies and protectorates to make French rule there less arbitrary (and hence also ensure its survival).²

Stora (1987, 99) has shown the contradictions in the support from the

far left (Marxist or not) for the Algerian nationalists under Messali Hadj: since in theory religion was interpreted as false consciousness and obscurantism, support for the use of Islam was given only since it was considered a necessary, instrumental and cohesive factor in the struggle for unity amongst the Algerian nationalists.

In similar fashion, the *Parti Communiste Français* was caught between the internationalism of its pronouncements and the xenophobia of part of its membership. The attitude it adopted towards the Maghrebian workers in France tended consequently to fluctuate between these two positions (similarly for the main trades unions). The defence of the rights of Maghrebians *as fellow workers* by the trades unions would not extend to considerations of cultural rights.³ The engaged sociological enquiries which were published in the antiracist press from the 1940s onwards paid little attention to the religious question of those from majority-Muslim countries, concentrating instead on the very real problems of housing, employment and discrimination which many immigrants had to face.

When religion was used to stigmatize immigrants during the 1920s and 1930s, it was likely to come from those who criticized the religious practices specific to the Polish immigrants. The Poles had wished to keep their own forms of worship, which

¹ These observations are based on unpublished material from my current doctoral research at the University of Leeds on the history of antiracism in France.

² See the debates on colonization from the 1931 Congress of the *Ligue Française des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen*. The Congress overwhelmingly backed a motion calling for "democratic colonization".

³ This situation was to change from the mid-1970s onwards.

were distinct from the dominant French Catholic model, but received wisdom held that this "sectarianism" was not facilitating assimilation (the Poles having been judged 'assimilable', unlike the Maghrebians). This point is perhaps worth keeping in mind for the contemporary period (cf. Gallissot 1985), given the common assertions of non-loyalty levelled at foreign or French Muslims.

'in the interwar years ... little "visibility" was given to Islam in social discourse...'

There are two possible ways of interpreting the manner in which the religious identities of Muslims were perceived in the interwar years. Given that, as we have seen, little 'visibility' was given to Islam in social discourse - even from writers who were overtly extremely hostile to Maghrebians, it could be argued that the place of Islam within these racist discourses was peripheral, the pretexts for prejudice centering on the supposedly violent, irascible and 'unsocialized' characteristics of male immigrants and the 'demographic danger' that they and their families would allegedly constitute if allowed into metropolitan France in greater numbers (Massard-Guilbaud 1995, 62).

The second possible explanation is that the need to voice *explicitly* the notion of 'cultural distance' as a factor explaining the supposedly 'inassimilable' nature of the Muslim Maghrebians was simply not considered necessary: since these views were part of "commonsense" opinion of the time, they permeated Right and Left, traversing social classes and were thus likely to remain largely

unquestioned until after decolonization. These two possible explanations are not mutually exclusive.

'... it is clear that the definitions of immigrants can change over time ...'

There are several preliminary conclusions that can be drawn from these necessarily general comments. Firstly, it is clear that the definitions of immigrants can change over time (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1993, 3-4); the religious categorization of Maghrebians, whilst not new (cf. Henry 1987/88), as has been shown, has become predominant (but not exclusive) over the last two decades. This has come about not simply due to an assigned Muslim identity, but also one that has in part been claimed by (some) primary immigrants and their children and differs according to age, cultural background and access to economic resources.

The changes in society which can increase the 'visibility' of sections of the population were well illustrated during the 'Headscarf Affair' in 1989-90. In theory, the French school system illustrates the clear separation of the 'public' and 'private' spheres inherited from the French Enlightenment. Nicolet (1982, 449) has stressed the symbolic importance, historically speaking, of the state school system in France as an emblem of the unity of the nation. As such, any conflict over the school system, since its values traverse Left and Right, will make problem-solving more difficult (William 1991, 30-31). This 'unity' around the functional importance of the school system in fact postdates the separation of Catholic Church and

State (Rémond 1959). If, following Bauberot (1990, 103) we distinguish *laïcisation* (the institutional process just mentioned of the separation of Church and State) from secularization, which is a much wider societal process (and in constant transition), then it is possible to introduce the notion of *tension* between these two processes.¹

Laïcisation became relatively consensual only because of the wider process of secularization (concerning all religions) at work throughout this century, before resurfacing in the 1980s as a social issue as a result of changes in attitudes towards religion by certain categories of the population which were far from exclusively Muslim (notably the lobby for Catholic private education). This approach in terms of tension would also explain the ambivalence of the position taken by many on the Left during the 'Headscarf Affair', since the belief in the ongoing process of secularization was hard to square with support for a marginalized religion seen (in its totality) as an obstruction to that same process. Such a view depends, of course, on the construction of an undifferentiated image of Islam and Muslims, the result of their representation in much of social discourse. Empirical evidence suggests that the vast majority of Muslims have tacitly accepted the 'separation' of the 'public' and 'private' spheres concerning education (Leveau 1993).

'...the tension which has existed since the start of the 1980s over the openness of the French state to forms of religious and cultural diversity...'

A second point to bring out from the examples from the interwar years is the way in which there is a constant redefinition of just what constitutes 'public' and 'private' spheres at a given moment, confirming the need to adopt both diachronic and synchronic approaches to Leca's typology outlined in the introduction. This is illustrated by the tension which has existed since the start of the 1980s over the openness of the French state to forms of religious and cultural diversity and the 'tradition' of assimilationism already outlined. It is unclear to what extent anything more than regional cultural diversity has been lastingly accepted (particularly by the end of the 1980s) (cf. Silverman 1992).² The logic of assimilation, with its moveable criteria of worthiness and its corollary, that of the suspicion over the 'loyalty' of the (non-)citizens of the nation, still remains, whereas studies have underlined the different modalities of what Noiriél (1988, 1993) terms 'national assimilation'.

What I shall be arguing in Section Two is that the perceptions of the recent history of Islam and Muslims in France have been forged through

¹ Carré (1993, 138) has argued that the French form of *laïcisation* is merely "one possible form of the modern rationalization of rules and behaviour".

² More studies are needed to examine the way that the mediation involved in the definition of community/group at a national level affects more localized groups. The debates about 'Islam' and 'Muslims' often start from a local setting to then reach national media coverage, with the inevitable distortions that such processes involve.

an interpretative structure that is no longer capable of accounting for the use of Islam in terms of identity, and the hybridization of cultural references adopted by many young people. Up to now we have concentrated on definitions of what Muslims are emanating from state institutions, officials and politicians, these definitions having reproduced many of the characteristics of previous interpretative frameworks. It is necessary now to see how Muslim identities are formulated, within specific social situations, by the actors themselves.

Section Two:

Processes of identification

As Guillaumin (1972) has shown, the consequences of designation and the naming of a group from the exterior are that there is little differentiation in this totalizing discourse, there no longer being "an individual belonging to a group, but rather a group which shows itself in concrete form through one individual" (1972, 195). This gives a good indication to the backdrop for the current debates over the extent of "Islamist" influence in France (slight), since the heterogeneous nature of the Muslim communities is often implicitly denied.

This assigned identity, imposed from the outside, has social effects (Etienne 1990, 33).¹ Islam is being used by some young people (especially those whose parents are Maghrebian) as a form of identity,

partly in response to racism and social exclusion (cf. Césari 1994), and this means of identification often has little to do with any specifically political project. This use of Islam is thus the creation of these young peoples' own action. This will be examined throughout this section. However, it is necessary to look at the recent historical developments that have created the conditions for the increased 'visibility' (i.e. as a socio-historical construction) of young people of recent immigrant origin, the stigma (Goffman 1963) attached to Maghrebian immigrants and their children being particularly strong.

As outlined in the first section, the Jacobin model is based in theory (but not always in practice) on individual assimilation, the persistence, invention or reformulation of any form of group identity being viewed as a cause, rather than as a result of, exclusion (Colombel 1991-2, 36).

Willingness to participate fully in the civil and civic domains whilst still keeping one's religious and/or ethnic identity is thus viewed as a contradiction in terms by much of consensual political culture. What developed over the 1980s and arguably continues today is a refusal to 'conform' socio-culturally (cf. Silverman 1992) which does *not* however mean that there has been a retreat into the 'purely' communitarian.²

¹ Bourdieu (1980) has insisted on the performative aspects of such processes - whether for an imposed identity or one that is claimed or, indeed, a reformulated, previously imposed identity which transforms people as objects of a given discourse into subjects.

² Amselle (1990) has developed a sophisticated critique of the notion of 'pure' cultural forms, cultural *métissage* being for him the norm rather than the exception in the colonial/postcolonial situation. Gaspard and Khosrokhavar (1995) argue the same in their study of the various headscarf 'affairs'.

'...a tendency to define according to "ethnic" criteria'

Long-term societal developments that have increased the 'visibility' of young people of immigrant origin have been studied by Noiriél (1988). These include the different modalities of assimilation in the current period compared with the inter-war period and the now ritualized debate on the 'crisis' of the French institutions, the unions, and, as already mentioned, the school system and traditional forms of political participation in the wake of increasing deindustrialization (cf. Perrineau 1994). Michel Wieviorka has talked of how the tendency to define the 'other' in terms of work has been transformed over the past twenty years into a tendency to define according to 'ethnic' criteria (15).¹

There are important socio-geographical factors to take into consideration over the shorter term, given the way in which the implantation of Islam amongst young people in the *banlieues* (poor outer suburbs) has received so much media attention.² Louis Chevalier's work on the *classes dangereuses* (1984) has not lost its topicality. In many ways, the demands by the immigrant parents of many young people for the creation of prayer rooms, the building of mosques and the end to the

'underground' (but present) nature of Islam in France until the mid-1970s, created a 'visibility' for Muslims that is now being directly applied, in varying forms, by (and to) their children (cf. de Wenden 1988; Kepel 1991, 1994). The end of the 'myth of return' for many immigrants must also be taken into consideration (Sayad 1991).

Collective action to protest against racism was an important feature of the experience of many Maghrebians' collective identity in the first half of the 1970s. This mobilisation took place mostly around the idea of a collective Arab, rather than Muslim, identity promoted by various far-left organizations such as the *Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes* (MTA) (Arab Workers' Movement), which directly challenged the legitimacy of the better-established immigrant organizations such as the Algerian state-backed *Amicale*.³ The MTA was to be the basis of later anti-racist action in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s (Polac 1994), and deliberately tried to unite the various 'generations' of Maghrebians and their families in France.

The increase in associational activity after the change in the law in 1981 lifting many restrictions on associations with a majority non-French membership/leadership must be kept in mind. Furthermore, organizations

¹ See his introduction to Bataille, Couper, Martuccelli and Peravia (1994).

² The press archives at the Paris library of the Institut d'Études Politiques (Dossier 102/5 (Islam) Tomes 1-5, about 500 articles) show very clearly how this subject becomes a major theme in the mass written media from 1989 onwards (although already present on a lesser scale beforehand). See also Battegay and Boubeker (1993), Hamès (1989) and Bonnafous (1991).

³ It is obvious that organizations such as the MTA would not be predisposed to using a transnational Muslim identity. The religious factor at the time was less likely to mobilize support across all sections of the Maghrebian Muslim communities.

such as the MTA (whose influence in political terms should not be exaggerated) show how it is analytically impossible to construct as an object a "second generation", since many of the organization's campaigns against racism centred on the murders of the children of Maghrebian immigrants, and reveal an overlapping of generations (cf. also Noiriel 1988).¹

'...the notion of an Arab identity, although far from having completely disappeared amongst young people of Maghrebian parents...is often insufficient to provide a source of collective mobilization...'

The distance covered between now and then is that the notion of an Arab identity, although far from having completely disappeared amongst young people of Maghrebian parents (cf. Gonzalez-Quijano 1987; Lacoste-Dujardin 1992; Schnapper 1993; Benveniste and Cyngiser 1993) is often insufficient to provide a source of collective mobilization.² Dassetto (1994, 201) has shown how, for first generation Muslim immigrants, it was only after the middle of the 1970s that "they were perceived and re-identified themselves using religious categories". For their children, these religious categories are a part of identification, but far from exclusively or centrally. These religious and cultural references are part of a wider identity. Almost paradoxically, we shall see, this process of identification is at one and the

same time a demarcation from, and recognition of, their parents.

The cultivation of a collective memory of the experience and heritage of immigration and of previous struggles against racism has marked the period since the 1970s amongst Maghrebians in France (cf. Bouamama 1994). When disillusionment set in after campaigns against racism in the early/mid-1980s, some of the young people of Maghrebian parents who had led the mobilization turned to Islam (cf. Begag and Chaouite 1990). These strategies could be seen as a bid to render 'intelligible' the social reality of exclusion at the same time as political culture when traditional notions of citizenship have become "unintelligible" (Leca 1991, 207-8).

These observations bring with them the question of the instrumental role played by religion which is not limited simply to the domestic sphere. The inseparability of the 'religious' from the cultural is a common conclusion of those researchers who have undertaken empirical studies amongst young people of Muslim parents (cf. Bariki 1986; Gonzalez-Quijano 1987; Lacoste-Dujardin 1992). As Leca has argued, the use of Islam within this context shows that there is enough distance between young people and Islam for religion to be used as a strategy, as opposed to the more "socially gratuitous" nature of religion for their parents (Leca 1990, 51).

If we take into account the fact that socialization has taken place

¹ The tendency towards family regrouping did not start in the mid-1970s, it merely accelerated an already existing phenomenon.

² This is shown by the dialogues reprinted in Hammoudi (1993)(cf. also Hallouss (1993)). Both were involved in the *Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes*.

exclusively (or mainly) in France for most children of parents from majority-Muslim countries, then these observations are more easily explainable. Henry-Lorcerie's argument that the result of the use of Muslim identities has been one of "ethnic mobilisation, but without a specifically ethnic content" seems most accurate. Jazouli (1986, 180-1) has highlighted how Islam has been used by young people in their (personal or collective) fight against exclusion to form "an ambivalent and at times contradictory affirmation of identity".¹ To this extent, we can talk of a novel relationship to Islam on behalf of many young people in France, what Césari (1994, 48-9) calls the "search for a complex coherence".

The paradigmatic inability of consensual French culture to interpret the concept of identities which transcend national borders has meant that the "categories of political understanding" (*entendement*) (Leca 1991a) that can account for hybridized, diasporic identities have yet to evolve (cf. also Médam 1993). It is the multiplicity of social, cultural and religious identities that defy easy categorization that appear to be far more commonplace than the fixed, mono-national, mono-cultural model still often used to analyze them (Michel 1990, Hafidi 1990).² If Islam is still viewed through the

prism of immigration, and Muslims (however defined, it here being a question of an imposed categorization) still judged in the political terms of 'loyalty', their 'worthiness' as residents and/or citizens brought into question, it is arguably because any form of communitarian identity is judged as a rival to national identity, whereas, as Morsay (1993, 42) has argued, the forms of identity examined here are not competing with 'national identity', but situated on another level. The heritage of the interwar years still exists; the attempts at justifying exclusion through supposed "cultural distance" have now, however, to construct an internal rather than an external frontier (Henry-Lorcerie 1986, 405; Balibar 1991).

Conclusion

These approaches suggesting the complexity of Muslim identities amongst young people in France are arguably most useful in that they relate the conditions of production of identities to their socio-economic environment, and show their contingency, thus introducing as a central aspect of the study the primacy of the French rather than (for example) Maghrebian references. 'Selection' of aspects of identities to be used does not stem from an unlimited source; they are historically determined (Turner 1993).³

¹ Cf. also Jazouli (1992). There are important gender aspects to this question. There is often a selection operated by young women in France of Muslim parents between those aspects of Muslim identity they judge favourably, and they judge to be less so (Gaspard, Khosrokhavar 1995). Tribalat (1995) has pointed out the need to break down the category 'Muslim' into national origins.

² See the article by Nicolas Beau; "Diaspora musulmane. L'invention de l'islam français, clé du melting pot" in *Libération* 6 June 1985 and Boubeker and Beau (1986, 147-62 *passim*).

³ Turner continues: "(t)he term 'selection' implies a continuous intellectual evaluation of alternative forms of belief so that the model of cultural change implied does not allow for the fact that much of the work of selection might be performed unconsciously, habitually or mimetically" (1993, 64). See also Bourdieu (1971), Diop (1993).

At the same time, there is less insistence within these approaches on an imposed *contradiction* between 'competing' cultural reference points (i.e. 'French'/non-French') that characterized earlier research. It is thus possible to approach the study of how Muslim identities are formed at a given moment taking into account the forms of hostility that their carriers may be subjected to as well as the way this comes to fashion these same identities. This also raises questions for the study of reactions to racism which are often not merely reformulations as 'doubles' of racism, as some authors have suggested (cf. Taguieff 1990). There is, then, a struggle for the definition of identity at play. There are discourses *on* Muslims and also discourses formulated by those of Muslim parents who adapt aspects of their parents' experience (cf. Tribalat, 1995).

The historical approach can help to outline the changes and permanences within these developments, placing the field within social history rather than the narrower conceptualization of 'immigration'. The forms of identification examined in this section show the interrelatedness of generations and place of socialization (in France). The analysis of Muslim identities in France can thus no longer see them merely as a foreign import impervious to the Weberian concept of *habitus*.

Many authors have linked the retreat of state intervention *per se* and

its decentralized, local-level replacement in a time of economic crisis to the increasing use of Islam as a reference point (in whatever form) (Aïchoune 1992, Begag and Delorme 1994), with Muslim associations at times funded by local councils in a return to the institutional perception of Islam as a source of 'social peace' (Barou 1985, Weil 1991, 278) *at the same time* as one of a 'social threat'.¹ The ambivalence of the 'social peace' factor is perhaps one constant factor which continues on from the 1930s, but is now affecting the (grand)children of Maghrebian immigrants, a group largely absent in the 1930s.² The other constant factor is the use of the term 'Muslim' as an ethnic/racial tag, whether in overtly racist arguments or more subtly. This gives some indication of the complexity of the questions concerning the formulations of identity and the situations in which they occur in relation to stigmatization. Comparative historical studies of antisemitism and anti-Muslim racism are needed. To conclude, Balibar's assertion that what are often termed ethnic minorities "are reducible neither to an abstract individuality nor to a community identity" (1990, 60) best summarizes the complexity of the debate.



¹ For the attitude of the Socialist government towards these questions in the period 1983-1985, see Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Archives Contemporaines, Fonds Patrick Weil 56/dossier 7: "Islam".

² See however Massard-Guilbaud (1995, 323-331, *passim*).

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L'intégration des Musulmans dans la société française

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La question de l'intégration des Musulmans dans la société française est un problème récent qui a été soulevé ces dernières années par les intellectuels et les hommes politiques français et auquel les médias n'ont jamais manqué de faire écho.

Il représente, aujourd'hui, un sujet de débat national qui réjouit les uns, agace les autres, mais ne laisse personne indifférent. Ce n'est pas par hasard d'ailleurs si le gouvernement socialiste a décidé, au cours du deuxième septennat de monsieur Mitterrand, de créer un Secrétariat d'Etat pour l'Intégration afin de centraliser et officialiser les orientations à adopter sur ce fait de société nouveau. Mais apparemment le problème n'est pas seulement posé par la société d'accueil, il est aussi posé par les musulmans eux-mêmes. Nous trouvons par exemple le thème du congrès annuel organisé par l'Union des Organisations Islamiques de France (UOIF)¹ en 1991 était consacré à: 'L'intégration des musulmans dans la société française'.

En effet, le problème de l'intégration des musulmans en particulier,

et des étrangers en général, reste un problème d'actualité en France et nécessite un effort d'étude, de réflexion, et de proposition.

Je dois préciser avant de développer quelques idées autour de ce sujet, que mon intervention représente une réflexion d'un intellectuel musulman qui se trouve en même temps concerné par ce processus social. Nous pensons qu'un tel sujet nécessite davantage de réflexion, pour mettre en évidence les subtilités et les enjeux profonds inhérents à l'intégration et que ne révèlent pas de prime abord les études statistiques.

(1)

Pourquoi se pose le problème de l'intégration des musulmans?

On se pose parfois la question sur les justifications réelles d'un tel débat sur l'intégration. Loin des excès de quelques médias ou du traitement passionnel de ce sujet par quelques politiciens, nous pensons que

¹ Le congrès de l'UOIF se tient tous les ans fin décembre et regroupe des milliers de participants musulmans

à la fois les musulmans qui craignent l'assimilation et la perte d'identité, et la société d'accueil qui craint d'être déstabilisée dans ses habitudes et ses moeurs.

La peur de l'Islam en tant que religion proche et envahissante (pour reprendre les propos virulents de certains opposants à l'intégration) est entretenue par un discours politique qui fait l'amalgame entre des situations politiques spécifiques dans des pays islamiques proches et la présence sur le sol français d'une communauté islamique importante. Ce discours est ravivé quotidiennement par le phénomène d'intégrisme islamique, médiatiquement dramatisé et jugé comme le danger qui guette les sociétés occidentales.²

(2)

Que voulons nous dire par intégration?

Le fait de s'entendre sur le contenu du concept 'intégration' est très important pour limiter les controverses relatives à ce sujet. En effet, autour de ce thème de l'intégration on utilise généralement trois mots: intégration, assimilation et insertion.

Bien que ces trois mots soient sémantiquement très proches, ils ne rendent pas compte de la réalité de façon identique:

L'intégration des musulmans est un problème quotidien qui se pose aujourd'hui à la société française, dont les justifications profondes pourraient se résumer en général dans les causes suivantes:

i) Contrairement aux autres communautés étrangères, les musulmans possèdent une identité culturelle spécifique dont certains traits demeurent différents des habitudes culturelles françaises. Or la différence culturelle peut amener à des rapports conflictuels, si la confrontation des idées et des principes n'est pas encadrée par une certaine ouverture d'esprit, une souplesse et une flexibilité intellectuelle.

ii) La présence relativement récente de la communauté musulmane en France implique des difficultés d'adaptation de la part des musulmans dans la nouvelle société d'accueil. Notamment lorsque ces nouveaux arrivants se trouvent en tant que minorité en position de faiblesse. Ils ont alors tendance au repli et à la concentration communautaire.

iii) Malgré le brassage des cultures rendu possible grâce au progrès des moyens d'information et de communication contemporains censés contribuer à une meilleure acceptation de l'autre, il persiste toujours une certaine appréhension vis-à-vis de ce dernier notamment lorsqu'il est différent de nous. En fait la peur de la différence peut être considérée comme un résidu comportemental de la nature humaine acquis depuis l'enfance de chacun de nous. Cette peur haute

1 Pour la France, l'Algérie et le Maghreb en général.
2 Nous ne discutons pas ici du bien-fondé de cette pensée, mais nous les constatons seulement.

i) Intégration:

Du mot 'intégration' on dérive le verbe intégrer qui signifie: faire entrer dans un ensemble plus vaste, incorporer, inclure.¹ Par conséquent, le sens littéral du mot 'intégration' stipule l'existence d'un élément extérieur venant s'incorporer dans un ensemble plus grand. Ceci suppose une volonté d'adaptation et d'accueil des deux parties. Mais le mot en lui-même ne détermine ni les conditions, ni les modalités de cette intégration.

Le Haut Conseil à l'Intégration, mis en place en 1988 par le gouvernement français et chargé d'avancer des réflexions et des propositions dans ce domaine, a retenu une définition de l'intégration selon laquelle intégrer se résumait à: 'susciter la participation active de la société toute entière de l'ensemble des femmes et des hommes appelés à vivre durablement sur notre sol, en acceptant sans arrière-pensées que subsistent des spécificités, notamment culturelles, mais en mettant l'accent sur les ressemblances et les convergences dans l'égalité des droits et des devoirs afin d'assurer la cohésion de notre tissu social.'²

Cette définition supposait en effet la reconnaissance et le respect des spécificités culturelles des candidats à l'intégration, mais aussi la garantie de la cohésion sociale de la société d'accueil. Ces deux facteurs constituent un équilibre indispensable pour une intégration positive.

ii) Assimilation:

L'assimilation donnant le verbe: assimiler signifie: 'rendre semblable'.³

En partant de ce sens littéral du mot, l'assimilation serait un processus visant à aplanir toute particularité culturelle de façon à faire 'fondre' complètement l'Autre dans le tissu social d'accueil. Dans l'*Encyclopédia Universalis* on peut lire une définition sociologique de l'assimilation sociale: c'est 'le processus par lequel un ensemble d'individus habituellement une "minorité", et/ou un groupe d'immigrants se fond dans un nouveau cadre social, plus large...Beaucoup de sociologues ont voulu trouver les meilleurs indices d'assimilation de ces groupes dans leur disparition totale, ce qui implique la renonciation à leur culture d'origine, la mise au pas de leur personnalité et leur atomisation au sein de la société qui les absorbe.'⁴

L'acculturation entendue comme adaptation à la nouvelle culture et vécue à l'origine comme un enrichissement s'avère au bout du compte comme négative dans la mesure où elle s'accompagne systématiquement et à long terme d'une déculturation entendue comme extinction de l'habitus culturel maternel. Est-ce que l'assimilation dans ce sens est possible? Est-il possible pour un individu quelconque de perdre toutes les traces de son identité? Il est difficile d'imaginer qu'un tel phénomène se produise volontairement sauf si la personne concerné par l'assimilation

¹ Larousse.

² Article 'Intégration et nationalité' par Marceau Long, président du Haut Conseil à l'Intégration, *Le Monde*, 5 mai 1993.

³ Larousse.

⁴ *Encyclopédia Universalis*, Tome 3, pages 206-7.

affiche explicitement des motivations intégratives et voue un certain culte à la culture de la société d'accueil.

iii) Insertion:

L'insertion est le fait de s'insérer, c'est-à-dire: *'trouver place, s'intégrer, s'introduire'*.¹ Le sens littéral du mot implique que l'insertion consiste à trouver une place à un élément extérieur dans un tout homogène et suppose une implantation de l'inséré loin du phénomène de l'assimilation. C'est plutôt l'aménagement fait dans le cadre accueillant pour permettre d'insérer l'individu, qui semble prévaloir dans cette définition. Dans cette perspective ce dernier ne semble pas menacé par la perte de ses particularités.

A ce niveau, nous pouvons dire que le concept de l'intégration se situe entre l'assimilation et l'insertion comme l'a souligné Marceau Long dans son article précité, en décrivant la notion d'intégration: *'comme un processus spécifique distinct à la fois de l'assimilation et de l'insertion'*.²

Ainsi, la notion de l'intégration mérite d'être définie clairement afin de ne pas utiliser un concept ambigu qui peut être perméable à des idées contradictoires.

(3)

Quelle est l'intégration voulue par la société d'accueil?

Il est difficile de déterminer les conditions d'intégration exigées par la société française de ses étrangers. Les discours des intellectuels et des hommes politiques sur l'intégration restent relatifs à leurs convictions et à leurs tendances.

Le discours officiel suppose qu'il y ait une méthode française de l'intégration qui consiste à insérer les étrangers dans le tissu social français contrairement à la méthode anglo-saxonne qui favorise la concentration de communautés étrangères dans les ghettos.³ Mais sur le plan pratique, l'intégration reste à définir. D'après le constat général, on remarque que c'est plutôt l'intégration au sens de l'assimilation que la société française attend des étrangers. Dans les médias, lorsqu'on veut présenter des exemples d'étrangers qui ont réussi leur intégration on affiche toujours à la une des personnes parfaitement assimilées voire foncièrement 'dissoutes' dans la société française au point de n'en garder la moindre spécificité culturelle indiquant leur origine.

En revanche, la pratique religieuse islamique apparaît au regard de l'opinion publique souvent comme un obstacle à l'intégration parce que la personne qui s'attache n'est pas

¹ Larousse.

² Article 'Intégration et nationalité' par Marceau Long, président du Haut Conseil à l'Intégration, *Le Monde*, 5 mai 1993.

³ Voir *Intégration ou explosion?* Catherine Wilitol ed./ panoramiques 1993.

encore à l'image de la majorité des citoyens qui ont délaissé la pratique religieuse. On peut se demander: pourquoi la société d'accueil cherche-t-elle une 'intégration - assimilation'?

Jusqu'à là la tendance d'assimiler les étrangers a été sous-entendue par les mobiles suivants:

i) L'option 'intégration - assimilation' paraissait la solution la plus rassurante parce qu'elle permettait de conserver la cohésion et la stabilité sociale. Ainsi tout sentiment de peur suscité par la différence de l'Autre sera étouffé dans l'oeuf.

En réalité, ce n'est pas la différence de l'Autre en soi qui génère la crainte, mais l'état de faiblesse, qui lui est sous-jacent et que Jean-Claude Barreau¹ reconnaît explicitement: 'Au début du siècle il y a le choc d'un catholicisme fort contre un Etat fort. Aujourd'hui, il y a déséquilibre: la seule religion forte est l'Islam, et la République est faible'.²

ii) Un sentiment de supériorité vis-à-vis des étrangers originaires des pays récemment colonisés selon lequel il appartient aux ressortissants de ces derniers de s'assimiler dans la société même au prix de perdre leurs particularités culturelles. Il s'agit là d'un sentiment paradoxal avec l'état de faiblesse que nous venons d'évoquer.

Cette tendance générale qui opte pour l'assimilation ne saurait en tout cas occulter une autre tendance qui prône une intégration avec préservation des spécificités culturelles.

Cette tendance résulte d'une vision de la société française comme une société multiraciale et multiculturelle où plusieurs cultures nécessairement différentes peuvent coexister dans un seul cadre social basé sur la tolérance et permettant un échange et un enrichissement mutuel qui ne peut être que bénéfique pour l'ensemble de la société. Mais ce débat est loin d'être conclu.

(4)

La position des musulmans

En ce qui concerne la position des musulmans vis-à-vis du problème de l'intégration, nous pouvons distinguer en général trois catégories:

i) La première catégorie concerne des gens qui ne se posent pas le problème de l'intégration. Cette catégorie représente en fait deux positions opposées: la première position est celle de ceux qui sont complètement assimilés et qui cherchent à se démarquer de leurs racines culturelles. La deuxième position minoritaire concerne des gens qui refusent de s'intégrer par peur de perdre leurs différences. Les uns et les autres ne se sentent pas concernés par l'intégration.

ii) La deuxième catégorie représente les jeunes issus de l'immigration qui ne se sentent pas également trop concernés par l'intégration parce qu'ils se considèrent comme citoyens français à part entière de par leur naissance et leur éducation. Notons toutefois

¹ Jean-Claude Barreau: conseiller pour l'immigration auprès du ministre de l'intérieur M. Charles Pasqua.

² Entretien avec Jean-Claude Barreau, le *Figaro*, 9 septembre 1994.

qu'un certain nombre de ces jeunes revendiquent un droit à la différence liée à leurs origines culturelles. Or la société elle-même ne leur reconnaît pas de fait ce statut de citoyen français - c'est là la source de la crise de citoyenneté que vivent les jeunes musulmans.

iii) La troisième catégorie représente des musulmans qui se posent la question et qui cherchent une intégration leur permettant d'une part leur insertion dans la société mais ne les entraînant pas d'autre part vers une intégration négative. Cette catégorie regroupe essentiellement des musulmans pratiquants¹ désireux de participer à la vie de la cité tout en préservant leurs particularités culturelles. Tel est l'enjeu capital du processus de l'intégration.

(5)

L'intégration au quotidien

L'intégration des musulmans dans la société française rencontre certainement des difficultés imputées à la société d'accueil et aux musulmans eux-mêmes (racisme, exclusion, chômage, échec scolaire, délinquance...). Cependant, malgré ces difficultés, le processus de l'intégration avance certes lentement mais il avance néanmoins.

Il y a certains efforts de la part de la société pour faciliter l'intégration des musulmans. Et parmi ces efforts nous pouvons citer quelques mesures administratives prises par les autorités qui reconnaissent en quelque sorte la pratique religieuse islamique. Ces mesures concernent les fêtes religieuses: en accordant un jour de repos aux fonctionnaires musulmans les jours de l'Aïd,² ainsi que les facilités accordées aux musulmans dans quelques communes pour le sacrifice rituel pendant la fête de l'Aïd. Nous pouvons citer également la décision qui encourage les maires à créer des carrés musulmans dans les cimetières municipaux. La décision aussi de fournir des repas 'halal' aux jeunes musulmans dans l'armée française. Ces aménagements, quelque soit leur caractère symbolique, constituent une démarche positive vers l'intégration.

De la part des musulmans nous pouvons aussi signaler un certain effort qui exprime une volonté d'intégration, et ceci à travers un souci d'adaptation avec les contraintes de la société. Il faut reconnaître à cet égard que l'Islam est une religion qui laisse une place aux considérations de la réalité changeante à travers le temps et l'espace. Le droit musulman comporte en effet une capacité de souplesse et de flexibilité considérable.³ Il convient à ce niveau de signaler que l'Islam renferme un certain nombre de principes prescriptifs invitant le musulman à aller vers l'Autre, à établir des

¹ On peut rattacher à cette catégorie des musulmans peu ou pas du tout pratiquants mais qui manifestent un attachement à leur culture d'origine.

² Les deux fêtes annuelles musulmanes: fin du Ramadan et le dixième jour du mois de pèlerinage à la Mecque.

³ Pour donner des exemples de cette flexibilité, nous pouvons citer l'avis juridique qui permet au musulman en cas de nécessité de regrouper les prières deux par deux. Ainsi que la permission donnée au musulman d'effectuer sa prière dans n'importe quel endroit propre et pas nécessairement dans une mosquée.

relations avec lui à travers le bon comportement et le dialogue. Citons à titre d'exemple les règles qui sacralisent le bon voisinage, l'hospitalité et l'assistance aux faibles...

(6)

Comment réussir l'intégration

Il faut certainement des efforts énormes de toutes les parties et dans les différents domaines, tout en s'accordant le temps nécessaire pour aboutir à une intégration positive et humaine.

Nous pensons que certaines conditions sont indispensables pour donner un appui au processus de l'intégration:

- i) Il faut se libérer des peurs: la peur de l'Autre, la peur de la différence, la peur de ses faiblesses, par le dialogue et la volonté de connaître l'Autre pour mieux le comprendre et le respecter,
- ii) Définir clairement la notion de l'intégration et déterminer ses conditions.

iii) Combattre le phénomène du rejet social. La société d'accueil a plus de responsabilité à cet égard pour aider les étrangers à se sentir comme des citoyens à part entière.

iv) Dépasser les différences inutiles surtout de la part des candidats à l'intégration. Il ne faut pas trop abuser du droit à la différence.

v) Avoir un esprit d'ouverture et chercher à comprendre l'Autre et à s'enrichir de ses expériences et de ses compétences.

vi) Elargir la notion de l'intégration à tous les domaines de la vie. Reconnaître les spécificités culturelles ne suffit pas, il faut encourager la participation sociale et politique. Il faut encourager l'insertion économique, combattre le chômage et l'échec scolaire. C'est ce sur quoi s'entendent en général les hommes du terrain comme le précise Marceau Long, président du Haut Conseil à l'intégration: 'En réalité, il ne peut y avoir d'intégration véritable sans que soit menée de façon durable et vigoureuse une action sociale, économique et éducative d'ensemble.'¹



¹ Article 'Intégration et nationalité' par Marceau Long, président du Haut Conseil à l'Intégration, *Le Monde*, 5 mai 1993.