Contents

Foreword to the English Edition, by Paul M. Sniderman vii
A Note on the Translation xi
Foreword to the French Edition, by Pascal Perrineau xiii
Acknowledgments xvii

Introduction: Why This Question? 1

1 Are the New French More Religious and Less Laïque? 9
   All Muslims? 10
   Are Muslims More Religious? 14
   Can We Speak of a Re-Islamization in France? 17
   Islam Is Not Part of a Retreat from French Society 19
   Laïcité: A Danger to or Protection for Muslims? 22
   Church and State Relations 24

2 Integration into the French Political System 31
   Confidence in French Democracy 31
   Political Preoccupations 35
   An Alignment with the Left 37
   Leftist Chiracians? 44
   Religion and Political Orientation 46

3 A Welfare Culture? 49
   Liberty or Equality 51
   Acceptance of the Rules of the Economy 51
   Attitudes toward the Role of the State 53
   Work and Success 55
   An Omnipresent Culture of Material Success 57
   Immigration, a Culture of Success 58
4 Women, Mores, and Homosexuality 61
   The Less Authoritarian French 62
      A France That Is Uncertain about Moral Order 62
      No More Lax, No More Authoritarian 63
   The More Conservative French 65
      A Lower Level of Sexual Permissiveness 66
      A Lower Level of Permissiveness in Most Social Groups 67
   Religion and Permissiveness 69
      Consequences of Lower Sexual Tolerance:
         Exogamy and the Veil 72

5 Racism and Anti-Semitism 77
   The Less Racist French 78
      Origin Is Not the Explanation 78
      Impact of the Economic Situation 79
   “Anti-Semitism of the Suburbs” in Question 81
      Anti-Semitism among Only a Minority,
         But a Large Minority 81
      Anti-Semitism of the New French 83
   The Religious Factor 84
      The Relationship between Anti-Zionism and
         Anti-Semitism: More Complex than Expected 86

6 Integration and Equal Opportunity 89
   Assessment of and Vision for Integration 89
   Support for Affirmative Action 93
   Evaluation of Equal Opportunity Policies 97

7 What Identity/Identities? 99
   Attachment to Country of Origin 100
   Identification with the French 102
   Racism, Identities, and Communautarisme 105
      Minorities and Communautarisme: Danger or Fantasy? 107

   Conclusion: As French as Everyone Else 113

Appendix: Methodology 117
 Bibliography 129