

## **Bibliography**

### **Book**

- Dovidio, J., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. (2010). *The Sage Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Fredette, J. (2014). *Constructing Muslims in France: Discourse, Public Identity, and the Politics of Citizenship*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Lebourg, N. (2016). *Islamophobia in France*. Stanford: Stanford University.
- Lecomte, V. (2016). *On the Justification of States of Exception in Liberal Democracies*. Lund: Lund University
- Roy, O. (2007). *Secularism Confronts Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Malik, S. (2015). Constructivism. In *International Security Studies: Theory and Practice* (pp. 72 - 84). London: Routledge.
- Staggenborg, S. (2007). Theories of Social Movements and Collective Action. In *Social Movements* (pp. 13 - 29). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Waters, L. (2016). *French or Muslime? "Rooted" French Perceptions of the Muslim Community in France*. Boulder: University of Colorado.

### **Journal**

- Heider, J. (2012). Unveiling the Truth behind the French Burqa Ban: the Unwarranted Restriction of the Right to Freedom of Religion and the European Court of Human Rights. *Indiana International and Comparative Law Review* Vol. 22, 93 - 129.
- Idriss, M. M. (2006). Laicite and the banning of the hijab. *Legal Studies Volume 25 Issue 2*, 260 - 295.
- Liogier, R. (2009). Laicite on the Edge in France: Between The Theory of Church - State Separation and The Praxis of State - Church Confusion. *Macquarie Law Journal* Vol. 9, 25 - 45.
- Lyon, D., & Spini, D. (2004). Unveiling the Headscarf Debate. *Feminist Legal Studies* Vol. 12, 333 - 345.

### **Government Publication**



UNIVERSITAS  
GADJAH MADA

**Islamophobia in France: Interpreting the Limited Success of Social Movement against 2015 - 2017 State of Emergency**  
ANISA WIDYA PRASTUTI, Atin Prabandari, SIP., MA(IR)  
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2018 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2007). *Info Synthese: Secularism in France*.

## Online Sources

- Al-Jazeera America. (2013, November 27). *France Defends Full-face Veil Ban at European Human Rights Court*. Retrieved from Al-Jazeera America: <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/11/27/france-defends-fullfaceveilbanateuropeanrightscourt.html>
- Bastie, E. (2015, February 24). *"French of Origin": History of a Controversial Expression*. Retrieved from Le Figaro France: <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2015/02/24/01016-20150224ARTFIG00137--francais-de-souche-histoire-d-une-expression-controversee.php>
- Bayrakli, E., & Hafez, F. (2016). *European Islamophobia Report*. Istanbul: SETA: Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research.
- BBC. (2011, September 16). *Paris ban on Muslim Street Prayers comes into Effect*. Retrieved from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-14945467>
- BBC. (2017, November 10). *French Politicians Protest over Muslim Street Prayers in Paris*. Retrieved from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-41950826>
- BBC News. (2015, December 9). *Paris Attacks: What Happened on the Night*. Retrieved from BBC: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994>
- Beaman, J. (2015, February 9). *'Je Suis Ahmed,' Charlie Hebdo, and Tolerance's Elephant in the room: Race*. Retrieved from The Conversation: <http://theconversation.com/je-suis-ahmed-charlie-hebdo-and-frances-elephant-in-the-room-race-36730>
- Bordenet, C. (2016, January 30). *Thousands Protest against State of Emergency*. Retrieved from Le Monde France: [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2016/01/30/les-opposants-a-l-etat-d-urgence-et-au-projet-de-reforme-constitutionnelle-dans-la-rue\\_4856380\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2016/01/30/les-opposants-a-l-etat-d-urgence-et-au-projet-de-reforme-constitutionnelle-dans-la-rue_4856380_3224.html)
- Borredon, L. (2016, November 20). *L'Observatoire de l'Etat d'Urgence Fait Ses Adieux (avec retard)*. Retrieved from Le Monde Blogs: <http://delinquance.blog.lemonde.fr/2016/11/20/lobservatoire-de-letat-durgence-fait-ses-adioux-avec-retard/>
- Buisson, F. (2012, September 7). *New Dictionnary of Pedagogy and Primary Instruction: Laicite According to Ferdinand Buisson*. Retrieved from Jeunes Laiques: Pour la Defense de l'Ecole Laique: <https://archive.is/20120907031723/http://www.premiumwanadoo.com/jeunes-laiques/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=10>



UNIVERSITAS  
GADJAH MADA

**Islamophobia in France: Interpreting the Limited Success of Social Movement against 2015 - 2017 State of Emergency**  
ANISA WIDYA PRASTUTI, Atin Prabandari, SIP., MA(IR)  
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2018 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Chassany, A.-S. (2016, September 16). *France: Islam and The Secular State*. Retrieved from Financial Times: <https://www.ft.com/content/05c420b8-75a5-11e6-b60a-de4532d5ea35>
- Chrisafis, A. (2015, November 16). *France Under First Nationwide State of Emergency Since 1961*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/16/france-nationwide-state-of-emergency>
- Chrisafis, A. (2016, August 28). *French Mayors Refuse to Lift Burkini Ban Despite Court Ruling*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/28/french-mayors-burkini-ban-court-ruling>
- Chrisafis, A. (2016, August 26). *French Rightwingers Call for Extension of Burkini Ban*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/26/frances-highest-court-suspends-burkini-ban-in-test-case>
- Conseil Constitutionnel. (1958, October 4). *Constitution of 4 October 1958*. Retrieved from Conseil Constitutionnel France: <http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/conseil-constitutionnel/english/constitution/constitution-of-4-october-1958.25742.html#PREAMBLE>
- Crumley, B. (2010, October 18). *France's Crusade Against Faith*. Retrieved from Time Magazine: <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2024135,00.html>
- Dearden, L. (2016, August 24). *Burkini Band: Why is France Arresting Muslim Women for Wearing Full-body Swimwear and Why are People so Angry?* Retrieved from The Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/burkini-ban-why-is-france-arresting-muslim-women-for-wearing-full-body-swimwear-and-why-are-people-a7207971.html>
- Dearden, L. (2016, January 7). *Charlie Hebdo Attack Survivor Says 'Je Suis Charlie' Slogan has been 'Misused' in Year since Atrocity*. Retrieved from The Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/charlie-hebdo-attack-survivor-says-je-suis-charlie-slogan-has-been-misused-in-year-since-atrocity-a6801111.html>
- Devichand, M. (2016, January 3). *How The World was Changed by The Slogan 'Je Suis Charlie'*. Retrieved from BBC Trending: <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-35108339>
- Dovidio, J., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. (2010). *The Sage Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Fisher, M. (2015, January 8). *Stop Asking Muslims to Condemn Terrorism. It's Bigoted and Islamophobic*. Retrieved from Vox Online: <https://www.vox.com/2014/12/15/7394223/muslims-condemn-charlie-hebdo>
- Fredette, J. (2014). *Constructing Muslims in France: Discourse, Public Identity, and the Politics of Citizenship*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2007). *Info Synthèse: Secularism in France*.



- Gee, O. (2017, March 30). *French People are Less Xenophobic but still Wary of Islam*. Retrieved from The Local France: <https://www.thelocal.fr/20170330/french-become-more-tolerant-as-number-of-racist-acts-drop>
- Goodwin, M., Raines, T., & Cutts, D. (2017, February 7). *What Do Europeans Think about Muslim Immigration?* Retrieved from Chatham House Organization: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/what-do-europeans-think-about-muslim-immigration#>
- Heider, J. (2012). Unveiling the Truth behind the French Burqa Ban: the Unwarranted Restriction of the Right to Freedom of Religion and the European Court of Human Rights. *Indiana International and Comparative Law Review Vol. 22*, 93 - 129.
- Horn, H. (2016, August 5). *The Enduring Emergency: France's Heightened Security didn't Prevent a Bloody July. Why Not?* Retrieved from The Atlantic: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/state-of-emergency/494501/>
- Human Rights Watch. (2009, November 20). *France: Submission to the National Assembly Information Committee on the full Muslim Veil on National Territory*. Retrieved from Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2009/11/20/france-submission-national-assembly-information-committee-full-muslim-veil-national>
- Idriss, M. M. (2006). Laicite and the banning of the hijab. *Legal Studies Volume 25 Issue 2*, 260 - 295.
- Kirby, E.-J. (2009, November 5). *In Search of French Identity*. Retrieved from BBC UK: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from\\_our\\_own\\_correspondent/8343090.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/8343090.stm)
- Lafay, S. (2017). *Fear Over Freedom: The Challengin Campaign against France's State of Emergency between November 2015 and May 2017 in Paris*. Utrecht: Utrecht University.
- Lebourg, N. (2016). *Islamophobia in France*. Stanford: Stanford University.
- Lecomte, V. (2016). *On the Justification of States of Exception in Liberal Democracies*. Lund: Lund University.
- Legifrance. (2010, October 11). *Law No 2010-1192 of October 11th, 2010 Prohibitng the Concealment of the Face in the Public Space*. Retrieved from Legifrance: Le Service de la Diffusion du Troit: [https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do;jsessionid=37278AD8F24C3E3EFDDBB843BE88513B8.tpdjo13v\\_1?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000022911670&dateTexte=20130724](https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do;jsessionid=37278AD8F24C3E3EFDDBB843BE88513B8.tpdjo13v_1?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000022911670&dateTexte=20130724)
- Ligue des Droits de l'Homme. (2016, January 1). *At the Call of the Collectives "We Will Not Give Up" and "Stop State of Emergency," Demonstrations Took Place Saturday, January 30 in more than 80 Cities in France*. Retrieved from LDH France: <https://www.ldh-france.org/lappel-collectifs-cederons-pas-stop-etat-durgence-manifestations-lieu-samedi-30-janvier-80-villes-en-france/>



UNIVERSITAS  
GADJAH MADA

**Islamophobia in France: Interpreting the Limited Success of Social Movement against 2015 - 2017 State of Emergency**  
ANISA WIDYA PRASTUTI, Atin Prabandari, SIP., MA(IR)  
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2018 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Liogier, R. (2009). Laicite on the Edge in France: Between The Theory of Church - State Separation and The Praxis of State - Church Confusion. *Macquarie Law Journal Vol. 9*, 25 - 45.
- Lyon, D., & Spini, D. (2004). Unveiling the Headscarf Debate. *Feminist Legal Studies Vol. 12*, 333 - 345.
- Malik, S. (2015). Constructivism. In *International Security Studies: Theory and Practice* (pp. 72 - 84). London: Routledge.
- Moore, J. (2017, November 11). *Why France is Banning Muslim Prayer on the Country's Streets*. Retrieved from Newsweek: <http://www.newsweek.com/why-france-banning-muslim-prayer-countrys-streets-716494>
- Nicholas, E. (2013, December 18). *France's Burqa Ban gets New Scrutiny in European Court*. Retrieved from The Huffington Post: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/frances-burqa-ban-gets-ne\\_b\\_4450937.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/frances-burqa-ban-gets-ne_b_4450937.html)
- Nordstorm, L. (2017, November 07). *In Numbers: Behind France's two-year State of Emergency*. Retrieved from France 24: <http://www.france24.com/en/20171031-france-anti-terror-law-numbers-record-long-state-emergency-macron-civil-liberties>
- Osborne, S. (2017, October 31). *France Declares End to State of Emergency Almost Two Years after Paris Terror Attacks*. Retrieved from Independent UK: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/france-state-of-emergency-end-terror-attacks-paris-isis-terrorism-alerts-warning-risk-reduced-a8029311.html>
- Penketh, A. (2015, January 8). *Policeman Ahmed Merabet mourned after Death in Charlie Hebdo Attack*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/08/ahmed-merabet-mourned-charlie-hebdo-paris-attack>
- Perolini, M. (2017, September 26). *France's Permanent State of Emergency*. Retrieved from Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/09/a-permanent-state-of-emergency-in-france/>
- Piquet, C. (2017, March 30). *Les Francais sont plus Tolerants mais Restent petris de Prejuges*. Retrieved from Le Figaro France: <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2017/03/30/01016-20170330ARTFIG00017-les-francais-sont-plus-tolerants-mais-restant-petris-de-prejuges.php>
- Piser, K. (2018, January 8). *French Secularism is in Crisis. What Does that Mean for Muslim Youth?* Retrieved from The Nation: <https://www.thenation.com/article/french-secularism-is-in-crisis-what-does-that-mean-for-muslim-youth/>
- Rayner, G., Samuel, H., & Evans, M. (2015, Januray 7). *Charlie Hebdo Attack: France's Worst Terrorist Attack in a Generation Leaves 12 Dead*. Retrieved from The Telegraph:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11331902/Charlie-Hebdo-attack-Frances-worst-terrorist-attack-in-a-generation-leaves-12-dead.html>

Roy, O. (2007). *Secularism Confronts Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sciolino, E. (2004, February 11). *French Assembly Votes to Ban Religious Symbols in Schools*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/11/world/french-assembly-votes-to-ban-religious-symbols-in-schools.html>

Staggenborg, S. (2007). Theories of Social Movements and Collective Action. In *Social Movements* (pp. 13 - 29). New York: Oxford University Press.

Stop Etat d'Urgence. (n.d.). *Home*. Retrieved from Sortir de l'Etat d'Urgence: Pour les Libertes: <https://etatdurgence.fr/>

Taub, A. (2015, January 9). *#JeSuisAhmed: A Crucial Message that everyone should hear*. Retrieved from Vox Online: <https://www.vox.com/2015/1/9/7521151/charlie-hebdo-jesuisahmed>

The Economist. (2016, August 24). *Why the French Keep Trying to Ban Islamic Body Wear*. Retrieved from The Economist Explains: <https://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2016/08/economist-explains-19>

The Independent. (2009, November 25). *France's Crisis of National Identity*. Retrieved from The Independent UK: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/frances-crisis-of-national-identity-1826942.html>

The Local. (2016, August 5). *France sees more Anti-Muslim Acts after Terror Attacks*. Retrieved from The Local France: <https://www.thelocal.fr/20160805/france-sees-more-anti-muslim-acts-after-terror-attacks>

The Ministry of National Education, Youth, and Sports. (1989, November 27). *General Assembly (Section of the Interior) - No. 346.893 - November 27, 1989*. Retrieved from Le Conseil d'Etat: [https://web.archive.org/web/20081224015035/http://www.conseil-etat.fr/ce/missio/index\\_mi\\_cg03\\_01.shtml](https://web.archive.org/web/20081224015035/http://www.conseil-etat.fr/ce/missio/index_mi_cg03_01.shtml)

The New York Times. (2011, September 16). *Little Protest in Paris as a Ban on Street Prayer Begins*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/17/world/europe/paris-begins-enforcing-ban-on-street-prayer.html>

Trust, Runnymede. (1997). *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*.

Turner, L. (2017, May 9). *Marine Le Pen, Islamophobia, and the polarization of French society*. Retrieved from ILR School, Cornell University: <https://www.ilr.cornell.edu/mobilizing-against-inequality/post/marine-le-pen-islamophobia-and-polarization-french-society>



UNIVERSITAS  
GADJAH MADA

**Islamophobia in France: Interpreting the Limited Success of Social Movement against 2015 - 2017 State of Emergency**

ANISA WIDYA PRASTUTI, Atin Prabandari, SIP., MA(IR)

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2018 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Un Collectif d'Associations. (2015, November 26). *Nous ne Cederons Pas*. Retrieved from Liberation: [http://www.liberation.fr/debats/2015/11/26/nous-ne-cederons-pas\\_1416308](http://www.liberation.fr/debats/2015/11/26/nous-ne-cederons-pas_1416308)

Valeurs Actuelles. (2018, January 31). *60% des Francais Pensee que l'Islam est "Une Menace Pour la Republique"*. Retrieved from Valeurs: <http://www.valeursactuelles.com/societe/60-des-francais-pensee-que-lislam-est-une-menace-pour-la-republique-92864>

Van Rohr, M., & Leick, R. (2013, December 6). *There is a Clash of Civilizations*. Retrieved from Spiegel Online: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/interview-french-philosopher-finkelkraut-on-muslims-and-integration-a-937404.html>

Vinocur, N. (2011, September 16). *France Bans Street Prayers*. Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-muslims/france-bans-street-prayers-idUSTRE78F4CC20110916>

Waters, L. (2016). *French or Muslime? "Rooted" French Perceptions of the Muslim Community in France*. Boulder: University of Colorado.

## **Report**

Bayrakli, E., & Hafez, F. (2016). *European Islamophobia Report*. Istanbul: SETA: Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research.

Trust, Runnymede. (1997). *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*.