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# Cartooning for Peace? The Necessity of Political Cartooning to Democracy and Understanding the Struggle of Inclusion Exclusion and Citizenship for French Muslims

Ashley Enger

*Union College - Schenectady, NY*

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Cartooning for Peace?  
The Necessity of Political Cartooning to Democracy and Understanding the Struggle of  
Inclusion, Exclusion, and Citizenship for French Muslims

By

Ashley Egner

\* \* \* \* \*

Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for  
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## **Abstract**

This combined thesis for Political Science and French and Francophone Studies will address the issue of political cartooning in relation to democracy. This thesis will show how political cartooning explores the ambiguities and contradictions of citizenship for Muslims in France. Cartoons reveal the ostracizing of citizens, the challenges of integration, and the difficulties of discovering an identity as an immigrant through explicit, shocking, and often uncomfortable imagery. By analyzing the backlash against cartoons, the effects of cartoons on the Muslim minority in France, and the ways in which traditional French cartooning has the potential to be a positive force for social change, the absolute necessity of political cartooning to democracy becomes evident. To show the invaluable relationship between democracy and political cartooning, I analyze controversies surrounding *Charlie Hebdo* and their implications, Riad Sattouf's graphic novel "The Arab of the Future" and its relation to French Muslim identity and integration, and the organization of Cartooning for Peace and the ways in which cartooning can encourage world-wide inclusion of minorities.

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## **Introduction**

French “bande dessinée,” or cartooning, has been a popular and important way for society to challenge those who hold power and authority and to question the accepted way of life. The French have always been unforgiving in their method of political cartooning, dating back to before the French Revolution and continuing the tradition today. Political cartooning has become even more relevant in the wake of the recent terrorist attack at the office of the French newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*, which tragically left 12 dead. As a result of the violent reactions that have been produced because of an image, we are reminded that political cartooning is an art form that has monumental power. It has the ability to both negatively and positively shed light on issues that present themselves in the modern world. This thesis will show how political cartooning explores the ambiguities and contradictions of citizenship for Muslims in France. Cartoons reveal the ostracizing of citizens, the challenges of integration, and the difficulties of discovering an identity as an immigrant through explicit, shocking, and often uncomfortable imagery. By analyzing the backlash against cartoons, the effects of cartoons on the Muslim minority in France, and the ways in which traditional French cartooning has the potential to be a positive force for social change, the absolute necessity of political cartooning to democracy becomes evident.

To show the invaluable relationship between democracy and political cartooning, I analyze controversies surrounding *Charlie Hebdo* and their implications, Riad Sattouf’s graphic novel “The Arab of the Future” and its relation to French Muslim identity and integration, and the organization of Cartooning for Peace and the ways in which cartooning can encourage world-wide inclusion of minorities.

There is a consensus among scholars of French caricature that political cartooning in France is a cultural entity of the country and has historical context that helps it maintain its relevancy and popularity today. The term “bande dessinée” is a French-language mixture of images and written text that together form a narrative (Grove 2010). This art form has been in existence since before the term was coined in 1929, believing the inventor of the art form to be Rodolphe Topffer (1799-1846), a Swiss schoolmaster who would draw caricature narratives for his students (Forsdick 2005; Grove 2012). The French language is a defining element of bande dessinée because of the “cultural system it carries” (Grove 2010, 19). It is a representation of the image-based culture in France’s history, “from the presence of Leonardo in the French court to the spread of surrealism, forms the backcloth to the continuation of such a tradition through the Ninth Art<sup>1</sup>” (Grove 2010, 19). Today, France has the third largest comic market in the world after the U.S. and Japan, selling about 40 million comic albums in a year (Davy 2011). Throughout history, France has practiced the tradition of bande dessinée in the manner of “bête et mechant” caricaturing, a style that incorporates satirical expression and polemical editorial cartooning (Forsdick 2005; Grove 2010; Weston 2009). Before the French Revolution, when pornographic images of Marie Antoinette were circulated, underground prints circulated showing clergy and nobility performing demeaning acts (Heer 2015). The subversive images were a concern for authorities well into the 1800s (Heer 2015). The French interior minister in 1829, François-Régis de la Bourdonnaye, complained that these images “act immediately upon the imagination of the people, like a book which is

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<sup>1</sup> This is a term from the 1960s that legitimized bande dessinee as a form of art (Davy 2011).

read with the speed of light; if it wounds modesty or public decency, the damage is rapid and irremediable” (Heer 2015).

Due to the popularity and presence of bande dessinée, a law was introduced in 1835, which declared that a caricature amounted to an act of violence (Heer 2015). Though this law was later revoked, today there are antiracist speech laws that came about after World War II, created to smooth over the atrocities committed under Vichy and to promote racial equality (Bird 2000; Keane 2008). The most debated issue in the literature of French cartooning is that of the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine and its relation to free speech. The majority of this literature ranges from pieces condemning the magazine’s PEN courage award (Frum 2015) to the hypocrisy of France’s antiracist laws (Waldman 2015). The main debate of *Charlie Hebdo* is divided into those who believe it to be an unwavering symbol of free speech (a sentiment argued through multiple news articles) and those who believe the magazine is inherently racist and evil (Ingram 2015; Juss 2015). In the middle of the spectrum are scholars and cartoonists who recognize the importance of free speech whilst also acknowledging the magazine’s racial targeting and the need to be respectful while challenging religion (Guyer 2015; Plantu 2009; Waldman 2015). Those who argue for complete denunciation of the magazine point at the disparities between attacking a prominent political figure and attacking a marginalized group such as Muslims. Ingram (2015) finds that “[*Charlie Hebdo*] alienated the community with the best chance for finding a solution at hand.”

Another argument made is that the magazine is an example of “Right-wing conservatives dominating the debate over what it means to be free... to feed the militaristic foreign policy agenda of Western governments since 9/11 as well as the

West's cultural war against Islam" (Juss 2015, 27). Juss calls to the traditional Left to "develop a better and more convincing narrative to rescue our basic freedoms, which we once took for granted" (2015, 27). He uses the burqa-banning law and the events of *Charlie Hebdo* to question the silence of the Left in these matters, while acknowledging that the Left has to contend with Islam's unequal position within France (Juss 2015).

French laïcité and nationalism play a large role in forming the scholarship of French Muslim integration, inclusion, and identity. In Jennifer Fredette's (2014) book, "Constructing Muslims in France: Discourse, Public Identity, and the Politics of Citizenship," she examines how the public identity of French Muslims is constructed in France and the implications this has for this relatively new and diverse population. Fredette finds that elite public discourse commonly questions Muslims ability to be a good French citizen, however when this is discourse is compared with the discourse from French Muslims themselves, it does not accurately reflect the political diversity and complicated identity politics of this population. Jonathan Laurence and Justin Vaisse (2006) analyze the dynamics of Muslim integration in Europe and France in their book "Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France," illustrating the role of exclusion and laïcité in lives of French Muslims. Oliver Roy's (2007) book, "Secularism Confronts Islam," goes deep into how French laïcité functions and the ways in which the West and Islam confront and interact with each other.

This thesis couples the findings of Fredette, Laurence and Vaisse, and Roy with specific cartoon controversies, cartoonists, and cartooning organizations to demonstrate the necessity of political cartooning in understanding French Muslim exclusion, integration, and identity. By looking specifically at cartoons in relation to these problems,

we can understand the effects of French antiracist law, *laïcité*, and nationalism on the French Muslim population. Most importantly, while it is through cartoons that we see the exclusion of French Muslims represented, it is also through cartoons that we can find solutions to these issues.

The first chapter explores the controversies of *Charlie Hebdo*, the French magazine that gained fame for its notorious covers featuring the Prophet Mohammad and the terrorist attack at its office in retribution for the Prophet publications. The antiracist laws and the history of French cartooning are essential in understanding the way *Charlie Hebdo* is perceived by the French and by the rest of the world. The aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* controversy shows the holes and inequalities in France's antiracist speech laws. However, at the same time, the outrage against the magazine demonstrates the power cartooning has in creating political and social dialogue. The chapter will show the ability *Charlie Hebdo* has to create a space for intense discussion, debate, and reflection on the way France handles issues of identity, inclusion and exclusion, and tolerance of French Muslims.

The second chapter (in French accompanied by an English summary) is a close look at the work of Riad Sattouf and his graphic novel "The Arab of the Future." As a French Arab who grew up between France and Syria, Riad's work shows the struggle faced by many Muslim immigrants in France to find inclusion and identity in France's secular society. Riad's perspective, having lived in the Middle East, offers unique input to the subject because he watches both his parents struggle to integrate into each other's respective countries, all while he attempts to find his own identity. This chapter will go deeper into the effects of *laïcité* and nationalism on the integration of French Muslims. It

will highlight the transition of French cartooning from the exclusionary work of *Charlie Hebdo* to, eventually, the all-inclusive vision of Cartooning for Peace.

The last chapter will explain the ways in which French cartooning can be constructed for a positive and peaceful message by the organization, Cartooning for Peace. This chapter will explain the reason behind the creation of the organization after the violence surrounding cartoons of the Prophet that were published in a Danish newspaper in 2005. Cartooning for Peace aims to bring the art of cartooning to the international stage in order to promote tolerance and respect across cultures. Cartooning for Peace is an example of how political cartooning can be used as a democratic tool in shifting the world focus from exclusionary cartooning to inclusionary cartooning.

The final sum of these parts will show the multifaceted ways that cartooning and bande dessinée can create debate, spark controversy, and reveal the struggle faced by Muslims in France. Political cartooning is a necessary form of democracy because it serves as a platform for the discussion of citizen identity, inclusion, and integration.

## **Chapter 1: Charlie Hebdo and Unequal Opportunity Offense**

“We have avenged the Prophet Muhammad. We have killed Charlie Hebdo!”  
« *Nous avons vengé le prophète Mahomet. Nous avons tué Charlie Hebdo !* »

-Chérif Kouachi and Said Kouachi

The world has come to know the satirical French magazine, *Charlie Hebdo*, from the terrorist attack executed by brothers Chérif Kouachi and Said Kouachi. The terrorists killed 12 during a meeting in the magazine’s office in Paris on January 7, 2015 (Bilefsky and Baume 2015). In the wake of the horror, the French newspaper, *Le Monde*, ran the headline, “The French 9/11” (Fassin 2015, 3). The murders were in reaction to caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad that had been published by the magazine days before the attack. The magazine has since been hailed as a symbol of free speech. “*Charlie Hebdo* had come to epitomize democratic values” (Fassin 2015, 3). After the incident, France saw an intense surge of nationalism; “the homeland was in danger and everyone had to stand up to protect it against the enemy, defend the values of the Republic! Namely: liberty, equality, fraternity; the foundational motto of laïcité” (Fassin 2015, 3).

The phrase “Je suis Charlie,” was coined after the attack to create a front of solidarity with the magazine in the fight for freedom of expression and press. While this phrase was extremely popular when it was first used, it has since been turned into “Je ne suis pas Charlie” by those who, although they denounce the killings, do not see this as a free speech issue, but instead say that *Charlie Hebdo* goes too far in their derogatory depiction of Muslims and the Prophet. Since the attacks, there has been even more backlash on *Charlie Hebdo*. There are many who believe that *Charlie Hebdo* is not deserving of the Freedom of Expression Courage Award that was presented by PEN America to the magazine on May 5, 2015. However, there also are articles that discuss the hypocrisy of writers who contest the giving of this award, let alone those who

boycotted the award ceremony. The attack on *Charlie Hebdo* put not only the worry about terrorism, but also the role of cartooning, particularly cartooning based in exaggeration and excess such as *Hebdo*'s, into the spotlight. Controversies have emerged about the cartoons themselves, with some going so far as to say that all *Charlie Hebdo* does is "cause offense at somebody else's expense" (Juss 2015, 38).

This incident has brought to attention the seriousness of political cartooning and the power it has in issues of citizenry and democracy. In the wake of violence, the *Charlie Hebdo* controversy highlights the issues that face French Muslims today, and they are not solely issues of free speech. This historically marginalized group has been ostracized and excluded from elements of French citizenship due to France's strict *laïcité*, and now, the exclusion has extended publically through the traditional form of French cartooning exercised by *Charlie Hebdo*. *Charlie Hebdo* may not have had the intention of pushing an already ostracized group further into exclusion, but intention can no longer matter in the face of these tragedies: both the killings at the offices of *Charlie Hebdo* and the suffering of a minority group that has been consistently targeted in France. By exploring the *Charlie Hebdo* controversy, it becomes evident that this event cannot be simplified into just defining *Charlie Hebdo* as racist or by reducing the magazine to just an equal opportunity attacker, targeting and making fun of everyone one or everything. The *Charlie Hebdo* controversy draws attention to the struggle French Muslims face in finding inclusion in French society when there are a multitude of obstacles in their way, most notably unequal laws for antiracist speech, France's strict *laïcité*, and attacks from media sources like *Charlie Hebdo*, no matter how unintentional.

*Charlie Hebdo* has been a platform for social change because the purpose of political cartooning is to challenge ideas and norms. The magazine defines itself as far-left, anti-authoritarian, anti-religious, and anti-institutional (Read 2015). The *Charlie Hebdo* website has a page called “Charlie is...”<sup>2</sup> in which they state *Charlie*’s purpose, what it defends, fights, is for, and is against. *Charlie* Defends...

Secularism pure and simple, “yes” without “buts,” a society free of racism but not segmented into ethnic groups, the environment without political turf wars, universalism without crying peace doves, gender equality without Nadine Morano, animal rights without tofu and cultural diversity without snobs.<sup>3</sup>

*Charlie* Fights...

Religions which inspire swarms of fools, Rednecks who can’t see further than the tip of their nose, the dotcom billionaires googlelising the world, bankers who gamble away our money, manufacturers who would make us live with a gas mask, footballers with more ego than talent, hunters who shoot us while mushroom picking and dictators who force us to agree with Bernard-Henri Levy.<sup>4</sup>

In its fight against religion, the paper once depicted a very explicit picture of the birth of Jesus, multiple covers featured an exposition of pedophilia and the sex scandals of the Catholic Church, a comment on same-sex marriage, and a collective, group cover

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<sup>2</sup> Charlie Hebdo, “Charlie is...”

<sup>3</sup> La laïcité sans adjectifs, le « oui » sans le « mais », l’antiracisme sans le communautarisme, l’écologie sans les batailles de clans, l’universalisme sans les colombes de la paix qui pleurent, l’égalité femmes-hommes sans Nadine Morano, la lutte contre la souffrance animale sans le tofu, la culture sans le bouillon.

<sup>4</sup> Les religions qui déplacent des montagnes de cons, les identitaires heureux qui sont nés quelque part, les milliardaires 2.0 qui googlelisent le monde, les traders qui jouent à la roulette avec nos jetons, les industriels qui nous font vivre avec un masque à gaz, les footballeurs qui ont plus d’air dans la tête que dans le ballon, les chasseurs qui nous empêchent d’aller aux champignons, les dictateurs qui nous obligent à être d’accord avec Bernard-Henri Levy.

featuring a Jewish man, the Pope, and an Islamic fundamentalist shouting “Charlie Hebdo must be veiled!”<sup>5</sup>



<sup>5</sup> “Il faut voiler ‘*Charlie Hebdo*’”

Supporters of the magazine argue that they see *Charlie Hebdo* “as defenders of the right to say what they want without being ‘censored’ or ‘muzzled’ by the shadowy ‘authorities’, ‘powers’ or even ‘networks of influence and capital’ that are set on imposing ‘savage’ ‘Anglo Saxon’ capitalist liberal economics on France and on the world” (Burke 2008).

The terrorist attack in January 2015 was not the first time *Charlie Hebdo* had received violent backlash, or backlash at all, for their controversial cartoons. In 2006, the magazine helped in spreading the controversial cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad that were first printed in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* by republishing the drawings (Gibson 2015). Their reprinting of these cartoons “gained it as much notoriety as the Danish newspaper” (Gibson 2015). It also resulted in *Charlie Hebdo*’s condemnation by then President Jacques Chirac and a lawsuit from a group of Muslim organizations that said “the cartoons were racist,” (Read 2015) but the suit was later dismissed. *Charlie Hebdo* had added some of its own cartoons along side the Danish and headlined the issue “Muhammad overwhelmed by fundamentalists<sup>6</sup>,” accompanied by a cartoon of the prophet crying and saying “It’s hard to be loved by idiots<sup>7</sup>...” (Read 2015).

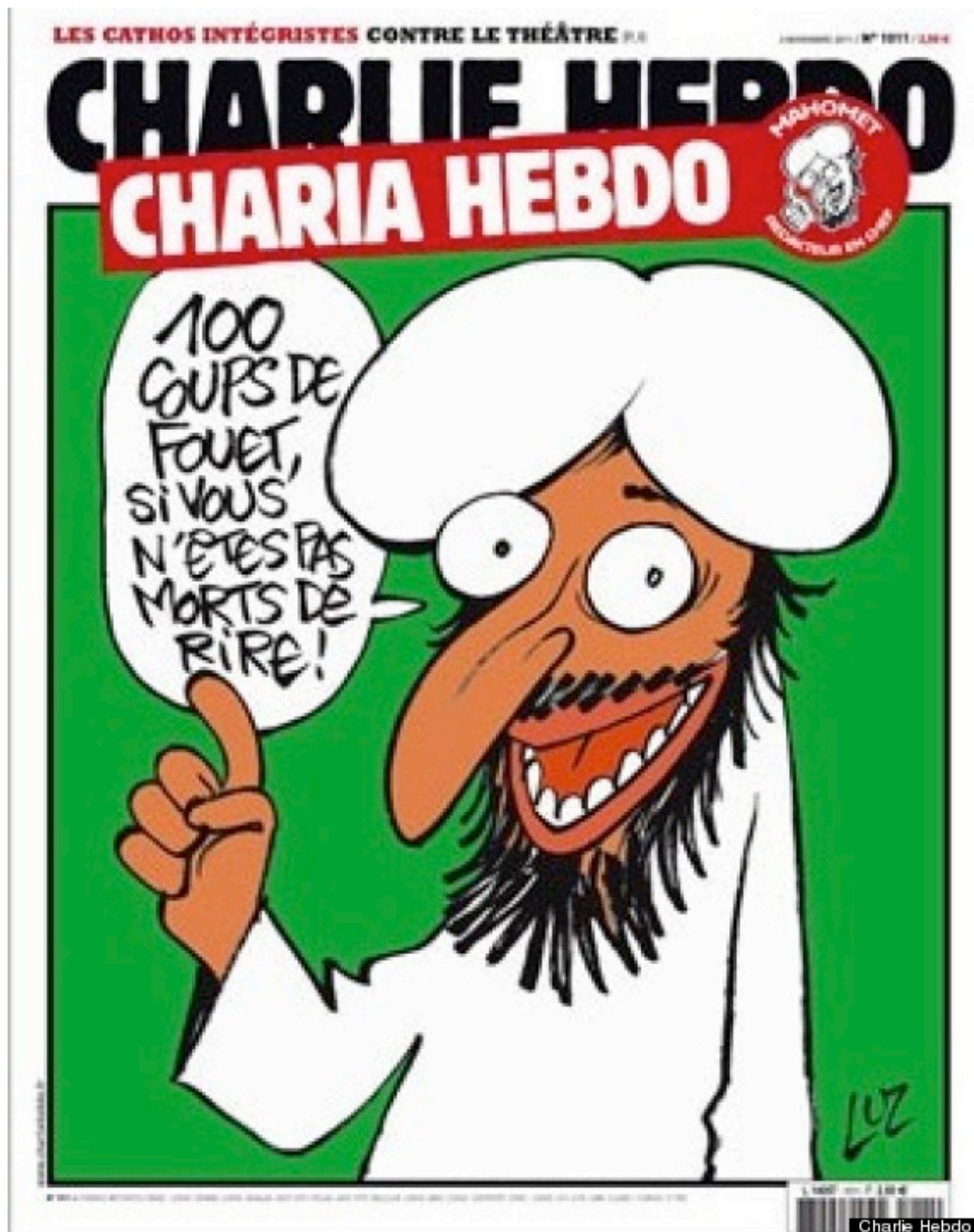
In 2011, the office was firebombed “after it published a spoof issue ‘guest edited’ by the Prophet Muhammad to salute the victory of an Islamist party in Tunisian elections” (Read 2015). The “Guest- Edits” cover, subtitled “Sharia Hebdo,” (Ganley 2011) featured a cartoon by the cartoonist Luz, of the prophet telling readers, “100 lashes

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<sup>6</sup> “Mahomet débordé par les intégristes”

<sup>7</sup> “C’est dur d’être aimé par des cons...”

if you do not die of laughter<sup>8</sup>” (Read 1015). No one was injured in the attack and it did little to halt the magazine’s publications of more controversial cartoons (Jolly 2011).



<sup>8</sup> “100 coups de fouet, si vous n’êtes pas morts de rire!”

In response to the firebombing, the then director of *Charlie Hebdo*, Charb (who was killed in the January 2015 attack), blamed “radical stupid people who don’t know what Islam is,” declaring, “I think that they are themselves unbelievers... idiots who betray their own religion” (Ganley 2011). Charb defended the issue further in an interview with Associated Press Television News, reminding the public of the satirical purpose of *Charlie Hebdo*: “It was a joke where the topic was to imagine a world where Sharia would be applied” (Ganley 2011). On the next cover after the firebombing, a *Charlie* cartoonist and a Muslim man were depicted kissing with the caption “love is stronger than hate<sup>9</sup>” (Read 2015)



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<sup>9</sup> “L’amour plus fort que la haine”

Less than a year later, in 2012, *Charlie Hebdo* once again published a series of cartoons of the prophet, this time in reaction to the YouTube movie *The Innocence of Muslims*, which had sparked outrage in the Muslim world (Read 2015). The cartoon series was quite graphic, with one cartoon showing the prophet “bent over, a star covering his asshole; the caption reads ‘A star is born<sup>10</sup>’” (Read 2015).



The cover of the issue “parodied the French film *The Intouchables*,” (Read 2015) showing a Muslim man in a wheelchair being pushed by a Jewish man; they both are saying, “we can’t be mocked<sup>11</sup>” (Read 2015). Before the issue was printed, police and politicians asked Charb not to publish because they worried about possible repercussions as drawing representations of Muhammad is considered blasphemous in Islam (Read 2015). Naturally, Charb published in the name of free speech and much outrage followed.

<sup>10</sup> “Une étoile est née!”

<sup>11</sup> “Faut pas se moquer!”



However, this blanket of “free speech” may no longer be a viable excuse for accidentally inciting violence and exclusion. The history of French cartooning has traditionally been focused on attacking those in power and when the French law protects some minorities from racist speech and not others. The right to free speech will not be fully denied and should be celebrated, but as the editorial cartoonist Plantu says, there must be “respect in your disrespect” (Band of Brothers 2009). In order to understand the complexities this controversy has created, we must understand the history of French cartooning and the history of *Charlie Hebdo*.

In many ways, *Charlie Hebdo*’s publication of the caricatures of the Prophet may seem peculiar when taken into French historical context. France has outlawed speech that is harmful in the long term for society. For instance, in France it is illegal to deny the Holocaust or publically print or say anything anti-Semitic. French parliament has

identified and created classes of harmful speech and have instituted laws to insure the protection of certain minority groups. In 1972, the French parliament passed the Pleven Law against racial discrimination and racist speech; “It became illegal to incite racial hatred or to use language that was racially defamatory, contemptuous, or offense” (Bird 2000, 399). Yet, *Charlie Hebdo* does not fall into those categories despite French laws being among the “strictest and most vigorously enforced of any in Europe” (Bird 2000, 400). What has happened is that different judges have inconsistently applied the law while “proposals are regularly made to adjust and strengthen the law, which inevitably permits some classes of racist speech, while prohibiting others” (Bird 2000, 400). The French do not doubt the democratic legitimacy of their laws against racist speech because the restriction of racist speech is consistent with the ideals outlined in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789); promotion of individual liberty and equal rights (Bird 2000). More specifically, it is consistent with Article 2 of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic: “France assures equality before the law of all citizens, without distinction of origin, race, or religion” (Bird 2000, 407). France, unlike the United States, faced occupation during World War II, and as a result, these laws are a culmination of the “racial atrocities committed under Vichy and the increasing ethnic diversity of French society” (Bird 2000, 407). It is important to note that it is unclear whether this legislation is conjectured on the “need to correct racial inequality or on the principle of public order” (Bird 2000, 407).

This ambiguity would explain the allowance of the *Charlie Hebdo* Prophet cartoons in the legal sense because it means that the basis for the protection of certain minority rights is weak: “Immigrants in France have received some protection against

racist speech, but their rights under the law have been precariously dependent upon public sentiment...” (Bird 2000, 407). This signifies the lack of a solid and universal law against criticizing immigrants of all races and religions. France has the largest Muslim population in Europe (Ware 2015), yet there is no antiracist speech law that applies specifically to Muslims. What is interesting is that public opinion of Muslims actually rose after the two French-born Muslim brothers attacked *Charlie Hebdo*. A Pew Research Center (Wike 2015) survey found that 76% of French citizens say they have a favorable view of Muslims living in their country and the percentage with a “very favorable opinion of Muslims increased significantly, rising from 14% in 2014 to 25% in 2015.” With this rational, one would think that it would be time to change France’s antiracist laws to include the definite protection of Muslims, as public sentiment has been made clear. However no such law exists just yet.

The absence of a law specifically forbidding antiracist speech or offenses toward Muslims technically means that *Charlie Hebdo* is free to publish Islamic blasphemy in the cultural sense, continuing its tradition of satirical, “bête et mechant” caricaturing. Since *Charlie Hebdo* was started in 1960 under the name *Hara-Kiri*, it has been involved in numerous political, religious, and social controversies. Ten years after it was started, *Hara-Kiri* was banned for poking fun at the beloved French general and president Charles de Gaulle after his death in 1970. (Gibson 2015). The magazine was shut down and *Charlie Hebdo* sprung up in its place. It has since become renowned for its political, religious, and social satire at the hands of prominent cartoonists. *Charlie Hebdo* has tried to maintain the practice of *Hara-Kiri*’s “bête et mechant” style of satire, which champions for the freedom to make fun of anything, no matter how taboo. The *Charlie*

*Hebdo* of today goes beyond this style, dipping into a satirical expression that incorporates elements of “bande dessinée [comics] and the rich French tradition of polemical editorial cartooning and caricature” (Weston 2009, 1).

The French have always created the most biting satirical images and writings, as it has been a tradition “dating back to the bawdy anti-royalist pre-revolutionary cartoons mocking Marie-Antoinette and King Louis XVI” (The Economist 2015). As a result of the profane imagery produced, a law was introduced in 1835 specifically targeting caricature, on the grounds that, “whereas a pamphlet is no more than a violation of opinion, a caricature amounts to an act of violence” (Heer 2015). This is an important notion to bear in mind: A caricature itself was once considered to be an act of violence used against someone. The law has since changed, but the power of it remains in the definition of the Pleven Law against racial discrimination and racist speech, the law just has yet to include the protections of Muslims.

At the time of the French Revolution, a cartoonist would attack from a majority perspective, making fun and challenging those in power, those who were revered, those who were privileged. In contrast, the cartoons of *Charlie Hebdo* that get the most backlash are those that make fun of a minority, a historically marginalized group, or a group that may be ostracized from the rest of France’s citizenry. Although *Charlie Hebdo* may not intend to channel that feeling of animosity or exclusion, the reality is, in “France itself, Islam is the religion of the marginalized, those who, even if they are born in France, are seen by many of their fellow citizens as forever foreign” (Heer 2015). *Charlie Hebdo*’s cartoons may not be offensive to the majority of people who view them because they are most likely white French citizens who enjoy full inclusion in French society and

culture, but that can be contended by simply changing the audience of the cartoon.

The French and *Charlie Hebdo* are secularists before anything else. This means that any cartoon challenging religion is fair game to publish, unless it is explicitly anti-Semitic as that is illegal (Bird 2000). For instance, in 2008 the *Charlie Hebdo* cartoonist, Maurice Sinet was fired from the magazine for an anti-Semitic caricature. Siné, as he was known, had published an article about Jean Sarkozy, the son of then president Nicolas Sarkozy, and his upcoming nuptials with his longtime girlfriend, Jessica Sibaoun-Darty, an heiress to one of France's largest retailing company (Samuel 2008). Siné wrote that the young Sarkozy "has just said he intends to convert to Judaism before marrying his fiancée, who is Jewish, and the heiress to the founders of Darty. He'll go far, that kid" (Samuel 2008). The *Charlie Hebdo* editor fired him, arguing that his words "could be interpreted as drawing a link between conversion to Judaism and social success" (Samuel 2008) and were therefore anti-Semitic. This once again highlights the inequalities of the laws preventing racist speech as well as the inequalities in what is accepted in French culture, due to the fact that those laws have not changed. At the same time it shows that *Charlie Hebdo* did not break any law by publishing the caricatures of the Prophet.

*Charlie Hebdo's* cartoons, no matter who they are targeting, are often offensive, shocking, and can be outwardly racist. *Charlie Hebdo* takes pride in not limiting itself to make fun of only one subject matter. This is known as the "equal opportunity offense" (Read 2015). This notion has been the argument that *Charlie* has used against accusations of being anti-Islamic or racist (Read 2015). For the reader's convenience, *Charlie Hebdo* has a guide to their satire on their website in the form of a lengthy cartoon entitled,

*Satirical Drawings Explained to Idiots (In Particular, the Media)*<sup>12</sup>. However, even if their satire is explained, the image offends beyond our own understandings of satirical cartooning. The offensiveness can blind the audience and can prevent the message that the cartoon is actually trying to challenge from being seen. In this way, *Charlie Hebdo* has been harshly criticized: “*Charlie Hebdo* provided its readers with outrage but did not offer a constructive outlet for this intense energy” (Ingram 2015, 4). Pope Francis stated in an interview after the attacks that there is subject matter that should be off limits: “You cannot provoke. You cannot insult the faith of others. You cannot make fun of the faith of others. There is a limit,” (BBC News 2015) and pushing that limit warrants a punch, he concluded.

Though it is often difficult to understand French satirical caricatures as an outsider to France, an image, without explanation necessary, can be clearly and outwardly racist and insulting to certain religious groups who have strict interdicts on depictions of religious figures. This has often caused a correlation between danger and satire as a result of the fact that these cartoons cannot maintain one clear message; they are interpretive (Ingram 2015). Because a white, Christian French citizen may not feel insulted by a cartoon, does not make the cartoon any less insulting to a French Muslim. This is the reality that makes this situation difficult, as the impact of a cartoon changes from person to person. Though cartoons can be interpretive, there is also an underlying racist context in France that makes *Charlie Hebdo*’s cartoons sensitive.

The existence of “Islamophobia,” anti-immigration sentiments, and extreme-right political parties in France, creates an attitude towards Muslims in France, which has been

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<sup>12</sup> Charlie Hebdo, “Charlie is...” *Le dessin satirique expliqué aux cons (et en particulier aux médias)*

translated into anti-Muslim violence in the past. These sentiments are not only in France, but have extended into all of Europe and are even woven into laws. In contrast to the laws created to protect against anti-Semitism as a result of the Holocaust, laws have actually been created to enforce Islamophobia, whether that is inadvertent or not, it hardly matters. For instance, the 2010 Burqa law imposed by President Nicolas Sarkozy, which prohibited face-coverings in public spaces, came about because of the “unrelenting focus by the governing centre-right on issues surrounding Islam, integration and national identity” (Daly 2013). French laws have always focused on *laïcité*, or secularism, but for some Muslim women wearing a veil is a necessary part of practicing their religion and banning it in public spheres creates the feeling that Islam is not welcomed. *Laïcité* has contributed to the expulsion of the presence of religion in everyday society, which in turn alienates an outwardly religious population.

*Charlie Hebdo* supports secularism above everything and to *Charlie* and those who choose “Je suis Charlie,” there can be no limit to who or what it chooses to publish or which ideas it tries to challenge. According to *Charlie Hebdo*, the main goal is to challenge the accepted norm, utilize the right of free speech to make people think, and practice cartooning as form of democracy in order to expose the ills of society. In many ways, *Charlie Hebdo*’s publications are extremely necessary to the political debates and dialogues happening today, especially in regards to immigration and Islamophobia, despite being viewed as having a “destructive, pessimistic style of satire” (Ingram 2015, 3). The reason *Charlie Hebdo* can continue publishing in this manner is because it works in the French cultural context of *laïcité*. France has been an extremely secular country since the Third Republic (Daly 2013). *Laïcité* has been a part of what it means to be

quintessentially French. An inability to adapt to French laïcité gives the impression that Muslims are “incapable of integrating into France because they doubly lack the fundamental essence of French citizenship” (Fredette 2014, 153). This is not to say that the French are just racist or just Islamophobic; “France’s revolutionary ideals set it on the road to difference-blind equality and the celebration of a shared, national culture” (Fredette 2014, 15). France’s laïcité represents the “assimilation model” of managing its Muslim population, in which access to citizenship “means that individual cultural backgrounds are erased and overridden by a political community, the nation, that ignores all intermediary communitarian attachments (whether based on race, or on ethnic or religious identities), which are then removed to the private sphere” (Roy 2007, xi).

However, today, many young French Muslims complain theirs is a second-class citizenship and that they are still the victims of racism, despite being integrated in terms of language, education, and acceptance of laïcité (Roy 2007). The publishing of cartoons that specifically demean Islam is most likely going to enhance those sentiments of exclusion. Virginia Ingram (2015, 3) in her article, “Satires of Love and Hate: From Jonah to Charlie Hebdo,” categorizes *Charlie Hebdo*’s cartoons as “nihilistic and self-destructive,” which magnify anti-Islamic feelings as opposed to welcoming “the community with the best chance for finding a solution at hand.” While this argument may be accurate, based on *Charlie Hebdo*’s past and reputation, there should be no expectations on the magazine to change its ways for the Muslim community in France. There are other sources of political caricature that feel a responsibility to publish cartoons that promote respect and tolerance for all religions, but that is not *Charlie Hebdo*’s nature, and it never has been.

From the perspective of *Charlie Hebdo*, their cartoons are highlighting the damage of Islamic-extremism on the moderate Muslim population, as it has also done with other religions in the past. The difference between its past religious cartoons and its recent Islamic focused cartoons is that Islam is at the center of many heated debates today. In the eyes of *Charlie Hebdo* is a very different meaning to their cartoons. The magazine issues depicting the Prophet Muhammad gave Stéphane Charbonnier's (Charb) *Charlie Hebdo* a racist and anti-Islamic reputation. On January 5, 2015, two days before he was killed in the terrorist attack at the *Charlie Hebdo* office, Charb finished writing a short book entitled, *Letter to the Islamophobia Frauds Who Play into the Hands of Racists*<sup>13</sup> in response to the accusations that *Charlie Hebdo* was “racist” or “Islamophobic” under his editorship (Lichfield 2015). Charb begins this excerpt of his book discussing the danger of the word “Islamophobia” because the “inventors, promoters and users of this word deploy it to denounce hatred of Muslims” (Linchfield 2015, 3). Charb uses this book to explain the very *Charlie Hebdo* side of the story. While this may clear up some things, like why the cartoonists of *Charlie Hebdo*, “who know that their drawings will be exploited by the media, by the retailers of anti-Islamophobia, by far-right Muslims and nationalists, insist on drawing Mohamed and other sacred symbols of Islam,” it has done little to change the formed opinions of those who have interpreted *Charlie Hebdo* negatively. Once again, the complexity of interpretation is exposed. The cartoonists of *Charlie Hebdo* do not see themselves as racists or anti-Islamists, yet today, the drawing of these symbols are going to have negative consequences because of the climate of political correctness in the rest of the world and

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<sup>13</sup> *Lettre aux escrocs de l'islamophobie qui font le jeu des racistes*

the very clear division in French society between French Muslims and Caucasian French citizens.

In the aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* terrorist attacks and the controversial publishing of the Prophet cartoons, society risks only categorizing *Charlie Hebdo* as racist, limiting its power as a catalyst for other social changes. In PEN's decision to award *Charlie Hebdo* the Freedom of Expression Courage Award in May 2015, six well-known authors chose to boycott the ceremony because they felt that the situation had been "complicated by PEN's seeming blindness to the cultural arrogance of the French nation, which does not recognize its moral obligation to a large and disempowered segment of their population" (BBC May 2015). Their reactions, while accurately based on the cultural realities of French laïcité, are problematic because they aim to silence the magazine, which is operating within French cultural norms even if they are not identifiable by other countries. The outrage behind the cartoons show the power this art form has in creating dialogue. The controversy of *Charlie Hebdo* has exposed the inequalities in French society and French antiracist speech laws. Without meaning to, *Charlie Hebdo* has brought up the topic of inclusion and exclusion of certain citizens in French society. The magazine has created a space for intense discussion, debate, and reflection on what we can allow and what we can no longer allow in terms of racist imagery. The most important aspect of political cartooning is the dialogue it creates, but the future of cartooning must be able to move beyond *Charlie Hebdo*'s style in order to face the issues in French society that this controversy revealed; the issues of identity, inclusion and exclusion, and tolerance of French Muslims.

## **Chapter 2: Riad Sattouf and the Transition to Tolerance**

(English and French)

Political cartooning is an art form that has resulted in eye opening and, at times offensive, projects by prominent cartoonists from all over the world. For France, which has seen its fair share of important and relevant cartoonists, there is a new comer on the caricaturing scene. Riad Sattouf, a French Arab cartoonist had made an impactful impression, not only on France, but also on the world, with his graphic novel, “The Arab of the Future.” This autobiographic novel explores Sattouf’s childhood growing up between France, Gaddafi’s Libya, and Al Assad’s Syria. The graphic novel is written entirely from Riad’s memory as a young child and has been cited as “that rare thing in France’s polarized intellectual climate: an object of consensual rapture, hailed as a masterpiece in the leading journals of both the left and the right” (Shatz 2015). “The Arab of the Future” is a disturbing look into life under dictatorship while also being a reflective piece on the struggle faced by many immigrants today: identity and inclusion. By analyzing specific moments in the first volume of “The Arab of the Future,” this chapter will examine the question of identity, inclusion and integration, the rise of nationalism and secularism in France, and the place Riad Sattouf’s “The Arab of the Future” holds in these issues.

This graphic novel reveals the identity struggle Riad went through as a child growing up between two very different worlds, primarily France and Syria, and the visceral hardships faced by his parents having to live in each other’s countries. His memoir is a visual representation of the search for identity and inclusion confronted by French Muslims in French society. Each country has its own color: “gray-blue for France, yellow for Libya, a pinkish red for Syria. These washes—‘colors of emotion,’ Sattouf calls them—create a powerfully claustrophobic effect, as if each country were its own

sealed-off environment” (Shatz 2015). His book provides an overview of the effects of extreme nationalism and secularism on a country and its citizens, which becomes even more important as France deals with the aftermath of two major terrorist attacks in a year, an increase in Islamophobia, and the realities of maintaining strict secularism. Finally, “The Arab of the Future” shows how a cartooning in France can be used as a creative and accessible tool to explore the French Muslim identity and citizenship, while maintaining the traditional shocking and raw style of French caricature.

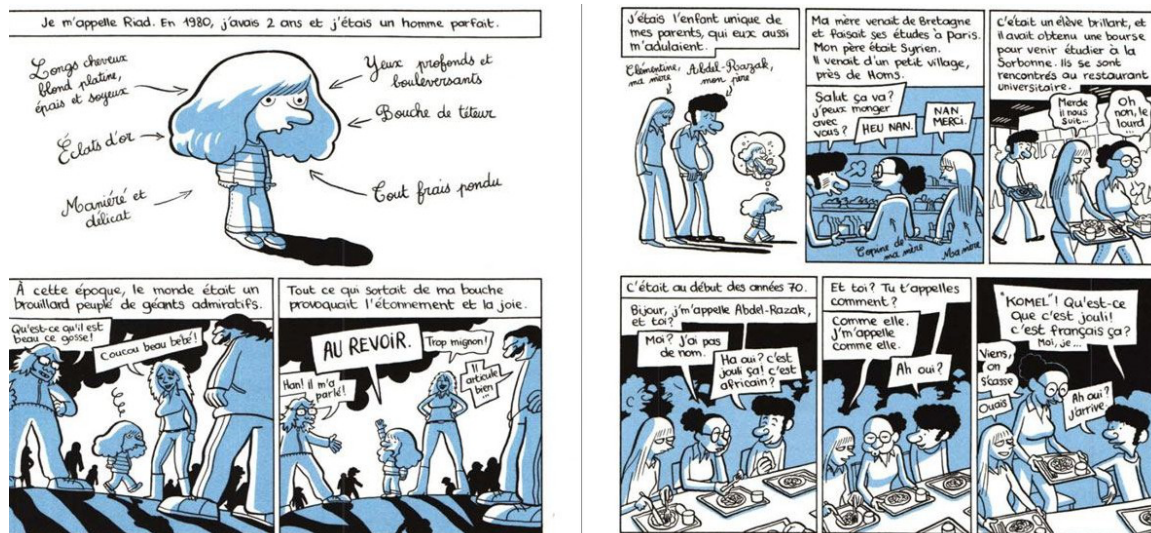
Riad Sattouf was born in Paris in 1978. His parents met when there were studying at the Sorbonne in Paris. Riad’s mother, Clementine in the book, came from a Catholic family from Brittany, France. His father, Sunni Muslim Abdel-Razak, was from a small Syrian village near Homs. Growing up, Riad was a talented artist and, after obtaining his baccalaureat, he studied art in Nantes. After, he moved to Paris to study animation at Gobelins l’Ecole de l’image (Shatz 2015). Throughout his long career, Riad has written multiple comic books, directed films, and contributed a strip to *Charlie Hebdo*, though he left prior to the attacks on the office. His work stems from his observations. This talent led to his contribution to *Charlie Hebdo* in a strip called “La vie secrète des jeunes”<sup>14</sup> which ran from 2004 to 2014 (Shatz 2015). Riad was the only cartoonist of Arab origin for *Charlie Hebdo* and their relationship was purely professional, not political.

He did not attend editorial meetings, because he didn't feel that he could contribute to the, often rancorous, arguments about French politics. Nor was he attracted to Charlie’s style of deliberately confrontational satire. Although he is a wry observer of human folly, he said that he could not bring himself to “draw something openly mocking.” (Shatz 2015).

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<sup>14</sup> The Secret Life of Youths

Although Riad reveals the ugly truths and snippets of the lives of others, he had never been keen on revealing his own life until “The Arab of the Future”: “I’m not a big fan of autobiography. Some authors are too kind to themselves and their families. I like things to be raw, real” (Eads 2015). The tone of “The Arab of the Future” is comedic and dark. There is a softness that comes from the novel being told through the eyes of a child, yet this softness is juxtaposed with powerful political and social undertones. The novel looks like a traditional cartoon strip. Riad often narrates over the drawing. As the location changes from France to the Middle East, the bright colors reflect the chaos and shocking difference between life in France and a life in the two Middle Eastern countries where food is scarce, locks on homes are forbidden, and children kill dogs for sport. The first of many volumes, “The Arab of the Future” takes place between 1978 and 1984. The novel begins with a caricature of Riad as a toddler: “My name is Riad. In 1980, I was two years old and I was perfect” (Sattouf 2014, 3).



The novel shows how his parents met, his mother reluctantly deciding to go get coffee with Abdel-Razak Sattouf. While a student in Paris, Abdel-Razak loved France. The only one in his poor family who was allowed to go to school, he saw France as his

opportunity to become successful and wealthy: “France is wonderful! People can do whatever they want here! They even pay you to be a student!” (2014, 5) His father was obsessed with the idea of becoming a doctor, but he hated the sight of blood, so he decided to major in history due to his fascination with politics: “History is best if you want to go into politics. This way I might be president, ha ha!” (2014, 5) By studying in France, Abdel-Razak avoided military service in Syria, however, he was very concerned about the status of the Syrian army, especially the defeat of the Six-Day War and the defeat of the Yom Kippur War. Like many Syrians of his generation, “he managed to transform the Arab defeat in the Yom Kippur War into an ‘almost victory.’” (2014, 5) In these first pages, his father is revealed as a pan-Arab dreamer, a delusion essential to the outcome of Riad’s childhood” “My father believed in pan-Arabism. He was obsessed with education for the Arabs. He thought Arab men had to educate themselves to escape from religious dogma.” (2014, 7) Feeling rejected by France and Europe after he became a doctor and Oxford had misspelled his name on a job offer, Abdel-Razak accepts a teaching job in Gaddafi’s Libya.

Abdel-Razak’s dream in pan-Arabism was a result of his generation and drastically shaped the way he lived and the way he wanted Riad to be:

He hoped that the region would overcome the legacy of colonialism and recover its strength under the leadership of charismatic modernizers—secular autocrats like his hero Gamal Abdel Nasser. By moving back to the Arab world, he hoped to take part in this project, and to rear his son as “the Arab of the future.” (Shatz 2015)

The mission of pan-Arabism was to unite the Arab world into one Arab nation. The Arab world extends from the Persian Gulf to North Africa and it “is more than a geographical designation to the 160 million people who call themselves Arabs and populate the 21

member states of the Arab League” (Zureik 1988, 49)—It is a fierce national identity that extends beyond borders. However, it is diverse in population, socioeconomic status, and regimes. These differences make it difficult for the Arab world unit as the world has seen today with the disarray of the Arab League. There are constant changes in alliances and old antagonisms are often reignited. The end of pan-Arabism as a strategy began after the Six-Day War, when Egypt, Jordan, and Syria had been crushed by Israel. The defeat exposed the vulnerability of the Arab countries and the Arab order. In its wake was the emergence of strong citizen loyalty to their specific countries, creating an intense national identity from country to country.



Abdel-Razak’s desire to see the Arab countries of Libya and Syria succeed, blinds him to the realities of life under dictatorship. Riad’s depictions are so disturbing because, as the reader, one can see the horror on Clementine’s face as they settle into life and her

husband, beginning to slip away from her as he defends the atrocities, falling deeper into the illusion of Libya. The difficulties of integration become clear as Clementine lives in Libya and Syria. There are no keys to the home and when they go for a walk one day, they return to find their things outside and their home occupied by another family.



Men and women must go separately to get food from a cooperative, "to avoid 'indecent' contact in the crowd" (Sattouf 2014, 18). Some weeks they could only get eggs to eat, other weeks it was only bananas. Once, Abdel-Razak's brother and mother visited from Syria. His brother refused to be served by Clementine because she was not his wife. Slowly, Clementine and Abdel-Razak begin to grow distant, losing things they have in common as Abdel-Razak sinks completely into the culture. The nationalism in Libya and

Syria created the illusion of power and the domination of Arab culture, which Abdel-Razak loved. He always came back to the idea that his destiny was in Syria, that he would become a rich man in Syria, not in France.

It is obvious that Clementine is not comfortable in Libya, but she becomes even more alienated when the family moves to Syria. They move to the tiny Syrian village Abdel-Razak grew up in, and there, poverty is extreme and violence is normal. As they walk through the streets, children squat to relieve themselves, “a faint smell of shit floated in the air,” (2014, 84) and “the people stared at us as if we were extraterrestrials” (2014, 87). The most extreme moment of alienation for Clementine was an incident that happened before the family moved back to France for a time. Riad was sick and at home, and his mother was looking out the window at a group of children who had found a puppy: “Hey, come and look! Some kids have found a puppy, its really funny!” (2014 138) Then, to her horror, the kids begin playing soccer with the puppy, kicking it, throwing rocks at it... “then an older boy appeared with a pitchfork and stabbed the dog with it.” (2014, 140) Clementine runs down to stop the children from killing the puppy, screaming as an old man arrives and chops the puppy’s head off with a shovel. Two women approach Clementine, “who was going crazy” (2014, 141). After this incident, Riad is not allowed out of the house. His parents fight about the significance of the moment, his mother arguing that Riad cannot go to school with those children; “he is too young. Period. End of discussion.” (2014, 142) His father bends over Riad, pointing a finger at him, “ You might have convinced your mother, but don’t forget, you’re not French, you’re Syrian! And in Syria, boys take their father’s side!” (2014, 142) This is a pivotal moment for Riad in his struggle for identity.

“The Arab of the Future” is full of instants of cultural battles between Riad’s parents. The puppy incident is the first time Riad is given an identity: Syrian. However, Riad eventually moves out of Syria after his parents separate, and lives in France, where he still resides today. Though he ended up in France, Riad makes it clear that he actually preferred the smells of his Syrian family and the sense of community in Syria. The cover of the second volume of “The Arab of the Future” shows Riad smiling, eager to go back to Syria.

Riad is somewhat afraid of his French grandfather, who uses Riad to pick up women in the airport. Riad is also scared of his French grandmother’s home, believing it to be haunted. Even as a child, Riad notices the attitudes of the French people towards his Syrian father. The place that Abdel-Razak once thought of as a world of freedom and opportunity becomes constricting and foreign in customs. One of the last scenes in the book is one of Abdel-Razak playing volleyball on the beach with an old friend, eventually no one wants to play with him because he struggles to get the ball over the net. Though it may seem insignificant, it is a sad and uncomfortable moment because he no longer seems to be accepted by his French friends. After Riad moved with his mother and younger brother to France, he lost contact with his father, who stayed behind. He believes his father died in Syria in the early 2000s. (Shatz 2015).

As a result of being pulled between France and Syria for most of his young life, Riad struggled to fit into one cultural identity. He had trouble making friends in school in both France and Syria, finding himself unable to make connections with other children. Riad had also been witness to the unsuccessful nationalism and secularism of Libya and Syria, which gave him a very different perspective on these things than most French

citizens. “The idea of nationality is outdated, worm-eaten,” he said in an interview with Newsweek (2015), “my nationality is cartoonist!” A man who is both French and Syrian willingly chose his identity as a cartoonist. His choice could be an inspiration for those French Muslims who are struggling with integration, inclusion, and the, often ostracizing, effects of French secularism and nationalism.

Evidence shows that the secular laws in France have exclusionary affects on practicing Muslims in France, while others argue that secularism is what makes France, France and is just part of living there. However, France’s secularity and rising support for nationalist parties may be leading a generation of French Muslims to choose an identity outside of nationality or religion. The 2004 law made by President Jacques Chirac to ban any visible sign of religious affiliation in public schools was created in the name of French secularism. This law, primarily targeted at Muslim girls who wear a veil, was instituted because the veil was considered harmful to French custom, violating the separation of Church and State, and stressed differences between citizens of the nation (Scott 2007). In 2010, the French Parliament banned the full veil in all public spaces, becoming the first country in Europe to restrict a custom that some Muslims consider a religious obligation: “The ban, which has tapped into a culture war over the separation between mosque and state in abidingly secular France, has been contested by some French Muslims as an impingement upon their religious rights” (Bilefsky 2014). Supporters of the ban said it was necessary to preserve French culture and repel Islamic separatism. But to critics, the ban represented the exploitation of anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant sentiment in a country with a Muslim minority estimated at six million. This is

supposed to make Muslim integration easier, however there are many young Muslims who wish to be able to display their beliefs in a public sphere.

Though these secular laws are meant to help integrate immigrants and help them assimilate to French culture, it is still the perception in Europe that Muslims are the least integrated minority group (Roy 2007). There is a common assumption that Islam is fundamentally incompatible with European society and that Muslims who are more attached to religion would be less likely to identify as French. Surprisingly, religiosity does not actually have as important of a role for integration as supposed. Religiosity and immigrant variables, such as, being born in France, having a French nationality, and speaking French fluently, actually are similar to the effects on the national identity of Christian immigrants too. However, it was also found that second generation Muslims born in Europe are more likely to adhere to radical Islam because they feel stripped of their religiosity and culture. (Roy 2007) It would be assumed that being born in Europe and being European citizens would make this generation feel more included and integrated. This correlates with Riad's childhood. Riad had been exposed to extreme nationalism, which made him reject any identification relating to nationality, and therefore, identifies as a cartoonist. Perhaps young Muslims in France feel so oppressed by secularism that they are choosing to be radically religious:

‘He saw at an early age that the promise of a secular, authoritarian, nationalist utopia was a lie.’ During his childhood, authoritarian rulers tried to create secular states with secular laws. Sattouf's story illuminates why they failed, while contextualizing modern Islamist terrorism as, in part, a backlash after decades of dictatorships that suppressed religion in the Middle East. ‘The extreme secular nationalism that we see in Sattouf's work ceded the place to religious zeal,’ Bitar says. (Eads 2015).

Young extremists do not represent the majority of French Muslims who have articulated versions of citizenship that celebrate the French values of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Many embrace secularism in many ways. However, there is an undertone of sadness felt by some Muslims who see this secularism as a seed forming religious ignorance because it becomes harder to learn about different religious customs and traditions when religion is pushed into the private sphere of life (Fredette 2014). What is desired by French Muslims is not only tolerance, but respect.

This respect has been hard to find in the recent year, especially with the publications of the Prophet by *Charlie Hebdo*, but Riad Sattouf gives French Muslims an outlet for identity that may feel threatened at time by laws and ignorance of Islam; “Sattouf has achieved prominence as a cartoonist of Muslim heritage as a time when French anxieties about Islam have never been higher and when cartooning has become an increasingly dangerous trade” (Shatz 2015). Through Riad’s cartooning, he was able to create an identity for himself: Riad says, “I feel closer to a comic-book artist from Japan than I do to a Syrian or a French person” (Shatz 2015). “The Arab of the Future” is very popular among Arab exiles and expatriates in France because it confronts the pan-Arab dream and shows the frustrations and brutality that “sparked the revolts against the regimes in both Libya and Syria” (Shatz 2015). However, among French intellectuals, Riad is quite controversial:

Many note that his bleak and unflattering depiction of a traditional Muslim society comes at a time when the defense of *laïcité*, the French model of secularism, has increasingly assumed anti-Muslim undertones, and when the far-right National Front was able to beat all other parties in the 2014 European Parliament elections, with nearly twenty-five per cent of the vote. (Shatz 2015)

His cartooning is a step away from the crassness of *Charlie Hebdo*, giving those who felt further ostracized by the magazine, a cartoonist to relate to while still challenging social normality and uncomfortable truths. Riad offers readers a scenario where a cultural problem is expressed through the discomfort of his parents living in each other's countries and through his own struggle of identity, yet he is able to provide a solution that *Charlie Hebdo* cannot reach by their methods of cartooning. Riad shows that nationality and religion do not have to define person. He wrote "The Arab of the Future" out of a desire for revenge "when France declined to provide him with visas for relatives who were trapped in Homs, under siege by the Syrian Army" (Shatz 2015).

Riad explains that cartooning was the best way to tell his story because he had trouble finding the right time and angle to explain these atypical years of his life (Bras 2014), but in a comic, one does not have to speak the same language to understand, the images transcend barriers. Cartoons "are the most powerful means of expression," says Riad, "they were the first: cave paintings of cattle and hunters, hieroglyphics in ancient Egypt. They are understandable by anyone, a universal language" (Andrieu 2015).

In the world of cartooning, "The Arab of the Future" is complex; it says a lot that Riad has painted a very backward, violent, and vulgar picture of the Middle East, but also, the book's popularity reveals an unconscious racism in France. Riad says, "'Arab' is a word you only hear from racists, as in 'Ah, those Arabs!'" (Shatz 2015) His material is relatable to those who lived in the Middle East and then moved to France. The next volume Riad plans on publishing will be about his childhood in France; "People will be surprised, I saw some pretty tough things here" (Shatz 2015). The struggles Riad faces in France and in the Arab world aide in opposing the ostracizing effects of traditional

French cartooning from *Charlie Hebdo*. French Muslims, who are already facing problems of not only being a minority but also being an overtly religious minority, must face France's strong secularism and deal with being targeted by other sources of political cartooning. *Charlie Hebdo*, though they never stray from their equal opportunity, confrontational style, can make it difficult for French Muslims to relate to traditional French cartooning. The graphic novel by Riad Sattouf opens up an opportunity for French Muslims to join the democratic discussion by way of cartooning. His style is raw and honest, but he presents ideas familiar to those who struggle with identity and integration in France. His work could be a gateway to understanding that there are other options to religious and national identity, and is a step towards the respect and tolerance for different cultures that is fully expressed in the movement, Cartooning for Peace. "The Arab of the Future" proves further the necessity of cartooning as an art form and as a method of participation for all citizens.

La caricature politique est une forme d'art qui a résulté dans les projets révélateurs des dessinateurs et dessinatrices de bandes dessinées dans le monde entier. Pour la France, Riad Sattouf a fait une impression par a série de romans graphiques titré, « L'Arabe du futur ». Ce sont des romans autobiographiques et les volumes explorent une période différente de l'enfance de Sattouf, grandissant entre la France, la Syrie de al-Assad, et la Libye de Kadhafi. Le roman est écrit entièrement de mémoire. « L'Arabe du futur » a été cité dans le magazine, le New Yorker, comme étant « that rare thing in France's polarized intellectual climate : an object of consensual rapture, hailed as a masterpiece in the leading journals of both the left and the right » (Shatz 2015). « L'Arabe du futur » n'est pas seulement un coup d'œil troublant dans la vie selon la dictature, mais c'est un roman acclamé par la critique pour son aptitude à être intéressant aux deux extrémités du spectre politique : le roman plonge dans la lutte que eut beaucoup d'immigrants affrontait.

Ce chapitre examinera la question de l'identité, de l'inclusion et de l'intégration, de la montée du nationalisme et de la laïcité en France, et la place qu'a la caricature politique dans ce problème par le contexte du roman graphique de Riad Sattouf. « L'Arabe du futur » révèle l'état d'incertitude de Riad qui se sentait comme un enfant grandissant entre ses deux mondes principaux et très différents : Ca France et la Syrie. La mémoire de Riad est une réflexion visuelle de la difficile recherche d'une identité affrontée par de nombreux musulmans français dans la société française. Son livre offre un aperçu des effets du nationalisme extrême et de la laïcité et de la difficulté de l'intégration des certaines musulmans en France. Ce livre devient encore plus important car la France s'occupe des conséquences de deux grandes attaques terroristes au cours

d'une année, d'une augmentation du nationalisme et de l'islamophobie, et des réalités d'une république laïque parfois controversée. Enfin, «L'Arabe du futur » de Riad Sattouf montre comment la caricature peut être utilisée comme une technique créative et accessible pour explorer l'identité musulmane française et de la citoyenneté, tout en maintenant la tradition effrontée et choquante de la caricature française.

Riad Sattouf est né à Paris en 1978. Ses parents se sont rencontrés quand ils étudiaient à la Sorbonne à Paris. La mère de Riad venait d'une famille catholique de Bretagne. Son père venait d'un petit village syrien près de Homs. En grandissant, Riad était un artiste talentueux et, après avoir obtenu son baccalauréat, il a étudié l'art appliqué à Nantes. Après, il est allé à Paris pour étudier l'animation à Gobelins l'Ecole de l'image. (Shatz 2015). Tout au long de sa carrière, Riad a écrit plusieurs livres de bandes dessinées, réalisé des films, et a contribué une bande dessinée de *Charlie Hebdo*, quittant le magazine un peu avant les attaques pour travailler sur « L'Arabe du futur. » Tout le travail de Riad est fait à partir de ses observations directes. Il a travaillé en français et en anglais, mais pas en arabe comme il affirme avoir oublié l'arabe qu'il a appris dans son enfance. Ses premières œuvres « were variations on the theme of male sexual frustration » (Shatz 2015). Riad a dit au New Yorker (Shatz 2015), « I'm fascinated by the desire that women have for stronger men—that's where my sexual frustration came from.» Sa bande dessinée, en anglais, « No Sex in New York, » a été influencée par un voyage qu'il a fait à New York après le 11 septembre, il se représente, « as a schlemiel with an inconvenient Muslim name, a natural-born loser in a ruthlessly competitive sexual marketplace » (Shatz 2015). Pour sa bande dessinée populaire, « Retour au Collège, » Riad a passé deux semaines dans un lycée privé à Paris. « Retour au Collège »

est décrit comme, « A portrait of the children of France's ruling class...[it] is at once affectionate and sneering, gross and touching: a Sattouf signature » (Shatz 2015). Le talent de Riad pour l'observation a été souligné dans sa bande dessinée de *Charlie Hebdo*, « La vie secrète des jeunes » qui a été présentée dans le magazine de 2004 à 2014 (Shatz 2015). La bande a été sur les conversations qu'il a entendues au cours de sa vie au jour le jour. Riad était le seul dessinateur d'origine arabe à *Charlie Hebdo*. La relation que Riad avait avec *Charlie Hebdo* était une relation professionnelle, et non politique:

He did not attend editorial meetings, because he didn't feel that he could contribute to the, often rancorous, arguments about French politics. Nor was he attracted to Charlie's style of deliberately confrontational satire. Although he is a wry observer of human folly, he said that he could not bring himself to "draw something openly mocking." (Shatz 2015).

Au sujet du dessin du Prophète il a dit « is a personal taboo. My cousins and I used to talk about what he might look like, but I wouldn't do it. I've never drawn Jesus, Buddha, or Moses, either » (Shatz 2015). Après le massacre de Charlie Hebdo en janvier 2015, Riad a réanimé sa « vie secrète » bande dessinée (Shatz 2015). Il a dessiné une scène qu'il avait observé à proximité de son appartement: un jeune homme, de la classe ouvrière d'origine maghrébine, avec la tête rasée et vêtu d'un parka et baskets, parlant en argot sur son téléphone, souvent le dos tourné. Nous entendons l'homme qui devient de plus en plus frustré par la personne au téléphone. Il répond: « Mais bien sûr j'm'en bats

les couilles de Charlie Hebdo... TU. NEU. TCHUES. PAS. DE. GENS. »



'OW THE FUCK IS IT A CONSPIRACY? FROM WHO?

Even you said, "serves 'em right" so what's 'ere gotta be a conspiracy for?

YEA, you agree, no need for a conspiracy

dat's how it iz...



Hear me Rouya, deez geezers dey were doin' drawins, dat's all.

You don't kill for dat, dat's all.

Yeah yeah.

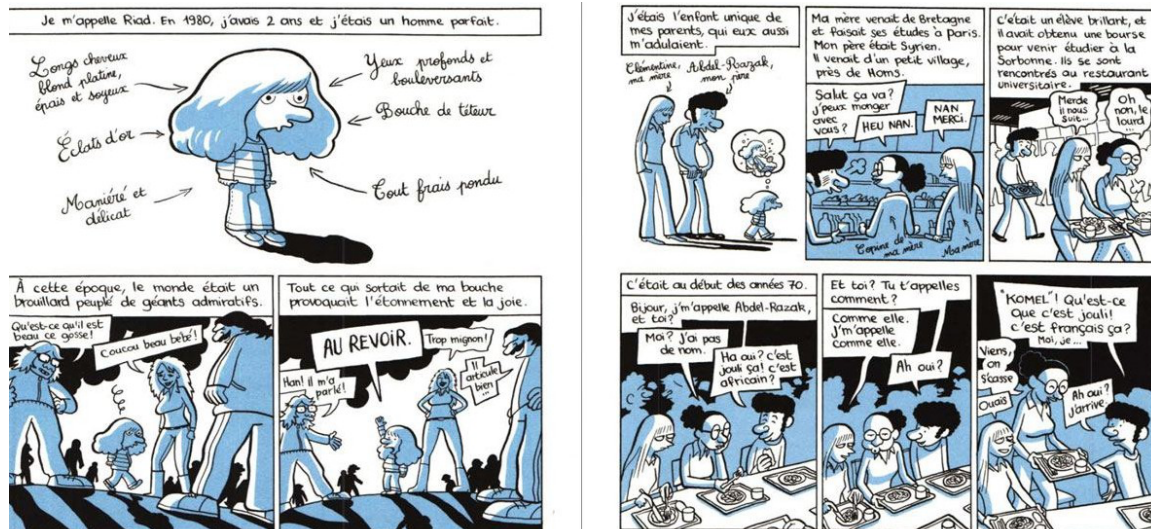
Violence, after it only duz violence which after dat does more violence, which makes more violence datz how it iz...

Même si Riad révèle les vérités laides et les bribes de la vie des autres, il n'a pas été complètement franc avec sa vie personnelle. Apparemment, beaucoup d'informations qui peuvent être trouvées sur l'internet au sujet Riad sont fausses. Parmi ces faussetés ont

été des rumeurs formulées par Riad. Riad avait dit plusieurs personnes que son père avait enlevé son frère et l'a ramené à la Syrie où son frère a rejoint le révolte contre Assad. Peut-être ce secret rendrait les gens doutent de la vérité de la mémoire de Riad Sattouf, cependant, nous devons nous rappeler que tous les dessins animés de Riad proviennent de ses observations. « L'Arabe du futur » peut être un autre type de travail pour Riad parce que le livre est autobiographique, mais il a le style signature, brute, et confessionnal de Riad : « although Sattouf's work is confessional, in person he is guarded ; even his closest friends describe him as secretive ». Son travail est une occasion d'être sincère et honnête et « L'Arabe du Futur » n'est pas au-dessous des attentes. Dans un article de Newsweek (Eads 2015) Sattouf exprimé son souci de si et comment il devrait raconter l'histoire de son enfance. Il a déclaré au journal, « I'm not a big fan of autobiography. Some authors are too kind to themselves and their families. I like things to be raw, real » (Eads 2015).

Le ton de « L'Arabe du futur » est comique et sombre. Il y a une distance drôle qui vient du roman graphique étant racontée à travers les yeux d'un enfant, mais cette douceur est juxtaposée à une obscurité politique et sociale très puissante. Le roman graphique ressemble à une bande dessinée traditionnelle. Riad raconte souvent au-dessus du dessin. Chaque pays a sa propre palette de couleurs: le bleu pour la France, le jaune pour la Libye, et le rouge pour la Syrie. Les couleurs vives reflètent la différence choquante entre la vie en France et une vie où la nourriture est rare, les enfants tuent les chiens pour le sport, et les verrous sont interdits dans les maisons. Le premier volume de « L'Arabe du futur » se déroule entre 1978 à 1984. Le roman graphique commence par une caricature de Riad comme un garçon de deux ans : « Je m'appelle Riad. En 1980,

j'avais 2 ans et j'étais un homme parfait » (Sattouf 2014, 7). Il avait de longs cheveux blonds soyeux et il a été désiré et admiré partout où il allait!



Le livre montre comment ses parents se sont rencontrés à la Sorbonne. À contrecœur, sa mère, Clémentine, a accepté de sortir avec son père, Abdel-Razak Sattouf. Abdel-Razak aimait la France: « La France, c'est merveilleux, chacun, il peut faire tout qu'est-ce qu'il veut, ici ! On est même payé à étudier ! » (Sattouf 2014, 9). Son père était obsédé par l'idée de devenir « Docteur », mais il « peut pas voir le sang » (Sattouf 2014, 9), dont il a choisi à faire histoire et il a écrit sa thèse sur l'histoire moderne : « Histoire, c'est bien pour faire de la politique ! Comme ça, j'pourrai devenir, peut-être, président hi hi ! Qui sait, un jour ! » (Sattouf 2014, 9). Abdel-Razak avait choisi d'étudier à l'étranger pour éviter de faire le service militaire en Syrie. Malgré évitant son service militaire, il était très préoccupé par les défaites militaires de la Syrie, et, « comme tous les jeunes syriens de sa génération, il avait transformé la défaite arabe de la guerre du Kippour, en presque victoire » (Sattouf 2014, 9). Juste au cours des trois premières pages, son père commence sa descente dans une illusion de panarabe. Comme son père passe plus de temps en France, il devient plus obsédé par le statut de pays arabes: « Je changerais tout

chez les arabes ! Je forcerais eux a arrêter d'être bigots, qu'ils s'éduquent et entrent dans le monde moderne... Je serais un bon président » (Sattouf 2014, 9). En 1978, l'année Riad est né, son père a soutenu sa thèse et est devenu un médecin, mais il a accusé l'université d'être raciste parce qu'il a seulement obtenu « Honorable ». Pour revenir à la France, il a présenté sa candidature à plusieurs universités européennes. Il a reçu une offre d'emploi d'Oxford, mais ils ont orthographié son nom faux sur la lettre. Et puis un jour, il a reçu une lettre d'une université en Libye: « Je t'avais pas dit, mais j'ai postulé pour Tripoli, en Libye !!! Et ils ont accepté ! Ils me proposent un poste de maitre ! Regarde, ils ont mis « Docteur Abdel-Razak Sattouf » sur l'enveloppe ! » (Sattouf 2014, 10). Avec cela, la famille a déménagé à la Libye de Kadhafi.

Abdel-Razak Sattouf, comme beaucoup de sa génération, il croyait dans le rêve panarabe :

He hoped that the region would overcome the legacy of colonialism and recover its strength under the leadership of charismatic modernizers—secular autocrats like his hero Gamal Abdel Nasser. By moving back to the Arab world, he hoped to take part in this project, and to rear his son as “the Arab of the future.” (Shatz 2015)

Dans « L'Arabe du Futur, » Riad (2014, 11) écrit, « Mon père était pour le panarabisme. Il était obsédé par l'éducation des Arabes. Il pensait que l'homme arabe devait s'éduquer pour sortir de l'obscurantisme religieux. » Une expression arabe populaire qui concerne le rêve insatisfait du panarabisme partagé par beaucoup d'Arabes dans les années 1950 et au début des années 1960 est, « One Arab nation with an immortal mission » (Zureik 1988, 49). La mission de l'arabisme était d'unir le monde arabe en une seule nation arabe. Le monde arabe s'étend du golfe Persique à l'Afrique du Nord et encore le monde arabe

« is more than a geographical designation to the 160 million people who call themselves Arabs and populate the 21 member states of the Arab League » (Zureik 1988, 49) — C'est une identité nationale féroce qui s'étend les frontières. Plus précisément, que l'identité nationale forte est partagée par ceux qui croient en le panarabisme. En réalité, le monde arabe est divers dans de nombreux aspects de la vie. Les pays se composent d'États pauvres et riches, d'États surpeuplés et sous-peuplés, les dictatures, monarchies, républiques et régimes quasi parlementaire, capitalistes et socialistes (Zureik 1988).

Toutes ces différences font qu'il est difficile pour le monde arabe de s'unir en une seule nation arabe. En plus de ces difficultés, l'arabisme ne peut pas dominer l'histoire et de la rivalité profonde qui existe entre les pays arabes. Lorsqu'ils font agir ensemble, comme dans la Ligue arabe, il y a des changements constants dans les alliances et vieux antagonismes sont rediscutés. Selon Fouad Ajami (1978) dans son article, « The End of Pan-Arabism, » la retraite panarabe a commencé après la guerre des six jours. Après la guerre, il n'y avait aucun système concurrent de légitimité, en fait, il y avait très peu de légitimité du tout dans la politique arabe. Riad Sattouf (2014, 9) a mentionné dans « L'Arabe du futur » que son père a été sérieusement affectée par la guerre: « En 1967, il avait été traumatisé par la guerre des six jours, où l'Égypte, la Jordanie et la Syrie avaient été écrasées par Israël. » La défaite avait révélé la vulnérabilité des pays arabes et la faillite de l'ordre arabe. Cela a conduit à l'émergence de citoyennes fidélités à chaque État à la place du panarabisme (Zureik 1988). Au lieu d'une identité arabe unifiée, il y avait seulement une identité nationale d'un État à État.

Comme la famille vit la vie en Libye et en Syrie, « L'Arabe de futur » montre le père de Riad en transition à la vie rurale traditionnelle arabe, comme sa femme française

lève les yeux au ciel. Après avoir déménagé à Tripoli en Libye, la palette de couleurs passe du bleu au jaune. La famille est la bienvenue par un homme avec des verrues sur son visage: « Bienvenue dans notre Etat des masses populaires, docteur » (Sattouf, 11). Ils vont de l'aéroport (« construit par des Arabes ! » dit le père de Riad) à leur nouvelle maison (« Bien sûr, c'est gratuit ! Dans notre Etat des masses populaire, les logements sont gratuits »). L'homme donne à la famille le « petit livre vert, » le livre où « Le Guide y expose sa vision de la société et de la démocratie » (Sattouf 2014, 11). Comme l'homme quitte, le père de Riad exclame: «Attends, tu ne m'as pas donné les clés mon frère ! » mais il n'y a pas de clés de la maison, juste un verrou à l'intérieur de la porte. (Sattouf 2014, 11).

La crudité du roman graphique de Riad est plus explicite dans les images montrant la détérioration des pays arabes laïques et nationalistes. Cela établit un parallèle avec les difficultés France à confronter avec la laïcité et de plus en plus le nationalisme français, et non par manière de la détérioration physique, mais dans la détérioration de la forte identité nationale des citoyens non français. Aux yeux de Riad, le nationalisme de tout genre est un sentiment qui empoisonne la société. Riad, comme un jeune garçon, a reconnu les défaillances de la Libye quand ils ont essayé de créer un État laïque. Son père adulte ne pouvait pas voir cela. Ceci est très flagrant au lecteur de « l'Arabe du futur ». Bien que ces parallèles sont importants pour la compréhension de l'identité musulmane et arabe en France, il est d'abord important de comprendre le contexte du nationalisme et de la laïcité en Libye et la Syrie et les affects qu'ils avaient sur le père de Riad, la mère de Riad et Riad lui-même.

Le père de Riad et d'autres de sa génération avaient grandi à l'époque où la politique étrangère arabe a souligné le facteur idéologique du nationalisme arabe. Cependant, après le déclin du panarabisme avec la fin de la guerre de 1973, l'idée du nationalisme arabe à grande échelle a cessé d'exister (Tueller 1992). La guerre d'octobre de 1973 avait été espérée être l'occasion de revigorer le système arabe, mais la guerre conduit à la « raison d'Etat », qui a contesté l'idée d'affaiblissement du panarabisme (Ajami 1978). La direction politique est devenue préoccupée par la légitimité nationale, facteurs d'influence et de puissance régionale et les relations internationales (Tueller 1992). Ce changement de perspective pour les affaires intérieures et la reconnaissance du pays comme une entité individuelle, alors qu'il est différent de l'unification de tous les Arabes, ce fut une forme de nationalisme que les croyants du panarabisme pouvaient accepter. L'idée du nationalisme arabe transcendé à chacun des pays arabes, comme la Libye et la Syrie, avec l'aide de dictateurs excentriques en utilisant le couvert de la démocratie. Peu importe les moyens, ce changement a créé le sentiment de fierté parce que, à la surface, les chefs ont fait les pays semblent solides et l'autonome-- comme si un État arabe merveilleux été créé à la suite de la crise politique avant.



Cette fierté est claire dans la voix de Abdel-Razak comme il dit à sa famille de chercher à l'aéroport en Libye construit par les Arabes. Des commentaires encourageants de Abdel-Razak au sujet de leur nouveau pays sont juxtaposés avec des dessins Riad de façade fissurée du bâtiment, le toit qui coule de leur maison, et l'image puissante des valises de la famille à l'extérieur de la maison non verrouillée après qu'ils avaient fait une promenade. Les occupants disent la famille Sattouf « Mais mon frère, je suis chez moi ! La maison était vide... Le Guide a donné le droit à tous les citoyens d'habiter les maisons inoccupées, tu sais bien » (Sattouf 2014, 14).



Avec chaque problème qui émerge, Abdul-Razak ne reconnaît pas l'étrangeté, mais Clémentine est vue derrière lui avec l'air perplexe et effrayé. Abdel-Razak déplace la famille dans un appartement inoccupé où la télévision ne montre que Kadhafi. Le père de Riad passe son temps à lire « le livre vert » à haute voix. Comme il lit, Clémentine écoute alors qu'elle repasse, et fait de petits commentaires quand le livre devient un peu trop absurde sur le thème de la démocratie et le rôle des femmes: « La femme est affectueuse, belle, émotive et craintive. Bref, la femme est douce et l'homme brutal » (Sattouf 2014, 18). C'est le début de la transition de Abdel-Razak d'un homme qui a étudié en France et aimait la liberté de la France à un homme ç'a laissé emporter par l'illusion de la grandeur arabe faussement a créé par le nationalisme extrême de la Libye

et de la Syrie. Abdel-Razak devient plus distant de son épouse française. La surprise de Clémentine au changement de son mari est évidente. Dans un cas, elle joue une cassette de Georges Brassens. Elle explique à Riad que Georges Brassens est très célèbre en France: « C'est un vrai dieu en France. » Abdel-Razak tourne de son travail : « Rhaaa... faut pas dire des choses comme ça... que c'est un dieu... Dieu, ça peut pas être un homme... Dieu, c'est Dieu... » Clémentine le défie : « C'est nouveau, je croyais que t'étais pas croyant... » (Sattouf 2014, 25). Ces moments commencés petits, mais finalement Abdel-Razak et Clémentine se séparent.

Il n'est pas vrai que Abdel-Razak est délirant sur les réalités de la Libye de Kadhafi, il n'a juste perdu jamais espoir en la possibilité d'un État arabe fort. Abdel-Razak voulait être une partie de cette forte État arabe, entièrement intégré. Riad voit son père devient inquiet alors qu'ils vivent en Libye, mais son père ne parle jamais de ses préoccupations directement. Riad remarque que son père s'agit bizarre quand la grand-mère maternelle de Riad visite en Libye. Riad surprend sa grand-mère demandée à son père s'il va trouver un emploi à Paris. Riad entend à la télévision que Kadhafi avait annoncée de nouvelles lois qui obligeaient les gens à échanger leurs emplois; « L'instituteur devait devenir paysan, et le paysan instituteur. Mon père avait peur. Il parlait de quitter la Libye plus tôt que prévu » (Sattouf 2014, 47). Riad dit que cela est quand il a commencé à remarquer des choses: « Je remarquais de nouvelles choses. Par exemple, cela faisait bientôt deux ans que le chantier visible depuis notre fenêtre était abandonne » (Sattouf 2014, 47). Peu de temps après, ils sont retournés à la France de restent avec la grand-mère maternelle de Riad. En France, où Abdel-Razak avait vécu et

étudié, maintenant, il était clair qu'il sentait pas à sa place. Au lieu de chercher un emploi à Paris, il avait postulé pour être professeur en Syrie.

La lutte de Abdel-Razak de se réinsère dans sa propre culture montre le défi de l'identité et de l'intégration. Son temps passé en France lui fait un étranger quand il est retourné au Moyen-Orient. Pour prouver qu'il ne soit pas un Occidental comme sa femme, il se jette dans les règles sociales de la vie du Moyen-Orient. Clémentine devient le seul étranger et Riad est au milieu de ces deux cultures, pas complètement accepté comme français ou syrien. Riad décrit son père :

My father was a collaborator...I think what he liked about Assad was that he had come from a very poor background and ended up ruling over other people. Assad had a destiny, and my father thought that he might, too. He was completely fascinated by power. (Shatz 2015)

Le nationalisme de la Libye et la Syrie a créé l'illusion du pouvoir et de la domination arabe et Abdel-Razak aimait cela. Son père revenait toujours à l'idée que finalement, il serait riche. Il pensait que son destin était en Syrie, pas la France. Il pensait que la Syrie serait le réunir avec sa famille riche. Dans l'avion vers la Syrie, Abdel-Razak a un rêve que l'air était plein d'or. Il rêva qu'il trouve un ressort et l'eau était d'or. Il a mis ses mains dans l'eau et ils sortirent couverte d'or. Il retourna à dire sa famille et quand il leur a montré ses mains, elles étaient pleines de boue. C'est une préfiguration de ce qu'il va en réalité trouver en Syrie. Abdel-Razak promet qu'il va construire une belle villa en Syrie avec « un jardin immense, rempli d'arbres fruitiers et une superbe allée pour arriver devant la maison » (Sattouf 2014, 85). En Syrie, la palette de couleurs passe au rouge, et la pression pour les Sattouf de se conformer à la vie syrienne est forte et immédiate. Comme en Libye, le pays semblait en construction. Ils ont été accueillis par le chef de la

famille, l'oncle de Abdel-Razak. Immédiatement, Riad et sa mère ont été séparés de son père. Ils sont allés dans la pièce des femmes, et il est allé dans la pièce des hommes. Dans la chambre des femmes, des petits garçons commencèrent à se battre dans le milieu de la pièce ; Ils se tapaient dessus. « Ma grand-mère m'encouragea à les rejoindre, » écrit Riad (2015, 77), mais sa mère intervient. En Syrie, Clémentine devient plus pas à sa place.

L'exclusion de Clémentine de la Libye et la Syrie est compréhensible. Elle n'essai pas intégrer, choisissant ne pas porter le voile traditionnel. En raison de cela, elle n'est pas complètement acceptée par la famille de Abdel-Razak. L'oncle de Abdel-Razak refuse d'être servie nourriture et l'eau par elle parce que « il est pas habitué à voir les cheveux longs d'une étrangère, comme ça... » (Sattouf 2014, 36). Elle est forcée de démissionner de son poste de speakerine à Radio Ramsin, une radio libyenne, quand elle rit en lisant que Kadhafi a dit « qu'il n'hésiterait pas à traverser l'océan Atlantique pour envahir l'Amérique et tuer le fils de chien Reagan » (Sattouf 2014, 32). Syrie était un grand changement. Ce ne fut pas laïque comme la Libye, donc il y avait règles différentes à suivre, tels que la séparation des hommes et des femmes. Les femmes se mirent à manger avec les doigts les restes du repas pris par les hommes dans la pièce à côté (Sattouf 2014). Ils avaient l'appel à la prière qui Riad se souvient étant à quatre du matin. Il la décrit comme, « voix la plus triste du monde » (Sattouf 2014, 81). La famille a font une promenade dans le village. Il y a « une légère odeur de merde » flottait dans l'air. Clémentine assume les excréments dans la rue est de chiens ... mais c'est d'enfants. Un moment final dans « L'Arabe du futur » avant le retour de la famille en France est le moment Clémentine témoins des enfants tuent un chien.

Ce moment sépare Clémentine plus loin des autres du village et montre que les frontières culturelles ne peuvent parfois pas être croisées. De la fenêtre, Clémentine voit les enfants «jouer» avec un chiot. Riad raconte:

Au village, personne n'avait de chien domestique. Le chien est considéré comme un animal impur par la tradition musulmane. Ceux qu'on entendait la nuit étaient des chiens errants qui restaient toujours à l'écart des hommes. Ce chiot avait du être abandonné pas sa meute. « Qu'est-ce qu'ils fabriquent ? » Ils ont ensuite joué au foot avec... puis un garçon un peu plus âgé que les autres est arrivé avec une fourche et l'a plantée dans le chien. « ILS VONT LE TUER IL FAUT L'AIDER ! » Ma mère est descendue dans la rue et je l'ai vue essayer d'attraper la fourche. Ensuite, un vieux type, est arrivé et a donné un coup de pelle dans le chiot et sa tête s'est envolée. Deux femmes molles se sont dirigées vers ma mère qui piquait une crise de nerfs. (Sattouf 2014, 145)

Cet incident dans le roman graphique est extrêmement choquant culturellement pour Clémentine. Ce moment est difficile à lire et à voir en effet. Riad crée le moment avec une telle innocence désinvolte du point de vue des enfants et il le juxtapose avec sa mère de cris étant calmée par deux femmes syriennes. C'est incroyablement vivant et nauséabond. Après l'incident, la mère de Riad ne lui permet pas d'aller à l'extérieur. C'est un point où Clémentine discute ouvertement ses préoccupations avec Abdel-Razak :

« Les grosses ont tué un chien, sans pitié ET ÇA LES FAISAIT RIRE ! Il n'ira pas à l'école avec eux, il est trop petit. C'est comme ça et pas autrement ! » « Mais c'est des enfants ! Tous les enfants font ça ! Pfff ! Tout ça pour un chien ! » (Sattouf 2014, 146)

Le père de Riad ne comprend pas l'impact de l'événement traumatisant sur sa femme, c'est clair. Il va à Riad, qui joue sur le sol, et dit:

« Tu as réussi à convaincre ta mère, mais n'oublie pas : tu n'es pas français, tu es syrien ! Et en Syrie, les garçons doivent prendre le parti de leur père ! » [Riad répond] « et

si tu m'apprenais à lire et à écrire, toi ? » « Non, Va jouer avec tes hommes nus en plastique et va faire des dessins, c'est mieux » (Sattouf 2014, 146).

C'est un moment crucial dans le roman graphique. Son père donne Riad une identité ... syrienne. Pas une identité française. Et puis, après il refuse d'enseigner Riad à lire et à écrire, il lui dit à de dessiner. Sans le savoir, il donne à Riad, l'identité que Riad choisit finalement dans la vie: le dessinateur. Ce n'a pas confirmé si cela avait aucun effet sur Riad dans sa vie l'avenir, mais Riad a inclus ce moment dans sa mémoire graphique pour une raison.

« L'Arabe du futur » est plein de moments de bataille culturelle entre les parents de Riad. L'incident avec le chiot était le grand exemple dans le premier tome de « L'Arabe du futur » qui a touché Clémentine le plus. La famille retourne à la Syrie dans le deuxième tome et, là, Clémentine entend d'un crime d'honneur dans le village. La femme est tuée par son père et son frère parce qu'elle était enceinte. Clémentine est choquée par le meurtre, mais Abdel-Razak dit qu'il y ait rien plus mauvais qu'une femme qui est enceinte extraconjugale en Syrie rural. Clémentine demande à Abdel-Razak de signaler le crime et les hommes sont arrêtés, mais ils sont libérés parce que les autorités concluent un accord avec la famille. Abdel-Razak dit que les gens ont commencé à dire les Sattoufs étaient lâches car ils ont envoyé à prison un homme qui avait préservé l'honneur de sa famille. À ce moment-là, la distance entre Clémentine et Abdel-Razak est déjà grande et croissante. (Shatz 2015).

Ceci est la clarté de leur identité. Elle est française. Il est syrien. Douloureusement, c'est évident qu'elle est mal à l'aise en Syrie. Abdel-Razak semble mal à l'aise en France aussi. L'ostracisme qu'ils se sentent quelque chose sentait par les

immigrants aujourd'hui. La France a la plus grande population musulmane en Europe. Cela rend la question de l'intégration des musulmans très complexe. Le père de Riad est une étude de cas intéressante. Ce pourrait être à cause de sa génération - les croyants dans panarabisme - qui fait Abdel-Razak pas à sa place en France, malgré il vivait là depuis des années. Riad montre l'ostracisme de Abdel-Razak à la fin du roman graphique quand ils sont en France. Ils vivaient dans la maison de la mère de Clémentine et son nouveau mari demande à Abdel-Razak sur la politique : « Et toi, Abdel, tu en penses quoi de Kadhafi, de Assad ? Tu dirais que ce sont des dictateurs ou pas ? » (Sattouf 2014, 154). Sa réponse est longue et conforme au modèle de panarabe :

Quand les Arabes seront éduqués, ils se libéreront des vieux dictateurs tous seuls...Moi, je suis pour la liberté mais...Il faut que les peuples puissent choisir... Les Occidentaux, ils veulent que le monde entier fasse comme eux...Juste parce qu'ils sont les plus fort...Mais ca, c'est juste provisoire... (Sattouf 2014, 155).

Il semble que Abdel-Razak voit les problèmes sociaux en Syrie, comme il a fait en Libye, mais il tient sur le potentiel de la grandeur arabe, abandonnant ses liens à l'ouest et la France. Il veut construire une villa en Syrie, il veut être un multimillionnaire en Syrie, et surtout, il veut son fils à grandir syrien, comme l'arabe du futur. La dernière ligne de « L'Arabe du futur » est : « L'arabe du future, il va à l'école ! » (Sattouf 2014, 157).

En grandissant en Libye et en Syrie et vivant maintenant en France, les vues de Riad sur la nationalité et la culture ont été façonnées de manière irrévocable à cause des choses qu'il a vues dans le Moyen-Orient. Ses opinions ont été formés non seulement lentement comme un enfant, mais aussi à l'âge adulte, un Arabe Français, vivant en France, où le nationalisme est en augmentation. Riad dit à Newsweek (Eads 2015) comment il se sent sur le nationalisme : « The idea of nationality is outdated, worm-

eaten, » il dit, « My nationality is cartoonist! » Il est français et syrien, mais il ne reconnaît pas l'un ou l'autre comme son identité choisie. Riad observait beaucoup de choses quand il a grandi entre deux pays très différents avec contredire. Un père syrien imposant certaines idées et les règles de la société et une mère française imposant des idées et des règles sociales différents.

Sa lutte avec l'intégration n'est pas linéaire dans le livre, comme c'est avec ses parents. Sa lutte est sporadique et la lutte est la plus claire quand il interagit avec les enfants du même âge. Les interactions qu'il avait avec des enfants en Libye montrent Riad est confus par eux. Un garçon, Adnan, grimpait sur un truc dangereux, à chanter l'hymne national libyen. Un jour, Adnan a eu un pistolet ; « Je n'avait jamais rien vu d'aussi beau que cette chose longue et menaçante » (Sattouf 2014, 40). Quand il est allé à l'école maternelle en France, avant de déménager en Syrie, il dit: « Je n'arrivais pas à communiquer avec les enfants : beaucoup d'entre eux avait des comportements incohérents et frénétiques » (Sattouf 2014, 56).

En Syrie, les autres garçons l'appelaient « Yahudi » : « Yahudi signifiait 'juif', et c'est le premier mot que j'ai appris en arabe syrien » (Sattouf 2014, 78). Les garçons se battaient et sa grand-mère l'a encouragé à rejoindre. « Yahudi » « provoqua une grande excitation : tout le monde me tomba dessus » (Sattouf 2014, 78). Riad dit, « Bien qu'ayant eu TRÈS mal, j'avais quand même envie d'y retourner ! J'étais attiré, aimanté par la violence » (Sattouf 2014, 78). Après que sa mère et son père se sont séparés, il a déménagé en France avec sa mère et son frère. Riad a perdu le contact avec son père. En France, rien n'a changé :

Sattouf says he felt no less out of place in school in France—and scarcely less bullied—than he had in Syria.

His blond hair turned black and curly, and, he recalled, “I went from being an elf to a troll. I was voted the ugliest person in class.” Accused of being a Jew in Syria, he was now gay-baited because of his high voice. “Those experiences gave me an immense affection for Jews and gays,” he said. (Shatz 2015).

Son enfance reflète sa décision de choisir une autre identité: dessinateur. Mais qu'est-ce que la décision de Riad révéler sur l'identité musulmane et arabe en France? Pourquoi l'identité d'une personne révocable, comme Riad, qui a grandi dans deux pays à l'identité culturelle très forte? On peut faire valoir à travers l'histoire qu'une poussée gouvernementale vers le nationalisme et la laïcité ne crée pas les citoyens qui poursuivent l'identité autres que l'identité nationale. Cependant, il y a des preuves que (Roy 2007) que la forte nationalisme et laïcité ostracisés certains citoyens, et par conséquent, de nombreux citoyens choisissent leur propre identité en dehors de la citoyenneté. « L'Arabe du futur » révèle la réalité surprenante du nationalisme extrême en Libye et en Syrie. La façon dont Clémentine et Abdel-Razak sont traités dans les uns des autres pays respectifs montre les difficultés à intégrer dans des différentes cultures.

L'expérience de Riad montre que cette difficulté reste même quand une personne a de deux nationalités. Les questions d'identité et d'ostracisme qui sont présentés dans « L'Arabe du futur » en parallèle avec les questions d'actualité en France aujourd'hui autour de l'immigration, l'intégration et l'inclusion des musulmans. Il y a preuve, comme la loi d'interdit la voile, que les lois laïques en France ont un effet d'ostracisme sur les musulmans pratiquants en France, tandis que d'autres, les politiciens, affirment que la laïcité est la française. L'augmentation du appui des partis politiques nationalistes peut aussi ont contribué à un sentiment d'exclusion dans les populations musulmanes

françaises. Cependant, ces facteurs pourraient être menant la génération actuelle des musulmans français de choisir une identité en dehors de la nationalité ou la religion, tout comme Riad.

En décembre 2003, le président Jacques Chirac a avancé avec une loi pour interdire tout signe visible d'affiliation religieuse dans les écoles publiques, au nom de la laïcité. Cette loi, appelée la «loi de voile», a été votée en l'existence par le Parlement français en Mars 2004. Le voile a considéré comme nocif pour coutume française et à la loi parce qu'elle viole la séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat, a insisté sur les différences entre les citoyens de la nation, et a accepté la subordination des femmes dans une république fondée sur l'égalité. (Scott 2007). En 2010, le Parlement français a interdit le port du voile intégral en public, devenant le premier pays en Europe à restreindre une coutume que certains musulmans considèrent un devoir religieux (Bilefsky 2014), mais d'autres pays ont depuis adopté des lois qui font le même.

La loi créait la controverse: « The ban, which has tapped into a culture war over the separation between mosque and state in abidingly secular France, has been contested by some French Muslims as an impingement upon their religious rights » (Bilefsky 2014). L'interdiction a été maintenue par la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Les partisans de l'interdiction ont dit qu'il était nécessaire à préserver la culture française et repousser le séparatisme islamique. Mais l'interdiction a représenté par ses détracteurs comme l'exploitation des sentiments anti-musulmanes et anti-immigrés dans un pays avec une minorité musulmane estimée à jusqu'à six millions.

Cette interdiction est une partie du modèle de l'assimilation de la France pour la gestion des immigrants, en particulier des musulmans. Les pays anglophones utilisent

généralement le modèle multiculturel, ce qui suppose que l'islam en tant que religion est ancrée dans une culture distincte qui se maintient d'une génération à l'autre: « On peut être un bon citoyen et en même temps identifier principalement avec une culture qui est pas la dominante » (Roy 2007). Le modèle de l'assimilation, aussi appelé intégration, utilisé par la France impose que l'accès à la citoyenneté signifie qu'origines culturelles individuelles sont effacées et remplacées par une communauté politique, la nation, et sont éliminés d'espace public. Le français considèrent le multiculturalisme anglo-saxon en la destruction de l'unité nationale ou un instrument de la ghettoïsation. L'assimilation est perçue à l'étranger comme l'expression d'un état centralisé autoritaire qui refuse de reconnaître les droits des minorités. Cependant, aujourd'hui, ces deux modèles sont en crise. En France, de nombreux jeunes musulmans se plaignent qu'ils sont des citoyens de seconde zone et qu'ils sont encore victimes du racisme, alors qu'ils sont intégrés en termes de langue et d'éducation et acceptent la laïcité. D'autres jeunes musulmans de France demandent à être reconnus en tant que croyants dans la sphère publique. (Roy 2007).

C'est important de savoir que la France peut être la seule démocratie qui a lutté contre la religion pour imposer un état appliqué laïcité (Roy 2007). La laïcité est historiquement incrustée en France et par conséquent est difficile pour les autres pays de conceptualiser. La laïcité est un principe fondateur de la Troisième République parce que l'Eglise a représenté l'Ancien Régime. La laïcité légale est apparue en France, dans un contexte d'un conflit politique entre l'Etat et l'Eglise catholique, officiellement en 1905. Le résultat était une loi réglementant strictement la présence de la religion dans la sphère publique. Idéologiquement et philosophiquement, la laïcité fournit un système de valeurs

qui est commun à tous les citoyens en expulsant la religion à la sphère privé. (Roy 2007). Si l'engagement de la France à la méthode d'assimilation par la laïcité est prévu à intégrer les musulmans dans la culture française, pourquoi il y a forte perception que les musulmans français sont des groupes minoritaires les moins intégrés en Europe? Et, si cette perception est vrai, comment les Arabes français, comme Riad Sattouf, surmontent le problème de l'intégration?

Il y a une interprétation commune qui suppose que l'islam est incompatible fondamentalement avec la société européenne courant dominante et que les musulmans qui sont plus attachés à la religion, ils seraient moins probables d'identifier comme français (Bleich 2014). De hauts niveaux de la religiosité des musulmans sont considérés comme en décalage avec la laïcité augmentant de l'Europe. Malheureusement, la religiosité musulmane est également associée à des modes de vie séparés, le terrorisme violent, et le rejet des normes et valeurs européennes. Cependant, la religiosité n'a pas aussi important d'un rôle comme on croit. La religiosité et d'intégration des immigrants variables, tel que si les musulmans sont nés en France, de nationalité française, et parle le français couramment, en réalité ont des effets similaires pour l'identité nationale des immigrants chrétiens aussi. C'est évident aujourd'hui que les musulmans de la deuxième génération et les musulmans nés en Europe sont les plus susceptibles d'adhérer à l'islam radical. Ils posent en effet la plus grande menace à la stabilité. Pourquoi est-ce?

Il serait supposé que parce qu'ils sont nés en Europe, ont la citoyenneté européenne, et parlent la langue maternelle du pays, qu'ils se sentiraient plus intégrés et inclus dans la société européenne. (Bleich 2014). La nouvelle génération souffre de « a process of deculturalization » (Gemie 2010, 11). Ce phénomène est en corrélation avec

l'enfance de Riad Sattouf. Riad éprouvait une exposition intense au nationalisme extrême, qui, on peut faire valoir, lui a fait rejeter toute identification avec la nationalité, et donc, Riad identifie comme « un dessinateur ». Peut-être que les jeunes musulmans en France aujourd'hui se sent si opprimés par la laïcité qu'ils choisissent d'être extrêmement religieux. Ce qui est semblable à ce que nous voyons dans « Arabe du futur » :

“He saw at an early age that the promise of a secular, authoritarian, nationalist utopia was a lie.” During his childhood, authoritarian rulers tried to create secular states with secular laws. Sattouf’s story illuminates why they failed, while contextualizing modern Islamist terrorism as, in part, a backlash after decades of dictatorships that suppressed religion in the Middle East. “The extreme secular nationalism that we see in Sattouf’s work ceded the place to religious zeal,” Bitar says. (Eads 2015).

La laïcité de la France n'est pas la chose seule qui joue un rôle dans l'identité musulmane. Le nationalisme surgit en popularité à travers les partis d'extrême droite, comme le Front national. Alors que la laïcité a un effet plus puissant des musulmans en France, le nationalisme par la Front National et d'autres politiciens ont un effet aussi bien. Jacques Chirac a fait un discours critiquant les musulmans et les immigrés noirs, les décrivant célèbre comme « le bruit et l'odeur » (Chirac 1991). D'autres partis politiques d'extrême droite, comme le Mouvement pour la France (MPF) et leurs membres éminents soutiennent que les musulmans ne rentrent pas dans la définition traditionnelle de « français », selon Charles de Gaulle: « peuple européen, avec la culture grecque et latine et la religion chrétienne » (de Villiers 2006, 216). Les musulmans sont dépeints comme « the radical other in elite discourse : This model of French citizenship cannot adequately respond to the needs and concerns of France’s increasingly diverse population » (Fredette 2014, 153). Tout de même, Marine le Pen du Front National a gagné un cinquième des

votes lors de l'élection présidentielle de 2012 (Fredette 2014). Le Pen a comparé les musulmans priant dans la rue à la vie sous l'occupation nazie (Fredette 2014).

Beaucoup de musulmans français ont articulé de versions de la citoyenneté qui célèbrent les valeurs françaises de liberté, d'égalité et de fraternité. Beaucoup embrassent la laïcité dans de nombreux d'aspects. Cependant, forçant la religion à la sphère privée pourrait créer l'ignorance des différentes cultures (Fredette 2014). C'est plus difficile de se renseigner sur les différentes coutumes religieuses où la religion a exclue de la sphère publique strictement. Alors que la laïcité peut conduire à un changement vers l'islam radical pour certains jeunes musulmans français, ce n'est pas une situation en cause à effet commun ou exacte. Ce qui est vraiment souhaitée par beaucoup des musulmans français est non seulement la tolérance, mais respecte aussi. Le respect signifie l'acceptation d'être français et musulman. Cette reconnaissance peut être difficile à trouver dans un pays tellement concentrés sur poussant la religion dans la sphère privée de la vie. Peut-être pour ces jeunes musulmans en France qui pensent que leur culture est supprimée va trouver le réconfort dans la création d'une nouvelle identité pour eux, comme Riad.

Grâce à la caricature, Riad a trouvé sa véritable identité. « Arabe du futur » apporté de la vie à la lutte de l'identité, de l'exclusion et de l'ostracisme qui vient d'être une minorité dans un pays étranger, ou d'un pays maternel. La bande dessinée comme une forme d'art a une histoire riche en France, datant de l'avant la Révolution française lorsque les images clandestin circulent montrant le clergé et le noblesse de jouant des actes dégradants (Heer 2015). À la suite de l'imagerie profane produite au cours de la Révolution, une loi a été introduit en 1835, caricature ciblant spécifiquement, au motif

que, « whereas a pamphlet is no more than a violation of opinion, a caricature amounts to an act of violence » (Heer 2015). Ceci est une notion importante à garder à l'esprit: Une caricature elle-même était autrefois considéré comme un acte de violence utilisée contre quelqu'un. Ainsi, la bande dessinée a le potentiel d'être très puissant.

Les bandes dessinées en France sont un « 'bête et méchant' style of satire, which champions for the freedom to make fun of anything, no matter how taboo. » (Weston 2009, 1) Aujourd'hui, la bande dessinée française est surtout connue grâce à *Charlie Hebdo*. Le *Charlie Hebdo* d'aujourd'hui va au-delà de ce style, plongeant dans une expression satirique qui incorpore des éléments de « bande dessinée and the rich French tradition of polemical editorial cartooning and caricature » (Weston 2009, 1). Depuis l'attaque terroriste au bureau *Charlie Hebdo* où des hommes armés ont tué douze personnes, il y a eu des questions posées au sujet de la façon dont la caricature française traditionnelle affecte les citoyens et les minorités (BBC News 2015). Il est bien décrite par Arthur Goldhammer, un traducteur polymathique:

‘There is an old Parisian tradition of cheeky humour that respects nothing and no one,’ he noted. ‘The French even have a word for it: gouaille. Think of obscene images of Marie Antoinette and other royals, of priests in flagrante delicto with nuns, of devils farting in the pope’s face and Daumier’s caricatures of King Louis Philippe. ... It’s an anarchic populist form of obscenity that aims to cut down anything that would erect itself as venerable, sacred or powerful,’ and is directed against ‘authority in general, against hierarchy and against the presumption that any individual or group has exclusive possession of the truth.’ (Heer 2015).

De cette manière, *Charlie Hebdo* peut être considéré comme antagoniste sans fournir une solution aux problèmes qu'il expose dans leurs dessins animés. L'interdiction

de dessiner le prophète et la tradition de bandes dessinées est constamment en désaccord l'un avec l'autre. Cela rend difficile pour eux d'être dans le même ensemble cohésive. Riad, mêle ces deux mondes. Il ne croit pas que l'on doit dessiner le Prophète, mais il reste fidèle au style traditionnel de bande dessinée français. Bien que ce ne soit pas le rôle du *Charlie Hebdo* à donner une solution, Riad propose à ses lecteurs un scénario où un problème culturel est exprimée par la voie du malaise de ses parents dans les pays de l'autre et à travers sa propre lutte de l'identité, mais il donne une solution. Ceci est la raison pour laquelle il est une personne importante pour la bande dessinée. Il choisit de ne pas être définie par une nationalité. De cette façon, il devient immunitaire à la critique fondée sur la nationalité.

Pour expliquer pourquoi Riad a choisi la bande dessinée comme sa forme d'expression sa autobiographie, Riad a dit que ce a commencé en 2011, lorsque la guerre civile syrienne a éclaté. Sattouf a anticipé le chaos et a essayé d'aider sa famille en Syrie à venir en France, mais obtenir la permission des autorités françaises était difficile. « I had a lot of difficulties, » explique t-il. « I was very angry with France. I'd meet immigration officials, civil servants who would say, 'You really should do a comic book on this.' So I decided to tell the story from the beginning. » (Andrieu 2015). Et une bande dessinée était la bonne façon. « J'avais du mal à trouver bon temps et bon angle pour raconter ces années atypiques », confie Riad (Bras 2014) mais dans une bande dessinée, on n'a pas à parler la même langue, les images peuvent transcender les barrières de la langue et de la culture. Plus important encore, « they are the most powerful means of expression, » Riad dit de la bande dessinée. « They were the first: cave paintings of cattle and hunters,

hieroglyphics in ancient Egypt. They are understandable by anyone, a universal language  
» (Andrieu 2015).

La laïcité est une réalité de la France moderne et cela ne va pas disparaître de sitôt. C'est trop ancré dans la culture française. Riad Sattouf peut être appelé un parfait exemple d'un « assimilé » musulman français, mais qui est en raison du fait que, après le déplacement de retour vers la France de la Syrie, la France est devenue sa maison. Il a également été exposé aux négatifs du nationalisme extrême et de la laïcité en Libye et en Syrie, qui lui a permis d'ignorer la nationalité et identifie comme « dessinateur ». On peut estimer que la laïcité et l'assimilation ont ouvert la voie à Riad de choisir son identité, cependant, pour les musulmans commencent à peine à intégrer, les lois de la laïcité en France peut être écrasante.

L'identité n'est pas un terme simple pour de nombreux citoyens. Ce peut être aux multiples facettes ou ce peut être réduit à une chose spécifique. Ce chapitre révèle la complexité de l'identité des citoyens et de l'influence que le gouvernement a sur les minorités. Pour la mère de Riad, Clémentine, les coutumes et le mode de vie en Libye et en Syrie ont été écrasants et mal à l'aise parce qu'elle n'a jamais voulu, et elle n'a pas essayé d'intégrer dans la société. Le père de Riad, Abdel-Razak, une fois avait pensé à la France comme la liberté, mais quand il revient en Syrie, il perd son rêve de panarabisme contrôler ses actions. Cela a affecté la façon qu'il a été perçu en France, et il ne se sent plus à l'aise dans le pays qui était chez lui en une seule fois. La culture est puissante en France et en Syrie. Il y a des définitions claires de ce qui signifie être un citoyen dans chaque.

L'expérience des parents de Riad montre les difficultés d'intégration dans un nouveau et différent pays avec des valeurs très différentes de la société et des lois très différentes. Riad a été tiré entre deux mondes différents et est résulté à ses difficultés appartenant à une seule culture. Comme il a grandi, il a souvent été isolé à partir d'enfants de son âge à cause de son contexte. La lutte de Riad disparu quand il a choisi son identité du « dessinateur ». Il est allé au-delà de l'identité raciale, religieuse et nationale et choisir une identité qui a été entièrement défini par lui-même.

France aujourd'hui a la plus grande population musulmane en Europe et c'est clair que il est difficile pour la laïcité en France. La laïcité est prévu à assimiler les immigrants dans la société de la France pour créer une solidarité française, mais la laïcité peut créer le sentiment d'ostracisme pour les minorités religieuses. Cette propension vers la laïcité est la cause des jeunes musulmans français de se sentir dépourvu de leur culture religieuse qui est la raison pour laquelle il y a plus de jeunes musulmans se tourner vers l'islam radical. L'histoire de Riad offre une alternative pour ceux qui cherchent une identité.

Dans le monde de bande dessinée, « L'Arabe du futur » de Riad est un message positif subtile qui n'a pas les effets ostracisme de bande dessinée française traditionnelle. Musulmans français, qui sont déjà confrontés à des problèmes qui viennent d'être non seulement une minorité, mais étant une minorité religieuse publiquement à face la forte laïcité française, ont déjà été ciblés par d'autres sources de la caricature politique. *Charlie Hebdo*, bien qu'ils ne s'éloignent jamais de l'égalité des chances, leurs dessins animées, ce peut être difficile pour les Français musulmans à se rapportent à la bande dessinée française traditionnelle. Le roman graphique de Riad travaille comme agent de liaison

entre les minorités et la bande dessinée française. Son style est cru et brutalement honnête, mais il présente des idées familières à ceux qui luttent avec l'identité de citoyens. Son travail pourrait être une passerelle pour comprendre qu'il y a d'autres options à l'identité religieuse et nationale. « L'Arabe du futur » prouve la nécessité de la caricature comme une forme d'art et comme méthode de participation pour tous les citoyens, et pas seulement le blanc, laïc et purement français.

### **Chapter 3: Cartooning For Peace as the New Bande Dessinée**



Due to the multiple violent outbursts in reaction to publications of certain cartoons within the last decade, there has been an effort made by a group of cartoonists to shift the focus from controversial and exclusionary cartooning to the art of cartooning for a specific inclusive cause: Cartooning for Peace (Dessins Pour la Paix). This chapter will explore the reason behind the creation of the organization Cartooning for Peace, the ways in which Cartooning for Peace can positively redefine political cartooning in France and internationally, and the ways in which art can be used to promote peace and tolerance

world wide. As has been explored in the last two chapters, political cartooning has faced backlash and controversy since its creation, most notably in France where cartooning has been pushed into the limelight after the killing of twelve at the French magazine *Charlie Hebdo*. With its rich history and confrontational style, cartooning in France is still creating heavy debates due to its abrasive nature, but there are prominent French cartoonists who want to see this art form move beyond its typical use of equal opportunity offense to cartooning that brings different people together, without putting more space between ostracized minorities and natural born French citizens. *Charlie Hebdo* represents just one type of cartooning in France and in the world, and although it is the most traditional kind of French cartooning, it has opened social wounds that have been hard for the country to recover from. *Charlie Hebdo* has created the feeling that no group in France is safe, especially minority groups like French Muslims, who have faced exclusion and identity crises for years as a result of France's unwavering *laïcité* and now they serve as the target for France's most controversial magazine, no matter how unintentional *Charlie Hebdo* claims their attacks are.

After the terrorist attack on the office of *Charlie Hebdo*, Riad Sattouf's first volume of his graphic novel series, "Arab of the Future" gained immense popularity worldwide and revealed a new image of French cartooning to the international community. His graphic memoir is an intriguing and haunting combination of controversial images surrounding life in the Middle East under dictatorship and extreme nationalism, juxtaposed with the rawness of his own struggle to find his identity as he is pulled between France and Syria. Riad's choice to identify, not as French or Arab, but as a cartoonist is an example of how this art form can be a creative and helpful force in

France, an outlet to discover identity beyond race and nationality, and move French cartooning away from its ruthless reputation as a result of the *Charlie Hebdo* controversy. The creation of Cartooning for Peace transitions cartooning to be utilized in a positive way to change the world through caricature in the wake of negativity.

Cartooning for Peace was created with a desire for a movement to promote understanding and tolerance instead of exclusion and violence through the form of cartooning. This concept was institutionalized after the disastrous Danish cartoon controversy. In 2005 a popular Danish daily, *Jyllands-Posten*, printed cartoons of the prophet Mohammed in the hopes of pushing back against the interdicts proclaimed by religious authorities (Plantu 2009). The magazine asked Danish cartoonists to submit their depiction of Mohammed, promising to publish all submissions. A dozen cartoons appeared in the September 30 edition of the newspaper, under the headline “The Face of Mohammed.” The cartoons depict the Prophet in unflattering poses, including one where he is portrayed as a terrorist with a bomb in his turban and

... One of the prophet as a crazed, knife-wielding Bedouin and another of him at the gates of heaven telling suicide bombers: "Stop. Stop. We have run out of virgins!" -- a reference to the belief of some Muslim extremists that male suicide bombers are rewarded in heaven with 72 virgins. (Anderson 2006).

The cartoons were reprinted in other countries, such as Norway and France, causing outrage among Muslims across the Middle East, where protesters burned Norwegian and Danish flags and attacked embassies. The cartoons “sparked protests, economic boycotts, and warnings of possible retaliation against the people, companies and countries involved” (Anderson 2006). The European Union supported Denmark and warned that any economic boycotts would violate World Trade Organization rules. At the

time, Saudi Arabia “recalled its ambassador from Denmark and Libya had closed its embassy in Copenhagen, the Danish capital; Kuwait called the cartoons ‘despicable racism;’ Iran's foreign minister termed them ‘ridiculous and revolting’” (Anderson 2006). Denmark and the other European countries involved did not issue any formal apologies and a poll conducted in Denmark after the incident showed that 62% of people felt that the newspaper should not apologize (Anderson 2006).

Islamic critics of the cartoons said that the drawings were not only insulting, but that they were deliberately designed to “incite hatred and polarize people of different faiths” (Anderson 2006). Defenders of the cartoons and artists argued that the cartoons were intended to show Islam’s intolerance. Nevertheless, the violent reactions to the cartoons were widespread. In Nigeria, old ethnic and political tensions were reignited as a result of the protesting. Over one hundred people were killed in attacks on Muslims in the city of Onitsha, as retaliation for attacks on Christians in the South, where both Muslim and Christians had lived peacefully prior to the cartoon publication:

“What has become of us?” lamented the Rev. Joseph Ezeugo, pastor of Immaculate Heart Parish. “This cannot be Nigeria today. We have been living side by side with our Muslim brothers for so long. Why should a cartoon in Denmark bring us to civil war?” (Polegreen 2006).

In addition, French Cultural Centers were ransacked after the Danish cartoons were republished in the French magazine *France-Soir* and in *Charlie Hebdo* (Plantu, 2009). Over all, the backlash of the Danish cartoons resulted in about 250 dead and around 800 wounded (McGraw 2012).

As the violence and protests stretched on into 2006, twelve cartoonists were gathered together by Kofi Annan, Nobel Peace Prize recipient and United Nations

Secretary General, and editorial cartoonist Plantu (Jean Plantureux) from the French newspaper Le Monde, for a seminar at the United Nations headquarters in New York called “Unlearning Intolerance” (Anna Lindh Foundation). The organization Cartooning for Peace was created. They define themselves as “an international network of committed press cartoonists, who fight with humor for the respect of cultures and freedoms.” The Cartooning for Peace organization is committed to defending the fundamental freedoms and democracy:

Cartooning for Peace is a tool serving freedom of expression: a forum and a meeting place for all those who challenge intolerance and all forms of dogmatism...  
Cartooning for Peace is attached to the respect for pluralism of cultures and opinions. ... Cartooning for Peace fights against prejudice and intellectual conformism.  
Towards extremism, we denounce the excess, we mock the false certainties, counteract odium and strive to dismount impostures.

Cartooning for Peace allows cartoonists from all over the world to interact and discuss their different ideological opinions while providing support for cartoonists who are unable to work freely or who have been threatened for their work. Through the use of press cartoons, the organization denounces intolerance and all forms of dogmatism by raising awareness on major societal problems, organizing meetings between cartoonists and a large audience, setting up thematic exhibitions showing a critical look of society, and by simply publishing press cartoons in both paper and digital forms. (Anna Lindh Foundation). Their website publishes cartoons under the categories of the environment, economics, women’s rights, North/South inequality, migration and borders, war and peace, living together, new technologies, and of course, religion, censorship and freedom of expression. The cartoons are drawn by cartoonists from all over the world, in many

different languages, especially from countries with strong censorship laws. Through this “singular creative effort by some of the world’s most prolific graphic commentators on world affairs,” the group hopes to “bring peace to the Middle East and other war-torn nations around the globe” (Band of Brothers 2009).

After the publication of the Danish cartoons, head of Cartooning for Peace and editorial cartoonist, Plantu (2009) of the French newspaper *Le Monde*, expressed in writing what, perhaps, many of those from the Western world were thinking: “Where was the blasphemy?” At the time, there was a clear disconnect between the reactions of Europeans and the fervent violence and outrage of Muslim countries. Plantu (2009) explains this disconnect as being typically Western: “We Westerners are so used to seeing anti-religious drawings; I had to do a double-take to figure out what was really so provocative about them... because we are used to seeing Jesus Christs, Virgin Marys, Saint Mary Magdalenes in every position!” The true problem was that, for many Muslims it is forbidden to draw the Prophet and, moreover, “the drawings published in Copenhagen by Denmark's premier newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten*, suggested that the cartoonists had a bone to pick with the Prophet” (Plantu 2009). This is was not the last time the Western world would ignore Islamic blasphemy. *Charlie Hebdo*’s cartoons of the Prophet, which led to the shootings at the office in 2015, created the same sentiment in the Islamic world. The condemning reactions to *Charlie Hebdo* emerged after the attack on the office, but the feeling of disrespect for the interdicts of Islam were felt by Muslims before the cartoons were brought to the international level through tragedy. Muslim-American cartoonist Khalil Bendib (2015), whose cartoons appear in the *Washington Report*, confessed that *Charlie Hebdo* often made him cringe with their

double standards. This shows a consistent detachment between the Western idea of publishing anything, no matter the harm to others, and the clear “interdict” of drawing religious figures in certain cultures. It took armed gunmen and twelve dead for people in the Western world to actually look at the cartoons and realize the seriousness of political cartooning. This disengagement is something that Cartooning for Peace hopes to remedy by bringing political cartooning to the rest of the world in a positive light, focusing on the promotion of tolerance, and reminding cartoonists of their responsibilities.

With the platform of the United Nations, Cartooning for Peace can elevate the status of political cartooning to an international level, instead of just being an art form recognized in conjunction to a specific country, like France or Denmark. This means that the world can perhaps one day shift focus and recognize political cartooning as an art form that universally brings people together and respects all religions, instead of only seeing cartooning as a weapon that targets minority groups. However, it may take time for their work to outshine the press that other publications receive because of their controversial images. As the previous two chapters have explained, there is an exclusion problem in France, stemming from France’s history and strong commitment to *laïcité* and continues through cultural reinforcements. France’s focus on secularism has caused tensions between French citizens and French Muslims who feel stripped of their religiosity. This has created a divide between generations of Muslims because the majority has assimilated to French culture, but a few of the younger generation are turning to radical Islam to compensate for the feeling of religious deprivation as a result of extreme French *laïcité*. When the *Charlie Hebdo* cartoon controversy was exposed, it created an even larger divide between French citizens and French Muslims. Muslims who

already faced exclusion because of the difficulties transitioning to France's strict *laïcité* were then ostracized more so when their religion was openly mocked in the magazine. *Charlie Hebdo* follows strongly the ideals of *laïcité*, but the blasphemy of drawing the Prophet only pushed French Muslims further into exclusion, as they were being targeted from all angles—by the government with secular laws and then by an institution outside of the government. No matter the intention of *Charlie Hebdo*, the result was an already ostracized minority group being forced deeper into exclusion.

Riad Sattouf's novel educates on the dangers of extreme nationalism and secularism through the intense images of the Syria and Libya, two countries forced into nationalism and secularism that have now completely crumbled. While France probably will not fall apart because of their *laïcité*, there is evidence that forced assimilation may not be the most efficient way of cultural adaptation for Muslims in France, as it is forcing some to turn to radical Islam. Riad himself is a French Muslim, but he chooses to identify as a cartoonist because he cannot stand nationalism. This is important for those French Muslims struggling to find an identity when they think they only have two options: French or Muslim. Riad's story begins to mend the harm done by *Charlie Hebdo* by drawing the struggle of inclusion with the story of his parents, an Arab who is forced to live in France and a French woman who is forced to live in the Middle East. His story is familiar to those French Muslims who have lived in the Middle East and know the difficulties living there and living in France. He remedies his own issues with exclusion in France by declaring himself a cartoonist. These two examples show how cartoons have the power to both exclude further or aide in repairing social divides. Cartooning for Peace

goes even further than “Arab of the Future” to stop the exclusion and disrespect of minorities through cartooning.

The message of inclusion is powerful and necessary to push Cartooning for Peace to be a world focus. This is what makes Cartooning for Peace different than other cartooning publications that are popular today. Riad Sattouf’s graphic novel is step in the right direction for French cartooning because it highlights the struggle of inclusion experienced by immigrants and creates understanding between the two different cultures of France and the Middle East. However *Charlie Hebdo*’s reputation with minority groups hinders France from completely gaining a positive perception from onlookers in regards to political cartooning; too many negative things have happened. By redefining cartooning to include all different nationalities and religions, steps can be taken to promote Cartooning for Peace’s message of “the importance of overcoming misunderstandings and animosities between people of different beliefs and cultural traditions through peaceful dialogue and mutual respect” (UN News Center 2006). The driving force that will make Cartooning for Peace an internationally successful universal figure for political cartooning is its message of tolerance and its acknowledgment of cartoonists’ accountability for what they draw.

The moments of extreme violence because of a cartoon, demonstrate the immense power cartoons have in the way they can “transform the way societies view each other and highlight the dangerous places their creators often find themselves in” (Band of Brothers 2009). Shockingly, this power is often forgotten until an act of extreme violence occurs, like the *Charlie Hebdo* massacre. For Plantu (2009), it was the backlash after the Danish cartoons which caused him to realize that “the public was rediscovering the

meaning of caricature, the meaning of images, at a point in time when we have grown used to consuming--on television, in newspapers and on the Web--images that, although striking, are increasingly meaningless.” In the past, the media has only portrayed the meaning of caricatures in negative ways because that is what gets attention, such as the cartoons of *Charlie Hebdo*, which only gets press when they are insulting to minorities.

After the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks, their sales, which had been suffering, rose exponentially. Today, more and more young people are relying on satirical news sources rather than network news. A 2012 Pew survey found that about 80 percent of "The Daily Show" and "The Colbert Report" viewers were aged 18 to 49, compared to only 40 percent of network evening news viewers. In 2014, twelve percent of adults surveyed by Pew said they received news from "The Daily Show" in the previous week, putting it on a par with USA Today and The New York Times. (Guyer 2015). This increase in satirical news reflects a societal change; a push in the direction that political cartoonists want. It is a push towards conversation instead of complete denunciation of offensive satire. But with this change comes a certain responsibility. If satirical news is becoming more prevalent in today's society, then the world will be exposed to many controversial topics in a possibly hostile or abrasive way. Cartooning for Peace believes in creating safe spaces for those topics because, as we have seen from *Charlie Hebdo* and the Danish cartoons, there can be violent consequences for innocents.

“Our job is to create either some doubt in your mind about an issue or create a discussion. We want you to think. We want you to react,” says cartoonist Christopher Weyant, whose work has appeared in The New Yorker among various other magazines (Guyer 2015). However, the world we live in is constantly at odds with one another. In

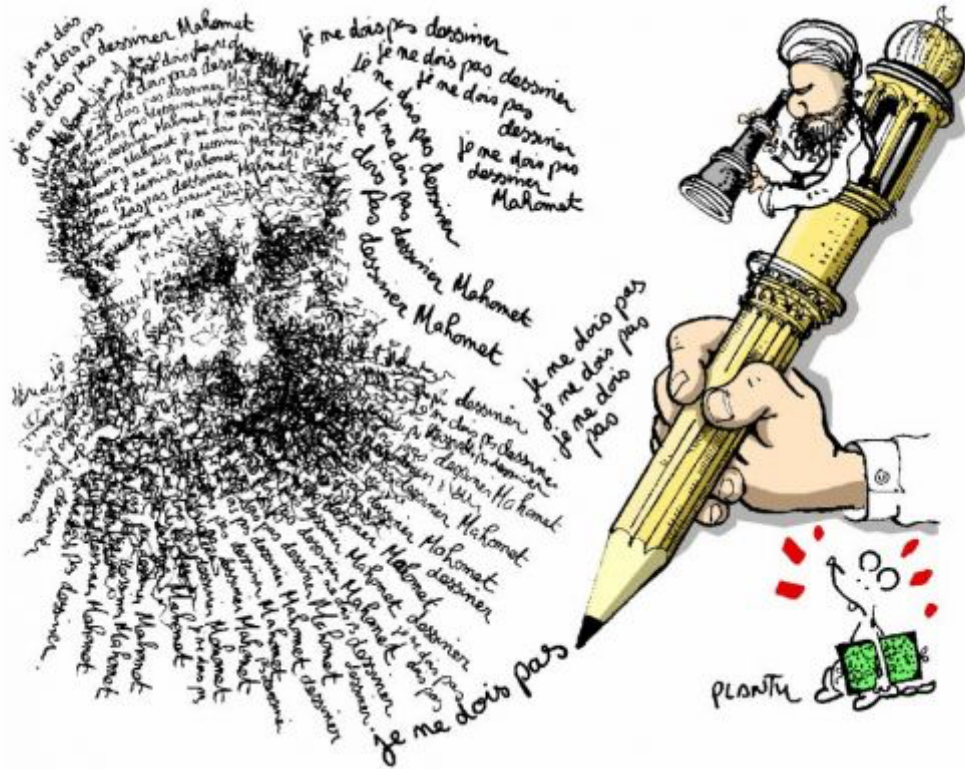
some cultures it is blasphemy to print a caricature of the Prophet, in other countries a caricature of the Prophet gets published because they believe it violates free speech if it does not get printed. Plantu writes about how the job of a cartoonist differs from one place in the world to another. He uses Israel as an example, “where they are very familiar with anti-Jewish blasphemy (see the caricatures that are published in the Arab world), they chose not to publish the drawings, in order to avoid being uselessly provocative.” In America, there is a constant need to be politically correct and take a preventative measures when it comes to publishing religious material, and so American newspapers did not publish the Danish caricatures. Europe, according to Plantu (2009), is moving in the same direction of precautionary publishing.

After the Danish cartoon controversy, Plantu put pen to paper and wrote, over and over again, “Je ne dois pas dessiner Mahomet”<sup>15</sup> until he had composed a picture with the words:

Then I made the letters dance, I stacked them on top of each other, and realized that I could create a shape with them. At that point, I felt the need to put myself into the picture, so I drew a hand holding a pencil. Next, I told myself: you need to push ambiguity of expression to its limits, by crowning the pencil with a minaret; by making the hand to be a right-hander's, whereas I am left-handed; and by making an imam appear at the top of the minaret--an imam who bears a curious resemblance to the face created by the stacking of the letters. The drawing was sufficiently equivocal to render all suppositions possible. The face that emerged looked like someone whom the reader had in mind, without being truly certain about it. That is exactly what I wanted. (Plantu 2009)

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<sup>15</sup> “I must not draw Mohammed”



Plantu understands that because of mass distribution through the Internet, images can be shared and accessed by a multitude of people with different opinions and backgrounds. This leads to interpretations that, more often than not, distort the meaning of cartoons. This is true of *Charlie Hebdo* as well. Plantu (2009) argues that today, the press cartoonist, once viewed as a “freedom-loving anarchist, and could afford a certain measure of violence and political unconsciousness,” is no longer in that same position. There are catastrophic consequences today if a cartoon is interpreted in a certain way, regardless of the intentions of the artist. This is what Plantu (2009) means by responsibility: “Increasingly, he or she [the artist] must now bear the responsibility of a journalist with respect to a readership that has expanded through the Web” because these images are going everywhere, not to a target audience. While the cartoonist does not have control over how his or her drawings are interpreted, the cartoonist can choose to draw

content that will inform rather than provoke. Perhaps the *Charlie Hebdo* cartoons would have had little to no weight if they had remained solely in France where that type of cartooning, while still shocking, is traditionally French and culturally accepted. According to Plantu, the existence of the Internet means that the phrase “lost in translation” cannot be an excuse for cartoonists to fall back on when their cartoons face backlash from different countries because cartoons can no longer be targeted to a specific audience anymore. Cartooning for Peace is a result of cartoonists who feel that their work should be used for the creative force of peace. The responsibility that they feel has made them committed to fight for the respect of cultures and freedoms, and, because of the knowledge that a cartoon “published on the Web can appear out of context, within seconds... Our organization is vigilant to prevent press cartoon from becoming an aggravation factor of conflicts.”

The idea of creating a sense of responsibility for cartoonists in order to give them an opportunity to create positive outcomes with their work is actively valued by Cartooning for Peace, yet there are definite issues with the notion of pausing before publishing. It can be argued that it is self-censorship to not publish something in fear of offending others and that it goes against free speech to limit one’s creativity. After all, should an artist be silenced because of how people may react to his or her work? How can we create standards of accountability without hindering freedom of expression? Cartooning for Peace is an advocate for freedom of speech. It is a safe place for cartoonists to publish their work despite having been threatened or imprisoned for their art in their native countries. Cartooning for Peace would not stop an artist from

expressing themselves through their chosen form, but their mission is peace, not provocation:

“Cartooning for Peace defends fundamental freedoms and democracy. Our organizations is particularly eager to exert freedom of expression as it is defined in article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”

Clearly, freedom of expression is not something Cartooning for Peace is going to compromise, but the organization firmly states in the description of their values:

“Cartooning for Peace uses the educational value of press cartoon to denounce intolerances. Cartooning for Peace is respectful in disrespect. We do not seek to humiliate the beliefs and opinions of others. We circumvent interdicts with humor.” Therefore, Cartooning for Peace supports the promotion of peace through art without compromising the values they have in regards to freedom of expression; they want to be responsible for peace and tolerance by exercising their right to free speech.

To Plantu,

The job of a political cartoonist is to take on the leaders of the entire world, but not to attack the different gods. This polemic led me to examine my own relationship to God. I realized that in my cartoons, which span more than 30 years, I have not really had any accounts to settle with God (Plantu 2009).

But this is not universally felt. The Danish cartoon controversy created an ongoing debate between freedom of expression and religious tolerance. This debate continued with *Charlie Hebdo*, and now there is still no consensus, but Cartooning for Peace can provide a space for cartoonists who wish to promote tolerance with their artwork as opposed to

animosity. This means that artists do not have to compromise their creative license and can still comment on controversial topics, but they can do so in a way that is respectful to all religions and cultures. The aim of Cartooning for Peace is to be the forum of debate for these issues of religion and so on, but in a respectful way. “Cartoons make us laugh. Without them, our lives would be much sadder. But they are no laughing matter. They have the power to inform and also to offend” (Band of Brothers 2009).

With that power comes a responsibility to uphold creativity, not destruction. In this way, Cartooning for Peace turned an art form that had been used in France to “unintentionally” ostracize a minority group, and instead made an inclusive, respectful, and educational organization dedicated to establishing peace in war torn countries. Cartooning for Peace has become the ideal platform for inclusive cartooning. By gathering different cartoonists from around the globe, Cartooning for Peace has taken cartooning to an international level in a positive way, moving the art form away from its ruthless reputation that had been enhanced by the controversies of *Charlie Hebdo* and the Danish cartoons. Cartoonists who have been silenced in their native countries have a place to publish and still create debate without fear of repercussion. The diversity of the organization brings those of different religions and beliefs, successfully doing what other cartoon publications have attempted: The images published by Cartooning for Peace create debate, challenge the leaders of the world, and confront differing ideologies while being respectful of the differences in others. And there has yet to a violent backlash to a single one of their cartoons.

## **Conclusion**

*Charlie Hebdo*, despite being viewed negatively by some as a racist and anti-Islamic magazine, has created an important dialogue in French cartooning. The magazine has brought into debate the inequalities of France's style of equal opportunity offense because we see that these cartoons, no matter how unintentional, have a racist and ostracizing context in French society. This is not a debate about the right of free speech; it is a debate about France's current sentiment regarding its Muslim population. Through *Charlie Hebdo*'s publication of the Prophet cartoons, it is clear that Muslims have been excluded from France's antiracist laws and that it has become acceptable in French culture to allow the exclusion to happen. The controversy of *Charlie Hebdo* may be a gateway to a discussion on those laws and how, with positive public sentiment towards Muslims, the laws could be changed to be inclusive of all racial minorities. This could be a step in softening the difficult effects felt by some as a result of France's *laïcité*, as it would support total equality of races in France and limit the targeting and distinguishing of Muslims as different than white, French citizens.

Riad Sattouf is able to bridge the gap between *Charlie Hebdo*'s abrasive cartoons and emerge as a relatable cartoonist to French Muslims who recognize the brutal truth of "The Arab of the Future." Because, as a child, Riad was exposed to the extreme nationalism and secularism of Syria and Libya, as an adult, he rejects identification relating to nationality. Riad's chosen identity of a "cartoonist" gives those who do not feel welcomed by France's secular laws, an option to be seen as something other than their nationality. "The Arab of the Future" visually describes what many young French Muslims feel today—a sense of not fully belonging, so they turn to radical Islam to make up for the de-culturalization of *laïcité*. Riad's work and prominence in the world of

cartooning opens the door for French Muslims to join the discussion of integration, identity, and inclusion through cartooning and may be a way for young French Muslims to choose their own path, rather than one of extremism.

The organization of Cartooning for Peace shows that the controversies and violent backlash that results after a sensitive cartoon is published can be turned into a positive, collective initiative to promote cultural tolerance and peace worldwide. Cartooning for Peace gathers cartoonists from around the world to participate in publishing on their website and hold seminars and events. This epitomizes political cartooning as a powerful democratic force; the organization does not compromise free speech while acting as a mouthpiece for those who are unable to publish or contribute to the political dialogue in their own countries. Cartooning for Peace's founding member, Plantu, brings to attention the growing responsibility that cartoonists have due to the amount of power that can be wielded into a simple image. This power can be seen with the backlash of *Charlie Hebdo* and the popularity of "The Arab of the Future." Cartoons can no longer be targeted for a specific viewership because an image can be spread so quickly through the Internet. The speed with which a cartoon can travel around the world means that this art form is growing in inclusivity and Cartooning for Peace can be the messenger of those positive images.

Political cartooning holds power and relevance in today's society because it shows us which citizens are excluded, ostracized, and deal with ongoing struggles of identity and integration. Bande dessinée can be a forum for debate and discussion of these current issues in French society. *Charlie Hebdo*, through backlash and controversy, has revealed the flaws and hypocrisies in the antiracist French laws. Riad Sattouf has

made traditional French cartooning relatable to French Muslims who may have felt ostracized by *Charlie Hebdo*. Cartooning for Peace breathes new life into the French tradition of caricature by bringing it to the international level in an effort to promote peace and cultural tolerance. Together, these three forms of French cartooning prove the necessity of bande dessinée in solving the issues of French Muslim integration, inclusion, and identity. Political cartooning is an art form that provides an intense creative and democratic platform of discussion as France and the world moves forward with caricature after the terrorist attack on the office of *Charlie Hebdo*, hopefully in an inclusive manner.

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