

# The Inclusion of Religion in Organizations

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## Abstract

The aim of this research paper is to understand how organizations are religion ready. Face to a world change regarding terrorism and demographic change, organizations and more precisely companies have to face new cultural situations. We will present a review of literature on ethnocentrism and multiculturalism to build a qualitative approach to understand how human resources and representatives react to this phenomenon.

**Keywords:** religion, multiculturalism, diversity, identity

## 1. Introduction

Today, Western societies are subject to multiculturalism so increasingly evident. This phenomenon can also be ignored by the organizations, whether public or private. Therefore, our societies undergoing change must meet a number of new requests. Nevertheless, respond to these changes by emotion or by a very short-term, is, we seem, something very dangerous. Thus, it does not act under the influence of emotion or situation, giving answers a priori timely (and sometimes excessive for that matter) to questions that deserve to be treated with much more and time reasons.

Among these new situations: a growing number of employees requesting the opportunity to practice their religious rites within organizations. Without going into the controversy surrounding this issue, our study aims to probe the attitude of the representatives of private organizations with regard to the topic of religion in business. The interviews we have conducted have identified the recurrence of a means of intra-group favoritism (Tajfel, 1981). This bias is similar to the concept of ethnocentrism, since pushing us to "see the world and its diversity through the prism privileged and more or less exclusive ideas, interests and archetypes of our common origin, without eyes reviews thereof" (Taguieff, 2013).

This occupational psychology study, drawing on concepts from political psychology and ethnology, we seem to provide relevant approach to identify the best challenges of this phenomenon.

## 2. Developing a Problematic

A good starting point for this work would be to ask what are the attitudes of business leaders regarding the presence of religion in their structure. We also thought appropriate to pose the problem in terms of political psychology, for reasons that we will explain immediately.

### 2.1 The Contribution of Political Psychology to Our Theme

Carl Schmitt enables us to grasp the specificity of the political report by distinguishing it from other social relations:

*"Suppose the fundamental distinctions are in the moral order, good and evil; the beautiful and the ugly in the aesthetic; in economic, useful and harmful or, for example, profitable and non-profitable. The question then arises whether there is a policy for the simple criterion that distinguishes itself of the same nature, similar to previous without depend on an autonomous and therefore obvious distinction in itself, and know how it consists."* (Schmitt, 2009, p. 65)

He concludes that *"The specific distinction of the policy, which may bring actions and political motives, is*

*discrimination of friend and enemy.*" (Note 1). Here we have to do a self distinction, since not reducible or determined by another. On the one hand, *"the political enemy is not necessarily bad in the order of morality or ugly in the aesthetic, it does not necessarily play the role of a competitor at the economy, it may even, on occasion, seem advantageous to do business with him "*; on the other, *"the dynamism of the policy can be provided to him by the most diverse sectors of human life [...].The term policy does not designate an own activity area, but only a degree of intensity of an association or dissociation of human beings "*.(Note 2)

So any policy report is by establishing a border: one that defines the order and the limits of a group or community, and those that define its externality. Set the friend of the enemy allows the stabilization of the border but also the construction of political identifications.

We believe that this friend-enemy distinction is entirely appropriate to enter our problem: the corporate world is a system with implicit rules and with a boundary defining what is actually part of what is excluded. The religious fact is it perceived as an enemy of business, threatening its cohesion? The question is legitimate, and this is why political psychology seems to be a useful contribution to our reflection.

Reconcentrons us now on the attitudes of business leaders with regard to religion in their organization.

### 2.2 The Concept of Attitude

To probe the sensitivity of our leaders on our theme, we will seek the concept of Attitude. In social psychology, Attitude is defined as a *"sustainable internal arrangement underpinning the favorable or unfavorable responses of the individual to an object or a social world of the object class"* (Bloch, & al., 2002 ). It thus has an evaluative aspect, and this aspect is central. Traditionally, it is considered that attitude has three components:

- A cognitive component, which includes the views of the subject on the subject of attitude, associations of ideas that this object causes the report that the subject perceives between the object and personal values.
- An affective component, which includes the emotions, feelings, mood states that the subject arouses.
- A conative component, which consists of a disposition to act favorably or unfavorably vis-à-vis the object.

Our original culture determines our vis-à-vis attitudes of a social object. In our study, it will also issue ethnocentrism, since we wish to understand the general attitude of a social group against another group. To better explain our purpose on ethnocentrism, I will take the example of social stereotypes.

### 2.3 Stereotypes and Ethnocentrism

Racism, as an expression of social stereotypes, can be apprehended as a universal attitude of social groups face that is unlike them on ethnic attributes, cultural or national. Here, any ethnic difference has a racial component and attitude then is to "reject out of culture, in nature, everything that does not comply with the standard under which we live" (Levi-Strauss, Structural anthropology II, 1973). This phenomenon is referred to as ethnocentrism.

Any collective representation has this ethnocentric dimension. For example, about ancient societies, is ethnocentrism that best defines the pre-scientific view of man (Leroi-Gourhan, 1983). In many human groups, the only word by which the members designate their ethnic group is the word "men". Thus, the pre-scientific thinker considers the men who are its own ethnic core, beyond which, in halos increasingly distant, appear beings whose humanity is less, and whose manners and appearance appear as the embodiment of evil and ugliness. Besides for primitive, according to Levi-Strauss, which is outside the group is "bad," "evil". Ethnocentrism thus appears as an ambivalent phenomenon, since it expresses both the certainty of the superiority of his group, and secondly a fear or even terror, facing the other judge as threatening the integrity of the group.

Ethnocentrism is especially in our societies, the origin of national and ethnic stereotypes.

Example of ethnocentrism: We can say that each nation tends to consider culture as the best in the world and, as an individual, it is difficult to escape this flattering belief. So when Abbe Chappe d'Autroche, member of the Paris Academy of Sciences, published his Voyage of Siberia (1768), Catherine II of Russia reacts against the book and Commenting on this human weakness: *"I know that well one you made people believe that your country is the center of freedom, while in fact you are subjugated body, soul, heart and mind. Your entire nation feels the freest ever in the universe, why? Is that we taught him to be convinced that it is. The speakers, priests, monks and all the supporters of the state continue to delude this chimera, how to withstand such unanimous testimony."* (Catherine II of Russia & Chappe, 2003).

Of course, this criticism of the Empress is for all peoples of the Earth. So that, despite scientific discourse advocating the recognition of a universal human nature, the human being is endowed with a latent perception that drives him to

renew the differences and restore discrimination with these pairs.

However, stereotypes should not be understood as mere imaginary and illusory designs. Indeed, groups conversing with each other relationships of domination, dependency or contradiction (Anzieu, 1999), social stereotypes then fulfill an ideological function, justifying discrimination and very real conflicts. For example, such a stereotype role will be to justify the domination of one group over another, as we shall see later.

The most striking example of an ethnocentric vision is the phenomenon of colonization, as project of economic and political domination. Here, the settlement enterprise is seen doubly justified by stereotypes:

- The "white man" (the modern archetype of the colonizer), as holder of a superior culture, or even the only true culture, was assigned the task of bringing "civilization" (self-satisfaction of the colonizer);
- The colonized is a lower degree of humanity, despite the uniqueness of its culture, sees himself considered that the unique designation of "native" (devaluation of the colonized).

Stereotypes also have an important role in the conservation of the group. For example, after the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor (signing the entry in war of the United States), the American public has significantly changed his opinion of the nations:

- Deterioration of the image of the Japanese and the Germans, with the emergence of new pejorative (in addition to old) and almost disappearance of favorable adjectives.
- Regarding the allied nations, a reversal of the process was observed.

Thus the question of social identity (Note 3) is inseparable from that of social stereotype: the other is both perceived as what is excluded from the group and as one that the threat of dissolution. This phenomenon occurs especially in community attitudes towards ethnic minorities and more generally explains all the "deviance of stereotypes" striking those who dare violate the social norm.

En outre, les caractères individuel et social du stéréotype se rejoignent autour du concept psychosociologique de rôle. Ainsi, les individus garantissent leur propre statut et l'adhérence à leur propre société en assignant à l'autre un modèle de conduite différent de celui qu'ils partagent, donc un rôle différent du leur.

#### *2.4 Defining the Concept of Ethnocentrism*

As an attitude collective anthropocentric, ethnocentrism is conceived as the rejection of diversity of cultures, whatever the different forms it can take. A Claude Lévi-Strauss to add that it is a "natural phenomenon, resulting from the direct or indirect relationships between societies" (Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, 2003). Ethnocentrism, that is to say, the denial of the "other" cultures, can be manifested in three ways:

- For outright repudiation of other cultures;
- For a negation of culture "other" by assimilating it to itself;
- By submitting culture "other" forms of intellection produced by its own culture.

#### *2.5 Denying the Humanity of the Other*

The negation of cultural forms "other" to that which we identify can be expressed in various ways: it can manifest in a form:

- Or verbal;
- Physical or direct.

In Western civilization, and since ancient Greco-Latin, non-Hellenic peoples were designated indiscriminately as Barbaroi generic term, explicitly expressing repulsion of the Greeks against ways of life, to believe or think which they were unfamiliar. Here, rejection of cultural "other" is directly translated into the language, and the value of a frank denial of non-Greek cultures. Thus, applying without distinction the term "barbarian", Greek deny the same gesture the diversity of other cultures, their own identities and individuals within them.

Similarly, etymologically, the epithet barbaros refers to the inchoate form and bottom of the bird language. Thus, its indiscriminate application to designate any given abroad for symbolic value to refuse a human character language "other" human character that gives the Greek, of course, in his own language. Humanity is thus reduced to just hellenity.

In the same vein, we shall meet again the qualification of "wild" (Latin silvester, adjective denoting everything "forest"). This symbolically rejects in the category of subhuman all individuals and societies to which we attribute a

lifestyle deemed closer to the animal life of human culture. This manifestation of ethnocentrism is thus based on an opposition between nature and culture, and everything is situated on the margins of a system that is the culture of the speaker is defined as "barbaric", "wild".

Besides denying the singularity of the other, as seen above, we can more prosaically initiate a direct destruction of livelihoods of different cultures and survival conditions of the companies that carry them. This way of denying the other in its specific mode of collective existence is referred to as the ethnocide, and is justified by the projection of stereotypes of target companies.

Yet in the eyes of the destructive society, the act of ethnocide appears good, even beneficial, since the affected communities and / or crops are considered "other" inferior, and this inferiority is seen as bad. Specifically, ethnocidal culture considers to be the best representative of the "humanity" of "being," "real" and "good." Hence, they attribute to other cultures a reality, significance, less, less judging, erroneous and sometimes bad.

### *2.6 Assimilate the Other to Ourselves*

We have seen the simplest manifestation of ethnocentrism: outright repudiation of the other forms of culture. Added to this is another form, functioning as a negative relationship assimilating the other to oneself.

Thus, under the terms of ethnocentrism are also consolidated various provisions whose purpose is the negation of one culture by another. The act of negation can target either:

- The very purpose (direct negation of the object);
- The same relationship qu'entretient the speaker to the object. By this act contrarian, the other is deemed not distant, same as prohibiting thereby think the difference and recognize the originality and identity of the other culture.

Examples of such ethnocentrism are visible through some "measures" of assimilation of cultural and / or ethnic minorities adopted by some countries. So assimilationist practices often reflect an ethnocentric vision and impose, by political or administrative decision, the rules of one culture over another. Moreover, the will of assimilation among the proponents of a culture based on a number of misconceptions: the speaker believes that such a different culture is a "stage" of lower civilization, and should climb to a stage most advanced civilization. That of course speaker.

Furthermore, the data specific to the culture "other" (natural, lifestyle and cultural expressions) are considered negligible and are ignored if not totally ignored. This kind of stereotype is based on a false evolutionism based on two assumptions:

- There would civilizational stages, and assuming the existence of lower civilizations;
- The ability to change the cultural envelope, that is to say that culture is experienced as an envelope, some interchangeable.

Thus, the other is assimilated seen as "lesser self" and the distance between two cultures information is denied, as if we did not recognize the existence of different cultures systems hers.

### *2.7 Ethnocentrism by Scientific Reductionism*

Beyond ethnocentrism by repudiation or assimilation, there is a third way, more subtle, and as a scientific discourse subjecting cultural data to other categories of intellection produced by the culture of the speaker.

For example, Wittgenstein denounces, in his Notes on The Golden Bough, ethnocentrism British ethnologist Frazer. Indeed, it was intended to "explain primitive uses" as strange practices deemed "so to speak, as nonsense," as some magical behaviors considered errors because "ineffective." Wittgenstein denounce these intellectual weaknesses, particularly in Frazer, explaining "his inability to understand another life that English life of his time."

Levi-Strauss will present the idea of a cultural evolutionism like a philosophical myth, produced by an erroneous projection of biological data on the social, as if assumptions about the evolution of animal species could be used to explain human societies (Lévi-Strauss, structural Anthropology, 2003).

Thus, an explanation reducing other crops under the categories produced by and for one of them shows a lack of respect to cultural specificities to hers and others belonging to other cultural systems. Instead, it only manifests the impossibility of conceiving the other outside of our cultural frame of reference.

### *2.8 Ethnocentrism and Ethnocide*

The ethnocentrism is observable in every human culture, and every culture operates a division of mankind into two parts:

- On the one hand, itself, convinced of being the representation par excellence of human claiming the superiority of its cultural self;
- On the other, the different cultures involved negligibly to humanity and not recognized as equals.

Thus, ethnocentrism appears as an immanent property culture itself, as a formal principle to any culture. The culture is ethnocentric essence, and every culture considers culture par excellence. So we understand any cultural otherness as being less of a hierarchical axis.

We have seen that for every human being, the Other, that is certainly the difference, but it is especially bad difference. Ethnocidal practice based on two axioms:

1. There is a hierarchy of crops, some being lower, other upper.
2. Western culture holds absolute superiority over others and can not speak with other than a negation of relationship. However, it perceives this as a positive denial, since it wants to rise to the next level by removing other cultures that it considers inferior.

In this perspective, ethnocide is a necessary task and indeed required by humanism at the heart of Western culture. "The spirituality of ethnocide is the humanism of ethics" (Clastres, 2014).

### 3. Problem and Hypotheses

The purpose of this paper is to determine, among business representatives, the underlying attitude in making any decision, any arbitration in respect of the theme of multiculturalism, especially religion .

In theoretical part, we have highlighted a cultural bias, called ethnocentrism, which compromises this decision. Representatives of company are they aware? They come to make sense of things? Do they show neutral, impartial?

We ask this question: "The attitudes of business representatives they favor the inclusion of religion in their structure?"

According to our previous reflections, so we assume that: "In institutions, business representatives are evidence of ethnocentrism in respect of multiculturalism. "

### 4. Methodology

#### 4.1 Sample

During the study, we interviewed, individually:

- A Human Resources Manager for a multinational, with subsidiaries around the world, and exceeds the 10,000 employees;
- An IRP, staff representative and union of a large French group;
- A lawyer labor law / social law.

We also asked a class of new management students of different nationalities (Asia, Latin America, etc.).

#### 4.2 Material

We tried to develop a maintenance approach to capture, indirectly, the attitude of the interviewees towards multiculturalism and religion business. In addition, we chose open questions, because on one hand, we wanted to have the most information possible, and secondly, given the sensitive topic, we wanted to observe how easily the interviewees able to talk. Finally, we have adapted the language used depending on the interviewees.

1st question: "Should there be a management of religion in organizations? "

First, the term "religious fact" is deliberately vague so as not to induce interviewed on stigmatization practices, leaving the topics discussed some himself.

Then the term "management", for lack of a better term, has been preserved in the statement. We are well aware that the term might offend some people, but again, for lack of a better term, we could not do otherwise. Moreover, it is the term used within the institutions.

2<sup>ème</sup> question : « Y a-t-il un interlocuteur privilégié, au sein de minorité culturelle, afin de négocier une gestion du fait religieux au sein des entreprises ? »

Here, we seek more information, especially on the cognitive and conative components of attitude.

For example, the Roman Catholic Church and the Muslim Faith are very different in their organization. Thus, the trap for a Westerner would project the operation of the ECR, with the bishops, the pope, etc., on the Muslim Faith, and therefore to project cultures and systems on a world that does not fall . Or even to try to reproduce a Western European model and on different cultures and spiritualities.

Thus, the answers to this statement is often indicative of an ethnocentric attitude.

*4.3 Proceedings*

Originally scheduled to last 45 minutes, the length of the interviews has been very variable, depending on the caller. In addition, interviews were logged in to then be transcribed.

Once it completed, we conducted a qualitative content analysis to determine the attitude and ideological position of interviewees. To do this, we undertook a logical and aesthetic analysis.

*4.4 Variables*

*Independent variables*

In this study, we identified two independent variables:

- The attitudinal inclination with respect to the inclusion of religion in organizations: {favorable; unfavorable}.
- The presence of ethnocentrism markers in the speech: {presence; absence}.

*4.5 Dependant Variables*

Our study has only one dependent variable: the profile of the representative with regard to the topic asked. The croisement our variables could give us four profiles:

	Favorable attitude towards the inclusion of religion in the organization	Unfavorable attitude towards the inclusion of religion in the organization
The presence of ethnocentrism markers in speech	Favorable and ethnocentric attitude	Unfavorable attitudes and ethnocentric
The lack of ethnocentrism markers in speech	Favorable and not ethnocentric attitude	Unfavorable and not ethnocentric attitude

However, our approach is not so much whether the proportion of each of these profiles but rather to understand how each profile reasons. Our sample is not, in any event, not enough extended or representative in order to conduct further statistical investigation.

**5. Results**

*5.1 Attitude*

*5.1.1 A Social Desirability Bias*

Regarding the attitude of the interviewees, their speech is full of vis-à-vis the multiculturalism and tolerance of religion within the company. However, this tolerance is displayed, it seems a facade. Indeed, the discourse of the interviewees is punctuated with hesitations, reformulations, genes. Thus, the subject is not addressed spontaneously and is subject to extreme caution.

In addition, when the interview ended and we decide to stop recording, the interlocutors tend to let their guard down and address the theme more freely, with more hostile view multiculturalism. In some interviews, this difference was significant.

So we can assume the existence of a social desirability bias when the subject of multiculturalism in business is discussed. Moreover, we can say that social desirability is aware, since after stopping the tape recorder, the tension around the subject was released and then we had a different tune.

*5.1.2 A Taboo Topic*

In order to acquire information on the subject, we often gain the trust of the interviewee.

First, the interviewees, even being fully aware of the anonymous nature of our conversations were taking if the role of the agent is well say public relations and especially were careful to say nothing embarrassing. They were speaking on behalf of the group, and their words seemed to assert that there was no manifestation of religious facts in their business.

Then, over the interview was stretched over the interlocutor revealed some anecdotes, facts considered non-significant, although showing the existence of religion in their business.

Finally, it appears that the subject is clearly evident in organizations. However, this is often reported as isolated cases, not representative of reality. In addition, we interviewed admitted that the phenomenon is concealed, and even they did not know everything, far from it because these are facts that are difficult to quantify and not always go back to directions.

So we could see that our study subject was surrounded by a taboo. Thus, we can conclude that the representatives attitudinal unfavorable trend towards the inclusion of religion in organizations. However, at present, we do not know how much.

## *5.2 Ethnocentrism*

### *5.2.1 The Perception of the Phenomenon*

As a phenomenon, the manifestation of religious facts in companies is seen as something relatively new in France. However, we know that this is not entirely accurate, since during the first wave of immigration, at the request of large French companies, arrangements and accommodation took place. Thus, there was, for example, prayer rooms in some major automotive companies in France. However, these accommodations were underground and involved a certain unspoken.

### *5.2.2 Distinction between Laicity and Atheism*

The people we interviewed are called openly for some to secular values, thus advocating the independence of their organization in respect of religion. However, for them, secularism is expressed by an anticlericalism, indicating some confusion of terms. Being secular is to be indifferent to religion, and not be enemies. Thus we find a combination that could have certain consequences. A doctrine says when atheist denies the existence of God, which makes the atheist an anti-theist, that is to say an enemy of God (Ortigue, 2014), where anticlericalism . We can not, on one hand, advocate secular values, and the other anti-religious values.

### *5.2.3 The Infra-Humanization of Believers*

Besides the anti-clerical position displayed by our interviewees, we observed a clear home infra humanization of religious people or dehumanizing.

So we learn in particular that Muslim employees who wish to pray during their break are able to do on the car park. This is even present as a good thing, because at least the employees have the opportunity to pray.

Less significant an infra humanization, we can still note that religious symbols are banned in the workplace, except when they are related to jewelry. Thus, symbolically, spiritualism is tolerated when equivalent to a materialism.

### *5.2.4 Fear of Proselytizing*

Through the interviews, we found the lack of a will to conciliation in respect of religion within companies. The reason is simple: officials fear the penetration of religious proselytizing in their structure. This is also closer to the anti-clerical attitude displayed by most of the representatives we met.

Similarly, they have difficulty conceiving, in the West, the emergence of a unionism that would claim Islam. For them, it is not conceivable. Yet there was a Christian unionism, which still exists elsewhere. Indeed, the social doctrine of the Catholic Church has had a considerable weight in the development of social thought in the world. Thus, the Western syndicalism exudes a kind of Christian sensibility. Thus, we can clearly see a sign of ethnocentrism at work here.

### *5.2.5 Ignorance of the Muslim World*

Despite the fact that part of the French population is Arab-Muslim origin, for repatriation, or are Maghrebian youth whose families of origin and are thus fully into these cultures, we found that interviewed had a real ignorance of the Arab-Muslim world.

This lack of knowledge is expressed for example in the projection of the structures of the Roman Catholic Church on that of the Muslim Faith. Thus some imagine as a Concordat in front of them, a Muslim church, a Muslim pope and

the bishops. Yet it can not exist in the Arab-Muslim world and the Muslim religion.

Thus, many secularists in French society have led the Roman Catholic Church and think through its prism. They want to create the equivalent to the Arab-Muslim world. Except that in trying to reproduce a Western and European model of cultures and spiritualities that are not native, we risk having a total drop compared to a population. Including Muslims who seem to say that in some cases the institutions of representation of the Muslim Faith, are not representations: they are employees. So, do not want to project cultures and systems on a world that did not fall.

Thus, there is important work for knowledge and dialogue that was not done and must be done.

## 6. Discussion

Our hypothesis: "In organisations, representatives are evidence of ethnocentrism in respect of multiculturalism." Sees validated. The representatives also have an unfavorable attitude toward the religious fact within organizations, concealed by a tolerant attitude but full of social desirability speech.

Our research suggests potential applications about the inclusion of religion in organizations. Corporate representatives who are not aware of their lack of neutrality as regards the treatment of multiculturalism, prevention work could be done. In addition, as demonstrated below, the subject is largely taboo in organizations, and a working dialogue is set up. This seems necessary because religious facts events are underestimated, which could have negative consequences within organizations.

In this preventive work, the work of psychologist could play a leading role. Moreover, it could possibly have a role in any negotiations about the religious fact in organizations.

Our study was performed on too few subjects Unfortunately, because delegates are a difficult people to interview, and the argument of lack of time is often intervened to avoid a conversation. When they had the time, it was at a luncheon, which largely compromised methodology and conduct interviews. However, we have never refused these terms of meeting, even if we have not included them in this study.

Another limitation: the difficulty in developing a diagnostic method of ethnocentrism. The talks have yet been very interesting or revealing. But as we have seen, a number of means, such as social desirability, require large part to interpretation. For example, during some interviews, we had to wait for the decision of this tape for the other person speaks freely and reveals the depths of his thought.

We also noted the difficulties in quantifying the phenomenon of our study. The subject, when treated, is the underground way and is part of an unsaid. Moreover, the representatives do not really know what goes on this in their organization, creating a nebula.

The sociologist Michel Maffesoli, in his book *The narrow France: the face of secular fundamentalism, community ideal* (1995), sheds light on our study phenomenon today, community and religious identity has become a factor recognition, dignity, and even claim and affirmation. And perhaps even of affirmation against the French Republic, the institutions and principles.

On one hand, we have people proud of claiming an identity, of belonging to a religion. On the other side, this can be extremely dangerous when it can challenge the institutions or even the basic principles of a Republic. Maffesoli tells us that "recognizing community affection avoids communitarian excesses." (Maffesoli & Strohl, 2015, p. 83)

When Maffesoli speaks of communitarian excesses, he talks about the risks of modernity. This attempt to domesticate or suppress our community trends. But these trends, constitutive of the human being, so that can not be repressed, expressed himself in a roundabout way, even perverse and become unstoppable. In summary, we could say that trying too hard to evacuate the animal in us, we create a breeding ground for bestiality. We must therefore take into account this community phenomenon, frame, otherwise it could become dangerous. Unfortunately, there is a real taboo on this subject, as we have seen.

## 7. Conclusion

This research has allowed us to make a first state of play of the religious fact in organizations. This phenomenon undoubtedly exists, even if we have difficulties at present to measure the extent and quantify.

In addition, we could demonstrate the existence of bias in consideration, by company representatives, thus religious. Indeed, the phenomenon is seen through a cultural prism, ethnocentrism, which makes us overlook or ignore other

cultural realities to ours. Thus, the part of our representatives, ignorance of the Muslim world is lined with a projection of how our Western model on their own. There is not only an ignorance: there is an illusion of knowledge, which is probably more problematic.

Finally, we have seen a widespread confusion in French society between secular values and atheistic values. The corollary of this finding, that public and private institutions may have become a bastion of atheism, with a claimed anticlericalism, which is of course contrary to republican values.

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## Notes

Note 1. Ibid., p. 66.

Note 2. Ibid., p. 79.

Note 3. Caractéristiques identitaires qu'un groupe social attribut à un autre groupe (Lipiansky, 2005).