

**ANALYSIS OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS ON FRANCE  
GOVERNMENT'S SPEECH ACT AND POLICIES RELATED TO ACTIONS OF  
TERRORISM 2020**

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**Abstract**

Terrorism is not only categorized as a national crime, but it's categorized as a transnational crime because acts of terror can raise threats and fears that spread to all levels of society. Acts of terrorism have been going on in countries around the world, one of them being France. The acts of terror against Samuel Paty and the Notre Dame Basilica Church, which were based on the motive of defending Islam, made the French government take firm steps to eradicate terrorism. The French Government did controversial things and raised pros and cons. The research method used in this research is library research with sentiment analysis theory. This research focuses on how domestic and international reactions are towards speech acts and policies towards acts of terrorism in 2020. This research found that the French government's controversial actions have earned France a negative response from the national and international society. The author suggests that the French government should be wiser in dealing with everything

in the country, knowing Domestic policies often corner one party, causing chaos, both at the domestic and international levels.

***Keyword: Terrorism, France, Speech Act, Policies, Reaction***

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Terrorism is one of the most troubling issues of transnational crime. Encyclopedia Britannica defined terrorism as a form of threat or violence in order to create fear among a wide society (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2024). Meanwhile, the UN defines terrorism under Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) as “criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intention of causing death or serious injury, or taking hostages, with the aim of creating a state of terror in the general public or a group of people or certain individuals, intimidating a society or coercing government or international”. So we can conclude that terrorism is any action that results in loss, whether death, injury or other losses with the aim of creating public terror so as to force the government or international government to act according to the request of the terrorist.

This causes uncertainty, anxiety, and fear that threatens the safety of all levels of society. The main goal of the perpetrators of terrorism is to force the opposing party to acknowledge and agree with the interests of the terrorist group (Mustofa, 2002, 31). One of the most famous acts of terrorism was the bombing of the World Trade Center (WTC) in The United States on September 11, 2001, which Islam was accused of being the main actor in this act of terrorism. This gave rise to the phenomenon of Islamophobia (fear and hatred of Islam) and spread widely not only in the US, but almost all over the world, including France (Ainurrafiq, 2019).

Based on Al Jazeera, France is one of the countries with the most followers of Islam in Europe, around 5.7 million people (Al Jazeera, 2020). The increasing number of Muslims, especially the large number of Muslim immigrants entering France, has caused the French government and people to worry about their safety (Ainurrafiq, 2019). This anxiety increased when a history teacher, Samuel Paty, was murdered by a Chechen

immigrant, Abdoullakh Abouyezidovitch, on 16 October 2020, because he showed the caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad in his class, as a form of freedom of expression. This murder action attracted national attention of France, some people asked for justice for Samuel Paty, because Paty only teaches freedom of expression. Meanwhile, others argue that showing cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad is part of an insult to Muslims (Mawaahib, 2022).

Before the case occurred, President Emmanuel Macron looked to be in opposition to Islam and said some things that tended to discredit Islam, thus inviting many pros and cons among French society. Macron said that Islam is a religion that is experiencing a crisis throughout the world. He also mentioned that there is potential for separatism in the French Islamic community, so it needs to be fought. The speech also showed that Macron had lost faith in French Muslim society and was worried that Islam would pose a threat to his country (Iza et al., 2022).

Three days after Paty's Murder, on October 19 2020, acts of terrorism continued with the killing of 3 people around the Notre Dame Basilica Church in the City of Nice. This murder caused fear in the French public even greater. Furthermore, Macron and other ranks of the French Government formulated the Anti-Separatism Bill, which aims to eliminate the roots of extremism and separatism (Iza et al., 2022). However, several articles in the bill caused a lot of controversy at the national and international levels, because several articles were considered discrimination, especially against Muslims (Kasehage, 2021).

Islamophobia in France is increasing year by year due to several internal and external factors. Internal factors that cause Islamophobia include cases of theoreticalism in France and The Principle of Laïcité Secularism.<sup>1</sup> Apart from that, there are also several external factors that have increased the phenomenon of Islamophobia in France, namely immigrant terrorists, such as those who attacked Charlie Hebdo, as well as the influence of the 9/11 case.

In this article, the author will focus on the response directed by the domestic and international community towards Macron and the French Government's *speech act* and policies. First, We will understand each policy issued by the French Government. Then, We will begin to see how the response is given by the French national and the international society. The urgency of this research is because terrorism is an issue that has always been in the international spotlight and is often associated with Islam, thus increasing Islamophobia. France, as a secular country with a huge Muslim population, also faces a big challenge in balancing secular values and religious values. The successive threats of terrorism have certainly increased suspicion of Islamic extremism. Furthermore, this research is also important to see how the speech act of a figure and domestic policies can influence people's attitudes and behavior, not only at the national level, but also at international level.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Securitization can also be understood as a "speech act", meaning that there is an action by an actor who labels an issue to become a security issue. From Buzan's book with the title "Security: A New Framework for Analysis", Speech act is not used to assess the level of danger of an object, but aims to understand the process of building shared understanding what should be collectively considered and responded to as a threat (Buzan, 1998, 26). In this research, the "speech act" that will be used as the focus of research is the statements and speeches said by President Emmanuel Macron. The statements and speeches issued by Macron can be said to have been intersubjective towards an issue which eventually turned this issue into an issue of French state security.

A similar study by Nida Iza, Mohammad Rosyidin, and Reni Windiani on 2022, has conducted an analysis similar to this study. The similarities in research are on the issues Emmanuel Macron speech act against muslim in France. Both studies will look at this case by the impact that occurred from the activities of President Emmanuel Macron during the drafting of anti-separatism laws for acts of terrorism that occurred in France. The difference that can be seen from the two studies is the difference in the research focus.

Nida Iza's research looks at the scope of illegal immigrants while this research will look at the scope of policies and reactions to these policies from the domestic level to the international level. With these two studies, journals discussing the topic of speech acts conducted by Emmanuel Macron can have a broader discussion. The two new studies look at an issue from the scope of illegal immigrants and government policies (Iza et al., 2022).

In Iza et al's research, it was said that Emmanuel Macron had once carried out a speech act to Muslims in France. This means that this behavior has attracted public attention. Therefore, our research will complement previous research, because it will discuss how speech acts and policies carried out by the French Government can cause domestic and international reactions.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Sentiment Analysis**

In Kautish's book it is said that Sentiment Analysis can be used to analyze three types of information, namely in the form of Text, Images, and Multimodal. The text referred to in Kautish's book is not standard text but rather someone's opinion on the internet regarding a particular topic, for this research the writer will look for opinion data on the internet regarding speech acts issued by President Emmanuel Macron. This study will use Sentiment Analysis in Text and use four ways of collecting data as described above and will be adjusted to the data found (Kautish, 2017). Sentiment analysis is the process of using text analytics to obtain various data sources from the internet and various social media platforms. The goal is to get opinions from users who are on the platform. Sentiment analysis is a field of Natural Language Processing (NLP) that builds a system to recognize and extract opinions in text form. Information in the form of text is currently widely available on the internet in the format of forums, blogs, social media, and sites with reviews. With the help of sentiment analysis, previously unstructured information can be transformed into more structured data. The data can explain public opinion about products, brands, services, politics, or other topics. Companies,

governments, and other fields then use these data to make marketing analysis, product reviews, product feedback, and community services. In order to generate the required opinion, sentiment analysis must not only be able to identify opinions from texts. This process, which is also known as opinion mining, also needs to work by recognizing three aspects, namely subject, polarity, and opinion holders. Sentiment analysis will then differentiate the text into two categories, namely facts and opinions. Facts are objective expressions about something. While opinion is a subjective expression that describes sentiments, feelings, and appreciation of something (Bahrawi,2019).

Sentiment analysis has four types of data collection, namely: First, fine-grained sentiment analysis, The focus is on the degree of polarity of opinion. This type of sentiment analysis will classify responses or opinions into several categories such as very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, and negative. Second, emotion detection, identifying emotions further than categorizing them as positive and negative. For example, feelings of sadness, anger, happiness, and others. Third, intent-based analysis, identify, and dig deeper into the motivation behind user messages to see if they include complaints, suggestions, opinions, questions or even appreciation. Last, aspect-based analysis, focuses on more specific elements (Techtarget, 2021). In this research, Sentiment Analysis was used to identify statements and speech acts issued by President Emmanuel Macron on the issue of acts of terrorism in France. President Emmanuel Macron's statement will be analyzed for its intentions, motivations and tendencies in a negative or positive direction in this case.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach and proves that the securitization carried out by the French government has received domestic and international responses. In this case, domestic and international responses are described in the concept of sentiment analysis. In the previous section, there was literature discussing the securitization carried out by the French government, namely by drafting

an Anti-separatism bill. Thus, this study seeks to fill this gap by providing an analysis of domestic and international responses.

The research method that will be used in this research is study literature or library research. Library research is defined as a method for obtaining research data by utilizing library sources, so that researchers do not need to conduct field research (Zed, 2014). In this study, data collection used secondary sources, such as journal articles, online news, French Government official website, and archived interviews with the French citizen. Furthermore, these sources will be analyzed critically and in depth, so this research can provide valid results.

## **RESULT AND ANALYSIS**

### **A. Internal Factors**

#### **1. Terrorism in France**

France is facing serious problems related to acts of terrorism. Acts of terrorism have frequently occurred over the past 10 years, starting with the throwing of a Molotov cocktail into the editorial office of Charlie Hebdo magazine by a group of people on November 2, 2011. This attack was triggered by Charlie Hebdo magazine which used a caricature of the Prophet Muhammad as the front cover of the magazine. The following year, Muhammad Merah killed three parachutists, a Jewish priest, and three Jewish students in Toulouse, South France. It was alleged that the perpetrator belonged to an Islamic extremist group, Al-Qaeda (Kompas TV, 2020).

The peak of terrorism in France occurred on 7-9 January 2015 when the office of Charlie Hebdo magazine became the target of an attack and shooting by two immigrants from Algeria named Chérif and Saïd Kouachi, who were armed and affiliated with the Al-Qaeda terrorist group. This attack killed 11 people, including journalists, cleaners, and police (BBC, 2015). This incident brought domestic and international attention. Many demonstrations took place condemning acts of terrorism that were considered not to reflect the freedom of expression.

The case of terrorism shocked France and the world again in October 2020 when two acts of terrorism occurred in succession. The first incident occurred on October 16 2020 killing a history and geography teacher at a secondary school in Conflans-Sainte-Honorine named Samuel Paty. This incident began when Samuel Paty in a free speech class showed a satirical caricature of the Prophet Muhammad published by Charlie Hebdo magazine. Paty asked students who felt offended or surprised by his caricatures to close their eyes or leave the class for a while while he was showing the caricatures. This incident triggered Abdullah Anzorov to take revenge by beheading Samuel Paty while shouting 'Allahu Akbar' (Rahim, 2020). 13 days later, or to be precise on October 29, 2020, another act of terrorism occurred at the Notre-Dame Basilica in Nice. The perpetrator is known as Brahim Aouissaoui, a Tunisian citizen who entered France illegally via Italy. This attack resulted in the death of 3 church members (Willsher, 2020).

Successive acts of terrorism over the past few years have awakened the French government to immediately take decisive action to securitize France and French society. In addition, acts of terrorism that are often related to Islam and Muslims have caused the friction between Muslim immigrants and French society to worsen. Macron said in his speech that he had a plan to defend France's secular values against what he termed as "Islamist radicalism". In addition, he also said that Islam as a religion is in crisis. Therefore, the French government under Macron's leadership made several policies to stop acts of terrorism (Al Jazeera, 2020).

## **2. The Principle of *Laïcité* Secularism**

From a historical point of view, France was a predominantly Catholic country before it was finally torn down by the French revolution. At first, the Catholic church gained a strategic position under French rule and received special privileges such as being given tax relief and land ownership (Basri, 2022). As a result, the Catholic church acted arbitrarily in the administration of the state and withdrew funds from French society under the pretext of God's command. In 1790, the Catholic church also became a victim of the French revolution where the law of *the Civil Constitution*



*of the Clergy* abolished all land ownership rights of the Catholic church because it was considered corrupt and had close ties to the monarchy. Then in 1801, Napoleon Bonaparte launched The Concordat of 1801 which contained the return to allow the Catholic church to hold public worship and repay priests and bishops. At the end of the 19th century, the Catholic church was again involved in political affairs and identified as reactionary and conservative who wanted a return to a hierarchical society (Basri, 2022).

During the reign of Emile Combes, the rules regarding the relationship between church and state were completely changed. The Concordat of 1801 was abolished and replaced with *Loi concernant la Séparation des Eglises et de L'etat*, namely the law that separates religion from the state where the state no longer recognizes any religion, does not subsidize the church, and does not pay priests of any religion. It is this separation of religion from the state that creates the principle of secularism or in French it is called *Laïcité*. *Laïcité* is a fundamental principle in public law and French public life to this day. This principle aims to free or prevent religious interference in public spaces such as state institutions including educational institutions and to give freedom to the people to believe or not to believe in a religion. In addition, the French government also upholds freedom of expression for French people with the aim of maintaining national unity. One manifestation of this *Laïcité* principle is the prohibition of using religious symbols in public spaces because religion is considered a private sphere (Basri, 2022).

In his speech responding to the terrorism that occurred in France, Emmanuel Macron alluded to the *Laïcité* Principle. Macron believes that this principle must be upheld so that acts of terrorism are no longer repeated. He said he would continue to strongly defend secularism in France using the law. Initially, the *Laïcité* Principle was used to view all humans as equal, regardless of religion or belief. However, currently the *Laïcité* Principle in France has become a political tool and is a threat to religious freedom and human rights. Even Macron used this situation to gain voters for France Election 2022, and secularism principle became his strength (Alpaugh,

2021). The presence of religious elements in the public sphere has created opportunities for religious extremists to spread radical ideas that lead to acts of terrorism. On the other hand, the principle of *Laïcité* also causes Islamophobia in French society to spread more and more. Most of the terror incidents in the name of religion made people aware that religion had to be a private sphere because it could harm other people if it was brought into the public domain.

## **B. External Factors**

### **1. Immigrant Terrorist: Charlie Hebdo Case**

In 2015, there was a terrorist attack targeting one of the well-known magazine offices in Paris, Charlie Hebdo, which attracted public attention not only in France but also internationally. The terrorist attack lasted for 3 days, from January 7 to January 9 2015 and killed at least 9 victims, including police who were on duty. The motive for this act of terrorism is revenge and an act of defending Islam, because Charlie Hebdo had published caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad, which is clearly prohibited in Islam. (Walklate & Mythen, 2016).

There are several people suspected of being the perpetrators of the Charlie Hebdo attack, including Said Kouachi, Cherif Kouachi, and Hamyd Mourad. Said and Cherif Kouachi are two brothers who are French citizens and were born in Paris, but their parents were Algerians and immigrants to France before Said and Cherif were born. Neighbors testified that Said was an introvert and religious person. However, Said was involved in the radical Islamic movement in 2005 and joined the Al-Qaeda organization in 2011. His older brother, Cherif, was also the center of attention because he was involved in smuggling illegal war soldiers from France to Iraq in 2008. Because of this case, he was sentenced to 3 years in prison (Walklate & Mythen, 2016). Along with the Charlie Hebdo attack, there was also an attack on a supermarket in France that killed 4 victims. The perpetrator named Amedy Coulibaly who is a French citizen and has Malian descent. Amedy Coulibaly has a close

relationship with the Kouachi brothers and is a member of the radical Islamic group Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (The Counter Extremism Project, n.d.).

From the explanation above, the perpetrators have the same background and motive. The perpetrators have a Muslim family background and are descendants of immigrants. From the criminal track record, the perpetrators are also affiliated with radical Islamic groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS. Muslim immigrants in France belong to religious associations that are more likely to teach radical Islamic ideology. This is a very strong consideration for the French Government in forming policies regarding prohibition for Muslim immigrants to enter France's territory. Moreover, because of the fear that spread throughout French society, the government had to develop a strategy to secure its people.

## **2. 9/11 and Islamophobia in France**

As previously explained, the WTC attack caused Islam to be seen as a religion full of violence and radicalism. This stigma is not only in the US, but also spreads around the world, including in France. George W. Bush, US President at that time, conveyed an invitation to the world community to fight all forms of terrorism. He also said that the attack on the WTC was the act of the Al-Qaeda terrorist group and accused Osama bin Laden of being the main terrorist actor (Ainurrafiq, 2019). The French media covering the tragedy caused Islamophobia to become more widespread. Terror and Islam are often associated with one another and cause French society to become anti-Islam (Ainurrafiq, 2019).

Islamophobia in France was increasingly evident, as can be seen in the period 2003 to 2004, CCIF reported that there were 182 Islamophobic acts in France such as physical attacks, attacks on mosques, vandalism of graves, and the closure of Islamic religious projects (Amrad, 2020). Other acts of Islamophobia include fear of Islamic attributes, such as the hijab, veil, men with beards and other symbols that are closely related to Islam. Some French people do not know Islam well, so when they read the news that discredits Islam, they are easily influenced. Some people even argue that Islam is an enemy that can disturb the security of life and must disappear from France.

This concern is increasing because of the increasing population of France who are Muslims (Ainurrafiq, 2019).

### **C. Speech Act by Emmanuel Macron and France Government's New Policies**

There have been several acts of French terrorism linked to immigrants and Muslims, prompting President Emmanuel Macron to voice a narrative and policies that are tougher and uphold the principles of secularism in France. On October 2, 2020, at Lex Meurau, Macron said that *"Islam is a religion that is currently experiencing a crisis all over the world. We're not just seeing it in our country"* (Élysée, 2020). The use of the word "crisis" in referring to the current state of Islam creates a negative perspective that Islam can endanger the existence of the world, including France.

In the same speech, the expression of the desire to eliminate radical Islamic thought from France and replace it with laïcité or secularism is seen in macron's sentences *"What we must tackle is Islamist separatism. A conscious, theorized, political-religious project is materializing through repeated deviations from the Republic's values"; "The problem is this ideology, which claims that its own laws are superior to the Republic's.... I'm asking every citizen, of all religions and none, to abide wholeheartedly by all the Republic's laws"* (Élysée, 2020).

Furthermore, Macron mentioned that radical Islamic groups try to uphold Islamic values in society, rejecting freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, and the right to commit religious blasphemy, or even leading to bloodshed. Macron also said that *"This new awakening is about all citizens and a France united in support of its values. The more our enemies try to pit us against one another, the more we'll be drawn together. The more they try to destroy us, the more we'll stand together"* (Élysée, 2020). Macron's speech drew a negative response from Islamic figures such as the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the President of Turkey, Erdogan, who considered the speech to encourage Islamophobia by cornering Islam and Muslims as perpetrators of terrorism.

The narrative against the Islamic separatist movement has been increasingly intensified by Macron after the murder of Samuel Paty and the attack on the church in Nice. At the tribute ceremony for Samuel Paty which took place at the Sorbonne University, Macron showed his anger and seriousness about eradicating terrorism by saying that *"This evening I won't speak about the fight against political, radical Islamism, which leads to terrorism. I've said what I had to say. I've given the evil a name. We've decided what action to take, we've made it tougher and will complete it"* (Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères, 2020). Moreover, Macron said that Samuel Paty was the face of the republic because he taught republican values, namely freedom of expression. *"So why was Samuel killed? Why?....After all, he wasn't the Islamists' main target, he was simply teaching. He wasn't an enemy of the religion they exploit: he had read the Koran, he respected his students whatever their beliefs and was interested in Muslim civilization"* (Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères, 2020). Macron clearly points to "Islamists" as the killers. The sentence is an insinuation shown by Macron to Muslims who question why good people like Paty can be cruelly killed for no apparent reason. The French government will try to eradicate terrorism as stated by Macron *"On Friday, Samuel Paty became the face of the Republic, of our determination to disrupt terrorists, to curtail Islamists, to live as a community of free citizens in our country"* (Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères, 2020). Apart from that, Macron will continue to keep France free by continuing to promote the concept of laïcité secularism and liberating the use of cartoons and drawings. Macron also promised to take firm steps against Islamic extremists such as closing mosques and religious organizations suspected of spreading radicalism (Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères, 2020).

A few days after delivering a speech honoring Samuel Paty, Macron delivered another speech in response to the attack on the church in Nice. Macron said that *"once again, our country has been struck by an islamist terror attack"* (Willsher, 2020). Macron expressed his support for Catholics who are victims of attacks for the second time after the previous one in 2016, as well as concern for the citizens of Nice who are victims of the stupidity of Islamic terrorists. The French government firmly stated *"If we've been*

*attacked again, it's because of our values; our taste for freedom, the possibility there is here to believe freely and to not give in to any terror"* (Willsher, 2020). The speech re-emphasized the French government's determination to eliminate terror by Islamist. France will increase security and call on the French people to unite as a national community.

As Macron has stated, France will do anything to protect its citizens, including reforming the law which is considered to provide an opening for acts of terrorism. The Minister of the Interior of France, Gerald Darmanin then proposed a bill known as "Anti-Separatism Bill". This bill was approved by the National Assembly on February 16, 2021 and contains regulations on online hate speech, funding of religious associations and mosques. The bill was passed by the senate in march 2021 and was renamed "Reinforcing the respect for the principles of the Republic and the fight against separatism" (Iza et al., 2022). However, this Anti-Separatism Bill sparked controversy in French society since it contained seven articles that were considered discriminatory against Muslims.

The first article is about the prohibition of homeschooling except for medical reasons, disability, homelessness, people whose homes are too far from school, sports practice, and the arts. It was also stated that every child who takes homeschooled will be given a special national identity number which ensures that all children can access education. This is in line with Macron's speech about separatism where many Muslim children go to modest schools that only teach religious education without citizenship education, and France's efforts to reform education (Iza et al., 2022).

The second article is about the supervision of religious organizations. Any organization that receives public funding is required to sign a 'republican contract of engagement' which contains agreement on republican values. If the agreement is violated, then the funds will be revoked by the government. Furthermore, the dissolution of the organization is no longer restricted based on a court order. Still related to the previous article, the third article contains supervision of religious practices and places of worship. Authorities were permitted to close places of worship for up to

two months if they were found to be spreading hate speech. Furthermore, convicted terrorists are prohibited from leading religious organizations for 10 years. The fourth article is about foreign funding for religious organizations. Organizations receiving funding from abroad of more than 10,000 euros must declare and issue an annual account to the government. This is to minimize religious organizations obtaining foreign funding to carry out acts of terrorism (Iza et al., 2022).

The fifth article concerns the spread of hate speech on the internet. Dissemination of personal information, by a person's family to harm them, carries a penalty of up to 3 years and a fine of 45,000 euros. In addition, internet sites that promote hate speech will be blocked or removed and the legal process will be simplified. The next article deals with virginity, polygamy, and forced marriage. Health workers are prohibited from providing a 'certificate of virginity which is usually used as a condition for proposing marriage. Failure to do so will result in a fine of 15,000 euros and a prison term of up to one year. Immigrants who practice polygamy will not be granted a residence permit (Yeung, 2021). Besides, NGOs in France are authorized to report allegations of forced marriage practices. The last article is about the prohibition of religious attributes. The bill prohibits civil servants from wearing religious attributes such as wearing the hijab and also expressing their political views (Yeung, 2021).

The massive narrative and the enforcement of binding policies by Emmanuel Macron led to the disbandment of the *Collectif Contre l'Islamophobie en France* (CCIF), an organization working in the field of protecting Muslims from discrimination and Islamophobia. On November 19, 2020, the French government issued an order to CCIF to close down the organization, and on November 27, CCIF officially declared its dissolution statement. The following day, CCIF's website and social media accounts were nowhere to be found. The dissolution was based on the reason that the CCIF was considered an enemy of the republic and violated the principle of 'laïcité' secularism, as stated by the Minister of Home Affairs, Gérald Darmanin that the CCIF was an 'Islamic office against the republic'. In addition, the French government also closed several mosques which were considered to spread violent ideology (Tissot, 2020).

From the explanation above, the authors believe that the speech act carried out by Emmanuel Macron as an effort to securitize the French government against its citizens, uses many dictions 'Islamic separatism', 'radical Islam', and 'Islamic terrorists' as if pinning Islam synonymous with violence and indirectly instilling in the community to always be careful of Muslims and continue to fight thoughts that are contrary to the principle of *laïcité* secularism. In addition, the French government also considers immigrants as a threat to French security, values, and culture by issuing regulations to control immigrants who come to their country to comply with French values.

Besides that, by using the theory of sentiment analysis, it can be seen that there was a change in emotion when Emmanuel Macron delivered the speech act. In his speech before the terrorist act, Emmanuel Macron was seen conveying his grievances against Islamic extremists who risk dividing France. Then in the speeches after the incident, Macron seemed to show his angry sentiments against radical Islam by declaring his determination to passionately stop terrorism. This led to the issuance of an anti-separatism bill in which there were articles that cornered Islam as a manifestation of the principle of *Laïcité*.

#### **D. Domestic Reactions to the France Government's Speech Act and Policies**

Macron's controversial speeches about Islam, as well as policies that are considered to discredit Islam, make society, especially French Muslims feel discriminated against. The French Muslim community expresses concern over the injustice they faced. Macron highlighted efforts to eradicate "Islamic separatist movements" since before the occurrence of terrorism, in early October 2020. Kareem PA McDonald, who is a researcher at the Islamic Freedom Institute's Islam and Religious Freedom Action Team, revealed that French secularism targets Muslims as targets (McDonald, 2020).. This can be seen from the restrictions on wearing the hijab and veil and other policies that are detrimental to Muslims. Macron, who initially used secularism as a unifier for French society, has the potential to divide it. Muslim society



is forced to choose to become a French national society or a religious community (McDonald, 2020).

Using a sentiment analysis approach with emotion detection categories, Kareem expressed his anger towards the Anti-Separatism Bill -restricted on wearing of the hijab and veil-. This angry emotion can be seen from his protest that the religious symbols that must be worn by a Muslim are actually prohibited. In addition, Macron's statement, which seemed to distinguish the French national people from religious communities, made Kareem feel forced to choose between the two, even though both can be done simultaneously without eliminating obligations to one another.

One of the international news television stations from Turkey, TRT World, conducted interviews with several Muslim communities in France, one of whom was a social psychologist, Safa Bounaidja. In his interview, Safa said that "*After the law (Anti-Separatism Bill) was passed, we started to see a lot of people experiencing anti-Muslim and anti-Islam actions from people surrounding them. It could've been at work or like in the street*" (Bounaidja, 2022). In another interview, a member of the Union of Muslim Associations of Seine-Saint-Denis, Mohamed Heniche, said that the government had taken over 70-80 mosques and 2,700 places suspected of being frequented by terrorism. Then, he asked the government sarcastically how the result was and how many terrorists had been caught. In fact, none of them were caught by the government (Heniche, 2021).

The emotions displayed by Safa is fear and worry. Proven by her words that the passage of the Anti-Separatism Bill caused many people to be anti-Muslim and anti-Islam. There are many actions (discrimination) from people in various places, such as the workplace or the streets. Same as Safa, Heniche also showed an expression of fear and worry. Evident from his fear of French society which is increasingly hating Islam and massive Islamophobia. Even more so with government actions that closed mosques and other places. It is felt that this action will make French society increasingly anti-Islamic and create fear for the Islamic community itself.

Another protest came from the MHS Middle and High School which is one of the secular private schools in France. Unlike schools in general, this school allows Muslim female students to wear the headscarf in class, and even provides religious subjects. On November 17, 2020, 36 police officers visited this school and locked dozens of students in classrooms, as well as interrogating the school's director, Hanane Loukili. One week later, Hanane and all the students received bad news that their school was closed by the government. They grew angry because the police said that the closure of the Islamic school was to combat potential separatism, as requested by President Macron. In an Associated Press interview, Hanane denied all acts of radicalism that had been accused of her and several other school staff (Loukili, 2021).

Using the same approach, the emotions displayed by Hanane are fear and anger. The closure of the MHS School caused fear to all students and staff at the school. Hanane also said explicitly that they felt outraged by the actions taken by the French government. Moreover, there are many protests taking place in France against the Separatism Bill. Some of them wrote protests *"Islamophobie ca soffit"* means *"Islamophobia is enough"*, *"ensemble contre l'islamophobie"* means *"together against islamophobic"*, *"stop islamophobia"*, *"religion de paix, pas de victimes"* means *"religion of peace, no victim"*, *"la liberte guide tous les peuples"* means *"freedom guides all people"*, and many more. From sources above, it can be concluded that the emotions and reactions shown by the most of French Muslim community and French people are rejecting all forms of statements and policies that discredit Muslims.

#### **E. International Reactions to the France Government's Speech Act and Policies**

In addition to triggering a sizable reaction from within the country, France has also received reactions in the form of criticism from international parties, especially from countries with a majority Muslim population. This criticism occurred due to the reaction of disappointment in Muslim countries because of the use of caricatures using the prophet Muhammad which could create a misunderstanding of Islam is related to terrorism. And the disappointment continued because of Macron's decision to remain

firm towards his new Anti-Separatism Bill, whose content cornered Muslims living in France.

Saudi Arabian Foreign Ministry officials have strongly criticized depictions of the prophet Muhammad and other prophets being used to spread false information about the Islamic religion. Saudi Arabia made a statement that freedom of thought and culture must be upheld. Because of this, Saudi Arabia strongly opposes the association of Islam with terrorism and will fight against all forms of terrorism, whoever the perpetrators are (BBC, 2020). After receiving criticism from Saudi Arabia, President Macron's statement was "I will always defend in my country the freedom to speak, to write, to think, to draw. I think that the reactions came as a result of lies and distortions of my words because people understood that I supported these cartoons. The caricatures are not a governmental project, but emerged from free and independent newspapers that are not affiliated with the government." persisted that his country would continue to publish or discuss cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad (Al Jazeera, 2020). The countries of Qatar, Morocco, Turkey, Iraq, Palestine, Libya and Syria also took part in criticizing and protesting the actions taken by President Macron. Followed by Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, who said that Macron was divisive and encouraged Islamophobia. Slightly different from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait which considers and criticizes discriminatory policies that link Islam with terrorism. They say that this action represents a falsification of reality, insults Islamic teachings, and offends Muslims around the world (Fernanda et al., 2022).

Because President Macron did not show any guilt and remained stubborn in carrying out his policies, Islamic countries such as Jordan, Qatar and Qatar boycotted products belonging to France. This boycott action is also circulating on social media using the hashtag #BoycottFranceProduct and can be seen in several videos uploaded on social media that most Middle Eastern countries have banned the purchase of French goods products in supermarkets (BBC Indonesia, 2020). The boycott did not only stop at the ban, but ended up destroying French branded stores such as Louis Vuitton, Dior, Givenchy, and others (Fajrina et al., 2021). France's foreign trade which is more than 100

billion dollars is at stake because many Muslim countries are also consumers of French products (Euronews, 2021). There are also political impacts such as tensions between the President of Turkey and the President of France. In the speech of the President of Turkey, Erdogan, there was support for the people who carried out the actions and calls for a boycott of French products. Erdogan's statement was "I am calling to all my citizens from here to never help French brands or buy them." (France24, 2020).

Quoting from a speech by the Prime Minister of France, Jean Castex responded to criticism from Muslim countries that the law that was made was not intended to corner a religion but this anti-separatism law was a rule that existed to protect French citizens. The statement he said which is available on the TRT world YouTube channel is as follows "This bill is not a text against religions, nor against the Muslim religion in particular. On the contrary, it is a law of freedom, it is a law of protection" (TRT, 2022). Furthermore, in the video there is an interview with a Muslim woman living in France, in the interview she was asked how the condition of the Muslim community living in France was after Macron's Anti-Separatism Bill was passed. A Muslim woman by the name of Safa Bounaidja said that "After the law was passed, we started to see a lot of people experiencing anti-Muslim and anti-Islam actions from people surrounding them. It could've been at work or like in the street." From the statement made by Safa Bounaidja, It appears that there are Muslim residents who feel the negative impact of the implementation of laws issued by the French government during the presidency of Emmanuel Macron (TRT, 2022). Macron's decision to respond to the terrorism case that occurred in France caused a negative reaction from Islamic countries. Analyzed using sentiment analysis for emotion detection, it can be said that reactions that arise from Islamic countries to Macron's decisions tend to be disappointed and angry based on what has been described in this study. The reaction from the country was also accompanied by a boycott of French products and several demonstrations that seemed dangerous. The reaction from Imran Khan, as prime minister of Pakistan, issued a statement "It is unfortunate that he (Macron) has chosen to encourage Islamophobia by attacking Islam rather than the terrorists who carry out violence, be it Muslims, White Supremacists or Nazi ideologists. Sadly, President Macron has chosen to deliberately

provoke Muslims, including his own citizens." Imran Khan's statement gives the impression that the speech acts and laws issued by the French government are encouraging Islamophobia (Al Jazeera, 2020). A response also came from Nayef al-Hajraf who is a council's secretary-general at The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Nayef stated that "At a time when efforts must be directed towards promoting culture, tolerance and dialogue between cultures and religions, such rejected statements and calls for publishing insulting images of the Prophet (Muhammad) – may blessings and peace be upon him – are published." Nayef's statement seemed to express his disappointment with President Emmanuel Macron with the law he issued (Al Jazeera, 2020).

Responding to this issue and due to pressure from Muslim countries, the French National Assembly held a discussion regarding the discussion of proposed amendments, which amounted to approximately 1,700 proposals in 51 articles of the Anti-Separatism Bill. After going through quite a long meeting, it was found that a total of 313 proposed amendments could be accepted (Peter, 2021). Furthermore, the French National Assembly agreed to abolish articles that tended to be discriminatory against a group of communities, especially the Muslim community. The French National Assembly amended several controversial articles, namely the ban on wearing burkinis in public swimming pools and the prohibition on parents picking up their children from school wearing religious symbols. The Minister of Home Affairs, Darmanin, who initially strongly opposed the amendments to the Anti-Separatism Bill, finally declared his agreement regarding the amendments to the Anti-Separatism Bill (Shweta, 2021). This bill was then sent to the Senate (French Upper House) and passed by parliament on 22 July 2022 with a majority of 49 votes in favor, 19 votes against and 5 abstentions (Selina, 2021).

## **CONCLUSION**

The research concluded that the emotions and actions shown by the French government in relation to terrorists and radical Islam brought reactions from within

France and internationally. From a historical point of view, 9/11, the Charlie Hebdo attack, and other terrorist attacks have had a major impact on the French society and government's view of Islam, resulting in the massive spread of Islamophobia. Before the terrorist attacks occurred again in 2020, President Macron in one of his speeches emphasized that Islam was in a state of crisis and France would fight radical Islam. This statement shows a sentiment of concern and deterrence towards radical Islam. In the end, when terrorists attacked France in 2020, the French government securitized the country, through speech acts, controversial statements to disband CCIF, and the launch of laws that restrict the application of Islam in the public sphere. This action resulted in the emergence of negative sentiments towards the French government from Muslim associations in France and several Islamic countries. French Muslims perceive the French government's actions as cornering and discriminating against French Muslims. Islamic countries also believe that the French government's actions have furthered Islamophobia in society. Furthermore, France's actions caused greater chaos where French products were boycotted by other countries.

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