

Why is French Jihad Appealing to Young Muslims in France?

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Abstract

This study seeks to explain why a certain number of young Muslims in France are attracted to join the French jihad. There is a big Muslim population in France, which makes it a good place for radical Islamists recruiters to find potential recruits. The socio-economic and cultural integration of Muslims into French society makes it easier for recruiters. The failure of the French government to integrate the new immigrants from previous colonies after World War II led to a kind of apartheid between Muslims and French society. As Islamophobia is growing and politicians and media can be blamed, all these factors can make an individual follow the path of Islamic radicalization. In order to learn more about radicalization, this research looked into the Muslims community from the banlieues of the capital, as well as incarcerated Muslims, to learn more about their opinions on the jihad.

Keywords: *France, Muslims, and Jihad.*

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Introduction

France has been the location of several terrorist attacks which makes it an interesting country to study terrorism. France is known to be a favorable target of extremist terrorist groups that are waging a war against the West in order to install a total caliphate. France is a country that has known different waves of jihadism since the end of World War II. With three different time periods related to three different waves of jihadism with different international terrorist or radical groups behind them. (Kepel, 2017). When immigrants from former colonies came to live in France to help rebuild after the war, a different culture came with it. As the banlieues, housing project, were supposed to help them integrate into French society, the opposite happened. The new immigrants were not accepted into French society.

Nowadays, the children of those immigrants are still living in those banlieues, that now have a negative assumption, with no understanding with the French State. (Bigot, 2012). The banlieues come with a preconceived idea of immigrants, poverty, and crime, which is not totally true. In recent years, the attacks at Charlie Hebdo in January 2015 and on November 13th, 2015 put an even more important strain on the integration of Muslims into French society which was already complicated. As Islamophobia grows larger in France and in the Western world, the Muslim community felt an even more important gap between them and the French identity. All of these factors can push toward extremist radicalization. In order to understand the radicalization of young Muslims in France, interviews of young French Muslims will take place in the banlieues and in prisons to have a direct idea of why radicalization is appealing to a certain community in France. This research will aim at understanding the reasons behind the radicalization of young Muslims in France to the jihad.

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Literature Review

What is Terrorism and Jihad in France?

According to the French penal code, terrorism is the unlawful use of force in order to disturb law and order (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). Terrorists usually target non-combatants in order for their attacks to have a bigger impact on society. Terrorism in France comes mostly from jihadism. According to Kepel (2017), France has known three waves of jihadism. The first wave was before 1989 marked by the war in Afghanistan and the independence of Algeria in 1962. The second wave goes with the Al-Qaeda years, which was not particularly violent in France. The third wave of jihadism, also called the Syrian jihad, is marked in France by a series of attacks beginning with the Merah attack in 2012. The goal of this jihad is to destroy the West through a religious war and install a total caliphate. In France, this is going to be done through the recruitment of French Muslims that will launch a civil war.

Since the 1990s, France has known several terrorist attacks in the name of jihad. In 1995, the first jihad terror attack, in France, happened in Paris, where Khaled Kelkal from the Algerian Armed Islam Group bombed the Paris Metro. The second wave of jihadism was mostly peaceful in France, but terrorist attacks began again on French soil with the 2012 Merah attack in Toulouse. Mohammed Merah killed three French soldiers and three Jewish children by shooting at a Jewish school. The peak of terrorism in France was in 2015. The Charlie Hebdo attack on January 7, 2015, by the Kouachi brother and the attack on the Hyper Cacher on January 9, 2015, shocked the French society. But, on November 13th, 2015, the coordinated attacks on the Stade de France, the Bataclan and several restaurants in the capital, which killed one hundred people and injured more than four hundred, was and still is the deadliest terrorist attack in France. It

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

continued throughout the years 2015 and 2016 where small attacks in the name of jihad happened all over France: planned attacks on churches, a priest and police officers killed in the name of ISIS. On July 14th, 2016, which is Bastille Day (the national day in France), Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel drove a truck in a middle of a pedestrian area in Nice and killed eighty-six people and injured four hundred and thirty-four. This shows that France is seen as a favorable target for ISIS. (Kepel, 2017)

Who are the Young Muslims Being Radicalized?

The people who join the Jihad in France are mostly young Muslims men. They are the children of immigrants who came to France in the 1960s and 1970s. They are French citizens who speak fluent French, grew up and lived in France their whole life. Not to forget that there are people who are not of Muslim origin joining the jihad. (Rosenthal, 2006). Those young Muslims who decide to join the Jihad are the new generation of Muslims who deals with a lack of education and employment. Young Muslims are put aside by French society. (Bigot, 2012). This new generation, as French citizens acquired the right to vote. So, they started creating their own lobby groups in order to defend their religion and origins. These young people do not believe in politicians, for them, the current politicians do not understand them. This new generation does not believe in the French Republic. So, they are voting more for local politicians who understand them because these politicians come from the same background as them. (Kepel, 2017)

The young Muslims being radicalized come mostly from the banlieues. The banlieues are located on the outskirts of big cities in France. The banlieues were, at first, a housing project for immigrants coming from former colonies, especially Algeria. Nowadays, the banlieues still

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

remains housing projects with a negative connotation to it. The banlieues are usually seen negatively by the French community as a place that harbors Islamic tradition and radicalization. This is a place, where the people living in it, feel like France abandoned them. They are a place of socio-economic problems. Delinquency and crimes are part of the everyday life in the banlieues. (Moran, 2017). The banlieues are made up mostly of people from an immigrant background that suffer from a gap between other places in French society. (Welch, 2016).

After the November attack, the banlieues were seen as one of the causes of the attack. The other important location where people are being radicalized is in prison. Prison in France is made up mostly of Muslims inmates which makes it a good place for radicalization. As Bigot (2012) explains, more people are converting to the Muslim religion in prison than any other location in France. But that does not mean that every person converting to Islam in prison will become part of a radical group. In French prisons, prisoners, no matter their crime, are all put together, which makes it easier for inmates to create a network for radicalization. So, radicalization in prison is also a big issue in France.

What are the reasons for joining the jihad?

One of the reasons why young Muslims are susceptible to join the jihad is because of their failed integration into French society. The Muslim community living in the banlieues feels like they are not welcome into the mainstream society which can lead them toward radicalization. They feel like there is a gap between them and the French society. This community feels targeted by the French population. So, jihadists use this fracture with the French society to appeal to the youth. (Moran, 2017). One aspect of this fracture is the “hatred for France” that those people feel because of the discrimination they perceive in France. The young

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

Muslims feel like they cannot fully integrate the French society because they feel like they are not considered as French by other communities as well as the politicians. (Rosenthal, 2006)

This failed integration into French society leads to an identity crisis for people of Muslim background who do not know who they are and where they belong. Children of immigrants in France, now have French citizenship. Even though they are supposed to be part of French society, they do not feel like they are treated the same way as other citizens because of their origin and religion. (Moran, 2017). So, they are in search of an identity for themselves since they cannot see themselves as French. This is when recruiters used their propaganda to offer a sense of belonging to those young people in search of an identity. (Bigot, 2012)

Islamophobia is growing in France and in Europe. This is due to the recent world climate with all the different terrorist attacks by ISIS. After the Charlie Hebdo and the November 13th attacks, the media and politicians helped create Muslims as a stereotype for terrorists which lead to intolerance. In so, Islamophobia is very important in politics and in the protection of the notion of *laïcité*, which means secularism. In the French Republic, this is a very important aspect that needs to be protected at any cost. *Laïcité* is the principle of separation of religion and civil society which was established with the 1905 law on the separation of church and the government. Nowadays, it serves as an ideology to handle religious minorities like Islam. (Judaken, 2018). Islamophobia can be seen in different laws and policies made in France. The first one is the ban on the wearing of the hijab in schools in 2004. This was followed in 2010 by the ban of the niqab and burqa in public places, which is the first European country to do so. (Wolfreys, 2017). In conclusion, Islamophobia is growing more and more in France caused by

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

politicians and the media, which allows discrimination in the name of the protection of the French Republic because they feel like Islam poses a threat to the value of the Republic.

Theory

Labeling theory consists of labeling someone as a criminal because that person belongs to a certain group. When a label as “criminal” is put on an individual, this person is more likely to become what the label says because of the stigmatization from the society that comes with that label. This is what Merton’s “*self-fulfilling prophecy*” is. When a wrong labeling of someone will become true because of society. (Braithwaite, 2011). According to Becker, the deviant network that comes with the label plays a big role in pushing the individual into becoming what the label says. (Bernburg et al., 2006). As more and more people stigmatize Muslims as terrorists, some individuals will end up believing what society is saying about them. In doing so, some Muslims will decide to join the jihad and became what the society was fearing in the first place. When people put terrorists and Muslims in the same category of people, it has consequences.

Methods

Research Designs

This research is explanatory as the researcher is trying to find out what elements in society make young people in France want to join the jihad. The researcher is finding what elements in French society make jihad appealing. This is a deductive research as the researcher is trying to test the labeling theory in order to understand why young French Muslims join the jihad. The researcher is trying to figure out the implication of labeling theory on young Muslims in France. During this research, the dependent variable is the young French Muslims and the independent variable is the elements in French society that lead the young people toward

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

radicalization. This research is cross-sectional as interviews will take place at one point in time. The need for a research assistant from France will be needed. This person should be working toward his or her Ph.D. with an emphasis on the counter-terrorism field in France as well as knowledge on terrorism in France. If possible, this research assistant should speak Arabic, in case this language is needed.

Research Question and Hypothesis

Question: Why is French jihad appealing to young Muslims in France?

H1: The integration of the Muslim community in the French society failed, this led to an identity crisis inside the young Muslims living in France who do not know where they belong.

H2: The increase of Islamophobia in France from the population as well as government officials put a strain on the Muslim community

Data Collection and Sample

For the purpose of the research, interviews will take place. The interviews will take place either in French, English, or Arabic, depending on which the participants feel more comfortable talking. The researcher will interview individuals who joined the jihad in order to understand why those individuals decided to go through radicalization. In order to do so, the research will go to prisons located in the Parisian region where it is known that there are radical networks. The researcher will also interview young Muslims in the banlieues in order to know if they thought about joining the jihad. As well as to understand why they decided to join the jihad or not. The researcher will then have different inputs on the topic.

The interviews will consist of a set of closed and open-ended questions. For background and general information, the researcher will use close-ended questions. For the questions that

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

require more information and specificities, the researcher will use open-ended questions. The researcher will use snowball samplings in order to find the participants for the research. The researcher will start with a few prisoners that are known for being radicalized and having joined the jihad. The researcher will then be able to find other participants through the previous ones. The researcher may also go in the banlieues in order to interview young Muslims that may have not went through the radicalization process to understand their point of view. In the interviews taking place in the banlieues, the researcher can use random sampling in order to have an idea of what the people in the banlieue are thinking. It is important to remember that the number of young Muslims joining the jihad in France is small compared to the proportion of Muslims living in France.

Data Management

In order to keep the data collected, the researcher will keep all of the information in a locked office. The door will have a numeric lock that will be known only to the researcher and the assistant. Inside the office, there will be a safe where all the data collected will be kept. The safe will be accessed by a different numerical code as well as a fingerprint detection to make sure that the researcher and the assistant are the only ones able to access the data collected throughout the research.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data collected, the researcher with the help of the assistant, will go over the data collected. The researcher will create a table with the different reasons why participants decided to join the jihad. The researcher will then be able to create percentages in order to figure out what is the most important reasons why individuals are joining the jihad. The researcher and

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

the assistant could use the SPSS software, so that the software will create descriptive statistics for them. The software will create tables with the reasons why participants joined the jihad. The researcher can also use a codebook in order to have percentages that will highlight common responses. The researcher can use a pie chart in order to display the results. Even if the reasons may be multiple, with the analysis the researcher will be able to understand the most common reason for radicalization and understand the process behind it.

Ethical Considerations

Since ethics are very important in social research, the researcher will make sure to follow ethical guidelines. The researcher will explain each participant the reason behind the research as clear as possible so no deception will happen. In the beginning, each participant will be asked to sign a consent form that states that participation in the research is voluntary and that they can stop whenever they want during the interview. The form will also state that all the information collected is anonymous and will not be disclosed to anyone included the police force or anyone in the justice system. This consent form will be available in English, as well as in French and Arabic, in order for the participant to be able to understand the form in the language he or she feels more comfortable reading. (Appendix). The researcher will ask the participants if it is alright with them to tape the interview before starting. The researcher will also make clear to the participants that whenever the participant does not feel comfortable answering a question, he or she has the right to refuse to answer.

Measurement Issues and Limitations

During social research, the researcher may face some problems. In this research, snowball sampling may create some issues. If the participants that the researcher has already

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

selected do not want to disclose other individuals, the researcher may not have enough participants to arrive at a conclusive answer. Some participants may not want to disclose if they are part of a radical group. Moreover, the number of individuals who joined the jihad compare to the number of Muslims in France is very small. So, the random sampling of the young Muslims in the banlieues may not accurately reflect the whole population. The sample might not give us a lot of information about the research and what the researcher wants to find out. Another barrier that the researcher may face is the access to inmates. The French government might not want to give prison access to the researcher. If the researcher does not have access to prisons, the social research cannot be done because the research will not have any results.

Conclusion

There are different factors that lead young Muslims from France to join the Jihad. The failure of the integration of the Muslim community into French society led to socio-economics disparities between the banlieues and the rest of France. The integration failure also leads to an identity crisis among those young Muslims who do not really know who they are, torn between the French values and the Muslims faith who seemed to be incompatible. Moreover, the rise of Islamophobia in France is leading to the stigmatization of Muslims who are not well seen in society because of Islamist radical groups. Islamophobia from the media and French politicians lead to an amalgam between Muslims and terrorists from the French society which impact Muslims in their daily life. The portion of French Muslims who decide to join the jihad is small compared to the number of Muslims present in France, but the label put them all in the same group. So, the reasons why young Muslims in France decide to join the jihad are diverse. But

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

failed integration into French society, as well as the rise of Islamophobia, play a big role in the radicalization of young French Muslims.

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YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK*John Jay College of Criminal Justice**Department of Sociology*

ICJ310: Foundations of Scholarship in International Criminal Justice – Fall 2019

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY**Title of Research Study:** Why is French Jihad Appealing to Young Muslims in France?**Principal Investigator:** NAME OF STUDENT HIDDEN,
B.A Candidate in International Criminal Justice

You are being asked to participate in a research study because you have or have not engaged in a crime.

Purpose:

The purpose of this research study is to analyze the interview and apply the labeling theory in order to understand why young Muslims in France decide or not to join the jihad.

Procedures:

If you volunteer to participate in this research study, we will ask you to do the following:

- Sign the consent form
- Discuss your background that may or may not be related to crime
- Interview will be conducted in prisons in France, and in different banlieues in Paris.
- The questions in the study will be explanatory in nature.
 - Briefly, talk about your childhood, as well as your background.
 - Discuss the social groups you were involved in growing up and if they contributed or did not contribute to your engagement in a terrorist group.
 - Discuss the environment you were in growing up and if it did or did not contribute to your engagement in a terrorist group.
 - Are there any contributing factors you believe may or may not have led you to join the jihad?
 - What are those factors?
 - Such factors can be social, environmental, psychological and or biological.
- The researcher will take notes based on the interview.
- The researcher may ask you to slow down to gather 1 or 2 direct quotes for the study.

Audio Recording/Video Recording/Photographs:

There will be audio, only if the participant feels comfortable with it. No video or names will be used in this study.

Time Commitment:

Your participation in this research study is expected to last for a total of 30 minutes maximum.

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

Potential Risks or Discomforts:

- Participant can become uncomfortable in discussing events that may have led to crime or the actual crime
- Participant can become aggressive in recounting their engagement with the criminal justice system (fairness, due process, civil rights, human rights)

Potential Benefits:

- You will not directly benefit from your participation in this research study.
- Your participation will contribute to field of criminology in **understanding** why some individuals may or may not decide to join the jihad

Payment for Participation:

- You will not receive any payment for participating in this research study.

New Information:

You will be notified about any new information regarding this study that may affect your willingness to participate in a timely manner.

Confidentiality:

We will make our best efforts to maintain confidentiality of any information that is collected during this research study, and that can identify you. We will disclose this information only with your permission or as required by law.

We will protect your confidentiality by *safeguarding the consent form with your name in a lock safe in a lock office. The final research will not include an identifiable characteristic beside the consent form.*

The research team, authorized CUNY staff, and government agencies that oversee this type of research may have access to research data and records in order to monitor the research. Research records provided to authorized, non-CUNY individuals will not contain identifiable information about you. Publications and/or presentations that result from this study will not identify you by name.

Participants' Rights:

- Your participation in this research study is entirely **voluntary**. If you decide not to participate, there will be no penalty to you, and you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.
- You can decide to withdraw your consent and stop participating in the research at any time, without any penalty.

Questions, Comments or Concerns: If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the research, you can talk to one of the following researchers:

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

CASSANDRA DE KETELAERE

B.A. Candidate in International Crime & Justice

Cassandra.deketelaere@jjay.cuny.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or you have comments or concerns that you would like to discuss with someone other than the researchers, please call the CUNY Research Compliance Administrator at 646-664-8918 or email HRPP@cuny.edu. Alternately, you can write to:

CUNY Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research

Attn: Research Compliance Administrator

205 East 42nd Street

New York, NY 10017

Signature of Participant:

If you agree to participate in this research study, please sign and date below. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date**Signature of Individual Obtaining Consent**

Printed Name of Individual Obtaining Consent

Signature of Individual Obtaining Consent

Date

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK*John Jay College of Criminal Justice**Department of Sociology*

ICJ310: Foundations of Scholarship in International Criminal Justice – Fall 2019

ACCORD DE PARTICIPATION DANS UNE RECHERCHE SOCIALE

Titre de la recherche sociale : Pourquoi le jihad est-il séduisant aux yeux des jeunes musulmans français ?

Investigateur Principal : CASSANDRA DE KETELAERE,
B.A Candidate in International Criminal Justice

On vous demande de participer à une recherche sociale car vous avez peut-être ou non commis à un crime.

But: Le but de cette recherche est d'analyser les interviews and d'appliquer la théorie de l'étiquetage pour comprendre pourquoi les jeunes musulmans en France décide de rejoindre ou non le jihad.

Procédures :

Si vous vous porté volontaire pour participer à la recherche, nous vous demanderons de faire les choses suivantes :

- Signer le formulaire d'accord.
- Parler de vos origines qui sont peut-être ou pas connecté au crime.
- L'interview sera réalisée dans une prison française, et dans différentes banlieues à Paris.
- Les questions de la recherche seront explicatives.
 - Brièvement, parlez de votre enfance, ainsi que vos origines.
 - Parlez des groupes sociaux avec lesquels vous avez grandi, et s'ils ont contribué dans votre engagement dans des groupes terroristes.
 - Parlez de l'environnement dans lequel vous avez grandi et s'il a contribué dans votre engagement dans des groupes terroristes.
 - Pensez-vous ou non qu'il y ait certains facteurs qui ont contribué à votre engagement au jihad ?
 - Quels sont ces facteurs ?
 - Ces facteurs peuvent être sociale, environnemental, psychologique, et ou biologique.
- Le chercheur prendra des notes de l'interview.
- Le chercheur peut vous demander de ralentir pour pouvoir garder 1 ou 2 citations.

Enregistrement Audio/Enregistrement Vidéo/ Photographe :

Il y aura un enregistrement audio que si le participant est confortable avec. Ni vidéo, ni nom ne seront utilisé dans cette recherche.

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

Temps de la recherche :

Votre participation dans cette recherche sera de 30 minutes maximum.

Risque potentiel et inconforts :

- Le participant peut se sentir inconfortable en parlant des événements qui ont mené au crime ou en parlant du crime.
- Le participant peut devenir agressif en se rappelant de leur engagement avec le système judiciaire.

Bénéfice potentiel :

- Vous n'allez pas directement bénéficier en participant à cette recherche.
- Votre participation contribuera dans le domaine de la criminologie en essayant de comprendre pourquoi certains individus décide ou non de rejoindre le jihad.

Paieement pour Participation :

- Vous ne recevrez aucun paiement pour votre participation à la recherche.

Nouvelles informations :

Vous serez informé, dans un délai convenable, si de nouvelles informations concernant la recherche peuvent affecter votre volonté de participer à la recherche.

Confidentialité :

Nous ferons de notre mieux pour maintenir la confidentialité des informations pouvant vous identifier qui ont été collectées pendant la recherche. Nous divulguons ces informations seulement avec votre accord ou selon la loi.

Nous protégerons votre confidentialité par préserver votre formulaire d'accord avec votre nom dans un coffre-fort dans un bureau fermé. Le rapport final n'incluras aucun élément qui permettrait de vous identifier, à part le formulaire d'accord.

Le groupe de chercheur autorise le personnel de CUNY et les agences gouvernemental qui supervise la recherche d'accéder les données et dossiers afin de surveiller la recherche. Les données fournies à des personnes autorisée ne faisant pas partie de CUNY ne contiendront aucune information permettant de vous identifier. Publications et/ou présentations sur la recherche ne vous identifieras pas.

Droits des Participants

- Votre participation dans cette recherche est complètement volontaire. Si vous décidez de ne pas participer à cette recherche, vous ne recevrez aucunes pénalités et vous nous ne perdrez aucun bénéfice auxquels vous êtes habilité.
- Vous pouvez décider de retirer votre accord et d'arrêter de participer à la recherche à n'importe quel moment de la recherche, sans pénalités.

YOUTH JOINING THE JIHAD

Questions, Commentaires ou Préoccupations :

Si vous avez des questions, commentaires, ou préoccupations à propos de la recherche, vous pouvez contacter le chercheur suivant :

NAME OF STUDENT HIDDEN

B.A. Candidat in International Crime & Justice

NONE@jjay.cuny.edu

Si vous avez des questions à propos de vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche, ou si vous avez des commentaires ou des préoccupations dont vous voulez discuter avec quelque d'autre que le chercheur, vous pouvez appeler CUNY Research Compliance Administrator au 646-664-8918 ou email HRPP@cuny.edu. Alternativement vous pouvez écrire au :

CUNY Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research

Attn: Research Compliance Administrator

205 East 42nd Street

New York, NY 10017

Signature du Participant :

Si vous accepté de participer à la recherche, veuillez signer et daté ci-dessous. On vous donnera une copie de ce formulaire d'accord que vous pouvez garder.

Nom Imprimé du Participant

Signature du Participant

Date

Signature de l'Individu Obtenant d'Accord :

Nom Imprimé de l'Individu Obtenant l'Accord

Signature de l'Individu Obtenant l'Accord

Date