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Pathways Project Workshop

15 February 2016

The French Case

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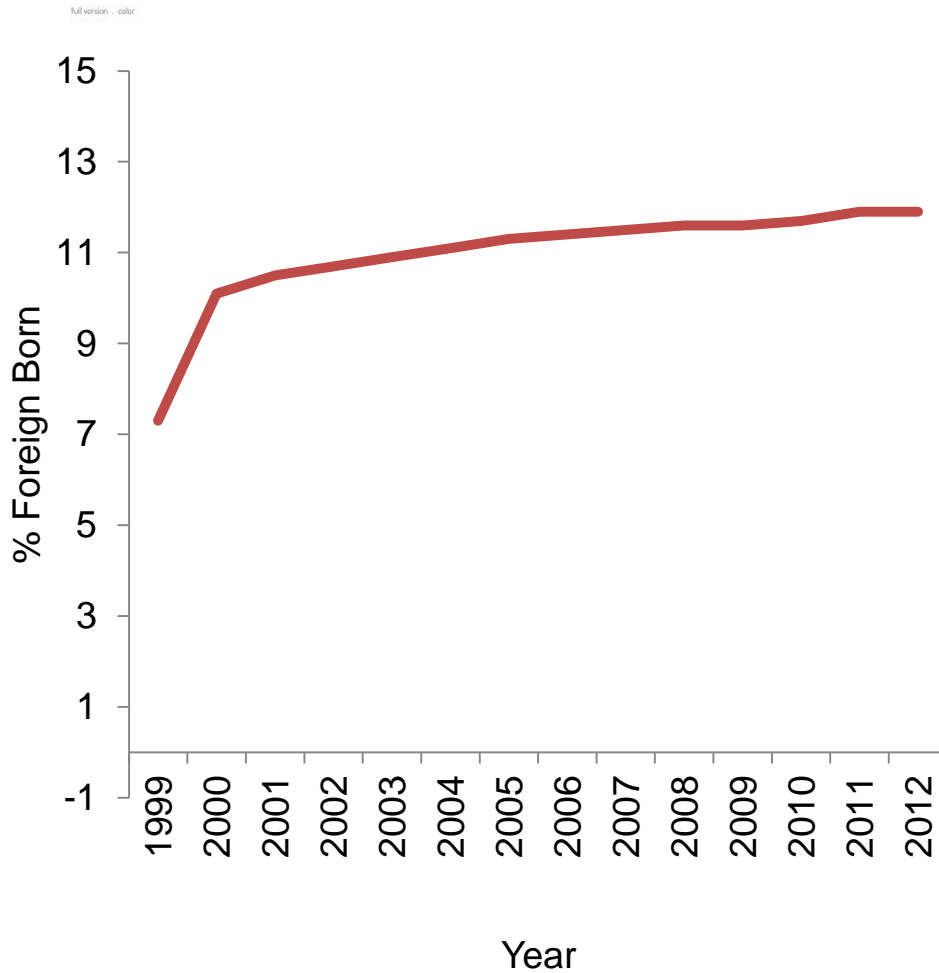
DFG Deutsche
Forschungsgemeinschaft



NWO
Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research



Migration Trends



France is experiencing a demographic change

- In the last decade the number and shares of foreign born has increased
- Shrinking native population makes the migrant population even more prominent
- Expectations that in the next decades 30% of the population will have a migratory background (EUROSTAT)



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The “Republique”: Who is a member of the political community?

Civic-Territorial Conception of Citizenship

- easy access to nationality acquisition by migrants
- little differentiation of access to rights according to nationality
- strong sanctions against discriminations based on ethnicity or race

Monist Conception of Citizenship

- allowances for cultural practices outside public institutions
- allowances for cultural practices in public institutions
- special political representation rights with state-sponsored bodies for the representation of migrant interests on the basis of race, ethnicity, or religion
- affirmative action programs in the labour market



A Systematic Assessment of Individual Rights vs Cultural Rights

I – INDIVIDUAL EQUALITY

SUMMARY TABLE

	year	Natl. Acqu.	Citiz. Rights	Anti-Disc.	Average
F	1980	0.60	-0.11	0.00	0.27
	1990	0.60	-0.11	0.13	0.30
	2002	0.50	-0.11	0.38	0.32
	2008	0.60	-0.44	0.88	0.41
	2015	0.10	-0.06	0.88	0.31

II – CULTURAL DIFFERENCE

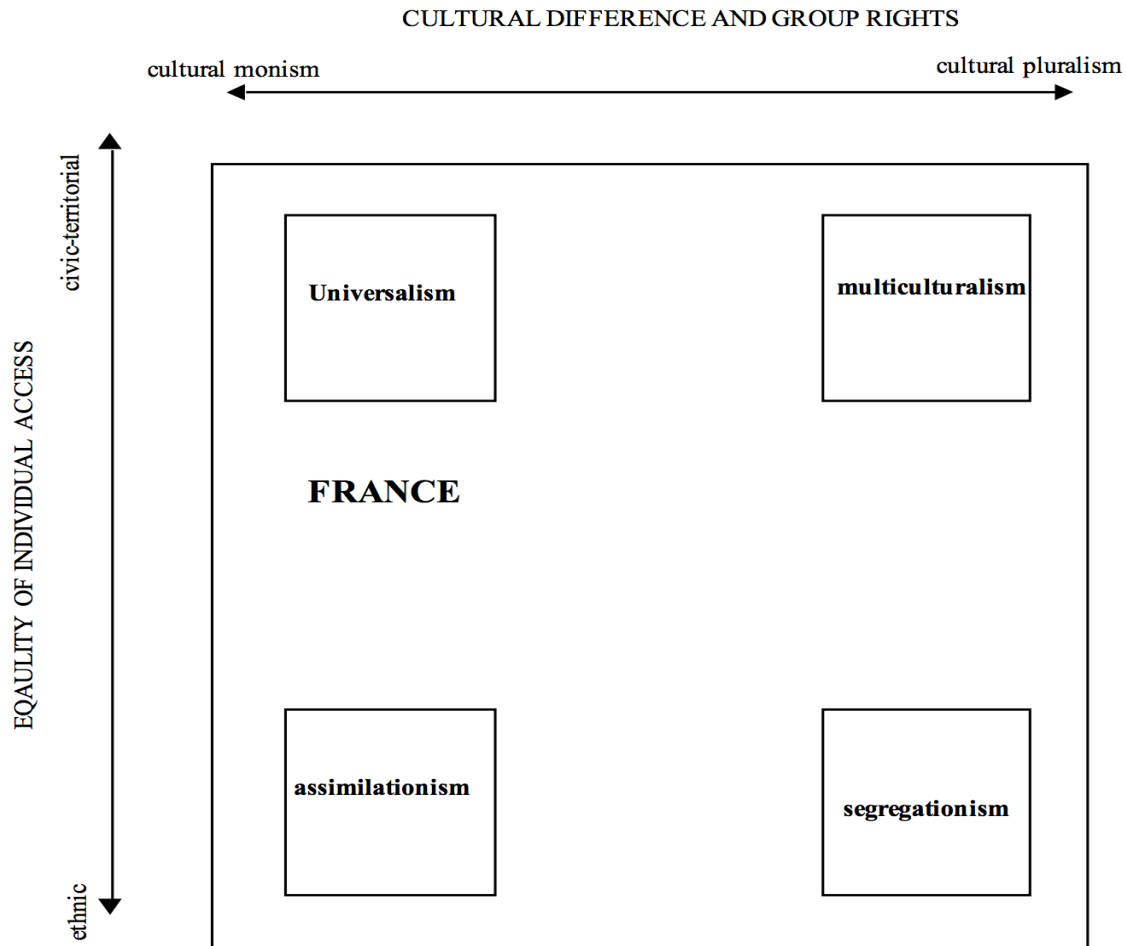
SUMMARY TABLE

Year	Islam. Pract	Cult. Rights	Pol. Repr.	Affirm. Act	Avr.ge
1980	-0.20	-0.78	-1.00	-1.00	-0.74
1990	-0.20	-0.78	-0.50	-1.00	-0.62
2002	0.00	-0.80	-0.50	-1.00	-0.57
2008	0.00	-0.50	0.00	-1.00	-0.37
2015	-0.20	-0.50	0.37	-1.00	-0.33



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Is France really Republican?



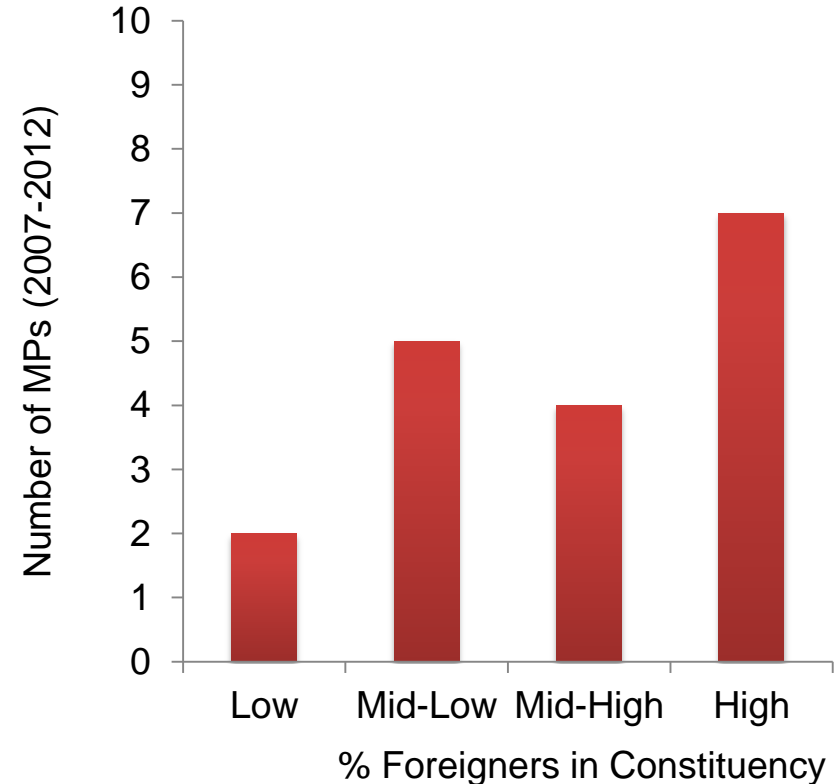


The Electoral System

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MPs are elected in single-member districts in two-rounds

- The two-round system tends to benefit large parties and evidence suggests that it tends to favor the nomination and election of “white, male, and middle-class candidates” (Elgie 2005)
- We observe that more CIO MPs are nominated and elected in constituencies with high share of migrants.



Note: preliminary findings



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Position of Political Parties

	Oppose / Support Tough Migration Policies		Position Change
	2002-2007 Assembly	2007-2012 Assembly	
VERTS	1.0	1.7	0.7
PCF	1.9	3.3	1.4
PRG	2.3	3.6	1.3
PS	4.3	3.8	-0.5
UDF	5.9	-	-
UMP	7.6	8.4	0.9
MPF	7.9	9.1	1.3
FN	8.6	10.0	1.4
MODEM	-	4.8	-
NC	-	4.7	-

Party Ideology is a highly associated with party position on migration policies

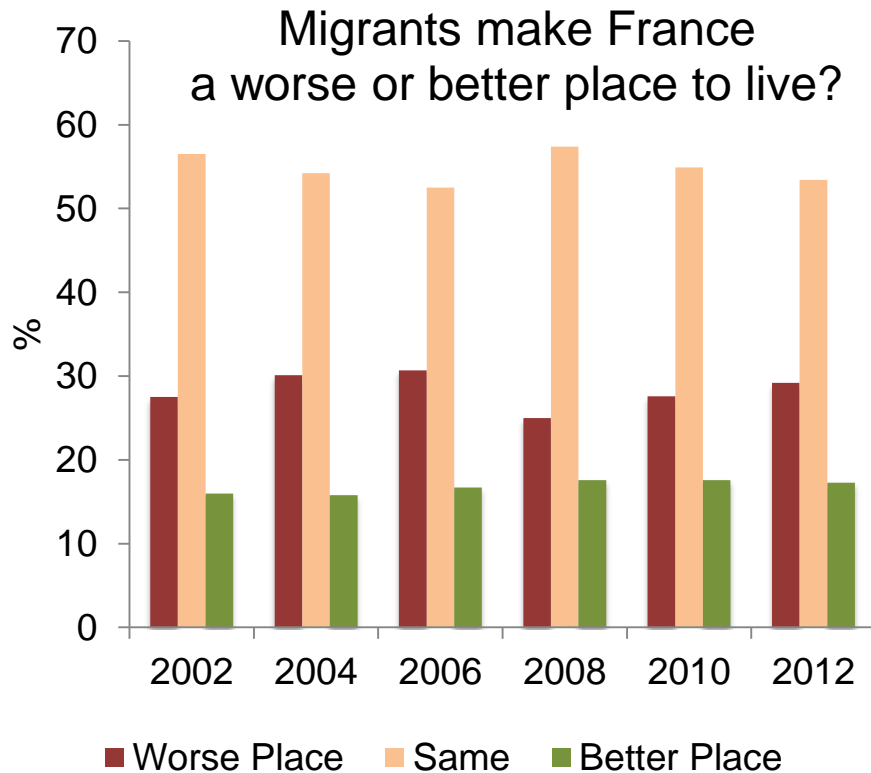
- Greens, Communists, the Left and Socialists are more supportive of migration than right-wing parties.
- Conservative parties show some distance with the Front National on this issue.
- Between the 2002 and the 2007 legislatures all parties (but the PS) moved towards more conservative stances on migration.

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Surveys 2005 & 2010



Public Opinion

Public opinion on migration remained stable in the last years

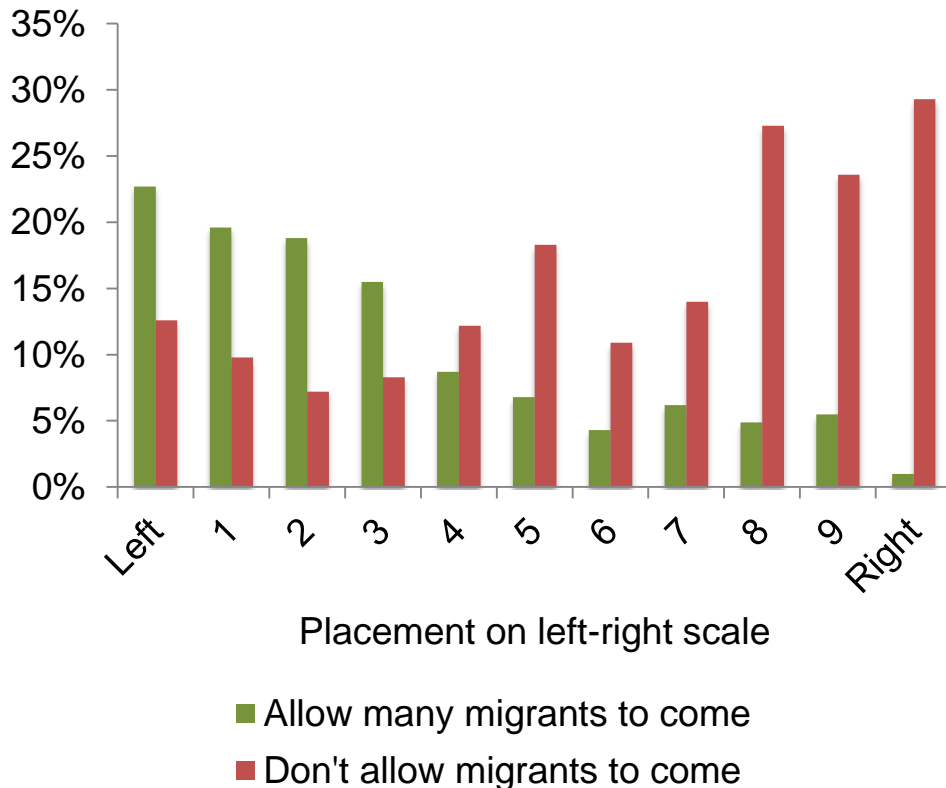


- For the majority of the public, migration doesn't substantially change the living conditions in France
- The state of the economy didn't affect how French citizens evaluate migration (2008 financial crisis has no effect)
- Security concerns were not very present in the French public (9/11, Madrid and London attacks)
- Yet, today France is in a delicate situation following the 2015 terrorists attacks, the refugee crisis and the continuous success of the FN



Public Opinion

Left-right placement and opinion on immigration



Ideology divides the French public

- Those who consider themselves in the left of the left-right scale are supportive of allowing migrants to come to France.
- Respondents who have more right-wing views tend to support restrictive migration policies.

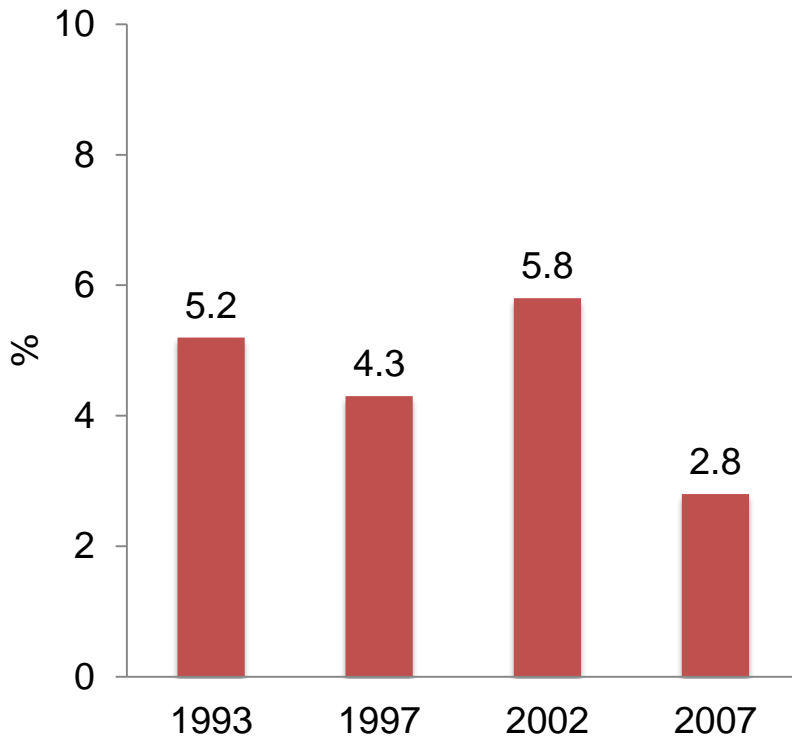
Source: European Social Survey 2012



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CIO MPs at the *Assemblée*

% of CIO MPs at the *Assemblée*



Migrants remain under-represented at the *Assemblée*

- A majority of CIO MPs are 2nd generation migrants.
- Most of 1st generation CIO MPs are born in EU countries.
- North-Africans and Asians are highly under-represented despite being among the largest migrant groups in France
- CIO MPs have on average higher levels of education (university degree) than native MPs -> barrier



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CIO MPs at the *Assemblée*

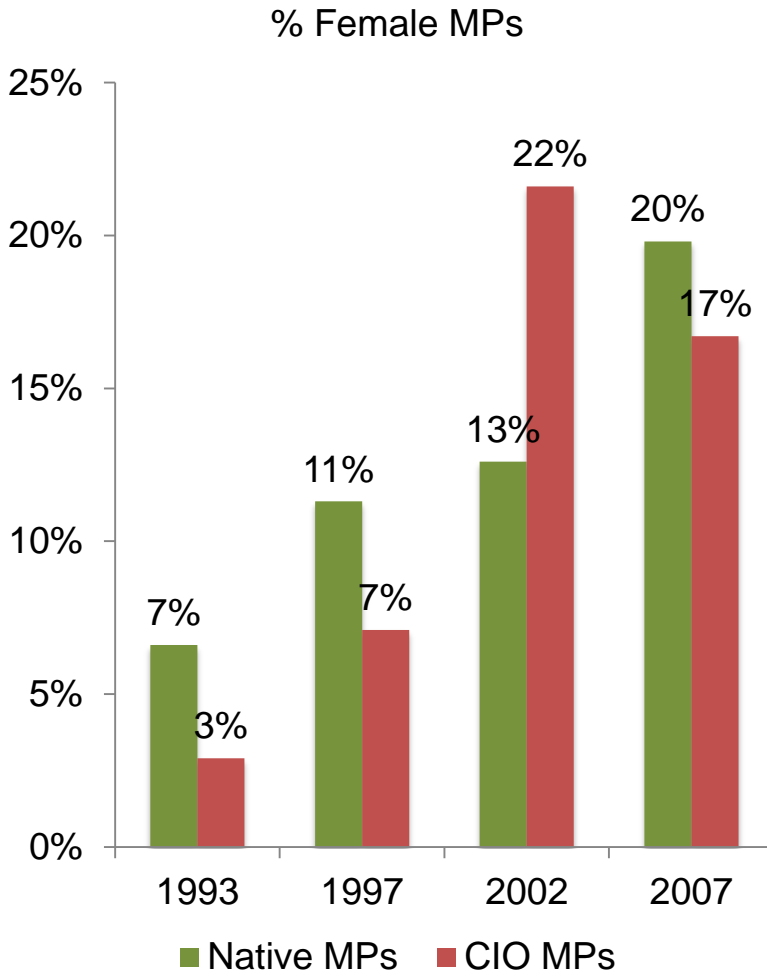
Party ideology is not related with CIO MPs representation

	2002	2007
PCF	2	1
PS	10	8
UDF	2	-
UMP	21	9
DVD	2	-
Total	37	18

- The UMP has played an important role in nominating CIO candidates, followed by the Socialists
- CIO MPs of conservative parties are in general 2nd-generation migrants (e.g. Sarkozy) and therefore more “integrated”
- In contrast, left and center-left parties have larger number of 1st generation CIO MPs



CIO MPs at the *Assemblée*



Female CIO MPs suffer double penalty

- In France, female MPs are under-represented
- Throughout the 2000s, female native MPs are not more represented than female CIO MPs
- Most recent legislative terms appeared more open to female representatives in general and also to female MPs of migrant origin



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Final Discussion: France at the Crossroads

- Assimilation vs Universalism
- Republican Resiliency vs Wars & Terrors
- The need to look better into the public sphere
- Future Pathways for CIO MPs



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Thanks for your attention

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