



Ulrike Schuerkens

**Active Civic Participation
of Immigrants in
France**

POLITIS – a European research project

Project information

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe

Funding Acknowledgement

This research project is funded by the European Commission in the sixth framework, priority 7, Citizens and governance in a knowledge based society.
www.cordis.lu/citizens

International Coordination and Contact

POLITIS
Interdisciplinary Center for Education and Communication in Migration Processes
(**IBKM**)
Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg
Ammerländer Heerstr. 114-118/ Postbox 2503
26111 Oldenburg
dita.vogel@uni-oldenburg.de

Partner Organisations:

Hellenic Foundation of European and Foreign Policy (**Eliamep**)
Athens
www.eliamap.gr

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
European University Institute (**EUI**)
Florence
www.iue.it/RSCAS

Churches' Commission of Migrants in Europe (**CCME**)
Brussels
<http://www.cec-kek.org/content/ccme.shtml>

The author

**Dr. Dr. (F) habil. Ulrike Schuerkens
Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
DEA Recherches comparatives sur le développement
105, bd. Raspail
75006 Paris
France.**

e-mail: schuerkens.ulrike@caramail.com

Date of revised submission: 25 April 2005

Reports are prepared on behalf of the European research project POLITIS.
Authors are fully responsible for the contents of their report.

Abstract:

One out of five residents in France have at least one foreign grandparent. In 1993, young people born in France have obtained the possibility to choose French citizenship by a declaration before the mayor, abandoned in 1998, so that at their majority young immigrants born in France can now obtain French nationality without a formal procedure. The access to French nationality has been opened to everybody who has spent five years in the country. Thus more and more immigrants born in France have obtained at their majority the French nationality.

Compared to other countries of the European Union, there was a hiatus in France between the rights of foreigners in the enterprises and the rights to represent and to participate in public life. Foreigners do not have civic rights, such as voting, before their naturalisation. In France, local migrant councils have been introduced in the 1980s, which have received an only consultative role and their competencies have been limited to municipal interests. Nevertheless, these councils have the advantage to associate migrants to political decision processes in the country of immigration and to familiarise the national population with the idea of the participation of foreigners in political life. But there have been other forms of expression open to immigrants in France: consultative local rights, the expression in enterprises, and the participation in associations, wild strikes, qualified by some as "an extra-parliamentary opposition". Obtaining the right to vote for immigrants is blocked in France due to reasons linking citizenship, nationality and territory. Because of the fact that immigrants have not the right to vote in local elections (except recently EU-nationals), and do not constitute a political influent group, immigration has been used as a challenge in the local political discourse.

In 1981, immigrants received the right to associate under the same terms than French nationals, as it was expressed in the law of 1901. These laws went in the direction of a greater equality between foreigners and French nationals. The associative movement gave immigrants the possibility to exercise the political right to associate. However, the French law does not exclude every possibility for foreigners to exercise certain public activities, such as the participation in the constitution of public elective organism. They are voters and can be elected by parent associations in schools, at social security schemes and they can be electors for the constitution of certain courts, such as the tribunals of rural leases and they can be members of industrial tribunals, but they cannot be elected. Moreover, foreign students have the right to vote in universities.

According to our overview, immigrants often engage in cultural associations in France. Some group members from Arab and Asian origins are also engaged in religious associations. Those from Arab origin who have become naturalised French citizens are rather active in political parties, that consider these people as a guarantee for a France without problems caused by Muslim fundamentalists. Political elites of African and Asian origins are rather seldom, even if one hears from time to time from a mayor of African origin in some small French villages.

Table of contents

Part I

Understanding the conditions for immigrant participation	6
1. Key events and demographic developments in the migration history of France	6
2. Major issues discussed with relation to immigration	18
3. Institutional setting framing immigrant participation	20
3.1. The legal framework	20
3.2. Political rights of immigrants	26
3.3. The associative movement	28
3.4. Residence and temporary permits	29

Part II

Active Civic Participation of Third Country Immigrants	32
II.1. Introduction	32
II.2. The associative movements	32
II.3. Elites of Arab origins in the French political system	36
II.4. The headscarf issue in French schools	38
II.5. African civic movements.....	39
II.6. Local integration of Asian groups	43
II.7. Latin American and North American groups	46
II.8. Eastern European groups	47

Part III

Expert Assessment	49
References	52
Annex	
Mapping of Research Competences in France	54

Part I: Understanding the conditions for immigrant participation

1. Key events and demographic developments in the migration history of France¹

One out of five residents in France have at least one foreign grandparent. In the history of migration in France appears a complex past where migration and integration cannot be understood without a reference to a multiple context: First, an economic context which asks for a movement of numerous labourers since the beginning of the industrial age. These people came for one or two periods, and only a minority settled in order to be integrated into the French nation. Then, a cultural context where exchanges between natives and "strangers" are negotiated; third, a political context, which is characterised by a rejection of the foreign presence, crises and political measures. An international context finally, because people who meet together belong to different nation-states.

With the French revolution, subjects became citizens and contributed to national sovereignty. The nation was of a political nature and welcomed foreigners who shared its aspirations of freedom. Yet when the fatherland was endangered, the foreigner became a potential enemy who had to accept repressive measures. This experience was decisive: The French nation has refused to consider differences between citizens, but the foreigner who was a non-national has been rejected most of the time. Since the French revolution, the *ius solis* prevailed in France. In 1804, the *ius sanguinis* was introduced that considered that the father transmitted nationality. Since 1830, politically persecuted people looked for refuge in France, which hesitated between welcome and exclusion.

Since the 1860s, northern Italian immigrants had begun to enter France. Immigration linked to urban-rural disparities was born. The growth of towns let appear professional specialisations and the immigration of professional groups, such as German maids in Paris or Italian *girovaghi*. In Paris, between 1830 and 1850, Germans were the most numerous group. They worked as tailors or cabinetmakers. Some years later, market possibilities included more and more popular groups and tasks were mechanised. Italian migrants arrived who were paid less and were less qualified. Many Belgian workers could be found in the mills in the north of France. They could also be found in the Parisian construction industry and railway construction. Italians were engaged in the south for the construction of the roads in the Alps. After that, mines, gas or chemical industries opened their doors to foreigners beside French people who formed a different group, but all were proletarians.

¹This part of the report is based on information given in Blanc-Chaléard-2001.

The first census was undertaken before the Second Empire. A total of 380,000 foreigners could already be found in 1848. Economic growth and the modernisation, which followed, confirmed forever the weight of foreigners in the economy and the population of France. Interrupted by the war in 1870, immigration increased afterwards: One million foreigners were in France in 1881. This movement continued until 1914. These foreigners were neighbours: Belgians and Italians. They were present in the newly born world of industry and were the first immigrants to France.

Due to a feeble birth rate, the French political authorities accepted the immigration of families so that, already in 1891, more than 400,000 foreigners born in France could be found. Migration was not only limited to the introduction of a labour force, but legal acts permitted families to migrate to France, whereas this phenomena could not be found in Germany and the United Kingdom. Actually, until the First World War, immigration access to France was free. Limited by a lack of resources and circulation difficulties, movements of migrants were facilitated by proximity and an absence of administrative formalities. Women participated in these mixed migrations. They never formed less than 40 % of the foreign group; a factor which influenced the way of life of migrants and their form of insertion in the urban area. With the Great Depression, labourers and their spokesmen required a restriction of the entrance of foreigners. Measures were taken to control foreigners and their movements required a declaration at the town hall. In France, contrary to Germany and the United Kingdom, there were no constraints and no contracts for labourers. But the utilisation of the spontaneous immigration began to be insufficient: Private enterprises organised political measures to recruit labourers in Italy, among Polish people in the German Ruhr region and among Kabyles, from the other side of the Mediterranean sea. Neighbourhood was no longer sufficient to attract immigrants.

In this context, questions of nationality and citizenship were discussed. A universal vote of male citizens existed since 1848. The military service was problematic and the idea was introduced to tax foreigners born in France for their advantage on the labour market. A law from 1889 defined the conditions of the French nationality and naturalisation. The law declared that foreigners should be included in the French nationality without taking into account their origins, with one exception: "subjects" from the colonies could not become citizens, for instance from Algeria, where Muslims were indigenous people. Only Spaniards, Italians and other colonisers could become citizens. Only citizens had rights and people who were not citizens were excluded from political rights, labour union rights (1884), public functions and free medical assistance (1893). Facilities were introduced when reciprocal treaties between emigrant countries and France had been passed. Moreover, certain professions were protected, such as physicians and lawyers or the labourers in enterprises working on public contracts. In France, to be equal to a French national meant to be

naturalised. Numerous Belgians and Italians asked for that. This meant for them a legal assimilation after a social integration.

During the First World War, France needed labourers for its industry and agriculture. Treaties were concluded with Spain, Italy, and Portugal: 440,000 foreigners were introduced to France with labour contracts for agriculture (a third of them) and industry. The residence permit (1917) was invented in order to supervise them. The foreign labourer of the 20th century was created: a temporal, controlled and codified presence favouring the economy of the receiving country. However, these foreigners were free in their movements.

43,000 foreigners took part in the French army of the Foreign Legion. During the war, the French state organised the recruitment of indigenous labourers in Algeria, and in the French colonies in Asia and Africa. Black people participated in the war; Asians worked in the enterprises. These male "subjects" lived separated from French nationals in order to be able to maintain their customs and habits. There was no idea of integration that is so familiar in France currently. In 1919, these people were repatriated by force. But Arabs and Kabyles continued to come to France looking for the same work they had done during the war.

The migration of the 1920s can be understood in terms of "push and pull". France looked for men to work in industry and agriculture. French people began to prefer working in the tertiary sector where labour was less tiring. The United States introduced entry quotas, but France continued to be open for labourers and persecuted people. Asylum began to be looked for: Russians, Armenians, Greeks, Turks and Polish people, so that the area of recruitment began to grow. The same political problems characterised Spain and Italy. Even if only Russians and Armenians received the "Nansen passport" for refugees, the other groups looked for work and tried to stay. The recruitment system first organised by the state was rapidly taken over by economic leaders. The identity card was maintained and was limited to two years. Labour contracts were also maintained because they permitted to orient immigrants to economic sectors where labourers were needed. Treaties were signed with Poland, Italy and Czechoslovakia. Polish who were 46,000 in 1921, were more than 500,000 in 1931. This immigration was organised or spontaneous: The hidden immigration for political reasons was spontaneous; recruitments were also organised which offered contracts with paid journeys.

The female immigration was important, but women often did not work. A part of the economic leaders considered that family migration stabilised their labour force. In 1931, France was the country who had seen most foreigners according to its population. There were 2,7 million foreigners, that means 6,6 % of the total population. 360,000 were naturalised French nationals living among the foreigners. Italians and Polish were the most important groups, followed by Spanish and other Mediterranean populations. These groups developed intensive cultural activities around churches, schools and chorales. Children going to school

and the presence of the family contributed to a growing adaptation, which meant for some of them naturalisation after 1927. Women who married a foreigner could maintain their nationality. Naturalisation could be asked for after a sojourn of only three years.

With the economic crises of the 1930s, xenophobic reactions followed the growing number of unemployed people. Foreigners were more and more evicted from construction, mines and metallic industry. Many returned with their families to their countries; other tried to be employed in agriculture or opened small businesses (shops, construction, or handicrafts). This possibility was given until 1938 when a law required obtaining permission. The exercise of professions such as medicine and law was rendered rather impossible for newly naturalised French immigrants. This was a time where political crimes were frequent. Foreigners were expelled in large numbers. In 1939, 500,000 Spanish left their country for political reasons and entered France. Families were spread all over France, but men were brought to camps where they were detained.

At the beginning of the war, the situation was complex in France. Many foreigners left the country for their home countries or the Americas. The huge naturalisations after the law of 1927 meant that many foreign-born people were attached to France. Between 1927 and 1940, 600,000 naturalisations took place; many of the naturalised were Italians and refugees. Spanish and Polish did not often choose this possibility. Others opted for a naturalisation in exchange of joining the army. But no more than 100,000 foreigners joined the army in May 1940. Many foreigners were detained in camps. The events of the war meant that some of them entered in the French resistance movement, where they learnt to be integrated into French groups.

After the war, 70,000 Polish, 7,000 Armenians and some Russians chose to return. The new status of political refugee was offered to Spanish people. The different groups were often rather endogamous and maintained their particular customs. The economic growth permitted Italians to become traders or to open a small building enterprise. Many labourers began to have access to social security schemes. Former immigrants became leaders in labour unions and in the urban local sectors of the communist party. The second generation tried to be socially integrated: They became qualified labourers or even entered jobs in the tertiary sector. The tendency was to assimilate to the French model and no longer to focus on the former nationality. Mixed marriages between French women having an Italian father and Italians were frequent, so that the second generation left their community in order to enter the French social space where children were born and raised.

In 1945, the laws regarding immigration were changed. There was a mixed situation between *ius solis* and *ius sanguis*. Five years were then necessary before one could apply for naturalisation. Women and men were equal when they married a foreigner who could become

a French national with a simple declaration. Two permits were introduced: A permit, which permitted them to stay in France and another that allowed to work. Three categories of foreigners were created according to the length of their stay: Temporary resident (one year), ordinary resident (one to three years) and a privileged resident with a permit to be renewed after ten years, a permit that gave to immigrants the same right to work as French nationals had. Certain discriminations were maintained such as the interdiction to undertake labour union responsibilities, to exercise as a lawyer, a medical doctor or a shop owner. Each foreigner could profit from the advantages of social security schemes, such as family social benefits. During these years, many Muslim Algerians entered France: In 1954, they were 200,000. They had been declared French nationals in 1947, and could freely circulate. These immigrants were very interesting for the economy, but the war in Algeria rendered the situation difficult, so that the French state concluded treaties on immigrants with Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Tunisia and Morocco between 1961 and 1963.

Most of the immigrants entered with a tourist passport; visas were suppressed for countries, which exported their labour force. The former African colonies South of the Sahara and Algeria became important regions where immigrant workers were recruited who had no durable guarantees in France. Most of the immigrants had the permit for one year and waited for a regulation of their situation. In 1973, France counted three million foreigners, 61 % of them were Europeans (79 % in 1954). Besides the Spaniards and Italians, Algerians and immigrants from former colonies formed huge groups working in industry (chemical and metallic industry, and construction). More than 50 % of them were specialised workers and labourers. Moroccans, Tunisians and immigrants from South of the Sahara in Africa worked in services (in hotels and as underground and town cleaners). In 1974, refugees formed a small group of 80,000 people, mainly from Central Europe and, after 1971, some non-European groups originating from the Third World. Two thirds of the immigrants worked in industry (car industry, construction). Often, these immigrants were not much politicised due to attitudes learnt during the colonial period or more recent repressive regimes. The distance between immigrants and French nationals increased: French people received higher salaries and experienced an extension of middle class status. Instead immigrants were exploited economically and often lived in "shanty towns" (Spaniards, Portuguese and North-Africans). These men often lived in centres for male immigrants where they began a political struggle in 1969, which lasted for ten years. Other struggles concerned those without legal papers: For the first time, their situation was regulated in 1973 (50,000 people). Finally, the law of 27 June 1972 permitted foreigners to become labour union delegates.

The crisis of 1974 meant a stop of legal immigration. But illegal immigrants continued to enter the country and family reunification contributed to a constant inflow of immigrants. From 1975 to 1980, 110,000 refugees were admitted in France. In 1981, the new socialist

government regulated the situation of 132,000 people. The candidate Mitterrand had promised to give immigrants the right to vote, but faced by a hostile public opinion, the project was abandoned after the successful election.

Since 1980, immigrants began to experience unemployment (30 % for non-Europeans). Industrial sectors where they had been employed were abandoned or restructured. In 1984, France began to admit that immigrants stayed longer in the country than they were supposed to. After three years of legal stay, they could then receive a permit, which permitted them to stay for ten years. During these years, associative movements were widespread among immigrants. Immigration became a political factor: Non-EU immigrants without receiving the right to vote began to play a role as groups who triggered political sympathies or antipathies. The Right-wing National Front with Le Pen obtained votes among popular voters with anti-immigrant politics. In 1993, with a conservative government, new difficulties to obtain the resident permit were introduced, for instance, immigrant spouses of French citizens had to wait two years after their wedding before they could obtain residence.

Since the 1970s, refugees arrived in France in huge numbers (Asian "boat-people", Yugoslavian and other Eastern European groups). To demand asylum became easier than to obtain a legal immigrant status. But an asylum seeker could not work during the duration of the procedure of regulation. The problem of people "without papers" appeared during these years. These foreigners had entered without a working contract, but had worked in France and were married to French spouses or were parents of children born in France. This situation did neither permit to expel them, nor to regulate their situation. In 1998, a law was voted which permitted to facilitate these situations, a reunification of families and the obtaining of a resident permit (Chevènement laws, 11 May, 1998). Students, researchers or artists have received special permits, and also retired people who have been able to travel with this permit from their country of origin to France. The law regulating refugees has been enlarged so that people persecuted for their action for freedom (and not only persecuted by a state) have been able to obtain this status. Many regulations have taken place. In 1993, young people born in France have obtained the possibility to choose the French citizenship by a declaration before the mayor, abandoned in 1998, so that at their majority young immigrants born in France can obtain the French nationality without a formal procedure. The access to French nationality has been opened to everybody who has spent five years in the country. In France, a naturalised man or woman can even become candidate to the presidency of the country. Judicial assimilation is considered as the only basis of equality so that the foreign vote remains excluded.

The process of European integration of immigration and asylum policy has given the power to exclude non-EU nationals from the territory, and this is true of France as elsewhere. This right

of exclusion has been justified by security problems posed by immigration, both in terms of the threat of terrorism, and the economic threat to French jobs and to the social security system. However, since 1974, a growing group of irregular and illegal migrants arrived in France. Families followed, since family reunification was established in 1976. As there were one million unemployed people in 1976, politics to incite in particular Algerian migrants to return to their country were introduced. The party of Le Pen, rather invisible in 1981, had its first success with anti-immigrant slogans during local elections in March 1983. In 1995, 30 % of workers, 25 % of the unemployed and 18 % of the employed voted for Le Pen. This meant an increase of xenophobic attitudes among groups who had voted for Left-wing parties some years earlier.

In 1982, the unemployment rate among foreigners reached 13,8 % (8,1 % for French). In 1995, the rate rose to 30 % for non-EU nationals and to 20 % for all foreigners (11 % for French). Women and young people were the most affected groups: more than 50 % of young people from the Maghreb were unemployed. Immigrants were the first groups concerned by the crisis of the car and the construction industry. During these years, children had become much more numerous. In 1982, young people less than 25 years reached 36,5 % of the total French population, 40,6 % among foreigners, 47,5 % among Algerians and 50,3 % among Moroccans. These children have got difficulties in schools: They have repeated classes and have finished schools without final exams. Currently, some demographic structures of foreign groups are more or less similar to that of the French population. The sex ratio with 47 % of women is rather equilibrated; the birthrate declines with a longer sojourn in France and there is a tendency to reach older age groups (16,4 % of the immigrants are older than 60 against 20 % for the total population). Among immigrants over 50 years, there are much more men than women who reach old age in hostels without having left their immigrant condition.

Immigrants are overrepresented among workers (44 % of the active population in 1999, against 26,3 % for the whole country). The building industry is the main employer, followed by the car industry. Immigrants can also be found as cleaners and in the catering industry where they are often illegally employed. Algerians are often owners of small groceries. Since 1974, the part of young people with university diplomas has increased among Moroccans, Algerians and French-speaking Africans. Another tendency has been the increase of ethnic shops and businesses, which contributes to a new cycle of integration of these groups in the French society.

Table 1: Foreigners by nationality (Census from 1999)

Nationalities	Total	Percentage
Total	3,258,539²	100,0
European nationalities	1,333,310	40,9
German	76,882	2,4
Belgian	66,927	2,1
Spanish	160,194	4,9
Italian	200,632	6,2
Polish	33,925	1,0
Portuguese	555,383	17,0
Yugoslav or ex-Yugoslav.	50,396	1,5
Other	188,971	5,8
Soviets, Russians or ex-Soviets	13,336	0,4
African nationalities	1,417,831	43,5
Algerians	475,216	14,6
Moroccans	506,305	15,5
Tunisians	153,574	4,7
Others	282,736	8,7
American nationalities	80,732	2,5
Asian nationalities	410,293	12,6
Turkish	205,589	6,3
Others	204,704	6,3
Oceanic nationalities and other non-specified Nationalities	3,037	0,1

²5,6 % of the total population living in France.

Table 2: Foreigners by nationality and gender (Census from 1999)

Nationalities	Men	Women
Total	1,729,807	1,528,732
European nationalities	621,978	572,157
Spanish	80,271	79,923
Italian	113,602	87,030
Portuguese	295,350	260,033
Algerians	271,812	203,404
Moroccans	275,772	230,533
Tunisians	90,359	63,215
Different French-speaking African nationalities	113,097	97,999
Different Asian nationalities	31,414	31,550
Turkish	108,552	97,037
Others	216,823	223,837

Table 3: Major immigrant groups by status¹ (Census from 1999)

	Immigrants	Naturalised citizens and country of birth	Foreign born Immigrants and country of birth
Total	4,306,094	1,556,043	2,750,051
Total EU	1,629,457	612,089	1,017,368
Spain	316,232	173,128	143,104
Italy	378,649	209,079	169,570
Portugal	571,874	116,026	455,848
Algeria	574,208	157,341	416,867
Morocco	522,504	133,962	388,542
Tunisia	201,561	81,186	120,375
Former African countries under French administration	276,028	97,851	178,177
Turkey	174,160	26,228	147,932
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	159,750	109,638	50,112
Others	768,426	337,748	430,678

Table 4: Major male immigrant groups by status (Census from 1999)

	Immigrants	Naturalised citizens and country of birth	Foreign born Immigrants and country of birth
Total	2,166,318	707,748	1,458,570
Total EU	773,798	250,644	523,154
Spain	142,347	72,516	69,831
Italy	186,475	91,154	95,321
Portugal	293,472	53,452	240,020
Algeria	322,578	81,787	240,791
Morocco	284,282	68,859	215,423
Tunisia	115,971	42,971	73,000
Former African countries under French administration	147,118	50,612	96,506
Turkey	92,383	13,943	78,440
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	78,370	53,748	24,622
Others	351,818	145,184	206,634

Table 5: Major female immigrant groups by status (Census from 1999)

	Immigrants	Naturalised citizens and country of birth	Foreign born Immigrants and country of birth
Total	2,139,776	848,295	1,291,481
Total EU	855,659	361,445	494,214
Spain	173,885	100,612	73,273
Italy	192,174	117,925	74,249
Portugal	278,402	62,574	215,828
Algeria	251,630	75,554	176,076
Morocco	238,222	65,103	173,119
Tunisia	85,590	38,215	47,375
Former African countries under French administration	128,910	47,239	81,671
Turkey	81,777	12,285	69,492
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	81,380	55,890	25,490
Others	416,608	192,564	224,044

Table 6: Asylum seekers (2003) (Source: Le Monde 2, 23 October 2004)¹

Total	52,204
At the French frontiers in 2003	5,912 (100,0 %)
Africans (Ivory Coast, Congo, Somali, Liberia, etc.)	3,894 (65,9 %)
Latin America (Colombia, Cuba, Peru, Haiti, etc.)	96 (1,6 %)
Asia (China, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka, Philippines, etc.)	1,097 (18,6 %)
Europe, Near East and Middle East (Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey, Iran, etc.)	805 (13,6 %)
Others	20 (0,3 %)

2. Major issues discussed with relation to immigration¹

In France, the current public discussion on migration is related to different issues. During the last months, media attention was concentrated on the female headscarf forbidden in public schools since the beginning of the new school year after the summer holidays (2004). The veil, as other religious signs, such as the cross, is excluded from public life in so far as the country practices a secular character and religion is reserved to the private sphere. Obviously, this topic has driven at much public interest with schoolgirls refusing to abandon the veil and discussions with the school administration. A few girls (47) have been excluded from certain schools after months of public discussion because they were not ready, as most other Muslim girls, to abandon their veil.

Another topic which has found media interest is the free circulation of migrants originating from the Eastern European countries, which have been admitted to the European Union in May 2004. The media has underlined that disparities in living standards are rather high in comparison to the former EU member-states, so that people may be attracted to migrate to France even as illegal workers, thus intensifying labour market concurrence. The media has underlined that poor people from the East had already entered with a tourist visa before the admission of their countries to the EU. Those who wish to enter by respecting legal rules are often students according to the media discourse.

Another interesting point is the suggestion that immigrants are a remedy against the ageing of the French population. There are two topics linked in the media discourse: On the one hand, the fear to be confronted by a lack of labourers and, on the other hand, the hope to make the effects of the demographic ageing of the French population easier with the entry of younger migrants. But the media discourse and above all *Le Monde* underline that these are not the poorest people who currently migrate as in the past, but middle classes or students with diploma who are the most mobile. France is not in favour of the quota system defended by other European countries permitting to admit only the most useful migrants. Intellectuals, such as Catherine de Wenden, underline that the economic necessities of the countries of origin and the interests of the migrants must also be taken in account. The result is then the integration of the migrant not only in the labour force, but also in the whole society.

Another topic is the strengthening of the controls in order to avoid illegal immigration. The former Minister of the Interior, N. Sarkozy was very much in favour to introduce measures against illegal intermediary people who try to bring Chinese, Africans or Eastern Europeans to France. The repatriation of these immigrants and measures to create a common effort in France, Italy and Spain to protect the Mediterranean frontier, perhaps in common with some Arab countries concerned by these migrants, have also been discussed.

A recent book from S. Hajji and S. Marteau (2005) gives some interesting insights in the media treatment of Islam. The authors find that the fear of Muslims has entered the media. After the high score of Le Pen, the leader of the National Front, at the presidential elections of 2002, the press didn't want to appear any longer as a means where ethnic topics were avoided. But most often, mainstream journalists are not informed on these topics. French TV journalists seem to be biased by information taken from the police who are nearer to a social reality unknown to the western journalists who cover these topics in the media. In films, Arabs and Blacks continue to play the roles of delinquents. Journalists from visible minorities have thus tried to change this situation by asking media officials to respect ethnic diversity and by insisting on giving French people of foreign origin other roles than that of the fanatic terrorist.

A recent event, largely covered by the media, was the complaint of a young woman in July 2004 saying that she had been aggressed by young Arabs and Blacks in the Parisian suburban railway. The Minister of the Interior and the President of the French state expressed their indignation; the media covered the event as an anti-Semitic act. The principal French dailies (*Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, *Libération*) had headlines such as "A French story", "The railway of hate", etc. The president of the CRIF, the principal Jewish association, asked the imams to look for the right words in their mosques. Four days later, the young woman admitted that she had invented the entire story. There were similar stories in the past where French nationals of Muslim culture were the victims of pseudo-crimes (cf. pp. 233-242).

The journalists also inform us on the opinion of the rector of the Parisian mosque, Dalil Boubakeur, who thinks that the media create antagonistic situations and insist on particular signs in order to convince the public. According to him, the media show a typical Muslim with a beard or a woman with a headscarf and not the scientist working on the topic and eager to discuss it. This situation means that large groups do not feel correctly represented by the media. Thus, an ethnic press, ethnic radios and ethnic TV have developed during the last years (e.g. Beur FM and Beur TV), which have tackled information on France and the country of origin. Yet the problem is that the country of origin often does not interest the youngsters, so that they find a possibility to discuss their social and societal interests in chatting groups on the web. There they can find religious and political discussions where many different viewpoints are expressed. According to the authors, French nationals of another cultural origin would prefer to find this situation in the national media, but cannot find this diversity there.

3. Institutional setting framing immigrant participation¹

3.1. The legal framework

In order to facilitate the understanding of the current institutional setting framing immigrant participation, the author of this report considers that a historical perspective is necessary so that this part of the report includes some historical references, which can explain current institutional politics.

France considers that the participation as citizen in the political life of the country implies that one has chosen this country as a residence. The immigrant is a man who has made his choice: to neglect this fact would mean to neglect his liberty. The foreigner who wishes to become a French national can do that with great facility. Asking for naturalisation is the real political choice according to Paul Dijoud, director of population and migration in the Ministry of labour under the presidency of Giscard d'Estaing.³ A law was voted 11 July 1975, which permitted foreigners to exercise the functions of trade union delegates under the same conditions as French nationals. The first article of this law states: "The delegate or the delegates of the trade unions must be 18 years old and should have worked in the enterprise for at least one year and should not have been punished to sentences according to the electoral code." In any case, foreigners should remain politically neutral, so that this law meant certain restrictions in the functions of a labour union delegate. Since 1968, immigrants had asked for this right. In fact, since 1968, immigrants of the European Economic Community could already exercise this right. Labourers from French-speaking Africa could also do so with the exception of Algerians. Algeria had not signed a treaty granting reciprocity.⁴

Compared to other countries of the European Union, there was a hiatus in France between the rights of foreigners in the enterprise and the rights to represent and to participate in public life. Foreigners do not have civic rights, such as voting, before their naturalisation. In the 1970s, the topic of the participation of immigrants in the local council life was rather old. Already in 1967, the European Union had tackled the subject. In France, local migrant councils were introduced, which had an only consultative role and their competencies were limited to municipal interests. Nevertheless, these councils have the advantage to associate migrants to political decision processes in the country of immigration and to familiarise the national population with the idea of the participation of foreigners in political life. Do they constitute then an initiation to the local political life, a consultation structure and a way of obtaining the

³"La politique de l'immigration", *Droit social*, 5, 1976, p. 4.

⁴Wihtol de Wenden-1988- 199.

right to vote or is this an instrument of division and diversion, a substitute to the right to vote? This question has been asked many times in the following years.

Often, economic migrants from non-EU countries experienced rather reduced political rights in their countries of origin or were characterised by the political cleavages of their countries, which had seldom or only recently a labourer tradition. Political refugees, instead, were politicised, which gave a political dimension to their social expression. But politics appeared to many immigrants as a taboo and a topic of distrust. They always risked to be expelled for political reasons. But there were forms of expression open to immigrants in France: consultative local rights, the expression in enterprises, and the participation in associations, wild strikes, qualified by some as "an extra-parliamentary opposition". These strategies of influence were often the used utilised. Certain conflicts, such as those concerning the old and neglected buildings where immigrants lived, had an influence on political decisions by their duration and extension, which in principle transgressed strict political neutrality.

Immigrants thus used political resources unknown by the public power.⁵ In the enterprises, immigrants were sometimes mobilised on an ad hoc basis depending on the issue that was being battled out by the labour unions, e.g. on their professional and geographic mobility and on their representation in trade unions. Compared to French nationals in the 1970s, only 10 % of immigrants were members of trade unions, against 20 to 25 % of French workers. In fact, in sectors, such as the car industry, where many immigrants worked, due to the general under-representation of immigrants in the unions, the union leaders were not considered legitimate by the economic authorities there because they did not actually represent the majority of the workforce.

The major conflict of these years was the hostel conflict. Since 1974, struggles around the question of housing and the national character that they had, revealed the crisis of the living conditions in the hostels. The residents of these centres required material and qualitative changes, so that immigrants became conscious of their living conditions in France. Their condition could not be modified without a political intervention. This conflict was a sort of politicisation of a question, which was not political in essence. The strike became the continuation of politics by other means. The social environment of the immigrants had become politicised in order to exercise a pressure on the political system. This strike has often been described as a tentative of the immigrants to abandon their passive role, their being "an industrial reserve army" serving to strengthen the socio-economic stability of the host country during periods of economic recession. The strike, which lasted until June 1978, showed the

⁵Wihtol de Wenden-1988-216.

limits of the labour unions in the battles outside the enterprises and contributed to a redefinition of the place of immigrants in French society.⁶

In the following years, the life-world of immigrants continued to be a centre of politicisation. The cleaners of the Parisian underground were on strike, clandestine immigrants and youth in the suburbs demonstrated. These conflicts were handled at the local participant level if this was possible with the help of mediators. With these actions, immigrants entered the French political sphere where they tried to exercise an influence concerning the autonomy of their actions. The defence and expression of their interests left the political periphery and turned to the French political centre. Among immigrants, a tradition of struggles had appeared, which was absent when they first came to France.

From 1977 to 1981, localism began to become important for the political space of immigrants in France. Immigrants were then settled for a long time and were interested in the local context where they lived. Political leaders began to tackle the problem of immigration. First, in discourses and then for some of them in activities. But its use was always an indicator of the balance of power between the different parties. In certain towns, extra-municipal commissions were installed with the aim to give a voice to the immigrants (Créteil, Guayancourt). But the political challenge was minimum, because of the fact that immigrants were not voters. The then mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac, declared to be in favour of the local vote of immigrants, living at least five years in the municipality. The Socialist party had already suggested in 1977 the establishment of consultative commissions in municipalities where representatives of immigrants, elected by their community, should participate in local politics. The Communist party remained hostile to the right to vote at the level of the municipality, because they considered this act as a wish to assimilate, whereas immigrants were citizens of their countries of origin. Organisations defending the rights of immigrants and labour unions also underlined the creation of the possibility of a local vote. The answer of the public opinion and of the immigrants was rather mixed. A consultative participation in the local activities was progressively accepted, but a local vote was more or less rejected, as revealed by national polls.⁷

Conflicts concerning the labour conditions were those of the RATP (Parisian underground) in 1977 and 1980 requiring more labour guarantees, better salaries and better hygienic conditions. Moroccan miners were on strike in 1980, backed by trade unions, such as the CGT and the CFDT. Other public rallies were those concerning governmental measures of expulsion and insecurity. Often, one could find churches, labour unions, different local

⁶See Quiminal-1991 for more details on the strike in centres for African immigrants originating from Mali and Miller-1981.

⁷Wihtol de Wenden-1988- 261 and for examples of these commissions pp. 262-264.

solidarity associations and sometimes some groups of the communist party in these rallies and demonstrations. In 1980, even lawyers, the League of the Peoples' rights, and the Socialist Party protested against anti-immigrant laws after the call of 70 associations reunited in Paris under the slogan "French-immigrants against racism and arbitrariness". During these years, the right to form an association without the authorisation of the Minister of the Interior was asked for. Different organisations considered that the French state tried to hinder the right of immigrants to form associations.

The election of President Mitterrand in 1981 meant a change in politics concerning immigrants. Even if the targets remained unchanged (an end of immigration, the settlement of those already there), some references were changed. The expulsions of young immigrants ceased and the right of family reunification were underlined since summer 1981. Moreover, immigrants received the right to associate under the same terms than French nationals, as it was expressed in the law of 1901. Lawyers received the right to control governmental decisions of expulsion. Efforts were made to favour the expression and representation of immigrants in a multi-cultural France. Different laws were voted: the right to associate (9 October 1981), the law regulating the work of irregular immigrants (17 October 1981) and the law regulating the entrance and sojourn of foreigners in France (29 October 1981).

These laws went in the direction of a greater equality between foreigners and French nationals, even if the question of political rights for foreigners was abandoned after the election. Associations had then to be declared; temporary residents could marry without the authorisation of the Minister of the Interior; employers of clandestine immigrants risked the confiscation of their material and their production, and irregular immigrant workers received social security treatment, holidays and the possibility to be defended by a labour union; the situation of irregular foreigners with a stable job could then be regularised. Young immigrants of the second generation could from this time on stay in France if they had lived there for a long period. Expulsions had become exceptional measures.

Obtaining the right to vote for immigrants is blocked in France due to ideological reasons linking citizenship, nationality and territory. Because of the fact that immigrants have not the right to vote in local elections (except recently EU-nationals), and do not constitute a political influent group, immigration has been utilised as a challenge in the local political discourse. This topic has got an ideological meaning for the extreme Right-wing party, National Front, which has tackled topics such as insecurity, the level of tolerance, France to foreigners, and "the myth of the number".

Immigrants that have been excluded from the local and national scene have begun to play an important role, even if they have been less actors than subjects of political discourses. At the national level, immigration has become a subject that has to be tackled by those who look for

legitimacy. At the local level, immigration has played the role to destabilize electors, who were worried by a multi-ethnic society, clandestine immigrants, and huge numbers of immigrants. So these electors have tried to reorganise the right/left cleavage. At an international level, immigration has formed a challenge to negotiations between France and countries of departure (e.g. Algeria). The status of immigrants has thus become the result of these different elements.

In 1983, the spectre of nationalities was enlarged: Europeans formed less than the half (48 %) of foreigners in France with Arabs coming from Maghreb who had been 38,5 % of all immigrants. The sex ratio due to family reunification had become much more equilibrated. The part of youngsters under 20 years is still higher for immigrants than for French nationals, immigrants' activity rate is much lower and one foreigner out of three lives in the Parisian region. The visibility of a generation originating from immigration and possessing the French nationality or a status of double citizenship puts the question of social, cultural, and political legitimacy of their presence in the French political order. Immigration in France is about four million people, despite the flows of clandestine people and the acquisition of the French nationality. More and more immigrants born in France have acquired at their majority the French nationality.

In 1984, a work permit, including the right to stay in France for ten years, was created, which spouses or children of French nationals, parents of French children, refugees or residents in France for more than fifteen years could receive. Since that moment, legitimacy based on labour was abandoned; the resident became settled in France. A National Council of Immigrant Populations (CNPI) was established in 1984, which had to counsel the government and which was composed of immigrants, leaders of enterprises and labour unions, civil servants and personalities from the associations. In August 1983, the Left-wing government incited the mayors to create extra-municipal commissions open to associations of immigrant communities. In the same year, a law proposal aiming at the creation of consultative councils of foreign communities was suggested. But these forms of consultations were opposed to the lack of motivation and means of the municipalities and their difficulties to find interlocutors. The greatest problem was the National Front, which tried to counteract politically and legally against mayors who installed commissions for immigrants.⁸

The *Sans-Papiers* movement of originally African illegal migrants has been described in Jane Freedman's book "Immigration and Insecurity in France", 2004. These migrants 'without papers' attracted widespread media attention when the police broke down the doors of a church in Paris to expel them who had been staging a hunger strike. This expulsion mobilised the French population who supported the movement with demonstrations and public petitions.

⁸See the end of Part II. for examples of consultative councils.

Occupations and hunger strikes had begun in the 1970s, but the larger movement of the mid-1900s followed after a series of legalisation introduced by Right-wing governments, which had pushed many immigrants into a situation of illegality.

This more recent movement began in March 1996 when 300 Africans, mainly from Mali and Senegal, occupied a church in Paris. The aim was to put pressure on the government to regularise their residence situation in France. The expulsion four days later put an end to this adventure. But at the end of June 1996, another church was occupied. Meanwhile, mediators, composed of scientists, lawyers and other personalities had met the government, but their propositions were rejected. In other French towns, hunger strikes and occupations followed. At the end of August 1996, over thousand policemen expelled the sans-papiers from the Parisian church. Blacks were arrested and white people, the supporters, could go free. The violence of the police intervention provoked a wave of public support and demonstrations in favour of the groups. 11,000 people protested in a demonstration the following week against the government's treatment of the issue. At the end of the year, the same Right-wing government introduced new bills relating to illegal residence and work in France which found little opposition from the Left wing deputies. Associations defending immigrants' rights and the extra-parliamentary left organised a campaign against these bills. They received 120,000 signatures for a petition and could gather more than 100,000 demonstrators in February 1997. The bill was then re-worded. The Left-wing government elected in 1997 organised a regularisation of half of the 160,000 sans-papiers who had submitted a request for regularisation. They received legal residence permits for one year, which allowed the unsecured situation to continue for them and those who had not been regularised. According to the philosopher Balibar, the question of the sans-papiers has revealed a new consensus between Left and Right (pp. 74). The then Prime Minister Jospin "declared the necessity to maintain a firm line on immigration and to avoid the danger of regularisation of sans-papiers becoming an invitation for more immigrants to try and enter France illegally. " (74)

The Right-wing government, elected in 2002, tried to resolve the issue by clarifying procedures for prefectures dealing with claims for residency papers and by deciding to expel those without papers. The Minister of the Interior, N. Sarkozy, organised 'charter' flights to expel illegal immigrants. But the resistance of the sans-papiers and the mobilisation of their supporters continued. The movement has centred on the demand for a regularisation of all sans-papiers and not a regularisation on a case-by-case basis. The question of the sans-papiers has occupied an important place in the debate over immigration in France during the last years, highlighting the boundaries between citizens of the EU and those from outside of Europe. This movement, which began with principally African migrants, has extended to involve migrants of all nationalities. The debate has not only tackled immigration rules, but the nature of citizenship and inclusion and exclusion, as Freedman underlines (81). Foreigners

living in France without legal residence papers have become politically active and have engaged with French authorities. Balibar suggests (1999) that this mobilisation has contributed to a new 'active citizenship'. In fact, many of these 'illegalised' immigrants have a family life in France and play a role in the French economy.

3.2. Political rights of immigrants

The associative movement instead gave immigrants the possibility to exercise the political right to associate. Often, immigrants from non-EU countries had other more urgent problems to resolve than the right to vote. Already in 1982, Algerians and Moroccans, originating from countries maintaining strong political and economic ties with France, underlined that they favoured equal social and trade union rights. The right to vote, according to them, did not permit to obtain an equality of rights.⁹ They preferred to require the right to express themselves.

The political class in France is more or less hostile to political rights of immigrants. Some of the most common arguments are:

- The right to vote is granted in the form of "a compensation" following the successful socialisation in the receiving state in order to permit the immigrant to assimilate (such as the right to vote after naturalisation or after a long sojourn).
- Immigrants are according to some political leaders "not educated enough" to exercise this right; they have to be prepared, e.g., with a local consultative participation, which permits an acculturation;
- Perhaps the right to vote is not the best-adapted solution to political attitudes of immigrants, who prefer forms of collective expression (associative life, strikes, etc.). Political parties have thus directed the debate towards these collective rights during the last years.

However, the French law does not exclude every possibility for foreigners to exercise certain public activities, such as the participation in the constitution of public elective organism. They are voters and can be elected by parent associations in schools, at social security schemes and they can be electors for the constitution of certain courts, such as the tribunals of rural leases and they can be members of industrial tribunals, but they cannot be elected. Moreover, foreign students have the right to vote in universities.

⁹See Wihtol de Wenden-1988-308.

What are then the obstacles? In order to extend the right to vote and to be elected to foreigners, a revision of the constitution is necessary. The fact that the electors of the municipal councillors are in an indirect way also the electors of the senators is problematic.¹⁰ The electors are considered in the French constitution to form the "peuple" which is constituted by French citizens and not foreign citizens. The French position regarding political rights remains conformable to the conception of assimilation of citizenship in a nation-state, a legacy from the 19th century. The right to vote remains the other side of naturalisations, which have been gradually obtained after a lengthy procedure of two or three years in most cases. The actual problem is more or less the huge number of immigrants today, compared to their small number in the 19th century. In France, you cannot be an immigrant and a French national accordingly, but in the USA you can.

Polls carried out between 1974 and 1994 showed a high opposition to the idea of giving foreigners the right to vote in local elections (from 55 to 75 % according to Freedman-2004-91). Immigrants interviewed in 1990 said that they would like to have the right to vote (*L'Express*, 23 March 1990). After some political discussion, the Socialist Prime Minister, M. Rocard, decided to drop the idea of giving immigrants the right to vote in 1990. This led to furious divisions within the Left.

A complicating event was the Maastricht treaty and the European vote. EU citizens were given the right to vote in local elections in the country in which they were resident, even without having the nationality of this country. At the 2001 municipal elections, the Right wing was firmly against granting voting rights to non-nationals from outside of the EU; the Left wing was more divided. The Green Party suggested a constitutional bill, but the then Prime Minister, L. Jospin argued that the conditions were not given for the adoption of such a measure at that time. Freedman reports, "In December 2002, several associations organised a 'referendum' on the right to vote for foreigners. This 'citizens' vote' was organised in 70 towns and cities across France and permitted those who supported the idea of extending the right to vote to immigrants to go and vote for this idea in associational headquarters, in markets or in the town hall." (94) But these initiatives have not convinced politicians.

The book "Étranger et citoyen. Les immigrés et la démocratie locale", edited by B. Delemotte and J. Chevallier, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1996 testifies on the associative councils of immigrants in seven city councils in France. In this book, which is the outcome of a conference, the mayors of several towns report on practical difficulties, judicial problems, problems caused by the Right-wing party "Front national", etc. The opinions of the mayors on these initiatives have been more or less positive, as they have considered that immigrants have learnt to

¹⁰The constitution from 1958 states: "Sont électeurs, dans les conditions déterminées par la loi, tous les nationaux français majeurs des deux sexes, jouissant de leurs droits civils et politiques."

participate in local political matters even if the local councils have been confronted to multiple difficulties. The common point of the different interventions during the conference was that urban policy has to take account of the immigrants and to look for solutions, which may be different according to local situations. According to these political leaders, it is only in this way that the towns can avoid the political uprising of these immigrant groups. As Freedman argues these councils were of little real practical significance: "The immigrant representatives present in the sessions of the municipal councils were not allowed to vote, and in fact, for the session to be legally valid, it had to be suspended every time one of the immigrant representatives spoke, and then reconvened afterwards." (94)

Nevertheless, the situation of French nationals of immigrant origin was somewhat better in local and municipal politics. As Oriol finds for the 2001 municipal elections, 7.6 % of the candidates were of 'foreign origin', of which 4.6 % were of Maghrebin origin. All of the parties, even the extreme Right, presented candidates of immigrant origin. However, not all parties managed to elect them. The majority of the elected representatives were from Left-wing parties and were Maghrebins integrated in the political system because of the fact that their presence was related to the 'difficult' suburbs. (96) These candidates are in fact closer to 'civil society' and to French cultural diversity. Even if they are French nationals, their small number displays their marginalisation and a sort of exclusion.

In the last years, other forms of circulation emerged with forms of transnational migration linking different territories by transfers of people, goods and money. Different countries at the other side of the Mediterranean Sea have become important challenges for the French state, with countries of origin more and more active regarding the cultural and political status of their citizens. In an economic understanding, these people are, e.g., Algerians of France establishing close transnational links between both countries (e.g., remittances sent from France to Algeria). During the 1980s, the creation of cultural associations contributed to the creation of a conscience of these communities that they had to accept certain rules and could no longer stay marginal. These associations suggested to their French militants of the second generation their inscription as voters, so that they could influence local and national elections. Harlem Désir, a French politician of Algerian origin and the leader of SOS Racism, has continued his political career in the following decades in local political life in the Parisian region.

3.3. The associative movement

Associations began to become mass movements: In the 1980s, there were 850 Arab movements (women, youth, intercultural associations), 350 Turk movements (divided by their

religious and political currents), 250 South East-Asian refugee associations and about 1,000 self-help associations; and a very feeble movement of refugees from Latin America.¹¹ Many of these associations have received financial assistance from the *Fonds d'Action Sociale* (FAS)¹², most of them up to several thousand Euros; one hundred associations 150,000 Euros. In order to give some figures, in the 1990s, the FAS distributed each year 1,3 billion French Francs (about 20 million Euros).¹³

In fact, as Freedman argues "for some advocates of postnational citizenship, the lack of formal voting rights and the right to be elected is not an important barrier to citizenship, since political citizenship might be provided in the form of participation through associational movements or other alternative forms of participation." (89) On the other hand, it might be argued that the lack of representation of ethnic minorities in France's National Assembly, with one Muslim deputy and two female Maghrebi senators (Hajji/Marteau-2005-123), and in local elected assemblies with 5.6 % deputies of immigrant origin and 3.5 % of Maghrebin origin during the 2001 municipal elections (Freedman-96), is a sort of exclusion. And Freedman continues: "The participation of immigrants in associations is not perceived by the French state as a transition towards full political participation, but as a substitute for full political citizenship... It is argued that participation in such associations provides a real participation in local affairs..." (98).

3.4. Residence and temporary permits

The French law on foreigners regulates the right of residence of immigrants on the French territory. Many foreign groups (EU nationals, Algerians...) depend on special agreements according to their nationality. Since 1974, the application of the Decree of 02/11/1945 concerning the conditions of entry and residence of immigrants in France has made the access to employment depending on a residence permit. Currently, labour immigration to France can be considered as impossible and the only legal ways to reside and work in France are family reunification and settlement. There is no work permit as such, except for traders and artisans, but only a residence permit. The foreigners who have the right to work in France without an

¹¹See Wihtol de Wenden-1988-364.

¹²*Fonds d'action sociale* - Social Action Fund set up in 1959, now called FASILD (*Fonds d'action sociale pour l'intégration et la lutte contre les discriminations* - Social Action Fund for Integration and Anti-Discrimination). This organisation has financed many studies on immigration topics done by university researchers or independent researchers associated to universities and continues to play an important role as an institution financing associations and research on immigrant topics.

¹³Wihtol de Wenden and Leveau-2001-110/111.

authorisation are: EU members of Andorra and Monaco, those with a residence permit (a 10-year certificate for Algerians) or a temporary residence permit with the mention "private and family life", and some other categories such as media correspondents, sailors, etc. A EU national has the right to work without a permit. Except for the categories mentioned above, all foreigners who wish to stay on the French territory for more than 3 months need to hold a residence permit in order to get a certificate allowing them to work. The category of residence permit delivered depends on the reason for entry to the French territory. Two residence permits exist. Residence permits (*Cartes de residence*) are valid for ten years and give the right to work (all jobs in all regions of France). Temporary permits are valid for one year and give limited access to employment to certain categories of applicants. These latter permits are delivered to those able to prove real family ties ("private and family life" category), scientists, artists, students and visitors. The beneficiaries of this permit are automatically eligible to work in France, with the exception of students who must apply for an authorisation. Algerian nationals holding a temporary permit have the right to get a residence permit, if they can prove regular and uninterrupted residence in France during the last 3 years. They must have sufficient income during their stay and stable resources. Furthermore, they are not required to hold a professional card in order to be self-employed. Extra-Europeans do not have free access to work, as workers or self-employed workers. They may ask for the right to come to work in France. However, applications are almost systematically rejected, the European preference is always invoked. The situation on the labour market can be invoked as a reason for rejecting. Applications of special categories, such as scientists can be submitted with a letter of the employer. If the authorisation is granted, it gives the right to a one-year work permit, which has to be renewed every year. A new amendment signed on 1 July 2001, allowed citizens of Algeria and Tunisia to be included in the general regulations of the Decree of 2 November 1945, which apply to nationals of other countries. Tunisians can benefit from all new mentions regarding temporary permits created by the Chevènement law ("private and family life", "visitors"). To obtain a long-term residence permit, foreigners must have sickness insurance. After 3 years, third-country nationals can ask for a 10-year residence permit, which may be delivered. After 5 years, a residence permit can be automatically obtained, if third-country nationals apply for one.¹⁴

One of the major French characteristics lies in the diversity of governmental agencies in charge of immigration issues. Within the government, three government ministries are responsible for immigration issues: 1) the Ministry of the Interior is responsible for questions dealing with residence and asylum, 2) the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for questions regarding entry into the territory (visa policy), and 3) the Ministry of Social Affairs, Labour and Solidarity is responsible for the integration policy and the fight against

¹⁴See for more information on this issue Blion et al.- 2003-13-16.

discrimination. The FASILD is attached to this ministry. The Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior are moreover responsible for asylum-seekers and refugees.¹⁵ This multiplicity of governmental actors does not facilitate the implementation of a global and concerted approach towards French immigration policy. The consequence is a fragmented approach to immigration issues.

¹⁵See for more information on this issue Blion et al.- 2003-9.

Part II: Active Civic Participation of Third Country Immigrants

II.1. Introduction

In this part of the report, we present different studies on active civic participation of third country immigrants in France. The group who has acknowledged the largest amount of research are people from the Maghreb, who we will begin with. After the presentation of two studies (one of the associative movement and another on elite political participation), we will present the headscarf issue in French schools and the political participation of Africans from the South of the Sahara and in particular those originating from Mali. In our opinion, these movements are representative for other rural migrants from the Sahara region, but not so much for urban migrants from coastal African regions, who have more seldom been the topic of research. In the following part, we will present Asian groups and we will give some impressions on Latin-American and North-American immigrants who are often characterised by a more or less privileged situation compared to Africans or Asians, and who arrived on their own and not after French recruitment campaigns. The active civic participation of these groups seems to be nearer to that of EU-nationals, with a participation in cultural and political groups linked to their country of origin (or resistance groups for Latin America) and is rather underresearched. In the last part, we will give some information on Eastern European groups.

II.2. The associative movements

The book by Catherine Wihtol de Wenden and Rémy Leveau "La Bourgeoisie. Les trois âges de la vie associative issue de l'immigration", 2001 tackles three generations of civic associations of immigrants in France. The first generation of associations was born in the 1970s and was characterised by labour, immigration and travelling to the country of origin; the second was characterised by the law of 1981 admitting immigrants' associations and by the "beur" (which means Arab in slang) movement; it had its apogee from 1983 to 1993 with new actors, new strategies and new challenges; the third movement has been characterised by the generation of the 1990s, confronted by the decline of civic associations originating from immigration and by the necessity to be inscribed as partners of public powers in local social actions, and the struggle against exclusion.

The authors undertook two fieldworks among 150 civic associations in the Parisian region, Strasbourg, Marseille and in Nord-Pas de Calais in 1987 and 1988; the second fieldwork, in 1996, was realised with 52 interviewees, who were associative leaders in the Parisian region.

The first period was characterised, according to the authors, by public powers trying to link the associations to their integration politics (they began to speak on integration), the emergence of the phenomenon of the "second generation" existing beside associations formed around nationalities or pressure groups against the politics of the government, the looking for and the beginning of the liberty of association, accompanied by a looking for political rights. The foreigner was still confined to political reserve; he could not vote at the local level and was confronted to suspicion regarding each other form of participative citizenship. The foreigner was someone who was a non-national, who privileged the economic situation and who belonged to the working class. The collective memory was characterised by exemplary strikes and class conflicts. In 1974, after the creation of a secretary of state of immigration, a net of associations was built and charged with measures to welcome immigrants, to inform and to orient them. In 1975, there were already 170 associations. Their leaders were militants of immigration, former trade unionists, but also former militaries knowing the Maghreb, and religious leaders. Often, these people were French nationals, and more or less paternalist or technical in their relation to immigrants and the administration.

These associations were specialised in migrants' necessities. Other associations continued to exist: Associations of labourers organised according to nationality, village associations and solidarity associations. The first have often been created by the countries of origin and aimed at a political mobilisation towards the country of origin. Male workers have been organised around challenges of their countries and actions to defend the right of foreigners (entrance, sojourn, equal social rights and sometimes political rights). Village associations have created social links in the form of nets of communities for the first generation of immigrants. Often, they have been limited to one region or some villages and have had no national influence. The offices of the associations have served as social and cultural meeting points. Their main activities have been to organise shows and cultural events, and to offer language courses.

Solidarity associations, which have been very active in the 1970s, have helped immigrants to defend their rights, to struggle against racism, to denounce illegal administrative practices, to discuss individual and collective situations of different groups regarding their status (clandestines, asylum seekers, children excluded from family reunification, etc.) These associations have been formed by French nationals and immigrant militants reunited around common actions. They were local sub-groups of national associations or they have become structured around precise and punctual aims in order to denounce a given situation (crimes, provocations, etc.).

Since the middle of the 1970, Left-wing associations, churches and the Socialist party declared themselves in favour of the abolition of the law of 1939, obliging foreign associations to obtain an authorisation from the Ministry of the Interior. These associations

could have their headquarters in France or in a foreign country and were led by foreigners or a part of their administrators were foreigners. According to this law, many associations had been forbidden. Moreover, the authorisation could be declared null and certain associations could be the target of unpleasant policy acts or menaces to be dissolved. Their leaders risked an expulsion. Jean Le Garrec, a socialist, inscribed in 1976 the right of association in a party programme, which should defend an equality of rights and the right to be different. He considered these as the first steps in order to attain a representation of migrant workers, paralleled by the creation of extra-municipal commissions preparing the right to vote. In 1980, the Socialist party considered the right to associate as one of the different elements of an equality of rights. The victory of the Left in May 1981 let emerge ideas asking to link the right to associate to the right to vote. The new majority was generally favourable to the right to associate, but the right to vote found certain reticence. Finally, the liberty of association and that of private radios was only defended, because of the fact that there were other priorities: The maintenance of the *ius solis* to obtain the French nationality, the situation of clandestine people, the right to sojourn and measures against expulsions of young foreigners. Immigrants were more interested in the recognition of the right to associate than the right to vote. Associations were considered to permit new cultural identities, which were another political claim of this period. The law of 9 October 1981 let enter foreigners in the common law of associations of 1901, and let finish the requirement to link the right to associate and political rights, which had prevailed until this time. This new law meant the legalisation of national and local associations, which had not yet asked for their authorisation; an autonomy of associations, which had been covered by French associations; the independence of groups of young people or women who had been parts of national associations and, about all, the creation of a large number of local associations, the growth of the immigrant members of these associations, the creation of institutional links with local communities and the obtaining of sponsoring and meeting rooms.

During the two years following the promulgation of the law, change was rather mild. The activities of associations remained influenced by the past: cultural activities, the defence of rights and administrative help, literacy campaigns and educational measures at a national level, recreational activities, actions directed towards children, women and youth at the local level, sometimes accompanied by conflicts with social and community workers. Religious associations were also created, which sometimes helped pupils or prepared cultural events.

The second period was one, which was characterised by the "beur" movement. According to the authors of this study, this period after the change of the law permitted foreigners to create associations and opened up a new era between the associations and the state with the demonstration of the "beurs" in December 1983. SOS racism and France Plus were created, two large associations financed by the political power. They have been new civic movements

destined to create social and political links: Their activities turned around anti-racism, new citizenship, localism and civic settling.

The main actors were no longer foreign labourers, but the second and third generation, often stemming from the Arab immigration or middle classes who had come to France in order to study or to "see other things". 3,000 or 4,000 associations were created in the second half of the 1980s. Leaders emerged who put themselves as middlemen between the basis and the summit of the state. They tried to enlarge the inscription of French immigrants on electoral lists and presented candidates who stood for the municipal elections of 1989. They expressed their opinion on the Gulf war and the code of nationality. These struggles were sometimes based on the topic of a new local citizenship, which would be participative and secular. These movements concerned above all Arabs, Black Africans and Asians were only marginally present. At the same time, a rupture with the older movement of workers and the countries of origin was consumed. In October 1984, a second demonstration against racism and discriminations, and for equality and civic rights took place. This movement was more radical than the one in 1983 and mobilised groups far away from the political debate; the slogan was "For a plural France" and not as the year before "For a France that feels solidarity with each other". There were different currents inside this movement (p. 38).

But the movement of the first generation, even restructured, remained important after 1981. These associations had a double function: The socialisation of the community on an ethnic, religious or cultural foundation and the intention to become a social movement. Regional, familial and female associations required a political legitimacy, which was no longer based on the nation and tried to face traditional values of the countries of origin.

In 1985, there were more than 4,000 associations from which 850 were Arab, 350 Turk, and 200 African from South of the Sahara and 250 formed by refugees from South-East Asia. The rest were associations from EU-groups. The "beurs" associations were directed towards the youth and the defence of the rights of their parents (the right to vote, dignity). They rapidly became a mass movement, which received its power from politics. Despite the few "beurs" candidates who stood for the regional elections of 1986, all the great parties had included on their lists for the first time some candidates of Arab origin. But no one was in a position to be elected. Some of them, as Djida Tazdaït, founder of "Zaama d'banlieue" in 1981, became deputies in the European Parliament in 1989.

The authors of this study evoke a third generation of associations between 1993 and 2000. In the 1990s, a return to the private sphere or to community values could be found, a trend, which abandoned a little the public life. In the associative movement, the equilibrium between the expression of private values and political values has been rather unstable. There haven't been any clearly defined aims for the links with public powers. The topic of citizenship has

declined in favour of actions turning around the group and localism has become a *modus vivendi*: To clean urban quarters from drugs, to favour access to work, to accompany school children, to struggle against the exclusion of sport or to favour cultural expressions. The members of this third generation of associations have changed their objectives with time: They had no parents who had been able to defend their aims, so that they mobilised against the state and for their parents. Today, there are associations of adults who take care of children. Some associations, which have emerged from civic associations, have begun to defend immigrant memory. At the same time, integration and exclusion of immigrants have continued to coexist. Figures such as the football player Zinedine Zidane of Algerian origin, who played in the football world cup in 1998 and led France to success, or the actor Jamel, who has organised cultural events which have attracted many young Arabs have become role models, who have permitted immigrants to dream their dreams of success.

At the same time, the three sorts of associations have continued to coexist. The civic associative movement has been rather conflicting between generations and sorts of leadership. Personal power and regional (local, national and European) rivalry have opposed their leaders. More and more leaders are now professionals. They often possess university degrees. We will precise their social situation when we will review V. Geisser's book. Associations of political militants are characterised by leaders with abundant political or trade union experiences. They try to reconcile the generations and regions. The Turk movement can be situated here. It is directed towards the country of origin, is politicised and is divided on religious lines. Most of the former members of the "beur" movement try now to encourage local actions or to defend institutional or judicial values. Often, these leaders have increased their influence thanks to their movements. Associations working in urban districts are organised in a struggle against exclusion, in the advancement of women, and in the development of sport and culture. Sometimes, they try to gather the generations; others are oriented towards a young public. The associations of the third generation do not consider the European challenge as central, but as an additional challenge.

II.3. Elites of Arab origins in the French political system

The book of Vincent Geisser "Ethnicité républicaine: Les élites d'origine maghrébine dans le système politique français", Presses de Sciences Po, Paris, 1997 describes elites originating from the Maghreb in the French political system. According to Geisser, these elites display a state multiculturalism, which favours immigrant elites, their multicultural associations and their community radios. The idea that France could have problems with a radical Islam has triggered the promotion of elites having the task to let Arab immigrants adopt "correct" political ideologies. The Socialist party favoured political and cultural associations, whereas

the French Right favoured a political-religious way around the Mosque of Paris and its rector, Dalil Boubakeur. Both ways have not been contradictory: they are based on the same analysis of French Islam. According to them, young people from the suburbs are characterised by a sort of political immaturity and precarious economic situations, which render them sensitive to accept Muslim fundamentalism. The Arab elite has thus the task to oppose Arab fundamentalist leaders. Both political orientations have financed projects of cultural associations whose leaders have been immigrants from Arab countries.

Geisser interviewed town councillors of Arab origin during the political period from 1989 to 1995 and leaders of large national and local associations. He interviewed 70 elected leaders in 65 French towns. Most of these active political leaders stemmed from Algeria, with a minority stemming from Tunisia and Morocco. These latter political leaders have most often been able to construct their political career on resources accumulated by their family and to promote their social positions. The leaders of Arab cultural associations know that they possess a status as intermediaries between their association and the French political scene. The French discourse changed from the device "to let Arabs work" and "Arabs in the suburbs" to "let the "beurs" vote". During the last fifteen years, another discourse has appeared, which has favoured the economic success of these leaders and their political followers. In 1995, campaigns to incite young people to be inscribed on electoral lists had nearly disappeared. In the last years, associations have been created which have favoured immigrants' access to jobs. Associations of immigrants have become councillors of individual social and economic careers and have no longer been defined by a civic project. Yet these activities only function with the financial assistance of the state and the FAS. Arab elites were not able to promote original forms of mobilisation among their supporters. This fact can in part be explained by the tension around the political participation of immigrants in French society.

The social origin of these elites is characterised first by fathers who served as team chiefs or chiefs of construction groups. These elites share with the majority of immigrant children a culture of revolt. There is a second group based on middle classes in the Maghreb. Often, they have come to France in order to study or to choose a better political regime as that of their country of origin. Most of them worked at the beginning of their sojourn in France as waiters or caretakers. Only their activities in associations have permitted them to better their economic and social situation. A third group is formed by people who have been raised in France by families belonging to commercial elites or craftsmen of Arab immigration, or to families of civil servants (teachers, administrators, etc.). Their political career is thus inscribed in a strategy of social advancement. In this group of political leaders, intermediary professions are largely spread, but also professions such as lawyers, doctors, and teachers. This means that these political leaders do not differ from French political elites. People having left universities and having had difficulties in finding jobs in accordance with their education, tried to become

supervisors or directors of local associations. A majority of town councillors have pursued studies beyond secondary school: 19 % have studied at least two years, more than 47 % three, four or even more years. Only 25 % obtained less than the final secondary school exam. The families of these councillors have lived in urban centres and have already benefited from a cultural capital that favoured their migration project. Often, the brothers and sisters of these political leaders have also obtained university degrees. Their families had the possibility to buy individual houses in residential areas, a fact that favoured the school situation of their children. Parents knew that the success of their children needed to be based on a good education. These political elites have been elected in town councils in regions with many immigrants (certain Parisian suburbs, Marseille, Lyon).

II.4. The headscarf issue in French schools

Another topic tackled in Freedman's book is the headscarf issue. The topic of this debate is whether Muslim girls should or should not be allowed to wear their 'foulards' in the secular French school system. In fact, the French idea of assimilation demands some kind of cultural uniformity. The fear for the spread of Islamic fundamentalism has created tensions within French society. The 'affaire des foulards' is an ongoing political debate since its first headlines in France in October 1989, when a headmaster in a suburb of Paris refused to allow three Maghrebi girls to come to school wearing their head-scarves, arguing that this would be against the French principle of secularism in schools. "The majority of the newspaper reports focused on the affair as a challenge to secularism in the French education system" (132). Political parties were divided: The National Front considered the fact to wear a headscarf as a sign of an Islamic 'invasion' in France. An opinion poll of the same time showed that 75 % of those questioned were hostile to girls wearing headscarves in schools (*Le Monde*, 20 November 1989). Numerous later polls confirmed this tendency. The Socialist Party was divided on the topic such as the moderate-Right. Finally, the Socialist Minister for Education, L. Jospin, turned to the Conseil d'État who considered that wearing a religious sign was not sufficient reason for excluding girls from school. In 1994, the topic re-emerged when F. Bayrou, the Right-wing Minister for Education published a circular arguing that 'ostentatious' religious symbols should not be allowed in schools. SOS-Racisme, who had previously supported the girls, changed and supported the government's idea. The leaders of this association declared that the growth of Islamic fundamentalism was a real danger in many suburbs with huge immigrant populations. In 1994, the Ministry of the Interior estimated that less than 5 % of all Muslim girls were wearing headscarves to school. The Conseil d'État ruled the following year that it was up to each head-teacher to consider the case before excluding a girl. Most recently, the Right-wing government solved the problem by making the

wearing of headscarves in schools illegal since September 2004. The Right-wing parties argued in support of the law and although the Socialist Party has been more moderate, they argued that they were fighting for secularism. A survey carried out for *Le Figaro* showed that 55 % of respondents were favourable to the law (8 November 2003). It seems that this law has brought to an end years of dispute over the topic arguing with success for the secularism of the French education system with 639 girls wearing a head-scarf at the beginning of the school year and with only 47 girls excluded from schools until February 2005 (*metro*, 15 February 2005).

II.5. African civic movements

The book of Catherine Quiminal "Gens d'ici, gens d'ailleurs", Chr. Bourgois, Paris, 1991 describes the first period of African civic movements in France around the hostel conflict. This movement, as already mentioned, evolved around the bad conditions of hostels of immigrants. During these struggles, trade unions, associations, town councils and city dwellers appeared in the hostels. With these activities, African immigrants tried to escape from the ghetto situation of the hostel. Here, they discussed the establishment of a common cash-box and projects conceived here were destined towards the country of origin. These hostels have permitted Africans to internalise the negative image that the French society has created on African immigrants. The struggles in these hostels were more class conflicts, included in the labour movements of the 1970s, than conflicts with a particular African character. From 1970 to 1974, most of the African hostels in France were places where strikes took place. The scenario was always the same: The hostel administration sent the residents a letter informing them on the necessary increase of their rents, justified by the growing costs of oil, services and furniture. The Africans then organised meetings where a strike of the payment of rents was decided and a refusal of the increase of the rents was voted. Many activities difficult to organise for the often-illiterate African workers were decided: To write a letter, to know the correct context of the letter, to contact the local city councils and the security services, etc. Contacts with other hostels, the Socialist party, trade unions, African associations, associations of African migrants and Left-wing groups were organised. But the opposite parties could not be convinced, so that individual Africans of the hostels had to stand threats: The administration of the hostels didn't recognise the residents' councils. The organisations decided then the interruption of the payment of the gas, water and electricity bills. The concerned enterprises reacted by cancelling their services. Problems and accidents followed in the hostels. The delegates of the residents were given away to the police, who did not hesitate to expel some of them. Sometimes, the residents obtained a victory and the responsible administrators of the hostels were changed. Many processes were instituted. The

strikes continued for six months, one year, and two years. The Africans even made up a co-ordination committee of the different hostels. In 1976, 50 hostels were on strike; in 1978, they were 120. This extension of the conflict to the entire French territory can be explained by the common situation of these hostels. To organise these conflicts and collaboration with more than twenty nationalities were difficult. To organise meetings, to contact lawyers, to fix the agenda, to discuss topics, all these activities were new to these African men more or less excluded from the French society by their jobs in the services or in the construction industry of the large urban centres and their living conditions in hostels separated from the French population. Left-wing parties and trade unions rarely expressed their solidarity with these immigrants and their movements. But the movement was not isolated: The co-ordination committee created local support groups, which had to inform the population of the urban districts or the press on the pursuit of strikes. Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Foucault, the trade union of French lawyers participated in an association charged to supervise administrative measures against the organisers of the conflicts. The Red Cross, extreme Left-wing associations participated in the struggle. The topic being complex, the strike committee had to contact architects, social assistants, accountants and lawyers who supported the struggle with their expertise. In 1978 and 1979, more than 200 sentences were passed. Few French citizens had such knowledge of justice and its functions as these immigrants. They had become a political power thanks to their strikes. In January 1979, the French government asked for final meetings. The owners had strengthened their position and preferred individual expulsions or the closing of hostels (more than 500 residents were expelled from the hostels). The committee could no longer resist to this violence. Being more a class conflict, than a conflict of immigrants, this strike contributed to a sort of integration of African immigrants in the French society. For a moment, the hostels had become political places and immigrants had learnt that they could organise themselves and could tackle common projects.

These strikes laid the foundations of projects which the African immigrant associations organised after 1980, oriented to the development of the immigrants' home villages above all from Mali, the country of origin of many of these poor migrants working in the services and the construction industry. They had again become political forces gathering money and expertise in France and developing their villages with the help of the political authorities of their country. Most of the villages have thus got their association in France defending their interests and their population (women, young and elderly people). The misery situation in France and the exclusion have permitted to form political groups possessing power directed towards their home countries. The migrants have acquired knowledge in the country of immigration, which they have used to modernise their country and to permit a development. This has become possible with the financial assistance of the immigrants. Actually, the increase of the number of NGOs is linked to these financial movements.

The book of the anthropologist Christophe Daum "Les associations de Maliens en France. Migrations, développement et citoyenneté", Karthala, Paris, 1998 describes activities of Malian migrant associations directed towards their country of origin and the country of immigration. The author describes with many details the preparation and implantation of projects in the immigrant community, the help of the European community and the French ministry of co-operation directed towards southern countries. He shows how the immigrants have collected money in France, how they have contacted professionals who have been able to help them realising the project, how they follow the projects from France and in Mali through multiple trips by immigrants who have been empowered with these projects in the local African society. But Daum also shows that the multi-lateral complex aid schemes can lead to difficulties. Immigrants can barely follow projects with NGOs that organise the difficult business of North-South co-operation.

Immigrants have been informed on the projects in their home villages by videos brought by people who have spent their holidays in Mali. In the same way as Catherine Quiminal, the author underlines the empowerment of Malians in France by these projects of international solidarity. In 1996, already 700 French urban or rural territories had conceived 550 projects in countries in the South. At the same moment, about 100 French territories had concluded agreements on projects with Mali. In 1993-1994, the French ministry of co-operation gave about 1 million Euros for projects with this country. The common projects of municipalities in both countries have been organised by multiple activities of the civil society: Teachers, doctors, volunteers from the urban centres and local associations have been included, e.g., by cultural exchanges. Often, political activities have been directed towards a new equilibrium of wealth between the North and the South. These actions have favoured the co-operation of French groups, immigrant associations and local African communities (chiefs or regional administrators). These common activities have been the results of a long process of discussion. These encounters have not been neutral: They have changed the sort of interventions of local administrations in the South and in the North. The French municipality has tried to create links with Africans who have been in a difficult situation; the immigrants have looked for an increase of their social capital towards development actions in villages or regions of origin. To give figures, Daum evokes the case of an association reuniting 24 villages in Mali: 2,500 people in France are concerned and 40,000 habitants of these villages in Mali. The aim is double: To facilitate the integration of their members in France and to help their region of origin to improve its development.

These associations can also decide to delegate parent representatives as their spokesmen in the schools of their children. These immigrants have developed cultural activities in their urban districts, such as the "Festival Africolor" in the Parisian suburb Saint-Denis. Agreements have been signed in order to facilitate these exchanges. The immigrant associations obtain a

consultative right in urban activities and decisions directed to their home regions. Their place in civil society is thus formalised and has developed an active character. In the case of Saint-Denis, the agreement was approved in a town council meeting and was then published by the town. The aim of the town councils has been to obtain the settlement of the Malian population in their country of origin and to give them the possibility to live a better life in their country. The town councils are backed in their efforts by a governmental programme aiming at the return of the immigrants to their home country. Immigrants can submit projects and obtain funds to resettle in their country of origin. Daum informs us that there were some hundred demands, but only one immigrant decided to return. This fact demonstrates the vital importance of migration for the countries of origin. There are other activities: The collection of schoolbooks destined to schools in Mali, cultural exchanges by common trips, literacy campaigns, etc. Local newspapers have informed the French population on activities in Mali and their outcomes. Journalists have asked French people to give their opinion on these activities. In this sense, these actions have created links between social realities in the countries of the South and the perception of civil society in the North. The assimilation of African immigrants has thus become a topic linking their activities in the North to those in the South. The citizenship of these immigrants, as Daum underlines, is linked to common activities with the population in the immigration country. One could even say that you could be a citizen of the country of origin and at the same time a citizen of the country of immigration, France, as Daum writes. Immigrants are thus intermediaries between both types of societies. In this sense, they obtain their place in civil society.

The book of Jean-Baptiste Douma "Immigration congolaise en France", 2003 gives some information on associations of these groups in France. The author finds that 80 % of the Congolese he questioned were not members of associations. 10 % were members of a Congolese association and 5 % of another association. 66 % of those who were members of a French association participated in a group of parents of pupils; 13 % participated in a French political party; 6.7 % were members of a trade union with only men for the last two associations. The Congolese associations were created around French sections of Congolese parties, regional and village associations (pp. 204). All these associations were created according to the law of 1901 regulating associations. The associations around regions and villages are not structured so much as is the case of these associations in Mali and Senegal. Most often the aim is to collect money for ceremonies or particular individual events (burials, to buy a car, etc.) in France or some projects in the home region or village. In contrast to Asian groups, Congolese depend on the structures of the country of residence in order to integrate and not on the economic web of the community.

II.6. Local integration of Asian groups

The book of Le Huu Khoa "Asiatiques en France: Les expériences d'intégration locale", Paris, L'Harmattan, 1995 describes different experiences of Asian groups in France. The author presents several case studies and displays situations differentiated by national groups, age and social class. The result is a complex image of civic participation of Asians in France, which is difficult to generalise, as the study basis is rather limited and no effort is made to generalise, e.g., according to the relative number of Asians in France.

It is clear from these studies that the situation of Asians is rather different from that of the Arab population. These groups are characterised by another cultural background, often Buddhism or Confucianism. The role of family and ancestors is very important in these groups, that came to France during the colonial period early in the 20th century, and after political conflicts in Vietnam, Laos, China or Cambodia in the 1970s until the 1990s.

The first group who arrived from French Indochina was composed of small farmers who began to work as sailors on French ships and maids who settled in Marseille. They were about 1,000. Some of them tried to return periodically, others had no contacts with their families in their home regions. Some of them married French women, Vietnamese maids, or divorced wives of French soldiers of the colonial army in Indochina. During the World Wars, about 70,000 soldiers of this region participated in the metropolitan army. Even if many returned after the wars in their home countries, some of them remained in France. The war in Vietnam then rendered difficult a return. These people came to enrich themselves and to have success in the West. The crisis in France contributed to the fact that these sailors had to look for other jobs. Those who had saved some money could open small restaurants; others who had only little money left and who barely knew the French language had many difficulties to survive. These men had no contacts with the Vietnamese intelligentsia and went through a long period of isolation.

For some of them, the help of friends and family members facilitated the opening of restaurants. But the arrival of Vietnamese refugees since 1975, Cambodian merchants in 1979 and Chinese from Hong Kong in the 1980s meant a stiff competition and difficult economic situations. These rather poor groups were characterised by a feeble family cohesion, contrary to middle class refugees who contributed to the myth of the "good Asian pupil", supported by his family and the group. The political struggles of these groups were oriented to the country of origin and the communist and revolutionary resistance in the north of Vietnam. Intellectuals from Vietnam supported communist and Trotskyite groups, too. The old age of these men is now characterised by feeble resources and isolation at the margins of the Vietnamese community and their associations, composed of refugees who arrived after 1975.

The author describes with another case study several groups from Laos, originating from poor groups of the country of origin. Often, they have been in such precarious situations as many immigrants in French suburbs. They have got part time jobs in restaurants or in the textile industry. Their economic problems have led to family problems and divorces. The young have problems at school. Social workers are confronted to lonely elderly people who don't know the French language and are seldom helped by the community. Young people try to look for a life in another place: They marry French women or come to Paris. The solidarity associations who welcomed Asian refugees from 1975 to 1985 profited Cambodian and Laotian, too. During these years, many ethnic and national associations received financial and logistic help from the state and local councils. They favoured the administrative and professional integration of refugees, and gave psychological and cultural help, too. In the following years, these associations disappeared slowly. Currently, the associative help in these communities is only an illusion. Militants of these associations have often had success in their social and professional integration: They have bought houses and have ensured the school success of their children. They have slowly abandoned group activities. These associations have known large ideological rivalries on political opinions and religious activities, so that mistrust was widespread and small groups in the associations unmotivated the most motivated people. In the 1990s, the associative help was reserved to the elderly and the poor asking for social security measures. Younger people have become isolated and have not been able to count on the help of their group.

Another case study of this book is dedicated to textile plants in Roubaix created by people from the better-situated middle classes and originating from Vietnam but having the Laotian nationality. These people left their country with their savings and didn't come to France as boat people, but they crossed the Mekong during the dry season and came to Thailand where they knew they would be welcomed by and accompanied to western countries. They arrived in France with their families, having already prepared their social and economic advancement. They had the intention to integrate immediately into the Asian tailor market of the large towns. Adults normally work the whole day, seven days a week; children help them in the evenings and at weekends. Their first aim has been to empower their family in order to assure the best productivity. The second aim has been to include the wider family in order to add employees and to create teams who could manage larger orders. The family and professional discipline has imposed low salaries, high gains and a behaviour, which could compete. They may employ clandestines who accept low salaries and long working hours or they may ask for the help of undeclared family members. These tailors earn so much money that they can later on invest in restaurants and housing. Their children are encouraged to study at universities, which is an indicator of the good social integration of these Asians. Because of this economic success, there are rivalries between them and poor French groups. The municipal councils favour associations, which defend the economic interests of these Asians who can contribute

to the creation of jobs for French nationals in the region. The Asians themselves have created associations which tackle the link between the administration and the tailors, which promote the Asian clothing industry, which establishes contacts with the professional trade unions, which engage the different Asian communities in activities around the town council of Roubaix, which demonstrate solidarity with Asian women and offer French language courses, cultural, humanitarian and exchange activities oriented to the country of origin, sport and leisure activities, which permit local integration. All these activities show that Asian immigrants are willing to integrate into the local community and to create links between their community and the country where they live.

Another civic activity is that created around Buddhist temples and cultural centres, which are rather widespread in France. The author makes a difference between different groups of Buddhists in France: Elderly people who have created associations around a pagoda and for whom the religion has permitted to face death in an easier way; people who have had difficulties to live their exile and are isolated (refugees (boat people) who were attacked and women who were raped and have been excluded for this reason by the group; people isolated due to divorce or professional exclusion); the third group is made up of people disappointed with the West for whom religion is a way to escape their difficult life situation; the fourth group is formed by intellectuals who consider Buddhism as a way to conciliate spirituality and rationalism.

The author takes into account that the decision of a refugee community to build a pagoda is the expression of a desire to underline common cultural and moral values; to surpass political cleavages, which have often accompanied South-East Asians in exile; to re-establish common spiritual roots in a situation of exile characterised by acculturation and the loss of roots, which threatens the integrity of the community, the family and the individual person. These pagodas are places where the cultural legacy of the group is maintained. They have got cultural functions, unknown in the country of origin, e.g., to edit books destined to children in order to help them to learn the language of the community or to read the national exile literature. National celebrations, anniversaries and national heroes are celebrated around these buildings. These centres suggest helping elderly people, the disabled and newly arrived people. They are places where marriages are celebrated, where meditation courses or conferences on Buddhism are proposed.

A report has been prepared by Pierre Picquart on the topic "Le mouvement associatif chinois et franco-chinois en France", 2002 which gives some interesting information on the topic treated here. Most of French-Chinese and Chinese associations are cultural or sportive (310) associations. Many associations are organised around economic and social activities; professional and intercultural associations can also be found. Chinese associations are

composed of more than 80 % of Chinese and people of Chinese origin. In French-Chinese associations, French members and those of other nationalities participate. These associations have developed since the arrival of the boat people. They offer social and educational activities, e.g., they welcome Chinese students or political and social personalities; they organise voyages to China, language classes, etc. Most often, they function with a budget of less than 2,500 Euros, stemming from membership fees. They may help Chinese students or people in difficulty. Often, Chinese participate in different associations: economic, professional and cultural, by founding their economic success on their mutual help and solidarity. If one estimates the number of members in French-Chinese associations (599 in France, pp. 48), the author underlines that 70,000 people are involved in France. These Chinese of the diaspora invest in their region of origin favouring the huge development of China during the last years and the opening up of the country and its economy. According to the author, these Chinese associations do not favour a social integration or assimilation of their members into the French society, but give an administrative assistance, some give help to find a flat or a job, by continuing to strengthen communal ties.

II.7. Latin American and North American groups

We have also found some information on groups from Latin America. They came as political refugees to France in the 1970s. (Ana Vasquez and Ana Maria Araujo, "Exils latino-américains. La malédiction d'Ulysse", L'Harmattan, Paris, 1988). If they were militants, they tried to continue their political struggle as opponents in political parties in France where they organised meetings, edited newspapers, diffused articles in the press, etc. Often, the social structures of these groups diminished to a loose net after a longer period of power of the often-military regimes in their home countries. Other refugees returned to their countries of origin when the military regimes abandoned their power to democratic regimes. These people were often rather isolated in France. It seems as if their civic activities were restricted to their country of origin, even if some of them obtained the French nationality. Cultural associations have focused around music, urban culture, cultural events, language or dancing courses. There are associations of Latin American writers and artists, which organise exhibitions, prizes, etc. Often, France attracted intellectuals from these countries. Less favoured groups turned more often to Northern America. All this means that the percentage of Latin Americans in France is rather low.

People from Northern America seem to stem from rather favoured groups, too. Often, they have come to France for professional reasons. Their civic activities turn around cultural activities, professional groups, and political parties of the home country and thus resemble to the situation of EU-members. They can vote in their embassies and participate in national

celebrations organised by their representatives in France. There are also associations focusing on Indians or on the American Revolution. We have found this information on the web. Some ideas have been given during informal discussions.

II.8. Eastern European groups

The book from Anne de Tinguy "La grande migration. La Russie et les Russes depuis l'ouverture du rideau de fer", Paris, Plon, 2004 gives some interesting information on recent Russian immigration to France. After the end of the Iron Curtain, people from the former Soviet republics have come to France in rather low flows. The major part of them has come from Russia. In 1999, there are 16,695 migrants from the Community of Independent States, 8,525 of them are Russians. At the end of 2002, there were 13,529 Russians who now have a residence permit. Often, these are students or family members who join a migrant already staying in France. An authorisation to work in France has been given to more than 200 people coming from the CIS. Most of these migrants are highly qualified professionals, working as scientists or artists. If we add to these numbers, other scientists from Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Romania), they represent 25 % of all scientists coming to France and even 53 % of artists in 2001. But there have also been some 7,000 demands for political asylum from Russia, Moldavia, Georgia and Ukraine since 1990, even if there have been only low rates of admission. Demands to obtain the French nationality have nevertheless been rather low.

Among these migrants, there are some clandestines: 37 % of the prostitutes working in the sex business in France have come from Eastern Europe. In 1990, about 47,000 Polish resided in France. Nine years later, they are nearly 34,000. There are 56,429 migrants from Central and Eastern Europe in France in 1999. But few have an authorisation to work; some Polish work as seasonal labourers, in particular, in vineyards. Most of the migrants of these regions of this origin have chosen Germany or the US, even if France is cited as one of the most interesting regions for potential migrants. The census of 1999 showed that there were a certain number of unemployed people coming from Russia or the CIS. But most of the migrants are integrated in the labour market (1/2 work, 1/4 have irregular contracts and the rest are students who may work on a more or less regular base). A study of 1996 revealed that most of these people possess a car and spend their holidays outside of Paris; 1/5 is the owner of a house or a flat in the countryside; their friends come most often from the same country of origin. They do not wish to return to their country of origin and they often think that their situation in France is better than in the former USSR. They would like to stay some time in their home country and some time in France, but they often declare their wish to work abroad.

These migration flows concern social elites: scientists and artists, newly rich people, and criminals. These elites have often received the French nationality. In 2001, 142 Russians have been integrated or associated to the French research centre CNRS (*Centre national de la Recherche scientifique*). These migrants are better qualified than other national groups: They are most often professionals and engineers. They are of urban origin and their parents were journalists, diplomats or civil service directors. Moreover, these migrants are highly educated: they know the French language and literature. Newly rich people spend high amounts of money at the French Riviera or in real estates. But there are organised criminal acts in these groups, too: Murder, kidnapping or the investment of bad money stemming from counterfeit money, drugs or stolen art. Often, immigrants had friends or parents in France who sent them the necessary invitation and helped them on their arrival in France. These elites have been able to create links between France and their country of origin: They still have family members in these countries; they have regular phone contacts; they receive their family members in France and they send money or presents to them. Others have professional relations with their home countries (commercial, scientific or artistic). A third of the Russians having the Russian citizenship voted in December 1995 at the legislative elections in their consulates, and two thirds of them during the presidential election in 1996. This behaviour demonstrates that these Eastern European groups are still very much linked to their country of origin and that they only rarely try to participate in civic activities of their country of settlement.

Part III: Expert Assessment

What are the *main fields* of civic activities that immigrants engage in? What *ethnic* and *nationality groups* are particularly active, and why? According to our overview, immigrants often engage in cultural associations in France. Some group members from Arab and Asian origins are also engaged in religious associations. Those from Arab origin who have become naturalised French citizens are rather active in political parties that consider these people as a guarantee for a France without problems caused by Muslim fundamentalists. Political elites of African and Asian origins are rather seldom in France, even if one hears from time to time about a mayor of African origin in a small French village. These groups may be more excluded because of larger ethnic discrimination linked to a different phenotype. African groups are particularly active in France, but their civic activities are directed towards their country of origin as it has been shown by the description of the book of Chr. Daum. Some ten years ago, Arabs were rather active, too. These associative activities have experienced a decline because of a recent focus on individual advancement in this group. Yet the headscarf issue has given some new impetus to their civic activities. Asian groups were rather active in the years of their arrival in France (the 1970s and 1980s), but with their integration in French society most of the active militants left the associations and turned to family activities. It seems that parent associations continue to be a major focus for all groups. These outcomes are strongly grounded on empirical information given by the studies I have presented in this report.

Is the degree of active civic participation of immigrants *high or low* compared to the majority population? It seems to me that the active civic participation of immigrants of the first generation in France is rather low compared to the majority of the population. The largest factor influencing this result is the absence of the right to vote, even if a local consultative vote has been installed in several towns. (See above on participation in associations) Some recent events and the huge part of Muslims in France let appear that these groups participate more in protest rallies than other groups (e.g. on the topic of the two French journalists and their kidnappers in Iraq who asked for an abolition of the law forbidding the veil in schools at the beginning of the school year 2004-2005, *Le Monde*, 31 August 2004). Radical Muslim groups, even if their influence is rather small in France, also play a role in the civic movement (Hajji/Marteau-2005-62/75).

What is the relation between engagements in *ethnic* or migrant organisations compared to *mainstream society organisations*? Are there transitions and overlaps? The relation between engagement in ethnic or migrant organisations and political activities is rather strong for Arabs, as their engagement has permitted them to begin political careers in national political parties at local, regional or national, even supra-national (EU) levels, if they have chosen the

French nationality. We have given the names of some of the individuals who had success with this proceeding. More names are given in an appendix of Geisser's book. Asian and African civic activities are more seldom directed towards such a social promotion, as these groups are more concerned with activities related to the advancement of their own community, topics which do not interest very much the French political system. Asians are most often rather well integrated in French society, even if they try to focus more on communal ties than on mainstream society organisations. Africans even if they are highly visible, do not draw special attention. The French government is more interested in activities directed towards the countries of origin of these last immigrants. Their civic activities have thus more influenced their own countries, where they have tried to have political and social effects. Overlaps can be found for some men in trade union membership and for both men and women in parental associations. Yet most often, overlaps and transitions concern immigrants who have been naturalised, such as the 'beurs' who are engaged in all French political parties. But it seems to me that this question is rather underresearched. The studies I have presented do not tackle this topic, so that a definite answer cannot be given.

Some information on mainstream society organisations: In comparison to political parties in France, membership in associations is much higher, but most often people are members in associations around sport and leisure activities. Even if Tocqueville considered "the art to associate" as one of the most important democratic virtues and the associations as actors of the democratic system, in France, most often, there is a small elite who is politically active, whereas the majority engages on associations as the expression of their refusal to participate in political activities. Concrete local activities are looked for, so that associations permit to avoid political commitment. Several studies in the proceedings of a conference, which took place in Paris (Andrieu-2001), have shown that an association doesn't guarantee the learning of a political democracy. The members of many French associations don't participate in the definition of the aims and financial measures of their group. In France, these topics are restricted to a small board that administers the association.

Associations cover topics in different spheres of civic society that means in the field between family and state. A majority of French nationals do not participate in associations: 69 % in 1967 among adults older than 18 years, 57 % at the end of the 1990s.¹⁶ This low level of participation may be influenced by the great importance of family relations in France. Often, people who are very active in associations can be found in local town or village councils. These transfers from a local civic activity association are rather easy at the local level. Yet the relation between associations and political life is complicated and characterised by solidarities, which are not openly admitted, and by an ambiguous discourse.

¹⁶Andrieu-2001-679.

To give some figures: In 1998, 730,000 associations were active in France, 16,5 % were engaged in social and health activities, 8,5 % in educational activities. The global budget was considered to be about 220 billion French Francs with 60 % of the resources stemming from public organisations. These associations employed 1,275,000 people: 40 % in the social and health sector and 30 % in the educational sector.¹⁷

What *issues* are of particular interest and importance in the field? I think personally that the question of the vote of immigrants could be a topic in the coming years with ever growing figures of immigrants in French society. Even if many immigrants who have obtained the French nationality can vote, there are still many people who do not want to choose French nationality or whose situation is characterised by exclusion, such as illegal immigrants. The regulation of their situation may be another topic of public concern with many immigrants entering France with a tourist visa and staying there without a legal permission.

Where are the major *research gaps*? I do not think that there are so many research gaps on the topics of interest in this report. I have shown that there is a lot of information in France on the problems of civic participation of immigrants. There are several researchers often associated with *Sciences Po* who have done extensive research on the topic. Some more research could be done on active civic participation of Asian and American groups, even if the results I have presented let already appear the particular character of these groups. The relation between the engagements in ethnic organisations compared to mainstream society organisations needs much more research.

¹⁷Andrieu-2001-686.

References

- Andrieu, Claire et al. (eds): *Associations et champ politique. La loi de 1901 à l'épreuve du siècle*. Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001.
- Balibar, Etienne: "Le droit de cité ou l'apartheid?", in E. Balibar et al. (eds), *Sans-papiers: l'archaïsme fatal*. Paris, La Découverte, 1999.
- Blanc-Chaléard, Marie-Claude: *Histoire de l'immigration*. Paris, La Découverte, 2001.
- Cissé, M.: *Parole des sans-papiers!* Paris, La Dispute, 1999.
- Daum, Christophe: *Les associations de Maliens en France. Migrations, développement et citoyenneté*. Paris, Karthala, 1998.
- Delemotte, Bernard and Jacques Chevallier (eds): *Étranger et citoyen. Les immigrés et la démocratie locale*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 1996.
- de Tingly, Anne: *La grande migration. La Russie et les Russes depuis l'ouverture du rideau de fer*. Paris, Plon, 2004.
- Douma, Jean-Baptiste: *L'immigration congolaise en France. Entre crises et recherche d'identité*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 2003.
- Fassin, Didier et al.: *Les loi de l'inhospitalité: Les politiques de l'immigration l'épreuve des sans-papiers*. Paris, La Découverte, 1997.
- Favell, A.: *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*. Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1998.
- Freedman, Jane: *Immigration and Insecurity in France*. Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004.
- Freedman, Jane and C. Tarr (eds): *Women, Immigration and Identities in France*. Oxford, Berg, 2000.
- Geisser, Vincent: *Ethnicité républicaine: Les élites d'origine maghrébine dans le système politique français*. Paris, Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences politiques, 1997
- INSEE, *La population étrangère en France. Recensement de la population de 1999*. Paris, 2001.
- Lebon, A: *Immigration et présence étrangère en France en 1999*. Paris, La Documentation Française, 2000.

Le Huu Khoa: *Asiatiques en France: Les expériences d'intégration locale*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 1995.

Miller, Mark: *Foreign Workers in Western Europe. An emerging political force*. New York, Praeger, 1981.

Nicollet, A.: *Femmes d'Afrique noire en France*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 1993.

Oriol, P. "Les Français d'"origine étrangère" aux élections municipales de 2001", *Migrations société*, 2001, 13, 77, 41-54.

Quiminal, Catherine: *Gens d'ici, gens d'ailleurs*. Paris, Chr. Bourgois, 1991.

Simeant, J.: *La cause des sans-papiers*. Paris, Presses de la Fondation nationale de Sciences politiques, 1998.

Tribalat, Michèle: *Faire France: Une enquête sur les immigrés et leurs enfants*. Paris, La Découverte, 1996.

Vasquez, Ana and Ana Maria Araujo: *Exils latino-américains. La malédiction d'Ulysse*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 1988

Wihtol de Wenden, Catherine and Rémy Leveau: *La Beurgoisie. Les trois âges de la vie associative issue de l'immigration*. Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2001.

Wihtol de Wenden, Catherine: *Les immigrés et la politique*. Paris, Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences politiques, 1988.

Annex: Mapping of Research Competences in France

1. Leading universities, university departments or research institutes and/or scholars with knowledge of active civic participation of immigrants

Fondation nationale de Sciences Po, Paris, Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales (CERI/FNSP), 56 rue Jacob, 75006 Paris, France, Phone: +33(0)1.58.71.70.00, Fax: +33 (0)1.58.71.70.90, e-mail: info@ceri.sciences-po.fr (Director of FNSP: Professor René Remond), website: <http://www.sciences-po.fr/recherche/ceri.htm>

Created in 1952, the CERI is a research centre associated to the CNRS. Its director is Christopher Jaffrelot (Research director at the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche scientifique)). It reunites 70 researchers, university teachers, etc. The centre is specialised in international political questions. Specialists from the principal world regions, on international relations and in international political economy undertake research on the current world situation. The CERI has two objectives: To contribute to the improvement of our knowledge of foreign political societies and to analyse current international problematics. Topics on which research is undertaken are globalisation, regional integration and the construction of the European Union, processes of democratisation, migrations, nationalisms and identities. The centre has got numerous contacts with the international scientific community.

Scholars: Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, research director at the CNRS. She holds degrees in law and political sciences. She has been working for the last 20 years on different topics linked to international migrations. **Rémy Leveau**, Professor (retired) of the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris who has done research and publications on the same topic.

FNSP offers university degrees for the first and second cycles and PhDs studies, too. There are 5,500 students and more than 6,000 professionals coming from enterprises or administrations who follow each year courses directed towards professionals. In 2002, there were 260 students preparing the "Diplôme d'Études approfondies", the first year of a PhD and furthermore 520 PhD students. 50 % of the students come from Europe, 25 % from North America and 25 % from the rest of the world.

The library of the FNSP is excellent with more than 900,000 volumes, 6,000 periodicals, numerous CD-ROMs. The library is the richest library of continental Europe in the social and human sciences. The Press of *Sciences Po* contribute to the diffusion of the French intellectual production in the social and human sciences (6 revues, 900 titles in a catalogue covering 10 collections and 30 new books each year).

Publications: Wihtol de Wenden, Catherine and Rémy Leveau: *La Bourgeoisie. Les trois âges de la vie associative issue de l'immigration*. Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2001; Wihtol de Wenden, Catherine *Les immigrés et la politique*. Paris, Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences politiques, 1988. Wihtol de Wenden, Catherine and Rémy Leveau: (dir.) *Modes d'insertion des populations de culture islamique dans le système politique français*. Paris, MIRE, 1991. **E-mail:** dewenden@ceri-sciences-po.org, R. Leveau, Phone: 01.58.71.70.00.

École des Hautes Études des Sciences Sociales. Paris, 54, boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris, France. Phone: +33(0)1.49.54.25.25., fax: +33(0)1.45.44.93.11., e-mail: sgl2@ehess.fr, website: www.ehess.fr. (President: Directrice d'études: Danièle Hervieu-Léger)

Created in 1975. In 1984, the ÉHÉSS became a "grand établissement". The mission of the ÉHÉSS is research and teaching of research in the social sciences. The following diplomas are delivered: the diploma of the ÉHÉSS, a master in Social Sciences starting in 2005/2006 and PhD in different social sciences. The ÉHÉSS has also teams and research centres in Marseille, Toulouse and Lyon.

Scholars: Dominique Schnapper. She is a specialist of the sociology of citizenship and interethnic relations. **E-mail:** schnappe@ehess.fr.

Publications: *La communauté des citoyens: sur l'idée moderne de la nation*. Paris, Gallimard, 1994; *La France de l'intégration: sociologie de la nation en 1990*. Paris, Gallimard, 1991.

Schuerkens, Ulrike. She is a specialist of the sociology of migration and intercultural relations. **E-mail:** ulrike.schuerkens@caramail.com

Publications: Ed. Special issue: *International Review of Sociology* "International Migrations and the Issue of Multiculturalism." "International Migrations and the Issue of Multiculturalism." 10, 3, 2000, 317-404. "Introduction", 317-318.

- Ed. Special issue: *Current Sociology*, "Transnational Migrations and Social Transformations", 3/4, 53, 2, 2005, "Theoretical Approach".

2. Leading universities, university departments or research institutes and/or scholars in the field of civic participation

Fondation nationale de Sciences Po (see above). Scholars: Duchesne Sophie and Martine Barthélemy. Both scholars have done research on associations in France. Duchesne has worked in particular on female civic participation.

Duchesne, Sophie, *Citoyenneté à la française*. Paris, Presses de Sciences-Po, 1997; "La citoyenneté", *Cahiers du CEVIPOF*, 1997, 18, 9-60. **E-mail:** duchesne@msh-paris.fr

Barthélemy, Martine, *Associations: un nouvel âge de la participation*. Paris, Presses de Sciences-Po, 2000; "Les associations dans la société française: un état des lieux", *Cahiers du CEVIPOF*, 1994, 10. **E-mail:** barthelemy@msh-paris.fr

École des Hautes Études des Sciences Sociales. (See above). **Scholars: Dominique Schnapper** (see above).

3. Leading universities, university departments or research institutes and/or scholars in the field of immigration

Migrinter: Migrations internationales, espaces et sociétés, CNRS and Université de Poitiers. Director: Emmanuel Ma Mung Kuang, 99, avenue du Rector Pineau, 86000 Poitiers, Phone: +33 (0)5.49.45.46.41., **e-mail:** emmanuel.mamung@univ-poitiers.fr, webside: <http://www.mshs.univ-poitiers.fr/migrinter//institutionnel/presentation.html>

Migrinter is a research team specialised in the study of migration and interethnic relations. Migrinter is associated to the CNRS and the University of Poitiers. The team has been formed in 1985 by Gildas Simon and has undertaken research activities, publications and documentation in the field of international migrations and their influences in countries of origin and countries of destination. Each year, there are 20 PhDs on international migrations and several dozens of final university papers (Maîtrise (4 years) and DÉA (5 years)). The centre publishes the *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*. The library has got more than 4,000 books and periodicals specialised in international migrations and interethnic relations. Moreover, there are many statistical data and press files on international migrations. Research topics are circular migrations, urban mobility, forced migrations, asylum seekers, illegal migration, migration and development.

Publications: Ma Mung E., "Non-lieu et utopie: la diaspora chinoise et le territoire", *L'Espace géographique*, 1994, 2; *Mobilité des investissements des émigrés. Maroc, Tunisie, Turquie, Sénégal*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 1997. **E-mail:** emmanuel.mamung@univ-poitiers.fr

Hily, Marie-Antoinette and Marie-Louise Lefebvre, *Identité collective et altérité. Diversité des espaces/ spécificité des pratiques*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 1999; (dir.) *Les situations plurilingues et leurs enjeux*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 1997. **E-mail:** Marie-Antoinette.Hily@mshs.univ-poitiers.fr et lefebvre.marie_louise@uqam.ca

École des Hautes Études des Sciences Sociales. (See above). **Scholars: Schuerkens, Ulrike.** (See above).

Panos Paris Institute is an international NGO with the two-fold objective of (1) strengthening the media and its capacity to produce pluralist information in developing countries, and (2) supporting the production of information, and stimulating and informing public debates in both developing and developed countries on issues like migration and development. Address web: www.panosparis.org

Nedjma Meknache works as a consultant for Panos Paris. **E-mail:** migration@panosparis.org

Reynald Blion is Director of the International Migration & Media programme at Panos Paris. Ed. *D'un voyage à l'autre - des voix de l'immigration pour un développement pluriel*. Paris, Panos/Khartala, 2001. **E-mail:** migration@panosparis.org

Both of them with C. Wihtol de Wenden: *EU and US approaches to the management of immigration. France*. Migration Policy Group, Report, 2003.