

Rethinking National Identity in the Age of Migration

Migration Policy Institute
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WELCOME



Contested National Identity: Belonging and Exclusion in France

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Immigration and the National Question in France

🕒 National identity has a Janus Face in French history: it has been a vehicle for inclusion or exclusion, depending on periods and political framing

🕒 French citizenship as a “daily plebiscite” (Renan) or a cultural code, ?

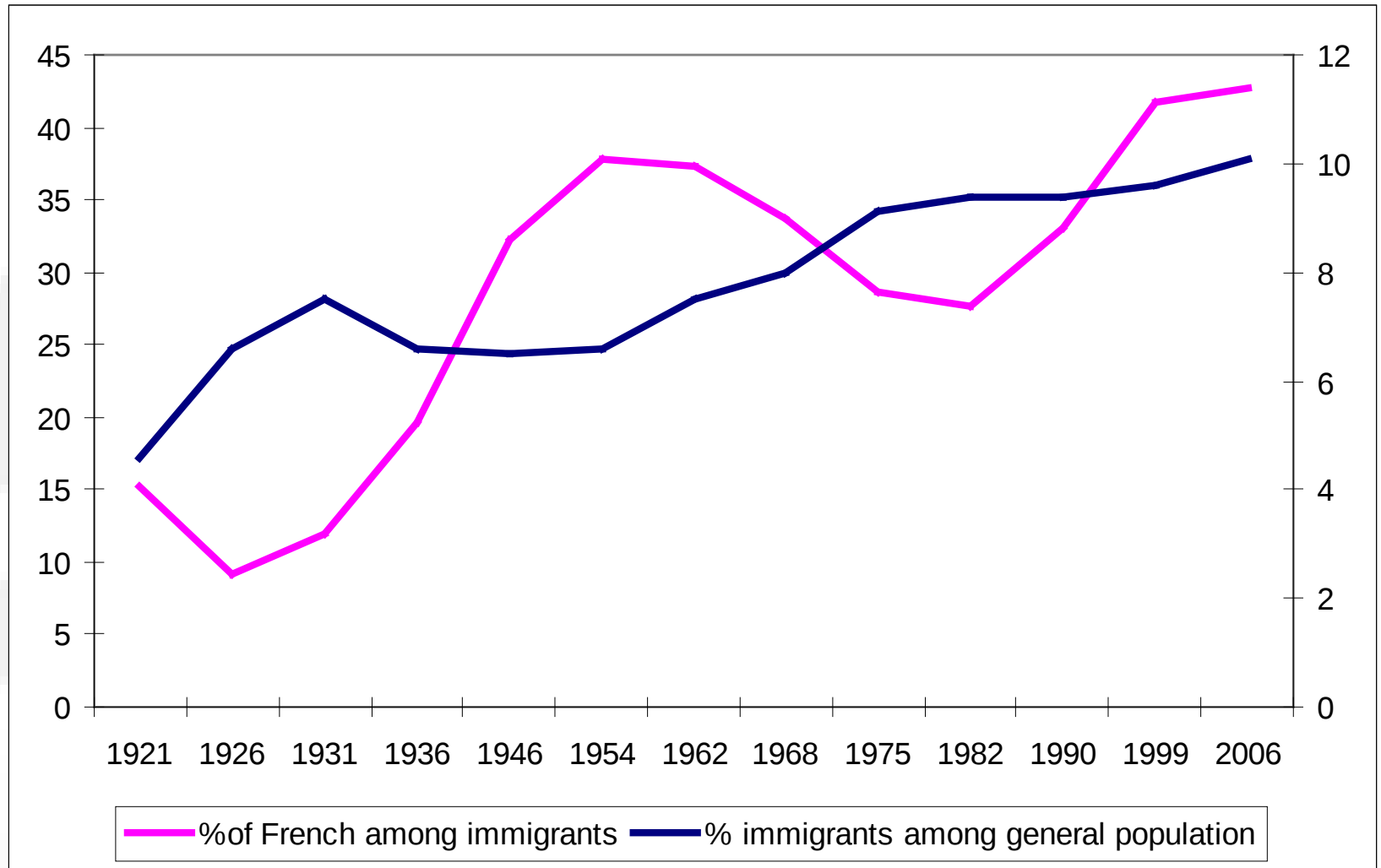
🕒 Merging the immigrants in the French crucible

- Unity through uniformity: converging to the core culture and adopting norms and values
- Production of invisibility
- "French citizenship" shall be considered as an indication that the integration process was successful " "(High Council of Integration, 1991)

Regime of citizenship

- 🕒 A combination of Jus sanguinis and jus soli: citizenship is acquired by filiation, birthright and naturalization
 - From 1889 until today, with an interruption between 1993 to 1998, children of foreigners born in France become **automatically** French when they come at age: a “virtual citizenship at birth”
 - An open code of citizenship through naturalization (90 000 in 2006), discretionary decision of the state based on an “**assessment of assimilation**”
 - Breach in the republican principle of citizenship: racially **stratified regimes** of citizenship in colonial territories
- ➔ A mismatch between legal categories of citizenship and representation of Frenchness

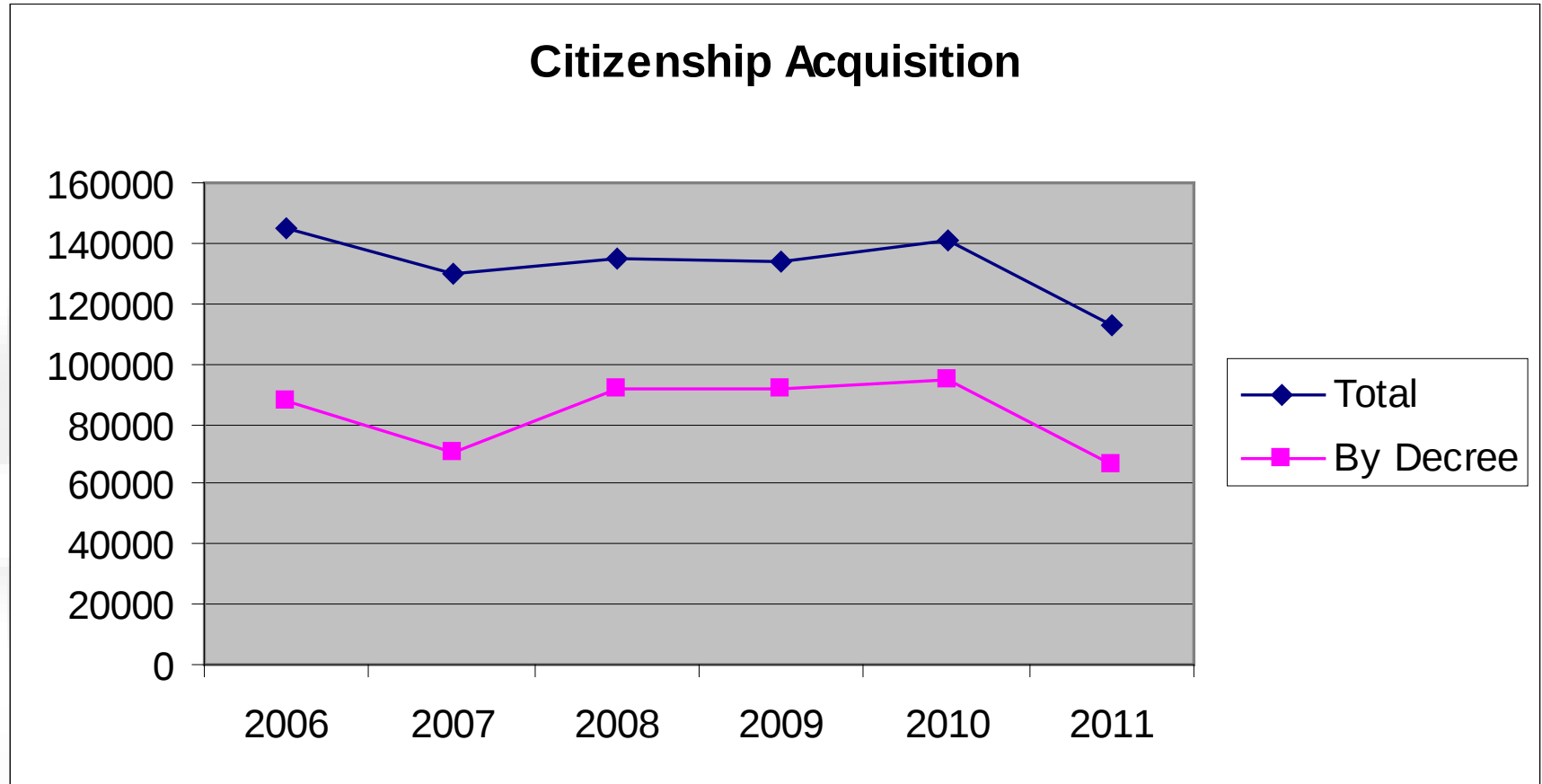
A century of immigration and naturalization



Tensions on national identity

- 🕒 Two main threats against national identity: fragmentation from within (diversity) and Homogenization from above (Europeanization)
- 🕒 The “Great national discussion” in 2009 aims at revising the meaning of Frenchness and targets directly immigrants and Second Generation as not being loyal and respecting obligations attached to nationality
- 🕒 The development of a selective (and coercive) approach of citizenry:
 - ceremony of naturalization
 - a civic test and a linguistic test for applicants
 - a charter of rights and duties of French citizen that should be signed by new naturalized citizen

Obstacles against Citizenship Acquisition



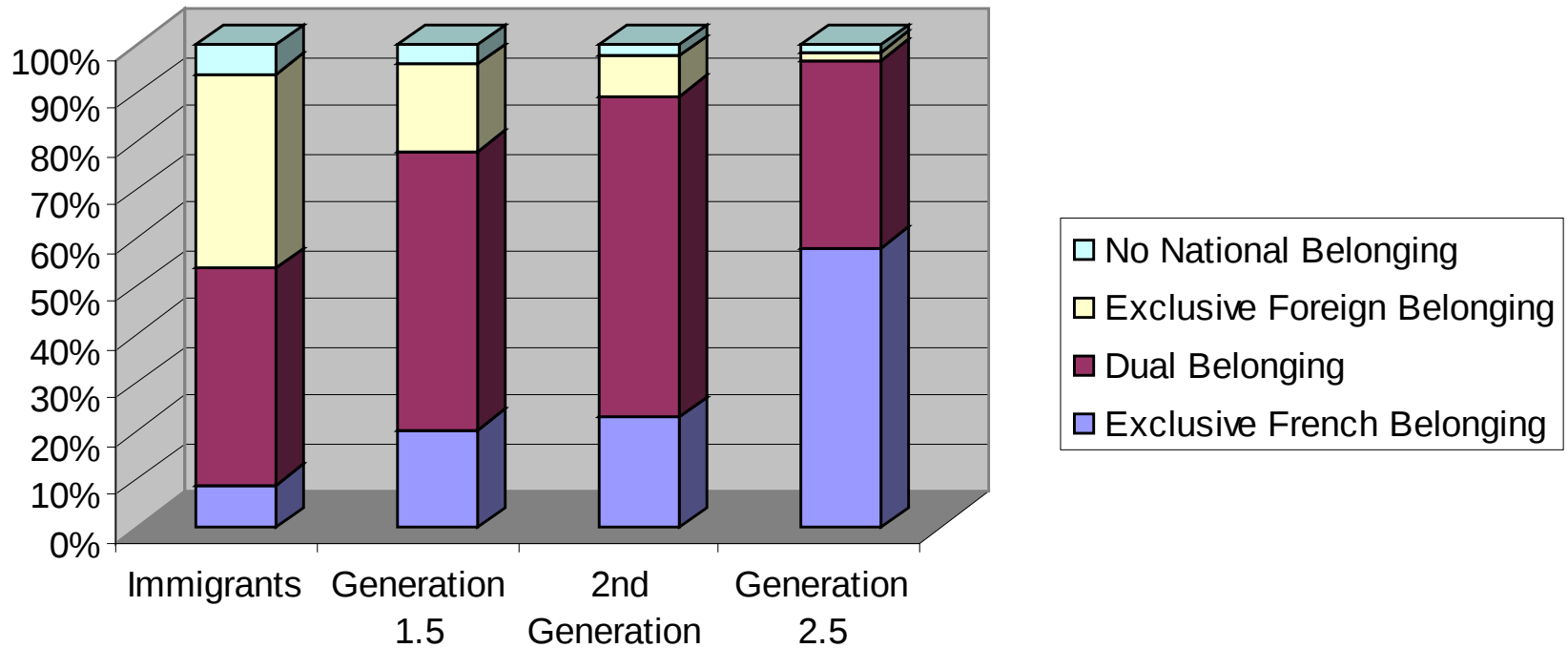
Being French

	French by birth	French by acquisition	Dual citizenship	Foreigner
Immigrants	0	10	18	72
Generation 1.5	0	35	24	41
Generation 2	52	11	33	5
Generation 2.5	87	0	12	0
Mainstream population	99	0	1	0

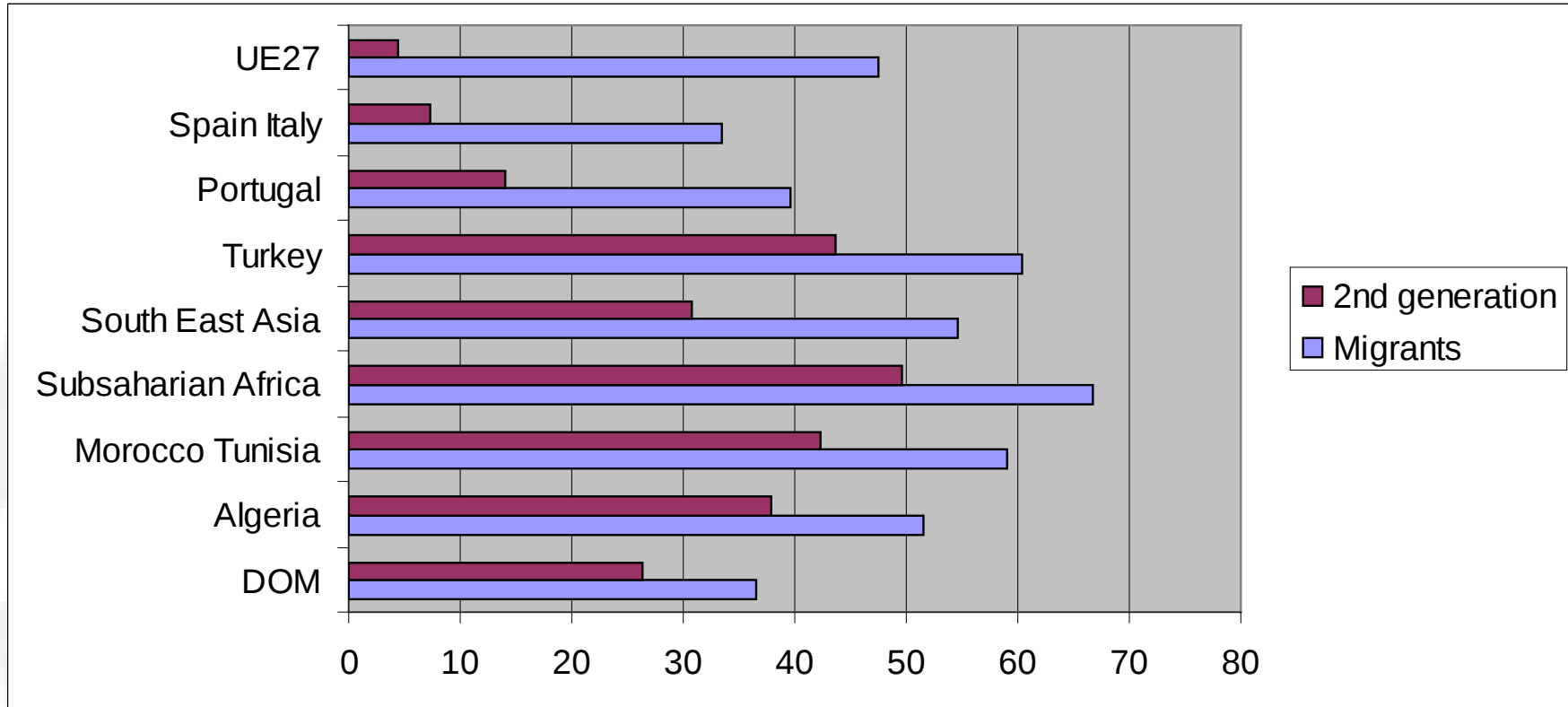
Feeling French

	Feeling French			Feeling Foreign/ethnic		
	All together	French citizens	Foreigners	All together	French citizens	Foreigners
Immigrants	52	79	42	84	81	84
Generation 1.5	76	84	64	75	70	76
Generation 2	89	-	-	74	-	-
Generation 2.5	97	-	-	40	-	-
Mainstream population	98	-	-	-	-	-

Multiple belongings



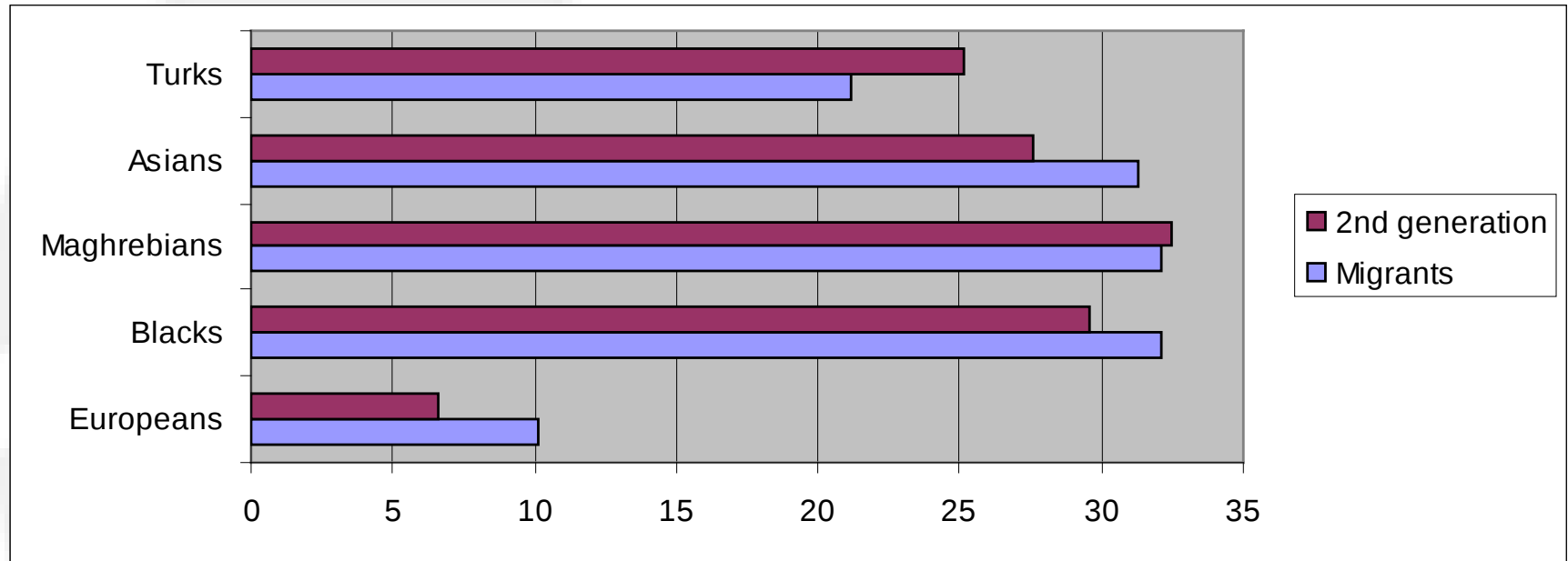
Frenchness denied (othering)



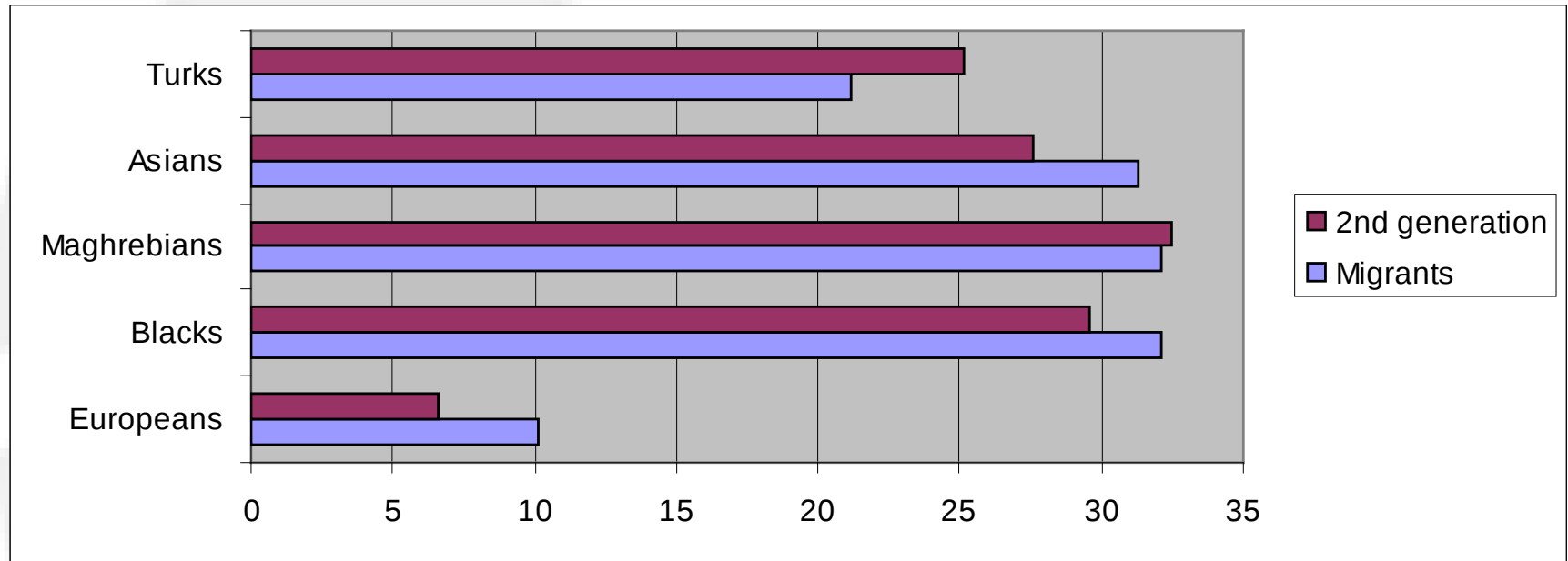
Question in the survey *"People see me as a French person"*
Answer: *disagree* and *totally disagree*

Source: Trajectories and Origins Survey, 2008-2009, INED and INSEE

The creation of “visible minorities” through the experience of exclusion of Frenchness

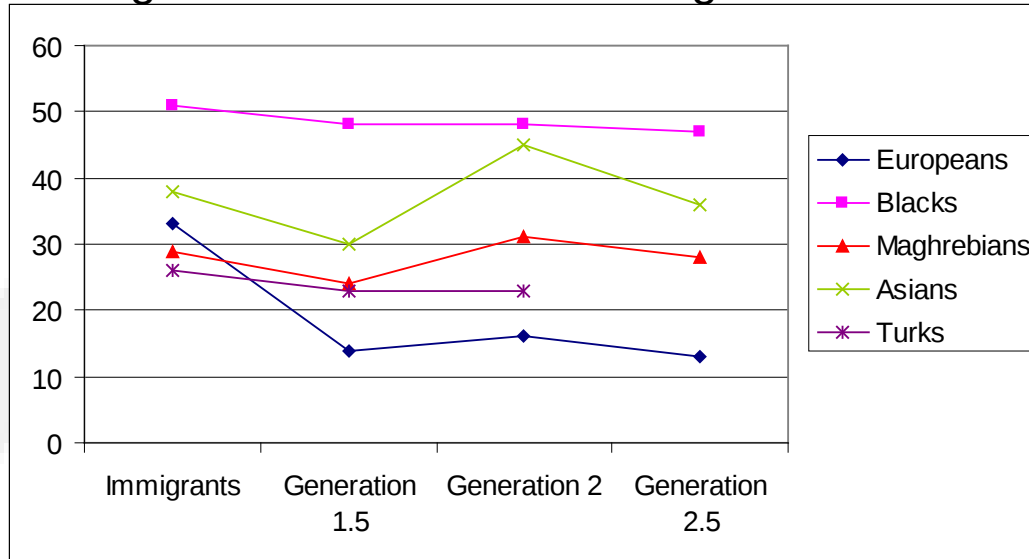


The creation of “visible minorities” through the experience of exclusion of Frenchness



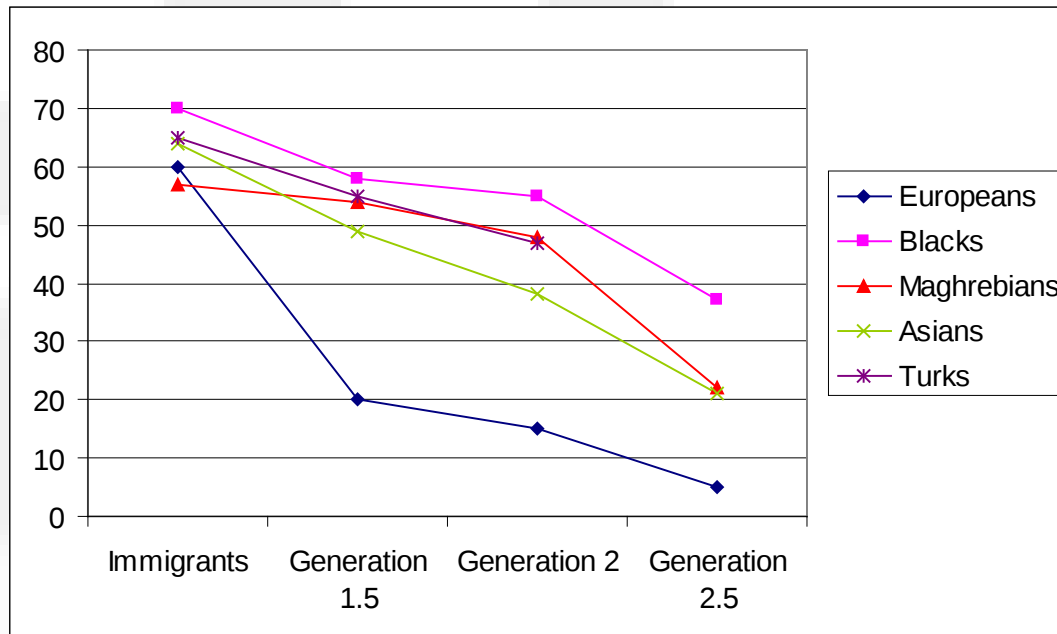
Feeling of Frenchness challenged by the others

Being often ask about one's origins



Ethnic ascriptions

Not being perceived as French

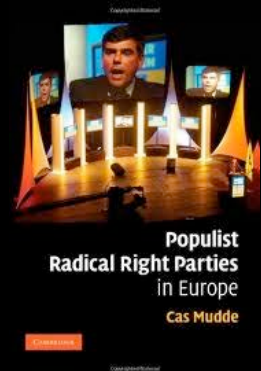
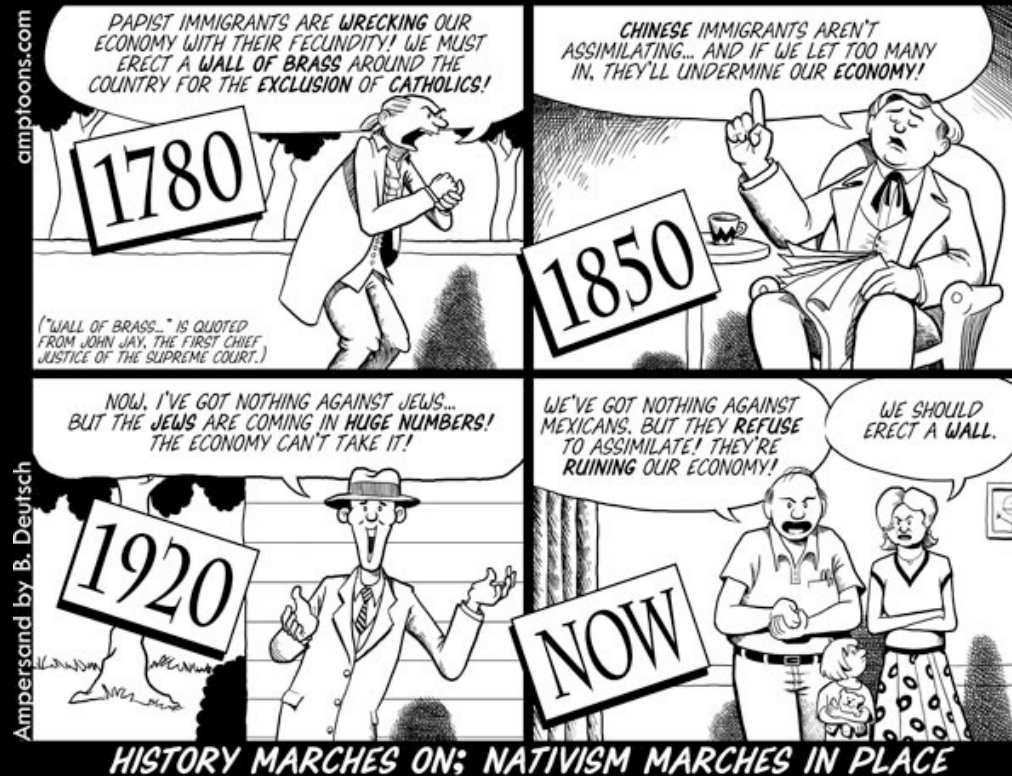


Frenchness denied

From belonging to recognition

- ④ High level of French belongings among all Second Generation: **national identity is not an issue**
- ④ High level of multiple identities combining French and ethnic origins: **Hyphenated identities becoming a norm** which is not challenging participation to society
- ④ But a widespread feeling of not being accepted as full members of the French society **among visible minorities** and a lack of recognition of the **various ways of being French**
- ④ Requirements to be accepted among the “we” French reflect a nativist turn and the stiffening of a “white judeo-christian” definition of national identity

NATIVISM AND IMMIGRATION: A QUICK INTRODUCTION



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NATIVIST
PARTIES



J O B B I K
M A G Y A R O R S Z Á G É R T
M O Z G A L O M



NATIVISM

Nationalism +
Xenophobia

Mono-Cultural
Nation-State

Fear of 'Aliens'
(People & Values)



AUTHORITARIANISM



Law & Order Policies, i.e.

- Higher Sentences
- More Police
- Less Political Oversight
- More Discipline in Schools
- Less Rights for 'Criminals'



POPULISM

“The Pure People” vs.
“The Corrupt Elite”

Voice of the People



Against Corruption

For “Real” Democracy



THE IDEOLOGICAL THREAT

Populist radical right parties are essentially democratic, but not liberal democratic.

Nativism and populism are monist, i.e. hostile to compromise and diversity.

Minority rights are seen as special interests, and therefore “undemocratic.”

ELECTORAL RESULTS

COUNTRY	POPULIST RADICAL RIGHT PARTY	HIGH	LAST
Austria	Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)	26.9	17.5
Belgium	Flemish Interest (VB)	12.0	7.8
Bulgaria	National Union Attack (NSA)	9.4	9.4
Croatia	Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)	6.8	3.0
Denmark	Danish People's Party (DFP)	13.8	12.3
France	National Front (FN)	15.3	13.6
Greece	Golden Dawn (XA)	7.0	6.9
Hungary	Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)	16.7	16.7
Italy	Northern League (LN)	10.1	8.3
Latvia	National Alliance (NA)	7.7	7.7
Netherlands	Party for Freedom (PVV)	15.5	10.1
Poland	League of Polish Families (LPR)	8.1	---
Romania	Greater Romania Party (PRM)	19.5	3.2
Russia	Liberal-Demo Party of Russia (LDPR)	22.9	11.7
Serbia	Serbian Radical Party (SRS)	29.5	4.6
Slovakia	Slovak National Party (SNS)	11.6	5.1
Slovenia	Slovenian National Party (SNS)	10.2	1.8
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party (SVP)	28.9	25.3

POLITICAL INFLUENCE



GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION

COUNTRY	PARTY	PERIOD(S)	COALITION PARTNER(S)
Austria	FPÖ	2000-2002	ÖVP
		2002-2005	ÖVP
	BZÖ	2005-2006	ÖVP
Croatia	HDZ	1990-2000	
Denmark	DFP	2001-2005	V & KF
		2005-2007	V & KF
		2007-2011	V & KF
Estonia	ERSP	1992-1995	Isamaa
Greece	LAOS	2011-2012	PASOK & ND
Italy	LN	1994	FI & AN
		2001-2005	FI & MDC
		2008-2011	PdL & MpA
Latvia	NA	2011-	Unity & ZRP
Netherlands	PVV	2010-2012	CDA & VVD
Poland	LPR	2006-2007	PiS & Samoobrona
Romania	PUNR	1994-1996	PDSR & PSM
	PRM	1995	PDSR & PSM
Serbia	SRS	1998-2000	SPS & JUL
Slovakia	SNS	1994-1998	HZDS & ZRS
		2006-2010	HZDS & Smer
Switzerland	SVP	2000-	SPS & FDP & CVP

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Direct Influence

Limited in scope:

- Tightened immigration;
- Stricter integration;
- More law & order;
- Slight Euroscepticism;

Polarization of politics
and society...

Indirect Influence

• Difficult to determine:

- Pushing other parties;
- Changing the discourse;
- Worring minorities;
- New issues on the agenda;
- Mobilizing opponents;
- (Re-)Integrating citizens.

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More information at
www.migrationpolicy.org

