

# **DISCRIMINATION IN A COLORBLIND SOCIETY: RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS IN FRANCE**

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# Outline

- **The Background:**
  - Colorblindness and the French model of integration
  - The republican framing of equality and the rise of discrimination
- **The questions:**
  - Do empirical findings support the idea that ethnic and racial discriminations are widespread in French society?
  - What kind of explanations for these discriminations?
  - The racialized society hypothesis: ethno-racial stratification and social boundaries
  - Racialized national identity

# The French model of Integration and its crisis

- The Republican model of integration: a trade off between cultural assimilation and equality through invisibility
- Claims for recognition (« Droit à la différence ») is combined with civil rights activism during the « Marches pour l'égalité » (1983-1984)
- Awareness of ethnic and racial discrimination and antidiscrimination on the political agenda
- Riots in deprived suburbs (2005): the republican model and its discontents
- Tensions with the incorporation of Muslims and a coercive version of *Laïcité*
- National identity and “republican values” at the core of political debates

# Colorblindness challenged

- Colorblindness implies a control in collective representations and public speeches: recent breaches in this control
- ‘Racial issues’ are reframed as class-based inequalities and as an issue of segregation in deprived neighbourhood
- Ethnic and racial discriminations, Post-colonial debate and the legacy of slavery: a revision of the foundation of the republican model
- The incorporation of Muslims in the Republic: coercive secularism (*laïcité*) and the radicalization of islamophobia before and after the terror attacks.

LES VÉRITÉS CRUES DE KARL LAGERFELD

# Le Point

## Cet islam sans gêne

Hôpitaux, carnines, piscines, jupe, programmes scolaires...

**GENDA**

SPECIAL PLACEMENTS : COMMENT RÉGULER SON IMMIGRÉ SUR LE BANC

L'AFFAIRE QUI FAIT TREMBLER LES RICHES

# Le Point

ÉGYPTE, TUNISIE, ALGÉRIE...

## LE SPECTRE ISLAMISTE

- Fantasmies et réalité
- Ce que la France risque
- La vertu sur les frères musulmans

LE JOURNAL TAPÉ

La Hasbié Lagarde

# arianne

Erreurs politiques et dérives personnelles du président Sarkozy

## COMMENT A-T-ON PU ACCEPTER ÇA ?

Des extraits de livres de Jean-François Kahn, « Petit César »

Les réactions de François Hollande, Raphaël Dubois, Jean-Michel Lottin, Christophe Guillot, et Claude Subervie

FRANCE EUROPE POURQUOI L'ISLAM FAIT PEUR

# L'EXPRES

## LA PEUR DE L'ISLAM

- Pourquoi être granit en France
- La tentation islamophobe
- Comment durer les amalgames

SPECIAL PLACEMENTS

# L'EXPRES

## L'OCCIDENT FACE À L'ISLAM

- Le rituel de la croix
- Le passage des frontières
- L'issue de l'intégration
- Les tensions politiques qui en résultent

SPECIAL PLACEMENTS

# L'EXPRESS

## ISLAM

LES VÉRITÉS QUI DÉRANGENT

- Le Coran et la violence
- Le sort des femmes
- La modernité impossible ?

EXCLUSIF Universités : la Note

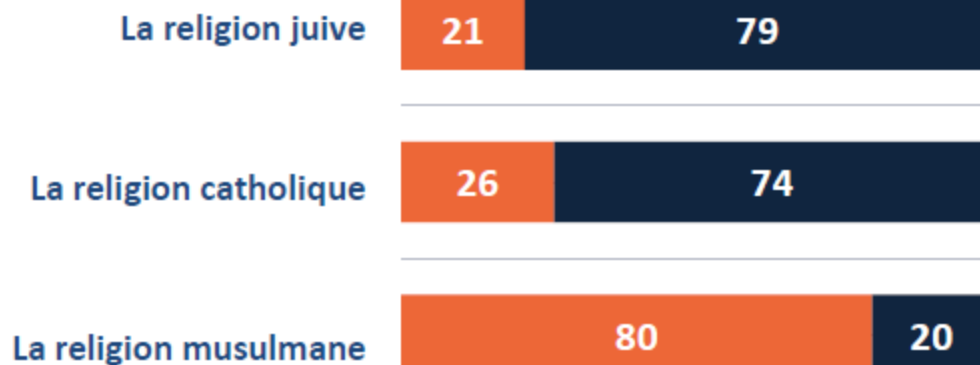


## L'attitude des différentes religions pratiquées en France

En pensant à la manière dont chacune des religions suivantes est pratiquée en France, dites-moi si...

- Elle cherche à imposer son mode de fonctionnement aux autres
- Elle ne cherche pas à imposer son mode de fonctionnement aux autres

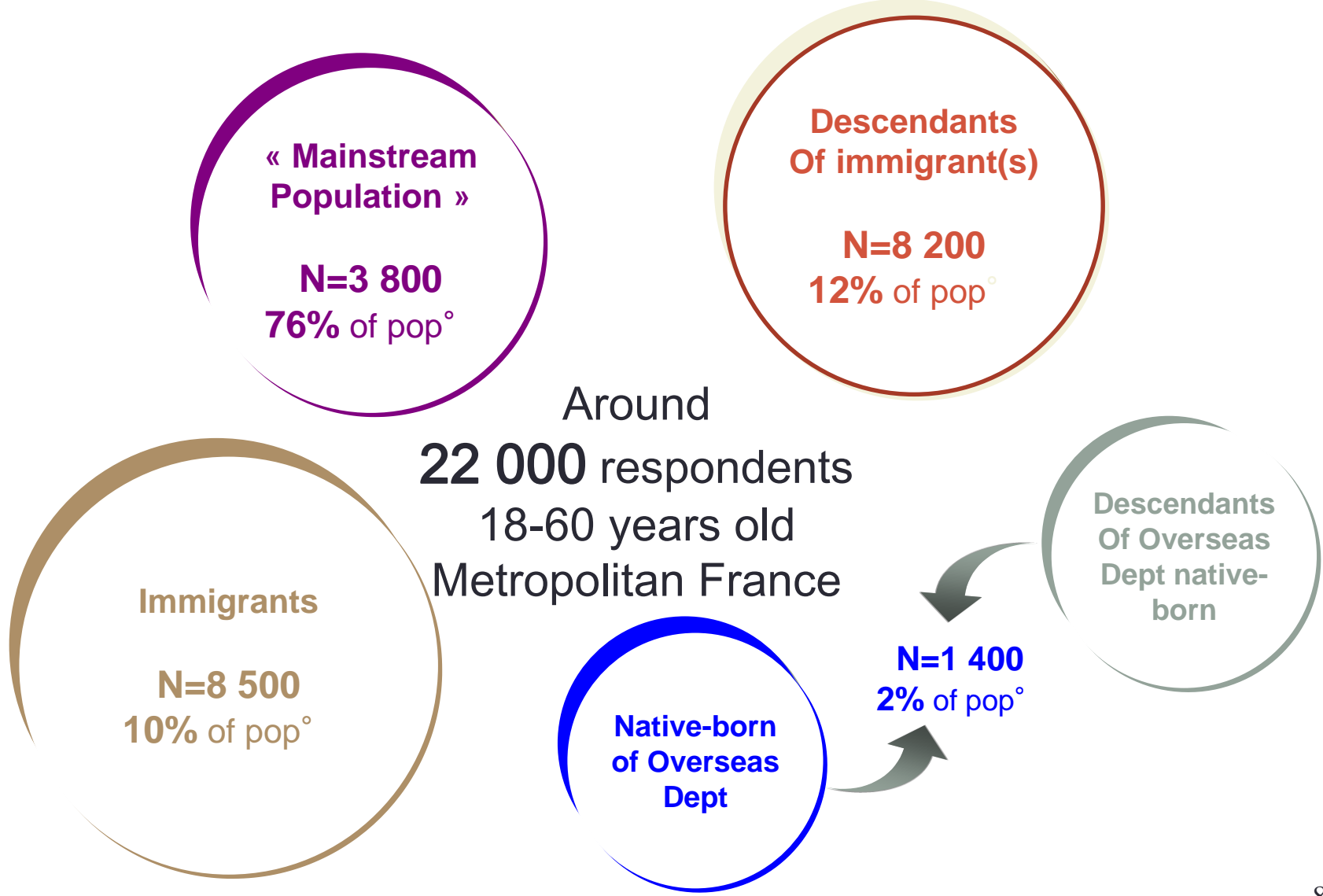
### ensemble



# Is colorblindness really supported by the facts?

- For this purpose, I use the TeO survey in which “ethnicity” will be defined as the country of birth/nationality at birth of the individual and of his/her parents
  - Categories : Immigrants, G1.5, G2, G2.5, Mainstream/majority population
- Race will be defined indirectly by the racialization of specific ethnic groups, i.e Arabs (north African mainly), Sub-saharan African and DOM natives and 2nd generation (Blacks) and Asians (South East Asians mainly)
- Religion is defined by self-identification

# The Trajectories and Origins Survey (2008-2009)





# France as a Multicultural country

5.7 million immigrants, 8.7% of the population

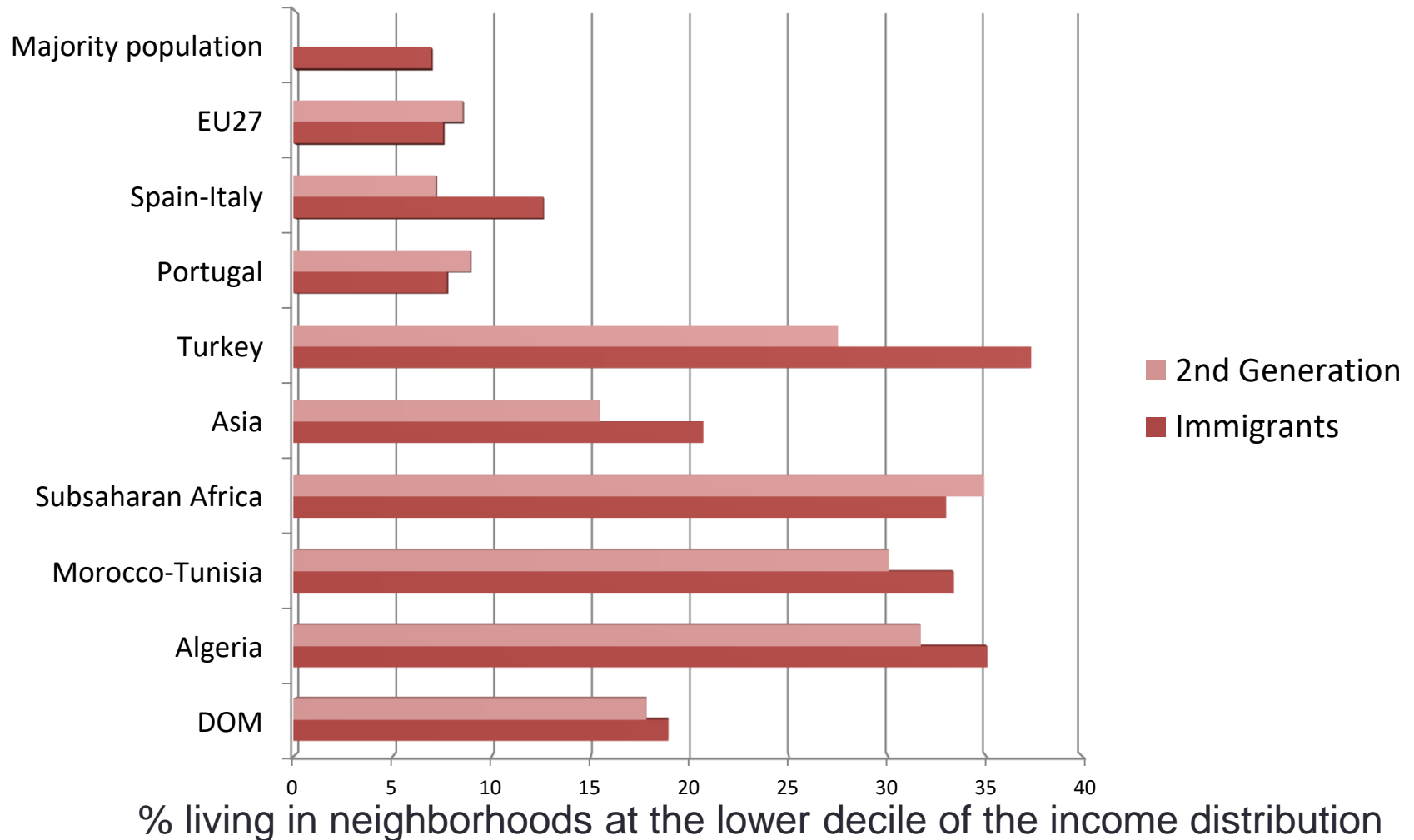
6.7 million second generation, 10% of the population

	Metropolitan France	Ile-de-France	Seine St Denis
Maghreb	4	14	28
Sub-Sahara Africa	2	7	12
Europe	9	11	12
Asia	1	3	6
Turkey	1	1	3
Rest of the world	1	3	6
DOM	2	4	8
Majority population	76	57	25

# Who are the Muslims in France?

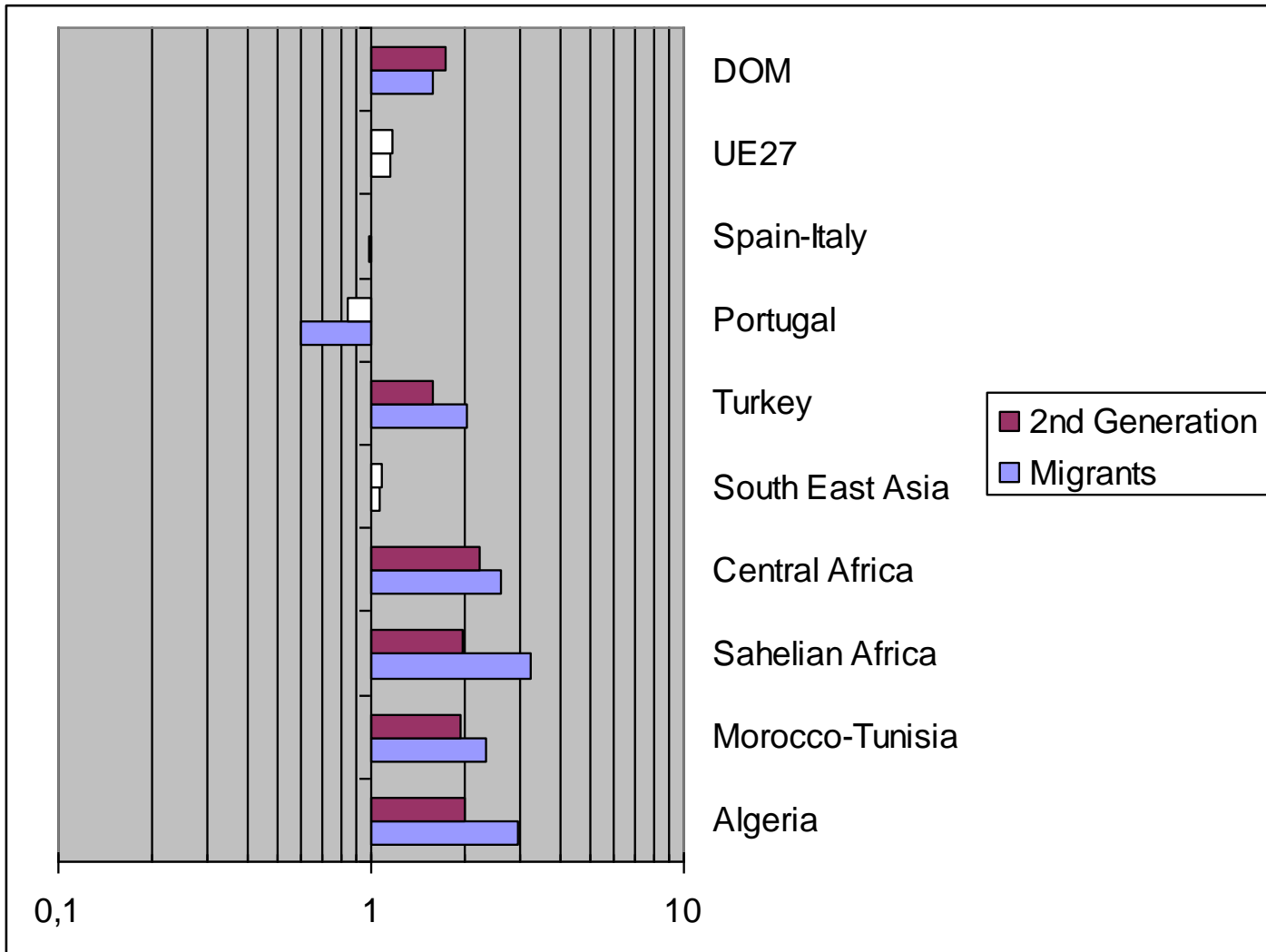
- Around 4,1 million Muslims, 8% of the total population
- Immigrants = 54%; 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation=39% (including G2,5=5%); Majority population=7%
- Mainly Arabs=70%; Turks=9% and Sub-Saharan African=10%
- Still a young population (65% below 35 years old)
- SES: Workers and Clerks (50%) and inactive (28%, mainly women)
- Lower level of education: 47% with a low secondary level (vs 18%); Tertiary education=23%

# Living in the poorest neighborhoods

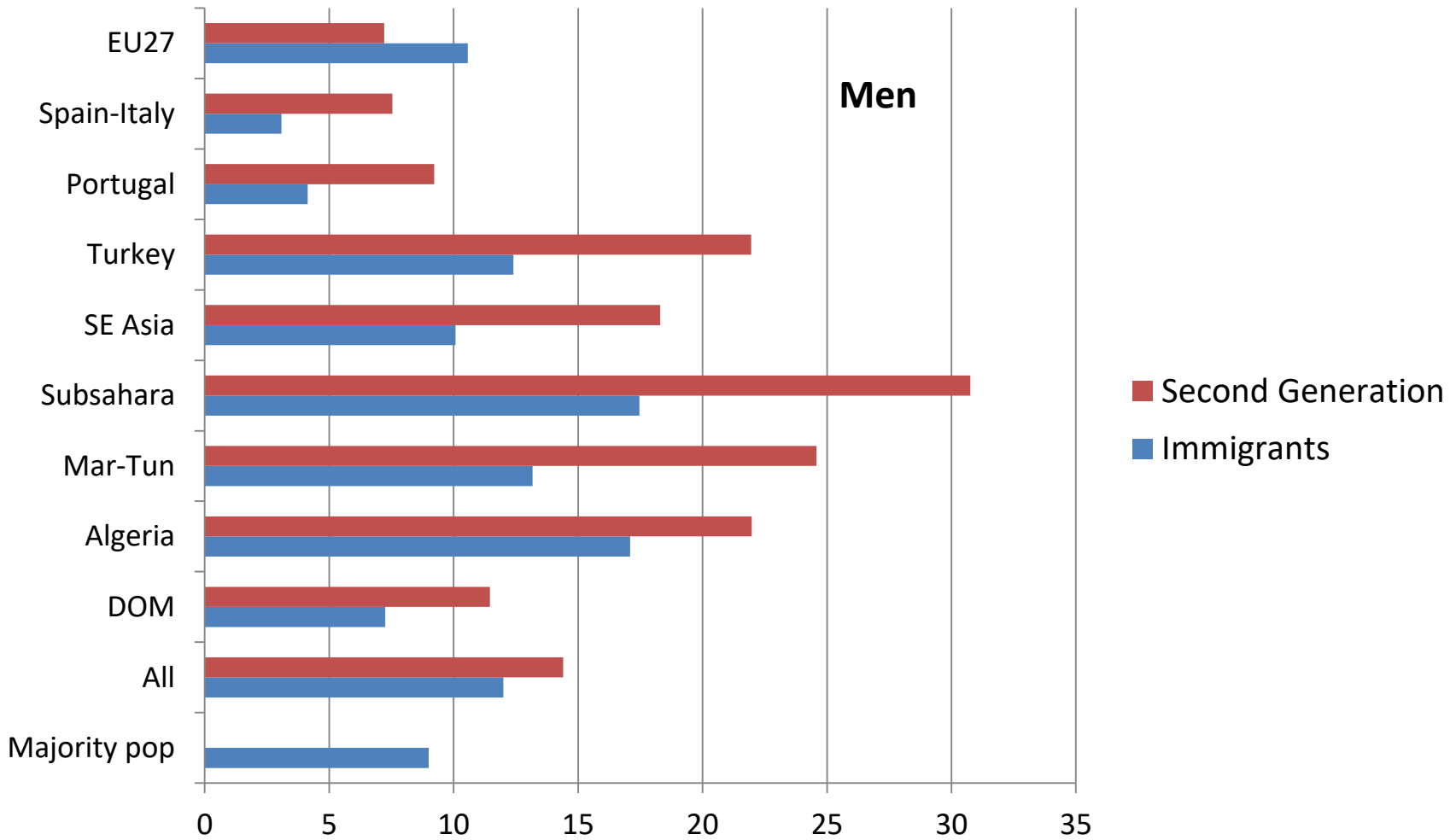


# Relative risk to live in a deprived neighborhood

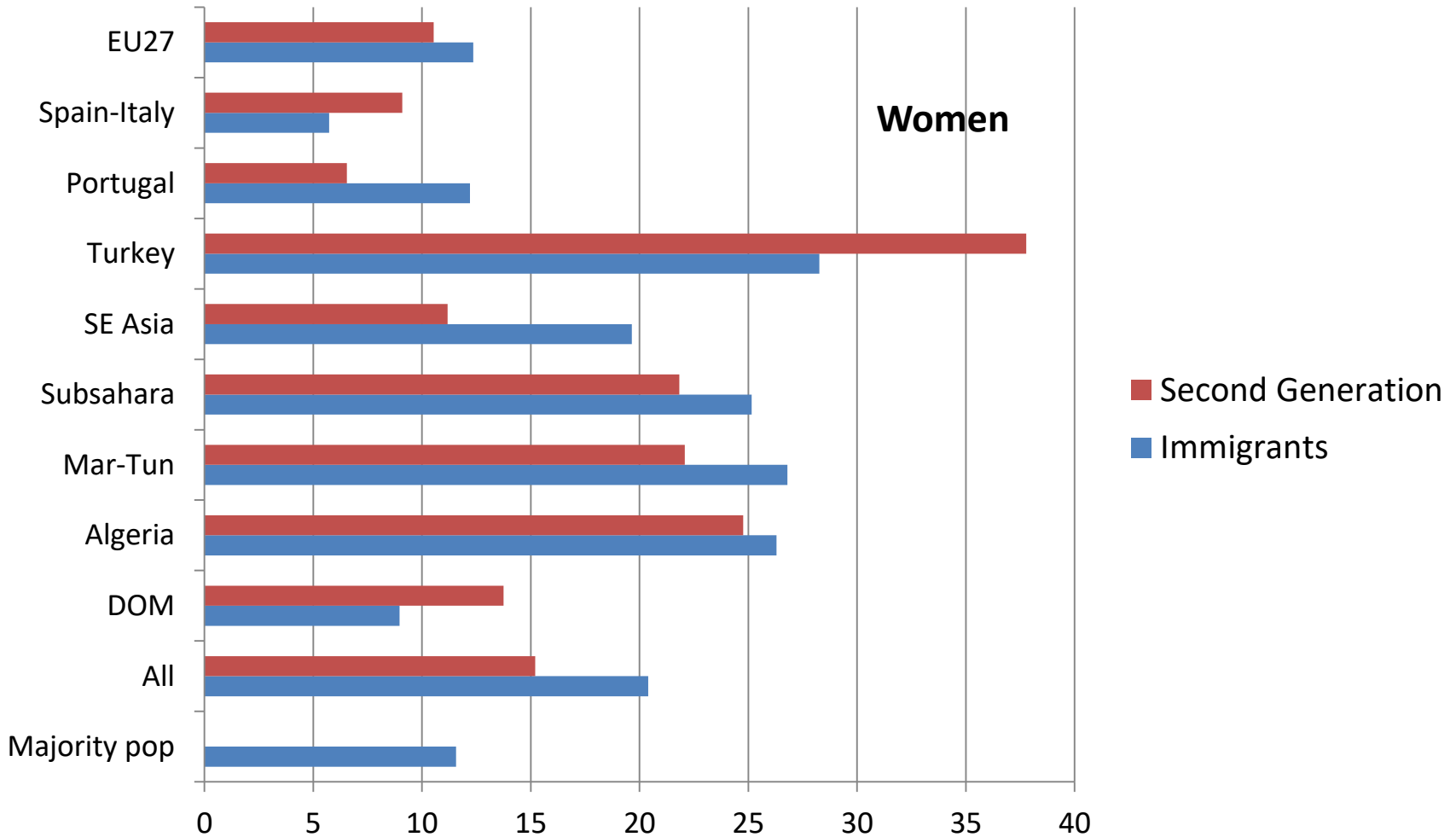
Odds Ratio, control for gender, age, education, occupation, size of metropolitan area and social background



# Unemployment: Harder for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation

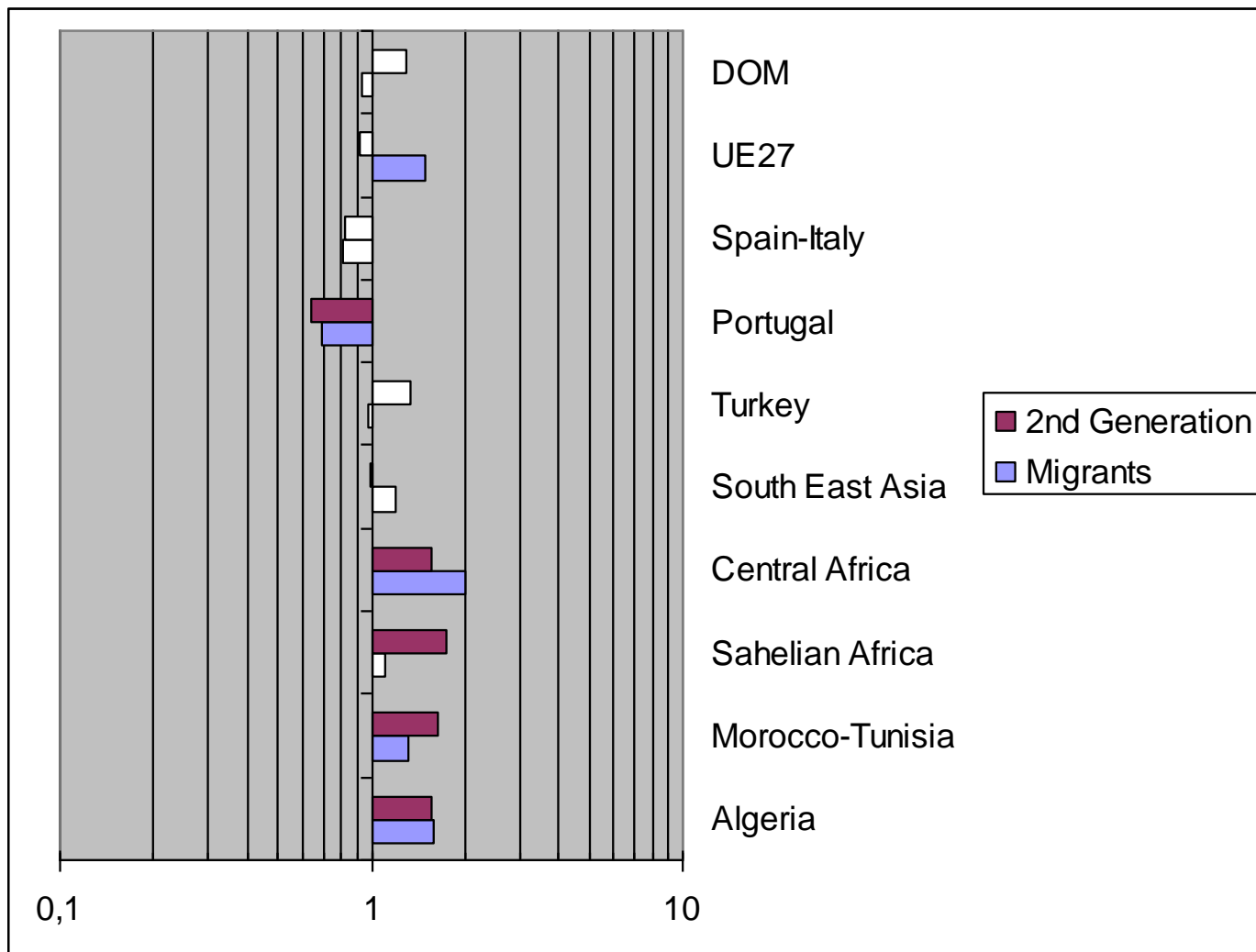


# Unemployment: a different pattern for women

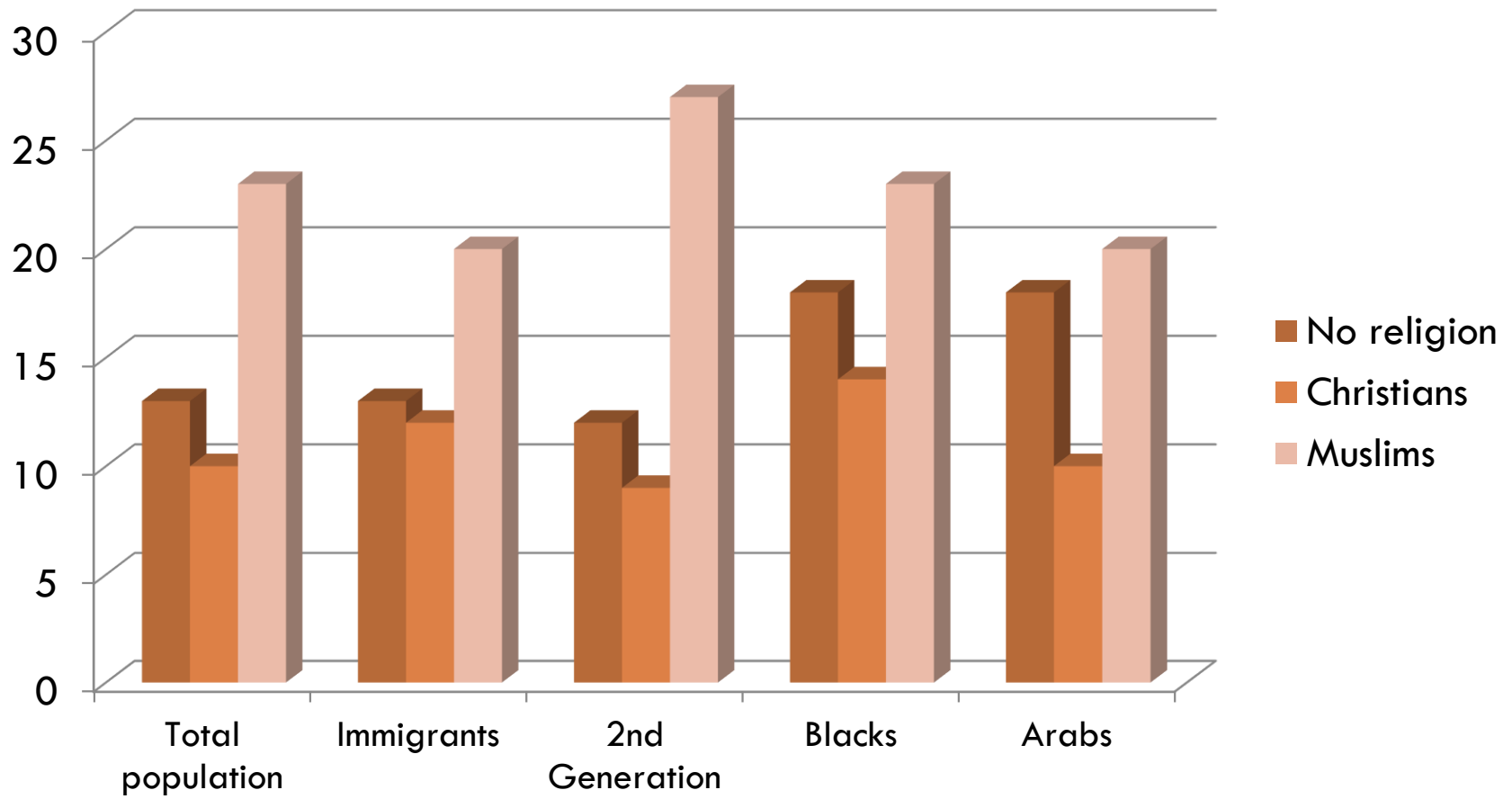


# Relative risk of being unemployed

Odds Ratio, control for gender, age, education, occupation, size of metropolitan area, religion, neighborhoods and social background

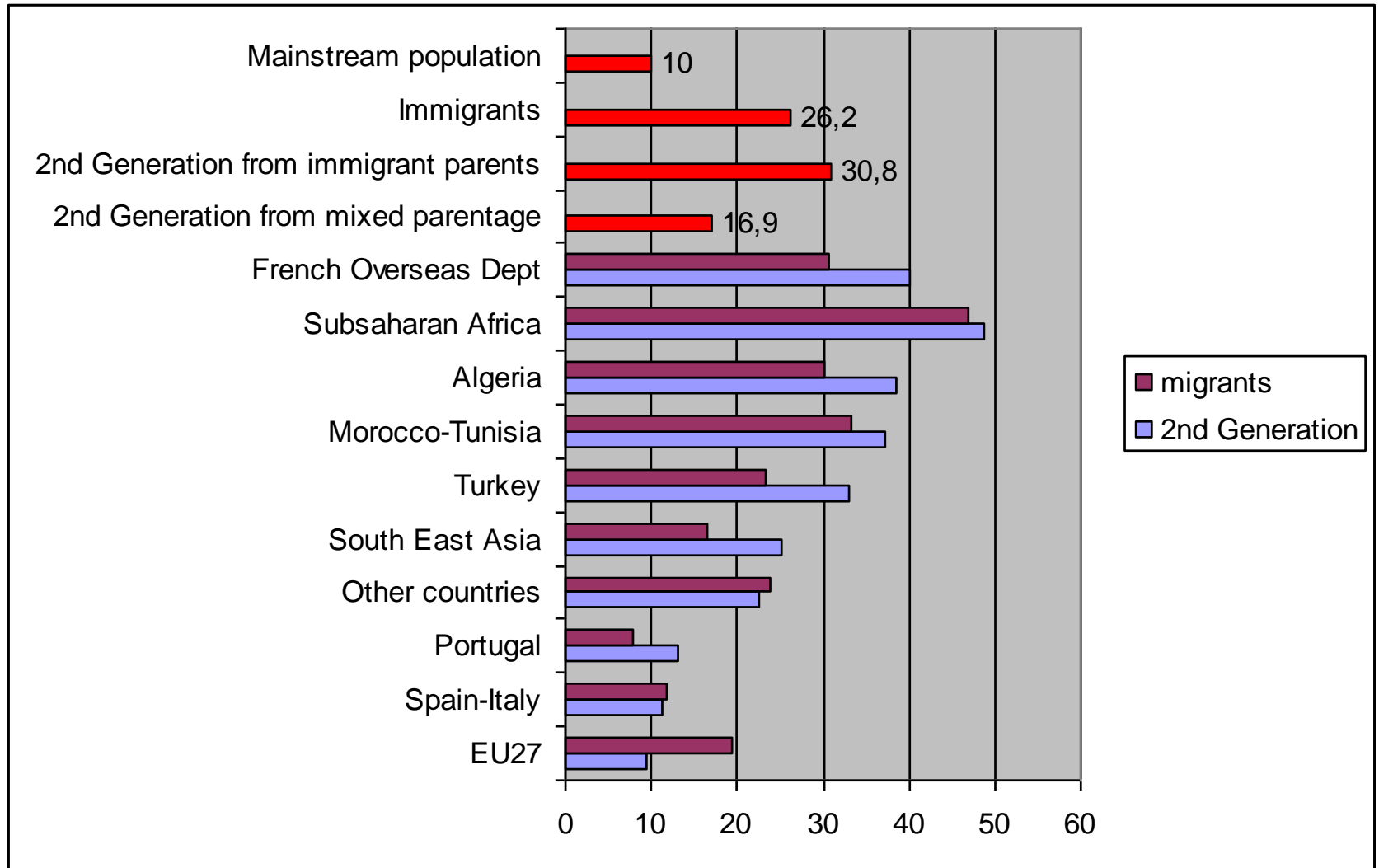


# Unemployment by religion, link to immigration and “ethno-race”



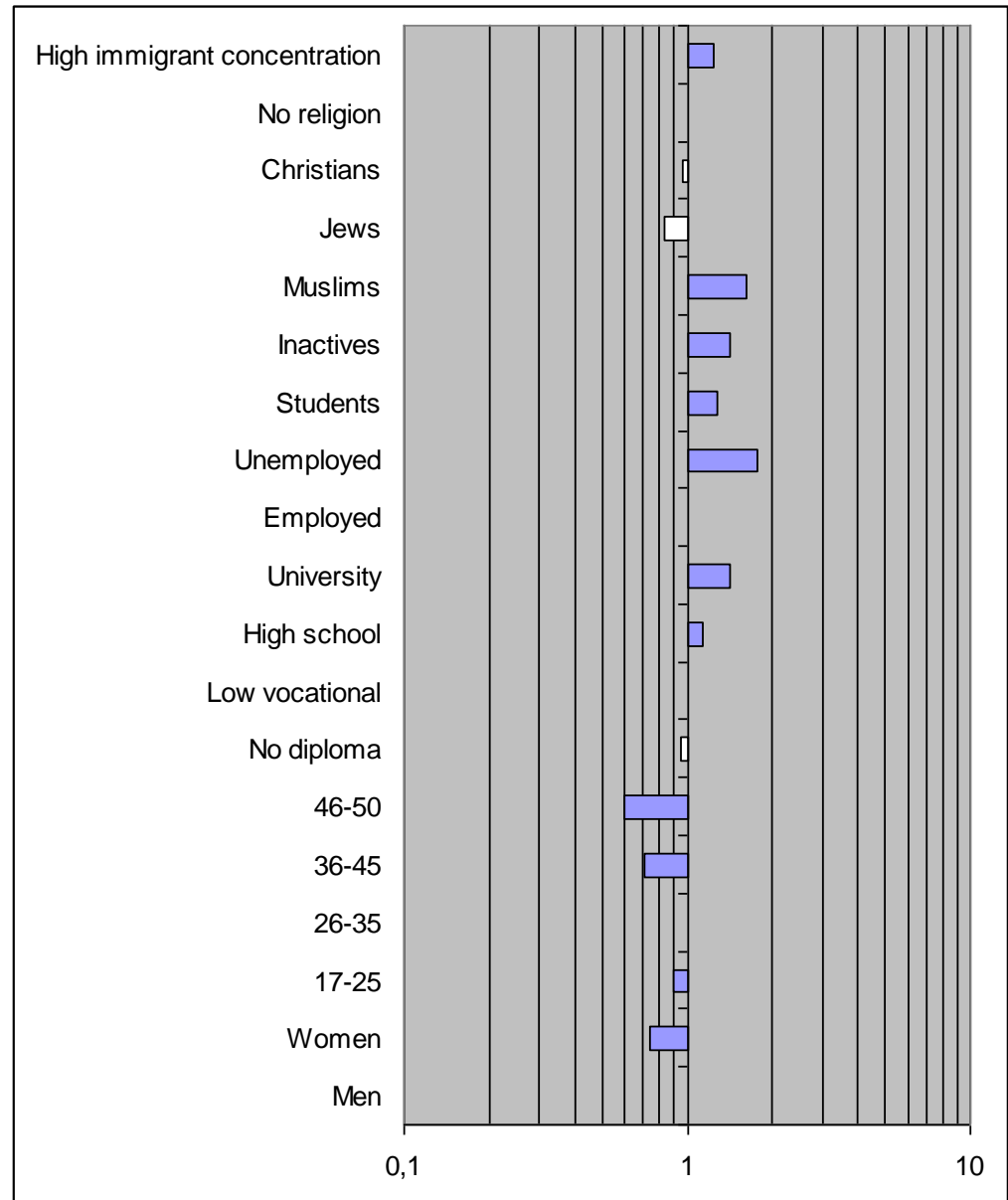


# Self-reported experience of discrimination



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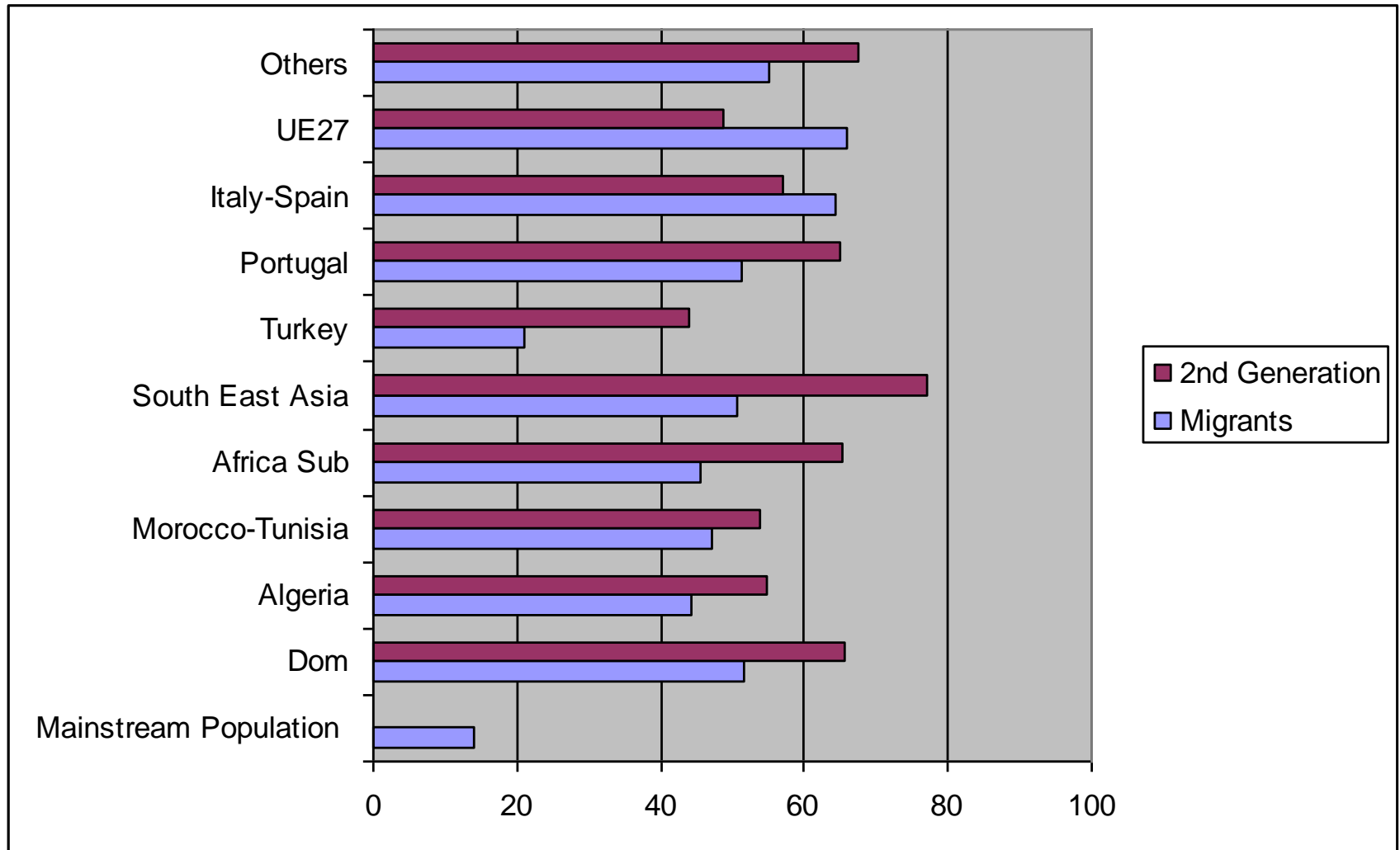
## Odds ratio



# BOUNDARIES

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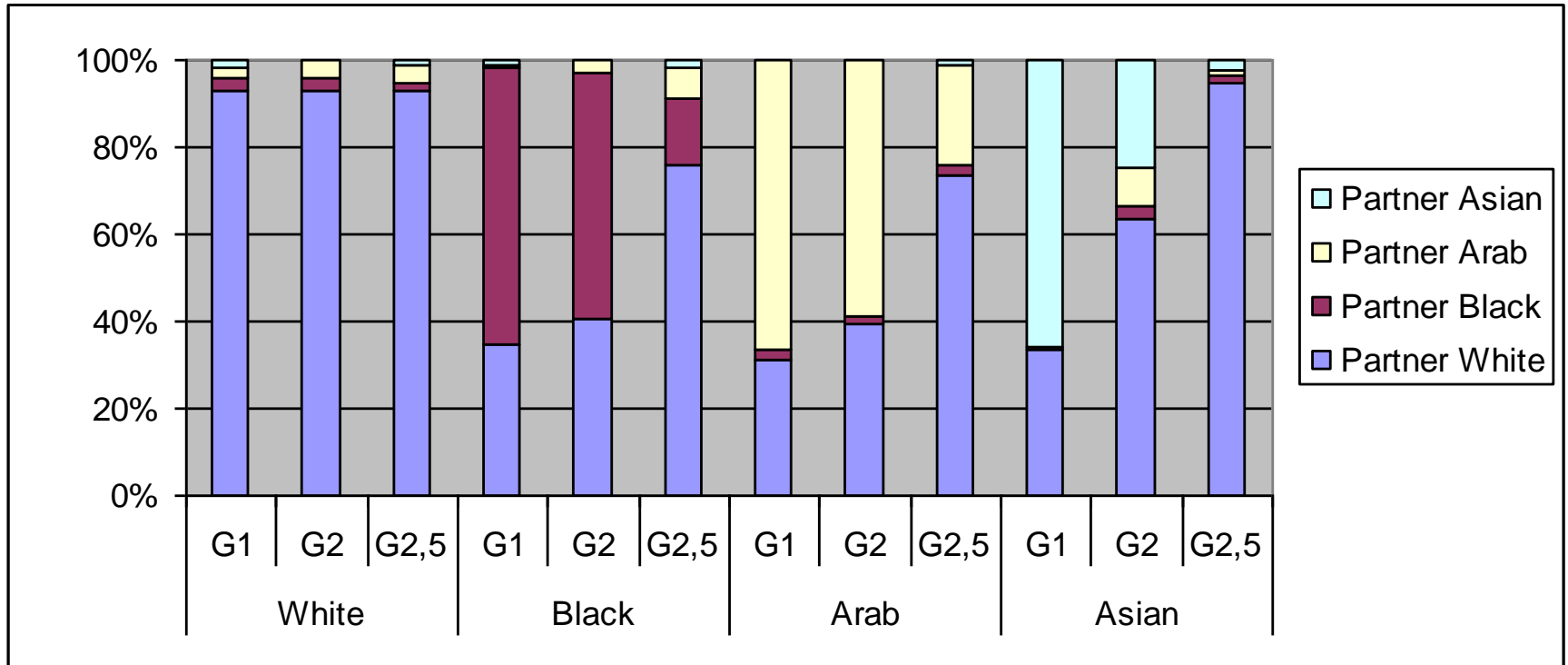
# Composition of friendship network: Ethnic heterophily



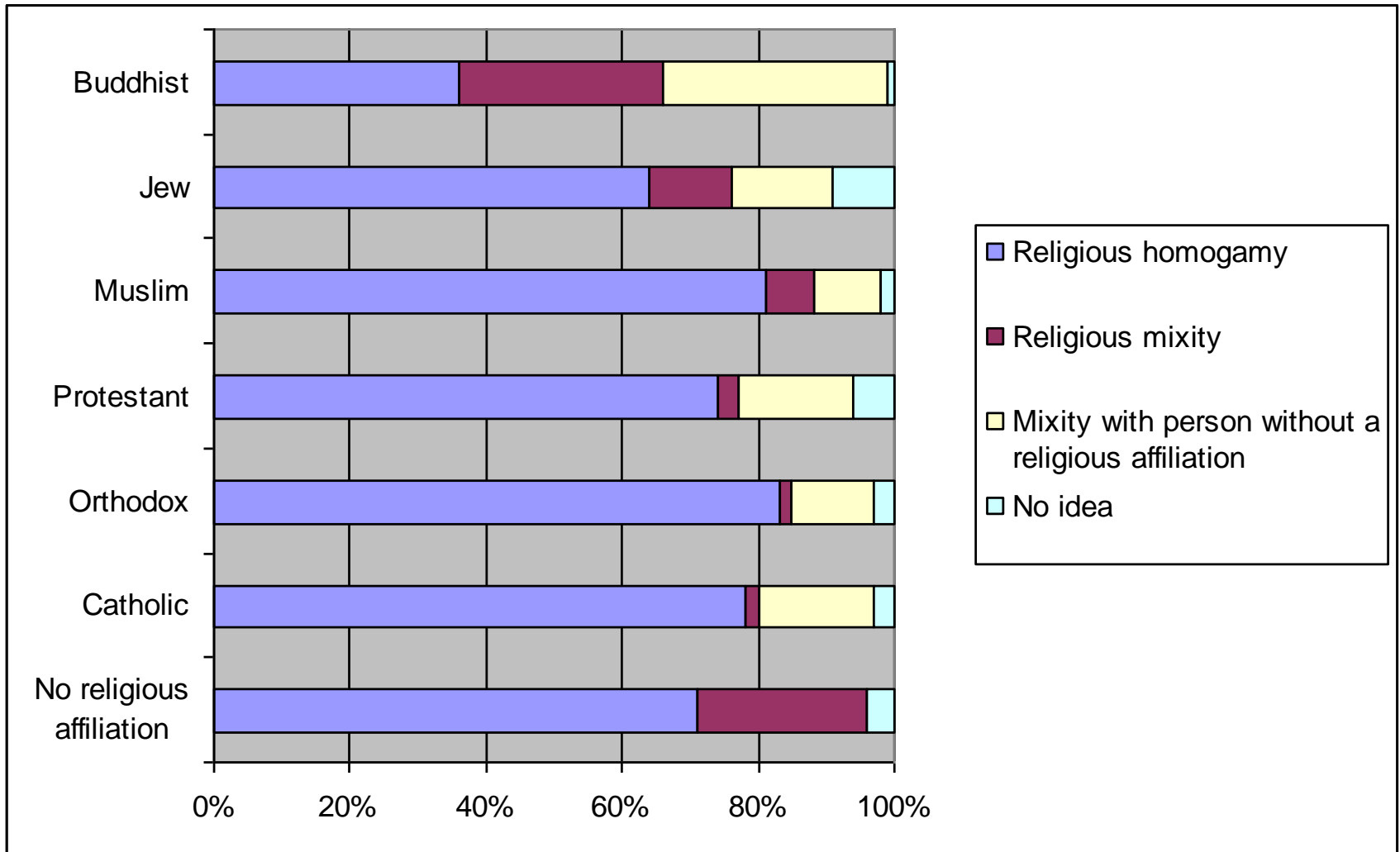
**Question:** Among the friends you have met the last 2 weeks, how many have the same origin than you?

**Answer:** Less than half

# Intermarriage across ethno-racial lines



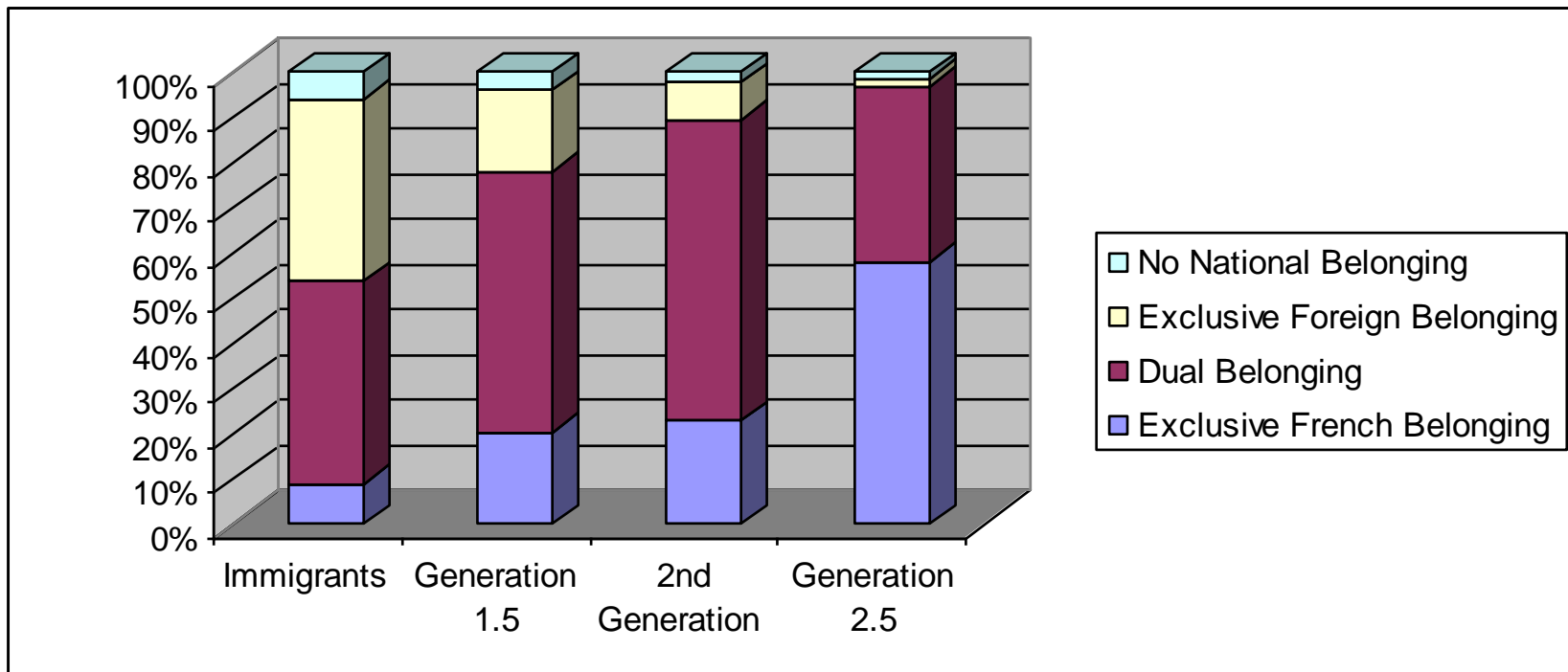
# Intermarriage by religious affiliation



# CITIZENSHIP AND ETHNO-NATIONAL IDENTITIES

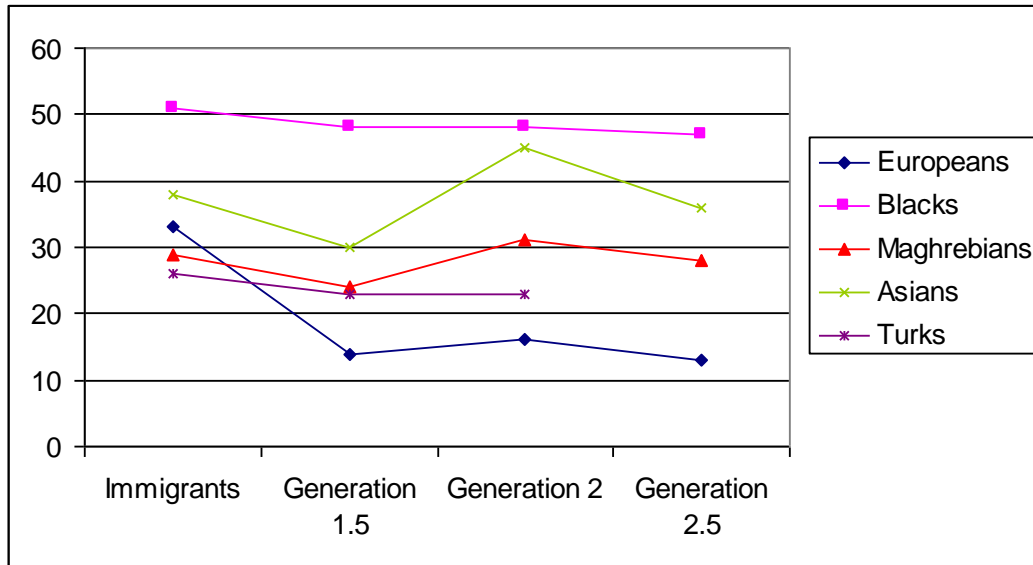
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# Multiple belongings

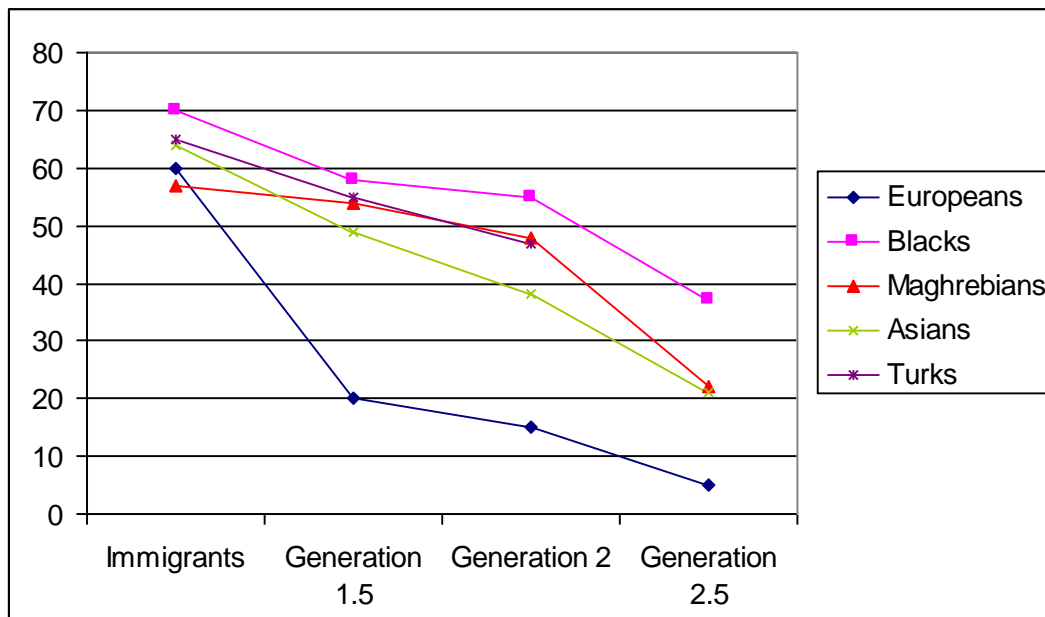




# Feeling of Frenchness challenged by the others



**Ethnic ascriptions**



**Frenchness denied**

# Discussion

- What kind of broad picture is supported by these findings?
  1. Same old story, the new second generation is going through a process of assimilation and will overcome the usual hostility against “newcomers”. The process is slower because of the new economy and the changing institutional context, but there is nothing new here.
    - OK, but why did not the European second generations undergo a similar process in the interwar and immediate after WW2 periods?
  2. A process of “post-colonial racial formation”: a “racialized” structure that will frame the future of the French stratification, re-activating colonial hierarchies
  3. Muslims become a significant category in public debates and face specific discrimination which tends to be distinctive from ethnic discrimination
  4. A mix of lack of ethno-racial boundaries in social interactions with strong segregation in housing and labour market

MORE ON TEO?  
CHECK  
[HTTP://TEO\\_ENGLISH.SITE.INED  
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Questionnaire and publications in English  
Dataset publicly available