(Re)Working Citizenship:
Young People and Colour-Blind Politics

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Geography and the Environment
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Trinity Term 201

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Abstract

This study is about the manner in which 'ethnicity', 'race', 'racism' and 'anti-racism' are understood in contemporary France and how this affects the ways in which racialized young adults experience their schooling and early working lives. I explore the ways in which young people living and working in Paris and its surrounding suburbs understand the opportunities and barriers they face. I ground these narratives in an historicized account of the emergence of recent formulations of debates about the appropriate place of immigrants and racialized communities in public political culture in France. I do this through both an examination of the controversy surrounding the use of the categories ethnicity and 'race' for the purpose of monitoring discrimination as well as an analysis of a recently inaugurated national museum dedicated to the contribution of immigrants to the French nation. I argue that highly mediatised discussions in France revolving around the meaning of the French national identity, immigration and integration, youth unrest in the *banlieues* and the place of religion in French society are all implicitly discourses of 'race' and racism, despite the concerted and explicit avoidance of the deployment of racial terminology. I draw together an analysis of racialization processes as they take place at different scales and arenas from the denial of the significance of racialization in intellectual milieus, to the process of invisibilisation of racialization and colonialism at work in museum displays and memory narratives to the individual and collective everyday lived experience of racism of relatively high achieving young racialized adults. While rooted in human geography, I rely on a variety of qualitative methods and contribute to a range of academic fields, including the study of racism and anti-racism, the sociology of statistics, museum studies and political science.

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Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Glossary of French Terms

banlieue, la (n)	This term designates the suburban areas surrounding major French urban centres. It is more likely to be used to describe neighbourhoods in which there is a high degree of concentration of subsidised housing and poverty. It is a connoted term that is linked with marginality, violence and the disruption of social order (Dikeç 2007). It has also come to be used to refer euphemistically to ethnicities other then the French majority culture, particularly in association with racialized young people. Thus this word is a key component of the French racial discourse that is deployed in everyday 'common-sense' language to refer covertly to racialized ideology.
banlieusard(e) (n), *jeune de banlieue, le* (n)	'Banlieusard(e)' and 'jeune de banlieue' are the terms commonly used to refer to young people who live or grew up or are discursively linked to the marginality associated with these neighbourhoods.
beur(ette) (adj.) (also *reubeu*)	A word based on French slang ('*verlan*') which creates new words by playing with the order of syllables. *Beur* is 'arabe' (French word for Arab) with the syllables reversed. While originating from *verlan* twenty five years ago, it is now used widely in France. The Larousse dictionary defines the term as designating a person of North African ('*Maghrébin*') origins born in France of parents who immigrated.
collège, le (n)	The first part of secondary school in the French education system. Students attend *collège* from the ages of 11 to 15.
communautarisme (n), *communautaire* (adj.)	A term used selectively in France in reference to immigrants and their children (rather then to describe practices of the dominant White majority) to connote negatively the practice of engaging in collective activities, including and especially clustering in the same neighbourhood. The presumption implicit in the term is 'the tendency of cultural groups to control and restrict the lives of their members by isolating them from wider society' (Laborde 2008: 108).
français de souche (adj.)	A term implying a biological conception of 'race' brought into mainstream usage by the extreme right which translates roughly into 'of French stock' and is used to describe members of the White majority in France.

issu de l'immigration (adj.)	In efforts not to use racial terminology, this term is deployed in official government documents as well as in popular language to describe those whose parents (and sometimes grandparents) have a history of migration to France. In the common use of the term, it refers primarily to racialized immigrants, although technically, it designates anyone of immigrant origins.
laïcité, la (n)	The term for French secularism that captures the historically specific political arrangements governing the protection of the public sphere from the once powerful Catholic church.
lycée, un (n)	*Lycée* is the last stage of secondary school in the French education system. It is composed of three streams: a general academically oriented one, a professionally oriented vocational stream and a technological one which leads to shorter term studies channelled towards relatively immediate employment. Students are generally 15 to 18 years old at this point in their schooling.
Maghrébin(e) (n, adj.)	Designates those whose origins are linked with the Maghreb (North Africa). It is often used interchangeably with the term '*arabe*' although it denotes provenance from North Africa.
Marche des Beurs (n)	This historic anti-racist movement took place in the early 1980s in which maghrébin immigrants and their descendants vocalised dissent against the racism they faced. Their demonstrations culminated in a March for Equality and Against Racism in 1983. Sparked in part by the death of a young person in the hands of police, the march started in Marseilles, passed through Lyon and, by the time it arrived in Paris, had 60,000 participants.
mixité, la (n)	Refers to what is constructed as the desirable state of mixed interactions and, in particular, housing arrangements. The characteristics to be mixed are usually social origins of class and, implicitly, ethnicity and 'race'. *Mixité* is the opposite of *communautarisme*.
politique de la ville, la (n)	The term used to describe urban planning and policy interventions that developed in the 1980s in France.
racaille, la (n)	A term famously used by President Sarkozy to refer to young people from the suburb of Argenteuil in Paris who pelted him with plastic bottles during his official visit. The extremely derogatory term is best translated as

	'cochroach' or 'vermin'.
renoir(e) (n, adj)	A word based on French slang ('*verlan*') which creates new words by playing with the order of syllables. The term refers to Blacks as it reverses the syllables of '*noire*'.
typé(e) (adj)	This adjective is a way of describing traits corresponding to a 'type.' In the context of everyday use in France, this is usually in reference to a racial prototype. The online Larousse dictionary provides the following example of the deployment of the term: *Elle est Indienne mais pas très typée*, which they translate as: She is Indian but she doesn't have typical Indian features [1]. This everyday use of language is a good example of the invisibility of whiteness, a phenomenon I consider to be hegemonic since only those with marked non-white features would be qualified by the adjective '*typé*'.

[1] http://www.larousse.com/en/dictionaries/french-english/typ%C3%A9/669209

List of Acronyms Used

Acronym	French	English Translation
AFP	Agence France Presse	
CDD	Contrat à durée déterminée	Fixed term contract
CDI	Contrat à durée indéterminée	Permanent contract
CGT	Confédération générale du travail	Confederation of Work
CARSED	Commission alternative de réflexions sur les « statistiques ethniques » et les discriminations	Alternative Reflection Commission on "Ethnicity Statistics" and Discrimination
COMEDD	Comité pour la mesure et l'évaluation de la diversité et des discriminations	Committee for the Measurement of Diversity and the Assessment of Discrimination
CNHI	Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration	Museum of the History of Immigration
CNIL	La Commission nationale de l'informatique et des libertés	National Commission on Data Privacy Law
CRAN	Conseil Représentatif des Associations Noires	Representative Council of Black Associations
DARES	Direction de l'Animation de la Recherche, des Études et des Statistiques	Directorate for Research, Studies, and Statistics
DOM	Départements d'outremer	Overseas Departments
DREES	Direction de la Recherche, des Études, de l'Évaluation et des Statistiques	Directorate for Research, Studies, Assessment, and Statistics
HALDE	Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations et pour l'Egalité	Equal Opportunities and Anti-Discrimination Commission
HCI	Haut conseil à l'intégration	High Council on Immigrant Integration

HLM	Habitations à loyer modéré	Rent Controlled/Subsidised Housing Units
INCÉE	Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques	National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies
INED	Institut national des études démographiques	National Institute of Demographic Studies
MGIS	Mobilité géographique et sociale	Geographical and Social Mobility
MRAP	Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples	Mouvement Against Racism and for Intercultural Friendship
RMI	Revenu Minimum d'Insertion	Minimum income for reinsertion
TeO	Trajectoires et Origines	Trajectories and Origins
TOM	Territoires d'outremer	Overseas Territories

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is about the early working lives of young adults in France. In undertaking the project, I started with a focus on the classic youth studies' issue of 'transitions', that is, the study of the now prolonged and varied process through which young people move back and forth from education to work (Bradley and Hoof 2005). I sought to understand how young adults navigate France's notoriously difficult youth labour market and how racism constrains their opportunities. As I explored this issue further, however, the study expanded to consider more attentively the manner in which 'race', 'racism' and 'anti-racism' are understood in the French context. The fact that public politics are explicitly colour-blind in France forced me to reframe the problematic of my research in an entirely different way.

I was soon to find that a different set of terminology is used in France compared to the UK to refer to the young adults whose experience is the focus of this study. While 'race' is relatively absent in political and intellectual debates, these fora are replete with references to a constellation of public problems associated with racialized French youth, but who are referred to, in an apparently euphemistic manner, as youth 'of immigrant origin' (*issus de l'immigration*) or as 'suburban youth' (*jeunes de banlieues*) (Silberman 2011, Breviglieri and Stavo-Debauge 2004). However, this difference in terminology runs more deeply than a superficial semantic variation and is, therefore, more than a euphemism. It is linked to the particular manner in which the difficulties faced by this group of youth are conceptualised as barriers which they face or shortcomings on their own part and which can be related to something having to do with either their presumed immigration histories, or their spatial location on the outskirts of urban centres, or both (Donzelot, Mével, and Wyvekens 2003; Simon and Stavo-Debauge 2004; Stavo-Debauge 2009). Thus, the focus of this study shifted to the way in which mainstream conceptions of racism and anti-racism in France are hopelessly entwined with notions of urban space, citizenship, immigrant integration and assimilation and how this entanglement affects young people's lives.

My approach to this study is largely inspired by feminist sociologist Dorothy Smith's sociological method *for* people that she called *institutional ethnography.* Smith (2005) recommends that researchers attend to some of the ways in which the lives of the study's participants might be understood to be coordinated through social relations at multiple places and at multiple scales (Grahame 2003; Massey 1991; Smith 2005). As Smith explains: 'the aim is to create something like maps of how things work beyond the scope of our everyday knowledge' (2005: 206). The goal is to look for the manners in which people's actions are connected to the actions of others in ways that may be invisible to the participants themselves. The research therefore explores the institutions which operate at various scales to coordinate the everyday lives of people and, in this way, exposes the 'ruling relations' that sustain inequalities. I focus here on a specific set of 'ruling relations', namely those in which ethnicity and 'race' are officially conceptualised and talked about, exploring how these 'ruling relations' shape the kinds of policies developed to address inequality. The viewpoint I seek to uncover in exploring the impact of these ruling relations is that of racialized young people at the early stages of their working lives.

As well as representing the lives of young French people, this thesis also offers an interdisciplinary account of the past twenty years of colour-blind republicanism and anti-racism in France. It does so, in a first stage, by examining two case studies of mainstream initiatives enacted by intellectual and political elites and supported by State funds and agencies intended to promote 'equal rights', 'citizenship' and 'anti-discrimination': first, the ongoing ban on ethnicity or racial categorisation in the national census and secondly, the creation of a national museum remembering the contribution of immigrants to the French nation-building project. I then consider in a second stage, the ways in which young people, who are amongst the purported beneficiaries of these strategies, and who have grown up over the same time period, have experienced everyday racism in their early schooling and working lives.

The study draws from a variety of methods and contributes to a range of academic fields, including the study of racism and anti-racism, the sociology of

statistics, museum studies and political science, while nevertheless are grounded in my own field of human geography, a discipline which embraces theoretical eclecticism and interdisciplinary approaches as a source of creativity and innovation (McDowell 2011a). In this introductory chapter, I explain why the working lives of young adults are particularly challenging in contemporary France, define key concepts to be used in the chapters that follow, provide a rationale for the approach of this study, and outline the structure of the thesis.

1.2 The context of Young People's Employment in France

1.2.1 Rampant Youth Unemployment

France is undergoing the transition from a Fordist, manufacturing-driven labour market characterized by full-time (typically White and male) salaried employment, to an increasingly polarized and precarious labour market dominated by the service sector. These changes have coincided with a period in which women have participated increasingly in paid work (Crosemarie 2009; McDowell 2009). Related to this, the education system has been expanded resulting in an increase in the average overall level of educational attainment (Beaud 2003; Beaud 1996; Brauns, Gangl, and Scherer 2001; Crosemarie 2009). While women are generally outperforming men in the education system, with the exception of doctoral level and engineering degrees, their success is not translating into the labour market, where they continue to suffer wage penalties and blocked mobility (Crosemarie 2009; Eurostat 2011). Nonetheless, the advent of women on the labour market and the general increase in structural unemployment since the 1970s has lead to less job security for men. In addition to these profound transformations in terms of who is part of the labour force, there has been a drastic decline of the availability of unionized and stable employment for everyone, especially those with low credentials (Beaud 2003; McDowell and Christopherson 2009).

These striking labour market transformations, accompanied by the persistence of structural unemployment in France since the 1970s, have not boded well for newcomers to the job market. As a result, unemployment affects a

substantial portion of young people in France. For example, in 2007, unemployment rates for those aged 15 to 24 were 20.2% for women and 18.6% for men (INSEE 2009): much higher than equivalent rates in, for example, the UK or Canada. Furthermore, the difficulties in securing employment have not been distributed randomly across all young people. Data suggest that those categorized as 'of immigrant origin' are especially likely to find themselves without a job, even after other factors such as educational background and experience are considered. Immigrants and their children are more likely to live in so called 'priority zones': there, the proportion of young people under the age of 26 facing unemployment is a staggering 30-40% (Bronner 2009; Kepel, Arslan, and Zouheir 2011).

1.2.2 Solidarity, Republican Citizenship and '*les exclus*'

Access to employment is a substantial dimension of contemporary citizenship and belonging (Bradley and Hoof 2005; Craig, Dietrich, and Gautié 2005; Malmberg-Heimonen and Julkunen 2005; McDowell 2009; Reiter and Craig 2005; van Hoof and Bradley 2005). In France, the implication of unemployment is particularly significant given the linkage between formal employment and the wage-based insurance schemes and workers' benefits which form the basis of the French social security system (Béland and Hansen 2000). A fundamental pillar of French social welfare is the principle of *solidarité* in which it is assumed that all citizens face exposure to social risks and are therefore interdependent one on another? (Béland and Hansen 2000). The renowned principles of French Republican citizenship, *liberté, égalité, fraternité,* are very much entwined with this notion of solidarity amongst individual citizens which insists upon the minimization of the political significance of subnational collective identities (Hargreaves 2007).

The persistant levels of unemployment that have plagued France since the 1970s have greatly strained this solidarity-based notion of citizenship, as there now exist large numbers of long-term unemployed members of society, referred to as the '*exclus*' (the excluded), a term popularised in the 1980s (Béland and Hansen 2000). Stavo-Debauge (2009) points to an egregious contradiction: access to the labour market is supposed to serve as an indicator of full belonging to the national

community, yet markets are expected to be ruled exclusively by principles of price mechanisms and profit maximization, rather than by a commonly adopted principle of full employment for all. Capitalist profit and labour markets cuttingly differentiate and hierarchize the value of different forms of work, types of skills and competencies and the embodied characteristics associated with each of these, and rely on large pools of un(der)employed competing with each other for low-payed jobs, as feminist and anti-racist scholars have long pointed out (Brah 1994; McDowell 2009).

While the welfare state was key to constructing a nation of individual citizens who are in solidarity with one another, the recent scaling back of universal social supports and the move towards means-tested state benefits represent a shift in conceptions of French citizenship which are converging with dominant neo-liberal Anglo-Saxon models (Béland and Hansen 2000). Unlike in North America and the United Kingdom where political parties on the right advocate a downscaling of the welfare state, the right in France has largely rallied around restricting who can enjoy the benefits of national community membership through anti-immigrant sentiment rather then the removal of these benefits in the first place (Béland and Hansen 2000). In other words, to add insult to injury, as pointed out in Laborde's (2008) analysis, many racialized young people, already deeply and unfairly affected by structural inequality, are also having their citizenship rights questioned with the emergence of new republican nationalist agendas.

1.2.3 The Rise of French Neo-Republicanism

France then has been faced with a number of profound transformations that put into question the centrality of the nation-state, such as the development of the European Union, and the transformation of the labour market accompanied by the increasing significance of transnational flows of capital in the globalising economy, of which Paris emerged as a node (Mitchell 2011). In response to this there has been the emergence a new form of nationalist politics in the 1990s termed the 'republican consensus' which spanned the political parties (Favell 1998). It is largely associated with the surprise election of National Front candidate Jean-

Marie Le Pen as mayor of Dreux in 1984 and the rise in popularity of his extremist right wing party (Favell 1998). His platform revolved around the single issue of immigration and promoted the idea that North African migrants ought to be deported (Hollifield 2010). The success of this party has resulted in the perpetual presence of anti-immigrant outlooks in politics, particularly from parties on the right seeking to regain the terrain lost to the extreme right. However, even the left responded to the sentiment that French national identity was under threat (Favell 1998). For example, in 1991 socialist Mitterand referred to a "threshold of tolerance" that he considered determined the point at which racism and xenophobia are provoked by immigration (Hollifield 2010: 22). With the advent of a recession in the 1991-2 which resulted in high levels of unemployment, the right wing Ministry of Interior Charles Pasqua announced his efforts to reduce immigration to zero and introduced what are known as the draconian anti-immigrant Pasqua laws of 1993 (Hollifield 2010). The election in 2007of Nicolas Sarkozy, leader of the right wing party Union for a Popular Movement (UMP), is associated with the persistent preoccupation amongst the electorate with fears of '*communautarisme*', (a perjorative word referring to the self-segregation of immigrant communities), Islamisation and the loss of 'traditional' republican values (Tiberj 2008). In 2009, the year I started my field work, the newly created Minister of Immigration and National Identity, Eric Besson, launched an inflammatory public debate on the meaning of the French nationality (Anon. 2009b). Thus, the contemporary political landscape in France continues to bear the influence of the so-called 'new republican consensus' which adversely affects racialized people who are associated with unwelcome immigration.

1.2.4 'Les banlieues' and Urban Segregation

Coinciding with the rise of neo-nationalism, the urban landscape of France is also revealing an increasing tendency towards the segregation of certain groups of immigrants and their children in neighbourhoods marked by deprivation and unemployment. The eruption of tensions in the '*banlieues*' of Paris in November 2005 which spread to major urban centres across the country made media

headlines across the world and called attention to the extreme marginalization of young people, many from families with immigration histories, living in inner-suburbs of urban centres in France. In fact, while French analysts are loath to associate their own country with the racial segregation they perceive as endemic to the history of slavery and racism of the United-States, a recent study has shown that ethno-racial segregation of groups of North-African, Sub-Saharan and Turkish origins is on the rise and more significant than segregation based on class, although not as definitive as that found in the U.S. (Préteceille 2009).

To conclude this brief introduction to the context of the study, there are numerous reasons why the early working lives of racialized young people are complex and filled with uncertainty. Chronic structural unemployment in the French labour market has consistently hit younger workers the hardest and, amongst those, the ones with actual or assumed immigrant origins and who live in segregated and marginalised neighbourhoods are the ones who face the most severe challenges. The view that the experience of symbolic exclusion entailed by unemployment is associated in the French context with 'race' and place is summarised by Kathryn Mitchell (2011 : 418) in her comment that 'disconnection from the market is [] equated with non-white bodies and spaces as well as banishment or exception from the rules and responsibilities of civilized life' .

1.3 Rationale for the Research Approach

A number of recent studies concerned with the social process of marginalisation and exclusion of young people in France have taken a neighbourhood approach. These include the recently published Montaigne Institute report entitled *Banlieue de la République* based on a detailed ethnographic study of the articulation of identities and religious practices, social deprivation and unrest among young people in a suburb of Saint-Denis, Paris (Kepel, Arslan, and Zouheir 2011). From a geographical perspective, Mustafa Dikeç (2007) has looked at the discursive construction of banlieue spaces as spaces of criminality and deviance in his analysis entitled *The Badlands of the Republic*. His study, with the work of French political sociologist Jacques Donzelot (2006), *Faire Société*, offers an account of the

evolution and adverse consequences of urban policies directed to banlieue spaces. Finally, Beth Epstein's (2011) anthropological study of the social relations of a Paris suburb, *Collective Terms. Race, Culture, and Community in a State-Planned City in France,* carefully examines the ways in which inhabitants of a new suburb identify in collective terms without presuming the significance of 'race,' ethnicity or immigrant origins. All of these studies offer rich accounts of the social dynamics of suburbs in France.

Despite these studies, however, I decided not to carry out an ethnographic study of a particular marginalized neighbourhood; indeed, I have not used a neighbourhood lens at all. As the scholars cited above have amply demonstrated, in the French context, racism and, indeed, racialized youth, are commonly associated with the *banlieues*, which have become increasingly imagined as cesspools of delinquency and lawlessness. In this way, through the stigmatisation of these suburban spaces, a spatialised racial imaginary has been able to flourish. A host of social problems are imagined to be endemic and localised in such spaces. The design of the research approach in this study is based on the premise that the racialization processes which have helped forge this spatialised racial imaginary and make the categories of '*jeunes de banlieues*' and '*jeunes issus de l'immigration'* meaningful far exceed these localised *banlieues* spaces. They can be observed by a researcher in all kinds of sites and places, including in elite groups, just as easily as in marginal ones. Since the emergence and effects of urban policy have been examined by insightful studies such as Dikeç's and Donzelot and others, my own work was designed instead to shed light on examples of State interventions other than urban policy. The cases I have chosen are often overlooked but are, in fact, framed as 'solutions' to the same problems which justify urban policy in France: the problematic of the unrest among young people of largely immigrant origin.

In the first part of this study, *Working on the Republic*, I examine the intellectual and political debates around two initiatives which are linked implicitly to the desire to address the difficulties faced by racialized groups but which seek to do so by framing this issue as a question of immigrant integration. These initiatives are first, the ban of the categorisation of 'race', and secondly, the

creation of a new national museum which attempts to re-imagine the French nation as a nation of immigrants. In this way, I shift the gaze away from marginalized spaces to focus on elite ones, a change in perspective which I intend as a partial disruption of the spatial imaginary which links social problems to marginalised spaces. Such an approach helps to develop one of the overarching arguments of my thesis: that the racialized spatial imaginary of urban space in France is related to the refusal to see racism as a social problem extending beyond and, in fact, originating outside *banlieues* spaces, even if those who are most harmed by its nefarious effects may well live in disproportionate numbers in such spaces. As I show through these two case studies, the processes of racialization that are at play in giving salience to the stigma associated with the *banlieues* can be observed in elite and intellectual spaces as well as purportedly well-intentioned projects beyond those geared at marginalised urban spaces. The exploration of the representation of cultural difference over the past twenty years in the census and in the museum, key instruments of nation building over the same period, will contribute to the interpretation of the second section of the thesis, *Working in the Republic*. Here I turn to the everyday experiences of young people engaged in the early part of their working lives. To do this, I explore the ways in which young people of different backgrounds, including the dominant White French one, understand their schooling and working lives and the opportunities and barriers they face from their own point of view.

In this second part, I also use two case studies to explore, in a first stage, how the situation of what I refer to as 'racialized young people' is understood by 'the public' in France, then, in a second stage, to consider how young people themselves understand their situations and construct the 'problem'. It is a common refrain among youth scholars that studying young people offers a privileged vantage point into the most recent societal transformations. It is argued, therefore, that the perspectives of young people help to identify the shortcomings of the republican ideals as constructed through practices such as those described in the first part of the thesis (Furlong and Cartmel 2007; MacDonald 2011; Roudet 2009). However, this dual focus approach also suggests how, conversely, an examination of the dynamic geographies of racialization in France is able to illuminate the

analysis of youth transitions and clarify the way that young people live and make sense of their situated lives.

1.4 Conceptualising 'Race' and 'Ethnicity' and 'Youth' in France

1.4.1 'Race' and 'Ethnicity'

In this thesis, I unpack the specific ways in which 'race' and 'ethnicity' are conceptualised in the French context. It is useful, therefore, to outline here how I have conceptualised these terms, as well as to specify who I am referring to in speaking of 'young adults'. In this study, 'race' is conceived of as a set of discourses which, while unfounded biologically, are given a high degree of social significance through everyday ordinary and elite practices and discourses and therefore serve to structure inequality in society (Dwyer and Bressey 2008). The concept of 'racialization' is used in this thesis as a means to capture the multiple and sometimes contradictory processes through which the concept of 'race' is given meaning. The term 'racialization' emphasises the fact that meaning is attributed to the term 'race' through social processes which shift across time and place, and are therefore geographically and historically situated. The use of this term is an attempt to avoid reifying 'race' and turning it into a stable category and to avoid biological interpretations. Instead, 'race' is a changing category whose meaning is assigned through relational and contextual social processes. Racialization, in this thesis, is intended to capture the fact that even in the context of colourblind France, in part through processes of categorisation initiated by the state and supported by nationalising narratives, as well as through social relations in everyday life, 'race' is made to matter even in the official rejection and alleged absence of a state-endorsed racial discourse. While seeking not to reify racial identity, at the same time, I am not denying the meaning that the category of 'race' may have come to play in the sense of identity and belonging of a person or group.

A parallel discussion of the term 'ethnicity' is also in order. While less loaded in certain respects than 'race,' all too often, this term is introduced into lexicon to do the same dirty work as racial ascriptive terminology, namely to

assign a bounded identity and place in racial hierarchies to certain bodies, often based on phenotype, but also on culturally inflexed markers created by the dominant group (Anthias 1998). Yet there does seem to be some value in the recognition of a non-essentialised form of cultural adherences and practices and in plural societies in which lived biographies and family histories involve migration from, and situation within, multiple geographies (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). This does not mean that in order to hold on to a concept of ethnicity it is necessary to elevate 'place of origin' to the ultimate source of such an identity and source of belonging as is frequently done (Anthias 1998). Ethnicity need not be essentialised or directly linked to place of birth or place of birth of ancestry, and instead is best conceived as always in an iterative process of becoming, and thus perpetually 'on the move' (Keith 2005: 5). I conceive ethnicity not as a biological birth right but, rather, as situated in lived experience itself, embedded in the context of the relationships between humans and objects or, in other words, in the material and discursive landscapes which help to render them both meaningful and relatively stable. Furthermore, 'race' and 'ethnicity' may also be identity categories deployed by those engaged in political organisation to challenge racialization processes, as a means of identifying the specificities of the injustices carried out under the banner of racial ideologies. My conceptualisation, therefore, of both 'race' and ethnicity emphasizes the contingent and contested nature of such identities which are interpellations, stabilisations and performances rather than expressions of innate properties of humans and places, yet which also have the capacity to carry meaning for individuals.

Nonetheless, while I argue for a de-essentialised, relational and situated concept of ethnicity, in this thesis I face the dilemma of needing to identify the participants in my study as having a differential experience of racialization processes. In general, I shy away from ethnicity-related terms. In my view, ethnicity is fluid and contextual and also something that emerges through practices and relationships. In my research process, I did not undertake a detailed ethnography of participants and I am not in a position to write at length about their ethnicities. I attempted to study how the way they are perceived by others is affecting their working lives. Hence, I prefer the term 'racialized group' rather than

the terms 'ethnic minority' or 'visible minority' in so far as this concept helps de-essentialise 'race' by conceptualising it not as a natural characteristic, but as something that is ascribed through the webs of relations, social processes and practices, which work to link a 'race' with a person or a group. There is also a tendency in the deployment of the term 'ethnic minority' to assume that the dominant group is inherently heterogeneous and impossible to encapsulate through a concept of 'ethnicity', while the minoritized group is relatively homogeneous and therefore well suited for the term. Such an approach reinforces unequal power relations as well as belying the manner in which gender, 'race', sexuality, age and numerous other social relations serve to give meaning and variability to ethnicity (Anthias 1998; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Brah 1996). In short, the use of the term 'racialized group' is justified because it best captures the boundary processes I am exploring. As such, the term 'racialization' also captures the normative stance of this work which seeks to describe, historicize and criticize such processes, all at the same time. In the following section I will briefly review the debates surrounding the use of the concept of racialization in Anglophone literatures.

1.4.2 Racialization- A Contested Concept

While the concept of racialization is now widely used across Anglophone social sciences and humanities, its deployment is a matter of debate and critique (Banton 2005; Barot and Bird 2001; Goldberg 2002; Murji and Solomos 2005). Goldberg (2002) and Murji and Solomos (2005) express concern over the way in which the term of racialization is now used so loosely that the uneven and varied ways in which 'race' is actually given meaning are misleadingly analysed to suggest that racialization is a process which unfolds smoothly and uniformly. This leads to a lack of attention to, and dismissal of, the inherent contradictions and volatilities of racializing processes (Murji and Solomos 2005) and suggests a sureness which, for Michael Keith (2005), belies the complexities of processes shaping contemporary multicultural city life. In this section, I will briefly review the

emergence of the concept of racialization in the social sciences literature and some of the key debates associated with its potential utility and shortcomings.

The term 'racialization' has a long and contested history. Barot and Bird (2001) trace the original use of the term 'racialization' to the end of the 19th century. Thus they discuss, for example, the appearance of the term 'racialization' in the early 20th century in Sir Arthur Keith's anthropological writing. This author saw racialization as a naturally occurring form of prejudice associated with group formation. In his view, 'racialization' was unfortunately eroded by the opposite process of 'deracialization' (1931). Arthur Keith's concept of racialization is different form the way in which the term was used by Arnold Toynbee (1918, 1948 in Barot and Bird 2001) in political science at about the same period to refer to a negative and anti-democratic tendency, associated with nationalism, and which as a tendency ought to be thwarted.

The term 'racialization' reappeared in the 1970s in the UK in sociological analysis through the work of Michael Banton (1977) in *The Idea of Race* (Murji and Solomos 2005). Banton uses the term to capture the ways in which biological differences in the 19th century came to be categorised in terms of 'nations' and 'races' and he considers race thinking as a an invention of the 'Anglo-Saxon Protestant West'(Banton 2005: 58). 'Racialization' and 'racial categories' go hand in hand in inseparable ways in Banton's view, whose conception relates specifically to the use of biological categories of 'race' where there is no basis to do so (Banton 2005). Robert Miles is credited with the subsequent development of the concept of racialization and his early work within a neo-Marxist paradigm was extremely critical of concepts of 'race' and of the 'race relations' paradigm advocated by Banton (Murji and Solomos 2005). Miles argued instead in favour of an analysis of racism which centres upon the state, capitalism and migrant labour: 'The process of racial categorisation or racialization is simultaneously the historical consequence and the site of subsequent struggles between classes and of the formation and reproduction of class fractions' (Miles 1982: 184). Miles' development of the concept of racialization further diverged from that of Banton in insisting that visible characteristics are not the only ones which can be the basis of

the racialization process since, in the case of Jews, for example '"non-visibility" can be constructed by the racist imagination as proof of their "real" and "essential" (but "concealed") difference' (Miles 1993: 14). Furthermore, contra Banton, Miles considers racialization to be at play even if explicit reference to 'race' is not made. Over the course of his work in the field, Miles broadens his understanding of racialization from a straightforward ideological matter to one which brings to bear the social relations through which 'race' becomes explanatory or 'performative' (Murji and Solomos 2005).

What remains key for Miles, however, is the idea that racialization is a process which serves capitalism by fracturing the working class and by creating certain categories as particularly well- suited for exploitation as labour (1993). Miles remains sceptical as to the autonomy of racialization in relation to class processes since it serves too well the ruling classes. He argues that political mobilisation based on 'race' is detrimental to the unity of the working class whose members then fail to perceive the root cause of all inequalities, capitalism, and unite against it. Miles' unwillingness to tolerate racial mobilisation as a form of progressive politics converges with some arguments used to reject racial categories in the French context to be discussed in Chapter 4. Miles does indeed use the term 'racialization' to capture a process in which the very idea of race is constructed and maintains group differentiation, but he sees the construction of 'race' as being politically motivated and effected by the ruling classes and as stemming from capitalist and colonial social relations (Murji and Solomos 2005, Miles 1993, Barot and Bird 2001).

In contrast to the Marxist work of Miles, scholarship on racialization associated with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at Birmingham University in the 1970s placed a higher premium on the role of semiotics and signification in the construction of 'race'. While not disregarding racialization's interaction with class, the cultural studies' approach views racializing processes as theoretically separate from but entwined in practice with class distinctions (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, and Roberts 1978). In approaches building on this perspective, the concept of racialization evolved to

encompass a broader set of processes, practices, and representations associated with a racialising interpretation of society and the related perpetuation of racial inequality. An important criticism which Miles directs at Hall but which might equally be extended to many scholars examining the construction of 'race', is that while there is agreement that 'race' is given meaning in particular contexts and historical conjunctures, many scholars nonetheless tend to reify the idea of 'race' by referring in their writing to '"groups with different racial…characteristics" as if these were natural facts' (Hall 1980 in Miles 1993: 44).

Miles' critique has been taken on board in the writing of, for example, Nayak and Twine who provide examples of analysis which do not assume 'race' prior to empirical investigation, exploring performed 'white' identities which did not correspond with phenotypic characteristics- for example, Twine's "brown-skinned white girls (Nayak 2006; Twine 1996). Nayak (2005) draws from post-structural and performative (Butler 1993) understandings of racialization to argue that 'race does not prefigure discourse, but rather, is produced and feverishly kept alive in and through the multiple, if at times conflicting, discourses of racialization' (144). Using the ideas of Foucault with respect to the 'productiveness of power and its uneven distribution', Nayak's post-structural approach attempts, in a similar vein to those in the CCCS school, to write against simplistic dualisms and to move away from a materialist understanding of power as something which some groups wield over others, as in Miles' theorisation. These approaches view racialized identities as rendered intelligible through matrices of social norms and they emphasise the work of discourse in giving meaning to embodied characteristics (See also Bettie 2003; Mahtani 2002; Nayak 2005).

Finally, following Miles' Marxist perspective and the cultural studies' constructivist and subsequent performative concepts, a third approach to theorising racism results in a problematisation of the concept of racialization from a philosophical perspective. This critique is made by David Theo Goldberg (1993; 2002) and is part of his important contribution to theorising the liberal modern state system and the racial divisions upon which it is allegedly based (For a state-centred approach to racialization developed in the United States see also Winant

2001).[2] Goldberg argues forcefully for the recognition of the fact 'that race is integral to, a central feature-indeed, an obsession-of historical development of European-influenced and inflected modernity' (2002: 50). Goldberg analyses the philosophical foundations of liberalism and notes that the forms which modern states have taken are linked to gender and racial configurations. For example: 'The battle-cry of enlightened eighteenth-century revolutions that Rousseau did so much to orchestrate is haunted by the echoed screams of slaughtered savages. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," but only for and among those not inherently incapacitated' (47). Thus, race marks and orders the modern nation-state, and so state projects, more or less from its point of conceptual and institutional emergence. The apparatuses and technologies employed by modern states have served variously to fashion, modify, and reify the terms of racial expression, as well as racist exclusions and subjugations (2003: 4).

While Goldberg's work has been influential in promoting the field of critical race studies, he has recently begun to question some of the approaches to the analysis of racialization that this field has spawned. In part emerging from Goldberg's oeuvre, then, is a questioning of the concept of racialization. In his existentialist interpretation of liberal state institutions and laws, there is no neutral state which can then 'become racialized': the state is "always already" racialized and owes its existence, defines itself, by excluding others (Giroux 2006). Racial conception is part and parcel of the very inception of states and, in that respect, foundational. Given this conviction, the term 'racialization', in Goldberg's view, is not analytically precise (Giroux 2006). In addition, Goldberg expresses frustration at the way in which the term 'racialization' is used in mainstream media and academic writing to relate racially inflected situations without necessarily adopting a moral stance against racism.

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[2] The arguments advanced by Goldberg receive only a cursory review here. However, their implications are profoundly relevant to the further development and enhancement of the ideas proposed in this thesis and will be pursued more thoroughly in future work.

I have already alluded to the debates which the contested relationship between racialization, class, and in the work of Goldberg, state, have generated and the alleged autonomy of these. However, another key advancement to the development of theories of racialization is a consideration of the way in which it is entangled with a much wider array of social relations. Anthias and Yuval-Davis advocate an intersectional lens to address adequately the ways in which ethnic, racial, gender and class social relations work together relationally to attribute some bodies with inferior status in relation to others. They consider this process as racializing, whether or not racial categorisation is explicit or not (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). Essed affirms also that "race" only gets meaning in terms of a particular language or national history and in terms of gender, ethnicity, class, physical ability, and other relevant factors' (2005: 228). The relationship of racialization to other axes of social relations is another point of differentiation amongst scholars, as Murji and Solomos caution with a different emphasis than the previous scholars mentioned, 'race and other axes of social differentiation do not exist apart from one another but that is not the same as claiming that they are only defined in and through each other' (15). The ways in which they intersect is subject to empirical exploration (See for examples Brah 1996; Nayak 2003).

A related debate arises from the tendency of some scholars to use the concept of 'ethnicity' instead of, or as well as, 'race', often in an attempt to avoid the pitfalls of reifying 'race' and to avoid the biological interpretations that it evokes (Barot and Bird 2001). The arguments around the problems of essentiliasation of 'race', however, have also been applied to the concept of ethnicity. The term 'ethnicization' is developed by Miles and Brown (2003) based on Wallerstein (1995) to capture the dialectical relationship typical of the ascriptive process through which certain signifiers come to be given significance in delineating group boundaries negatively: a group is always not another group, and this relational boundary formation process is always carried out in asymmetrical power relations. Through this process, terms come to have significance and affect how a group may biologically, culturally or economically reproduce itself (Mirji and Solomos 2005). Stuart Hall's work has also developed this line of thought in relation to identity processes generally: 'identities are the names we give to the

different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.' (1990: 225).

Yet, defining a racialized community as an 'ethnicity' may be a move towards recognizing that the process of racialization can be productive in mobilising political resistance and a sense of belonging within a community amongst the victims of racialization (Brah 2005; Hall 2003). For Brah, when racialized groups associate with a shared sense of history, culture and set of sensibilities, the term 'ethnicity' has a more positive connotation than 'race' and is used to give value to the positive, cultural dimensions of this collective experience, as opposed to alleged physical ones of genotypes. Brah develops the idea of 'differential racialization' in which racisms are considered in the plural and how groups are positioned variably and with some ambivalence in relation to each other (Nayak 2005, Brah 2005, Brah 1996). The tension between ethnicization as a process which emerges through fields of power relations and the ways in which, identities based on ethnicity and 'race' might nonetheless, provide a basis for challenging unequal power relations, is a thread which runs through the scholarship on racialization as a whole.

Both materialist and culturalist understandings of the term 'racialization' have principally used the concept in relation to the construction of minoritised groups. However, for the past decade, a new field of study, focused on the racialization inherent in the construction of the racial category of 'whiteness' has emerged (Murji and Solomos 2005, Nayak 2005). This controversial field has brought to the fore another related set of debates amongst theorists of racisms and racialization. Ruth Frankenberg's (1993) influential work in the United States called attention to the 'unmarked and unnamed' cultural practices which give meaning to the often invisibilised racial category of "whiteness" (1). Her work highlighted the political importance of considering the ways in which discourses of race structure lives of people marked as 'white' since these identities are not necessarily constructed through coercion but, rather, in many, although not all cases, are constructed from relatively privileged positions. Les Back and Vron Ware (2002) identify a political potential of the study of whiteness' key insight,

namely, the inherent interconnectedness of racial identities and thus the existence of a relationship upon which dialogue 'on the basis of non-racial solidarities' might emerge (150). These authors suggest 'whiteness' scholarship would best serve anti-racism by 'open[ing] up new insights into patterns of social and political injustice, which may in turn lead to different kinds of alliances dedicated to combating them-alliances that make nonsense out of this question: what role is there for whites?' (151). Ware and Back worry that the new field of whiteness studies has tended either to lapse into descriptions of the lives of white people or to promote a segregated form of anti-racist politics in which white people might get involved in a manner that reifies whiteness. Either way, the category of 'whiteness' is taken as a given.

These debates in whiteness studies bring me back to a pertinent and recurring issue, relevant to all studies of racialization: the place of 'race' categories in relation to knowledge production and political mobilisation oriented at ending racialization and racism (Murji and Solomos 2005; Solomos and Back 1994). This is not by any means a new debate and, as Murji and Solomos (2005) argue, it is worth returning to the work of psychiatrist and anti-colonial intellectual Franz Fanon who, incidentally, also made passing references to the concept of racialization in his work. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon discusses the psychological effect of the coloniser's classifications of the colonised by phenotype and how these categories are internalised by native intellectuals themselves. Fanon refers to this process as "the racialization of thought" (Fanon 1967 in Murji and Solomos 2005: 7). Fanon considered Negro-ism as a blind-alley and advocated against organizing along the lines of racial affinities and, instead, for uniting against colonialism (Murji and Solomos 2005). In (1967), Fanon makes reference to 'racialization' to distinguish it from the process of 'humanization' (Goldberg 2002, Murji and Solomos 2005). Key to his approach is the damage done by racialization to the bodies and psyches of colonial subjects at the receiving end of the process, an emphasis which has not been adequately picked up by subsequent sociological accounts of the process, in Bardot and Bird's (2001) view.

To this day, the role of racialization as an analytic concept and the ultimate goal of scholarship seeking to address racial discrimination and end the maintenance of the race social construct remains open to debate. While, Reeves (1983 cited in Murji and Solomos 2005), for example, considers racialization as necessary, in some cases, to enable political mobilisation against racism in contexts in which racial inequality occurs unabated, others, such as Gilroy (2000; 2003; 2004), are more sceptical of the potential for an emancipatory outcome of organisation along racial lines. It is this problematic which runs through Anglophone scholarship and which is also at the heart of the debate around categorisation of 'race' and 'ethnicity' in the French census, that is examined in Chapter 4.

1.4.3 'Youth'

Finally, I turn to the definition of 'youth'. Here I argue that the boundaries between childhood, youth, and adulthood are shifting and contextual (Evans 2008). In France, the welfare state constructs those under the age of 25 without children of their own as not fully adult in the sense that they are not eligible for welfare benefits as independents. In this study, 'youth' and 'young adults' are a much less categorically defined age group but are instead constructed in relational terms. Given my focus on paid employment, the categories of 'youth' and 'young people' are used interchangeably to refer to people who are engaged in post-secondary education or who have relatively recent finished studying and/or are new entrants to the labour market. In an effort to examine the circular and increasingly prolonged pathways between education and early employment opportunities, I have focused on those who are older than the age that in many studies conventionally are included in the category of youth, since I have interviewed people between the ages of 25 and 35. Not only was this age group well positioned to speak reflexively on their recent early work experiences, in many cases, they still considered themselves in the process of sorting out their longer term paid employment strategies.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

The remaining chapters of the thesis are structured as follows. In Chapter 2, I situate the contributions of my work within the literatures of the subfields of social geographies of young people, economic, urban and political geographies, as well as other disciplines such as memory and museum studies. This chapter introduces the eclectic collection of social theorists whose ideas I find significant in addressesing questions about the connections between youth employment, gender, 'race' and racism and the construction of knowledge and which will be developed in various empirical chapters. I have relied heavily on Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' and 'subjectification' (Foucault 2004 [1977-8]; Foucault 2004 [1978-9]; McNay 1994), which has some convergence with the ideas of Dorothy Smith whose work I have already alluded to (Busfield 2007). In considering the agency of young people, I have engaged with the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and Saba Mahmod (2005). In theorizing the particularities of everyday racism, I have leaned heavily on the landmark work of Philomena Essed (1991) and, in relation to contemporary gender relations, I have drawn from new work by Angela McRobbie (2009, 2011), Joan Scott (2007), Cécile Laborde (2008) and Linda McDowell (2009, 2011).

Having outlined the theoretical frameworks that I develop, and before delving into the research findings, Chapter 3 provides a detailed account of the mix of methods applied to collect and analyze the data upon which my arguments are based. I explain how the research project evolved, the basis upon which I selected particular methodological techniques, what subject matter attracted my attention and how all of this relates to my own positionality, as well as how I began to analyse that information that I had collected.

The fourth chapter, which is also the first empirical chapter of this thesis, is entitled 'The National Census, the 'Race' Question and the Category of the '*Jeunes issus de l'immigration'.* Through the lens of the categorisation debates, I explore recent interpretations of the French republican model of citizenship which is based on the founding national principles of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' among individuals (Jennings 2000). The value of 'race' and ethnicity quantitative data in identifying discrimination is currently the focus of heated public debates:

the public controversy around this question is the focus of this chapter (Anon. 2009b, Anon. 2009a, Eeckhout 2009a). As I explain more fully in this chapter on racial data collection, because of the manner in which 'integration' is conceptualised in France, governmental interventions created for the purpose of immigrant 'integration' double as anti-discrimination policies. In Chapter 5, I examine another example of an intervention designed to improve the lot of immigrants and their children. In the chapter, entitled 'Re-working the Imaginary Community: Memory and Forgetting and the *Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration (CNHI)'*, I analyze this new national museum, dedicated to the contribution of immigration to the construction of the French nation.

One key argument against the collection of ethnic and 'race' identity data in large scale surveys which is explored in Chapter 4 is the idea of the *performativity* of such categories, that is, that such categories play an active role in rendering salient and meaningful the difference they are supposed to be only describing. The key underlying fear is that a person's individual autonomy will be compromised by the increased legitimacy and authority which official categorization lends to their identification with a group. I argue in this first section of the thesis that the concept of performativity might equally be applied to describe how the CNHI seeks to perform an assimiliationist narrative of the national community which avoids emphasis on the plurality of ethnicities of immigrants and their children which might otherwise have been the focus of such a memorialisation. Breviglieri and Stavo-Debauge (2004) have pointed out that similar anxieties surrounding the capacity of people to operate as autonomous individualized citizens are associated with the figure of the immigrant as well as that of a young person. Not surprisingly, then, these anxieties are heightened in relation to youth grouped euphemistically under the banner of youth 'of immigrant origin' (*issus de l'immigration*) or 'suburban youth' (*jeunes de banlieues*).

In Part Two of the thesis, entitled *Working in the Republic*, the focus shifts to the narratives of the generation of young people who have grown up in France during the same time period explored through the case studies in Part One, and who are now a decade or so into their working lives. In this section I consider the

extent to which the debates in France on ethnicity, religion, 'race' and gender have come to play in their working lives. This second section is based on qualitative interviews conducted with thirty-nine women and men, who have all grown up in France, who are primarily between the ages of 25 and 30, who for the most part identify with South-East Asian, North- African and French cultural heritages, and are racialized as 'Asian', '*Maghrébin*' or 'White'.

In the first chapter of the section, Chapter 6 'Why do you want this job? Young French Adults' Motivations for the Job They Do', I consider the ways in which young people explain their motivations and imperatives for pursuing particular educational and work trajectories. Chapter 7, '"Humiliations that you Don't Forget": Remembering Everyday Racism in Young People's Schooling and Early Work', casts light on the manner in which these young people recall racism and discrimination affecting their schooling and working lives. Both of these chapters, then, explore from different angles the ways in which young people identifying with different ethnicities navigate their working lives in a period when labour market change has made it increasingly difficult for young people to find acceptable employment that permits them independent living.

In this way, while taking on a conventional sociological problematic of youth transitions, I have developed a novel geographical approach to my study. This involves, paradoxically, avoiding a certain spatialisation of this issue by not focusing explicitly on the articulation of youth unemployment and the urban segregation of immigrants and their descendants, even though I am interested in the differential experience of the so-called 'second generation'. I still examine the classic social issue of 'youth transitions', that is, the move from education to work of young people and how they interpret the challenges they face in doing so. However, these transitions and experiences are studied in relation to the active processes through which French society has constructed the place of immigrants and their children within the national imaginary over the past three decades.

Chapter 2 Theorising Classification, Memory, Young People's Agency and French Perspectives on Anti-Racism

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the multiple strands of theoretical and empirical literatures that have influenced the conceptual framework informing this thesis. The literatures reviewed here help bind together the various case studies in this work, by showing how the insights and themes explored in the individual chapters hinge upon the larger arguments which are developed further in this thesis. As I explained in chapter 1, my thesis is structured around four empirically-based case studies, and so in this chapter I also highlight the significant academic debates through which the specific questions addressed in each chapter emerged.

This chapter is organised as follows. I start by introducing Michel Foucault's ideas of discipline, regulation and governmentality: they serve to link together statistics and museums as techniques of governance implicated in the production of the modern subject (Foucault 1977; Foucault 1978; Foucault 2004 [1977-8]; Foucault 2004 [1978-9]). This line of theorisation knits together nicely the two sections of this thesis by shedding light on concepts, practices and techniques included in the discursive processes which merge to co-produce public life (Hammer 2011; Hooper-Greenhill 1989).

In the first of the two chapters that make up part I of my argument – the chapter in *Working on the Republic* – I show how categorisation, counting and displaying are techniques of government in which national statistics (discussed in Chapter 4) and museums (the topic of Chapter 5) are both significant social institutions which constitute ways of seeing (and not seeing) 'race' and ethnicity (Berger 1972). Chapter 5 deals specifically with the museum of immigration as a mnenomic device and I review key literatures from memory and museum studies to contextualise the analysis.

The second part – the two chapters that make up *Working in the Republic* - involves a close examination of the narratives of young people themselves. In the

Introduction, I mentioned that I have drawn inspiration from the ideas of Dorothy Smith and her sociological method of 'institutional ethnography'. Joan Busfield (2007) has suggested there is some convergence between her ideas about the 'ruling relations' which coordinate peoples' lives and the ways in which Foucault's theories consider the role of discourse on producing subjectivities. In the second part of this chapter, therefore, I build on this similarity by exploring Foucault's theories in relation to the production of self and feminist perspectives on agency to contextualise the discussion of young people and their working lives.

2.2 Knowledge, Power and Techniques of Government

The ideas of Michel Foucault have proved central in emphasising the role of classification as a disciplinary process linked to power and have had a major place in geogrpahic theorising in the last two decades or so (see for examples Crampton and Elden 2007; Driver 1992; McDowell 1999; Pratt 2004; Rose 2001). For Foucault, 'disciplinary tactics' are located 'on the axis that links the singular and the multiple'. They allow 'both the characterization of the individual as individual and the ordering of a given multiplicity' (Foucault 1977:149). Categorisation helps to objectify by simultaneously giving bodies and things visibility, exposing them to examination for the sake of ordering and comparison and, in this way, enacting a normalizing gaze (Foucault 1977; Foucault 1978; Foucault 2004 [1977-8]; Foucault 2004 [1978-9]). The effect of the production of this norm is to turn those surveyed into their own regulators, a process which will be discussed further in the section 2.3.3 of this literature review. In the present section, I examine how, using Foucault's ideas, both statistics and museums may be conceived of as key technologies of power serving to 'open up society for government' or, in other words, to the totalising process of knowledge-based governance (Hammer 2011: 82; Hooper-Greenhill 1989; Saetnan, Lomell, and Hammer 2011).

2.2.1 Statistics and the Concept of Governmentality

In the lecture series entitled *Territory, Security, Population* where Foucault first introduced the concept of 'governmentality', the census and the categorisation it produces are highlighted as key techniques of power serving to consolidate and manage a population with the willing participation of its individual members (Foucault 2004 [1977-8]). Initially, the concept of governmentality captured the historically situated process tied up with nation-state formation in Western Europe, in which governing shifted from a problem of securing sovereign rule over, and obedience of, individuals, to that of constructing knowledge serving to manage a population (Senellart 2004). The term "statistics" is defined in the fourth lecture of this series as the 'science of the state', concerning specifically the 'elements, dimensions, and the factors of its strength' (Foucault 2004 [1977-8]: 138). The technique of ruling deploying statistics is linked to the population explosion of the eighteenth century, which was a crucial factor in the shift of government that Foucault theorises:

> [S]tatistics, which, within the framework of mercantilism, had only ever been able to function within and, in a way, for the benefit of a monarchical administration that itself functioned according to the form of sovereignty, now becomes the main technical factor, or one of the main technical factors, in unblocking the art of government (Foucault 2004 [1977-8]: 140).

Here, then, Foucault understands governmentality to be an historically-specific form of exercise of power over individuals, which statistics played a key role in bringing to life. He defines governmentality as:

> the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument (Foucault 2004 [1977-8]: 144).

However, as the term was developed in the subsequent lecture series, as well as in future work, it became a concept encapsulating a wider theory of power of government in general, not simply that undertaken by states (Senellart 2004).

Governmentality, in this way, comes to be understood by Foucault as 'the way in which one conducts the conduct of men [sic]' (Foucault 2004 [1978-9]:

186), as sets of strategies and techniques guiding behaviour through the crystallisation of a common sense emerging in the matrices of social relations. Through various techniques (among which statistics and museum collections may be included), a shared rationality accepted by those being governed and referred to as governmentality helps to coordinate actions. As Sennelart (2004 : 504) summarizes: 'Governmentality is thus the rationality immanent to the micro-powers, whatever the level of analysis being considered (parent-child relation, individual-public power, population-medicine, and so on)'. Key to the emergence of this rationality is the constitution of intermediary concepts such as 'population,' 'society' and the 'social,' through which, and upon which, disciplinary and regulatory processes operate. The concept of governmentality is influential in contemporary understandings of the significance of statistics. For example, Hammer (2011) describes the duality of statistics in that they simultaneously allow for generalisation to take place from the level of the individual to broader concepts such as 'society' while at the same time, numerical description and the categorisation it requires can serve an 'individualising function' on people by 'telling us where we belong and what factors our lives are connected to' (80). In this way, he argues that statistics and practices used to produce them help to govern social life.

2.2.2 Theories on the Mutual Constitution of Statistics and Society

The idea that a social category does not just exist out there in the world but is created through relational struggles in the cultural arena was a key tenant of the influential Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1984). Much of his work illustrates how classification struggles are deeply political. The production of a social group was not seen by Bourdieu in a negative light, but as a potential source of progressive social change. From his work is the sense that groups come into being through a sociological awakening in which people realize they have something in common with others and thus share common interests. Yet Bourdieu's work focused resolutely on the benefits of this notion of group

conscious raising as it concerns the working class and largely ignored gender, ethnicity and 'race' (Skeggs 2004c).

The link between categorisation and the emergence of new concepts capable of having powerful effects as conceptual classificatory tools is explored in the work of French sociologist and state statistican Alain Desrosières, who studied with Bourdieu. His influential account of the mutual constitution of the tools of statistical knowledge and the cognitive schemes and institutions which they describe (Desrosières 2008) will be examined. He argues that statistical tools help forge what he refers to as new 'objects,' which become 'objective' once they are used to inform action. The concept of 'objectification' is used to capture the tension that exists between the fact that statistical objects are created through measurement conventions - and hence, are socially constructed - yet that they reflect a reality and they tell us something about the world within the bounds of the logic of the practice through which they are constructed (Desrosières 2011). This argument put forward by a respected statistician is not by any means intended to rule out statistical description. Its aim is to define the notions of 'objectivity' and 'reality' in order that statistics' legitimacy and objective reality are at least partly linked to the purpose of the accounts they help to provide. In Desrosières' view, conventions used to construct categories and measure groups can be considered to objectify such groups, that is to render them real 'objects', if these newly constructed groups inform action. Desrosieres and Thévenot (1988) illustrated this claim through the example of the production of a professional category unique to French statistics called the 'cadre', which loosely translates into what we might know as management or executive. They showed how the production of this statistical category in official statistics departments then played a role in consolidating this socio-professional category as a recognized social actor with a particular set of interests in society. Once recognized, these interests could then be reported in the media and taken into consideration in economic and employment policies. In this way, categorisation schemes and statistical tools are shown to play a role in constructing the reality they purport to describe. Desrosières' work describes national statistics as doing the work of 'ordering and

coordinating many social activities and serving as a guide for public action' (2011: 41).

Another way of thinking about the power of statistical categorisation is through the concept of 'performativity.' This set of ideas was first introduced by British philosopher J.L. Austin in an aptly-titled series of lectures called *The Work that Words Do* in which he shows that some speech acts are not just descriptive but also undertake an action (Austin 1962). For example, the statement 'I do hereby declare you man and wife' performs the action it describes. As Austin notes, however, the words are rarely enough to carry out the action on their own, as they require a host of background conditions to be in place in the situation in which they are pronounced in order to produce their effect. This led Austin to the wider observation about the performative potential of all words, that is, the possibility of words doing things in the world and that this property is linked to the circumstances of the speech utterance in question: 'Once we realize that what we have to study is not the sentence but the issuing of an utterance in a speech situation, there can hardly be any longer a possibility of not seeing that stating is performing an act' (Austin 1962: 139). This line of argumentation is widely appealed to in the French debates about the dangers of categorising 'race' which, it is believed, will render meaningful and 'real' a category which has no biological basis.

Various strands of the approaches that I have traced back to the theorisation of classification and the constitution of populations and individuals permeate analyses of both state statistics and museums in France and elsewhere. The various hypotheses support the proposition that the national census is a 'technique of government' which gives form, objectifies or 'performs' the nation and its constituent parts. As Kertzer and Arel argue in their introduction to the edited collection which includes a chapter on France, *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Identity and Language in National Censuses*, 'the census does much more than simply reflect social reality; rather, it plays a key role in the construction of that reality…the census is used to divide national populations into separate identity categories: racial, ethnic, linguistic, or religious' (2002: 2). In the

same vein, in their book *The Mutual Construction of Statistics and Society*, Saetnan et al (2011: 2) argue that 'the act of counting its citizens, territories, resources, problems, and so on, is one of the acts by which the State participates in creating both itself, its citizens, and the policies, rights, expectations, services, and so on, that bind them together'. In this way, the census form withits various 'ethnic' or 'racial' options, is a technology of government which relies on and, at the same time, further legitimizes the common-sense belief that such categories are meaningful and necessary to the description and management of populations. As Hammer (2011) points out, statistics then allow generalisation as well as individualisation, since the categories used tell us where we belong and how we fit in the wider whole.

Clearly, anxieties abound in France around census categorisation, a concern Ian Hacking (1999: 34) has termed 'the looping effect of human kinds,' or the way in which people interact with the categories which classify them. This is the framework through which I explore the construction of the categories of 'race' and ethnicity in the French national census that I explore in Chapter 4.

2.2.3 The National Museum and the Disciplinary Society

Just like statistics, national museums help to bring meaning to or objectify concepts such as 'society' and 'nation' and thus have elicited scholarly attention in relation to their significant role as sites, institutions, technologies and discourses of classification. Key early interventions in museum studies (Bennett 1995; Hooper-Greenhill 1989) hinge on the insights of Foucault as to the constitutive nature of the museum and the categories of display it deploys: 'While seemingly representing objectively and empirically located contexts for objects it displays, it actually participates in the construction of these categories and in the numerous internal shifts and differentiations they are held to contain' (Sherman and Rogoff 1994: xi). As such, museums have played a key role in the construction, legitimation, performance and dissemination of colonial and racialising narratives associated with the production of imperial and national identities (Anderson 1991; Bennett 1995; Bennett 2006; Clifford 1997; Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010; Jordanova

1989; L'Estoile 2007). Museum curators have not been impermeable to critical analysis of the role of museums in the politics of representation and contemporary practices of display have shifted considerably since the 1980s, in part, in response (Andermann and Simine 2012; Huyssen 2003; Macdonald 2006). In section 2.2.3, I explore the ways in which the theories of governmentality discussed earlier have been fruitfully applied in museum studies to analyse the modern public museum. In the following sections, I then examine the extent and implications of the museum world's transformation in the context of the advent of post-modern epistemes and in the context of what has been described by Huyssen (2003) as the globalisation of memory discourse.

Foucault's ideas have been especially influential in analysing the extent to which museums are modern technologies of discipline: through categorisation, they offer legitimacy and visibility to the particular hierarchies of social divisions embedded in notions of Enlightenment rationality, science, colonialism and nationalism (Bennett 1995; Macdonald 2006; Mason 1996; Sherman and Rogoff 1994; Till 2001). In France, the post-Revolution museum was re-imagined as a site of an enactment of republicanism: 'The "museum" was created as one of the instruments that exposed both the decadence and tyranny of the old forms of control, the ancien régime, and the democracy and public utility of the new, the Republic' (Hooper-Greenhill 1989: 68). Through their reorganisation, museums were designed to become public goods and a means to educate the members of the Republic and, not simply, as they were previously, collections organised as repositories of individual knowledge and private possession. Yet, the shift from high culture as a symbolic manifestation of sovereign rule towards its reformist deployment in the efforts to 'civilize' the masses was associated with a validation of the bourgeoisie's standpoint and the reinforcement of racialising and colonial ways of seeing (Bennett 1995).

Benett emphasises the specificity of the technologies of power which the modern museum space operationalises by rendering visible and normative middle-class social comportment and civilities as well as teleological notions of progress and modernity. There is a shift in the organizing principles of display

from objects selected based on rarity (cabinets of curiosity in the 16th Century) to representativeness (taxonomic displays in the 17th Century), a representativeness which serves to instruct and at the same time generate self-regulation (Bennett 1995, Hooper-Greenhill 1989). Bennett suggests that by the Victorian era, museums operated as 'technologies of progress' (10) by using objects to represent 'evolutive time' (Foucault 1977). Bennett argues that various types of museums - geology, natural history, anthropology and history - convert a temporal narrative of progress into a spatial and colonial one. The naturalised stages of evolution which the visitor both views on display and moves through physically serves to locate the white imperial masculine subject at the pinnacle of evolutionary achievement in relation to women, who are a step behind, and colonised subjects, who are fixed in a previous evolutionary time altogether. In this way, the visitor experiences the ongoing movement towards progress and, ideally, simultaneously normalises a certain notion of racialized progress-orientation and self-improvement as desirable (Bennett 1995, Bennett 2006).

In developing his analysis, Bennett conceives of museums as part of a new and wider landscape of cultural power, 'the exhibitionary complex,' associated with 'the governmentalization of culture' (24) in which culture is used to change behaviours through processes of visualisation, in an inversion of the way in which the Bentham's panoptican disciplines bodies in the prison through surveillance. Figuring prominently as part of the emerging international 'exhibitionary complex' are colonial exhibitions such as the 1931 Paris Exhibition held at the footsteps of the newly purpose-built site which currently hosts the Cité national de l'histoire de l'immigration (CHNI) to be discussed in Chapter 5. In these exhibitions, through model villages and cultures, difference was represented as the result of unequal evolution and imperial powers as playing the role of facilitating their transition to modernity. In this way, the museum and, more broadly, the 'exhibitionary complex' helped to construct a normative white, bourgeois, male, in relation to a lesser developed female, and more primitive, still, colonised 'other', now represented not only as distant geographically but also in terms of temporal evolution. Yet, anticipating contemporary interest in museum studies in the audience's reception of the museum (to be discussed in 2.2.5), Bennett also notes

the 'selective affinities' invoked in the construction of the self-regulating subject of museums: 'The devices which rendered human progress into a performable narrative within the museum that only some humans and not others could recognize themselves as fully addressed by that narrative and thus able to carry out its performative routines.' (193)

2.2.4 Past-Present Landscapes and the Globalisation of Memory

Bennett's insightful exegesis of the museum as an apparatus of modernity arguably has been put to the test by the dramatic proliferation and transformation of the museum landscape and concomitant changing practices of curation and exhibition since the 1980s. This proliferation of museums and heritage landscapes is itself taking place in the context of a boom in memory discourse, exemplified in part by the popularity of autobiographical and confessional writing and by the multiplication of historical documentation in various other new communications media (Huyssen 2003). Huyssen traces this trend to the 1960s and the search for alternative histories arising from postcolonial and other social movements which challenge the notion of universalising meta-narratives of history, the very ones which are so artfully constructed, in part, through the technologies of the 'exhibitionary complex'. By the 1980s, Huyssen describes a veritable 'mnemonic fever' in the form of a global fascination with memory. For Huyssen, increased mobility of capital and humans, the rise of new communications technologies, along with the commodification and banalisation of history narrativisations, are resulting in a paradoxical proliferation of memorialisation practices and narratives.

The shift from "present futures" (citing Kosellek 1985) to "present pasts" in post-modern times, identified by Huyssen, is explored in its expression in the built form in the analysis of urban planning of Christine Boyer (1994). Boyer turns to Walter Benjamin to interrogate both the liberating and emancipating aspects of new media technologies associated with late capitalism and their manifestations in the shifting spatial and temporal sensibilities inherent in aesthetics of urban design. Boyer terms the contemporary urban aesthetic convention "the City as

Spectacle" which she characterises as a relentlessly unstable bricolage of stylistic juxtapositions of architecture and compositions with no apparent ordering force or representational meaning. Like Huyssen, for Boyer, this contemporary urban expression is associated with a crisis in memory and a postmodern view of history: 'in place of remembrance, parts of our collective past have been either so historicized or so completely repressed that they can never be recalled, while memory- instead of keeping track of these erasures and suppressions-has fallen prey to mythical narrations and nostalgic recollections' (480-1). She distinguishes between vernacular and rhetorical topoi, the former used to describe places endowed with memory due to their ongoing significance to local customs and the later being urban landscapes preserved for pedagogical purposes, 'civic compositions that teach us about our national heritage and our public responsibilities and assume that the urban landscape itself is the emblematic embodiment of power and memory' (321). Boyer analyses the intersections of representation, processes of capital accumulation and commodification and lived experiences and memories in the city.

Attention to the ways in which globalisation processes intersect with local ones and how both are implicated in the renegotiation of discourses on social memory and urban landscapes has been successfully developed in the work of geographer Karen Till (2005). Till's work examines different places and practices of Holocaust memorialisation in Berlin through public art, museums, and urban public spaces and reveals how social memories are reworked in complex and contradictory ways in light of both global discourses of memory and more localised transformations. A key argument in her humanistic approach which recognises the agency of a diversity of actors, including activists and artists, is the suggestion of the need to analyse the materiality of place not only as a passive blank slate to be imprinted by memory discourse (Till 2008). Rather, place has the potential to be reworked actively to produce ways of remembering: 'How place is constructed as trace, evidence, and testimony embodies those generational and personal relationships to the past, as well as the different desires that people in the present have to make these places speak' (Till 2005: 208). Till's work speaks to theorists of urban form such as Boyer who lament the risk of the de-politicisation

of the city. It emphasises the agency of people undertaking place-based memory-work and in generating counter regimes of place, meaning and memory.

These literatures engage in debates about the implications of a globalised memory culture and suggest that memory work is carried out across a variety of sites and is a constructive force in the production of urban form. Nonetheless, despite the overall 'musealization' (Lubbe 1983 cited in Huyssen 2003: 22) of culture theorised in postmodern times, museums themselves have surprisingly persisted as important institutions and sites of memory work in this new context (Andermann and Simine 2012). In the following section, I will turn to a discussion of how museums have been forced to wrestle with the uncertainties of 'postmodern furies' in the context of a globalised culture of memory (Boyer 1994).

2.2.5 The Post-Modern Museum and the 'New Museology'

Just as epistemes of modernity and teleological notions of progress shaped technologies of display the modern museums discussed by Bennett, the contemporary post-modern 'present past' theorised by Huyssen is associated with new manifestations of exhibition technologies and practices. The wider contemporary moment of intellectual questioning of identity politics of recognition, affirmation and exclusion and inclusion have in part lead to what Vergo terms the 'New Museology' (1989). This movement in the profession of curation, as well as the associated academic analysis of museums, has moved towards a broader exploration of the contextualised purposes and functions of museums in society (Macdonald 2006, Vergo 1989).

One key dimension to new museum practices is that curators now struggle with the question of how to narrate plural points of view, since representation of 'the other' through authoritative narratives and display has been widely discredited (L'Estoile 2007, Andermann and Simine 2012). In North America, this reconfiguration of museum practices was in part influenced by controversies around the representation of First Nations populations in ethnographic exhibitions, as well as the thorny issue of cultural appropriation and legitimate

ownership of objects on display (Clifford 1997). As accounted for by Benoit de L'Estoile (2007), the French landscape of museums was not exempt from the radical challenges to representation of 'the other' initiated in the Americas. The reshuffling of the French ethnographic museum landscape is continuous with a search for new forms of representation which no longer necessarily consider objects on display as cultural artifacts or relic through which the particularity of ethnicity or culture can be inferred. Instead, in the case of the new Musée du Quai de Branley, De L'Estoile argues that artefacts of 'the Other' are assumed to be endowed with the honour of embodying a particular manifestation of the creativity of humans and the universality of art (2007). De L'Estoile analyses this particular strategy which consists of re-representing the other and is based on validation of aesthetics in the French context as a convoluted and indirect attempt at an engagement with the country's colonial past.

The position of art and visual culture in general in museums is fundamental to the questions thrown up in critical new approaches to curation. In an exploratory text entitled Terra Firma, Irit Rogoff (2000), drawing from critical and feminist theory and contemporary art practices, develops a notion of "unhomed geographies" to interpret visual culture from a situated perspective. This approach engages with the challenges of 'redefining issues of location away from concrete coercions of belonging and not belonging determined by the state'(4). A particularly useful example in relation to the themes to be explored in the CNHI discussed in Chapter 5 is the chapter entitled 'Luggage' in which Rogoff unpacks the signifier of the suitcase: 'The suitcase has become the signifier of mobility, displacement, duality and the overwrought emotional climates in which these circulate' (36). For her, the suitcase conjures concrete material belongings as well as the movement away from that which is familiar, while simultaneously referring to notions of 'memory, nostalgia and access to other histories'. It is a representation of new beginnings as well as tragic endings. Finally, it has also become a signifier of globalisation and the interpenetration of culture and the market. The suitcase speaks then 'of movement, of memory, of learning new things, of repressing old knowledge, of forbidden nostalgias and of material exchanges and cultural circulations' (37). In reinterpreting objects in the context of the

contemporary webs of discourses and social relations in which they are displayed, Rogoff's analysis exemplifies how museums now expect their audiences will understand their displays, coming as they do from a multiplicity of social locations. Andermann and Arnold-de Simine (2012) refer to this as the self-conscious "textualisation" of museums:

> Under the regime of the linguistic turn across late 20th-century humanities, museum theory and practice have been placed on a shared plane of linguistic self-reflexivity and metatextual self-consciousness, in "a very real rupture with past paradigms of representation, categorization and definition according to new and interdisciplinary models." (Message 2006 (24) in Andermann and Arnold-de Simine 2012: 5)

The pedagogy of many contemporary museums no longer necessarily rests on informative and performative categorisation and classification associated with a disciplinary function. Rather, with an emphasis on interactivity and entertainment, the museum's role has expanded to engage with contemporary problems, facilitate social debate and, often, to empower by enabling marginalised voices to surface. In fact, the contemporary museum is now often attempting to operate as a space of facilitation of community-building practices and processes rather than to present an accurate representation of any given community (See for example Rogoff 2008).

The French concept of the 'ecomuseum' is an example of a process of revisioning museums as spaces of facilitation of community development practices (Bennett 1993; Poulot 1994). It was promulgated in the 70s by a small community of museum professionals, many of whom were themselves leading figures in ethnographic exhibition of the 20th century, i.e. Georges-Henri Rivière, cofounder of the Musée de l'homme (Poulot 1994). They have attempted to imagine a radical rupture from conventional museum practices. The ecomuseum's stated purpose is to provide an interdisciplinary model of display governed by academics, museum managers in partnership with museum users, and which strives to reflect the situated geographic specificity of a community (Poulot 1994). It is associated with an idea of cultural preservation, enshrined in the guiding principles which include remembrance, understanding, joint management and artistic creation (Poulot 1994).

The demand for museums to engage with urgent contemporary concerns and in a spirit of democratic participation which avoids the pitfalls of the politics of representation has opened up the question as to what critical museum practice might consist of. Rogoff (2007) offers a tentative answer through the concept of 'contemporaneity':

> In contemporaneity it is a question of 'access' – of how do we get to know things, how do we get to take part in them, how do we have a position, how do we intervene not as a response to a demand to participate but as a way of taking over the means of producing the very questions that are asked. (http://summit.kein.org/node/191)

Rogoff's claims explore the potentially radical role for museums in society today. Ideally, for museums to fulfil their potential in radical democratic politics they would be participatory even in the ways that they scoped and framed the very debates they might enable.

The extent to which museums are able to deliver in this domain remains open to question. The capacity of national museums to function as radical purveyors of democracy is perhaps limited by their inevitable retention of a function in 'nationing,' or in Boyer's words, as 'rhetorical topoi' engaged in civic training. Bennett concludes his analysis of the organization of the Australian past in heritage sites as follows: 'Perhaps the cause of a critical national consciousness would be best served by the institution of a public past which cut into, and thus questioned, those narratives of nationing which currently enjoy the greatest cultural weight rather than lending them the authority of governmental benediction' (162). Yet, even if and when museums do offer a hearing to deeply critical perspectives and painful memories, in the context of the banalisation of memory and the rise of the globalised memory culture, perhaps there is a risk that they will end up simply forging another site of short-lived and ultimately meaningless experience and fail to challenge the power relations ordering the City of Spectacle. In fact, some commentators argue that the analysis of the 'exhibitionary complex' in a sense still holds and suggest that what has changed are, in fact, the new norms and subjectivities of late capitalism which it now performs and naturalises (Andermann and Simine 2012).

To conclude section 2.2 of the review, I suggest that both statistics and museums offer, in different ways, particular ways of seeing citizenship and the French nation. Both provide a particular abstraction of the world, one through the generalisation of the social through counting and mathematical language, and the other, through its choice and representation of particular objects on display. As recent developments in museum theory and practices have shown, however, it is not only through technologies of the subject that museums might play a role in construction of communities. It is also relevant to consider the processes through which these very exhibitions came to be made and how they are interpreted by multiply situated audiences (Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010). This potentially has implications for the manner in which material objects constitute and transmit memory and knowledge. Ultimately, both objects and museums classify and objectify, through different techniques, particular orders of knowledge and particular subjectivities (Sherman and Rogoff 1994, Desrosières 2008, Saetnan, Lomell and Hammer 2011, Jordanova 1989, Bennett 2006, Macdonald 1996, Andermann and Simine 2012).

The conceptual framework and debates introduced here locate the case studies I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5 where the census and the museum are analysed in light of the way in which they stabilise and promote a form of governmentality (Foucault 1977, Foucault 2004 [1977-8], Foucault 2004 [1978-9]) or a set of coordinating 'ruling relations' (Smith 2005) about French citizenship and the place of immigrants, racialized groups and non-dominant ethnicities in French society. In the next section, I introduce the theoretical framework informing the second major part of the thesis where the focus shifts, in Chapters 6 and 7, to the working lives of young adults. I begin by reviewing the literature on young people and employment, drawing from key French theorists of 'new capitalism' and neoliberal governmentality and then consider the theoretical debates which address the complexity of agency and reflexivity.

2.3 Theorising Young People, Agency and Work

2.3.1 Prolonged and Non-Linear Youth Transitions

Youth unemployment has been identified by scholars as a key outcome of the global tendency towards globalisation and of the expansion of neoliberal economic principles and policies (Jeffrey 2008). Across Europe, there is a tendency for young people to take longer than earlier generations to secure a stable job, and transitions are marked by complexity and a lack of linearity, periods of employment being frequently interrupted either by unemployment or by spells in education (Bradley and Hoof 2005).

In line with the steady increase in youth unemployment since the 1970s, the French State has implemented active interventions, mainly in the form of direct employee subsidies and incentives to invest in training and education (Fougère, Kramarz, and Magnac 2000). These initiatives were categorised by Fougère et al. (2000) into three main areas of intervention:

(1) wage subsidies to create low-level work in the public sector (originally termed *Travaux d'Utilité Collective* (TUC), now called *Contrats Emploi Solidarité* (CES);

(2) training programmes in the private sector through apprenticeships and the like that develop job experience; and

(3) reductions in the cost of hiring through payroll tax cuts, especially at minimum wage level jobs.

In their assessment of the success of these policies based on longitudinal employment survey data, Fougère et al (2000) conclude on the one hand that training programmes for the young unemployed do not increase post-training wages or improve employment prospects, unless the training programme is intensive. Furthermore, the 'workfare' employment opportunities created in the public sector can even lead to increased difficulties in transitioning into stable employment, particularly for those with more education, leading these authors to speculate that such programmes may have a stigmatising effect. However, payroll tax subsidies do benefit young workers between the ages of 25 and 30. These

findings confirm the conclusions drawn by Malmberg-Hiemonen and Julkunen (2005) that activation policies tend to hinder rather than help employment prospects for young people, except those who are the most vulnerable because of very low levels of education and lack of work experience. Thus, not only are youth transitions complex and fragmented, but, to date, policy interventions have been limited in France in their ability to improve the situation for unemployed youth and, in some cases, may well have made their situation worse.

2.3.2 Individualisation Theories and Motivation

A long-standing debate in youth studies has evolved in relation to the interpretation of these complex transitions. They are seen as either reflecting an increase in individualised decision-making as an emerging characteristic of contemporary society (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), or as the result of the unprecedented levels of uncertainty and vulnerability to be navigated by young people (Furlong and Cartmel 2007; McDowell 2003). The latter youth scholars and labour market analysts have sought to emphasise the continued salience of gender, 'race' and class structures in determining the paths available to youth as they move into educational institutions and work, while maintaining that young people enjoy a degree of agency in navigating the bounded horizons before them (Jeffrey 2008; McDowell 2003; McDowell 2002; Reiter and Craig 2005).

Recent work in youth studies has focused on the different ways in which racialized young people themselves interpret their labour market trajectories and how they see structural factors affecting their lives. Devadason's (2006) study of narratives of transitions explores the extent to which the British and Swedish youth he interviewed understand their trajectories as individualised or as bearing the mark of membership in collectivities of ethnicity and class. Through interviews with fourty eight young people of different ethnicities and class backgrounds, he found that while middle-class young people referred implicitly to the advantages afforded to them by their upbringing, they nonetheless tended to account for their successes in individualised terms and downplayed parental influences. Upwardly mobile working-class young people were particularly likely to construct their

successes as a result of their own efforts. Furthermore, for many youth of immigrant and working class origin, the awareness of their disadvantage spurred intense investment in their own advancement in order to overcome the barriers faced. Often their narratives applied retrospective reasoning to construct their personal motivation in relation to the disadvantages they faced (2007). Devadason concludes that overcoming structural barriers is a significant factor of young people's development of a sense of themselves as individualised agents. His conclusions are that young people today can be simultaneously aware of structural barriers to their social mobility and have a sense of individual autonomy with regard to their own lives. His conclusions converge with that of Threadgold (2012) who shows how young people in Australia actively priortise the individual choices required to manage their personal trajectories while also expressing awareness of serious environmental problems requiring more collective decision-making.

In McGee and Martin's (2011) study of academically successful black mathematicians in the U.S., they argue that awareness of racism can be a driving force in attainments, as they find that their participants devoted energy to reinterpreting the meaning of black identity rather than resisting racism explicitly. In this sense, therefore, rather than an 'oppositional identity', stigma can lead to a 'positive agency'. McGee and Martin then show how the awareness of the persistence of 'microagressions,' defined as 'subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal ex- changes which are 'put downs' of blacks by offenders (citing Solórzano et al., 2000, p. 145 in McGee and Martin 2011 : 6) is channelled to motivate individual achievement in competitive fields of mathematics and engineering. Their detailed analysis shows how, initially, the management of racial stereotypes proved emotionally taxing for black scholars as they sought to prove the stereotypes wrong. However, over time, they often realised that in the face of relatively permanent stereotypes, their achievements should be driven by their own personal goals. Their coping strategies included negotiation and assertion of positive black identities as well as disciplinary identities as mathematicians, both of which helped to ease the burden of the experience. McGee coined the term 'stereotype management' to capture the tactics deployed to persist in academic

achievements despite the ubiquity of stereotypes and persistence of microagressions in everyday life.

While addressing a similar problematic to these studies, in Chapter 6, I draw instead on a post-structural theoretical approach how lived intersectional social relations of gender, 'race', ethnicity, religion and class come into play in the formation and recognition of young people's motivation, as well as opportunities that become available or are closed to them. In order to recognize the complexity and contradictory nature of these various social relations in the narratives of the young people I interviewed, I follow Angela McRobbie in utilising Foucauldian notion of 'disciplining technologies' to propose at least three interrelated manifestations of disciplinary gendering and racialising narratives evident in the accounts of the lives of the people I interviewed. These are the rationalities and ideals of (i) secular and colour-blind republicanism, (ii) neoliberal citizenship and (iii) post-feminism. I l briefly review this line of theorisation in section 2.3.3.

2.3.3 Subjectification and Poststructural Agency

Foucault's idea that discourses articulated through techniques of government and regimes of truth serve to encourage individuals to manage and develop themselves has been developed by scholars interested in theorising agency (Bennett 2003). Feminist scholars have used Foucault's ideas to show the power of social norms transmitted through discourse and multiplied and disseminated through technologies of government to construct individuals (Adkins and Skeggs 2004; Laborde 2008). As developed in Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, such an approach takes seriously the productive force of various technologies of power serving to constitute subjectivity. From this perspective, agency is not identified as the capacity to act autonomously, since this would be impossible, given that the very individual subjectivity doing the action is constructed through multiple discursive practices. Rather, agency is understood as the ability to reflect upon, and make decisions based on, the articulation of various social norms and how they have shaped the person's ways of being, seeing and thinking (Laborde 2008). As Laborde explains, from a radical feminist perspective, individuals 'do not

overcome the effects of socialization to function as autonomous persons; instead, they make choices within the relational contexts in which they find themselves, choices which reflect their sense of self' (Laborde 2008: 141). This implies that it would be impossible to determine if someone is exercising agency without understanding the way they perceive their actions in relation to their context and their sense of self.

In her work, Laborde reveals how such a conception of individual agency and autonomy is in stark contrast to the autonomous individual acting as if in a vacuum, divorced from family origins, ethnicity and religious persuasions which French republican secular nationalists strive to develop among citizens of the republic. As I show in the first empirical chapters in the second part of the thesis, this conception of autonomy and individuality is best understood as itself a form of discursive nationalist republican governmentality that promotes a particular form of subjectivity.

In Chapter 6, I assess the narrative explanations youth give of their aspirations and motivations for studying and pursuing the lines of work that they have. I interpret the ways in which the stories they tell about their experience suggest forms of discursive agency in relation to the hegemonic norms that structure their lives and subjectivities. I argue that racialized young people in France are constructed discursively as inept citizens trapped in their essentialised culture and religion and, if female, and particularly if they wear the headscarf, as helpless victims of patriarchy, drawing on the post-feminist governmentality theorised by Angela McRobbie (2011). In addition, as I show, youth have to contend with, or perhaps in a phrasing more faithful to the Foucauldian analysis developed, their subjectivities are formed in relation to, the rise of a new form of governmentality described by French scholars as the 'the new global common sense': that of the neoliberal subject (Dardot and Laval 2009). Neoliberal subjectivity is produced through the competitive norms of the market place which promote the idea of individuals taking full responsibility for their own successes and failures and engender the belief that these are a direct consequence of an individual's personal choices. The threat of precariousness in the labour market

looms large as a neoliberal disciplining force in this regime which serves to govern workers to comply to the needs of customers and to do what it takes to ensure the profitability of the firm which employs them (Dardot and Laval 2009; Doogan 2009).

2.3.4 Performative Agency

Finally, in Chapter 6, I also begin to think through some of the shortcomings of the concept of agency I have been using so far. In her recent analysis of the lives of women involved in the piety movement in Egypt, Saba Mahmood (2005) argues that feminist poststructuralist understandings of agency, as outlined in the previous section, are limited. The limitations stem from the fact that from the outset of their analysis, feminist poststructuralists set as a goal a specific form of emancipatory female agency. As a result, in analyzing the lives of women, they only recognise meanings and modalities of agency which can be identified through a binary grid of the subversion or reproduction of hegemonic gender norms (2005).

Mahmood identifies one kind of agency that, she argues, is missed by most academic analyses. Participants in her study explained to her the way in which wearing the veil helped produce the very shyness and piety commonly assumed to be represented by the veil. In the words of one of her interviewees, wearing the veil produces the qualities that it represents in its wearer "because your insides learn to feel shy without the veil, and when you take it off, your entire being feels uncomfortable about it" (157). As Mahmood points out, 'action does not issue forth from natural human feelings but *creates* them' (157). This argument resonates with those rehearsed in the previous section relating to the performativity of categorisation.

Following an Aristotelian logic of practice, it is through repetition of bodily actions that one comes to feel, think and reason in compliance with dominant norms. Thus is introduced a concept of embodied performativity as a route to the production of self different from the one found in postructural Foucauldian interpretations of subjectification. In this way, wearing the veil might be

described as performative in so far as it both represents women's shy piety and produces it.

I will engage with Mahmood's ideas in further detail in Chapters 6 where I explore empirically what motivates young adults to seek particular jobs and educational paths. For some participants in my study, religous beliefs and practices were prioritized over career interests. Mahmood's arguments help to clarify the modality of action taken by young women who wear the headscarf in France, despite it being at great cost to their working lives. As I show, these women might be understood to enact at least three different modalities of agency through their actions. By developing an individualised commitment to religious beliefs, they draw discursively from the terms dictated by republican secularism, namely that religion be a private affair and an expression of autonomous choice. As radical poststructural feminists have observed, their choosing to wear the veil in the context of France might also be interpreted as a form of postructural agency in relation to the hegemonic norms which construct them as submissive and oppressed female Muslims who are lacking in autonomy and independence. In seeking to wear the veil to develop their piety, however, they also present a performative agency, as described by Mahmood, to cultivate the qualities and desires they seek to embody through their own individual religious goals.

Clearly, Mahmood's example is very useful in enriching the interpretations of agency relevant to the participants in my study. Mahmood seeks to think about agency as a modality of actions in general, not only as actions realised in relation to gender oppression. To apply her thinking to the analysis being undertaken in this thesis, agency encompasses forms of action among which actions undertaken in order to re-signify or subvert dominant hegemonic constructions of racialized identities represent only one kind among many others.

2.3.5 Theorising Critical Capacity and Everyday Racism

In Chapter 7, the final empirical chapter, I tackle a different set of theoretical debates pertaining to the capacity for reflexivity and critical thought. Much social

theorisation has been devoted to understanding how major systemic inequalities are enacted through routine everyday practices which seem benign and unintentional (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu 1984; Essed 1991; Foucault 1978). In Philomena Essed's landmark book, *Understanding Everyday Racism*, first published in 1991, she examines the lived experience and perceptions of racism from black people's point of view in the Netherlands and the United-States. The theoretical framework she elaborates in this text is extremely powerful and relevant to the experiences that are reported in my own contemporary study of young adults in France. Essed conceptualises racism as a set of processes, ideologies and structures which work together to promote and maintain a system which dominates racialized groups. Her work is intended in part to show how the conceptualisation of racism as an extreme and exceptional act is part of what allows the routine and naturalised dimensions of oppression to persist almost imperceptibly. She shows how everyday behaviours reproduce systemic inequality, linking a micro level analysis with a macro level one.

Just as Essed work is concerned with linking structures of racial inequality with everyday experience, Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* attempts to address a similar problematic in relation to class domination. Bourdieu uses the concept of the *habitus* to talk about the ways in which one's social position becomes implanted in one's body and mind to produce a "disposition" reflective of an individual's class (Bourdieu 1977; Skeggs 2004b). Wider social relations are reflected in the postures and mannerisms of individuals that are in turn intricately related to an individual's feelings, sense of aesthetics and attitudes and perceptions (Bourdieu 1984). In relation to the reproduction of class, then, members of the dominant group's embodied dispositions and accumulated social and cultural capital make it normal and natural for them to follow particular educational and work trajectories and secure privileged economic standing, almost without deliberative planning and strategizing (Sayer 2005). On the other hand, members of dominated groups will have a tendency to 'make a virtue out of necessity' by embracing and identifying with the narrow options that are presented to them and so reinforcing their disadvantage (Reay 2005: 355). These dispositions, while inculcated from a young age are also subject to adjustment and

modification as an individual becomes exposed to different experiences and social contexts throughout their lives (Reay 2005). While Bourdieu's focus was on class, there has been an interest in applying his insights to other relations of domination including 'race' and gender (Adkins 2004a; McNay 2004; Reay 2005; Skeggs 2004c).

Diane Reay's development of the concept of *habitus* as method is insightful in this regard. As she puts it,

> Habitus is a way of looking at data which renders the 'taken-for-granted' problematic. It suggests a whole range of questions not necessarily addressed in empirical research; how well adapted is the individual to the context they find themselves in? How does personal history shape their responses to the contemporary setting? What subjective vocations do they bring to the present and how are they manifested? Are structural effects visible within small scale interactions? What is the meaning of non-verbal behaviour as well as individuals' use of language? (369)

For Reay, Bourdieu's concept is deployed simply as a methodological approach which guides empirical research to explore how routine daily embodied practices perpetuate inequalities along class but also gendered and racialized divisions. However, others have critiqued Bourdieu's approach as lacking an adequate account of how moral judgements come to play in actions taken in everyday life (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991; Sayer 2005). They find that the emphasis on durable dispositions and embodied routine actions suggests that social agents are never able to distinguish between an action taken as morally right or wrong, since as Bourdieu would have it, ultimately actions are guided by subconscious and internalised social norms and perpetuate self-interest. I will use these ideas to explore the narratives of participants who identified their own experiences of difficulty in schooling and securing work as part of a wider society problem.

In the final section of this theoretical overview I briefly consider some of the ways in which racism and anti-racism have been theorised and debated in French literature.

2.4 French Perspectives on Racism and the Postcolonial

2.4.1 A Uniquely French Approach?

Defining cultural imperialism as 'the power to universalize particularisms linked to a singular historical tradition by causing them to be misrecognized as such,' Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999: 41) are disparaging of the ways in which what they consider to be an American paradigm of ethnic and racial divisions is exported around the world. In reference to the concept of 'minority,' Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999) argue that this term

> presupposes precisely that which needs to be demonstrated: that categories cut from within a given nation-state on the basis of "cultural" or "ethnic" traits have the desire or the right to demand civic and political recognition as such. But the forms under which individuals seek to have their collective existence and membership recognized by the state vary at different times and places as functions of historic traditions and they always constitute a state of struggle in history. (51)

Of course, as discussed in the previous section, the relationship between the process of racialization and the essentialisation of groups figures prominently in the debates in Anglophone 'race' and ethnicity scholarship, as Brown and Miles (2000) are at pains to point out in response to this provocative article. Thus the extent to which French scholarship is exceptional in relation to its intellectual attention to the problem of the objectification of groups in theory and practice is perhaps over emphasised by Bourdieu and Wacquant.

Nonetheless, what differentiates French scholarship in part from its Anglophone counterpart is that it tends to place a higher emphasis on universal human rights in the theorisation of anti-racism and, especially prior to the 1990s, in comparison to Anglophone scholarship, there is less attention paid to the theme of racism and discrimination (Amiraux and Simon 2006; Wieviorka 2000). In addition, in Francophone postcolonial scholarship, there is more of an emphasis and interest in the role of 'métissage' and 'créolisation' (Vergès 2001). In this section, I review a selection of key French thinkers and the various interpretations they offer of the tensions that stem from choosing to focus on abstract universal rights over the particularisms implied in paradigms of cultural difference. This

will serve to contextualise the recent debates on categorisation and its role in French anti-racisms further explored in Chapter 4.

2.4.2 Creolisation and Francophone Postcolonial Thought

Anti-colonial intellectuals from the French colonies developed a rich tradition tackling the key themes in question. Analysing anti-colonial activists and intellectuals and their ideas about political mobilisation around difference, Vergès (2001) explores the concept of 'Creole cosmopolitanism,' as a way of thinking of identity that eschews national identity and ethnic essentialism. Instead, in Vergès' formulation, identity through 'Creole cosmopolitanism' emphasizes 'mimicking, imitating and borrowing as sources of creativity' (170). This form of political identity takes inspiration from historic Creole identities which emerged through dislocation and mobility. Since 'variety, change, fluidity, [and] constant re-adaptation' are key to such identities, a politics of cultural recognition aimed at protecting a relatively bounded culture tends to be irrelevant (Vergès 2001: 170). In light of this, Creole collective strategies emerge at the intersection of processes of recognition amongst overlapping and contradictory communities of the local, the national and the global.

Vergès identifies two discourses of Creole cosmopolitanism: 'universalist cosmopolitanism' of the early 20th Century and 'revolutionary internationalism' of the second half of the 20th Century. The former was associated with the abolition of slavery of 1848 which allowed for the right to democratic participation of ex-slaves simultaneously with the perpetuation of colonial status of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion. An intellectual and assimilated colonized elite emerged which drew from and adapted the lexicon of French republicanism and challenged injustices in the empire 'in response to colonial racism and as an expression of a translocal sensibility' (172). This movement denounced the hypocrisy of French colonial society for what Aimé Césaire refers to as their 'pseudo-humanism', the ways in which governments had 'for too long reduced the extent of application of human rights, to have had and continue to have a narrow and fragmented conception of their application which was above all, racist' (translating and

paraphrasing Césaire 1955: 7). Césaire, with Senghor and Damas, founded a literary and political movement called Négritude which articulated a Black identity in opposition to colonialism in Paris of the 1930s. Vergès also notes another strand of universalist cosmopolitanist thought which promoted the idea of métissage as a form of opposition to biological notions of racism perpetuated at the time and as a means to subvert the binary of colonized and coloniser (see for example Gratian in Vergès 2001). This perspective was not held by all, as some viewed mixing as a means to assimilate and eradicate difference (for example Senghor in Vergès 2001). Vergès (2001) identifies this early emphasis on métissage and hybridity as a key factor separating anglophone from francophone colonial intellectual discourses, which persists into contemporary scholarship on discrimination and anti-racism. She might be overstating her case, however, as hybridity has now been developed in anglophone scholarship for some time (amongst numerous examples are Bhabha 1994, Young 1995, Hall 2003 [1989]).

A second cosmopolitanism discourse amongst the colonial intellectuals identified by Vergès emerged in the violence of decolonisation and the quest for national identities. In this context, the political potential of the universalist cosmopolitan humanism was put in question and suspected of blunting the mobilisation required for emancipation. Vergès locates Franz Fanon (Fanon 1990 [1961]) in this second movement. Fanon's ideas about the internalisation of colonial racial categories and their detrimental psychological effects have already been mentioned in the previous section. Vergès suggests that revolutionary international discourse involved a shift in terminology towards that of 'Third World's revolution', the centring of 'angry young men' and the promotion of the need for violence to effect change (176). In discussing the Algerian government's promotion of a common identity, Vergès, drawing from Fanon's work, speaks of the 'vertigo' created by the tensions between identifying as part of a worldwide human community and yet also with a group seeking to overthrow another group. This gap was heightened in the colonial context because of the intimacy which characterised social relations between colonised and colonizer. Vergès concludes by suggesting that while Creole universalist cosmopolitanism was able to open up a space for more radical claims, it was unable to fend off essentialist nationalising

and ethnic tendencies. Revolutionary internationalism brought about new theoretical approaches and contemporary debates about the relationship between political mobilisation and belonging. In this movements's rejection of political interdependence and its reterritorialisation of mobilisation, it 'reintroduced race and class' (178).

The creativity of creolisation as a political identity and as a theory and the emergent and therefore unpredictable nature of Creole identities is a key insight which Vergès develops. She suggests that Glissant's (1997) formulation of these identities which 'do not seek to delimit a territory on which to express themselves…[and] will be based on relation rather than on filiation, blood, ancestry, land'(179) should be seen as an ideal. However, careful empirical study is required to establish creolisation's actual grounding in local practices and discourses. She nonetheless suspects that the concept of creolisation might enable an alternative imagination to assimilation to develop and have political effects in the French context. Vergès thus offers a stimulating critique of creolisation as a concept which has the potential to navigate the pitfalls of essentialist and static conceptions of culture on the one hand and the impossible promises of the universalist discourses which structure the debates of French scholarship on racism on the other hand. I will now turn to these.

2.4.3 Theorising racism in France

Thus far, this review draws heavily on the theoretical framework elaborated by French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault who developed arguments around the productive power of categorisation and technologies of display as well as the ways in which subjectivities are produced through normative fields. Foucault never completed the volume of the *History of Sexuality* he originally proposed which would have addressed the topic of 'Populations and Races.' However, his theorisation of the operations of power/knowledge nexus has been fruitfully exploited by postcolonial scholars and analysts of racism (Stoler 1995; Young 1995). In addition, Foucault's theoretical work has itself been insightfully critiqued by postcolonial scholars who have pointed out the regretful silence it

maintains on the significance of the colonial subject in producing the European bourgeois social order. Ann Stoler's influential reading of *The History of Sexuality* suggests that Foucault's analysis itself would benefit from the very kind of attention his work consistently advocates should be applied to the relationship between regimes of power and knowledge. She argues that Foucault missed the crucial relationship between the production of the discourse of sexuality in the nineteenth century and the colonial order through which it emerged: 'The discursive and practical field in which nineteenth-century bourgeois sexuality emerged was situated on an imperial landscape where the cultural accoutrements of bourgeois distinction were partially shaped through contrasts forged in the politics and language of race' (1995: 5). Stoler identifies the imperial dimensions of biopower that Foucault himself did not elaborate. While Foucault's work in the 1970s dealt with the question of racism rather indirectly, most of the major work on theorising racism in France emerged in the 1990s. In what follows, I review the ideas on racism developed by three French scholars who focussed more explicitly than Foucault on the question of racism: Piere-André Taguieff (1989; 1995), Étienne Balibar (1991a; 1991b) and Michel Wieviorka (1992; 1996; 2000; 2005).

In his philosophical account of racisms in France Pierre-André Taguieff argues that in the wake of the post World War II discrediting of biological notions of race, 'neo-racism' involved the belief that difference between 'cultural' instead of 'racial' groups is fixed. Taguieff is disparaging about recent anti-racist discourses which he implicates in racist thinking (Taguieff 1995). In his view, anti-racist discourses have relied on notions of cultural relativism and, just as is the case for neo-racism, have replaced 'culture' for 'race' and attempted to counter racist arguments by suggesting that all cultures ought to be valued equally (Lentin 2000, Taguieff 1995). In fact, anti-racist activists oscillate between promoting two contradictory ideals: that of multicultural society or that of a society in which there is no distinction between groups (Taguieff 1995). For Taguieff, cultural differentialist anti-racist arguments are flawed in part because they fail to problematise the essentialist tendencies in racist discourses of culture which, in his account, are essentially biological notions of race in sheep's clothes. For Taguieff, then, anti-racism must concede that certain values developed in the West,

notably those based on notions of individual human rights, need to be defended as "universalisable" (1995: 531). Taguieff's perspectives lend themselves to the recognition of the capacity of cultural beliefs and practices to transform and adapt. In this respect, they lean towards a defence of immigrants' individual rights to be free to integrate into French society, which accords with the mainstream perspectives anti-racism as analysed in Chapter 4 (Lentin 2000). Ultimately, Taguieff argues that anti-racist theories and practices should be assessed on the basis of their rationality and that the contradictory nature of anti-racist discourses can be interpreted as the consequences of the defensive stand they adopt and simply as a reaction to flawed racist logic (Taguieff 1989).

Such a proposition has been criticised for its overly idealised perception of the neutrality of Enlightenment thinking, a point which has been picked up by Marxist scholar Étienne Balibar (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991 [1988]), another key figure in theorising racism in France. Balibar's approach considers racism as a set of practices, discourses and representations and links racism to nationalism, sexism and class domination in a manner that converges with some of the ideas of Miles previously discussed (Lloyd 1998, Balibar 1991a, Balibar 1991b). Balibar agrees with Taguieff that there are indeed new 'cultural' forms of racism, and notes the emergence in the post War period of a discourse on 'immigration' replacing that of race as an example of a discursive alteration which he suggests forms a 'racism without races' and a 'solvent for class consciousness' (Balibar 1991a). However, unlike Taguieff, who views this neo-racism as a disguised form of older biological racisms and as affiliated to right-wing perspectives mistakenly endorsed by anti-racists, Balibar lays the blame instead on the institutionalisation of cultural racisms across French society. Balibar suggests that in order for ideas of racial superiority to be maintained, inequalities must be solidified in institutional structures (Lentin 2000, Balibar and Wallerstein 1991 [1988], Balibar 1991a). What is key is that from Balibar's point of view, the universalism defended by Taguieff being anti-racist is entirely compatible with racism (Balibar 1991b). For Balibar, practical humanism, 'a politics and ethics of the defence of civil rights without limitations or exceptions' need not be founded on a theory of universal humanism, but can instead 'substitute[s] specific social relations for the general

notions of man[sic] and the human race' (Balibar 1991b: 63). Such a view-point allows a recognition of the positive contributions of North African social movements of the early 1980s undertaken in the name of a particular rather than a universal identity (Lloyd 1998).

Another approach to theorising racisms in the French context has been developed by Michel Wieviorka, from a social movements perspective influenced by the ideas of Alain Tourraine. Wieviorka analyses racism in France in relation to de-industrialisation since the late 1970s. For him, this marks the time at which the logic of key social stratification systems, notably class-based began to decline in significance, leading to a fragmentation of identities along cultural, ethnic, religious, regional, historical, and other lines (Wieviorka 1996, Wievieorka 1995): France 'is no longer an industrial society, structured by a central conflict opposing the working-class movement to the employers of labour, and the social question is now about exclusion and vulnerability, much more than capitalist exploitation' (Wieviorka 2000: 158). He suggests that the rise of racisms can be interpreted in light of the rapid social transformations and the related emergence of anxieties about French national identity, culture and language in the face globalisation and the dominance of English in the world (Wievieorka 1995). There are two worrying responses which this contemporary claim elicits. The first is a retreat into a nostalgic and reactionary populism in which racism is a form of scapegoating for issues such as rising unemployment and housing deficiencies. This form of racism constructs the stranger as inferior on the basis of perceived inequalities linked to biology and culture. The second is a more stubborn form of differentialist racism in which social difference is perceived to be an insurmountable obstacle to harmonious relations (Wievieorka 1995, Wievieorka 1992). In his more recent work, Wievieorka argues that there are also a number of new and diffuse practices and discourses of anti-semitism in contemporary France. These include the rise of hate crimes against Jews perpetuated by the extreme right and, increasingly, against members of Islamist communities, as well as more generalised widespread tolerance of expressions of anti-semitism in everyday life (Wieviorka 2005). Wieviorka's work reveals the troubling tendency in schools for teachers and administrators to tolerate and excuse anti-semitism when it is expressed by North

African students since they are themselves the victims of racism (Wieviorka 2005). Thus the competition amongst victimised subjectivities is another defining feature of contemporary racisms as analysed by Wieviorka (2005). I explore experiences in French schools in part 2 of this thesis.

To conclude, this review of French scholarship on racism and anti-racism reveals that there are threads within it that connect with the debates traced in the introduction of this thesis in the Anglophone literature. Some theorisations and related empirical work such as that carried out by Wieviorka and Balibar include explicit references to English language racialization scholarship. Others, including Bourdieu and Wacquant and Taguieff, tend to position themselves in opposition to what they view as the dominant Anglo-Saxon paradigm. In addition, Francophone postcolonial scholarship contributes alternative interpretations of the tension between universalism and particularisms as they relate to racism and anti-racism. As will be shown in Chapter 4, however, the dominant and mainstream interpretation of anti-racism in France tends towards a particular emphasis on abstracted philosophical accounts of the universality of human rights and Enlightenment values.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

This introductory literature review introduces the range of empirical and theoretical approaches drawn together in this analysis that I will address in more detail within individual chapters. A sufficiently varied set of theories is required to analyse the ways in which the social relations of colourblind politics transversely intersect the wide range of sites and scales explored in this work, from the central administrative offices responsible for state statistics and categorisation, to a national museum, to young people's everyday workplaces and educational institutions. I use the theories presented here to examine first, how social relations of 'race' are created and rendered invisible in intellectual and memorial spaces and then to consider the implications of this on young people's lives. In this way, this eclectic theoretical toolkit allows me to build analytic bridges between academic explorations that emphasise representation and the governing power of discourse

with those that focus on lived experience, human agency and critical capacity. In Chapter 3, I turn to the methodological questions, explaining why and how I adopted particular approaches to different aspects of the study.

Chapter 3 Research Methods

3.1 Introduction: Evolution of the Research Project

The research that is the basis of this thesis started out as a study of the early work experiences of young people whose parents had immigrated to France. In developing the project, I responded to a call for proposals from qualitative researchers studying themes relating to migration, discrimination and social mobility put out by the French National Institute of Demography (INED) and the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INCÉE). The call was for researchers to propose projects that require qualitative interviewing of participants who would be drawn from the sample of respondants to a recent national level survey called "*Trajectoires et Origines*" (TeO) (Origins and Trajectories) which was conducted between September 2008 and February 2009 and consisted of 21,000 people, including immigrants and non-immigrants and their descendants. The explicit aim of this survey had been

> to assess how far migratory origins (from other countries or from overseas France) are liable to affect living conditions and chances of access to the goods, services and rights that establish a person's place in society: housing, education, employment and promotion, public services and welfare provisions, health, nationality and citizenship etc. (Beauchemin, Hamelle, and Simon 2010: 5)

I prepared a research project that would consider the experience of young people in their twenties and early thirties whose parents immigrated from South East Asia, North Africa and a comparator group whose parents were not migrants. My project was accepted, one amongst the twenty proposals that were given permission to access the contacts they requested from the databank of potential interviewees.

I learned later that the initial TeO study had been controversial, especially with regard to questions of measurement of ethnicity and discrimination. To summarise the context and points of contention of the study, those initiating the study had hoped to ask questions about religion and 'race', as in how people considered others to perceive their skin colour. This aroused suspicion among an anti-racism organisation, SOS Racisme, which subscribes to the belief that categorisation of this nature perpetuates and legitimizes the notion of 'race', paralleling the theoretical argumets I explored in chapter 2. Despite the controversy,

the TeO study had been approved and the questions on religion deemed acceptable since they were voluntary and not obligatory, but the racial identity question was not permitted (Héran 2010). This recent controversy essentially relaunched an older debate raging since the mid 1990s about whether it is legitimate to continue to ban questions requiring the categorisation of ethnicity and 'race' in the national census.

This was my introduction to what turned out to be acrimonious and bitterly personal debates around categorisation in the census amongst academics in the fields of demography, immigration and the more recently emerging speciality of discrimination. The more I read about the debate about categorisation, the more I felt uncertain about my relationship to the TeO study for which my project had been approved. Taking part in the qualitative follow-up research initiative seemed to position me within a national debate for which the terms were as yet completely unfamiliar to me. Indeed, the more I familiarised myself with the terms of the debate, the more I regretted the manner in which I had framed my own study, as I will discuss in more detail presently. Later, as I was to begin my interviews, I found myself stumbling over how to phrase questions pertaining to ethnicity and racism. Despite my fluency in the French language, my outsider status to the French context[3] gave me the sense of being extremely clumsy and insensitive and, sometimes, words I used felt wrong once they were pronounced. It seemed necessary to understand the stakes of the categorisation debate since this would help me figure out how best to approach the themes of interest in my interview process: I therefore decided to explore the controversy as part of my thesis, leading to its multiple focus as I outlined earlier.

As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, analyzing the controversy on categorisation was a useful lens through which to understand the ways in which racism, anti-racism and discrimination are framed in France. The preliminary

[3] While my mother's family is French and I hold dual Canadian and French nationality, I have lived in Canada for most of my life. Prior to the time spent in France for my research, I had only spent short periods of time in the country when visiting family.

enquiry proved important in understanding the ways in which the people I interviewed understood their experience. In fact, it provided a case study of the battles waged over the institutionalisation of the 'ruling relations' pertaining to the experience of racialized groups in France. In Dorothy Smith's terms, I wanted to understand how the experience of the people I interviewed was constructed discursively by both the State and academics in order to understand how, if at all, they were affected by, and connected to, the politics and policies geared at immigration and discrimination. While Smith's institutional ethnography stresses the importance of textual representation in coordinating people's lives (Devault 2008), studying statistical categorisation drew me to a wealth of literatures about the role of statistics as a form of numerical language which some claim to be key to the construction of the social. In the case of numbers, this is precisely because their numerical format lends itself to easy translation. In other words, statistics have the capacity to enable concepts and conceptual frameworks to slip across multiple political and policy arenas and hence play an important role in coordinating aspects of social life across boundaries (Desrosières 2008).

As the analysis in Chapter 4 will show, the manner in which racism and discrimination are tightly bound through discourse and other forms of representation to the experience of immigration suggested to me that I could also learn from the *Cité national de l'histoire de l'immigration* (CNHI) and the representations found within it. The museum gave me the opportunity to explore further not only the narrative representation of immigrants in French society, but also the role of material objects and of the built environment in stabilising narratives or 'ruling relations'. In this regard, my approach was inspired by recent theoretical and empirical turns in the field of Geography to seek the significance of material objects beyond mere representation. I took the opportunity, in Chapter 4, to engage with these ideas and explore my own embodied interaction with the museum building and displays, allowing myself to draw from my experience with this methodology and to contribute both empirical material and my own theoretical reflections to the analysis.

In developing my analysis of the controversy over data and the museum, I used my interviews with young adults about the paths they had taken finding work,

as well as their everyday experiences in their workplaces, to establish a standpoint from which to analyze the coordinating role of the narratives I was learning about. In particular, while I interviewed a range of people, some of whom had experienced relative ease finding work and establishing careers in areas that pleased and suited them, I focused particularly on those who had faced significant barriers and challenges to establish the 'viewpoint' of the analysis. In this way, when I developed my analysis of the museum and of the statistical controversy, I tried to assess the work that these two institutions accomplished in constructing and stabilising the context of their working lives.

It should be clear by now, then, that the analysis in this study is reliant on a 'wide palette of interdisciplinary methods' (Mason 2006: 13) which were drawn together in order to develop an analysis exploring some of the ways in which the experience of interviewees could be linked to other sites and scales, including academic and political arenas and national discourses and debates. The dual focus on the lived experience of racialization as well as on some key processes that produced and maintained colourblind discourses is what lead me to use an eclectic range of methodological approaches.

The choice of methods was not entirely planned in advance but emerged in an iterative process as I carried out my study and stumbled across things that puzzled and eluded me, such as the categorisation debate, as well as the troubles I had finding appropriate ways of asking questions about people's experience of racism at work during my initial interviews. The sense of utter disorientation I felt at these moments led me to reframe my research in order to understand more clearly why I was feeling confused. This study primarily relies on qualitative research methods, although I also include some of the quantitative data available through the TeO study in order to discuss the spread of inequality and discrimination. The heavy reliance on qualitative data is due to it being particularly well suited to explore both the lived experience of oppression as well as some of the mechanisms through which opressive social relations are perpetuated which formed the dual focus of my study (Cresswell 2003; Lawler 2002).

The qualitative methods involved analysis of both verbal data, in the form of

semi-structured interviews, and interpretation of secondary texts in the form of academic and newspaper articles and on-line blogosphere debates. I have also explored visual data and material objects through analysis of landscape artifacts and exhibits in a museum. The different forms of qualitative data allowed me to address the full scope of my research questions. Interviews helped to unpack the meaning of particular experiences and the specific outlooks on life of individual participants.

Following Lawler (2002) I view the interview narratives I collected as 'interpretive devices through which people represent themselves, both to themselves and to others' rather than 'transparent carriers of experience' (242). In this way, I understood the narrative resources people use to construct their understandings of their lives as not generated spontaneously at the individual level but are assembled by drawing on constellations of stories that circulate in their social worlds (Bell 2003; Lawler 2002). In order to better understand these public narratives that participants draw from in order to explain and interpret their experience, another set of qualitative methods were used including visual interpretation of the national museum and an analysis of the public controversy around the legitimacy of ethno/racial census data. This set of qualitative methods allowed me to develop arguments about the social construction of colourblind politics in France that compliment and contextualise the narratives of participants' experiences of inequality. Taken together, these various sources of data allow me to identify some of the processes through which young people's working lives take shape. In the subsequent sections, I will provide further details on the multiple sources of qualitative and quantitative data I drew from in developing the analysis in this thesis.

3.2 Sources of Quantitative Data

In providing an overview of the French youth labour market, I drew from secondary studies based on analysis of various national statistical surveys as well as the recent data set produced through the TeO survey. I drew from available quantitative data in two ways: first, as a source, in order to provide a contextual picture of the distribution of unemployment and discrimination; secondly, as a narrative or form of textual representation which I investigate, to uncover how the categories which are used reveal a particular 'relation of ruling' or 'technology of governance' (Foucault

2004, Smith 2005). In this way, quantitative data are used to provide an account of the pattern of inequality in the labour market, which is the focus of the study, yet this narrative is also analyzed in itself, as containing the stabilisation of particular ways of seeing ethnicity in French society.

3.3 Sources of Qualitative Data

3.3.1 Media Reports and Secondary Literature

The sources of data for the account of the evolution of the ethnoracial categorisation controversy include books, essays, articles, position pieces, government position papers and blog posts published on the topic since the 1990s.

3.3.2 Key Informant Interviews

I carried out interviews with two key informants, one a longstanding employee of the Institute of National Demography, the other an academic participant and analyst of the debate.

3.3.3 Participant Observation

In undertaking the field work portion of this study, I lived with relatives for an entire year in a suburb of Paris called *La Frette sur Seine*, an experience which provided invaluable access to learning about the themes of my study. My aunt works as a teacher in a collège (middle school) in the neighbouring suburb, which also happens to be a priority economic zone benefiting from increased State subsidies for schools. My uncle teaches at a post-secondary establishment. I had a number of opportunities to visit and volunteer at the school where my aunt teaches. My cousins and their friends, also constant presences in our household, are in their early twenties: I derived great benefit from hearing about their everyday struggles with unemployment and the strategies they adopted to secure decent work in the service sector.

In addition, while I did not know it at the time, my engagement with the TeO post-survey qualitative researcher network proved to be informative in developing my understanding of the French context. One of my earliest introductions to the sensitivity of racial categorisation in France involved the request from the ethics review board at the *Commission nationale de l'informatique et des libertés* (CNIL) - the National Comission on Freedom of Information - that my project clarify the understanding of 'race' . It was required that, in both my abstract and final text, I render explicit the fact that I do not condone any biological conception of the term, and utilise square quotes when I use the concept. This request came as a shock to me, as the entire conceptual framework of my project had revolved around the social construction of "'race' " and since I had never suggested at the time, nor desired in the future, to condone any biological understanding of the concept. Nonetheless, participating in the meetings with fellow qualitative researchers who had also been granted permission to access participants through the sample database of the *Trajectoires et Origines* study allowed me valuable opportunities to learn about the framing of discrimination by French academics and national statistics bodies.

3.3.4. Museum Visits and Documentation

For the analysis of the National Museum of Immigration in Chapter 5, I made field notes and took photographs of the museum displays, the building and surrounding area, over the course of three visits to the museum and surrounding neighbourhood. I also examined the museum's web-site and drew from the documentation and French media articles available, which I gathered using Lexis Nexis News Service database about the inception, curation and controversies surrounding the creation of the museum. Finally, two of my visits to the museum were accompanied by friends, both, as it happend, being sociologists by training. They were Joan Stavo-Debauge, a French national who specializes in theorising hospitality and 'stranger-ness', and Omme Rahmetullah, a Canadian who studies identity and diasporic consciousness of twice migrants. My final analysis emerged, in part, through discussions with both of them, in the course of which we explored how the narrative of the museum resonates differently with people across their personal memories and experience, as well as the

ways in which their interpretations are filtered through the nationalist discourses which are most familiar to them.

3.3.5 Semi-structured interviews

Much of the second half of this thesis is based on interviews carried out with thirty-nine young adults. As I explained, through my initial participation in the post-survey qualitative inquiry research network of the Trajectories and Origins study, I initially sought to focus my study on three 'groups' of young adults, all of whom had grown up in France, but whose families originated either inNorth Africa or South East Asia or, thirdly, whose parents originated in France. However, as I found out more about the categorisation debate and how it was playing out in France, and partly because of the awkwardness I felt requesting that people ask their friends with particular backgrounds to participate in the study, I decided that it would be sounder to open the study to broader participation. It was never my intention to ascribe ethnicity to participants on the basis of their migration history. However, by setting ethnicity as a parameter for participation, it was all too easily interpreted as a conferral, thus seeming to confirm the official view which equates recognition of ethnicity with racism.

a) Participant Recruitment Strategies

A number of approaches were used to recruit participants.

Trajectoires et Origines Qualitative Follow-Up

As already mentioned, before learning about the controversial aspects of the study, I responded to a call to participate in the Trajectories and Origins post-study qualitative research initiative for which I was accepted. This allowed me to access the contact information and data files of over a hundred people who had participated in the initial interview for the INED/INSÉE study and had indicated that they would be willing to take part in further interviews. The contacts whom I requested were between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, lived in the Paris area, and had one

parent who was identified as being of South East Asian, North African or French origin. The procedure for re-contacting them involved, in a first step, sending a letter drafted by the TeO coordinators which let potential participants know that I would be contacting them in the future, and in which I introduced myself, explained the nature of my study as well as its confidentiality and the optional nature of participation in it. After sending the letter, I called the contact to see whether they were interested in participating in my study. As at least a year or more had passed since the initial interview had taken place, not surprisingly, for many of the contacts, the telephone numbers and addresses were no longer up to date. Even when the contact information was accurate, it often took several calls to reach the potential participants,and many opted not to do an interview. In the end, the contacts provided by the TeO study lead to only eleven interviews.

While several of the interviews with contacts obtained through the TeO network were very rich, lengthy and detailed, overall, I found it harder to establish a relaxed discussion with them than with those found through friends. I attribute this awkwardness to a certain extent to the official format of the TeO study which was part of a national demographic research project, and in which I was therefore positioned as a representative of a government research agency. While TeO participants were aware that I was a doctoral research student from Oxford, they were also aware that the anonymous interviews would be made available to the government agency. Furthermore, without the friendly introduction through a friendship network, it was more difficult to build a rapport with the participants contacted in this way, making it in turn more difficult to talk about what were often sensitive topics. I still found the interviews carried out with TeO participants very valuable for my study, however, precisely because they allowed me to contact people who fell outside of the social networks I was using to recruit the remainder of the participants.

Snowball Method

The remaining twenty-eight participants were recruited through the snowball method. I asked people I knew already to recruit people from their personal networks who were within the age group that I was searching for and who were born in France.

b) Research Participants

Appendix A includes a list of participants by gender, age, employment status, ethnicity (generally self-identified), recruitment method and pseudonym. The participants included nineteen women and twenty men, aged between twenty-two and thirty-four, with an average age of thirty years old. I targeted this age group because of the consensus among youth scholars that the age at which people secure long-term employment has shifted and that the transition period between school is less linear and lengthier than in previous generations (Bradley and Hoof 2005). Given this, I was interested in speaking with people who were in the midst of this complex process rather than just starting out. In this way, participants could reflect on their experience.

I was also keen to recruit participants whose situations spanned a range of employment status and sectors. Four participants were unemployed at the time of interview (three men, one woman, three of North African origins and one of French origin) while seven were engaged in post-secondary studies, of which four also held part-time jobs at the same time. Twenty participants in the study were employed full-time (thirteen women, eight men), while another three were 80% employed by virtue of being allowed reduced hours to have more time to spend with their young children at home (two women, one man)[4]. Three male and four female participants were working part-time (four of whom were also engaged in full-time studies) while three participants were self-employed and either worked freelance or owned their own small business (all men). Twelve participants (four men and eight women) were working in the public sector, while six worked in the non-profit or parapublic sector (of which only one was male) and thirteen were found in the private sector (nine men, four women).

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[4] '*Le congé parental d'éducation'* is the law setting the parameters for parental leave for young children which allows employees to negotiate leave or reduced hours of work for care of children under the age of three with their employer. The guidelines vary across the particular sector of employment and the strategy is principally taken up by women (Letablier and Lanquetin 2005).

All but a few participants identified as 'French'. In terms of family migration history, fourteen participants identified with some North African origins, eleven with South East Asian family migratory histories, ten with French and, in a few cases, Western European ancestry, while the origins of four remaining participants included Iraq and French overseas territories.

When discussing the narratives of participants in the study, I will specify, if relevant, the manner in which they self-identify in terms of ethnicity (which often shifts in the course of the interview in a highly contingent way), as well as the country of origin of their parents. However, a problem emerges for me because in using immigration history as a marker of difference in my work, I have inadvertently reproduced the manner in which paradigms of ethnicity and 'race' are officially disavowed in France. The State insists on relying on 'objective' criteria to identify ethnicity, i.e. ones based on the country of origin of individuals or of their parents. This belies the complexity of identity which I have just outlined and in keeping with which ethnicity would not necessarily be easily read off migration history. It also renders invisible, in national statistics, the inequality faced by those who are racialized, have been French nationals for several generations and, hence, have *no* recent immigration history through which they might be identified statistically. I consequently acknowledge this tension in my work which I have attempted to partially overcome by avoiding the ascription of ethnicity in my written analysis.

c) Interview Process

A series of one to three interviews were carried out with each participant between November 2009 and August 2010. Interviews explored the schooling and work histories of the participants, as well as their understandings and experiences of discrimination. They took place in the home and, occasionally, the work place of the participant, or in a café, and lasted, on average, an hour and half. In three cases, interviews took place with two participants at the same time. This was the case for two couples and one brother and sister pair. In each of these cases, I had the opportunity to speak again with at least one of the members of the pair without the

other's presence, which afforded some more private clarifications when deemed necessary. After every interview, I would take down some notes about my first impressions of the interview and the participant. Most interviews were recorded and transcribed in French, while for a couple of interviews, defects in the recording equipment meant I relied on hand-written notes.

Initially, I used a set of guideline questions during interviews. The questions I used when I first launched the interviews can be found in Appendix B. As my own confidence in interviewing in the French language improved, as well as through a learning process of trial and error with participants of how to broach and discuss the themes I was interested in, I relied progressively less on prepared questions and moved more and more towards a less structured discussion. I settled into a life-narrative approach where I would ask participants to tell me the story of how they had ended up in their particular employment situation (Bertaux 2005). This approach allowed me to be responsive to the memories and anecdotes which participants sought to highlight. Framing the question this broadly often resulted in participants initiating their narratives in their childhood recollections and accounting for the twists and turns in their lives from that point in the past to the present. While this sometimes meant that interviews lasted a long time, I rarely found that participants veered off topic, as the focus on their employment lives and the theme of discrimination of the study seemed to keep the discussion on target. I transcribed all but six of the interviews myself in French. The remainder were transcribed for pay by my siblings who are fluent in French, but I carefully reviewed the transcription afterwards.

One topic of discussion I tried to raise in interviews was the ethnic and racial diversity of their work places. I often found myself fumbling with a language to use to inquire about this which would feel tactful, as this felt like a very sensitive issue. While I was specifically interested in ethnicity and 'race', I quickly found that respondents would generally answer using a language of 'French' or 'immigrant'. I found myself unsure about what respondents meant when they referred to 'immigrant' co-workers and, when I asked for further clarification, this often led to rather vague and contradictory answers. It became apparent, over the course of my

interviews, that the most acceptable answer to such a question in a formal context was to refer to anyone who had grown up in France as French, and to anyone who had not been born in France as an 'immigrant', and that any distinction based on ethnicity was to be avoided, unless the person had immigrated.

The timing of the interviews coincided with a heightening of tension in France around the issue of the Burqua (or the '*voile intégral*'), which culminated in it being banned in public places by the National Assembly in September 2010 (Khosrokhavar 2009). During the same month I started my interviews, Minister of Immigration and National Integration, Eric Besson, also launched a debate on the theme of French national identity in which people were invited to share their views in various public fora on-line, in town halls and through mediatised debates (Anon. 2009b). The concurrence of these controversies with the time of my interviews meant that, very likely, for some participants, there was a sense of a rise of hostilities towards people marked as 'other' which made them particularly wary of how I might be approaching my research topic and may have impeded the development of a trusting, open dialogue. On the other hand, I found that these controversies often provided an entry-point to a discussion with participants about the French national context and their understandings and experiences of racism. Also helpful in generating discussion, as I carried out interviews, I sometimes asked participants about perspectives and ideas which had been introduced by earlier participants in the study, in order to get a sense of the extent to which such perspectives were shared or controversial.

3.4 Data Analysis

A range of interpretive approaches were used to handle the varied format of the types of data collected.

The analysis behind Chapter 4 which explores how the debates on the categorisation of ethnicity and 'race' reveal the way in which immigrants and their descendants are positioned in French society is based on a analysis of a range of academic, policy and media articles and position pieces which themselves both analyze and take part in the debate. The various arguments deployed are considered, and attention is paid to shifts in the terms of the debate. The advantage of using this

approach was the ready availability of these published statements which spell out the reasoning behind the positions taken by various protagonists in the debate. The underlying assumptions of the participants are genereally rendered explicit in their writing and in my analysis these are to construct the dominant conceptions of the meaning of 'ethnicity' and the position of racialized young people in France. The disadvantage is that few authors published explanations for changes in their positions that took place over time that might have been better accessed through interviews. However, given the wider scope of this study and its focus on the links between discourse and lived experience of young people, an analysis based primarily on published materials sufficed to trace the outlines of the debate.

Chapter 5 is based primarily on visual methodologies and includes an account of my own interpretation of the museum and its displays (Rose 2001). I explore the architectural features of the building, identify key themes in the museum and the technologies of the displays, including how they are spatially organised, and categorize the objects and narratives they make available to the public. I interpret the displays and narratives to identify what I see as the underlying assumptions which the museum embodies about the ethnicity of French citizens and the position of racialized youth in French society. In addition I draw accounts from secondary sources, including museum documentation and media articles, to identify groups which utilise the space in attempts to make political claims or express political dissent.

While I asked some of the later participants about their thoughts on the museum, only one had visited it and shared their interpretations with me. While it would of course have been interesting to have more information on the pubic's reaction to the exhibits, using my own interpretations still allows me to exlore some of the dominant discourses of colourblind republicanism. While these are necessarily partial and situated, in developing this analysis I found that my outsider status as someone who grew up in Canada rather than France where the public recognition of ethnicity and 'race' is formalised in a different way proved useful in helping me to notice what might easily be naturalised or taken for granted by someone more familiar with the French dominant narrative son these topics.

Analysis of the interview materials forms the basis of the accounts found in Chapters 6 and 7. The interview analysis was carried out with a variety of approaches as follows. I kept track of interviews on an Excel spreadsheet where I also recorded some basic information about participants for the sake of summary and to render visible some basic patterns. I created an interpretive variable which captured an index of what I referred to, for the sake of shorthand, as 'smoothness', i.e. the degree to which the participant felt they had faced adversity in their schooling and employment experience. Following a close reading of the interview transcript, I rated participants as having had a smooth, medium or rough trajectory (see Appendix C for the charted summary of the data I quantified in this way). This method provided an initial entry point into the data and helped to identify individuals and groups of participants who had faced particularly challenging experiences.

My next approach to analysing the interview transcripts was careful reading and re-reading of interview transcripts to organize the narratives by life events, types of work and schooling, as well as key themes and collation of relevant examples from each interview onto summary sheets. Key themes were identified in a number of mutually reinforcing ways. Firstly, through reading a range of academic literatures with which I hoped to engage and using the kinds of questions and themes that these articles identified as a guide and secondly, by attending to public and mediatised debates around the question of young people of immigrant origin in France and noting convergences and divergences with these accounts and that of my participants. Thirdly, I kept track of repetition across interviews with different participants, for example, in the types of experiences discussed or the explanations expressed by participants. In other words, when certain kinds of events or ways of framing such events reoccurred across a number of participants, they would often become a theme to keep track of in the remaining interviews. Fourthly, I noted themes and events which emerge in the narratives and discussions I myself found interesting and surprising.

After digesting the transcripts in this manner, I systematically coded about half of the interviews (those which I identified as being the most relevant to the themes I settled on as areas of focus for my thesis) using an open source Macintosh qualitative

research analysis software programme called Text Analysis Mark up System (TAMS) developed by Matthew Weinstein[5]. This additional step in the interpretive process helped to confirm and develop further the analysis of the previous approaches. Ideally, I would have liked to have used this software to code all of the interviews systematically. However, coding the most useful and relevant transcripts in detail at this later stage of analysis had the advantage of time-efficiency. It was justified by the fact that I carried out all of the interviews myself, completed most of the transcription, engaged extensively and repeatedly with the whole set of transcripts and produced both a summary excel spread sheet as described above and word documents for each participant, before starting to use TAMS on a selective set of transcripts. Not only had I by then thoroughly familiarised myself with the content of the interviews I had carried out, but through this engagement with the material, I had decided on the thematic focus of the chapters on the basis of the interview materials and was thus well-positioned to select appropriate interviews for computer- assisted coding purposes.

The complex and iterative approach taken to identifying the themes and the foci of Chapters 6 and 7 ensured that my arguments were empirically driven as well as relevant to academic discussion. While my original research project had a more explicit focus on the everyday and intersectional constructions and practices of identity, this topic was not what most spoke to me as I listened to the voices in the interviews, partly for reasons to be discussed in the next section. My analytic method and research focus therefore attempted to be faithful and responsive to the intersection of the empirical material I had collected, my personal interests and the themes in the public debates and academic literatures on racialized French youth.

3.5 Positionality and Reflexivity

The dynamics and complexities of my positioning via my research themes, politics, as well as with respect to the interview participants, is a constant presence in all aspects

[5] This software is free and available for download at http://tamsys.sourceforge.net/.

of my work and played an important role in broadening the scope of the sources of data I have drawn from. In centering interviews with participants as a key pillar to my research methods, I have assumed the narratives that have been co-produced in these interview contexts provide a particular form of narrative- a public one - in which I am mostly learning about how participants frame their experience in language in a public moment or meeting between strangers as opposed to a private, intimate moment. The everyday doings of relations of gender, 'race', 'ethnicity', class are not necessarily easily translated into a linguistic account, revealed through an interview exchange, particularly one with a researcher whom one is just getting to know. A stark example of this is the way in which people I knew in France used racial labels in everyday communication. Yet rarely did terms such as '*beur*', (slang for Arab), or '*renoir*' (slang for black) come up in my interviews. The type of information gleaned from a linguistic exchange can be seen as a manifestation of public discourses through and into which an individual translates themselves: this is how I have conceived of this data source in so far as it points to the 'ruling relations' (Smith) or 'technologies of governance' (Foucault).

These narratives have been shared in co-presence with me and, of course, the perception participants have of my own positionality is key to the types of information they have shared and the narrative frames they have used to convey it. It also depends, in part, on the context of the interview: in more formal settings, slang terms are unlikely to be used. The decision, therefore, to draw from other forms of data, including exploring the categorisation controversy as well as the museum of immigration, might be understood as a way of coping with the limits of my positionality. In addition, sharing my responses to the museum in Chapter 5 illuminates further how the arguments of this thesis are partial and situated, and have not been developed with a bird's-eye view of the situation. In illustrating how my embodied situatedness can help to generate insight, I hope to reassure the reader that my perspectives into the analysis of the museum as well as the broader topics of interest of this thesis have not been developed with a naïve assumption of neutrality or impartiality.

I was the average age of my participants in this study and I was also a full-time student, as some of them were. In many ways, then, I was more or less a peer of the participants I spoke with. In my discussions with them, while I was mostly interested in learning as much as possible about their views on discrimination and racism, as well as their own experience, I was in the main transparent about my own perspectives on these matters. I felt that it was only fair that participants have a chance to see where I was coming from on these questions, and unless I intuitively felt that it would make it difficult for participants to say what they thought, I would share my own opinions, especially if asked. This was often helpful if there was a difference in perspective, because it would allow a clarifying discussion to ensue in which our differences were explored. One issue I frequently differed with participants on, was in my lack of endorsement for the ban of the headscarf for civil servant employees on the job and for students in secondary schools.

Participants sometimes inquired about my own ethnicity and I would explain that I grew up in Canada and identified as Canadian but that my mother's family was also Vietnamese and French. A few participants responded to this with a comment along the lines of 'I thought there was something '*typée'* about you,' in reference to what they perceived as the traces of a non-white 'race' which they had perceived in my phenotypes. By '*typé*', was meant 'corresponding to a 'type',' in this case, a racial prototype. The online Larousse dictionary provides the following example of the deployment of the term: *Elle est Indienne mais pas très typée*, which they translate as: She is Indian but she doesn't have typical Indian features [6]. This every day use of language is a good example of the invisibility of whiteness which I found to be hegemonic, since only those with marked *non*-white features would be qualified by the adjective '*typé*'.

Upon learning about my family background of mixed ethnicity, a discussion sometimes ensued as to the potential of mixing to address the problem of racism. My mixed ethnicity was thought to relate to my research interests in anti-racism.

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[6] http://www.larousse.com/en/dictionaries/french-english/typ%C3%A9/669209

Because undoubtedly my own ethnicity comes into play in fuelling my research interests, it took me some time to develop an analysis of the relative frequency of the re-occurrence of this theme in my interviews. Undoubtedly, my embodied presence prompted to some extent the discussion of this particular viewpoint on miscegenation as the way to end racial inequalities. It is only when I began analyzing the secondary materials produced by academics and demographers about the categorisation debates, as well as the narratives present in the CNHI, that I found a resonance of this view of miscegenation in a format in which my embodied presence of 'mixed ethnicity' had nothing to do with its generation. This is one example of the way in which engaging with different types of data and problematics was formative in ensuring that certain insights emerged in my analysis.

My gender also facilitated different forms of dynamics with participants. In the case of two of the three participants interviewed who wore the headscarf, I was formally introduced to the woman in a public space, before the interviews took place in the private space of their homes. I noted, at these times, that there was a particular level of intimacy generated by interviews in private spaces, in which women who wear the headscarf removed it. The implication of a shared identity as women, expressed through this practice, seemed to generate a sense of trust and lead to a more relaxed and informal interview process.

Coming from Toronto, Canada, was in some ways helpful and, in other ways, rendered my analytic process more challenging. It was difficult for me to escape from the assumptions I held around the place of ethnicity and 'race' in public culture and policy, and what now seems to be an elementary building block of my analysis inspired by North American and British critical race theories. It took me a long time to internalize and truly absorb the significance in political life of the individual in France, particularly given the way in which 'race' is so much part of every day life in France, from the term used to refer to the local corner store '*l'Arabe du coin'*, or the corner Arabs, to the language used to describe people in unofficial contexts.

Identifying and being identified as Canadian provided me with a positively viewed outsider status. Particularly North African origin participants perceived Canada as a country which would frown upon France's ban on the headscarf (a

partially erroneous perception since the stance taken by the province of Quebec on the *niqab* essentially takes inspiration from French approaches to secularism). A large portion of the participants of North African origin had either lived in the US, the UK or Canada for a period of time, had family relatives there and/ or had at one time or other thought about moving to these countries, partly because of how they found France to be particularly hostile to Muslims. Participants described the freedom they felt to be in these contexts. Women who wore the veil frequently found that finding work in these Anglophone countries was a possibility when it was not in France. They described how, in job interviews, they wondered whether people even noticed their veil, and how the sense of the invisibility of their headscarf was in stark contrast to their reception by employers in France. A male North African participant described how people simply perceived him as French during the year he lived in Toronto. I am convinced that these positive ascriptions of Canada and Canadians which they often shared with me helped enormously in establishing my credentials as a person who might be sympathetic to their negative experiences of racism in France. Another dimension to the experience of being parachuted into France to study racisms was the manner in which the local particularities of racialization processes had to be learned. For example, certain signifiers that French people quickly utilise to identify or ascribe 'race' and ethnicity were not obvious to me, particularly ones used for North African ethnicities which, in my Canadian racialising lens, initially I would often read as white.

Nonetheless, as I highlight in Chapter 7, the fact that I have not had the opportunity to develop the embodied experiential knowledge of everyday racism experienced by many participants, had implications for the types of narratives disclosed to me. Thus, I emphasize the partiality of these accounts and suggest that, when relating experiences of discriminatory treatment, they represent the tip of the iceberg. This is because the more subtle and covert processes that reproduce racial inequality may not have been conducive to narrative accounts to someone who would not have shared similar experiences and, therefore, might have put into question interpretations put forward by participants. Given that everyday racism is often expressed covertly, Essed (1991) shows how the skill-set and knowledge required to identify is linked to the process of experiencing the adverse consequences of

ambiguous actions over time, and developing the knowledge of racism and analytic skills to identify it. Nonetheless, I suggest that even partial accounts are useful and important and can help reveal the extent to which full recognition of everyday racism is impeded.

In addition, in rereading my interview transcripts, I was troubled by the heterosexual bias that, on some occasions, pervaded my inquiries and prompts. This occurred in part because of my sensitivity to the fact that liberal sexual politics are used in the French context as a means to position certain immigrant communities as poorly 'integrated' due to the assumption that they hold conservative and religiously informed views that are ill-suited for French society (Fekete 2009). Because of this I was sometimes overly nervous of how my questions around relationships might be interpreted as accusatory or provocative in the interview process. This regretful shortcoming on my part I now believe was counter productive and might partly explain the lack of discussions around gay and lesbian identities in my interviews.

3.6 Accountability and Responsibility

In addition to complying with the ethics guidelines of the University of Oxford, the interview process I engaged in involving the eleven participants identified through the Trajectories and Origin studies complies with the ethical guidelines relevant to INED and the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSÉE).

Undoubtedly, for some participants, the themes around ethnicity and identity in my interviews may have led to some anxiety that I may be developing a stigmatising analysis of the groups I was studying. While I believe this may have continued to be a concern for some participants, I attempted to assuage people's concerns in several ways. I explained my study as having as its goal to shed light on the processes of discrimination in the French labour market. Participants with North African origins were often vocal in their recognition of the importance of this type of study in France. Several participants expressed gratitude at the end of the interview for having an opportunity to reflect on their lives and experiences.

Furthermore, I offered those who were interested the opportunity to review the transcript of our interview and make any change or remove material as they saw fit (only one took me up on this). For those who were particularly interested, when I was further along in the analysis of my work, to present and discuss my key findings. I explained that, while I wanted to maintain autonomy in my analysis, if there was a major discrepancy between my interpretation and participants', I was willing to commit to noting this difference of opinion in the final report. These meetings took place in July 2011 with four participants.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have not only accounted for and justified the research methods I have employed and the multiple sources of data that inform my analysis, but also explore the ways in which my location as an embodied researcher within certain webs of relations shaped this entire process in important ways. In reflecting on my research process, I conclude by suggesting that much of my analysis has drawn on this valuable source of learning termed 'indirect learning' by Jazeel and McFarlane (2010):

> Indirect learning draws attention to the creative interaction between 'here' and 'there,' and the particular and general. Here, a conceptualization of learning alerts to the possibility that it can occur not just in spite of differences, but through them is essential. This involves being alert to the likelihood that knowledge and ideas will change in new circumstances, and that learning can occur in creative, indirect ways. Here, then, is one potential conceptual frame through which to negotiate collaborations between researcher and field (116).

By this, I mean that my very personal research strategy evolved in relation to my own uncertainties and needs for clarification and understanding. In this way, my differences were a source of knowledge generation that led to creative twists and turns in the research process and resulted in the incorporation of a broad set of methodologies and sources of data into the analysis. While not seeking to downplay the ways in which my positionality render this account extremely partial and situated, I also conclude by highlighting it as sources of creativity and learning.

Part I- Working on the Republic

Chapter 4 The National Census, the 'Race' Question and the Category of the 'Jeunes issus de l'immigration'

4.1 Introduction

In accordance with the French Constitution, it is unacceptable to apply a taxonomy of 'race' or ethnicity to interpret the results of a national or large scale survey in which respondents would be identified as belonging to particular or multiple groups. As members of a republic -liberté, égalité, fraternité - citizens are assumed to be participating in public life as equal individuals, and not as sub-national communities. This idea is invoked to justify the insistence with which the State proclaims as irrelevant the religion, ethnicity or phenotype of its population. North American and British analysts generally interpret this attitude as the rejection, by the French, of pluralism or multiculturalism. However, the anxieties in the French context as to the objectification of categories which are social constructed are in some ways convergent with debates in Anglophone literatures in relation to the pitfalls of categorisation of 'race' discussed earlier. In this chapter, I will offer an in-depth exploration of the reasoning behind the ban on categorisation of groups by ethnicity and 'race' in French quantitative research and national surveys.

The argument that I develop may be summarised as follows. Analysed from a Foucauldian vantage point, census categories help produce the population and subjectivities to be governed. The underpinnings of what it means to be a full citizen in the French national community are revealed. Because French citizenship is constructed in republican nationalist discourse as a form of emancipation from family, regional culture and religion, the restriction on categorisation can be understood as a form of immigrant integration allowing those who have successfully unburdened themselves of these constraints to live without being perpetually associated with their 'origins'. Furthermore, the regard in which the so-called 'social construction paradigm' is held by State statisticians and academics means that theoretical arguments about the mutual constitution of society and statistics are used to bolster the claim that categorisation is illegitimate, morally unsound and arbitrary.

In the previous chapter, I described the various sources of data and research methods employed to carry out this research. There, I noted that I belonged to a network of researchers who were granted permission to access contact files of participants willing to take part in a follow-up interview who had previously taken part in a recent national survey of population 'diversity' called *Trajectories and Origins* (TEO). To show what is at stake in this debate, I introduce this chapter by presenting some key findings of this landmark French survey. I focus on the results relating to the children of immigrants and their education and employment trajectories and the evidence of discrimination that this survey garnered, as these data are relevant to the themes in the thesis as a whole. After presenting these findings, I turn to a discussion of what the data obscures and of the underpinning assumptions embedded in the development of this study and previous studies of this type in France. Here, I show how this survey exemplifies the tendency in France to frame the issue of inequality in relation to 'race' as related, if not reducible, to the question of immigrant integration. In other words, 'race' is explained as the result of the challenges faced by new immigrants in becoming fully French, either because of their own unwillingness to try hard enough, (a right wing xenophobic perspective not expressed in the TeO study), or because they are prevented from belonging by exclusion and discrimination, (a more left-wing understanding and the standpoint of most TeO researchers). In this section, then, I establish that since discrimination is understood in France as being connected to migration history, the decision not to differentiate by ethnicity or 'race' in the census can be understood as an immigrant integration/assimilation policy. In this way, I analyse French anti-discrimination as a form of discourse requiring historicisation (Bonnett 2000; Lentin 2004). In the fourth section, I review France's anti-discrimination legislation and consider two other forms of French public policy, which, I argue, are also implicitly related to anti-discrimination and immigrant integration: neighbourhood-focused, positive discrimination practices, and the ban on the headscarf in public schools and for public servants on the job. Here, I am making the argument that these forms of public policy are, in a perverse way, indirectly understood to be helping to ease the problem of inequality based on origins. In the next section, I discuss what can be understood as a recent shift in stance on the part of French academics and policy makers, as I review

the publication of the Héran Report (2010) that advocates the collection of ethnicity data in the context of large firms, in order to monitor unequal hiring and promotion practices. I show how even though this marks an important change in French public discourse, it is minor in its vision for change as well as unlikely to be implemented as a result of ongoing feet-dragging on the part of politicians and policy makers. Finally, I contextualise this entire discussion by briefly contrasting the French anti-discrimination framework and its relationship to census categorisation policies with those found in the United Kingdom and Canada.

4.2 The Trajectories and Origines (TeO) Population Survey

In 2008-9, the TeO study was launched and constituted one of the very few large-scale studies examining the experience of 'minorities', identified as immigrants and their descendants, and the socioeconomic barriers they face. In a preliminary report published by the TeO team, the rationale of this one-off survey is explained as follows:

> To implement government policy on promoting equality and combating discrimination for reasons of origin, tools for analysis and monitoring are required. To inform public debate on immigration in this context, more information is needed about the social trajectories and living conditions of migrants and their descendants in French society. To meet this need for statistical data, INED and INSEE joined forces to conduct a special survey on population diversity in France and the issue of discrimination. (Beauchemin et al. 2010 : 5)

In other words, the survey intends to meet two separate but apparently interrelated data needs. The first is the need for data to monitor discrimination, the second is to inform the ongoing public polemics with regard to immigration and the French nation. There is an underlying belief that when debates on immigration lack empirical basis they can be too easily manipulated by proponents of xenophobic perspectives to scaremonger and generate anti-immigrant sentiment. The emphasis on migration is further developed in the stated intentions of the study as follows:

> The Trajectories and Origins survey is intended to assess how far migratory origins (from other countries or from overseas France) are liable to affect living conditions and chances of access to the goods, services and rights that establish a person's place in society: housing, education, employment and promotion, public services and welfare provisions, health, nationality and citizenship etc. (Beauchemin, Hamelle, and Simon 2010: 5)

The survey covers an extensive range of topics and participation required on average an hour and fifteen minutes in a face-to-face interview undertaken by 500 interviewers and overseen by a team of 24 researchers, academics and statisticians (Beauchemin, Hamelle, and Simon 2010).

While groups which are under-represented in existing national surveys were oversampled in order to provide a statistically significant numbers sample, overall, the survey sample is intended to be representative of the French population between the ages of 18 and 60 living in ordinary housing arrangements (Beauchemin, Hamelle, and Simon 2010). In this way, Lhommeau and Simon (2010) add an additional purpose of study, that of describing the 'diversity' of the French population. Even though the national statistics office undertook the study with access to household census files, building an adequate sample of the 'second generation' was a challenge because official records do not keep track of origin of parents. The project documentation explains that the sample was identified by a painstaking process of cross-referencing census and permanent demographic sample data, as well as through consultation with birth records in the civil registration system (Beauchemin and Simon 2010).

The introduction to this report provides a glossary defining the classification scheme devised to sort and compare the experiences of the 21,000 participants interviewed for the study. Here, it is again explained that the data is intended to allow for the assessment of the naturalised twin pairing of 'integration and discrimination' and the influence of migration trajectories, as well as membership in the mainstream versus minority groups. The classification scheme is summarised as follows:

> The term "mainstream population" refers to the numerically largest group of persons resident in metropolitan France (mainland France and Corsica): those who are neither immigrants nor DOM native-borns, i.e. persons born in a French overseas département (département d'outre-mer or DOM), nor descendants of immigrants or DOM native-borns.
>
> The respondents are also distinguished by their individual or family migration history, according to place of birth (in metropolitan France / elsewhere), their nationality at birth (French or other) and their parents' countries or départements of birth and nationalities at birth. (Beauchemin, Hamelle, and Simon 2010: 7)

In short, the survey uses as a reference majority group non immigrants whose parents were also born in France. It then differentiates the remaining participants into first and second generation immigrants, distinguished by country or region of nationality and/or birth of themselves or one or both of their parents. In this way, the reporting of the data categorises on the basis of 'objective' criteria rather than subjective self-identified identity ascriptions, which are incidentally also part of the data collected. The survey also explores participants' perceptions of experiencing discrimination and, in this case, they asked respondents to clarify on what grounds they believed they were treated with prejudice. A list of possible factors was provided, including sex, age, health status, origins, skin colour, etc. In the following section, I discuss some of the results of the study, particularly those pertaining to the 'second generation' or the children of immigrants and people from Dominions and Territories Overseas (DOM-TOMS) who correspond, to some extent, to the focus of this thesis on racialized groups. This subset tends to be relatively younger in age than the other groups and represents 12% of the TeO survey participants between the ages of 18 and 50 (Lhommeau and Simon 2010). Just under a third of the second generation is found in Île-de-France (the urban area of Paris and its surrounding suburbs) and, thus, this group tends to be more urbanised than the mainstream population, although not as much as immigrants (Lhommeau and Simon 2010).

4.3 TeO Key Findings: Discrimination and the Second Generation

In this section, I highlight some key findings in relation to the second generation arising from the survey. These numbers are based on findings reported in the relevant chapters of the preliminary report, published jointly by INED and INSÉE and entitled *Trajectories and Origins. Survey on Population Diversity in France* (Beauchemin, Hamelle, and Simon 2010). As will be shown, the descendants of immigrants face disadvantages in terms of their educational attainment, labour market participation and remuneration, and are significantly more likely than the mainstream population to identify a subjective experience of discrimination in these arenas.

4.3.1 Educational Trajectories

In terms of the educational trajectory of the children of immigrants, the survey confirms that, in line with the general gendered tendencies since the 1990s of the mainstream population, daughters have an educational achievement level superior to that of sons within each group, apart from those descendants from Turkey (Moguérou, Brinbaum, and Primon 2010). Focusing specifically on those in the second generation between the ages of 18-35 in 2008 who have been educated entirely in France, certain groups are particularly likely to leave school without any qualifications, notably men and women with at least one parent from Turkey (27%), and men with parents from West and Central Africa (24%), the Sahel (19%), Morocco or Tunisia (19%) or Algeria (19%), compared with that of the mainstream at 9% (Brinbaum, Moguérou, and Primon 2010). At the other end of the educational spectrum, the descendants of some groups of immigrants are less likely to go on to higher education. Only 25% of those with Turkish origins pursued higher education while those of Algerian descent 41%, Portuguese 43%, and Sub-Saharan African origins at 44%, while 53% of the mainstream population did so (Brinbaum, Moguérou, and Primon 2010). These analysts note that 65% of the descendants from immigrants, in comparison to 41% of young people in the mainstream group, come from working class families, which helps to explain the gap in achievement levels.

The survey also examined participants' perceptions of being fairly treated by guidance counsellors at school. Respondents were asked the question 'Do you personally think you were treated differently from other pupils when it came to course guidance?' and the given response answer options of 'treated better', 'the same' or 'less well treated'. 14% of the descendants of immigrants felt they had been 'less well treated' than other students with regard to decisions made about the track to pursue in their schooling, opting for the negative response at a rate three times higher than the mainstream population (Brinbaum, Moguérou, and Primon 2010). The rates are particularly significant for those of Moroccan and Tunisian ancestry (23%), Turkish 24%, Sahelian African (24%), West and Central African (20%) and Algerian (20%) (Brinbaum, Moguérou, and Primon 2010). When asked the basis for this unfair treatment, the most common response was 'origin', followed by 'skin colour'(Brinbaum, Moguérou, and Primon 2010). The survey found that the offspring

of immigrants are also much more likely than those of the mainstream population to attend schools in which many of the other students are of immigrant origin (51% compared with 17%) (Brinbaum, Moguérou, and Primon 2010).

Thus, second generation immigrants from certain groups are displaying lower educational attainment than the mainstream population, accompanied by higher rates of a perception of having their education thwarted by unsupportive school guidance officials. These groups are also found in a higher proportion of families from working class socioeconomic status. The data produced through TeO is useful in that it provides quantitative evidence of disparities in attainment in education that supports what many racialized youth have expressed. That is, that certain racialized groups are facing an unfair disadvantage in their schooling (Brinbaum, Moguérou, and Primon 2010).

4.3.2 Labour Market Participation

Table 4.1 provides a summary of labour market participation data for the descendants of immigrants as compared to the mainstream population. The data suggests that for men whose parents are from Sub-Saharan Africa, Morocco, Turkey and Algeria, and women whose parents are from Algeria and Turkey, unemployment rates are found of over 20% (Lhommeau, Meurs, and Primon 2010a). For men, unemployment tends to be higher for the descendants of immigrants than for their parents, with the exception of those from European origins, while the trend is reversed for women (Lhommeau, Meurs, and Primon 2010a). In addition, while female unemployment tends to be higher than men's for the mainstream and immigrant population, aside from those from Turkey, for the second generation, women's unemployment is often similar (as in the case of those with parents from Algeria) or lower than that of men, including those with parents from Southeast Asia (8% of women versus 16% of men), sub-Saharan Africa (18% versus 21%), Morocco and Tunisia (18% versus 22%) and Portugal (5% versus 8%). This may be linked to the significance of the feminised service sector in providing entry level employment opportunities for young women in comparison to young men (McDowell 2009).

Table 4.1 Economic Activity of Second Generation versus Mainstream Population By Origin

	Women					
Place of Birth of Parents	**In em-ployment**	**Unem-ployed**	**In educa-tion**	**Other inactive**	**Un employ-ment rate**	**Un-weighted numbers**
Algeria	56	14	13	17	20	724
Morocco & Tunisia	56	12	20	12	18	635
Subsaharan Africa	55	10	29	7	15	443
South East Asia	66	5	25	3	8	274
Turkey	34	7	6	53	18	338
Portugal	76	7	1	14	11	279
Spain & Italy	81	5	2	12	6	122
Other EU 27 Countries	71	7	4	18	9	357
Other Countries	58	11	6	25	11	3,450
All descendants of immigrants	65	9	14	12	12	4,244
Mainstream	75	8	7	10	10	1,664

	Men					
Place of Birth of Parents	**In em-ployment**	**Unem-ployed**	**In educa-tion**	**Other inactive**	**Un employ-ment rate**	**Un-weighted numbers**
Algeria	69	17	9	5	20	582
Morocco & Tunisia	61	17	16	5	22	487
Subsaharan Africa	53	21	23	3	21	370
South East Asia	60	11	27	2	16	299
Turkey	81	10	3	6	11	389
Portugal	93	4	2	1	4	268
Spain & Italy	95	3	0	2	3	97
Other EU 27 Countries	83	11	5	2	12	185
Other Countries	79	9	9	3	10	434
All descendants of immigrants	74	11	11	4	13	3,866
Mainstream	82	7	8	3	8	1,522

Source: Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008.
Population: Persons aged 18-50 living in metropolitan France.
Adapted from Lhommeau, Meurs & Primon 2010, p. 54

A regression analysis was undertaken of young people, specifically under the ages of 30, and for whom the following characteristics are taken into account: age, sex, qualifications, family situation (living in a couple or not, with or without children) and place of residence (Île-de-France or not; sensitive urban area or not). For descendants of the following groups, the rates of unemployment are significantly higher than those of the mainstream population: Turkey (1.3), Sub-Saharan Africa (1.8), Morocco and Tunisia (1.6) and Algeria (1.8), and for immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa (1.7) and Algeria (1.9) (Lhommeau, Meurs, and Primon 2010a). Furthermore, in this age-bracket there are very similar rates of unemployment among the descendants and their parents (Lhommeau, Meurs, and Primon 2010a).

Participants were asked if they had the sense that they had been unfairly turned down from a job offer in the last five years. Among the children of immigrants who had actually been seeking work over that time period, 18% of men and 17% of women reported that this had happened to them, compared to 8.3% and 12.0% of the mainstream population (Lhommeau, Meurs, and Primon 2010a). The top three countries of parental origin to perceive being unfairly rejected from a job were Morocco and Tunisia (32% of men and 23% of women), Algeria (29% of men and 24% of women) and Sub-Saharan Africa (27% of men and 20% of women).

The labour market data suggess that North African, Turkish and Sub-Saharan African groups of second generation workers face relatively higher chances of unemployment and also report higher rates of unfair rejection from work opportunities. Once again, this quantitative data supports the widely held perception amongst racialized young people that they are facing barriers in the labour market.

4.3.3 Wage Gap

Finally, an analysis of the wage gap between the second generation and the mainstream population was undertaken. Unfortunately, this analysis does not incorporate a gender perspective of the wage gap between men and women in the population, which is quite significant in France, at about 17% (Eurostat 2011). Thus,

this analysis compares men whose parents were immigrants, to men whose parents were not and, similarly, compares women who descended from immigrants to those who did not. The model which takes into consideration the broadest range of factors[7] found that only men with parents from Sub-Saharan Africa, Algeria and also Portugal, experience an unexplained gap in pay compared to the mainstream population (Lhommeau, Meurs, and Primon 2010b). These analysts also report that if only one parent is an immigrant, there is no gap with the mainstream population wage. This unexplained wage gap that persists even when the effects of systemic factors are removed from the calculation provides evidence of discrimination in the attribution of wages to certain groups of workers. This form of statistical analysis relies on a narrow conception of discrimination that is in contrast to the arguments I develop in the second section of this thesis in relation to the ways in which everyday racism operates in part through the toleration of and maintenance of systemic inequalities, it nonetheless useful in that it still provides evidence that certain racialized groups face prejudice in their working lives, even when this is defined very narrowly.

4.3.4 Discussion of TeO Data Assumptions and Controversies

The data on the second generation introduced above offers an informative snapshot of the French educational and labour market patterns based on migration history. It is relevant to the discussion that is found in the second half of the thesis when the early labour market experiences of young adults, many of whom would fall into the category of 'second generation' or 'mainstream population' of the TeO study, are discussed. In the previous section, I already noted that the data interpretation has taken as a given the wage gap between men and women in the labour market. In

[7] Factors incorporated in the model are difference in an individual's age, educational level, conjugal status, number of children, region of residence, residence in a sensitive urban area, nationality, fluency in French and age of arrival in France, the economic sector, size of company, years of employment and occupational category.

addition, the data set and survey are based on other assumptions which are key to analyse the concept of anti-discrimination, as it is understood in the French context.

It is important to note that if a person was a member of a racialized group, a religious minority or identified with a particular ethnicity that is not traceable on the basis of their own or their parents' country of origin, they pass under the radar in the survey, unless they self-report subjectively experiencing discriminatory treatment. Identifying subjectively whether one has been disadvantaged and on what grounds, is a tricky task requiring extensive knowledge of dominant norms of behaviour and the operations of racism (Essed 1991). In the interviews I carried out, participants often required the narrative freedom to explain the complexity of their circumstances in order to illustrate the basis upon which they were making their claim. Clearly, in that respect, a survey approach to identifying discrimination has severe limitations.

Given that, in the case of many postcolonial migration groups such as those from North Africa, migration has taken place over a long period of time, many people might subjectively identify with various ethnicities yet represent the third or fourth generation of their families to be born in France. Even more to the point, participants might embrace a complex and multiple identity which may or may not include aspects which they link with their parental country of origin. Because of the sets of categories it used, as well as the tight intertwinement of stated objectives relating to the monitoring of discrimination and the monitoring of 'integration', the survey strongly reinforces the notion that inequalities are based on migratory origins which may or may not be relevant to the subjective identity and experience of racism of the participant.

Furthermore, what is arguably most important in the assessment of discrimination and racism is the question of how participants are perceived by others. The categories employed in the interpretation of the survey use country of origin as a proxy for a difference that may be coming into play in the educational and labour market attainments of a given individual. This proxy has the advantage of being 'objectively' identified through straightforward and factual data relating to place of birth. However, this is at the expense of shedding light on the ways in which discriminatory patterns are tied to the stigmatisation of phenotopic and cultural

traits found in everyday life and with the expression of flawed biological ideas about 'race' and essentialised notions of ethnicity.

The intertwining of the theme of immigrant settlement and integration with that of discrimination in the survey lends itself all to easily to the interpretation of the data in a manner that stigmatizes immigrants and lays the blame on their cultural origins. The Minister of Interior, Claude Guéant, exemplifies this slide with his use of data in the statement reported in the right wing paper *Le Figaro*, which roughly translates as "Contrary to what is said, integration is not going all that well: one quarter of foreigners who are not of European origins are unemployed, and two thirds of the school failures are those of the children of immigrants" (AFP 2011). However, as was intended by those who developed the survey, the data collected in the report was supposed to help counter the brash claims of politicians with empirical data. For example, Claude Guéant has also estimated the population of Muslims in France to be from five to ten million and his statements were reported in *Le Figaro* with the headline "Guéant: the increase in the numbers of Muslims is causing problems" (Menegaux 2011). The survey team was able to counter this statement by suggesting that their data revealed a more accurate estimate to be 2.1 million between the ages of 18 and 50 years of age and that, furthermore, the total number of immigrants originating from majority Muslim countries living in France does not exceed 5 million (Anon. 2011a). However, while offering some clarification, the study does not do much to shift the very terms of public discussion set by those like Guérant. In France, such discussions tend to bear the traces of the sentiments brought to mainstream politics in the 1990s by the National Front in which the legitimacy of immigration and the place of Islam in French society are put in question and immigrants and their descendants are constantly constructed as a threat to the nation.

Originally, the TeO team had intended to inquire about the religion and 'race' of survey respondents', and how people considered others to perceive their skin colour. The request for approval of this study at the National Commission on Data Privacy Law (CNIL) was coincidentally timed at the same time as a proposal by the Minister of the Interior, Brice Hortefeux, to include DNA evidence in immigrants'

family reunification application files. This unfortunate pairing of issues requiring ethical approval, aroused suspicion on the part of anti-racist organisation, SOS Racisme (Sabbagh and Peer 2008). This organisation immediately launched a youth-oriented public awareness campaign called '*Fiche pas mon pote'* or 'Don't profile my friends'. In the end, the 'Trajectories and Origins' study was approved and the questions on religion were deemed acceptable since they were voluntary, but the racial question was not permitted under any circumstance. The public uproar around this study helped to relaunch the debate about the constitutional ban on questions of ethnicity in the census and large-scale quantatitave studies aside from those based on a very loose definition of ethnicity such as country of origin, as in the TeO study. This contentious categorisation debate has flared up at regular intervals in the public eye through debates in the press since the mid 1990s. It is this debate which will be discussed in the following section.

4.4 The Ban on Categorisation: French Anti-Discrimination Discourse

4.4.1 The Power of Statistics and the Social Construction Paradigm

The question of the national census and the bitter disputes that the characterisation of 'race' and ethnicity provoked, first among national demographers, then, later, in the wider community of academics and civil society associations, betray a particular sensitivity to the power of statistical description by the State. This sensitivity can be attributed to the diffusion of several strands of influential French intellectual traditions, none of which was concerned with questions about ethnicity and racism *per se* but, more generally, about the relationship between classification, knowledge production and the ontological status of the objects being classified (referred to as the social construction paradigm in France). The ideas discussed in Chapter 2 of Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu and, more recently, the sociology of science perspective through the work of Bruno Latour and Michel Callon, surface in diffuse form in the debates surrounding the legitimacy of ethno/racial classification.

All these theoretical perspectives usefully draw attention to the power of classification, particularly in the hands of the State. Yet, in France, the application of

these theories and ideas in State regulations and policies has been very selective. For example, the categorisation of sex in the census is rarely questioned on the basis of these arguments because the idea that sex and gender differences objectively exist in society itself was never truly put into question despite the long tradition of French feminist theory, of which some strands have been concerned with deconstructing gender difference. In fact, some feminists are critical of the way in which recent policies to implement gender parity in politics relied on essentialised notions of gender and suggest that this hinders their success. Eleonore Lépinard (2006) argues that it was necessary to frame gender difference as universal rather than the result of unequal power relations in order to render the feminist *parité* debate legible in the French republican context. In this way, the movement was able to secure the sex-parity laws which mandate 50% of candidates put forward for elective office by each political party be women[8]. Lépinard laments that this has resulted in a de-politicisation of gender inequality which, in turn, has weakened subsequent attempts to promote equality in policy. While in the case of gender, the ease at which the official recognition of sexual difference in national policy betrays the problematic and widely held belief that gender difference is an indelible, naturally occurring, biological and social difference, the opposite is the case for ethnicity. The refusal to categorise 'ethnicity' and 'race' suggests another extreme, this time revealing that the argument according to which these categories are forged through power relations is used to insist that such difference ought not really to exist or should not be attended to directly. In fact, for many opposed to categorisation, it is a moral aberration or an act of racism, even if it is carried out for the purpose of identifying and rectifying inequality (Sabbagh and Peer 2008).

Categories of class, however, drawing on the intellectual tradition of Bourdieu and the work of respected State statistician and sociologist Alain Desrosières among others, are widely understood not simply to exist 'out there' but to require an active

[8] The results of the law are disappointing as according to the website documentation of the *Observatoire de Parité entre les Hommes et les Femmes, the proportion of women in French government elected offices was 28.6% in 2000, and the most recent figure for 2011 is 26.5%.*

process of classification in order to come into being ontologically. The legacy of Bourdieu and Marxian sociological theory in France has helped perpetuate the view among many academics interested in social change that class politics are the most legitimate form of social action. In this way, the socially constructed nature of social actors in society who share an experience of class is viewed as a potential opportunity, as the latent possible agent for progressive social change. This type of classification is therefore not seen as taboo or morally arbitrary, and so statistics are collected. Many French sociologists who conduct important ethnographic work on the reproduction of inequality among young people through schooling and work discuss their reticence to analyze the 'racial' dimensions to social relations of inequality in their writing (See for examples Beaud 2003; Jounin 2009).

While this reluctance persists today among some French academics, a turning point was reached in the late 1990s when a growing number of academics started to take racial discrimination more seriously (Fassin 2002). It is at this time that the term 'discrimination' started to enter mainstream public discussions (Fassin 2002). This was partly as a result of a landmark 1998 report that the High Commission of Integration (HCI) submitted to the President of the Republic calling attention to discrimination (Fassin 2002). This so-called turning point was frustratingly partial, however, since the then Minister of Employment and Solidarity, Martine Aubry, declared anti-discrimination to be a key component of the immigrant integration portfolio, thus reinforcing the perpetual association between immigrants and discrimination and rendering invisible the experience of racialized non-immigrants in France (Hargreaves 2004; Stavo-Debauge 2009).

The limited national recognition of ethnicity and cultural difference has been challenged since the 1980s by racialized communities. The *marche des beurs* in 1984 lead by North African immigrants and their children, many living in marginalized *banlieues* (suburbs) of urban centres, demonstrated their discontent and expressed demands for recognition. However, when these groups brought these concerns to the fore in the 80s, it was also a time in which the extreme right wing and racist National Front was gaining momentum. The arrival on the scene of Le Pen to mainstream politics further politicized immigration and integration issues and the heightened

climate put a damper on these burgeoning claims of recognition and equality (Laborde 2008; Tiberj 2008). There have been recent developments, however, as a new association, founded in 2005, has spoken in favour of the monitoring of discrimination: the Representative Council of Black Associations (CRAN). This association is an umbrella counsel, representing 120 organisations which have as their mandate to end racial discrimination and preserve the memory of slavery and colonialism (CRAN 2009a). It should be noted that the expression 'avoir du cran' means to be bold or to have courage.

CRAN carried out its own large-scale telephone study of 12,559 respondents in the metropole and another 500 from overseas dominions in 2007 on the topic of discrimination in an attempt to fill the need for data in this area in France. To carry out this survey, they commissioned a private firm, TNS-SOFRES, and asked participants to identify themselves racially (including the categories White, Black and Métis) in order to estimate the proportion of Black citizens in France and explore their self-perceptions of experience of discrimination. The results found that just under 4% of the population identified as Black and 56% of those who did identified discrimination to be a part of their every day lives (CRAN 2007; CRAN 2009a; CRAN 2009b). According to Héran, this study was approved by the CNIL because it rendered anonymous the participants immediately after the interview took place and thus conformed to the Constitutional guidelines (2010).

Despite this recent intervention in the public scene by CRAN, the terms of the entire public discussion relating to discrimination remain stuck in the way they were framed since Le Pen entered the scene: as a matter of immigration. In this view, it is inferred that categorisation will prevent adequate opportunity to 'integrate' fully and become French and refuses to take into account the fact that negative effects of classification are in part a result of this conceptual scaffolding and are not properties of classificatory regimes in and of themselves. In other words, minority ethnicities are understood through social conntructionist perspectives which are justifiable and embraced by this study. However, when these ideas are applied in the immigrant integration/assimiliation nationalist frameworks that prevail in academic and political circles in France, they are done in a dubious way. In this context, 'ethnicities'

are un-categorisable because they are seen as behaviours, practices and beliefs that can, and most importantly *will,* change over time to conform to the dominant French ethnicity. From this perspective, ethnicity in State statistics will reinforce difference, thus slowing down, or even preventing, this natural tendency to conform, over time, to the dominant culture (rarely conceptualised itself as an ethnicity). This would lead to a 'balkanized' society, or a national collective, traversed with ethnic divisions such that it lacks cohesiveness. For this reason, in the French context, the official categorisation of ethnicity and 'race' is a highly contentious and controversial proposition.

In order to implement a quantitative monitoring of inequality based on 'race' and ethnicity in France then, these underlying assumptions would have be examined and the intent of classification be focused on measuring unfair treatment. In other words, the effects of ethnic categorization have generally been assumed to be negative primarily because they have been understood within an 'immigrant integration' framework which is essentially assimiliationist and in which ethnicity is viewed as a barrier to successful attainment of full-belonging to the French national community (Sabbagh and Peer 2008; Simon and Stavo-Debauge 2004; Stavo-Debauge 2009).

Having explained some of the underlying assumptions about ethnicity and immigration integration which shape the aversion to categorisation in France, a closer examination of how the debate broke into the public sphere is now warrented. This sheds light on the central role of State demographers in the development of anti-discrimination and immigrant integration discourse in France.

4.4.2 From a Disagreement among Demographers to a Highly Publicized Public Debate

In many countries, intellectual interest in the construction of categories and how this relates to public policy is confined to academic and university settings. However, in the case of France, this pondering takes place within national statistics organisations in which, in the 1970s, State statisticians worked closely with sociologist, Pierre

Bourdieu, and his student, Luc Boltanski, on these issues as they relate to social class (Thévenot 2011a). It is not surprising, therefore, that the ongoing debate in France about categorisation first surfaced as a bitter dispute among national demographers in the late 1990s (Simon 2010; Stavo-Debauge 2009). The trigger was a new study launched by INED called *Social and Geographic Mobility (MGIS)* directed by Michèle Tribalat. This study is one of the few precedents to the TeO study discussed above. After much negotiation with INSEE, Tribalat negotiated to use what are referred to as 'ethnic categories' in the final report which was followed by two books, *Faire France* (Tribalat 1995) and *De l'immigration à l'assimilation, Enquête sur les populations d'origine étrangère* (Tribalat 1996). All of these documents included an eclectic mix of categories of 'ethnicity' constructed by the author by combining variables such as country of origin and maternal language, since on the original questionnaire no question was included to ask participants how they classified themselves. The resulting categorizations ranged from country of origin to categories based on sub-national ethnic groups. To categorize people without immigration history, the term 'Français de souche' (which roughly translates to "French stock") was deployed. The use of this category was particularly controversial and contested because it is a term with biological undertones which had been popularized by the National Front.

In the introduction to *Faire France*, Tribalat explains that her intention is to counter arguments made that immigration brings '*la misère du monde'* (the misery of the world) to France. Here, then, she attempts to address the perception that immigrants are not assimilating into French society and bringing poverty to the country. Her work relied on the normative and assimilationist framework of republican nationalism explained in the previous section in which the disappearances of distinctions between newcomers and host *ought* to occur over time. Thus, Tribalat used various measures to demonstrate that this is exactly what is happening, despite what is commonly perceived to be the case. She showed statistically that, in fact, 'integration' is mostly happening 'successfully' among immigrant populations and their children. These measures included tracking the proportion of 'mixed' marriages and showing that, over time, those of immigrant origin are increasingly marrying '*Français de souche*' or 'French stock'.

Because of the difficulty in isolating immigrants and their children in national data sets, Tribalat used her study to argue that it was high time that France included questions on ethnicity in the national census. Her argument was essentially that if it were possible to track the children of immigrants and even their descendants, those arguing that France should put an end to immigration would have to acknowledge that over time, immigrants become just like the majority French population. While in some ways well intentioned, this form of argumentation inadvertently stigmatizes those people who engage in cultural and religious practices that are not identified as those of the White majority population.

Over the course of the publication of these reports, a number of researchers voiced critiques of the epistemology and the methods employed in the MGIS study, including Hervé Lebras and Alain Blum, fellow demographers at INED. Yet, the position taken against the inclusion of ethnicity in the census did not challenge the underlying assimilationist position taken by Tribalat which essentially viewed the recognition of minoritized ethnicities as barriers to full citizenship and participation in public life (Stavo-Debauge 2009). At this point in the debate, however, the argument in favour of the inclusion of questions on ethnic origin in the census became increasingly (and erroneously) linked to the rise of right wing nationalist politics and the debate hardened and became very vicious. While Tribalat became the face of the 'for' camp, fellow demographer Hervé LeBras came to represent the 'against' camp.

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 present key arguments from both sides of this initial flare up of the debate, as well as the arguments which surfaced in the next major outbreak which occurred in the mid-2000s. The debate broadened into the wider academic community through growing numbers of journal articles and books about migration and classification, including a book by LeBras entitled *The Devil of Origins, Demography and the Extreme Right*[9], in 1998. Later articles began to appear in the more popular press.

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[9] *Le démon des origines. Démographie et extrême-droite*

In 1999, an official position, authored by Francois Héran, was developed by INSEE, INED, DARES and DREES on the appropriate use of ethnicity related information and classification in all national studies. Referred to as the Héran Directive, a distinction was devised between 'standard' statistical variables, those used to measure social mobility and integration (for example, country of birth, year of arrival) and 'specialized variables' constructed only for specific studies concerned with geographic mobility, family and social and social and educational attainment (for example, country of birth of parents, maternal language). This second category of data could only be used under three conditions: i) the data were to be used for unique and specialized studies, ii) the specialized variables were not to be used to consolidate a universal classification system and iii) these types of variables were not to be used as primary explanatory variables. The directive was conceived to contain the polarising debate that had erupted on this issue and was justified on the basis that such categories, if widely diffused and used in official administrative settings, would have a reifying as well as a stigmatising effect on those who would not fall into the dominant categories. This directive was later used by French representatives to the European Union to ensure that the Race Equality Directive[10] introduced in 2000 was watered down so that the collection of data to monitor progress in racial and ethnic equality was optional rather than mandatory (Stavo-Debauge 2009).

As Stavo-Debauge astutely points out, this debate spilled into the public sphere at precisely the point at which the concept of 'anti-discrimination' was taking hold both in public policy and in the academy, a discussed above. While I have already discussed the emergence of this concept in French academic and public debate, in the following section, the manner in which this paradigm helped transform anti-discrimination discourses and institutions in France will be briefly reviewed.

[10] European Directive 2000/43/EC

Table 4.2 A Sample of Arguments Against Categorisation of 'Race' and Ethnicity

Key Proponents Against Categorisation	Key Arguments	In Their Own Words…
Hervé le Bras, Alain Blum and François Héran[11], State Demographers working at INED at the outbreak of the controversy Elizabeth Badinter, Philosopher	Statistics are not neutral but connected to the institutionalisation of specific viewpoints.	'By virtue of its universal and formative nature, the statistical category is constructed not simply for the purposes of analysis, but also has strong institutional links. The construction and naming of statistical categories are not neutral exercises…Moreover, one cannot ignore the various influences affecting the construction of categories, from social and institutional imperatives to public activity and political pressures.' (Blum 2002: 143)
Jean-François Amadieu, Jean-Luc Richard, Sociologists Patrick Gaubert, président of la Ligue internationale contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme.	Categorisation of ethnicity simplifies and essentialises a social process that is inherently fluid and complex.	'These categories freeze situations that are in motion, or in flux, by attaching individuals to a single affiliation, thus making it difficult to understand the phenomenon of multiple identity'(Blum 2002: 143)
Commission alternative de réflexions sur les « statistiques ethniques » et les discriminations (Carsed) (Alternative Reflection Commission on "ethnicity statistics" and	Categorisation will facilitate the fragmentation of society into groups to the detriment of a Republicanism which assures equality between individuals	'Even when under the guise of optional, anononymous and self-declared responses, we are asking people to lock themselves into communitarian ('*communautaire*') categories.' (Gaubert 2009) Categorisation entails 'a vision of society that is enduringly fragmented, based on origins, and in this way static and fixed…leading to the fragmentation of society into inter-competing "communities" each with their own lobbies, victims, exclusions, impulses to stick amongst themselves, and solidarity within the group even when it is the

[11] Recently, François Héran has changed sides, as to be discussed in Section 4.6 of this chapter.

discrimination)		mission of the Republican State to support all its membership.' (Carsed 2009 cited in Eeckhout 2009)
Mouvement contre le racisme et L'amitié entre les peuples (MRAP) SOS Racisme	There exist other more effective and less controversial methods to identify discrimination	'The existence of numerous alternative approaches to the study of the ethnicization process suggests that a return to the analytical framework developed in the nineteenth century would obscure the complexity of identity…The goal should rather be to develop multiple forms of analyses, at different levels, which will not bind the individual exclusively or perpetually to a particular ethnic group.' (Blum 2002 : 143)
	Measuring discrimination through statistics based on ethnicity or 'race' categorisation makes it more difficult to shed light on the intersectional nature of these inequalities and how they are intrically connected to class and geographic segregation.	'MRAP seeks to call attention to the danger inherent in this type of process, related to the fact that counting victims of discrimination, real or presumed, leads to locking them into an imposed status defined by racism, and detracting from the the procedure which is most important: the analysis of discriminatory processes and emphasising the class, geographic and cultural dimensions to these.' (MRAP 2010)
	This kind of categorisation has been used historically as a tool to implement colonialism and genocide.	'In sum, referring to subpopulations who don't have French origins as ethnic minorities is an unjustifiable abuse of language. We know it comes from Anglosaxon countries and that there is a clear colonial origin to the use of such terms.' (Héran 1998)

Table 4.3 A Sample of Arguments For Categorisation of 'Race' and Ethnicity

Key Proponants For Categorisation	Key Arguments	In Their Own Words…
Michèle Tribalat, Patrick Simon (Sociologists and State Demographers working at INED at the outbreak of the first version of controversy) Comité pour la mesure de la diversité et l'évaluation des discriminations (COMEDD).	In order to learn about the way that immigration is transforming the country, adequate large scale quantitative data is required. (Data for the purpose of measuring integration, was the dominant argument in the 1990s.)	'Belgians talk about "Belgian" Belgians. It's a problem of denomination. The important question is if the category is useful. I say it is if it helps to show that France is enriched by the contributions of immigrants.' (Tribalat cited in Bernard and Weill 1998)
Daniel Sabbagh, Political Scientist Christine Delphy, Feminist and Activist Representative Council of Black Associations (Conseil représentatif des associations noires – CRAN) Tarik Ramadan (Muslim cleric and intelletual)	While it is true that categorisation is performative, in that it plays a part in creating what it describes, simply producing statistical data on ethnicity and 'race' is not in itself sufficient for this to take place, a host of other social conditions must also be in place for this to happen.	'It is not enough to carry out research studies in France that look too closely at ethnic and racial discrimination for, all of a sudden, the country to follow the path of the American system. It is customary to invoke the performativity of discourse "saying is doing" to explain that statistical catégories will create a reality. It is not false, but as long as it is specified that these categories are not creative in and of themselves. The performative theory of language, and the way it has been developed in sociological theory has always insisted on the following: the conversion from saying to doing does not happen on its own by successive slippages but requires the assemblage of certain "felicity conditions" as said Austin or Goffman, that presuopose institutional investments and and the collective recognition of an authority ' (Héran 2010: 133)
	Combatting 'racial' or 'ethnic' discrimination requires monitoring inequality based on	'In order to implement anti-discrimination policies which allude to origins of 'ethnic' or 'racial' nature, which is already required in the case of the

	these categories.	policies in France, it is necessary to describe individuals based on these categories in order to establish the unequal treatment.' (Simon and Stavo-Debauge 2004) 'People who are not counted do not count. It is therefore a problem not to take into consideration black populations in the statistics collected by INSÉE. If the number of women involved in politics were not measured, how would we know if parity was respected or not? In the same way, if we refuse to mesure Blacks in France, how will we know that diversity is respected in the world of work, for example?' Patrick Lozès, President of Cran (Commedd, 2009: 41)
	While the data has in the past been used for exclusion and violence, there is also precedence of this kind of categorisation being used to challenge inequality on racial grounds. What is key are the underpinning assumptions about difference and the intended use of the data.	I am puzzled. It can allow us to produce more equality, but also provoke a certain categorisation of individuals. All things said, I still see more advantages than disadvantages in it. Tarik Ramadan, Muslim Cleric and Scholar (Ramadan 2010)

4.4.3 French Discovery of 'Anti-Discrimination'

Unlike in the countries to be discussed later in this chapter, France has been relatively late in developing an anti-discrimination policy and institutions to tackle inequality based on 'race'. While a law dating from 1972[12] bans discrimination and

[12] Law (72-546)

racist acts in public and private life, seldom were cases prosecuted using this legislation because of the enormous burden of proof a victim shouldered (Bleich 2004, Hargreaves 2004). This law was bolstered in 1990 with the Gaysott Law[13] which increased punishments and broadened the scope of discrimination crimes. However, this change had little real effect (*ibid*). With the official recognition of 'discrimination' which occurred in the late 1990s, and partly as a result of the pressure emanating from the European Union Race Directive (2000), new anti-discrimination strategies have appeared in France (Laborde 2008). Most important among these is that the burden of proof in discrimination law was reversed, so that it is now the responsibility of the accused to prove they have been fair (Laborde 2008). Also, a recognition of the need to monitor indirect discrimination has taken hold, as will be explored in the discussion to come of the recent Héran report (Laborde 2008, Héran 2010). Additional changes include the creation of measures to increase the availability of advice and support for plaintiffs, such as the formation of an independent statutory authority called The Equal Opportunities and Anti-Discrimination Commission (HALDE) in 2004 (HALDE 2011), as well as a telephone hotline and various local commissions (Laborde 2008).

With regard to employment practices, there is also a newly found interest in 'diversity' expressed by the private sector, where the barriers to racialized minorities are the most pervasive. In 2004, a number of enterprises launched and signed a 'Diversity Charter' inspired by North American 'diversity management' approaches that make a business case for valuing the inclusion of 'visible minorities[14]' (Doytcheva 2009). The term 'visible minority' is inspired by the vocabulary used in Canadian equity law and the Canadian national census, while 'diversity management' is a paradigm originating in the United States (to be discussed in the following section). Thus, in the dawning of anti-discrimination discourses in France, there is

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[13] Law (90-615)

[14] This term is inspired by the vocabulary used in Canadian equity law and also found in the national census.

evidence of the influence of multiple paradigms of anti-discrimination, ranging from European Union policies (themselves largely based on the UK model) to those that evolved in North America. The emergence of these new discourses and strategies coincided with a new flare up of the categorisation debate in France.

4.4.4 The Persistence of the Categorisation Debate Post the 'Anti-Discrimination' Turn

Interestingly, the coincidence of the public debate on ethnicity statistics and the shift in public discourse and practices towards a form of anti-discrimination did not translate into a consolidation of policies and practices to monitor and combat racism. Simon and Stavo-Debauge (2004) point out that despite the so-called embrace of an anti-discriminatory framework, the ban on categorisation persisted. Those against the use of ethnicity and racial categorisation argue that other methods are available and preferable to identify discriminatory treatment and that these methods do not rely on categorisation. Typically, they refer to 'testing' a technique in which reception at a night club, for example, or a call for candidates for a job, are assessed for discriminatory practices by having actors whose differential experience is monitored. The 'testing' approach can also be carried out by sending similar resumes with different names to respond to a job opening and comparing the results. Of course, even using this research method, categorisation is required, since the characteristics that differentiate actors or last names on job applications are inevitably noted in order to identify unfair treatment (Héran 2009). Furthermore, the ethics of sending a racialized actor to be exposed to everyday racism are dubious and suggest a lack of recognition of the adverse effects on individuals of such micro aggressions (Essed 1991).

Consequently, until recently, the majority of academics, policy makers and politicians were set against data, although in the past few years, many have changed sides and a majority are now in favour, if it is for the purposes of monitoring indirect discrimination. The concept of indirect discrimination has now attained relatively broad acceptance, since there is a consensus that institutions which treat individuals differentially on the basis of their supposed membership in a group are considered to

violate republican principles of equality (Laborde 2008). Special measures recognising differential needs of specific groups, on the other hand, are not welcomed. Thus, a move towards formal recognition of minority ethnicities has not accompanied the anti-discrimination discursive and policy shift in France (Laborde 2008, Stavo-Debauge 2009). This is despite the fact that there is now a small number of proponents of categorisation who argue that recognition is precisely what is necessary in France in order to enable policies which disproportionately affect certain groups negatively to be adjusted to accommodate difference (Stavo-Debauge 2009). In addition, while initially discussions focused on 'ethnicity,' because of the rise of interest in analyzing racial inequality, the debate has shifted to discuss 'racial' categorisation (Simon 2010). Despite this, due to the authority granted to the Héran directive and its interpretation of the Constitution, there exists a continued official ban on the collection of ethnicity and 'race' data which persists and prevents an adequate mechanism being put into place to monitor and enforce any attempt at anti-discrimination policy.

In 2008, a constitutional committee was asked to review the Constitution to determine what exactly was banned with regard to the question of data collection about discrimination. The committee was asked to address, among other issues, the following question:

> 'is it necessary to change the [preamble to the Constitution] in order to allow for new forms of integration policies which will place more emphasis on the recognition of diversity in French society in order to facilitate more effective respect for the principle of equality?[15]' (Veil 2008: 5)

The conclusions were published in the Veil Report (2008). Essentially, the committee argued that no change was necessary for reasons that I discuss in the following section. Yet, the most recent development is the release of a special committee report requested by Yazid Sabeg, *Comissaire à la diversité et à l'égalité des chances* (Diversity

[15] My translation of the following: 'faut-il rendre possibles de nouvelles politiques d'intégration valorisant davantage la diversité de la société française pour favoriser le respect effectif du principe d'égalité ?" (Veil 2008 : p. 5)

and Equal Opportunities Commisionner), to re-examine the question of how best to measure and monitor inequalities (Héran 2010). As this official committee worked on this report, a counter committee sprang up to voice absolute opposition to any changes in policy in this regard. This committee refers to itself as *la Commission alternative de réflexions sur les « statistiques ethniques » et les discriminations* (Carsed), which roughly translates into the Alternative Commission for Reflection on 'Ethnic Statistics' and Discrimination, and accuses the official committee of a bias in favour of the collection of ethnic data (Eeckhout 2009). At this point, participation in the debate has now expanded to include a number of new civil society organizations interested in redressing racial inequalities in French society, including the Representative Council of Black Organisations of France (CRAN) who, as already mentioned, are vocal supporters of what they call 'diversity data' collection.

Interestingly, despite the official report being headed by Héran, who took a lead role in consolidating the French position against the data through the 1999 directive, it marks an incremental shift towards more efforts to quantify discrimination in French society. In the following section, I examine the Héran report in more detail.

4.5 An Incremental Shift towards Categorisation for Anti-Discrimination: The Héran Report

On February 15, 2009, the Committee for the measurement of diversity and the assessment of discrimination (COMEDD) published its official position paper entitled: *Inequalities and discrimination: For a critical use of statistical tools.* The committee consists of twenty-five public figures deemed competent in the topic recruited from diverse fields, including universities, journalism and the legal profession, and chaired by Francois Héran, the current president of the INED. The aims of the committee are to respond to Sarkozy's call for France to develop statistical tools capable of capturing its 'diversity', ensuring that such tools are 'objective and incontestable', while not privileging an 'ethnic interpretation of our society' and advancing dialogue on these matters amongst the academic community. Thus, even from the outset, the purpose of the report is delineated so that official recognition of ethnicity remains off limits.

In the Introduction, the authors of the report state that the issue of discrimination based on origins has become impossible to deny in France and that the lack of advancement on this matter has a number of sources. While acknowledging that the issue of 'ethnic origin statistics' is at the heart of the debate, it is suggested that there has been no consensus on this issue in France since 'no one has the authority to close a debate that is as emotional and lively (6).' This is an interesting position to take, given the authority given to the Héran directive of 1999 and the manner in which it was used to delineate strictly the use of categorisation of ethnicity and 'race' since it was drafted. The authors note the contradictory results of the status quo in their review of past decisions to approve questions related to ethnicity and find the troubling tendency to allow for questions in cases in which discrimination was not being studied, yet banned in studies in which discrimination was the focus. This leads the authors to ask: 'is it permitted to study racism without being branded a racist?' (121).

The reflections captured in this lengthy report signal a somewhat new era in thinking about ethnicity and statistics in France. The advances in the report include, first, that the committee clearly identifies both class and "discriminations" (based on ethnicity) as the barriers to equal opportunity in France. The highlighting of the relative autonomy of ethnic and racial discrimination from social class marks a departure from previous positions taken on this matter. The authors also chide those who insist on a colour-blind approach, noting: 'it is easier to defend the universal principle of indifference to colour when one has the fortune to belong to the white majority of the country (69).' Secondly, the report recognizes the manner in which categorisation in public statistics serves both as a tool for governing but also as evidence for social critique. Thirdly, the report acknowledges that techniques currently used to measure discrimination such as 'testing' also rely on categorisation and the creation of a type of ethno-racial reference that is usually assumed not to be permitted in France. Finally, the report challenges the arguments made about the performativity of categorisation and points out that description through categorisation is not enough to forge groups, the conditions of felicity must be in place as well, citing Goffman (1962) and Austin (1962). Thus, overall, the report

stakes a position in defence of the idea of using numbers to help measure improvements in the situations faced by groups victims of discrimination.

Despite these departures, the report is silent on the question of religious discrimination. This is initiated in the introduction when the report singles out discrimination based on origins, physical appearance, name, nation, ethnicity and 'race' as the focus of the analysis. In addition, the framing of discrimination as being tightly tied to the monitoring of immigrant integration is declared as indispensable: 'Measures of diversity, measures of integration and measures of discrimination are ends that are very difficult to distinguish from one another' (129).

Clearly, in order to measure inequality based on racist perceptions, it is not necessary to know anything about an individual's migration history. The tendency to conflate questions about the legitimacy of immigration and the success or shortcomings of the French approach to immigrant reception with the question of who faces discrimination generates vitriolic anti-immigrant public polemics in France and has done so since the advent of the National Front. Thus, the assumption that the measure of discrimination is, in the words of the report, inseparable from that of immigrant integration reveals the persistence of a major confusion and blindspot in French colourblind politics (Sabbagh and Peer 2008; Stavo-Debauge 2009).

In this way, the report's basic premise is somewhat continuous with the past focus on an integration/assimilation framework, particularly in reference to the status of ethnicity, which is considered only of interest as something that might provoke stigma and discrimination. The report identifies a range of conceptions of ethnicity from (i) ethnicity as identified by country of origin, the dominant approach in France in which without presuming any particular affiliation or behaviours associated with group membership, groups are identified by 'origins' as in the TeO study discussed above (ii) ethnicity as an identity in which one actually identifies with a group with a particular language, cultural practices and history in common, but with the understanding that this group is socially constructed and its boundaries are fluid and dynamic (iii) ethnicity which is defined by the researcher, such as the way that ethnicity based on last name is assigned when using 'testing' to identify discriminatory hiring practices. Because the first example of ethnicity, that based on

country of origin, is already collected in the census, the report refutes the notion that France does not collect data on ethnicity and reframes the question to be about what notion of ethnicity is used and whether it is adequate for the measure of discrimination. The report does not acknowledge, however, that the conception of ethnicity which it claims is embraced by France in its official documentation is not helpful in identifying policies and practices which disadvantage groups due to their cultural customs since the definition explicitly avoids assuming any particular behaviours attributable to ethnicity. In addition, the conception of ethnicity utilised in French studies is also flawed for the reasons discussed when reviewing limitations of the TeO study: that the perception of others is what is key in discriminatory treatment and that this is not necessarily deduced from identifying country of birth.

In addition, there are passages in the report in which traces of a conception of ethnicity as something that is naturally eroded over time or even, something that one must be emancipated from, are detectable. On page 71 of the report, it is stated that categorisation of ethnicity need not be viewed as a negative thing if framed in a multiculturalist system, although on the same page, uncertainty is expressed as to the possibility of adopting such an approach in France. In fact, in other passages of the report, it is still the integration/assimilation framework that prevails explicitly. The following passage, for example, strives to protect the rights of people to 'forget' or 'leave behind' their origins, while also attempting to acknowledge the contradiction that researchers might need to learn about these past origins to understand the phenomena they are studying:

> Ignoring origins is not a fundamental principle, no more than the responsibility of researchers to study the past to shed light on the future: these are two requirements that must be kept in balance. (81)

Ethnicity, in this instance,is something which must be tactfully avoided unless justifiably of interest to the researcher, thus presuming ethnicity (and here it is implicitly minoritized ethnicities that are in question) would be irrelevant. Since the report tends to focus on ethnicity as a source of stigma and does not engage in a recognition of ethnicity as something people might cherish, albeit contingent and fluid, it is constructed as something that should be tip toed around. Similarly, in the following passage, provided as part of a discussion of two past studies that were

officially approved and undertaken by INED, Migrations between Africa and Europe and Excision and Handicap, to discuss anthropological uses of the concept of ethnicity. The discussion concedes that ethnicity, while socially constructed and fluid, and while manipulated by colonial powers in the past, does exist. Yet there is a distinct tendency to attribute this ontological recognition of ethnicities only to those in countries in the global south.

> Nonetheless, contrary to commonly held assumptions, anthropologists have not abandoned the concept of ethnicity. Their work is still filled with copious indexes of ethnicities. They recognize that if ethnicities have been manipulated by colonial powers they must have existed in order to be manipulated (Godelier 2007:100). "Ethnicities have a history", as formulated by Jean-Pierre Chrétien and Gérard Prunier (1989, 2003) and many amongst them "come from afar." To assume that they are pure fantasies *in countries in the South* would be to confuse social construction with fiction. (126-7) (italics my own)

Thus, ethnicity is considered relevant elsewhere, and particularly in the Global South, but not in France.

The report does mark a departure from earlier positions since it recognizes that some measurement is in fact necessary in order to address discrimination. Héran does not advocate including categorisation in the census, however, but recommends instead that enterprises be required to record their hiring and promotional activities, as has already been the case for about ten years for gender. It should be noted that despite this requirement for gender monitoring, little improvement has been made in that arena and that, therefore, extending monitoring to include ethnicity is really a small token gesture. In addition, the ongoing foot-dragging of policy makers through the creation of yet another committee to evaluate tools required to measure diversity, this time initiated by the *High Council on Integration (HCI)* is likely a process to stall any concrete moves in the directions advocated by the Héran report (Anon., Personal communication, 2011). Nonetheless, it does mark a shift in positions, particularly because this report explicitly recognizes that the arguments around the power of classification and social construction have, in fact, been unevenly deployed. There is finally an acknowledgement that the decision not to categorise could carry some performative power and have consequences, namely the denying of racism and discrimination.

In this section, then, I have analyzed the Héran report as a recent official document on the national position on classification and its role in anti-discriminatory policy. I have argued that while it represents a move towards an acceptance of ethno/racial categorisation, it also displays traces of a conceptualisation of ethnicities as a way of understanding oneself and one's place in a sub-national group that ultimately poses a barrier to individualisation and thus to full belonging as an individual in a national community. In this way, it is not really a significant break from the assimiliation/integration paradigm, itself influenced by the rise of the extreme right in the 1990s, that has shaped this debate from its inception. The paradox of the invisibility of racialized young descendants of immigrants in French statistics is neatly summarised by Patrick Simon (2010) as follows: 'Consistent with the French model, then, immigrants' descendants are made invisible for quantitative investigation, though they do appear as key actors in the daily chronicle of French society' (160).

In the next section, I discuss some examples of policy which, I argue, are indirectly intended to tackle the issue of discrimination, or at least the problem as it is understood from the Republican secular nationalist point of view.

4.6 French Policies and Laws Geared Implicitly at Immigrants

4.6.1 Urban Policy as 'Immigrant' Youth Integration Strategy?

In this section, I make the case that French urban social policy, termed '*Politique de la ville'* is a form of indirect immigrant 'integration' strategy which covertly targets racialized young people living in marginalised *banlieues* spaces. This section builds on the arguments developed in previous sections about how immigrant integration is constructed as the emancipation from cultural ties and communitarian tendencies seen as barriers to full citizenship. However, since racialized groups are only conceived of in relation to immigration, and immigrants and their descendants are disproportionately found in marginalised *banlieues*, urban policy is perhaps most accurately understood in the French context as a form of immigrant integration initiative (Bleich 2004; Donzelot, Mével, and Wyvekens 2003).

In order to make my argument, a brief foray into the history of banlieues as marginalised urban spaces in France is in order. The *banlieues* did not always have attached to them the negative associations which have become so prevalent today, nor have they always been immigrant settlement areas. They emerged during the "*trentes années glorieuses,*" or thirty years of economic expansion and growth, post World War II, until the oil shocks of the 1970s. These industrious years were accompanied by State-led development of suburban space in which massive housing units were constructed to house the industrial workforce (Roudet 2009). These structures were called '*habitations à loyer modéré'* or HLM and provided comfortable homes for the French working class who experienced upward mobility during these years. Meanwhile, more deprived families and those of migrants, (many from the various French colonies), who were recruited to fill labour shortages in all sectors of the economy in order to fuel capitalist expansion, were relegated to shanty towns and rooming houses (Hollifield 2010; Roudet 2009). The independence of Algeria from French rule was won in 1962, marking an era of decolonisation and the dismantling of empire. It is only after the 1960s that immigrants started increasingly to be accepted in to the most marginal sections of suburban subsidised housing which was by then starting to degrade. At the same time, those who could afford to move out of HLMs to buy themselves pavilion housing did so.

The economic downturn of the 1970s with its inflation and rampant unemployment further accelerated the processes that concentrated marginalised groups in the dilapidated infrastructure of the *banlieues*. Furthermore, attempts to halt migration with the economic recession, undertaken under the presidency of Valérie Giscard-d'Estaing (1974-81), resulted in an acceleration of the process of settlement and chain migration as labour migrants justifiably feared not being permitted to re-enter France in the future (Hollifield 2010). This marked a shift from temporary masculine migration to that of entire families settling permanently in France and increasingly being housed in dilapidated *banlieue* high rises. These processes transformed the now marginalised spaces of the *banlieues* to key sites of immigrant settlement, although there remained a sizeable population of poor families there who did not have a migration history.

At the same time that these suburban spaces emerged as sites of deprivation, the children of labour migrants who had grown up in France also appeared on the national public scene. France's infamous November riots of 2005, while unprecedented in size and scope, were by no means the first of their kind and have been taking place, albeit at a smaller scale, for some time now. In particular, in the 1980s, through a series of spectacular riots (the "hot" summer in Lyon) and also through organised political manifestation against racism of 1983 called *marche des beurs* already mentioned, young people of North African origin gained visibility in French politics (Bassel and Lloyd 2011; Laborde 2008). The escalation of suburban deprivation and youth unemployment problems coinciding with the claims for equality by North African immigrants and their descendants in the 80s mark the moment in which the problem of social inequality policy was spacialised (Donzelot 2006; Donzelot, Mével, and Wyvekens 2003).

In response to the youth unrest, it was necessary for the newly elected Socialist government of François Mitterand in 1981, to show that they were taking action. As already explained, there were numerous intellectual and institutional barriers to these issues being analysed in relation to racialized social relations. Instead, they were framed as matters pertaining to spatial inequalities. In this way, a set of spatial policies emerged, referred to as *la politique de la ville,* which can be understood as 'positive discrimination' targetting place rather than individuals and social groups. This marked a significant change: instead of inequality being conceived as the result of conflictual class relations as it had been since the post war boom (*la question sociale*), the issues of concern were framed as urban development issues, that of dilapidated infrastructure and inadequately distributed social services (*la question urbaine*) (Donzelot, Mével, and Wyvekens 2003; Roudet 2009).

Initially, these urban policy interventions contained a kernel of an attempt to mobilise residents of the neighbourhoods as well as tackle deficiencies in infrastructure and services of these areas. However, by the 1990s, the initiatives were re-oriented away from the engagement of residents to focus more concertedly on bureaucratic top-down place-based interventions and services (Dikeç 2006; Dikeç 2007; Donzelot 2006; Donzelot, Mével, and Wyvekens 2003). As Dikeç's (2006,

2007a & b) analysis reveals, the identification of the troubled neighbourhoods through demographic statistics and their administrative delineation helped to consolidate them as bounded areas distinct from the rest of urban France. In a sense, then, these top -down urban policies produced *banlieues* by helping to construct these neighbourhoods, first, as deprived and deficient and, in recent years, as lawless and as cesspools of delinquency.

The implicit dimension to these policies in favour of immigrant assimiliation becomes even more evident with the emergence of the 'mixité' goals of the urban policies of the mid-1990s. Over the 1980s and 1990s, with the strong revival of republican nationalism and reflecting the increasing paranoia associated with the concentration of immigrants in certain urban spaces, a supposedly preventative approach, referred to as *mixité,* emerged. Starting with the *loi d'orientation pour la Ville* (LOV, 1991) the goal of a 'mixed' urban society was introduced for the first time into law and required all administrative communes of more that 3 500 residents located within agglomerations of 200 000 or more to ensure that they consisted of at least 20% of social housing or be faced with a fine (Donzelot 2006). The purpose was to prevent the concentration of poor people in any one area and to address the flight of the middle classes from the *banlieues* (Driant and Lelévrier 2006). The rationale was that it was the relegation and isolation faced by residents of these neighbourhoods which made them the victims of a culture of poverty and foiled any attempts to improve their lot (Donzelot 2006). Due to inertia, a new law was introduced later to reinforce the first one, *la loi relative à la Solidaritié et au Renouvellement urbains* (loi SRU, 2000). While the LOV utilises the phrase 'right to the city' borrowed from Lefebvre, the spirit of the approach to the urban is a long cry from the self-critical analysis of this radical scholar's work (Donzelot 2006). Rather, the introduction of the notion of *mixité* into urban policy is analyzed by Donzelot as implicitly linked to anxiety about the concentration of 'visible minorities' in the *banlieues,* in spite of the fact that immigrants or racialized minorities are never referred to explicitly (Donzelot 2006; Donzelot, Mével, and Wyvekens 2003).

This anxiety can only be said to have increased in recent years, since the *banlieues* are increasingly imagined, in Dikeç terms, as 'the badlands of the republic.'

The emphasis of urban policy interventions has been increasingly disciplinary with an enhancement of security and policing. In fact, many contemporary analysts have noted that the residents of spaces marked as *banlieues* are often constructed as the 'barbarian' other, in relation to the civilized Parisian urban centre (Blanchard, Bancel, and Lemaire 2005; Dikeç 2007; Mitchell 2011). As has been demonstrated by numerous urban policy analysts, the manner in which the social problem of unemployed racialized young people living in the *banlieues* has been framed since then has been a moving target and always referred to in euphemistic terms. It went from a matter of youth from deprived neighbourhoods struggling to complete schooling and secure employment, to that of youth falling into the trap of religious extremism, to its most recent incarnation in youth engaged in delinquency and lawlessness, where elite politicians famously refer to young people as 'cockroaches' ('*racaille*'). On this basis, then, I argue that these spatially targeted initiatives are essentially the manifestation of an 'immigrant integration' logic deployed in lieue of an anti-racist politics acknowledging openly the inequalities that align with 'race' in France.

4.6.2 The Headscarf Ban as an 'Emancipator' of Immigrant Young Women?

While I have criticised 'positive discrimination' in the form of extra resources and services offered to marginalised neighbourhoods as being implicated in the construction of the racialized spatial imaginary of the *banlieues*, I find such policies nonetheless defendable on numerous grounds, including those of redistribution and as a corrective to historic inequities (even if unacknowledged as such). The ban on the wearing of religious symbols in French schools, rendered official in 2004, on the other hand, which is also understood by its proponents as a measure to 'help' immigrants integrate successfully into French society, has no such redeeming aspects.

This policy is justified as a means to enable Muslim young women to develop their autonomy in the context of their public schooling and, in this way, emancipate them from the oppressive cultures and religions in which they have been raised (Laborde 2008; Scott 2007). This view is related to the *laicité* conception of autonomy which regards religion as antithetical to the rationality and intellectual thought

necessary for citizen deliberation and required for participation in public life (Laborde 2008). Part of the reticence to adopt an anti-discriminatory paradigm which would recognise a particular group's needs in order to create the conditions for its equal footing in society is the assumption that such collective cultural and religious identities and traditions will block individual emancipation. Here, Laborde summarises how disallowing the headscarf at school is understood to enable the republican education system to play a role in 'integration' by developing the appropriate subjectivity required for individualisation: 'Schools provide a space structured by norms different from those of family and religion, and it is in children's interest to be thoroughly socialized into (not simply exposed to) forms of autonomous behaviour and thought appropriate to modern individualistic societies' (124).

The construction of republican schooling as an equalizer of opportunity has been contested from many grounds. Bourdieu argued that the neutrality and autonomy valued at school is, in fact, intricately related to a particular bourgeois *habitus* that ensured that schools played a key role in reproducing class inequality (Bourdieu 1984; Laborde 2008). Such an analysis can be extended to the headscarf ban which serves to reproduce existing relations of domination and which many consider to have distinctive colonial undertones (Laborde 2008). It is also tied to a vision of what it means to be 'youthful' and which includes sexual permissiveness imposed as a norm (Amir-Moazami 2010). The policy suggests that French society is devoid of patriarchal norms, a state of affairs belied by the experience of domination of French women, extensively documented by feminists. Thus, it expects Muslim women to embody a norm which the dominant culture in France has yet to embrace itself (Laborde 2008, Scott 2007). The assumption that the headscarf is a reflection of a lack of agency has been extensively criticised. Indeed, given the hostility towards it, young women who wear it can be argued to employ a high degree of agency in the face of adversity. Scholars who study religiosity and young people in France describe the individualised process by which young people are coming to choose their religious identity and practice as entirely compatible with an individualised autonomous conception of citizenship. I will explore this further in subsequent chapters.

In this section, I argue that, just like the ban on 'racial' and ethnic categorisation, many policies which are not explicit in their intentions to remove barriers in the full citizenship rights of racialized groups in France, are in fact implicitly attempting to do so, albeit on flawed assumptions about what these barriers might be. In the case of 'positive discrimination' geared at specific territories, the underlying assumption that urban space and dilapidated buildings are at the heart of the problem of disadvantaged groups acts as a smoke screen to addressing the social relations of domination that give meaning to the interconnections between spatial, class and racial boundaries. Furthermore, because these policies have evolved recently to construct *banlieue* youth as hoodlums and delinquents requiring disciplining, this approach has taken a turn for the worse and has been shown to do a great deal of harm to so-called youth of 'immigrant origins'.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how it is that the debate about the categorisation of ethnicity and 'race' has managed to stay more or less stagnant over the course of the past fifteen years in France. Even the Héran Report of 2009, which boldly proclaimed the intention to break out of the usual terms of the debate does not adequately address the persistence of the integration/assimiliationist framework in France that simultaneously renders the majority 'race' and ethnicity invisible, while constructing minority cultures as barriers to full participation in public life.

The key insight offered in this chapter relates to how colour-blind politics are justified even by those who are deeply concerned about racial inequality in French society. Thus, I explored how even those who recognize that inequalities springing from ethnic and racial discrimination exist in French society and seek to rectify the situation are so reluctant to include ethno/racial categorisation in the national census that inequalities stemming from this particular set of socially constructed differences cannot be officially categorisable except with reference to the date of arrival of immigrants or their parents. This is because, with notable exceptions, most of those arguing for and against ethnicity on the census still do so within an integration/assimilation framework which views practices of ethnicity as a barrier to

becoming a fully French citizen. From such a perspective, successful immigrant integration is understood to be the responsibility of the newcomer, to take place over generations, and to manifest itself in the erasure of evidence of difference from the dominant group (Stavo-Debauge 2009).

The tenacious assumptions of the integration/assimilation paradigm have a stronghold in public debate and will be discussed in the following chapter in terms of another form of indirect immigrant integration: the creation of the *Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration* (The Museum of the History of Immigration- CNHI).

Chapter 5 Re-working the Imaginary Community: Memory and Forgetting and the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration (CNHI)

5.1 Introduction

On Thursday October 7, 2010, close to 500 undocumented migrants, primarily men from Sub-Saharan Africa, occupied the *Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration (CNHI) (National Museum of Immigration)* (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). The occupation was organized by the *Confédération générale du travail (CGT)* (the General Confederation of Work, a trade union) in order to put pressure on the government to implement an agreement secured with the Ministry of Immigration in June 2010 to regularize the status of undocumented workers.[16] According to press reports at the time the occupation was launched, only 58 of the 1,870 application files had been processed, and the migrants, the union and various solidarity organizations were seeking to use the occupation of the museum space to push forward the process which is intended to provide migrants without a legal status a higher degree of stability in France (Coroller 2010). The museum administration initially elected to continue to keep its doors open to the public during the occupation, and some of the undocumented migrants even took part in the group tours offered to museum visitors (cited in Coroller 2010). The director of the museum, Luc Gruson, was at one point reported by the press to have proudly stated:

> Everything is taking place in a calm manner, there has been no degradation [of the property] and the "sans-papiers" help with the cleaning of the communal areas of the building. They have agreed not to occupy floors in which the collections are housed. (Luc Gruson, General Director of the city, my translation)(2010)

[16] The agreement stipulated that undocumented workers who submitted a file demonstrating that they had worked for the equivalent of one year over the past 18 months, and could prove that an employer was currently willing to hire them, would be granted status. If the migrants had been working through temp agencies, the period of time in which they would have had to accrue the one year's equivalent of working experience, was extended to 24 months.

Sharing the space of the museum with its occupiers turned out to be trickier than first anticipated, however, and, in December, the museum was shut down, only to be re-opened when the *sans-papiers* accepted to leave the premises at night but to continue their occupation during the daytime hours. The occupation persisted in this manner until January 28, 2011, when the museum administration closed its doors to clamp down on the occupation. A journalist noted that while the museum may initially have benefited from the publicity the demonstration had afforded it, the little known museum, already struggling to attract visitors, could no longer afford the disruption (Emery 2011).

Figure 5.1: *Sans-papiers'* occupation of *Cité de l'histoire de l'immigration*, Paris. Photograph by Gianni Giuliani / CIMADE, Oct. 2010. Reproduced with permission of photographer.

Figure 5.2: Sans-papiers' occupation inside the Cité de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris. Photograph by Gianni Giuliani / CIMADE, Oct. 2010. Reproduced with permission of photographer.

The occupation of a museum dedicated to honouring the contributions of 200 years of immigration to the French nation marked its third anniversary and coincided almost exactly with the museum's inauguration on the 10th of October 2007. The CNHI, the first museum of its kind in France and Europe, opened its doors in a manner described by the press as discrete and lacking fanfare, with the conspicuous absence of most high level officials (Anon. 2007; Coroller 2007). The idea for the museum was first developed by an interministerial committee under the direction of Jacques Toubon in 2003 (CNHI 2007). The project was officially started in 2004 and was to become a interdisciplinary partnership bringing together academics, cultural institutions, private and public organisations and collectors. Ironically, at the time the museum was launched, the Minister of Immigration, Integration and National Identity, Brice Hortefeux, was defending a law that proposed to introduce DNA testing as part of the process for application of immigrant status to France. While Hortefeux himself never stepped foot in the museum, his successor, Eric Besson, attempted to participate in the ceremonial opening of the museum's *médiathèque* in 2009, but was prevented from delivering his speech by angry protesters who were barely contained by the massive police presence at the event (Anon. 2009a). Former president, Jacques Chirac, did pay a personal visit to the CNHI in its first month, but

not in an official capacity. In fact, commentators pointed out the panoply of paradoxes surrounding the museum since its inception: a museum celebrating the contributions of immigrants to France, housed in the 1931 building created for the colonial exhibition and subsequently serving as a museum of the colonies. The idea of the museum, promoted since the 1980s by prominent French historian Gerard Noiriel, among others, was not championed by the political left who were preoccupied by the ground gained by the right-wing, anti-immigrant, Front National. It was backed instead by right-wing president Jacques Chirac, and finally completed under the UNP government. Furthermore, the museum falls under the jurisdiction of a controversial new minister, that of Immigration, Integration and National Identity. In fact, six months prior to the opening of the museum, seven members of the academic advisory council for the project resigned in protest of Sarkozy's creation of this controversial ministerial position, arguing that it amalgamates in a problematic way what ought to be independent issues in the French Republic: national identity and immigrant origins. This paradoxical national museum and the controversies surrounding its creation, inauguration, and the successive and multiple mobilisations of the space by politicians and activists it occasioned, brings to the fore the controversies regarding the politics of identity and belonging in France which the first part of this thesis seeks to explore.

In this chapter, the CNHI is used as a prism to refract the debates on themes of immigration and ethnicity in the French context that I introduced in the previous chapter. In analyzing the site, its contents, and the politics surrounding its creation, I look at whose voices are represented and expressed in the museum and how this informs an understanding of the power relations underpinning various discourses on national belonging and estrangement, as well as the types of subjectivities and citizenship which the museum promotes and produces.

The chapter is organized as follows. I begin by setting the context by introducing ideas about memory, forgetting, and the tendency to memorialise. I note the link between patriotism and legitimate remembering structuring certain key strands of French nationalism and anti-racist discourse. In the next section, I consider the CNHI site itself, the locations of displays, the audio, visual and written

narratives presented, the artistic representations and installations which make up the exhibit, as well as the internet site which extends the narratives of the museum to cybervisitors[17]. I draw attention to three narratives which embody the symbolism of the site and the notions of citizenship and identity which the museum endorses and promotes: (i) One story I look at is the one according to which colonialism, empire building and the ensuing shifting of both boundaries and peoples to include and exclude, simply produces another form of migration, (ii) Another concerns the way in which the notion of the 'good citizen' is constructed, the types of citizenship practices condoned, as well as those reserved for immigrants and (iii) I also attend to the paradoxical narrative of what it means to be the national 'us' and the immigrant 'them' and what it takes to cross that line. Through my own engagements with the museum and its displays, I highlight what I consider to be the dominant narratives of the museum.

In the next section, I situate the museum in the contested arena of memorialisation in France by considering its development in relation to the political landscape of national museums. I conclude the chapter by developing the overall argument of this first section of the thesis: I suggest that just like the categorisation debates explored in the previous chapter, the CNHI expresses and promotes key strands of a Republican anti-racist discourse, which will be shown in the next half of the thesis to play a role in shaping the lives and opportunity structures of racialized young people living and working in Paris and its surrounding suburbs.

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[17] The museum's website (http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/index.php?lg=fr&nav=1&flash=0) includes a wide variety of materials, including notices of events taking place at the museum, podcasts of past events, a survey of fiction and non-fiction on the migration experience available in the museum gift store, a collection of individual narratives of migration which can be browsed as text, photos, as well as filmed narrative accounts, etc.

5.2 Memory, Forgetting and Aphasia

Examination of the topic of memory has emerged in the past three decades in a range of academic disciplines, as is evident in a number of web-sites dedicated to interdisciplinary treatments of the topic[18], as well as in a new journal, *Memory Studies,* launched in 2008 (Dwyer and Alderman 2008; Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu 2008). Commentators have suggested that the proliferation, in recent years, of studies of the topic is indicative of the relative importance of collective memory today as a source of coherent narrative of the past, 'an era of a search for roots' (Said 2000: 177) and self understanding during a period of rapid global and economic transformations (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004; Huyssen 2003; Said 2000). This contention bears the traces of the ideas of French historian, Pierre Nora, who argues that 'real memory', which he considers to be embodied memory practices in the form of lived practices and traditions associated with peasant life, are a thing of the past, and that now, societies remember by way of *lieux de mémoire*, memorial sites, as well as ceremonial ritualized practices where 'memory crystallizes and secretes itself' (Nora 1989: 7). Nora's lens emphasizes the role of sites, particularly museums and monuments, at eliciting emotions and recollections and thus helping to instil a sense of collective memory and belonging.

The memorial sites and particular collective at the centre of Nora's work is the nation-state, to the point of reification, and to such a degree that he has been much criticized for his nationalist tendencies (Legg 2005; Nora 1989). Furthermore, Stoler (2010) takes Nora to task for what she theorises as the 'colonial aphasia' manifest in his work, since the first two volumes of his influential tomes on *Lieux de mémoire* only include one example of a colonial memorialisation,the Paris Colonial Exhibition of 1931. She wonders why he pays such close attention to the "shared space-time" of Paris and its provinces, while simultaneously omitting the significance of a relational account to refer to the French metropole and its overseas territories (73). Her argument is that this reveals his own prejudiced view of who is a legitimate French

[18] See for examples H-net < http://www.h-net.org/~memory/> , <http://www.phil.mq.edu.au/staff/jsutton/Memory.html>

citizen, noting that his earlier research focused on exposing the fact that many settlers in Algeria during the French colonial period were in fact 'foreigners' from southern Europe and, therefore, not full French citizens in his eyes. Stoler's concept of 'aphasia' is an attempt on her part to capture the wilful intent missing from concepts of 'forgetting' and 'amnesia' which suggest innocent cognitive error. Instead, she argues, colonial aphasia is

> a dismembering, a difficulty speaking, a difficulty generating a vocabulary that associates appropriate words and concepts with appropriate things…a difficulty retrieving both conceptual and lexical vocabularies and, most important, a difficulty comprehending what is spoken. (Stoler 2011: 125).

What is more, this concept captures the difficulties faced by the academics and politicians discussed in the previous chapter who refuse to take into account the processes of racialization structuring French society (Stavo-Debauge 2009).

While true elsewhere, it is particularly the case in France, that national museums are devised as key sites of nation building and citizenship training. This is so ever since they were seized from the hands of the ruling aristocracy during the French Revolution to become public goods and pedagogical institutions of the Republic (Hooper-Greenhill 1989). The explicit mission of what is officially called *la Porte Dorée- Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration,* is very much part of a Republican nation-building project. Its aim is to further social cohesion by calling attention to the trajectories and contributions of migrants to France since the 19th Century. It represents a type nationalist patriotism that celebrates the universalist and enlightenment ideals embraced by the Republic as a form of anti-racist discourse (Laborde 2008; Lentin 2004). The project mobilizes Nora's ideas by using the medium of a national museum to produce a *lieu de mémoire* which its creators hope will help generate recognition and valorization of immigrants and change, therefore, the negative perception of immigration in France dominating the present (Blanc-Chaléard 2006). Despite the multiplicity of narratives encapsulated by the museum, it is clear that in line with Nora's emphasis on symbolism and mythology, it is in the symbolic realm that the museum seeks to insert and integrate '*étrangers*' (foreigners) into the national collective memory.

It is also in the realm of symbolism and representation that geographic work analyzing memory, landscape and place has fruitfully focused its attention, critically 'prying them open and exposing the absences, inclusions, and marginalizations' and looking at the role played by urban space in the normative social order (Dwyer and Alderman 2008: 166). Yet, in using museum displays and the objects within them to transmit this symbolism, it is presumed that objects will elicit knowledge through the sensory window of vision, as discussed by Jordanova (1989). As she notes, 'the ways in which the contents of museums are presented lead to, but do not fully determine, what visitors experience and learn' (23). Jordonava calls attention to the dual process of reification and identification with objects involved in the experience of gaining knowledge through museum artifacts. Because of the role of imagination and individual memories in this process, through which looking at objects unleashes a chain of associations in audiences, Jordanova emphasises how museums can never be unitary texts, but are inherently polyvocal. This polysemy of museum artifacts will be explored in this chapter.

In revealing the polyvocality of the museum, I am inspired by the theorisation of embodied and affectual aspects of memory to consider my own emotive response to the artifacts in the museum. Connerton (1989) argues for the need to be attentive to the role played in bodily practices in social memory. He emphasises the way in which memory is sedimented in the body and its habits. French historian Benjamin Stora (1997) hints at a relationship between embodied remembrances, passed on for generations, and public disavowal of memories. In his discussion of what he refers to as the '*guerre des mémoires*' (memory wars) in France, Stora points out that as a result of the lack of adequate public remembrance of colonial history, the powerful memories of anticolonial struggle of their fathers [sic] is carried by the descendants of North African immigrants in France (Stora 2007 see p. 40).

In the following section, then, I begin the analysis of the CNHI with my elucidations of the dominant narratives as they emerged for me in the course of my multiple visits.

5.3 Narratives of Citizenship and Belonging

At the outset of this discussion of the dominant narratives of the museum, it is worth recalling that the project undertaken by the museum to introduce immigration as a central aspect of French nationhood is a new idea. Immigration has long been downplayed as an influence on French identity and citizenship because of the immense devotion and adherence afforded to an imagined French 'way of being' which is seen as powerful enough to supplant cultural differences : 'the massive, successive waves of immigration into the country did not occupy a central role in French collective memory: they were not seen as altering the profound structures of French culture and society, but merely as yet another dissolvable ingredient into the capacious 'melting pot' that France had been for centuries' (Laborde 2008: 185). Furthermore, the fact that French universal values and citizenship are cherished as an anti-racist discourse has implications for how nationalism is understood (Lentin 2004). In fact, for those who adhere to the universality of French citizenship, the promotion of a certain kind of patriotism is justified as a means to generate solidarity across difference. Thus Laborde (2008) points out that, from such a perspective, selective remembering is seen as commensurate with Republicanism. In order for citizens to believe in the French project of solidarity among all members, it is necessary to promote an idealised construction of the nation. The influential scholar Ernest Renan (1994 in Laborde 2008), for example, championed the view that glossing over conflicts in French history was key to generating the much needed national solidarity which makes a nation work. Such views seem to substantiate Anne Stoler's insights. In the following section, therefore, I discuss the presence and absence of colonial history from the point of view of the colonised in the museum.

5.3.1 Colonial Landscapes, Post-Colonial Aphasia

The museum has justifiably been accused of ignoring the singularity and moral implications of the expansion of the French empire and colonial migration by emphasizing the commonality of all forms of immigration to France over the past two hundred years (Blanc-Chaléard 2006; L'Estoile 2007; Stevens 2009). The creators of the museum are explicit and intentional in their choice to downplay the history of

French colonization. It is a decision which, ironically, in my view, they consider justified because of the lingering colonial paternalism still active in the discriminatory treatment of post-colonial immigrants today. Their ideas clearly stem from the concept of patriotism as a means to universal rights and equality I just described. However, they readily admit that they faced a dilemma occasioned by the fact that the museum is housed in a historic building imbued with colonial memory. One woman interviewee with Tunisian immigrant parents who had visited the museum explained that its location in a site infused with colonialism initially deterred her from visiting it: "actually the problem is that, I have to tell you the truth, this museum was installed on the site of the museum of the colonies and that was the problem afterwards.. you think well that's where they exposed human species Africans, etc. so..so…"

The museum is situated in the *Palais de la Porte Dorée* in the south east of Paris adjacent to the Bois de Boulogne, in a part of the city which materially bears witness to the colonial epoch as it was intensely developed in preparation for the international colonial exhibition of 1931. At this time, the street where the museum is located, Edouard-Renard, was enlarged and adorned with a golden statue at the head of a cascading fountain still present today entitled *the Fontaine de la Porte Dorée*, by Léon-Ernest Drivier, created in 1931 and depicting the goddess Athena. This statue, in the manner explored by Warner (1985), uses the female form to represent the peace and prosperity which France purportedly brought to its colonies. The museum building itself, as indicated by plaques on columns at the entrance, was built in 1931 in the art deco style by Albert Laprade, also for the event of the exhibition, and subsequently became a permanent museum featuring the wealth and wonders of the colonies and promoting the illustrious mission and history of the French empire[19]. The plaques also specify that the tropical aquarium, which is still

[19] On the western facade of the building is the following inscription: "*A ses fils qui ont étendu l'Empire de son génie et fait ainsi aimer son nom au-delà des mers, la France reconnaissante*" which I translate as "To its sons who have expanded the empire with its genius and thus rendered its name adored beyond the seas: France is grateful.

housed in the building, dates from its inception when it enabled the marine life of the colonies to be enjoyed by those living in the metropole[20].

The most striking feature of the building itself is the 1927 relief created by Alfred Janniot (see Figure 5.3). It is overwhelming in its detail, yet still balanced in composition, and rendered in classic style. The imagery it depicts spans ports of the French empire, and is teeming with life with vivid port scenes of ships and seas, massive elephants and fierce rhinoceros and other tropical animal intertwined with lush vegetation and the human bodies of 'natives' who are depicted doing presumably traditional activities such as hunting fierce wild life with spears, carrying water on their heads and working in agricultural fields. Carved into the different sections of the relief are labels of the places they represent: "Algérie", "Gabon", "Congo", "Dahoney", for example. One section is devoted to French regions: "Bordeaux", "Garonne", etc. All are intertwined in this elaborate elegy to the French empire. Inside the lobby of the museum, at either end, are two salons which are cordoned off in order to preserve their historic colonial frescoes and art deco furniture (see Figure 5.4)[21].

[20] I was only able to find signage to help direct visitors to the museum for the aquarium.

[21] The painter of the 'African Salon' is Louis Bouquet, while the 'Asian Salon' were painted by André et Ivanna Lemaître and the furniture designed by Emile-Jacques Rulhann 'Eugène Printz. The two rooms were intended to highlight key aspects of Asian and African civilization.

Figure 5.3: Close-up of Janniot, Palais de la porte dorée, Paris. Photograph by the author, Sept. 2010.

Figure 5.4: Close-up of "African Salon" by Bouquet, Palais de la porte dorée, Paris. Photograph by author, Sept. 2010.

The marked presence of this colonial symbolism lies in stark contrast to the authoritative narratives of the exhibition materials that purport to present the movements of people, both to and from France and the French empire, to be part of a continuity of long history of migration over the past two hundred years. The time period included neatly cuts out the peak centuries in which France was embroiled in the Atlantic slave trade and thus avoids the painful memories of this movement of peoples altogether. Furthermore, the definition of temporal period introduced by the maps located in the 'prologue' of the museum presents a narrative of global migration, as well as migration to France, that is syncopated by a rhythm of time in the context of which colonial endeavours are incidental rather than formative.

The time periods introduced in this section punctuate much of the story told at, and by, the museum. The rhythm breaks up the past two hundred years into four time periods: the turn of the century (the industrial revolution), the world war period, the post war reconstruction years (modernization) and the contemporary period, encompassing the past forty years or so (urbanization). The story told is therefore one of migration coming from primarily bordering countries during industrialization, a trend continuing during post-war reconstruction. Subsequently, the modernization period is described as the inception of post-colonial migration, or migration from previously held colonial territories. The urbanization period highlights immigration from farther-flung countries, and, as pointed out in the texts on the internet site, immigration that extends beyond countries with French colonial heritages. This series of maps also indicates with plethographic colours parts of the world which fell under the French colonial empire at each period. Another set of panels considers the geographic location of settlement of the various waves of immigrants and naturalized citizens, as well as the distribution of the top four countries of origin for each period.

The main 'bigger picture', beyond general French immigration patterns which we are offered to help visitors think about immigration is in a first set of panels depicting the end of 20th century flows of migration, largely towards Europe and North Americas. These are nestled among selective maps offering a particular form of historic context using European settlement in North America at the turn of the

century and various flows of Asian migration in the 1930s to suggest that the movement of peoples is simply part of a longer, continuous, natural process. The final panel in this series looks specifically at where refugees come from and, using data from 2006, illustrate that the majority of refugees are coming from the global south. Here, we learn that France is fourth after the US, Germany and the UK in terms of the number of refugees and asylum seekers that are received. Thus, the prominence of France as a country of refugee asylum and the downplaying of the relationship between the movement of peoples and colonial pillaging and decimation, imperial power relations sedimented in contemporary economic relations between states, and contemporary geopolitical struggles, is a troubling lacuna which persists throughout the exposition.

The museum's first section, after the initial prologue of maps and figures just discussed, starts at the emigrant's departure and journey. Through moving personal narratives presented by means of audiovisual oral and photographic testimonies and the display of related every day memory objects in glass cases, the emphasis is placed on the individual's migration experience. We are invited to identify with emigrants as individuals, as we learn personal details about their decisions to leave and their journey. The display includes a photographic series entitled *Carnet de route d'un immigrant clandestin,* by Olivier Jobard(1970), which captures the harrowing journey of a 22 year old Cameroon man across Sub-Saharan Africa to France, where observers are reassured that he now holds a permit of residence.

The subsequent sections of the museum entitled *Facing the State and France: a Hostile Reception,* shift the focus away from the individual. Now that the variety of impetus and routes of migration has been addressed, these sections speak of immigration in general terms and emphasize the similarities in the challenges faced by all migrants as they settle to an often hostile reception and build themselves a life in a new country.

While also extensively dealing with moving subject matter, we do not return to any significant extent to the point of view of the individual. Rather, the attention shifts to immigration in general. Thus, the subsequent section, entitled *Facing the State,* outlines the emergence of a definition of citizenship based on birth on French

soil dating to the French Revolution and subsequent refinements of the regulation of the presence and rights of 'foreigners' in the country. This section is complex and quite detailed in its narrative, weaving together a number of important themes: war recruitment migration, differential treatment of colonial subjects migrating to the metropole[22], the ambiguous reception of Jewish exiles and eventual complicity of the State in deporting Jews to concentration camps under German occupation during the Second World War, the emergence of State agencies relating to immigration, settlement and preventing discrimination, the Geneva Convention and France's recognition of refugee status, the Algerian war and the repatriation of French citizens after France lost, the development of the free flow of migration agreements among European states, the end to immigration in 1974 aside from family reunification and refugees, and the encouragement of foreigners on French soil to return home, the emergence of the theme of immigration in public debate in the 1980s and the convergence of the left and right to stem migration and encourage integration of migrants present already. The section entitled *France: A Hostile Reception,* is devoted to xenophobia, the colonial imagination and racism and resistance, highlighting the voice of the Communist Party in resistance and solidarity with immigrants, although also noting its complicity in economic downturns in constructing immigrants as temporary workers who ought to return to their home countries. Across from the panel discussion of the reception of immigrants in France is a display case containing various caricaturial marionnettes depicting stereotypical racial traits. Various historic racist cartoons and caricatures are also hung in the display case.

Thus, while colonialism is not addressed reflexively, directly or with much depth, the colonial subject appears scattered throughout the authoritative narrative of the display panels just described, as well as in subsequent ones, often in a manner which illustrates the racism of the French State. For example, there is a discussion of the barriers put in place for colonial subjects to gain access to citizenship, to the

[22] There is a striking photo of 'Tonkinois' workers lined up military style, wearing long coats and boots and conical hats with spades or troughs resting on their shoulders with French soldiers ordering them around.

differential treatment of labour from the colonies in comparison with labourers from neighbouring European countries with which bilateral agreements were often secured to promote and favour European migration. Yet the overarching narrative which frames the discussion of racism and stereotypes seeks to emphasize the commonality of experience between European migration and that of migration from elsewhere, as the display panel indicates: 'From the Italians at the end of the 19th century to migrants from Africa today, the stereotypes have hardly changed. Immigrants will always be too numerous, bearers of disease, potential delinquents, and strangers to the nation'. At any rate, the message seems to have been successfully transmitted to the French woman of Tunisian origin who recalled the general narrative of the museum after having visited the museum several years prior to our discussion as follows:

> You realise that in France, well, it's been a land of immigration for a long time now and that the nation has been built by immigrants, and this precisely can allow people who are stigmatized in society to realise that, well, it's a part of the history of France that at a certain point, they will also become fully French, it's just a matter of time, integration, it's just a matter of time…

5.3.2 Citizenship Practices: Welcoming, Working, Mixing, Claiming Rights

The museum exhibits address a range of aspects of every day immigrant life associated with settling in and contributing to social life in France. However, they downplays the quotidian gestures and activities that French locals engage in with regard to the arrival of newcomers. As a result, immigrant reception, acts of hostility and rejection, as well as those of hospitality, are addressed primarily at the level of state actions and within abstract thematic discussions such as those on xenophobia and racism already discussed.

Instances in which the State extended a chilly reception to immigrants are featured in relation to administrative changes affecting access to French nationality over the years – especially gender-based modifications. For example, until 1927, women lost their nationality if they married 'foreign' men, but the opposite applied for 'foreign' women who married Frenchmen. Also featured are the events during the Second World War in which the Vichy government denaturalized 150,000 people,

mostly Jews, facilitating their deportation to concentration camps under Nazi occupation. In addition to addressing the perpetration of such gross injustices by the State towards its immigrant populations, the narrative includes some of the concessions that have been made over the years, in order to accommodate newcomers. Conversely, examples are provided of gestures of hospitality towards immigrants, including the following. In the inter-War years, the Republic compromised in relation to its secular stance and, in 1926, financed the first mosque built in France in homage to the colonial soldiers of the First World War. In 1935, in Bobigny, the Franco-Muslim hospital was constructed, specifically as a medical facility which respected religious traditions and a Muslim cemetery was created a few years later. Here, the museum's authorative narrative acknowledges that state paternalism, as well as a desire to set apart immigrants and keep them under surveillance, was behind these advancements. Another example of a gesture of hospitality not at the state level might include the car factories in the 1970s which started to provide prayer rooms for their Muslim work force. Yet, aside from these examples which exist primarily at the state-level, as well as some references to the solidarity work of the Communist Party and associations supporting undocumented workers, the theme of hospitality receives little attention. The striking exception is provided through an audio clip from 1967 of a doctor who works with migrant workers. He talks about how it is very difficult for the French to be hospitable to new comers, says that it does not come easily and takes a great deal of effort: "Not a welcoming people," he concludes.

Whereas on the one hand, practices of civilian hospitality are given short thrift, on the other, a set of activities, behaviours and attitudes on the part of immigrants themselves, emerge as particularly emblematic of the contribution of immigrants to the country. Waged work figures highly as such an activity, and the male labour migrant carrying out work in construction and manufacturing is arguably even the dominant figuration of the immigrant presented in the museum. The narratives attempt to complicate the commonly-held view that labour migration to France from Portugal, Algeria and Morocco, was needed to meet the demands of post-war-reconstruction, by situating these waves of migration in a continuum with a long history of labour importation from neighbouring European countries, as well as a

more recent history of 'post colonial' migration, i.e. migration beyond countries with a colonial history with France. The section dedicated to immigrant employment experiences therefore deals with all sorts of work-related questions: the ebb and flow of demand for migrant labour depending on periods of economic growth and recession, active state recruitment of labour during the inter-war period and post-war reconstruction, the types of industries immigrants worked in and both the ways in which immigrant labour was used to break strikes and how immigrants played an active role in worker movements, namely, the political struggles for migrants to gain work permits, avoid deportation or voluntary repatriation.

A large installation art piece entitled *Climbing Down* 2004, by Barhélémy Togero, features prominently at the centre of the permanent exhibition in the heart of the exhibits addressing immigrant life. It consists of a large enclosure with peeping windows through which you can peer at four-storey bunk-beds with woven plastic grocery bags hanging off the posts at every level. The sheets are various colourful batik textiles. Behind the bunk-beds there is a display of lockers from a migrant shelter, *Le Foyer Rhin et Danube,* which was open between 1950 and 2005, and the exhibition includes an audio clip of a 1954 reporter describing the inauguration of the centre. Between a back wall and the casing of the bunk-beds is another exhibit by Kader Attia called *Correspondance* (2003), in which photos taken over 16 years and linking a family separated across France and Algeria, are strung as if on a clothesline. These objects and installations work together to stand in for precarious migrant labour housing, consisting essentially of a bunk, a locker and the photos representing hand-washed laundry drying on a line. The art installations thus further contribute to foregrounding the figure of the single masculine labour migrant occupying physically demanding jobs and shedding blood, sweat and tears for a nation that was reluctant to offer him full citizenship rights, sound housing and adequate financial recompense.

In addition to working hard and putting up with difficult living conditions, immigrant practices also involve civic engagement in reworking the nation. Included under the banner of civic engagement are the social struggles of the children of immigrants for full inclusion and citizenship rights. Hence, fighting for equal

treatment is framed as part of what roots immigrants and their children to France, alongside daily life, working for workers' rights, and enlisting in wars for the country.

In the section entitled 'laying down roots', the importance of social interactions for making France home, is highlighted. There is a distinctive republican flavour to the manner in which the narration proceeds around social and home-making practices treated in the museum. This is perhaps most obvious and explicit in the discussion of immigrant housing. A set of panels addressing "Living Environments" is introduced with the following statement: From century to century, immigrant living spaces were marked by precariousness and the tendency to self-isolate ("regroupement communautaire"). '*Communautarisme'* is defined in France as the tendency to stick among people from one's culture of origin and is viewed as a barrier to successful integration in French society. In essence, then, temporary labour migrants were originally relegated to precarious housing where they lived in solidarity with other migrants and yet, over time, they were able to attain more appropriate housing, indicating their progressive installation in the host society. What is key is the manner in which suitable housing becomes a marker of integration to France throughout the narrative, not only when it is characterized by adequate levels of comfort and sanitation, but also when it does not consist of living in areas that are deemed *'communautaires*,' in other words, where there are too many people with the same immigrant origin as one's own.

To be sure, this narrative is qualified by the acknowledgement of the barriers faced by immigrants in actually attaining good housing options in the first place. Thus, from the time of the Algerian war until the 1970s, populations living in slums were gradually absorbed into social housing. The manner in which this unfolded is addressed by the museum narrative in a tone that frowns upon the unjust treatment of immigrants since 1963 when *les grands ensembles* (subsidized social housing) were created and used primarily to receive repatriated families returning from Algeria or French people in need. The narrative points critically to the irony of the fact that immigrant labour helped to build state-funded massive housing complexes in the suburbs of big cities of France in the 50s and 60s, and that the very migrants building these complexes themselves lived in informal and ramshackle settlements on the

periphery of big cities. The informational panels also address the contentious policy in social housing implemented in the past to limit to 15% the total percentage of immigrants housed in a particular building. It is explained that the policy was justified at the time out of fear of allowing ghettos to emerge in France. In the 1970s, when working class French people (non immigrants) came to access other forms of housing (pavilions or residential buildings near the city) immigrants were more readily received in *les grands ensembles*. In this way, we come to understand more vividly how the *habitations à loyer modéré* (HLMs) (state subsidized housing) of France house a high proportion of immigrant populations today, as I noted in chapter 4. The narrative simultaneously denounces an unfair quota system barring immigrants from adequate housing and operates in the logic that immigrants and their descendants living among themselves is a sign of poor settlement and integration.

In the discussion of the social practices of immigrants, the spectre of *communautarisme* looms as a form sociality implying a necessary tension between social interactions among members of the same immigrant-origin group and interactions with French locals. Not always expressed in words, through the selection of photos, certain social interactions are privileged over others as contributing to integration. Thus, the section includes a photo of French and immigrant students socializing with each other in a dorm room in the Quartier Latin of Paris of 1939, as well as various photos of the social life of immigrants such as photos of "mixte" marriages, including a 'Francovietnamese' couple in the 1950s. These photos promote the idea that an immigrant committed to being a good citizen might strive to socialize with locals of 'French' origin.

The construction of this tension persists in the 'athletics' section, where the role of sports clubs in preserving cultural identities as well as keeping bodies healthy in order to cope with the difficult work conditions and struggles for social justice considered part and parcel of migrant life in France, is addressed. The panel explains that playing sports among themselves is not enough, to progress in France: you have to be open to playing in teams of the host country. The emphasis is on the role of sports as a site of interaction between immigrants and the French, and notes that

these are not always friendly encounters. Similarly, the religions practised by immigrants are considered to have set them apart from French people since the 19th century, as they are viewed as too 'communitarian' and ostentatious. The discussion notes the tensions faced by those with religious convictions who brush up against the secular republicanism of the state. It is suggested that religion can become a vector for claims to identity and belonging stemming from difficulties faced in integrating. As will be discussed further, in its attempt to centre immigration in the national imagination, the museum, fails to challenge republicanism or present an alternative multiculturalist perspective in light of which to recognize and embrace practices held in common by people from similar places of origin and view them as representing a potential contribution to the wider national community.

5.3.3 From 'L'Étranger' to One of Us, A Matter of Forgetting

The negative light cast on the notion of *'communautarisme'* discussed in the previous section foreshadows the relative absence of a treatment of the question of the multiple, complex and hybrid ethnicities of immigrants and their children. In this section, I address specifically the use of every day objects in the museum and how their deployment subtly contributes to an assimiliationist narrative of forgetting and downplaying of cultural difference as part of belonging in France. It will be recalled that the first section of the exhibit offered individuals' testimonial accounts of their immigration journey and displayed specific souvenir objects that were mentioned in these narratives in glass cases. The memory tokens on display are generically recognizable objects which connote a journey, and not objects which stand in particular for a culture of the place from which an individual is departing. Items include a suitcase, a postcard, and photographs of family members. The selection of these objects tallies with the emphasis on the common experience of migration and the forgetting of the particularity of the place of departure. At the other end of the exhibit, a different type of everyday objects is on display (see Figure 5.5). These objects, in contrast, are highlighted because of their origins from elsewhere and, in fact, their degree of familiarity or distance from the imaginary national identity constitutes the intrigue of the interactive display. This time, the objects are not

personalized with any individual's testimony and are therefore not charged with personal memory and sentiment and, as such, are less evocative.

Figure 5.5: Display of objects, *Cité de l'histoire de l'immigration*, Paris. Photograph by author, Sept. 2010.

The objects hang from the ceiling in a triangular enclosure. An interactive electronic panel allows you to learn more about the objects hanging above your head and which are classified under three headings. The caption "when objects from elsewhere become familiar here," is intended to highlight 'new' objects which have now become part of the everyday objects of people generally, and which include 'African' sculptures, Chinese New Year's dragon costume, woven plastic shopping bags and a hooka pipe. Accordingly, we learn that the dragon costume was once viewed as '*communautaire*' but that Chinese New Year has now become an event celebrated in a manner extending beyond the Chinese community to include the general French public. The caption "when commodities and objects travel faster than men[sic]" encapsulates spices, tea, couscous, coffee and a *tajine* ceramic. We learn from touching the spices icon that they are considered exotic food items with mysterious and beneficial properties. Finally, we are confronted with the caption "These objects belong to France's heritage" and the qualification that "French heritage is made through borrowing and adopting". Under this banner are included Leonardo Da Vinci's Mona Lisa, le coq d'Asie, a musette, and kaolin porcelain.

This interactive display is emblematic of the paradoxical way in which ethnicity is treated in the museum. Despite the classification of objects as a) familiar but from elsewhere, b) having preceded humans, and c) belonging to French heritage, they are featured in the display in a way which emphasizes their foreign origin. Thus, the key criterion for sorting the objects into the three categories proposed appears to have something to do with the passage of time and the naturalized act of forgetting their foreign origins. This is particularly true for the objects falling under the 'French heritage' category, as these are essentially objects whose origins from elsewhere have been obliterated to the point that they have become iconic of 'here', i.e., 'French' culture. The relationship visually communicated through the triage process displayed resonates with the dominant narrative of the museum: to belong fully in France is a matter of time and is linked to the process of forgetting of 'otherness'. My interpretation of this display pits the museum's treatment of everyday cultural objects in contrast to the analysis of Tolia-Kelly (2006, 2010). Tolia-Kelly uses the meaning imbued in the same type of object to demonstrate an understanding of vernacular Englishness which the authoritative narrative of the display forecloses when it restricts the label 'French heritage' to certain objects. In this exhibit, until forgetting takes place, objects marked with origins from elsewhere can only hope to become familiar everyday objects, but not to take their place in the *heritage* of France. This is not the case for Tolia-Kelly's analysis.

5.4 Polyvocality and the Reception of the Museum

In the preceding analysis, I argued that the story of immigration to France is told in such a way that the particularity of immigration from former French colonies and, in fact, from former colonies of other empires is effaced by being placed alongside other forms of migration. In addition, although the museum seeks to validate the contributions of immigrants to French society, this message is tested by the limitations of the assimilationist/integrationist paradigm which it does not seek to challenge. Thus, assimilationism is implicated in the narratives about good citizenship practices, as well as what it takes to be part of France's cultural heritage. Even in the final section of the museum which explores artistic cultural contributions of immigration, the overarching narrative tells a story of the way in which a common culture is forged through everyday encounters with diversity. It is dedicated to

various immigrant artists and art forms, from theatre to Picasso, to urban arts such as dance, rap and graffiti. It links together the creative contributions made by artists who migrated to France with artists 'issued from immigration', a term used in France to refer vaguely to the children, and possibly even the grandchildren, of immigrants and who have grown up in France, and emphasizing that they invent new artistic genres drawing from cultural influences from 'here and over there'. While I have highlighted these particular narratives in order to critique the museum, my interpretations do not adequately sum up the project of the museum. This is for many reasons, not least because of the polyvocality of the photographs, objects and art installations, which are open to multiple interpretations and which offer challenges to the narratives that I have presented.

5.4.1 *The Dream Machine*

Despite my earlier arguments relating to the small place given to colonialism and the secular assimilationist framework which frames much of the authoritative text-based narratives, the museum site remains open to interpretation and to generation of a variety of stories, memories and anxieties. *La Machine à rêve* (*The Dream Machine*) (2008) (Figure 5.6) by Kader Attia, an artist born in 1970 in Seine-Saint-Denis is an installation piece located in the 'Prologue' section of the museum which further illustrates this point. This piece is in stark contrast to the drier facts, figures and maps of the section in which it is located and which I have described above.

Figure 5.6: The Dream Machine, Cité de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris. Photograph by author, Sept. 2010.

The piece consists of the mannequin of a female body wearing black pants and jacket with white sport stripes at the wrists and collar, a purse slung across her shoulder and a head scarf draped around her face. She contemplates her choices in the vending machine which consist of items such as a booklet on how to lose your 'banlieusard' accent in 3 days, (the title of the book is written in Arabic and French), halal birth control pill tablets or a halal thong underwear, amongmany other provocative items.

When Attia exposed the first of a series of versions of this piece at the Venice 2003 Biennale, a male mannequin was used, and he described the work as "the ultimate fusion of ghetto-boy fantasies throughout the world. It emblematizes the accessibility of all their dream objects… In a certain way, it stands for the gates of heaven" (cited in Katz-Freiman 2007)[23]. For the version produced for CNHI, the figure became a woman wearing the *hijab* and according to the museum website the piece is intended to reflect the integration aspirations of certain young women.

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[23] To see the version exposed at the Venice Biennale see http://www.universes-in-universe.de/car/venezia/bien50/fault-lines/e-attia.htm.

The *hijab* is a notoriously contentious issue in France, with much heated public debate and polemic on the topic, culminating in the 2005 ban of the headscarf in public schools. While the ban on 'ostentatious religious symbols' is noted in the panels of the permanent exhibition, it is not explored in further depth. This material presence of a young Muslim '*banlieuesarde'* wearing the headscarf in the halls of the museum, and especially the way in which many first mistake the figure, as I did, for an actual person standing in front of an actual vending machine, is an interesting affect of the piece and provides a fleeting presence and then absence of this same figure in the space. Clearly, the affect, subjectivities and remembering produced in and through the visitors in response to this provocative piece are impossible to predict fully and foreclose.

5.4.2 A Failed Collective Memory Project?

Kansteiner (2002) argues that collective memory studies have, to date, lacked adequate attention to the reception of memory projects, such as the one undertaken by the museum to re-imagine the national image of France as a longstanding country of immigrant reception. While I did not interview visitors at the museum, I did discuss the museum in some of the interviews I carried out for my study and found that most people were unaware of its existence. In February 2011, an article in *Marianne*, a weekly centre-left political magazine, declared the CNHI to be a museum 'en panne', or in need of repair (Emery 2011). This was due to the difficulty the museum has had in attracting visitors, with the numbers indicating only an average of 300 visitors a day, a third of the visits received by the *Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine* (Museum of Architecture and Heritage) inaugurated at about the same time (Emery 2011). One French man of Moroccan family origins who participated in my interviews on discrimination and work mentioned in our discussion that he was put off the museum by the controversy surrounding its inauguration. He feared that the museum would be yet another medium through which the position of immigrants in French society would be instrumentalised by politicians to the detriment of the creation of a less racist society. The participant whom I have mentioned in this chapter and who had visited the museum and shared her reflections on it was critical

of the text-heavy format of the museum. She noted that the everyday memory objects around which the museum was based have little meaning without the visitor's engagement with the narrative panels. As a secondary school teacher, she expressed concern that young people would have difficulty engaging with the material, as it requires a high degree of literacy and patience. She also felt that the museum lacked enough attention to the actual contribution and cultural legacy of immigrants in French society, as she explains in her own words:

> And then what I really appreciated at the end was that, maybe it would be better to put more emphasis on this actually, it's the way that the culture of immigrants is integrated into French life, the average life of a French person, in the music, the songs, well, in the text of songs, there was tons of extracts from songs, that I liked because it speaks to you and each community brought their own heritage and I found that that was pretty good, if they could put more emphasis on that, on the importance of the cultural contribution, well, of those people, when they came they brought issues, for sure, but they also brought couscous, machines and that, couscous, French people, it's…French people eat couscous, all French people love it, there are tons of them that know how to make it, and still, well….Anyways, just to say that there are things that have completely entered the culture, see, I think that the aspects that each immigration has brought, aside from a sense of hard work, because immigration is essentially a work force, an economic force, aside from that, they've also left us other things and if the museum could put more emphasis on that, it would allow the message to be even more positive…

This initial feedback on the museum suggests that more research would be interesting in order to assess the ability of representation embodied in the museum to perform its ultimate aim at re-imaging the national community. The extent to which the musum has an impact on visitors' views of immigrants and racialized groups in France as well as the ways in which immigrants and their children themselves feel about the representation of their experience might be explored.

5.5 An Arena for the Politics of Memory

Prior to exploring the polyvocality of the CNHI as well as its struggles to draw crowds, in the previous two sections, I critiqued the manner in which practices of collective ethnic belonging and remembering of immigrants and their children are not stressed in the museum when they are not directly related to belonging to the French national community. The engagement in cultural practices with others from a similar ethnic

group is dubbed either with ambiguity or negative connotation as '*communautaire*'. While some acknowledgement is made of the ways such practices might help immigrants settle in a new country, they are certainly not part of the construction of the good citizenship practices such as working, responding to war-time conscription, living in mixed neighbourhoods and so forth, which demonstrate that immigrants cross the line from being the newcomers to becoming fully fledged members of the nation which the museum is celebrating. In order to explore more comprehensively this absence of ethnicity from the museum, in this section, I situate the CNHI within the contemporary landscape of anthropology, ethnographic museums and national heritage in France. To begin with, it is interesting to note that the very existence of a separate museum dedicated to immigration has been contested. A member of the High Council on Integration has been publicly quoted stating that segregating the history of migration in its own museum is in itself an overly 'communautariste' gesture, and that the narratives of immigration rightly belong in a mainstream national museum of general history (Emery 2011).

On panels at the entrance of the museum, the visitor is informed that the building bears witness to the colonial ideology of the time it was built (just in case the onslaught of colonial imagery worked into the surface of the building were not enough!) and has served as different variations of museums since its inception, from the 1931 Permanent Museum of the Colonies to the 1935 Museum of French Overseas Territories, to the 1960 Museum of African and Oceanic Art, to the 1990 National Museum of African and Oceanic Art. In 2003, the artifacts previously housed in the building, were moved to the new *Museum of the Quai Branly* inaugurated in 2006. There is much to be said about the historic uses of the building and what they reveal about the position of 'the Other' in the French national imagination.

In his aptly titled text, *Le goût des autres de l'exposition coloniale aux arts premiers* (which translates to *The taste of/for 'the Other', from the colonial exhibition to first nations' art)*, French anthropologist Benoît de L'Estoile (2007) offers an analysis of the emergence of the Museum of the *Quai Branly* dedicated to the art of 'First Nations' in light of the rise and fall from grace of ethnographic museums in France over the course of the past century. The *Quay Branly* was inaugurated with

great fanfare (especially in relation to the silence surrounding the opening of the National Museum of Immigration) by President Jacques Chirac who sought to present the museum as a symbolic gesture of reparation for past injustices through a demonstration of respect to 'other' cultures by bestowing 'Others' objects with the title of 'Art' and providing them with a showing in an 'art' museum, as opposed to an ethnographic one : "the old schematics of domination that had structured relations between European civilisation and others are no longer current today "(Chirac, 20 June 1996 in L'Estoile: 25). This museum, in conjunction with the addition to the Louvre set to open in 2012 of a section dedicated to Islamic culture, are intended then to mark a rupture with a past condescending gaze, and the dawning of a new era of recognition of the value of the culture of 'the Other' (Chrisafis 2008). What is particularly fascinating is that the *Palais Dorée* was considered and rejected as a potential site for this highly resourced new art museum, for which a new multimillion euro building was constructed. The reasoning for not using the Laprade building was that the building itself would trip up the message that the musée *Quai Branly* was intended to transmit, that of affirming the value of the cultures of the other. It wanted to represent a new paradigm of museums of culture, distant from the tarnished ethnographic museum model, as rendered explicit by Germain Viatte, the director of the project: "In order to affirm a new way of defining a museum of non western cultures, an absolutely contemporary museum was needed, one extracted of our colonial past and of design of the 1930s, an inspiring building, that could serve as a tool of exploration and interrogation' (cited by L'Estoile 2007 : 293).

According to the account provided on CNHI's website, on the other hand, the Laprade building was deemed an excellent site for their project because of its central location both in the city of Paris and in the landscape of national museums in France. From their perspective, housing the museum on this site would furnish the history of immigration its proper location in the centre of French national culture. Accordingly, their dilemma was how to create the museum so that the colonial imaginary impregnated in the building did not confuse the message the museum sought to transmit. As they note, the paternalism of colonialism is still present in today's negative regard of immigration. As discussed earlier, the creators of the museum are

intentional in their choice to downplay the history of French colonization, in their effort to eliminate the negative views which might linger about post-colonial subjects.

What is interesting, then, is that both projects for new museums converge in attempting to rework the national imaginary in relation to 'the Other' by generating a rupture with France's colonial past. The Quai Branly seeks to validate 'the Other' by bestowing cultural artifacts within the edifices of high art museums. The CNHI seeks to re-work the imaginary boundaries of the nation to include the immigrant 'other' within the national 'self'. Yet, for neither project is the interrogation of the colonial past considered part of the process for achieving their convergent aims. Furthermore, both museums avoid the thorny issue of cultural practices and ethnicities, to varying extents, in an effort to divorce themselves from the now discredited ethnographic museums which sought to reconstitute a society through objects and thus monopolize 'truth' on 'Other' civilisations (L'Estoile 2007). The *Quai Branly*'s strategy is to embrace a romantic notion of culture which assumes that all cultures are equal and that the highest forms of any culture are embodied in the artistic achievements which can be universally appreciated and communicated across cultural difference. Thus, artefacts can speak for themselves and for the cultures from which they came, without further narrative. On the other hand, the CNHI sidesteps the question of multicultural recognition in a different way, by highlighting the universal experience of immigration and the generic nature of good citizenship practices in France, thus buttressing a Republican framework which privileges individual rights abstracted from cultural practices.

Despite elements of continuity with past representations of alterity in the landscape of ethnographic museums in France, the CNHI potentially poses a challenge to the French nation with regard to its ambiguous stance in relation to immigration. This is evident in the manner in which the two museum projects have not received the same level of investment and official recognition, as the *Quai Branly*'s brand new building and the pomp and ceremony of its inauguration contrasts to the more modest investment and lack of official launch for the National Museum of Immigration demonstrate. In addition, the attempt by *sans-papiers* to use the museum space to stage a protest regarding exclusion from citizenship is also

suggestive of both the potential and limits to the challenge to exclusionary practices a national museum can afford.

Certainly, while colonialism is downplayed, it is not obliterated from the National Museum of Immigration, and some discussion of the colonial imagination within a wider historical discussion of racism and xenophobia in France is provided, distinguishing further the two museums. Perhaps even more significant in the difference of approaches of the two museums is their underpinning practices of collection and display. The *Quai Branly* exposes artifacts originating from outside of France, some coming from what used to be ethnographic museums, others purchased on the art market, all exposed as high art, abstracted from a historical narrative. The CNHI displays include art objects, but these have been created within Western conventions of art and, as such, are not being specifically bestowed this title by the museum. Furthermore, the museum has emphasized every day memory objects in different ways, as discussed in previous sections. Finally, of course, the obvious difference is also the museum's explicitly historical narrative which provides context to understand and interpret the objects found within it, even though I have emphasized the polyvocality of these objects. This polyvocality is precisely what was sought by the museum's creators who in fact attempted to re-imagine the role of the national museum in public life to democratize its symbolic power and purposefully cultivate the site's potential as an arena for debate. Within the museum's explicitly articulated ambitions, is to become a site as well as a network drawing together associations and engaging the public in activities which will further the goal of raising the profile of the contributions of immigrants to French society. This includes an annual literary prize, *le Prix littéraire de la Porte Dorée*, awarded by a jury to authors whose work addresses the theme of exile. The museum also strives to become a forum for academic and public debates and special exhibitions on topical themes, and here they have hosted in the past a colloquium on the history of immigration and the question of colonialism. It hosts a *médiathèque* named after a well known French sociologist of Algerian-origin, Abdelmalek Sayad, and which offers to the public a range of free audiovisual resources related to the themes of the museum. It has also developed an ongoing participatory element in the permanent exhibition, as oral

histories and objects of the public can contribute to a section entitled 'gallery of donations'.

5.6 Conclusion

To conclude, I have introduced the CNHI as an example of a well-intentioned attempt at mobilising a particular form of Republican anti-racist practice and discourse, well rehearsed in the France. As developed in the previous chapter, one aspect of this discourse is the association made between the experience of discriminatory treatment as a naturalised dimension of the immigrant experience. This feeds into a framing of racism as almost exclusively associated with xenophobic rejection of immigrants and an aphoria of the way in which racism is an everyday lived experience for many racialized French citizens, which may also be tied to the lack of formal recognition of minoritised ethnicities. According to this republican standpoint, then, the CNHI's attempt to centre immigrants and their role of the building of the republic discursively can be interpreted as an anti-discrimination initiative.

In my visual and textual analysis of the narratives of the museum, I have highlighted three lines of thinking in relation to colonialism, civic practices and ethnicity and national belonging found in the museum. These discourses discipline bodies by producing particular forms of behaviour relating to good citizenship (Foucault 1977; Hooper-Greenhill 1989; Matless 1998). While I have emphasized a discursive and symbolic analysis of the site, I maintain that the dominant narratives are in competition with rival narratives, also present through the art installations, photographies, oral testimonies, and audiovisual elements in the museum, which introduce a variety of perspectives and voices which can not be entirely contained by the authoritative informational panels. Furthermore, in an attempt to democratize, to an extent, the mechanism of collection, the museum has adopted mechanisms for the contribution of a variety of voices intended to be continually incorporated in the museum collections,as well as to to host and welcome institutional networks with interests on issues relating to immigration and integration.

Perhaps the most ambitious mobilization of the museum space for a different political project than was originally intended by its creators was attempted by the

sans-papiers demonstrators over the winter of 2010-1. Unfortunately, at the time of the occupation's termination, the demands of the occupiers to obtain permits of residence remained largely unresolved. Inevitably, their embodied presence added a new and subversive twist to the colonial symbolism and republican nationalist ideologies of the CNHI and put to test the effectiveness of the sympathetic sentiments which the museum attempts to generate with regard to immigration to France. It reveals the limits of such a framing of nation-based citizenship belonging and inevitably throws a wrench in a universalist anti-racist discourse of fairness and equality among citizens which is tightly linked to membership in a bounded state.

In this first section, I have shown how intellectuals, politicians and public servants haved worked to produce and defend a certain set of discourses about the place of ethnicity and the absence of 'race' in French society through national statistical categorisation and the creation of a memorial museum space in Paris. In what follows, the focus shifts to the narratives of the generation of young people who have grown up in France during the same time period explored through these case studies. The next section enlivens the account of the contested national politics of recognition described in this first section by examining how racialized youth in Paris and its surrounding suburbs have interpreted and experienced the politics of 'race' and national identity in their own working lives.

Part II: Working in the Republic

Chapter 6- Why do you want this job? Young French Adults' Motivations for the Job They Do

6.1 Introduction

> In France today it's the culture of the interview. They interview you thousands of times, they ask questions from all directions, and then in the end, it all comes down to the "feeling" of the interviewer…. It is possible that you did a good interview but if the interviewer that you have in front of you, if the employer tells himself, he doesn't really get a good feeling off of you, well, it will be no…. I don't think it's really by objective criteria… All this to say that, well, there are codes to learn and unfortunately, it's by experience that you learn them, so there you go. (Hassan, 29, French, Moroccan)

Demonstrating the motivation to work is a highly ritualised performance yet also clearly an important aspect of securing a job. In France, the cover letter that accompanies the CV is referred to as a "motivation letter" (*lettre de motivation*) and is a convention required for most job applications as well as for enrolment in many educational institutions. In the motivation letter, as well as during the job interview, applicants are expected to demonstrate enthusiasm and commitment for the specific work opportunity for which they are competing. Clearly, it is in an employer's best interest to enlist as employees those who are not only capable but who will be highly driven to invest their energy in the work that they do for the firm. As the quote above highlights, however, not all forms of motivation are recognized as legitimate and a particular format is required to convince employers that an applicant is truly dedicated to the job.

Numerous analyses have emphasised the novelty of the heightened precariousness and flexibility of work place arrangements under contemporary conditions of capitalism (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005; Sennett 2006). These widely accepted accounts suggest that work arrangements at the top end of the polarized labour market in the leading edge sectors, and especially the creative sector, are increasingly flexible and autonomous, and require that individuals take charge of their own careers. Rather than relying on a gradual progression up the corporate ladder of a particular firm, careers increasingly take the form of a string of self-directed projects. Landing each subsequent 'project' requires the ongoing development of one's set of skills and overall employability. In this context of

heightened precariousness, individualised motivation is, apparently, the key to success. As youth scholars point out, macro-level economic transformations that alter employment conditions such as those theorised in the 'New Economy' literatures are likely to reveal themselves in the working lives of young people who are on the front lines of change and as the largest group of newcomers to the job market (Bradley and Hoof 2005; Reiter and Craig 2005; Roberts 2011; van Hoof and Bradley 2005).

In this chapter, I contribute to the work of critical scholars who are complicating some of the claims found in the New Economy literatures. I do so through an empirical examination of how lived intersectional social relations of gender, 'race', ethnicity, religion and class come into play in the formation and recognition of young people's motivation, a well as opportunities that become available or are closed to them. I examine how at least three interrelated manifestations of disciplinary gendering and racialising narratives are at work in the context of the lives of the people I interviewed. These are the rationalities and ideals of (i) secular and colour-blind republicanism, (ii) neoliberal citizenship and (iii) post-feminism.

This chapter is organised as follows: I begin by introducing the three intertwined governmentalities which, I argue, shape French young people's subjectivities and come to play in the working lives of the people I interviewed. The first technology I discuss is a review of the construction of "good" citizenship as emancipation from culture and religion, developed in the first half of this thesis. I draw from youth studies to show how employment is an important pillar in this form of governmentality through active citizenship which pathologizes unemployed young people as lacking motivation. The second technology of governance I discuss draws from recent French literature on 'the new world reason,' that of neoliberal governmentality (Dardot and Laval 2009). I show how ideals of republican citizenship mesh with new forms of governance based on the logic of liberalised global free markets. This governmentality fosters the emergence of subjectivities always ready and willing to compete and take individual responsibility for themselves. Finally, the third technology of governance draws from the ideas of

feminist scholars such as Angela McRobbie who argue that post-feminist ideals are disciplining gender power relations and identities. They suggest that the widely held assumption that women in European states are liberated in contrast to women in 'othered' Muslim cultures is a key technology of gender power. This governmentality plays a disciplining role in the lives of all citizens and bolsters the other currents of governance of neoliberal and neo-nationalist republicanism (McRobbie 2009; McRobbie 2011b; Yildiz 2011).

Having set out the theoretical framework in this way, I then introduce the empirical material drawn from narratives of interview participants who explain the motivations they saw as driving them to the educational and work trajectories they pursued. In these narratives, I interpret the ways in which participants' rationalities make sense in relation to the republican neoliberal post-feminist governmentalities that I theorise. In bringing attention to the intersectional dimensions to people's lives, I show how participants' agency might be identified in the extent to which their narratives conform to certain dimensions of these new technologies of governance while resisting others, in order to rationalise their actions in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. However, I also examine the limits of this theoretical framework, using an example a form of agency and motivation which passes under the radar of this analysis. I consider how the arguments made by Saba Mahmood (2005) about performative agency might bring depth to the interpretation of the agency of the women who, in an individualised manner marked by choice, prioritise religious practice in their lives over career prospects. In this way, this chapter draws together the insights and debates from a range of literatures on subjectivity formation, agency and global economic transformation to tease out how these processes are mediated by gender, 'race', religion and class in the lives of Parisian youth in their early working lives. It demonstrates in empirical detail how the discourses of neoliberal citizenship, of colour-blind republicanism and postfeminism, influence the lived social relations of young pople from different backgrounds in the Parisian labour market.

6.2 Theorising Technologies of Governance

In Chapter 2 I introduced the concept of governmentality as it pertains to the production of subjectivities in the thought of Michel Foucault. This form of social control helps to shape actions by enlisting the actors themselves to 'choose' to act along the lines outlined by promoting certain forms of rationality and mentalities as powerful and attractive normative ideals (Foucault 1978; Foucault 2004 [1978-9]; McNay 1994; Yildiz 2011). In this chapter, I explore three aspects of normative narratives active in the French context which help to interpret the aspirations and motivations of those interviewed for the study. The effects of these overlapping disciplinary complexes are dispersed across various aspects of life but share common terrain in their influence in shaping individuals and their attachment to work. These normative regimes also have a bearing on the structure of contemporary capitalist labour arrangements.

6.2.1 Republican Secular Citizenship and Activation Policies

In the first half of this thesis I explored two examples of technologies of governance characteristing French republicanism which construct citizenship as necessitating a process of emancipation from family, culture and religion: the census and the museum. I also showed how this form of citizenship construes immigrants, particularly racialized ones and their children, as inadequately individualised because of their assumed entrapment in collectivities based on 'culture' and 'religion.' Belonging to minoritized ethnicities purportedly prevents them from acting as rational and free thinking individuals. This construction of citizenship has also prevented the identification of the children of immigrants in any other way than through this appellation, which serves to discursively link their status with that of a newly arrived guest and perpetuate this association. While presenting itself as neutral, this model of immigrant integration has championed a particular form of patriotism as a mechanism for generating adhesion to the national collective and solidarity among individual citizens requiring a wilful amnesia of France's colonial past and, in particular, a forgetting of the atrocities committed in Algeria. Such aphoria also has deep consequences for those affected by these histories. Taken

together, this set of ideas about citizenship as a particular form of freedom, independence and autonomy, can be theorised as a significant disciplinary technology, in the Foucauldian sense.

In line with this promotion of independence and autonomy as values in themselves, paid work serves as an important marker of an autonomous adulthood linked to republican citizenship and solidarity (Lister 2001; Lister, Smith, Middleton, and Cox 2003; McDowell 2009; Stavo-Debauge 2009; Stavo-Debauge 2011; van Hoof and Bradley 2005). Further contributing to the symbolic significance of work for social integration, in France, the welfare state which is inspired by the Bismarkian German model is centered on employment to the degree that employers and employees make contributions which serve to cushion workers for incidental periods of unemployment, (Malmberg-Heimonen and Julkunen 2005). However, since the 1970s which brought about the economic restructuring associated with the oil shocks and the shift away from manufacturing towards a service sector labour market, chronic structural unemployment has been a permanent reality in France. This has led to the development of the social category of '*les exclus,'* referring to those whose long-term unemployment leaves them almost permanently excluded from full citizenship and who are in the margins of the welfare regime (Béland and Hansen 2000).

Racialized groups figure disproportionately among '*les exclus*'. In Chapter 4, I presented recent quantitative data which revealed profound disadvantages faced by members of the so-called 'second generation' of African origin in the labour market in particular. The significance of this discrimination is amplified by the importance of securing economic independence through paid employment to reach the mandated independence and autonomy required to meet French, if not European, ideals of citizenship (McDowell 2009; Reiter and Craig 2005). Stavo-Debauge (2011) points to the irony of the fact that finding a job is supposed to prove both an aptitude for being a good citizen and the society's fairness at receiving an individual in its fold. Yet this does not constitute reliable litmus tests either of an individual's capacity to become a good citizen or of society's fairness, since markets are left more or less ungoverned, and are explicitly based on principles of competition and profit maximization rather

than on egalitarian or other principles in which people's wellbeing is valued over profit. Labour markets cuttingly distinguish between, and attribute different values to, different forms of work, types of skills and competencies and the embodied characteristics associated with each of these, as feminist and anti-racist scholars have long pointed out (Brah 1994; McDowell 2009). Thus, access to work is key to meeting the ideal of citizenship, even though market principles according to which paid employment is distributed are themselves, arguably, inimical to concepts of a community based on solidarity.

To add insult to injury, in policies addressing those excluded from the labour market, in Europe, there has been a noted trend towards what are referred to as 'activation' strategies which put the focus on developing individual level motivation and employability as opposed to the actual creation of new jobs (Bradley and Hoof 2005; Dardot and Laval 2009). In France, the *Revenu minimum d'insertion* (RMI) is emblematic of a welfare policy of this kind in that it targets those who do not otherwise qualify for unemployment insurance and are deemed of working age, i.e. over 25. This social welfare support mandates those who receive it to demonstrate their motivation to search for employment or enrol in a training programme (Malmberg-Heimonen and Julkunen 2005). In this way, it suggests that the unemployed ought to take responsibility for their situation, despite the fact that the longstanding high proportions of unemployment are best understood as the consequence of the restructuring of the economy. What follows is an interpretation of the reasoning behind this form of welfare support.

6.2.2 Neoliberal Governmentality and 'New Capitalism'

Activation schemes assume that young people are passive in the face of unemployment and that their situations are a matter of personal choice and result from a lack of aspiration and work ethic. In this way, activation schemes fit in with what has been analysed by Dardot and Laval (2009) as a new form of neoliberal governmentality of world-wide breadth. It is a common-sense belief that favours implementing international monetary policies as a disciplinary force on all aspects of social life. It instils in subjects a deep commitment to market competition and self-

responsibilisation. Neoliberal governmentality ensures that those employed internalise the profitability constraints of the employer to the extent of self-monitoring their actions to contribute to the firm's efficiency and comply with customers' needs.

Key to the promotion of neoliberal governmentality is the widespread sense of employment insecurity felt by workers that ensures they do what it takes to hold on to their jobs, to the detriment of the labour movement. In fact, recent analyses of economic transformations have emphasised flexible employment relations and increasingly individualised, project-based portfolio careers as the hallmarks of a new employment regime (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005; Sennett 2006). From the perspective of Dardot and Laval and converging with Doogan, these new discourses about the rise of flexible and precarious work found in 'New Economy' literatures have the unwittingly performative effect of amplifying the sense of precariousness workers feel (Dardot and Laval 2009; Doogan 2009). While workers might perceive themselves to be on shakier ground, empirical analyses of employment relationships suggest that precariousness characterises a minority of employment relationships. (Nonetheless, precarious work arrangements, even if overemphasized in scope in the literature, are more likely to be suffered by racialized groups and women than white and typically middle class men (Vosko and Cranford 2006)).

From Dardot and Laval's perspective, it is not a new form of workplace culture that has transformed capitalism, as some New Economy analysts would have it. Rather, it is the culmination of decisions made by political leaders to promote actively the deregulation of financial monetary flows and to claw back labour protection laws and welfare policies (Dardot and Laval 2009; Doogan 2009; Peck 2008; Peck and Tickell 2002). Unfettered markets, coupled with the retrenchment of the welfare state, increase the sense of risk and uncertainty faced by workers should they lose their jobs. Doogan (2009) argues that the sense that work is increasingly precarious and the exaggeration of the risk that companies will move outside of national borders if workers push for better pay and work conditions is feeding into a neoliberal agenda which prevents workers from making demands for better work conditions.

Feminist scholars also note that the most important transformation in the labour market since the 1970s is the advent of women to paid work, a phenomenon which is vastly under-theorised in 'new economy' literatures (McDowell 2009; McDowell and Christopherson 2009; McRobbie 2009; McRobbie 2011a). McDowell (2009b) points out that what she terms"transformations theorists" have identified as novel in the so-called "new economy" is, in fact, a generalisation based on the historic evolution of the masculine industrial employment experience. While the rise of part-time employment relations has been used as evidence for increasingly precarious work arrangements, Doogan (2009) notes that these have largely been taken up by women and actually represent a mechanism through which they, as well as young people (students), secure longer term labour market attachment. The rise of part-time employment cannot, therefore, be assumed to indicate precariousness. While transformation scholars have emphasized a transition away from the masculine Fordist model of work towards more flexible and precarious working arrangements, McDowell (2009) points out that work which used to be done in the home primarily by women has increasingly entered the market place and is carried out by a majority female work force in the expanding service sector. In the following section, I draw from feminist theorising which considers the way in which the concessions made to women in the labour market help produce another form of common-sense rationality with regard to the emancipation of 'western' women which serves as a disciplinary norm particularly harmful for Muslim youth in France.

6.2.3 Post-Feminist Governmentality

Angela McRobbie argues that in a defensive response to the massive gendered transformation of the labour force since the 1970s, there has been a reconfiguration of the state, capital and consumer culture which constrains the arena of gender politics to the detriment of feminism (McRobbie 2009; McRobbie 2011a). She argues that the mainstreaming of gender empowerment discourses has perverted them to such a degree that instead of emancipating women, they serve as a disciplinary technology maintaining feminist politics at bay. As she explains:

> …the abandonment of feminism, for the sake of what Judith Butler would call intelligibility as a woman, is amply rewarded with the promise of freedom and independence, most apparent through wage-earning capacity, which also functions symbolically, as a mark of respectability, citizenship and entitlement. There is a kind of exchange, and also process of displacement and substitution going on here. The young woman is offered a notional form of equality, concretised in education and employment, and through participation in consumer culture and civil society, in place of what a reinvented feminist politics might have to offer. (2009: 2)

In this way, she suggests that the fact that women now hold paid employment is utilised to construct gender politics as out-of-date and unnecessary, despite the persistence of unequal gender relations.

In a more recent essay, McRobbie (2011b) builds on the work of Scott (2005,7) on feminist politics in France to develop her post-feminist disciplinary argument with regard to the headscarf ban (2011b). McRobbie (2011b) argues that the ban can be linked to the technology of governance of "the post-feminist masquerade" which ensures that the contemporary gender regime enforces a femininity obsessed with the beauty culture which disciplines through the norm of self-presentation catered to masculine heterosexual desire (104). Amir-Moazami points out that the headscarf ban is also tied to dominant conceptions of 'healthy youth' that insist upon sexual experimentation and permissiveness as one of its key defining features (2010). Thus, the headscarf ban, which construes European modernity as the only way towards gender equality, serves as a powerful post-feminist disciplinary tactic which disciplines Muslim and non-Muslim bodies alike (Fekete 2009; Yildiz 2011). It promotes a particular form of femininity as desirable and emancipated, while a pious Muslim feminine identity is portrayed as inimical to progressive politics and European modernity. In this way, it also ensures that feminist politics are disarticulated along lines of 'race' or, in other words, pits western feminists against Muslim women (Fekete 2009; McRobbie 2009). At the root of McRobbie's argument is the continued salience of gender as it intersects with 'race', ethnicity and class, as a governing technology particularly flagrant in the lives of young women.

I have now outlined three intertwined forms of governmentality which have been analysed as operational by scholars in the French context. In the next section of this chapter, I turn to the narratives of the interview participants in the study to

explore what motivates people to do the work that they do in the context of these debates about modernity and belonging. The narratives in this chapter have been selected on the basis of two main criteria: the interview discussion covered the topic of motivations in order to offer sufficiently rich detail, and ranges of different experiences are included. In the sections that follow, I have organised the material according to the dimension of governmentality they fall most fruitfully under and offer most substance for analysis, either by illustrating some aspects of conformity or resistance. However, the three disciplinary narratives I have introduced above are often intertwined and operational in any individual narrative in contradictory ways, which is part of what constitutes their complexity. Thus, the classification scheme that follows is to be seen as loose and far from mutually exclusive.

6.3 New Capitalism?

In this section, I discuss a range of participants whose experience speaks to the debates found in the New Economy literature about what motivates people to participate in paid work. Their motivations range from a passionate attachment to a career as predicted by Lordon (2003, 2010), to reasons external to the employment such as the fulfilment of family responsibilities and the funding of creative or activist pursuits.

6.3.1 Passionate About Work

A key tenet of the New Economy literatures relates to the way in which workers are said to become entirely enrolled in capitalism to the extent that more and more of their bodies, knowledge, free time and friendship circles revolve around their work responsibilities (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005; Lordon 2010; Sennett 2006). Lordon (2010) theorises new capitalist work arrangements as necessitating an alignment of workers' desires with the interests of their employers such that they might derive genuine enjoyment from contributing to the profitability of their firm. Governmentality approaches attribute this to the spread in influence of a neoliberal

governmentality which ensures that commitment of body and soul to the workplace is naturalised as common-sense, even as pleasurable.

One participant described himself as passionate about his work. René, 27, identifies as French with middle class parents of Vietnamese-origin, and is working as a camera technician for the television and film industry. He explains: "It was clear in my head, if I want to do this job, it's not for the glory, not at all for the, uh, the money, but, well for, for, for, the art, the art of film." When I interviewed René in January of 2010, the French film industry had been hit hard by the financial crisis. He expressed his preference, in trying to find contracts in his field, despite the difficulty, rather than doing a dreary desk job which does not interest him:

> Yes, yes, it's hard right now, plus, with the economic crisis right now, there are way, way, way less films that are being made so it's becoming a bit difficult, but, well, like I tell everyone, when you have a passion, you should not do anything else, it's true, I don't see myself behind a desk, euh, I would be the saddest guy ever if I was forced to do something else, I prefer for it to be a bit difficult, to struggle a little, and then at least, at least, I'm happy to wake up in the morning to go to work.

René is a good example of the project-based career described in the "transformations theorist" literature, as his line of work requires lining up contracts and building up his portfolio of experience and social networks. It should be noted that René's work, while precarious, is also rendered somewhat less so through a French social security policy protecting intermittent workers in the creative sector. This protocal which was renegotiated in 2003 allows technicians and professionals in the entertainment industry who work intermittently but undertake a minimum of 507 paid employment hours over the previous ten months to make a claim (Grégoire 2010). French social welfare ensures that René is not entirely individually responsible for his own financial security. René did express some anxiety in relation to the looming risk of this policy being revamped and scaled back by the current government[24] (Bodnar 2006). In this way, it can be argued that republican citizenship solidarity helps resist

[24] While this is a legitimate anxiety, currently the program remains in place.

a complete neoliberal enrolment on the part of creative sector workers who qualify for insurance like René.

The theorisation of the 'new capitalism' also suggests that passionate affective attachment has extended to other types of employment, beyond the creative sector. Certainly, some participants described themselves as being very happy at their jobs. Delphine, 30, white, identifies as French, and narrates the launching of her career as a success. After convincing her wealthy and traditional parents that she wanted to work, since they hoped that she would marry and stay at home, she succeeded in the competitive admissions process in gaining access to a prestigious commerce school on the outskirts of Paris. Her parents covered her expenses, including the rental of a small apartment, while she studied. On graduating, she explains that she created an opportunity for herself by proposing her services to a small start-up company. She stayed at the company for just under a year but because, as she explains, the demand for the services of this company had not yet been developed, the company could no longer afford to keep her on. As she realised that this was the case, she let the clients of her company know that she was looking for a new job in the same sector and, in this way, was able to land herself a position at an agency which provided highly educated temporary workers to the communications industry. In her words,

> Well, it's amongst my clients, actually, that I, you see, I had actually prospected with them, I'd let them know, well, that, I was not going to be able to continue with this first company, it was too small and, well, a client told me, well send your CV to this guy if you want to keep working in the same area, which I did and after, well…

She has stayed at this company for six years and finds the work challenging and rewarding and, above all, she feels appreciated.

Delphine explains that when she was on her three-month maternity leave[25], she kept in contact with her bosses to reassure them that she was committed to her career, and so they waited for her return to restructure the company and terminate

[25] In France, women are allowed six weeks of paid leave prior to the birth, and ten weeks after.

the employment of some of the staff. Delphine's only concern was to ensure that her bosses were clear that she planned to continue to work. In fact, she explains, had her partner not been able to stay home with their baby, she would not have been able to have a child and meet the demands of her job which require long hours. As she explains, she only wanted a child if her partner were willing to take care of it, as she did not want to have it raised by a nanny or at a day-care, and as she herself did not want to take time away from her work at this point in her career.

Delphine is proud of her professional accomplishments and the high income and prestige of her position in a male dominated field of technical commerce. She notes that at the technical commerce schools she was amongst a minority of women, and in some ways, this motivated her to work hard at her studies, since the macho social ambiance did not distract her from her studies:

> so, on campus there were not many girls, [laughing] and you could really tell, actually, because as a result the boys would spend the nights drinking beer and it was not interesting at all…I didn't really mingle much on campus because I came home, I preferred coming home to Paris in the evening to be with my partner and, uhm, in the end, as a result, I was a lot more studious because, the other students who were on campus, well they tended to party every night and waste their time in the evenings and what not while I was more, well, I would come back to my place in the evenings and study my coursework and so then, after three years-
>
> Dephine's partner interjects: you started to work!

During her student years, Delphine also became involved in anti-homophobia, as well as feminist, politics and currently takes part in a women's association which encourages participation in the labour market through mentoring and women's networking events. Part of the satisfaction she derives from her work-life stems from the sense of pride and accomplishment that she feels as a woman with a high paid and high status job in the private sector in a competitive and male-dominated industry. Delphine openly discusses the way in which her self-presentation as an attractive blonde young woman has facilitated her entry into a male-dominated sector.

Delphine's case is exemplary in the tensions it presents in the rationalities through which she interprets her entrepreneurial drive. Her individualised narrative

of work-place success suggests an embracement of neoliberal governmentality. She adheres to a certain form of mainstream gender empowerment politics as described by McRobbie. However, Delphine has not entirely relinquished her ability to vocalize a more radical feminist critique and, along with her partner, she is explicit in their desire to challenge conventional gender norms in relation to the distribution of tasks in the home. In fact, spurring her careerist drive is the accomplishment of breaking through sexist barriers of employment, as well as challenging gender norms of child-rearing activities in the domestic sphere. In some ways, then, neoliberalist governmentalities are bolstered by a form of gender empowerment as described by McRobbie, but this does not mean that, conversely, feminist demands are entirely met.

It should be noted, however, that Delphine's radical positions on the need to reconfigure gender roles were exceptional. Amongst those I spoke with, women's school to work transitions tended to be more straightforward and linear in comparison to men's, whose tended to be marked by more frequent job rejections and employment and educational re-orientations, particularly for those with origins racialized as Black and '*Maghrébin'*. This likely is partly a reflection of the commitment young women have to their education and working lives. However, the career paths that women opted for were also more frequently in sectors less valued socially and financially such as in the service sector and care work and educational fields. Thus, the arguments made by McRobbie about the way in which new the found access to education and paid employment for women has been offered in exchange for a silencing of feminist demands for a more radical transformation of gender identities and the overall valuation of work deemed feminised is supported by my findings.

6.3.2 Rejecting Careerism

Some participants were explicit in their intent to buck the market-based principles they perceived as powerful influences that were contrary to their own values. One heterosexual couple was explicit in their efforts to resist conforming to capitalist profiteering and individualised careerism. Both had grown up in working class

suburban neighbourhoods and they also spoke directly to the question of how their career choices and motivations had been affected by each other. Channary, aged 26, who identifies as French with Cambodian origins, was studying Korean at a private college while working part-time at a women's accessories retail outlet to help pay for her living expenses and tuition. Emanuel, who identifies as French with Spanish and Polish origins and is aged 27, was working part-time at a clothing retail store while also developing his skills as a musician during his time off. They spoke about resisting conforming to a set of values that would prioritise material consumption and insisted upon using their time and energy towards activities that developed their intellect, creative capacities and cultural knowledge and, above all, to things that made them happy. Thus, they were explicit in their rejection of a working life or a career geared around financial gain and economic and social status simply for the sake of it.

During the interview, Channary described how a few years prior, she had been working full-time at the same accessories chain store she was currently working at part-time. In her narrative, she talks about how her bosses recognized her enthusiasm, responsibility and her autonomy on the job, and how she was thus afforded the opportunity to become an assistant manager:

> Channary: They saw that I was quite responsible and uh
>
> Emmanuel: She was there since the shop was launched
>
> Channary: and that I had, that I was also autonomous, so then, well I showed them that I wanted the position and, well, they gave it to me

Emmanuel then describes how she would return from work exhausted and in a bad mood when she had this more demanding job, and that this was a strain on their relationship. In addition, he was critical of how she became accustomed to earning a good salary and spending it, which led her to continue in a job she did not actually enjoy. It was hard for him to accept that she was investing so much of herself into something that he perceived her not to care about. Her narrative, goaded on by his insistence on this perspective, turns to how she felt that she was being exploited at this job which, for a minor increase in salary, resulted in a major increase in responsibility from her previous status as mere employee: "You put yourself into your work, you do lots of overtime that is not necessarily paid because, well, because

you're so invested in it and actually and, uhm, uhm, and so I did that for a year and I became completely exhausted and disgusted (laughing) it really put me off sales work and the system too." Emmanuel further elaborated during the interview:

> No you weren't really being appreciated but that depended on the supervisor, that's the thing, some didn't know how to do it, so then you'd come home and you'd be in a bad mood because often that is what happened, actually. She came home, she would sulk, she would complain all day, she'd talk about her work. It was not interesting for me at all, because, well, euh, because it wasn't interesting! [laughing] And then, to top it off, it wasn't even what she was interested in doing.

Eventually, Emmanuel gave her an ultimatum: she had to choose her job or her relationship with him. She came to the decision to stay in the relationship and return to her studies to commit her time to something that she loved, settling on Korean language classes. Her longer-term goal is to live in Korea for a period of time. She explains that she does not dream of a career, *per se*:

> See, I don't dream of a career, or money later on, to have a big house, that stuff doesn't interest me at all, I don't want work to earn money, well to earn money to buy a big house or to have amazing furniture, no, it's not that at all, what I want for myself is happiness and so whatever I can do to be happy, and for me to be happy, I have to do what I enjoy. So what pleases me for the time being is learning languages. It might be different in a few years, but for now this is what makes me happy.

She nonetheless needs an income to support herself and continues to work part-time at the same company but has gone back to being a mere employee and relinquished her position of assistant manager.

Emmanuel also discusses the influences Channary has had on his own trajectory. He talks about how it is through her encouragement that he has slowly developed the confidence to invest himself in his creative endeavours and pursue his interest in becoming a musician. Emanuel expresses trepidation at the idea of making his passion for illustration his source of income, however, and also relies on a retail job to earn his living which, while not lucrative, is secure and stable.

> I got into a rhythm of living where I was satisfied. I didn't earn much, but just enough to live, and then on the side, I did drawing for myself, it made me happy, so I wasn't in a hurry to work in drawing, necessarily, full-time because, it's a pretty complicated choice, in a sense, do I want to live off my passion, or

> keep it as a passion, keep it as a passion, actually, so I continued like that for a long time.

He spoke about the anxieties inherent in launching into a portfolio career in which creative personal expression is put in the market. In Emmanuel's case, whose working class background leaves him with little relevant social networks and financial backing, the demands associated with initiating a career in the creative sector are significant barriers. Rather than exposing himself to financial and emotional risks through rejection and failure, Emmanuel prefers to rely on sales jobs and low-income rent subsidies to survive, and dedicates his free time to the cultivation of his drawing talent. He has not entirely thrown in the towel on a creative career, but is biding his time in investing himself entirely in the project. He credits Channary for helping him become more disciplined in his approach to honing his abilities and starting to build up the confidence to initiate steps towards a career in the music industry.

The narrative of this couple included prolonged moments of crisis in their relationship, relating to their efforts to converge on the values that would govern the way they both allocated their time and effort. It is interesting to analyze Channary's motivations for work, how they changed over the course of the couple's relationship and, even, how her narration shifted over the course of our two and a half hours of joint discussion where her partner was present. Initially, she started to work out of a need to support herself, describing her family's resources as limited and, therefore, cutting her university studies short to work. While she talks at first, in her narrative, about the recognition she obtained at her retail job where she felt her autonomy and responsible nature were valued, she also expresses commitment to the values clearly espoused by her partner during the joint interview and which reject careerist ambition for the sake of it. Her motivation as a manager dwindles and she seeks instead to downgrade her status and balance further studies with a part-time job which allows her to survive financially but not to accumulate savings. The indignation which she expresses in rejecting consumerism and financially motivated advancement is perhaps related to her position in the couple's heterosexual relationship in which her partner does not support her initial articulation of career ambition. Furthermore, she also talks about taking on most of the responsibilities for

cooking and the cleaning of their shared apartment as something that she struggles with, given that, in her family, growing up with two older brothers and two older sisters, her mother had insisted that everyone contribute to the household tasks, ensuring in this way that both her brothers and her sisters learned to cook and clean. Thus, Channary's position is very constrained and there are complex and contradictory sources of indignation, both at her work place and in her personal relationship. In attempting to resist a neoliberal individualised career ethic, she is also refusing the empowerment of financial independence and upward career mobility. While this could in some ways be interpreted as a rejection of a post-feminist gendered social contract, Channary and Emmanuel are still embroiled in power relations within their relationship which result in an unequal distribution of their household labour, to Channary's disadvantage.

Coming from a working class family means that Emmanuel has to work exceptionally hard to build the cultural and social capital necessary to embody the confidence required to launch and perservere in a career as a creative freelancer. Lacking the cultural capital to meet the demands of highly taxing capitalist work arrangements requiring high degrees of entrepreneurialism and confidence was not uncommon. Gérard, 34, white and identifiying as French and whose father owns a car mechanic garage in a suburb of Paris, also expressed a rejection of market values and explains how, after working nine years at a company, he had the sense of being pushed out of his job. He notes how his permanent position in the sales of office supplies had shifted in recent years to demand more aggressive tactics in its commercial approach:

> At the beginning it was a lot about client relations and then these last years it had become purely commercial. You had to manage to see the maximum amount to the maximum number of customers without worrying too much about, euhm, ensuring their satisfaction etc. We mainly tried to see and for me, this didn't suit me. It didn't suit me at all actually…One of the tricks we used, it's very defined, uhm, it's what we call in marketing…euh, well if you see what I mean, at the beginning I was doing customer relations, customer satisfaction, but by the end I did what we call "cross-selling" and "up-selling".

Gérard felt less and less able to meet the expectations made of him at work and more and more disinterested in the actual nature of his job which had become entirely centered on furthering the profitability of his firm. His company wound up

terminating his contract and, since it was a permanent contract (*Contrat à durée indéterminée CDI*), Gérard was able to fight to obtain a certain number of months of pay as part of a severance agreement.

In the interview, Gérard explains that, in a way, this change allowed him to reconsider the kind of work he would like to do to correspond more with his interests: "I really want to succeed in, in doing a job that has a bit more to do with what I love to do in life…" His plan is to retrain as an early childhood caregiver, even though this type of work requires a lower level of educational credentials and will likely result in less renumeration. While his preference is working with children, Gérard explains how he is open to caring sector work with other age groups as well, and that what is key is that it is meaningful in the sense that it "brings something to others."

Gérard's case is interesting because the intensified neoliberal based principles of competition required of him in his sales job disqualified him from the employment he had held for nine years. Rather than managing to find intrinsic enjoyment in successfully and perpetually increasing sales for his company as was required of him, he found the demands overly pressurized. The crisis of losing his job put into question for him the very motivations for which he was engaged in paid work. This fork in the road forced him to re-evaluate his priorities and consider how he might work in a field which might enable him to find more meaning in his work. This reorientation process directed him towards a training programme in care work.

Gérard, Channary and Emanuel are far from the only ones who found it difficult to derive fulfilment from their paid employment. Mark, 31, who grew up in a working class family in the suburbs of Paris and identifies as French with Vietnamese origins and is a manager in a company in the car industry. He explains that he has found it very difficult to find work about which you can be passionate. He ended up working in the auto industry simply because an opportunity came up when he was finishing his university studies for which he qualified. He finds his work interesting enough, but does not feel passionate about it. For him, work is about being able to support his family and sustain the lifestyle they have become used to living:

> Mark: I did my studies in electronics and then, uh, I fell into the auto sector by chance, so, it's interesting work, but I realise now with hindsight that it's hard to find work that you feel passionate about.
>
> Esther: Ok, so you find the work interesting but you are not necessarily passionate about…
>
> Mark: No, not passionate. It's hard, actually. In relation to my level of studies, a job that I would be passionate about would be a job where you don't watch the clock, or where you could forget your family life, where you can travel…you feel passion, you're not counting hours or thinking about money. I think that people, for example, footballers, well, there's money as well, and there is also a lot of restrictions in terms of the healthy lifestyle they have to live etc. but those people, above all, are passionate about their work, and I realize now that it's very hard to find a profession that exciting. The work I do is very interesting; it allows me to see a lot, to travel, to meet people from different horizons, but to be passionate about it? It's hard, it's hard…

Mark explains that decisions around paid work are an attempt at some kind of compromise between a job he can feel excited about and meeting his responsibility to support his family. Currently, he is working at 80% so that he can have Wednesdays off to take care of his daughters. His wife works full-time in a hospital but works extended hours Monday to Thursday in order to take Friday off. In this way, they have organized their working lives so that their children are only in daycare for three days a week. Mark explains how he decided to do this because he does not want to miss out on his children's childhood. He feels that because he has made this decision, he gets passed over for promotions.

For other people whom I interviewed, it is partly their activism outside work which compensates for the drudgery of their day jobs. Lucas, 31, middle class French with Italian family origins, works as a manager for a social benefits company and explains that what motivates him to work, beyond the need for an income to support himself and his family, is the work he does as the head of a non-profit solidarity organisation. His supervisors are aware that this is the case, and are happy to let him incorporate this into his daily schedule, as long as he is adequately committed and effective at his job. Through his professional life, he explains that he can learn skills which are useful to him for his activism:

> Let's say that these days, what motivates me the most is my voluntary work, it's true, even my supervisors know it, but, already my work, let's say, my

> professional work, it's a breadwinner, you can't forget it, it's important to pay the rent at the end of the month. But the thing that is interesting is that you learn at work, in a sense, you learn a certain technique to get organized, you learn to develop professional relationships with others, you learn to transfer things that you learn that you don't learn in the school system and so it's interesting, from a professional life.

Thus, Channary, Emmanuel, Mark and Lucas do not necessarily derive an intrinsic sense of fulfilment from their work, yet they find the drive and motivation to work in spheres of their lives outside of their employment. However, not fully investing their whole selves into their careers does have consequences. As Mark has noted, it means that he misses out on opportunities for upward mobility in the firm where he works where he realises that the fact that he doesn't commit full-time hours puts brakes on his career. In fact, as my interviews took place in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, Lucas expressed the sentiment of many participants as follows:

> I don't really see my work life through rose-tinted glasses, eh? Not at all, some days I ask myself if I should start putting my CV on the internet to find something else, of course, there are days like that, but now, on top of everything, with the economic situation, it's obviously not easy to find something, there's that side of things too.

As these examples illustrate, while there is a pressure to 'enrol' in neoliberal work arrangements from the sense of a scarcity of good work, some young people find ways to resist individualist careerist impulses, all the while earning their living and finding fulfilment in other areas of their lives. Especially for those discussed in this section with lower level qualifications, this can still be associated with an extremely modest lifestyle. It is significant that that for those discussed in this section who have lower incomes, welfare state subsidies such as subsidized housing expenses (Emmanuel and Channary) and intermittent creative sector worker insurance (René) helped them to survive. This supports the arguments made regarding the relationship between social welfare and resistance to capitalist work arrangements and neoliberal governmentality.

Parenting and supporting a family were not surprisingly key motivators for sustaining employment. While studies continually reveal that much work remains to be done to balance the efforts put in by men and women in the care work in the home, in my study, I did come across several examples of men, like Mark, who had adjusted

their work schedule at the expense of career advancement to accommodate child care. In addition, as shown through the example of Gérard, the feminised caring sector work did attract some men, particularly when participants attempted to find meaning and fulfilment in their paid work. Another male participant I interviewed had trained as a nurse. Nonetheless, as I discussed, post-feminist disciplinary tactics loomed in the lives of Delphine and Channary and other women spoke with as they were essentially forced to make choices in different ways to conform and resist to combinations of individualised female careerism, feminine beauty standards and/or unequal gender responsibilities in the home. Furthermore, examples of men engaged in caring work were the exceptions to the rule as, for the most part, participants tended to strive for employment in fields and positions that were remarkably segregated by gender. Furthermore, most women still tended to take on more than their fair share of the housework and child-care in comparison with their partners, if they were in a couple, and many espoused views of their natural inclinations to mother in comparison to men.

6.4 Republican Citizenship: Getting Work in the First Place

New capitalism debates tend to downplay the significance of both gendering and racialization processes. In this section, I develop a corrective by highlighting participants' narratives which illustrate the meshing of the racialized norms of republican cititizenship as they interact with neoliberal rationality in the workplace experience of young people. Racialized minority communities are often constructed as a threat to the individualisation process of young people who are perceived to be at risk of being constrained by their parents' ethnicity and religious views and unable to secure independent adulthood fully (Stavo-Debauge 2009). Many racialized participants in the study seemed well aware of both the dominant construction of what it means to achieve autonomous adulthood and the racialising process which constructed them as racialized young people blocked from attaining this very status. Their narratives carefully accounted for their families' expectations of them, while at the same time constructing their agency in navigating these expectations, and yet still attaining an individualised autonomy, at least in some spheres.

Sam, for example, an IT engineer who identifies as French and whose parents are Cambodian/Chinese and live in a working class suburb of Paris, narrates his educational and career trajectory as a compromise between following his personal interests and fulfilling the wishes of his parents to pursue a professional degree that would lead to a stable, respectable and well-paid job. At university, he opted not to take up a minor in film studies in order to focus on his specialisation in IT. Finally, upon graduating with a master's degree in IT from a general university, he found that he was unable to land a job, as he quickly came to realise that in order to work in the field of computer technology, he would either have needed a doctoral university degree or an engineering degree. I interpret this experience as partly related to the lack of cultural and social capital required to make the most strategic educational choices and to gain access to scarce employment opportunities. Sam then made the decision to return to a private engineering school set up so that students worked from Monday to Friday on an internship and studied at the school on the weekends. He committed to this relentless schedule and, after two years, obtained the certification as an engineer that he perceived to be required to get a job in the field.

Sam was offered a permanent position at the company where he had been doing his internship. He was very tired after these two years of full-time work combined with studies and wanted to take a sabbatical year but his parents asked him to accept the job so that he could help them with their family expenses and his sister's schooling costs. Sam accepted that he should start work right away after graduation but decided that he would also move out from his parents' apartment in the *banlieues* to live in Paris. His parents considered this to a be a waste of money but had to accept the decision and, eventually, as a family, decided to take out a large loan in order to invest in the purchase of a small apartment in which he would live so as not to have to pay rent but, instead, make mortgage payments.

I interpret Sam's desire to live in Paris as partly related to his acute awareness of the dominant discourse that paints a negative portrait of *banlieues* spaces as marginal - if not external - to French identity. He narrates how his teachers explained to them at school that they must avoid having a '*banlieusard*' accent and be careful how they present themselves to others because the stigma of the *banlieues* would

stick to them. Sam described himself at some points in our discussion using the lexicon associated with immigration but which, in the French context, is also widely used to talk about members of racialized minority ethnicities, referring to himself as 'well integrated' because of his successful career and having managed to get out of the *banlieues*: "I think, we can say that I have made it out of the *banlieues*, shall we say, correctly, I don't have a *banlieue* accent, I integrated myself pretty well compared to others, I integrated myself maybe even a bit better than others, I think…" While I argue that this framing of things does fold with a republican citizenship governmentality, I acknowledge that explaining his success in terms of 'integration' is also a result of having taken part in a research study which examined the trajectories of immigrants and their children[26], as well as my own research project.

Sam's account of the development of his educational and early career choices reveals that his navigation of his parents' expectations, his embracing of his position within a family economy, and all his decisions are part of a larger financial strategy of his family. He describes this as falling in line with a "philosophy of Asian families" in which children give money to their parents once they have reached working age. Yet, at the same time, he points out to me that he is selective in the advice he accepts from his parents and does choose to disregard their views in some areas of life, such as the decision to move out, as noted above, but also with regard to his romantic life, as in the following passage where he talks about his disregard for his parents' preference for him to seek a partner of the same ethnicity as them:

> In that case, I told myself, for my career, my parents are right, well, at least, I accepted their reasoning, uhm, for the path I chose for my work and my schooling, but for my personal life, I think that I am, I am against racial prejudice, be it of my parents or of others, I told myself, anyways, it doesn't matter, it's a problem but after it's… if they don't accept it, well they'll just have to, right? They will have to make do with it otherwise I tell myself there is no reason to have this prejudice and I never had it…

[26] One quarter of the participants in the study were recruited by following up on a large-scale study which was conducted the year before by the National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) and the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies. The studied was called *Trajectoires et Origines* (http://teo.site.ined.fr/).

This example is useful because it serves to illustrate several ways in which early career motivations of young people might be located within a family context. They are not individualised and egotistical as certain theorisations would suggest. First, this is so in terms of the field of possibilities constructed to be appropriate, learnt from a young age, as well as enforced through parental guidance; secondly, in terms of the support required of the family to secure autonomy (in this case expressed through independent housing); thirdly, through young people's obligation to help their families meet material needs.

The manner in which Sam's family pooled resources to assist him in the purchase of an apartment is a good example of the kind of privatisation of responsibility required by neoliberal governmentality. Yet, at the same time, it contradicts the hegemonic conceptions of republican adulthood and citizenship as the achievement of financial autonomy and independence from the parental household and which sees racialized young people like Sam as deficient and lacking in autonomy. These pervasive racialized narratives essentialise minority cultural groups as potential barriers to individualisation and construct the *banlieues* as spaces of deviance and dependency. Sam's narrative navigates this problematic location by emphasising his negotiation of parental expectations and family responsibilities and his agency in selecting where to toe the family line and where to reject it. He bolsters his agency through a gendered emphasis on a liberated sexuality and the freedom he exercises to choose a romantic partner of his own free will.

Sam's situation is typical of that of most participants in the study for whom, generally, motivation to work at a particular job often emerged from the webs of social relations in which they were embedded, as already alluded to in the narratives discussed in the previous section. Motivation to work was linked, in part, for the sense of good fortune at having secured a stable job to cover everyday life expenses and which enabled other aspects of life such as raising a family and/ or participating in non-profit organisations which endowed life with meaning that then fuelled the effort to participate in the paid labour market. The desire for social belonging and meaningful relationships are a powerful motivating force, external to the actual work

experience, yet nonetheless a key part of the process through which commitment and motivation to employment emerges.

The challenges Sam faced initially in securing a job are also all too typical of the narratives of the participants I interviewed. In fact, even though the average age of participants was 29, about half of the participants had trained for a particular form of employment only to find that they either faced significant barriers to finding work in the sector they trained for, or that they did not enjoy the work. This would frequently result in the return to the drawing board and the embarking on a different educational scheme to access another line of work. These circular school-to-work transitions were not spread evenly across my sample and were particularly characteristic of the experience of Black and 'Maghrebin' men, of whom eight of the ten I interviewed had had a long trajectory in order finally to secure suitable employment, and some of them were still in the process of finding satisfying work situations. Two participants used the phrasing of 'to receive a slap in the face' to describe the violence of the disappointments of their rejection. For racialized men, in particular, the narrative of 'I just had/have to hang in' was a common refrain.

Hassan, 29, French with Moroccan origins, described the difficulties he faced from a young age at having his motivation to work recognized by potential employers. After a two-year university training as a laboratory technician and completing a successful three-month internship in the company where his father had worked as a labourer, Hassan decided to continue his studies through a work-study programme ('*alternance*'). He was successful at passing the examination required for the academic aspect of the training programme, however, he was not permitted to enrol because he was unable to secure its work placement component. Hassan had already been exposed to the difficulties he might encounter in the labour market when his supervisor informed him during his earlier internship that he was the first person she had hired from the *banlieue*. Yet the shock and disappointment of the complete disdain and rejection he faced from all companies to which he applied for a work-placement was a deeply demoralising experience. Hassan brought with him to our meeting a motivation letter that he had kept from this period and that he had sent to a company only to have it returned to him with a hand-written 'no' scrawled across

the top. The school did not have a back-up system in place for students like him who were blocked from obtaining work placements, so Hassan had to re-orient his studies to a more academic than professional stream. He enrolled in a university master's programme and, here again, he was unable to access the internship in the private sector required to complete the programme, but was offered the opportunity to do his practical component within the university laboratory and was able to complete the degree. Hassan continued the next step of his studies at an engineering school. When it came to searching for the final internship, he describes how the deadline was approaching yet he was taking no steps even to look for a position:

> See, I don't know, I didn't really even look. It's that at a certain point the date was coming up also here you have to start engineering placements of six months you have to start looking for them by November. I didn't look at all. Now, how do I explain this? Is it because of my past experiences, or be-there were, there were the two previous experiences, or the fact that I'd dedicated so much energy in the past to find placements and had had such a hard time, so, this time I told myself why bother to put in the effort? I let the deadline pass by and I turned to my supervisor of studies, the same one who I'd worked with for the placement at the master's level. He offered me another placement so I did another internship in a university lab.

Hassan's narrative reveals how disheartened he felt such that he did not even find the energy to bother trying to find work in the private sector he had originally hoped for. He had specialised in an area in engineering which was very difficult to find work in, and therefore ended up employed in the public sector at the university lab instead. Eventually, he decided that he would try to launch his engineering career by working for a temp agency which would hire him full-time and then place him in temporary contracts in companies that did not want to hire an engineer permanently but wanted some work done. Here again, Hassan faced many obstacles to securing good job placements and adequate recognition for his capabilities.

Hassan has good reason to surmise that the difficulties he has faced securing work have been the result of racism based on the Arabic name on his CV, the place where he lives or, during interviews, in reaction to his embodied characteristics. At the place where he currently works, his employer commented during his interview: "I don't want to end up with an - I have just one hesitation, I hope you are not…I don't want to end up with an extremist as part of the team." Hassan is very critical of the

interview processes he has been subjected to, finding them to be lacking in objectivity and relying on the 'feeling' of the interviewer. He nicknames them 'personality interviews' and talks about how he had to learn the codes of behaviour that were expected of him as evidence of his motivation. He has finally secured a position in a good temp agency. While this job is a permanent contract, it is precarious in the sense that he is placed in different companies over time, and that the temp agency serves as his main employer (Theodore and Peck 2002; Vosko 2009). Hassan's temp agency position means that at each new employer's workplace he must establish his reputation and work especially hard in order to benefit from further contracts.

Some participants developed a strategy for coping with racist perceptions of their capacities by using the awareness that the disadvantaged faced as a motivation to work extra hard at work. This finding converges with the conclusions of McGee and Martin (2011)'s study of academically successful black mathematicians in the US. They argue that awareness of racism can be a driving force in attainments, as they find that their participants devoted energy to reinterpreting the meaning of black identity rather than resisting racism explicitly. McGee and Martin's article, aptly titled "You would not believe what I have to go through to prove my intellectual value!", shows how the awareness of the persistence of 'microagressions,' defined as 'subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal ex-changes which are 'put downs' of blacks by offenders (citing Solórzano et al., 2000, p. 145 in McGee and Martin 2012 : 6) is channelled to motivate individual achievement in the competitive fields of mathematics and engineering.

Among the participants in my study, one woman who identifies as French with Algerian and working class origins and who wears the *hijab* notes the frequent reactions she gets from people who do not expect her to be studying for a high level degree. She explains how she uses this knowledge to push herself to work extra hard: "I won't give them the chance to say she is not any good, you see…" Similarly, a man identifying as Algerian with middle class family origins, in his early thirties, describes how he always does more than is asked of him at work to compensate for what he describes as the ball-and-chain he feels that he needs to overcome: "I always do more than they ask me for without necessarily expecting any recognition of this." Thus,

these participants clearly feel the need to prove their capacities in a hostile climate that perpetually puts their competency in question.

Not all participants react in a predictable way to the perception of blocked mobility and disadvantage. Another participant, Ali, 27, identifying as French with Algerian origins and who grew up in a working class suburb of Paris, decided that given the extent to which he himself as well as his older brother were experiencing racism in obtaining mundane work, he had nothing to lose by striving to become an actor. Nonetheless, he half-heartedly continued his formal education, but enrolled in acting lessons at the same time, so that he was still managing pursue his passions in life:

> Maybe the fact that I've changed my choices a lot and seen lots of different milieus and being aware of the difficulties of finding work…that I might have to make my own work, this is a reality that I'm aware of…my brother applied to lots of companies but didn't get a response. I have the sense hat these days you end up having to make my own job. I told myself, shoot, that's what's going to end up happening anyways. I decided to try to do something that I like since either way it's going to be really hard, and there'll be lots of time to do things I hate in the future.

These examples highlight the way in which recognizing that the structural disadvantage of racism makes career advancement particularly challenging for some participants leads them to invest themselves even more and in different ways in their efforts to strive for hard earned success. The precariousness forced upon racialized young people in the labour market generates in some a certain form of self-responsibilisation. Here, one could argue that, in fact, all three governmentalities theorised are working in tandem to render uncertain and precarious these young maghrebin people's lives: racist post-feminist technologies of citizenship construct them as lacking what it takes to attain full citizenship and autonomy and as imprisoned in a culture perceived as regressive and macho. This makes their employment prospects dim and puts them in a position in which they must overcompensate by taking on a heightened work ethic in order to prove themselves as motivated and effective employees. However, while structural disadvantage does seem to mandate a form of individualised self-responsibilisation in some participants, some of those I have discussed here are vocal in criticising the racism they experience

and they have not entirely internalised their highly developed work ethic as a norm but, rather, as a necessity in light of racism.

Furthermore, not all participants I interviewed reacted by over-investing in their jobs in the face of racist adversity in their work settings. Others found the lack of recognition of their efforts to be deeply demoralising and gradually eroded their motivation to stay in jobs in which they were not appreciated. For example, Hamid, 33, French with Algerian roots and who comes from a working class family, describes how after staying six years as a maintenance technician for agricultural machinery, he negotiated with his boss a termination of his contract. Here, he explains how after being the most senior level staff at the company and being asked to train all new comers, he was passed over twice for an opportunity to move up to a management level position:

> Hamid: and, euh, what made me, well, after six, well, after four and a half years of, of, seniority, I, I, I didn't get the satisfaction in the sense of, I was, I, I was the only, well, it's a bit complicated, but in my company, I was the only technician who had enough experience in relation to those who had just arrived, because there was a lot of turnover, people that would come and leave, there were tasks that, there were people who didn't finish their contracts, well tons of things. But at the same time, it was a small company, we were only three or four and, well, I, I figured that I was the most senior and when I was told that there was a new person who was going to replace the new manager who had just left, who I had just trained, well, it made me, uhm, I was not happy. Well, they'd done it to me once, but the second time, again!
>
> E: right
>
> Hamid: So in the end the second manager left, another person came and I trained him and he became the manager. Even though I was the most senior person. Well, for me this was not logical.
>
> Esther: Of course
>
> Hamid: I was – I told my boss that I would prefer to leave by having a leave of absence for training.

In Hamid's case, the lack of recognition of his skills and competence eventually ground him down and he managed to negotiate with his employer for a paid retraining programme. In France, employers who have at least ten employees are

obliged to dedicate a portion of their labour costs towards education and training for their employees (Fougère, Kramarz, and Magnac 2000). Thus, Hamid's was able to benefit from another form of labour protection policy in place, even though he was unable to shield himself from discriminatory promotion policies implemented in his work place. Once again, the norms of citizenship solidarity work in a contradictory way for Hamid. In one sense, these ideals are associated with formal labour policies designed to insure workers and promote solidarity amongst them and are helpful. On the other hand, the racialized construction determining who is fully worthy of full citizenship rights in every day working life leaves Hamid at a distinct disadvantage and on the fringes of the national solidarity upon which these policies are based.

6.5 Post-Feminist Governmentality: The Headscarf Ban

The disciplining force of postfeminist governmentality of which the headscarf ban is an important disciplinary tactic undoubtedly comes into play in the working lives of all French young people. In previous sections, I alluded to some ways in which that has been the case. However, I will now consider specifically how it affected the employment prospects of Muslim women I interviewed.

The legal institutionalisation in 2005 of the ban on the wearing of "religious symbols" in public educational institutions and for employees in the public service, as well as the high profile public controversies and events leading up to this, had severe consequences for the educational and career orientations of young Muslim women. An international career orientation was perceived to be one of the only options available by two of the three women interviewed who wear the headscarf *('foulard')*. Sabeen, 31, who has worn the headscarf since her teens, explains: 'I was already conscious [from a young age] that the headscarf issue in France would be problematic and that I absolutely had to orient myself towards something international which would allow me to leave France.' Sabeen's family faced a financial crisis with the departure of her father, and this meant that during her early twenties she needed to support herself financially and to help her mother and siblings. While she was studying, she was generally able to obtain a bursary, however, when she changed orientations and took some time off her studies, her income-generating options were

limited. She was able to work occasionally as an interpreter for a tribunal but, with the passing of the 2005 law, she was no longer called upon for this casual work and she was not able to secure any other part-time job with the exception of cleaning work in the west of France where she was living at the time: "I couldn't even hope for, actually, I couldn't even hope for anything except housecleaning, because that doesn't bother the French". She talks about the fact that, even in cleaning work, she tended to be confined to domestic work, since her *hijab* posed problems for obtaining cleaning work in offices. She eventually focused on studying languages and moved to London for a year to work as a teaching assistant at a French school where she was able to wear her headscarf and work. She returned to France when she married and now works for an Arab community association with an office in Paris, a position she heard about through her sister-in-law and where she is able to wear the *hijab*. When I asked her whether having children was something which was important for her, she replied "I need a certain amount of autonomy, I want, I don't know…" Sabeen's narrative is marked by the struggle to be allowed to continue her schooling in the public system and then obtaining employment in France.

The lack of acceptance of the headscarf in France has drastically constrained Muslim women's employment opportunities and played a role in delineating what they might hope to aspire to in terms of career ambitions. In their narratives, a high degree of commitment has been required to persist in striving for an education and a career amidst the enormous barriers erected to their participation in public life and the onslaught of symbolic violence they face, on a daily basis, as a result of the incompatibility of their religious embodiment with hegemonic construction of '*laïcité*' in the French context. It is also important to note that the headscarf-wearing women's narratives were very explicit in their rejection of the dominant association of Muslim women as victims of patriarchy that is particular to their ethnicity and religious group. Their narratives tended to emphasise their autonomy in choosing how they practise their religion, in pursuing higher education, in pursing opportunities to live, work and study outside of France, in selecting the person they wished to marry, in negotiating domestic responsibilities with their partners and, as the quote above illustrates, in choosing whether or not to have children. In this way, these young women emphasised their agency through the lens of a republican

citizenship governmentality which prioritises individual autonomous and deliberated choice. Furthermore, as radical feminists have observed, these women's actions in regard to choosing to wear the veil in the context of France might also be interpreted as a form of agency in relation to the postfeminist governmentality which constructs them as submissive and oppressed female Muslims who are especially lacking in autonomy and independence. I will add a third interpretation of the agency of these young women, drawing from the ideas of Saba Mahmood.

6.6 Religious Commitments and Performative Agency

In the final section of this chapter, I begin to think through some of the limits of the concept of narrative agency I have been using this far, drawing from Saba Mahmood's recent theorisation of female agency (2005). Clearly, for some participants in my study, religious beliefs and practices were prioritized over career interests. Mahmood's theorisation helps to clarify the motivations of young women who wear the headscarf in France, despite it being at great costs to their working lives.

In the sections that precede this one, I have analyzed the lives of young people by attending to the meanings and modalities of agency that can be identified through a grid of subversion or reproduction of hegemonic norms. Mahmood's work with women participating in the piety movement in Egypt argues for the recognition of a different modality of agency. Following an Aristotelian logic of practice, it is through repetition of bodily actions that one comes to feel, think and reason according to dominant norms. This introduces the idea of embodied performativity as a route to the production of self that is different than that found in postructural Foucauldian interpretations of subjectification. In this way, wearing the veil might be described as performative because it does the work of both representing women's shy piety and producing it at the same time.

Thus, these women might be understood to enact at least three different modes of agency through their decision to wear the headscarf in the French context. By developing an individualised commitment to religious beliefs, they draw discursively from the terms dictated by republican secularism that religion is a private affair and one that is an expression of autonomous choice, as I argued in the

previous section. Furthermore, they challenge post-feminist notions of gender emancipation through a particular performance of liberated femininity by insisting on a different femininity. Joan Scott has suggested that, in some ways, the practice of veiling offers a more explicit acknowledgement of the male heterosexual gaze than mainstream gender empowerment which constructs women as fully emancipated (Scott 2007). While all of these interpretations are useful, they remain in keeping with a poststructural lens which recognizes agency in relation to relations of power. In seeking to wear the veil to develop their piety, however, these women might also be seen to deploy a performative agency over themselves, as described by Mahmood, in order to cultivate the qualities and desires they seek to embody through their own individual religious goals.

Mahmood's ideas are very useful to enrich the interpretations of agency relevant to understanding the motivations of the participants in my study. Mahmood seeks to think about agency as a modality of action, not only actions in relation to gender (or in the case of this chapter, racist and capitalist) oppression. To apply her thinking to the analysis being undertaken in this thesis, agency is a form of action in which actions undertaken to resignify or subvert dominant hegemonic constructions of racialized identities would be only one kind among innumerable other modalities.

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have engaged with New Economy literatures which posit a transformation in the relationship workers have with their jobs. I illustrate how individual young people's careers are framed by collective experience of the family, the couple and wider societal hegemonic norms and legal frameworks, and I begin to unpack the complexity of the motivations for engaging in different career trajectories.

Building on the arguments made by Angela McRobbie, I show how, in France, neoliberal self-responsibilisation is often hopelessly entangled with both post-feminist and assimilationist republican citizenship governmentalities in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. Norms about the desirability of a particular conception of autonomous adulthood play out in the lives of young men and women in a variety of ways that differ along lines of 'race,' class and religion. The

assimilationist undertones to the widely held view of racialized minorities as both needing to "integrate" into wider society and as lacking the ability to make individual decisions but, acting rather, as prisoners of their culture and religious beliefs, were demonstrated to orient narratives of the early career decisions of young racialized young people towards a construction of their own agency and autonomy. This is particularly the case for young racialized women and, especially, Muslim women, as the assumption of their lack of autonomy and independence is extreme and shorn up by the prevalence of a post-feminist governmentality which constructs gender emancipation as already attained and synonymous with the access to education work and sexual freedom. Such a perspective constructs feminist politics as passé and, especially, as incompatible with certain minoritised cultures, particularly those associated with Islam.

Finally, I have introduced a performative conception of agency which, I suggest, allows for a more nuanced account of the motivations driving those participants in the study who wear the headscarf. Their experience is, in some respects, passed over by an analysis of agency in relation to Foucauldian subjectification, since I argue with Mahmood that a dimension of their agency follows a different logic. It stems from the power they are exerting over the emergence of their religious identities through their self-presentation and bodily habits.

In this chapter, I highlighted numerous examples of the tensions at play between different forms of governmentality and such that participants, in resisting one set of hegemonic norms, end up relying on another logic or normative narrative. In the chapter that follows, I will examine how this makes it very challenging to articulate a critique which is heard and recognized, and capable of influencing policy-making, given the multiplicity of competing reasoning and justifications at play in the lives of young people in France.

Chapter 7 "Humiliations that you Don't Forget": Remembering Everyday Racism in Racialized Young People's Schooling and Early Work

7.1 Introduction

Many of the experiences to be discussed in this chapter were identified by participants as memorable through such phrases such as 'this experience stayed with me,' or 'for some reason, I remember this incident clearly…'. Memories of experiences of stigma are impregnated with emotions of shame, anger, frustration, discouragement but also sometimes pride and empowerment when accounts entail overcoming obstacles. In the context of some of my interviews, there was also an urgency to the airing of the stories told, as the participants sometimes steered the interview back to the topics that they wanted to cover where in some moments I had unwittingly shifted to discussion to other areas. In sharing these particular stories, their narratives often serve a strategic purpose of connecting their individual experience to a collective experience of domination, and in this way identifying their biographies with wider social relations and hierarchies of inequality. The critical process by which participants identify their experiences as a result of unjust treatment resulting from ascribed membership in a stigmatised group is precisely what is examined in this chapter, although as I also show, the participants were not always willing to attribute their experiences to racism.

In the first part of this thesis, I have demonstrated how through instruments such as the national census and memorial and commemorative spaces of a national museum, French public discourses are constructed and maintained in such a way as to downplay the significance of historic wrongs of colonial domination and render invisible the present persistence of inequalities based on 'race' and ethnicity. Hegemonic understandings of racism in France tend to define it very narrowly as either using racial categories in any situation, or an overt expression of racial hatred. Institutional racism is only just starting to be acknowledged and in such a way that it is conceptualised as entirely divorced from routine everyday actions. Discrimination in France is framed over and over again in terms of immigrant origin, a framework which quickly shifts the responsibility for inequality so clearly evident in French

society on those who are at the brunt of it because of the associations made between discrimination and the so-called lack of capacity of its victims to 'integrate'. In this way, some of the key components of racial knowledge needed to develop a political cognition of the link between individual experiences with collective domination are actively blocked by French intellectual and political elite as well as by the 'common-sense' understandings of racism most widely disseminated.

In the previous chapter I have explored how young people's working lives are unfolding in this context and how processes of racialization along with neoliberal and postfeminist discourses affect the opportunities that are available to them and shape the way in which they orient their ambitions and employment goals. In this final empirical chapter I explore the ways in which the hegemonic rationalities and regimes of representation explored in the previous chapters mediated the process of forming a critique of racialization processes. The main focus of this chapter, then, is the justificatory framework and narrative strategy used by participants to argue that their disadvantage is as a result of unjust discrimination in their schooling and work lives rather than their own or their family's fault in insufficient commitment to the value of the French society and polity. I focus on these two arenas of social life, while not assuming that experiences of discrimination in other arenas are not pervasive and nor unrelated to the perpetuation of inequality in the labour market. However, because of the significance of education and work for economic survival and social mobility, exploring discrimination in these sectors is extremely pressing and relevant to a research agenda prioritising knowledge for the sake of equity, as well as, of course, relevant to my main focus on the changing nature of emloyment in this research.

The chapter is organised as follows. I begin by briefly unpacking Essed's conceptualisation of 'everyday racism' and its capacity to transcend the duality of individual and institutional racism and so to reveal how normalised everyday social interactions are directly related to the maintenance of systemic inequality. It is in the sphere of everyday practices, that the ways in which French society as a whole, and the school system and labour market in particular, treat the racialized groups who share the spaces of the republic, many of them not migrants themselves, but second

and third generation French citizens. The empirical section that follows is divided into three sections, the first addresses racialization in the memories of participants' schooling, the second on the ways in which unemployment is experienced and the final section describes discriminatory treatment on the job. I conclude by drawing out both the theoretical implications of the empirical findings in understanding coping mechanisms and identification of, and resistance to, racism as well as the empirical contributions towards understanding both the convergences with everyday racism in other places and times and the particularities of contemporary racialization in the context of Paris, France.

It is important to note that as my own experiences clearly have differed from participants' and so I have not accumulated the same sorts of embodied experience and knowledge of racism as many of those whom I interviewed have, it is likely that the examples they discussed with me tend to be amongst the most clear-cut and easy to demonstrate as resulting from discriminatory treatment. This is significant in that as Essed (1991) has so clearly illustrated, most everyday racism operates covertly and requires a great deal of skill and experience to identify under conditions of ambiguity and uncertainty. Participants may not have felt comfortable in an interview setting with a stranger perceived as White or Mixed 'Race' from outside of France in articulating more subtle forms of discrimination in which, as Essed's work shows, the evidence for unjust treatment is less in the practice but more in the context and effects of the actions and which the young people to whom I talked might have regarded would be difficult for me to fully recognize. Furthermore, the accounts in this chapter are mostly those of *Maghrébin* men and women as a result of the composition of the group of interviewees and so clearly they are not representative of the full range of racialization experiences in France. Thus, my account remains a partial one and it is likely that that these experiences are only the tip of the iceberg in relation to a much larger set of daily social interactions that operate relatively both openly and clandestinely to reinforce racial and other relations of power.

7.2 Theorising Everyday Racism, Critical Capacity and Resistance

In Philomena Essed's (1991) landmark book *Understanding Everyday Racism,* she examines the lived experience and perceptions of racism from Black people's point of view in the Netherlands and the United States in the late 80s. The theoretical framework she elaborated in this text is both powerful and relevant to the experiences reported in my own contemporary study of young adults in France. Essed conceptualises racism as a set of processes, ideologies and structures which work together to promote and maintain a system which dominates racialized groups. As I argued in chapter 2, her work is intended in part to show how the conceptualisation of racism as an extreme and exceptional act is part of what allows the routine and naturalised dimensions of oppression to persist almost imperceptibly. The concept of 'everyday racism' emphasises 'the process of the system working through multiple relations and situations' (51) or in other words, 'the situational activation of racial and ethnic dimensions in particular relations in a way that reinforces racial or ethnic inequality and contributes to new forms of racial and ethnic inequality' (51). Her theory links 'micro' level experiences with 'macro' level structures of inequality and reveals how everyday routine interactions may perpetuate racial inequality even though they might appear as benign or unintentional.

In addition to defining everyday racism, the significance of Philomena Essed's work is its emphasis on the competencies and knowledge required to identify covert racism in daily life. Key tenets of her argument are that in order to be able to identify the often ambiguous and covert conditions through which racial domination is expressed in everyday interactions, Black women develop a set of knowledge about racism as well as an awareness of what is expected in conventional behaviour of the dominant group and sub-cultural groups. Essed's study emphasises the high degree of energy, social proficiency and mastery of emotional expression required by Black women to interpret and manage situations of gendered racial dominance, even if not actively resisted. While practices of everyday racism may well be unconscious and normalised for perpetrators, for those whose knowledge of racism has been developed and who are at the receiving end, these behaviours are far from naturalised as acceptable and coping with them is a conscious and demanding effort.

Beyond Essed's work, many studies of unequal social relations have established how difficult it is for victims to identify as such and resist the experience either in the moment or through formal channels such as the justice system. Stavo-Debauge's (Fourthcoming) analysis of narratives of workplace injuries notes that prior to claiming to have experienced injustice, many struggle simply to live with their loss. Furthermore, and particularly in the case of repetitive strain injuries in which the memory of a specific incident that lead to the injury is impossible, rather then formulate a claim of unsafe conditions of work many workers instead experienced feelings of guilt and self-blame for their resulting disabilities. His work emphasises the potency of the sense in victims that there is nothing to be gained by identifying an experience as an injustice that is widely relevant beyond workplace injuries.

Similarly, Bumeller (1987) also finds a strong ethic of survival amongst victims of discrimination which leads, in some cases, to identifying strength of character in the capacity to live with racism. This particular defence mechanism makes it especially difficult to identify as a victim given the implicit disempowerment and dismantlement of the coping strategy that this label entails. Also reported in Bumeller's study is the need to manage emotions of rage that if expressed in workplaces would be deemed highly socially unacceptable in such settings. The necessity of managing emotional displays makes it difficult to hazard a discussion of racism with the explosive sentiments of anger that this elicits in the victims and such they avoid raising issues altogether. Of course, also preventing resistance to discrimination are the very unequal power relations amongst perpetrators and victims such that fear of retribution looms large.

In understanding this process by which victims come to resist identifying as victims but embrace their social location, Bourdieu tends to emphasise the way in which coping becomes unconscious and internalised through the *habitus*. In Essed's work, however, and converging with these studies of victimisation, the emphasis is not exclusively on the lack of awareness of the power relations imbued in everyday social relations. Rather, while Essed readily acknowledges that identifying racism is not in the self-interest of those who are its victims, she devotes her analytic attention

to the process by which those that do identify at such exercise their critical capacities. As such, her analysis not only addresses some of the critiques developed in relation to Bourdieu's work, but it relates most directly to the themes explored in this chapter.

In the following empirical section of this chapter, I turn to the narratives of participants who nonetheless manage to identify their experiences as the result of injustice rather then their own incompetence. While I focus primarily on the identification of racism, given that the experience of racial disrimination is mediated through other identities including gender and class positioning, other forms of oppression will also be discussed.

7.3 Meritocracy and the Expectation of the Equalizing Role of Republican Education

The French public education system is the vehicle of the hopes and dreams of republicanism ideals *par excellence*. Schools are also at the heart of numerous controversies and contestation. Debates about how to teach world religions and colonial history are frequent at the local level as well as in discussions at the national level policy in France. Contestation about which foods are served in the school cafeteria, especially with regards to meat, is also a hot topic that is resolved, institution by institution, based on a particular administrations decisions on level of compromise and without national directive on this issue (despite the significance of the Muslim faith in the French population). Furthermore, public schools are the central stage to the headscarf controversy and remain the widely accepted terrain of the ban passed in 2005. All of these debates are a familiar part of everyday life in France, and as noted in Chapter 4, the TeO survey revealed that descendants of immigrants were particularly likely to report that they were discriminated against by school officials.

Whether or not students reported a sense of being treated unfairly by the school system, citing Felouziz, Liot and Perroton (2005), Brinbaum *et al* signal the tendency for immigrants' descendants to attend different schools from those of the mainstream population in large part reflecting residential segregation. The TeO study participants were asked whether they attended the school that was located in their

neighbourhood catchment area. This was in order to guage whether parents were sending their children to schools in other areas to avoid schools in their own neighbourhoods. Here it was found that while 30% of the mainstream population did not always attend the school in their catchment area, this strategy was adopted less frequently by immigrant families, particularly those of Turkish origin (16%), Sahelian African descent (18%) and West and Central African origins (20%). As a result, 51% of the descendants of immigrants studied at a *collège* (middle school) where there was a moderate or high proportion of immigrants, while the mainstream population reported this was the case only 17% of the time.

In the following sections I explore the perceptions of injustices and indignities reported by interview participants as they reflected on their schooling experience. I examine what kinds of examples were raised by which participants, by what critical reasoning process they came to analyze their individual experience as not a singular one but one connected to a broader social problem of injustice and also, when it was discussed, how they coped in the situation. Given that the average age of participants is 29, these accounts rely on the retrospective narratives of events that took place, in some cases, over twenty years ago. The interviewees' interpretations of these situations has undoubtedly evolved through time, in some cases, as their understanding of the operation of oppression and their awareness of the convergences of their own individual experiences with those of others from similar backgrounds has developed. Thus, while a degree of accuracy is lost in accounts such as these that rely on fallible human memory, this does not compromise the arguments of this section. What can still be gleaned and what is the main focus of this chapter is the critical capacity developed by participants that allows them to see their lives in relation to a collective experience of oppression.

7.3.1 Remembering Schooling Humiliations

Amongst those to whom I spoke, the sense that their academic potential was underestimated during their schooling years was conveyed most frequently, but not exclusively, by *Maghrebin* men. Rosenwald (2006) indicate that boys are more likely to be excluded from school and be required to repeat school years then girls in

France. In addition, the disadvantage in schooling reported by racialized men is consistent with findings of the recent TeO study reported in Chapter 4. Ali (27, French, Algerian origins), for example, believed that his academic potential had been overlooked and that teachers were quick to assume he was a troublemaker in class. In the following quote he notes what he perceives as a change in the schooling system since he was a student, based on his current employment as a '*surveillant*' (monitor, equivalent to a teaching assistant in the English school system) in a middle school in a suburb of Paris that receives extra funds due to its location in a priority economic zone. Ali is probably referring to the numerous reforms to the educational system in France since the 2000s including the extra resources now dedicated to schools in 'priority zones' (Donzelot 2006; Duru-Bellat 2000).

> I was lively as a kid, I was chatty with my friends but I got in trouble a lot. If I was at school today I would have been the pride of the school, on the honour roll where I work, whereas at the time I went I got in trouble for talking in class…

Namil (32, French, Tunisian) noted that he felt that he did not receive adequate attention from his teachers at elementary school. While he did not fail any year, his marks were the bare minimum required to pass. He now has a PhD and a university teaching position, and seems justified in his belief that his school record was not a reflection of his actual capabilities:

> I let myself sink as the years went by in primary school. It was like I didn't exist for them, well I was at least lucky that I didn't fail any year. So, I continued, and I was left to it. It was like I was a particle, a weak one, a 'jololo' who would wind up working eventually, I think that is really what they were thinking, but that is not the spirit in which I was thinking about things, so I started to read on my own, little by little…

Namil also recounted several incidents that are engraved in his memory from his early schooling years that he describes in terms of 'humiliations', including the following one:

> Contact with adults is so important [at that age] and to feel disdain by a teacher, who was called Mr. L, you remember…you remember, even though I don't have a good memory, you remember. He had given us a Geography test and the goal was simply to note on a sheet the capitals and the country names, so, I had learned that stuff outside of the course so I was really loving it and it's true, I assure you, eh? He handed back the tests, he took my test and he said I

> didn't see that you had been copying from your friend, she got an A, I will prove to you that you were cheating…It is very humiliating for a child. Yes, the regard of…but I was proud because I did not cheat and he said, he said, there is a terrestrial globe behind him, he must have copied…So I had to take the test again and I put the capitals and countries on even more locations then he asked me for. He never apologized… It's these humiliations that you don't forget. Last or second last of my class. In any case, you don't forget when a teacher, an instructor makes you understand [that you are stupid], and it's true, I never felt "stupid" in quotation marks, but I couldn't understand why I was struggling so much…

The experience of having schooling achievements turned into humiliations resonates with many of the incidents reported other studies of this nature (Essed 1991; McGee and Martin 2011).

Namil expressed a high degree of frustration with the way in which he saw his teachers blame his parents for lack of academic achievements and recounts bitterly his memory of a teacher advising his mother to speak French rather then Arabic with him at home:

> So I wasn't a stupid student, I managed to get by, except in French class, I really had problems, I didn't understand. And I always remember this specific scene. So, my French teacher, it's Madame B., when you don't forget, you don't forget! So she looked at my mum, my mum came to see her, she looked at my mum and said, listen, your son, stop speaking to him in Arabic. Me, at the time I must have been eleven. I found that aberrant. I told myself, it's a teacher who rather than saying I have a child here who has learning difficulties, I'm going to deny responsibility and blame the mother!

Caralie, (28, French, Lao and Chinese origins) is also critical of the way in which teachers insisted her parents speak French with her at home. She believes her own limited ability to speak her parents' first languages of Cantonese and Lao is a result of the discouragement to speak these languages at home that was conveyed through the school system.

The process through which these participants identified themselves as having been treated unfairly often relies on dominant narratives available to them (Bell 2003; Essed 1991). Thus, Namil frames his criticism in light of the republican ideal of school as an institution that steps in to equalize the cultural capital that might not be

equally distributed amongst private households. For him, rather than fulfilling its republican duty of investing time and energy in the pedagogy of a struggling student whose parents are not able to help, the school blamed his mother, by asking her to speak French at home, for his difficulties at school. He regards this as an injustice that he interprets as a violation of the republican promise. Beyond the question of equal opportunity, the critique he frames alludes also to the question of his mother's dignity. He speaks of her strong spirit in that she did not take the comment of the teacher to heart. Embedded in the way that Caralie described the way teachers' demand that her recently arrived refugee parents speak French with her at home is a similar critique to Namil's. However, she also explicitly voices a criticism that differs from the hegemonic republican school values. Rather, she expresses a sense of loss, 'it's too bad because as a result I don't speak Cantonese or Lao,' formulating, in this way, a critique based on membership in a collective other than the French national one. She identifies herself as an unfulfilled member of a language community which would at minimum have connected her to her immediate family, but perhaps would also have provided a link to a broader cultural collective, or diaspora, including others with similar origins living in France and elsewhere. Caralie's allusion to a recognition-based critique and Namil's reference to the compromise of his mother's dignity are examples of critiques based on membership in a 'common' other then that of the national level community (Stavo-Debauge 2009; Young 1990). On the other hand, from within the justicatory regime of republicanism, Namil is also able to articulate a critique of the way in which the school system did not live up to its own principles.

7.3.2 Managing the Disappointment of Vocational Tract Streaming

Disappointment in the schooling system was most evident during the interviews in discussions about the process by which participants and their siblings were streamed into an academic or vocational track. Even participants who were high achievers in their early schooling were not always pleased with how they were oriented for their secondary studies and beyond. Rose (34, French, Tunisian origins), who grew up in a suburb of Lyon, was keen to attend a well-reputed academic *lycée* outside her

marginalized neighbourhood. Being amongst the top students in her class, she discussed this with her guidance counsellor who, to her disappointment, was disparaging:

> It was the elite of Lyon and I had made it my personal project to attend that school, it was my goal. I was the top of my class in 3e and I had the intellectual capacities to go and her response was, 'oh, what's the point, there's nothing special there, it's not worth it, there's a *lycée* around the corner from you, euh, why bother go further? And no, no, you'll end up with people who are not like you…' Really a, how do you say, a demoralizing tone, demobilising.

Describing her counsellor's tone as demobilising serves to accentuate the empowerment Rose experiences as she recalls being undeterred as she eventually managed to convince both her own mother, who did not like the idea either, and the counsellor to sign her forms so that she could attend the elite *lycée* of her choice. In highlighting the lack of family support she had for her academic ambitions and linking this to notions of protecting the family honour and being closely supervised by her mother she accentuates the agency that she had required at that time to overcome the double obstacle of a school that did not believe in her potential and patriarchal gendered norms in her home which made it difficult for her to manoeuvre and escape these constraints (Laborde 2008; Scott 2005). Rose, who now teaches for a vocational *lycée*, is also devoted to the republican schooling ideal. Her sense of indignation arises out of the inability of her counsellor to support her ambitions and recognize her exceptional potential, given that she was already obliged to work hard to fight for her schooling options at home. In addition, she felt that the counsellor perceived her as different, suggesting that she would not be at ease in a school in a middle class neighbourhood ('you'll end up with people who are not like you'). Thus she was not treated simply as a gifted and hard working student, but as one from a particular neighbourhood and an ascribed ethnicity who would not manage in other contexts.

Hamid (33, French, Moroccan origins) also articulates a critique of the 'equal chances' aspect of republican education through a recollection of how simultaneously 'natural' it was for people he knew to be streamed into vocational streams and in addition, how much more difficult it was logistically for them to attend these schools given their distance from their neighbourhood. He describes how the *lycée* that was

right beside his suburban middle school was actually an academic one and how as he moved up through his years of schooling he became accustomed to not seeing his peers anymore because they were streamed into vocational high schools even though they were in more distant neighbourhoods:

> When I got to 3e[27], it was logical to me, those that were older than me that had finished 3e and went on to *lycée*, well we didn't see them anymore, because I had friends that were older than me that I didn't see anymore. Because they were oriented elsewhere. So I had the impression, for me, the end of middle school, where I saw it with my own eyes, all those in my class in 3e, for the most part, were dispatched to other l*ycée* that were further off. So they had to wake up earlier in the morning, and travel further. In the end you have to chose your vocational track, because the *lycée* that was right beside, it was a *lycée générale*…But after a while, they dropped out, with nothing, no diploma.

The labour of recuperating a sense of self-esteem in light of being streamed into a undervalued and under-recognized educational track is actively carried out through the interview narratives. Nadia (29, French, Kabyle origins), for example, explains that the year that she had to make the decision of what kind of schooling to pursue she was in an adolescent crisis due to the death of her father. Because of this, she had a bad school year and had neither the marks nor the motivation to continue an academic stream.

> In 3e, you know, in France, if you don't work hard then you get oriented…and even that year was the year that I lost my dad so it was a chaotic year, but because I was relatively good, well, I was not disruptive, well, I was oriented more towards the vocational streams, and I was in a year in which I was in an adolescent crisis, and the death of my father, I was doing any old thing, I was fine with it, I opted for the easy way with my studies, I wasn't disagreeable but I didn't want to work either.

In her narrative she makes it clear then, that even though she wound up in a professional stream she was not a 'bad' student. She explains how she was content to pursue a vocational diploma in clerical work in part because it was easier, and also

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[27] 3e is the fourth and final year of '*collège*', or middle school in France and students are usually 14 to 15 years old in this grade.

because the idea of starting work to earn money appealed to her at that point in her life: "Because I was young and it was easy money and so working as fast as possible [was attractive]."

Here, Nadia's coping strategy in the face of an experience that was undermining, that is being streamed into a vocational track at a point in her academic life when she was not in a position to put her best foot forward, resonates with how Namil described his own reaction to earlier humiliations as well as the one that follows: they went along with it, for the time being. From their narrative accounts, this is an active process of being passive as a strategy for coping with an assault on their dignity. In Namil's narrative, he talks about rising above the humiliation of being streamed into what he remembers even at that age, having overheard vocational subjects as being referred to as '*voies de garages'*, into a pathway with no future. This account resonates with other studies which have show how people take pride in their own resilience to racism as a coping strategy (Bumeller 1987). When asked what he thought about his teachers' choice of stream for him, he replied:

> So I told myself, well, they have completely misunderstood me. And, when they told me, *életrotechnique*, I said yes, because I knew I could get ahead no matter- I knew that, I knew that I wouldn't have succeeded in an academic *seconde* because my level in French and English would have beaten me. I told myself I'll go in *seconde technique*, it doesn't bother me. It's all good.

He went on to discuss the way in which, amongst other students in academic streams, he was sometimes made to feel like he was perceived as inferior and he had to put effort in rising about this as well:

> Often you find yourself in *seconde technique* and you talk to your old friends [in the academic stream] and you feel, a little bit, that sense that they…they tell themselves, 'I'm in an *seconde generale*, you are in a *seconde technique*.' When you are intelligent you rise above that and you continue on your path. So you continue and you continue and then I got my *bac*, I got it in 95, lets say a very acceptable trajectory, no problems.

In his narrative he switches into the second person to distance himself from the humiliation that he describes before returning to the first person to conclude with his attainment of his secondary level vocational credentials with respectable results.

Similarly, Channary (26, French, Cambodian) highlights her capacities when she is interested in a topic and thus feels indignant at having been streamed into an area of no interest to her. She describes how she was sent to a *Bac Action Communication Commerciale* (Bac STT- Communications and Commerce) which she understood to channel participants into jobs in the retail sector:

> So they put you in this stream if your marks are mediocre, if they aren't that good [anger in her voice] and then, and then you have to work things out for yourself even, I mean, I mean, if you don't like it but your forced to because you are not allowed to go into any other stream.

She explains how the Bac STT involved only a few courses she found interesting, notably philosophy and languages. At the end of her diploma her philosophy teacher encouraged her to think twice before continuing her studies in commerce and suggested that she pursue her academic interests at university instead. She studied for a year at university describing at as stimulating year which allowed her to broaden her perspective however she was obliged after a year to figure out a means to earn an income as her family was unable to support her financially. For Channary, class disadvantage prevented her from truly being able to pursue her academic interests and she notes that the republican schooling system was unable to unleash her full potential and directed her towards low level work in the retail sector.

It is interesting that Channary does not comment on the gendered nature of the vocational stream assigned to her, as was the general rule amongst those I spoke with. While interviewees reported that their gender played a part in how they selected the particular track that they chose, this was not a grounds for criticism of the republican schooling system which purported to create equal opportunities for all. This comment arose when I asked a participant explicitly about the gendered nature of the streaming process:

> It was accounting or sales, it's true that it's a class that was only feminine, uhm, and after I, It's true, I, I don't know that we had a choice, it's true, I would have chosen accounting but after my parents were rather, rather discouraging for this orientation as well… Yeah, yeah, there was really an orientation on the one hand feminine, and on the other, masculine and, and, euh, so, well, it's true also that in my family there was someone who was an electrician…. (Farid, 34, French with Moroccan origins)

With very few exceptions, participants followed the gendered pathways resulting from their schooling choices in upper secondary school. These findings are in convergence with a recently published report on gender in French society which notes that four service-oriented vocational streams capture eighty percent of vocationally oriented girls although men are spread more thinly across over nine tracks (Crosemarie 2009). The only two vocational diplomas which men and women were found in equal proportions are hotel and tourism and management. Similarly at the academic track, the pathways are very gendered with most men pursuing scientific baccalaureates with little regard to their academic aptitudes while women were more evenly distributed across the three available streams of science, literature and society and economy (Crosemarie 2009).

One participant, Caralie, opted for a vocational tract in automated technology, but describes how after one year in a classroom dominated by young men, she switched into a track she describes as more "normal":

> After middle school I made a choice, euh, well I imagine like a lot of children, I didn't really know what I wanted to do so I did, I went for what is called a Technical Stream in Automated Sciences…however, because it's technical and with a scientific orientation, there were a lot of boys, so then as a result, after I switched into a stream that was more normal, accounting.

It was difficult to get Caralie to elaborate further on why this was a problem as the issue appeared obvious to her. In the following passage, Hamid reports on friends who similarly wound up in the 'wrong' track for their gender and how they ended up dropping out:

> It's true there was a type of trend like that, it was accounting/secretarial or eletronic/electrotechnical streams, a bit of mechanics, but it was rare, that was it, eh? It was more you had two choices, and it's true, I have friends, boys, who did accounting/secretarial. But I tell you, by a year, not even, they had dropped out even though it takes two years to get the diploma.

Hamid seems to be suggesting that his friends discontinued their schooling in part because they were in an inappropriate gender stream. Some participants remarked that men in streams constructed as feminine were '*mal vu'* suggesting a certain degree of stigma attached to their location. At any rate, Caralie reported feeling out of place and opted to switch into a more comfortable section, but did not describe this

experience in a critical light apart from noting her sense of being alone in making schooling orientation choices. As I will be show in the following section, this was a situation that, several participants flagged as a form of disadvantage that they faced vis-à-vis their more privileged peers.

7.3.3 Navigating the Educational System Alone

Navigating the educational system in France requires a high degree of cultural capital in the form of sophisticated know-how ranging from being able to select the most appropriate and strategic courses of study and institutions of enrolment (Bourdieu 1984; Duru-Bellat 2000). In terms of secondary and post-secondary options, some participants described their decision-making process around which subject area and courses to opt for to be a very solitary process. Some did not discuss the details with their parents and others did not even talk about their academic pursuits with their friends. Namil explains: "Never, I never had people with whom I could talk about these things, and that is maybe what I was missing. In any case, even with close friends, I never discussed [education decisions]."

Ali attempted to study biology in preparation for medical studies but was unable to attain the high marks needed to continue in this stream. He reflects on the situation and believes that he had not made suitable choices in his orientation. He understands this to be partly due to discrimination, as he did not have the same advantages and support of his middle class and White friend at the time:

> I may have made some strategic mistakes in my schooling. But I didn't have any help with this- this relates to discrimination. It is a more subtle form of discrimination. My mum found herself alone and she worked. She didn't know about the schooling options for me. Nobody ever advised me to concentrate more on my maths, and physics classes…nobody encouraged me in this way and told me what the consequences would be of not doing well in certain subjects, in concrete terms.

Namil came to similar conclusions when reflecting on the difficulties he had faced in his early schooling. He told me that that his parents were simply unable to give him the extra help at home with his work needed to overcome his learning setbacks:

> Afterwards, it's clear, you understand that the difficulties- it's that you find yourself trying to do things without support behind you. Our parents, of Tunisian origins, they arrived with all the good will in the world but they can't follow your work at school so they don't have the means to back us up, my mother, she herself had just started to learn to speak French.

On the other hand, Rose (35, French, Tunisian origins) describes her parents, and especially her mother, as especially vigilant that she both work hard and be well-behaved and respectful at school:

> So my parents were actually very involved in my schooling. I mean they always encouraged us to work hard at school and to do our homework. They supervised that we did our homework diligently and we were by no means to call attention to ourselves at school [in a negative way]. They were very vigilant for our education and our attitude towards work, it wasn't just that we had to be good, no, [laughing] we had to be really, really, really good. Then for the choice of middle school and *lycée* etc, it was them, it was still very much supervised, especially by my mother because it was in relation to the education of her girls, and since we were seven girls and just one boy…

Here the gendered dimension of the expectations of her behaviour at school are highlighted and elaborated, as Rose explains how respectability as a young woman was key for her family's honour but also for her and her sisters' navigation of the *cité* neighbourhood where they were living:

> [laughing] Girls had to be supervised a little bit more. You had to be careful of who they were hanging out with, of their honour. They are families for which honour is very important so they were very vigilant. I think both so that their children were respectable, it's true what I mentioned earlier, we were well respected in the *cité,* it's true that everyone, even the bad boys (in quotations) [laughing] would say, yes, those girls, you can't bother them because we were respected because we had a very respectful attitude because my parents were always on our backs…

While her parents expected her to work hard at school, and Rose was an exceptionally high achieving student, when it came to postsecondary options, she felt a bit more restricted by her family in terms of acceptable choices. Because most of her siblings had pursued vocational streams, with the exception of one sister who had attempted university but who had suffered a nervous breakdown, her parents were not keen on the idea of her going to university.

> When I decided to do my studies at university, it was drama because they didn't want [the nervous breakdown] to happen to me and they were worried

> that they would lose me and hang out with the wrong type of people or I don't even know what. So there was a moment after the *bac* that was the most difficult where I had to break from my family and then I didn't let them get involved in any way in my studies. They had no idea, in quotations. They barely knew that I was doing science at university but concretely, the day I got my master's I cam home and told my dad and he said, 'is that right, is that right, well then!?'. After the bac my parents were not involved in my schooling.

Rose notes that it took a toll on her to continue on a path without their support.

> You understand, I was 18, 19, 20, they wanted me to get married, and me, in continuing to study at university, well I was distancing myself more and more from the course they expected their children to take, so, yes it was hard for me, in some ways because I knew that they didn't in any way support me in my studies.

In fact, when Rose failed a year of her studies, she explains that her mother was almost happy rather then disappointed:

> If I succeeded or not, it was the same from their perspective. In fact, the year I failed, that year, my mother was almost happy, it was, that's good, in any case, don't worry if you don't succeed, you'll be getting married so don't worry about it.

In the end, Rose wound up reorienting her studies to become a vocational *lycée* physics and math teacher. Another participant whose parents stood in the way of her academic and career ambitions was Delphine (30) who was from a White French catholic family. Her parents held what she described as traditional values associated with the male breadwinner model and while encouraging of her schooling, were resistant to the idea of her being in a higher status profession and earning more than her husband.

As already mentioned, Rose articulates a critique of the gendered expectations of her parents based on ideas of equal opportunity for men and women to study and to have access to a professional life. Yet in her narrative, she also points out the benefits she gained from performing a respectable femininity in the context of her neighbourhood where she might have otherwise been the target of negative attention from young men. Schooling for her provided a venue through which she could strive for a different life than that which her parents sought for her, something that she embraced wholeheartedly. But making this choice required a lot of stamina and survival skills according to Rose's narrative, as she describes the difficulties she

experienced during these years as she struggled with her schooling without being able to draw support from them. In this case, then, the choices opened up through her successful schooling came at an emotional cost as they required her to break her close ties with her mother, a prime source of support to her in her younger years.

To conclude the section, the anger of not having intellectual capacity fairly recognized and nurtured is a reoccurring theme in studies examining the experience of racialized youth (Essed 1991; Howarth 2006; McGee and Martin 2011). The significance of racism in the schooling context is enormous, given the importance of educational attainment for future labour market positioning and the role played of educational institutions in reproducing inequality and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984; Willis 1977).

A body of scholarship inspired by Bourdieu links this experience of stigma to the development of an 'oppositional culture' which shields its adherents from this shameful experience altogether by promoting antagonism to middle class educational attainment values in the first place (Jeffrey and McDowell 2004; McDowell 2003; Nolan and Anyon 2004; Willis 1977). In this way, young people might unconsciously cope with symbolic violence by internalising the idea that they are not interested in academic achievements in the first place. However, the narratives that I examine here reveal that the reactions to this experience were quite active and cognitive as opposed to embodied and related to durable dispositions. (Nonetheless, it is plausible that the embodied and unconscious aspects were not part of the linguistic memories of participants and thus were inaccessible to narration). Participants identified themselves as the victims of injustice through their critical capacities that were in part developed through their lived experience of racism. The knowledge that they enacted in the reflections on their past memories enabled them to interpret their schooling struggles with a critical eye, whether or not they had done so at the time the events described took place (Essed 1991).

In addition to describing the basis upon which participants generalized beyond their own singular experience to that of a wider social problem, I explored the actions taken by participants in the face of these various experiences of humiliation and setback. Unlike Rose, who fought for the school that she had set her heart on

attending, for the most part, participants reported that they were actively passive in the face of schooling humiliations that they assessed as unfair streaming into under-valorised vocational tracks. By actively passive I mean that participants applied critical judgement to decide that their best bet was not to make a fuss and to go with the flow, even if the flow was not going in the direction that they liked. The decisions made by these participants suggest the power of the negation of racism in the educational system which disciplines those exposed to everyday racism into silence out of fear of retribution with long-term consequences should they speak out and resist. The negation of racism also necessitates a great deal of energy to be put in on the part of victims of racism to simply cope with their invisibilised injuries. In the following section I will conduct a similar analysis but focussing on the critical capacities of participants in their narration of the challenges faced in securing waged work.

7.4 Not Getting a Job

Implemented in part to ease the transition of young people into the French labour market, many vocational streams and even some academic ones involve a work-experience component to secure the educational credentials (Fougère, Kramarz, and Magnac 2000). For many *Maghrebin* male participants, the difficulties in securing this apprenticeship or entry level position was a brutal initiation to the challenges they were to face in the labour market. Sometimes their lack of success in securing an apprenticeship resulted in them not being able to gain the credentials for which they had already completed the in-class training. The particular high rates of *Maghrebin*, sub Saharan African and Turkish second generation male and female unemployment found in the recent TEO study suggest that the experiences described by these participants are likely quite common[28].

[28] For descendants under the age of 30 of the following groups, the rates of unemployment were significantly higher than that of the mainstream populationin 20??: Turkey (1.3), sub-Saharan Africa (1.8), Morocco and Tunisia (1.6) and Algeria (1.8), and for immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa (1.7) and Algeria (1.9) Lhommeau, Bertrand, Dominique Meurs, and Jean-

A good example is the case of Farid, who at the age of 17 in 1993 was searching for the apprenticeship associated with the *Bac Professionelle Électrotechnique* he had opted for. He had specifically chosen his course of study because of the option to work and study at the same time, allowing him to earn an income while continuing his schooling. He explains how he was unable to find an employer to take him on. When asked whether his school took an active role in securing placements for students like him he said that there were only two students in his situation, and the other one was the first on the list and had landed the only available job placement through the schools contacts. He was then forced to apply independently and was unsuccessful in his bid for a work-study position. Unfortunately, he was behind in his school trajectory after redoing some years of schooling. He was unable to meet the deadline for finding a placement and was no longer formally enrolled in an educational training program when his 18th birthday rolled around. This meant that he was obliged to do his military service, which turned out to be an extremely humiliating experience in which he was targeted as a '*banlieusard*' by his superiors, compounding the negative experience further. Farid noted how discouraging the failed attempt at apprenticeship was for him:

> Yes, it was discouraging, then, its true that when you see, for example, the people who didn't have problems and that had found their work placement had either help from the school administration or had a network of people that they knew who had contacts in electricity companies…well, it's true that in fact we weren't starting from the same starting point to access the placement…

Farid alludes to the differential starting points in terms of the cultural and social capital in the form of contacts within social networks required to facilitate securing entry-level positions and apprenticeships in this passage, and many other participants emphasized this as an important factor that they lacked in their

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Luc Primon. 2010a. "Labour Market Situation of Persons Aged 18-50 by Sex and Origin." Pp. 53-60 in *Trajectories and Origins. Survey on Population Diversity in France. Initial Findings. (Working Paper 168)*, edited by C. Beauchemin, C. Hamelle, and P. Simon. Paris: INED & INSEE..

narratives as well.

Unlike some participants discussed above who were acutely aware of having been regarded in a negative light since their schooling years, Ismail (28, French, parents immigrated from Algeria) had not had the sense that he had been treated in a discriminatory way. He had grown up in a small town in the south of France and had been an above average student and driven by the goal of a career in sports journalism that had motivated him throughout his studies. He moved to Paris in order to pursue this career and successfully obtained an internship as a researcher for a news channel. However, almost a year after graduating and since this short stint in his field he has been unable to secure another job in his field. He notes that his sector is extremely specialised and believes that hiring takes place almost exclusively through word-of-mouth for finding out about openings, making it an especially restrictive field. In addition, when we spoke he was starting to wonder whether his access to some of the jobs he was applying to that were not even specifically sports journalism, but any form of writing-related work was also being blocked by racist perceptions of him based on his name or the suburban neighbourhood where he had rented in Paris in a temporary student accommodation:

> I'm starting to think this because, well, I have friends who have applied at the same places as me and they are getting call backs within the week whereas I haven't heard anything and its been over six months, six months. Their names sound French. Fine, well I'm starting to wonder whether the fact that I'm called Ismail T. that…is it the problem? I couldn't say for sure. Maybe it's because they have a bit more experience then me, I don't know. But, there you go, I'm starting to wonder because now that I see that [in Paris] that Arabs are perceived negatively, it's true! Well then, you have a label that is more difficult to unstick then it was in my hometown.

His plan is to keep looking for a bit longer and if he does not find anything, to return to his hometown, where at least he actually enjoys living:

> I don't have a chance, I don't know many people, so, yeah, I'm giving myself a bit more time, and if it doesn't work out, I'll give up and go back to my hometown. I'll do something else, I don't know yet, I don't know yet what, but if I can't have a job that I like I might as well at least live in a place I like.

Ali, also pursuing a relatively specialised sector job in sports management recounted an anecdote where he had learned through a friend who knew the

manager of a large sporting company that he offered the internships in his firm to the children of his important clients as a thank you. Many participants whose parents were manual labourers felt acutely aware of their lack of access to the type of opportunity that Ali described. They were cognisant that they lacked what their more privileged peers deployed without effort, the social capital in the form of personal networks through which job information and opportunities could be heard about and which could act as informal references to assure employers of their competency and trustworthiness. One participant's father who had worked at a particular industrial factory for many years as manual labourer, however, did manage to cash in on his loyalty to the company to secure his son his first apprenticeship in the laboratory of the company. Hassan recounts the anecdote indicating that he felt very much set apart from the other members of the lab based on his neighbourhood of origin:

> [My father] was a labourer, a labourer. Still, he had a lot of years of experience so I got a job in the lab where, where, the first day, overall, it went well, but the first day a comment was made that stays with me today, the person, she had told me, she told me that it was the first time they were receiving an '*technicien de banlieue*'…she had casually remarked something along the lines of, 'yeah, this is the first time I have had a '*technicient dite de banlieue*',' it had a negative connotation, basically it was the fact that the technicien in question had an Arab name. I didn't have, I, I told myself that I won't respond to her comment, in any case, it was the beginning of my placement so I preferred to give a response more through the quality of my work then a verbal response.

Hassan (29, French, Moroccon origins) vividly describes here the active decision to be silent in the face of this humiliating racist comment and to prove himself through his hard work.

In the face of this utter disdain for his dignity on the part of a person in authority, Hassan was forced to manage his emotional display scrupulously for lack of a way to express his anger without facing repercussions (Bumeller 1987). The work placement went well after that and he felt that his work was well recognized. After this lucky break through his father's employer, however, Hassan felt time and time again that as he pursued his studies he was blocked access to important apprenticeships. As discussed in the quote introducing the previous chapter, he notes that he had to learn the way to present himself in interviews because he found that not only where his competencies being assessed, so was his personality, mannerisms

and self-presentation. His observation is colluded by a large body of research emphasising the increased importance of embodiment in securing work (Bauder 2001; McDowell 2009; McDowell, Batnitzky, and Dyer 2007; Wolkowitz 2006). He wound up completing most of his internships in academic research rather than in private sector settings not because he sought a research career but because this was the only kind of internship he could obtain. Furthermore, after completing his degree he continued to face difficulties securing a position in his sector, which was, as was the case for others discussed a quite specialised technical sector. In the end he broadened his search to a wider range of technical work and was able to find work through temp agencies.

Sami (31, Algerian) also had extensive difficulties in securing work in the private sector in an area remotely associated with the type of engineering qualifications he had. Like Hassan, it was through initially working for a temp agency that he eventually made his way into an open-ended contract at a private firm. He describes interviews in which the potential employer enquires into his religious practice in a manner that assumed he is likely to be an '*integriste*' (Muslim fundamentalist) using the term '*se prendre des claques'* which roughly translates to 'being punched in the face'. His choice of language highlights the vigour of the assault on his dignity that is experienced at these encounters. The disadvantages faced by *Maghrébin* youth in the labour market was a problem that Sami felt very strongly about and had relied himself on a association called *Dérouilleurs* (De-rusters), a mentorship network which seeks to link educated youth from the banlieues to a social network which can help them find out about employment opportunities.

For many participants, the inability to secure stable employment in the field in which they trained lead them to search for other kinds of work opportunities or even to retrain all together. Jamal (32, Algerian) who had studied political economy at university and sought work initially in economic intelligence consulting described the ongoing challenges he faced in attempting to secure contracts in the field. The work was very unpredictable and trickled in between long periods without work. The process of accepting that his career was not developing the way he had hoped required what he described as a period of mourning. He explained that even the

fixed-term contract working for a national public library that he had settled for instead of pursuing his consulting work had taken him three years to secure and it had been through a friend of his who already held a position in the branch of government who had managed to ensure he was eventually interviewed for the job. Finally, also facing difficulties getting hired, I have already discussed the situation of Sam (29, French, Cambodian origins) in the previous chapter who after training at a university in IT faced months of unemployment. He gave up hope and returned to complete a second diploma this time from a private engineering school which also included a work-study component which allowed him to ease into the labour market.

While women who wore the headscarf also felt that they had severe difficulties securing work, the three *Maghrébine* women who did not wear the headscarf in my study did not consider discrimination to have been a significant problem that they faced in terms of securing work. In fact, there was a relatively widely held perception that finding work is easier for *Maghrebin* women then men. Whether this was perceived as a question of injustice or as a result of merit for hard work depended on participants' relationship to the experience and the identity as well as their political outlook. Jamal, for example, discussed with me his awareness that gender, 'race' and class would all compound the situation of *Maghrebine* women, but from his point of view, women are gaining access to work more readily. The following citations from Rose indicates that she perceives racism to be hitting men harder then women:

> It's a certainty that there are discriminations based on origins in workplaces and more for boys than girls, that's a certainty, and we cannot lie to ourselves about that. (Rose, 35, French, Tunisian origins)

While, from a right wing perspective, the following passage from Lise (30, French, mixed French and Vietnamese origins) reveals how she sees it rather as racialized women make more efforts then their male counterparts, and therefore are managing to succeed:

> I think that, no, no, the problem with immigration is, well, actually, there are lots of women who are making it, it's the opposite problem, it does not matter what their origins are, African, Algerian, and all that, well, women they work hard, they really try to integrate into society. I see really a lot of l 'ptite beurettes' (little maghrébine women) who make it. I have a colleague who is of Senegalese origins and she is top, top and it's true, amongst women like

> everywhere in the world, finally, women put more effort into trying to integrate. (Lise)

I suspect that the prevalence of the idea that racialized women succeed better then men in securing work has an effect on the way in which women perceived their experiences in finding work. It should be noted that this widely held view is belied by recent data that suggests that *Maghrebine* women, while managing to attain higher levels of education, have similarly high levels of unemployment compared to *Maghrebin* men (both male and females children of Algerian parents have an unemployment rate of 20%) (Lhommeau, Meurs, and Primon 2010a). It seems likely that given the ideas that women either face less racism, and/or are better at mastering their own destinies, it would be more difficult for women to articulate claims to having faced injustice then their male counterparts. Nadia for example, identified only one instance in which she believes she was unable to land a job due to discrimination, when she applied at a bakery as a short-term job student job. However, she does recollect interview questions that she felt were geared towards her simply because of perceptions of her as a *Maghrebine* woman who would not have the same autonomy from her parents and brothers as other woman.

> I've had comments in interviews, for example, when I was looking for work that would not have been made if the person being interviewed was *francais de souche*, so yeah, do you have brothers and sisters and what is it like at home? If we needed you to stay at work overtime or to travel to a seminar will that be a problem for your family? And I know that I was asked the question because I'm of maghrebine origins and it wouldn't have been asked to a *francaise de souche*, or also, where you're from, where you're from, where I'm from? I was born here. The 'where you're form…' uhm It makes you, it makes…I answer I was born here…

Similarly, Sarah (32, French, Algerian origins) notes that while she does not think that discrimination has blocked her access to employment, she does recall an interview for the tourism sector in which she was quizzed on her opinions around certain political issues and especially in relation to the conflict in Palestine.

> I had just come out of a year of studying history at university so I knew very well what was happening but I just said that the conflict, I said, how do you say, I said it was a powder keg, that it was very explosive but I didn't give my opinion, I tried not to give my opinion…

She wonders to this day whether she was asked this question because of her origins

her whether everyone was asked the same questions. She notes that she does not have the required information to determine whether this was as a result of racist perceptions of her.

Women who wore the headscarf, however, clearly expressed their frustration at not being able to obtain work. As Ines (30, French, Kabyle origins) explains, in France, for Muslim women whose religious practice includes wearing the headscarf are forced to choose what is more important to them, finding work or wearing the head covering:

> But it's very hard to get everything and plus I have, how do you say… priorities like to pray on time or keep my *hijab* so if I want to, to do everything I would have to move maybe Great Britain or the US but in France you have to, to choose either you, you can try but it's hard now.

Inès was officially unemployed although working a small amount without declaring her income as a private tutor and religious teacher. She described how while she had been completing her university studies in foreign languages, she also worked in the summer times as a day care worker in a very diverse neighbourhood of Paris. This was a job which she greatly enjoyed. In her interview she narrates the process by which she started to wear a head covering and the way in which this affected her employment prospects. During the years leading up to the outright ban on the headscarf, her employer at the day care was relatively sympathetic to Inès' commitment to her religious practice. When Inès started to wear a head covering, her boss asked her 'uhm, is this for style or is it deeper than that?'. Inès replied 'it's deeper.' [Inès laughed] and then she narrated how her boss reacted after that as follows:

> She said, oh ok. That's all. She understood, I guess, that it was religious. And then she even let me pray uhm at my work place, because she saw me running back home at lunch and she said, why do you go home ? Bring a sandwhich and eat here. I said no I have to go to pray. She said you should just do that here. I said, it's a school, if an inspector comes by, there will be problems. She said no, you tell them it's me that authorized you. So I would go to the teachers room, I was alone, no one would see me, and I did my prayer, and then after with the polemic in the media, we have to make a law, we have to save those girls, in short, they sent inspectors…

She then describes how when she was placed in a school in a middle class neighbourhood, she felt a chill with co-workers and was interrogated about her practice by the new director. The new director nonetheless discussed the question of her prayers which she was now doing on her breaks at a mosque next door to the daycare with her previous director who, according to Ines argued on her behalf saying that: 'you 'don't even see her do it, she doesn't do it in front of the kids, she doesn't talk about it…' However, unlike the neighbourhood where she had been placed before, this new neighbourhood was much less diverse and eventually parents complained.

> And so parents, when they saw me return, and even teachers, when they left to go out to eat, they saw me and started to complain. They asked the director how it was that I could work there. Even though he had accepted me earlier, he responded to the parents complaints and asked his own superior to settle the issue, saying I don't want to deal with this, you decide. So they sent inspectors to see, they sent them to the site to assess that I was an infraction with my headscarf on my head.

The inspectors threatened her that the next year she would have to remove her scarf because the ban would become official. They returned on several occasions to discuss the matter with her, which Ines described as a humiliating experience. In the following passage she recalls a visit she received because she wore a black headscarf when previously she'd worn a blue one.

> They would tell me, listen, mademoiselle, already, you are wearing the headscarf, if on top of that you wear dark colours...Yesterday you wore blue, try to wear lighter colours. Plus he used a really mean tone of voice with me. Then he left. It was ridiculous. You ask yourself how can a human being go so low? You, you, you humiliate people, you criticize them, you don't even know their work. Only because you don't see their hair!...Your work is to go to see people and to tell them, listen, it's scandalous what you are doing [wearing the headscarf]. All the while my directors were very happy with my work. Even the director in the school where the parents had complained he said to me, listen, I feel bad because euh, we really appreciate what you do here, because I was doing extra activities and theatre…

That summer, when she applied for her usual temporary employment she found that she did not hear back from the centralised hiring system the way she usually had and was only able to secure her summer job by contacting her daycare's boss who negotiated a position for her. Once the ban was passed, however, she

categorically was no longer able to hold the position. She describes herself as feeling anguish as she had to figure out what to do the following year and defend her decision to prioritise her religion over a job that she loved but could not practice with the headscarf to her parents who disapproved of her religious practice. This decision truly went against the grain of rational action as understood by many of the participants of the study. I found widespread support of the headscarf ban, with some exceptions including most, but not all of the North African origin participants. Even amongst those that felt that the ban was unfair and interpreted it critically as an expression of the disdain towards Muslims, there was still a sentiment that women wearing the headscarf must accept the consequences of their actions. Two North African origin participants felt that given the economic marginality of the *Maghrébin* community, these women were making a mistake to remain unemployed rather then remove their headscarves.

Inès was still a student at this time and moved to the US on an exchange program for a year.

> When I was there I could do everything I wanted to I could work I could go to school I could pray on time so I saw that I could do everything I wanted and when I came back I was determined not to stop.

All three women who I interviewed who wear the headscarf had left France for at least a year to live in the United Kingdom or the United States where they were able to work and study with the headscarf with relatively less discrimination then in France. For Inès this experience strengthened her resolve to continue wearing the headscarf upon her return to France, as the above quote reveals. However, since returning to France and completing her studies in translation she has struggled to find employment. She sees translation as a field that is largely dependent on having a degree from the *Grandes Écoles*, or elite schooling system and that her normal university degree coupled with her headscarf make her an unlikely candidate for the few positions that are available. Inès had managed to find employment in translation from religious associations although due to lack of funds for the past year, she has been unemployed. Nonetheless, she declares that until now she has figured out a way to keep her priorities and support herself thus far and is hopeful that things will work out for her.

During the interviews that I carried out, *Maghrébin* men, and women who wore the headscarf, were most likely to both report having had difficulty obtaining work. In addition, they were also more likely to link their personal difficulties in this matter to the issue of racial discrimination. It remains a matter needing further confirmation but I suggest that the prevalence of the discourse of the crisis of masculinity makes the claim of having faced injustice in seeking work less available to many women who are more likely to see their setbacks as a result of their own lack of effort. By the crisis of masculinity discourse, I mean the popular interpretations of urban violence and the social difficulties faced by 'banlieues' youth to be a question of masculine underachievement and disengagement from schooling in comparison to feminine academic and work place attainment (Rauch 2007). This framing of the issues blatantly ignores the fact that while racialized women might outperform men from the same immigrant origin category as themselves, they are still unlikely to do better academically then men and women in the dominant group (Coutras 2002-3). Furthermore, it also renders invisible the high rates of unemployment amongst some groups of racialized women that are found in the labour market.

This discourse might also bolster the interpretation of the unemployment faced by women wearing the headscarf as a matter of personal choice rather then systemic discrimination. The role played in legitimating barring these women from employment in any sector by the ban on civil servants wearing the headscarf is under recognized. The significance of being banned from the public sector is furthered by the established fact that is also supported by my own findings that racialized people have an easier time securing employment in the public sector then in the private one (Héran 2010). In addition, the public sector is a particularly significant source of employment for women as figures for 2009 indicated that 42.2% of all working women were employed in public administration, education, health and social services and thus made up 67.5% of this sector's workers (INSÉE 2009).

At any rate, for all participants who faced setbacks in finding a job, a great deal of emotional effort was required for them to persist in seeking employment in the face of perpetual rejections. In addition, numerous incidents were described to me of which a few examples have been provided above of the ways in which participants

perceived themselves to be the victims of prejudice and racism in interview settings and the active response that they had to this experience frequently being the decision to play it cool and to vindicate themselves through hard work. In other words, in convergence with other studies, racialized participants frequently reported having to work extra hard to prove their capacities as well as manage to mask any emotions they might feel in relation to the insult or disregard that was expressed in the process of the various interviews and internships involved in attempting to land a job (Essed 1991). In the following section, I examine a range of situations in the work place in which participants felt they were treated differently because of their origins.

7.5 Gender, Ethnicity, 'Race' and Religion at Work

The manner in which dominant discourses of republicanism demand that everyone be treated as equal citizens as a requirement for equality is an important lens through which participants interpret the experience of being perceived as 'other' by their work colleagues and supervisors. As other studies have shown, racialized people in France deploy the dominant universal and Enlightenment ideals when identifying racism (Laborde 2008; Lamont, Morning, and Mooney 2002; Lamont and Mizrachi 2011).

7.5.1 Being Made to Feel Different

At a job where she was working as a receptionist for a bank, Nadia reported an example of an incident in which she had the sense that her co-worker perceived her as a prisoner of her family, religion and culture:

> Another little example, I was working at the fornt desk, it was my colleague, one day I was at my station and she comes up to me and asks me, where you are from, how does it work, are you allowed to go out, are you allowed? I'm 29, why are you- well, I found that stupid on her part to ask me, it's almost like your mother, does she let you go out in the evenings, it's a little, well, it's not because my name is Nadia that you are asking me this, is it? It's just in the way that she asked me these things.

Nadia is critical of the prejudice through which her colleague arrives quickly at the assumption that she would lack autonomy in her day to day live based on her origins.

Laicité (French secularism), a pillar of republicanism, requires that religion be a private area of practice. The particular attention that Islam has received in the public sphere in relation to the manner in which French secularism has been interpreted makes it an extremely sensitive issue for many Muslims who are understandably weary of being viewed through a prejudicial Islamophobic lens rather than as individual citizens at work (Fekete 2009; Geisser 2003). Several Muslim participants reported a sense that their co-workers perceived their avoidance of alcohol or pork in a negative light. In fact, Nadia explains in the following passage how she felt that the interrogations she received from co-workers about the basis for her not eating meat made her feel differentiated from the others in a negative way:

> Nadia: For example, when with some people, with some people from the start-up company, I usually eat hallal, euh, so at restaurants I would just ask for something without meat, they would say, ah yes, well, where you are from...who said I wasn't vegetarian? I also could have been a vegetarian if I don't want to eat meat, see I hadn't specified. I didn't say, I didn't say that I wasn't eating meat for religious reasons. It's when you eat, ah, you don't eat meat where you are from with your religion, it's hallal- what proves to them that I'm not simply vegetarian? Why are you asking me, you know, I don't take this kind of thing as discrimination, but as comments, stereotypes and prejudices.
>
> Esther: You get the sense they see you as not belonging?
>
> Nadia: Yes, well no, but that they see you more as *very different* rather then not belonging. I often ask why are you asking me that?

For Nadia, being set apart from other workers by her employer even for measures to make it easier for her to fast for Ramadan was experienced as a violation of her right and desire to keep her religion a personal matter rather then one in the public sphere. Thus when her director told her that if she chose her vacation weeks during Ramadan he would ensure that she would get them, she felt singled out, even though she recognized that his offer was not necessarily based on malevolent intentions:

> The director came to see me and said, 'yes, Nadia, I saw that you had asked for holidays, when does Ramadan start? Because I noticed, actually- don't worry, if you need to work something out we can accommodate.' But the thing is, I hadn't asked for anything special. It's my religion, I'll assume responsibility for my practice. It was sweet of him to offer but it was really in an approach in which I

> was a special case, and it's true that it will be hard during Ramadan, I won't eat from nine to nine thirty, but, you know, it's not necessary, I didn't ask for anything, I would have done my Ramadan, see, I don't need that, It's my own thing, it's personal. I'll figure it out myself.

Here feelings of frustration at being singled out relate to how she interprets the gesture on the part of her supervisor as a negative one through the frame of secular French republicanism. In the following passage, Hamid describes a scenario in which, because of the prevalence of Islmamaphobic and racist views amongst clients, his religious practice is seen as having a negative effect on the customer relations of the company. Here two competing principles of justification come head to head: that of the right for employees to work with dignity no matter their origins and religious practice and the profit-driven justifications of the market where the company's bottom line is a basis for discriminatory selection of employees. Hamid explains that in his previous company where he worked as maintenance technician for six years, those working in the production of the machines tended to be from diverse ethnicities whereas those in sales jobs tended to be French and White. The tendency to put White workers in positions in which face-to-face contact with customers is a key component of the job has been documented in other studies focusing on service sector work (McDowell 2007; McDowell 2009; Wolkowitz 2006):

> Hamid: In the production part, so manual labourers, there were lots of different ethnicities, but in the sales section, many less, none in fact. Because in sales in general they go and visit the clients, so, this is what I think, I don't see myself as a sales person, no, I'm not much of a sales person, but when a sale took place, when a sale happened, in general it is celebrated with a drink, us Muslims we don't drink, well, It's not that it bothers me, it's normal, when you celebrate a sale, you celebrate in this way. But my religion prevents me from taking part, well, that's my personal opinion- …
>
> It's happened that we had meetings between sales people and technicians, and to do, with clients, do technician meetings, eh? And so for the midday meal, one big table, and with the service staff with them, and, and, and, so for me to refuse at each time the wine, all the clients looked at me with a strange look, because at that time, I remember it happened a couple of times like this, and I was the only person at these meetings with foreign origins and when the clients looked at me with a kind of look, well, it didn't bother me…but I had the impression that there was something that didn't go over well. So this is the kind of thing that made me feel that it wasn't the right place for me.

Hamid is careful to account for the manner in which he did not let the strange looks

given to him by clients bother him, maintaining his right to dignity at work. He thus deploys the coping mechanism well documented amongst other participants of narrating his resilience in the face of microagressions (Bumetter 1987). However, he began to get the sense that the fact that he was perceived in a negative way by clients made him a less ideal candidate for his job then someone who would pass over unnoticed from the perspective of the company. In presenting this snippet of dialogue including my ill timed attempt at an interjecting question which was refused by Hamid's 'let me finish!, ' I want to highlight the significance that he is placing on experiences such as these as important for consideration in a sociological interview about discrimination. Clearly, given the composition of the company, the market driven principles win over those based on republican civil rights and equal treatment for all. As one of the few exceptions to the rule at his company, Hamid found himself in work contexts in which he was the token *maghrebin* and Muslim which were clearly not pleasant and must have required a level of effort in order to not let them get to him. He has since left this job and retrained as a furnace and air conditioner mechanic and was unemployed at the time of our interview. In light of the difficulties he has faced securing a new job, he hopes to eventually start a business in furnace maintenance and repair and says that he looks forward to being able to select his own clientele.

The belief that in the private sector the idea of committing to equality-based hiring practices would compromise the profitability of the company was also held by Delphine, a White French sales person representing engineers at a temp agency. Delphine, whose career path is described in the previous chapter, also finds herself at the cross roads of the principles of republicanism in which origins should not matter at work and that of the logic of the market in which profit justifies discriminatory treatment. She describes the way in which one of the four owners of her company is openly racist and particularly hostile to *Maghrebins*. She explains that he justifies his request for her not to hire too many racialized engineers for her roster as they are harder to place in private companies due to racism: 'because it goes over better with clients, because, because, well he justifies it this way but really it allows him to vehicle? his ideas…' This puts her in a difficult position, especially when in certain specialities of engineering there is a concentration of expertise due to speciality areas

in higher education in North African countries. As she goes on to explain the process by which she determines which of her roster she will present to particular clients for short-term contracts, her role of (unwilling) mediator of racist workplace segregation becomes further clarified:

> You see, well, after it depends a lot on the culture of the enterprise. For example, at X, clearly, it's a culture where you have people with very high levels of education, very interested in finance and you go in the offices and you se whites, super classy, super chic, very, well you get the sense that there is a very big selection process on these things and so the few blacks you see, they are the cleaners, its very, well, it's very- but they you have a company like Y which used to be a state-owned company and it's a lot more mixed, lots more Arab folks, you have quite a few Arabs and in any case, a lot of people of foreign origins and blacks, if you want, depending on the client, you will see- If you can tell that the guy has a team, of, well, white people everywhere around him, well you don't even bother suggest to him one of your – the sorting process is done and there you go.

Delphine understands this sorting process as necessary in terms of pleasing and maintaining her company's client base. While she does not like this aspect of her job, she also does not see it as optional but rather as part of her job's requirements. She also explains how she develops a good relationship with her roster of engineers and that she does not like to send racialized engineers into contexts in which they will face racism. In the following anecdote she recounts how she was forced to send a Senegalese engineer to complete a contract because the previous engineer was unable to complete it and the task was urgent:

> It was hard because he was replacing someone else and there was only one week left and that person had not received the warm welcome they should have had, lets say, and he was not able to stick around to train him because he left early on his paternity leave. So I warned him, there are no black people there, see, and he said, yes, you are right. So he found some Arab and black people but more at the level of technician, but not at the level of engineer, so you see, you could say that there was a barrier at that level, at the level of engineer, and it was flagrant.

In the end the contract went well but the engineer was not asked to help on any other contracts. On the other hand she remarked that women, who were rarely amongst the engineers in her roster, were welcomed and requested by her clients and that she could use gender as an extra selling point: 'I've found you a *demoiselle*!'

7.5.2 Ethnicity as Part of the Job

In some cases, participants felt that they were specifically deemed suitable for their job because of their perceived ethnicity. A number of scholars use the Althusserian concept of 'interpellation' to describe the process by which stereotypes inform segregated hiring practices and how in turn, these discriminatory perceptions often are internalized by workers as they identify themselves with the skill sets ascribed to them (McDowell, Batnitzky, and Dyer 2007; Williams 2006).

While stereotypical assumptions about embodied suitability for particular employment was frequently reported by participants, this was not necessarily found to be entirely internalised. One reoccurring example is amongst participants in care work who were specifically assigned cases involving people of similar origins as their own because it was perceived that they would be better able to build the trusting relationship required in this kind of work (Datta, Mcilwaine, Evans, Herbert, May, and Wills 2010; Glenn 1992; McGregor 2007; Mirchandani 2003). Nadia found that she tended to be placed with North African families at her job as a 'family technician' and thinks her Kabyle family origins can come into play both positively and negatively in the trust developed between herself and the people she worked with:

> It's a question of trust also, you go into their homes, etc, so, sometimes it goes well, even very well sometimes but other times it didn't go to well at all because they did not want to let me see the misery in which they found themselves, they were, the fact that I was *Maghrébine* made it worse while if I was French they might not have felt the same level of shame because of the distance, while with me there was a little bit of you know to show themselves in the community…Anyways, I expected this but because of this there was a certain way of being that I had to adopt, certain things I had to do during Ramadan, there were certain things to respect at *Maghrébine* families, uhm, there were rules on the families were I went, I knew I wouldn't dress in the same way or I wouldn't smoke, I would go to smoke but I wouldn't tell them I was going out for a cigarette, I said I was going out to make a phone call, I had to have a certain modesty.

Nadia's argument highlights the way in which her perceived affinities with the people she worked with and the way in which when this became a basis for trust it was important for her to perform the identity appropriately in a professional capacity. Thus, what was perhaps assumed to be 'natural' on the part of her supervisor was something that required active attention and efforts on Nadia's part. In terms of ethnicity and work,

Amran (29, French, Moroccan origins) also believes that participants with similar backgrounds to him might feel more at ease with him as their counsellor:

> Esther: ok and do you think that if participants have the same origins or similar ones to your own, they feel differently with you or…
>
> Amran : at work yes it comes into play, it comes into play because they feel reassured, that's it, more at ease, more at ease to talk, it comes into play, it comes into play with 'accompaniment' work, in quotation marks, because people can feel more at ease, the people can project themselves onto you a bit but they have a tendency to say, they say to themselves, he comes from the same region as me, or he comes from, he can understand where I'm coming from more easily, things like that.

Later in the interview, however, he asks to return to this point and emphasises that he is capable of putting all participants at ease no matter what their backgrounds. His insistence on returning to this question highlights the tensions around the question of ethnicity at work. Clearly Amran does not want to be perceived as unable to carry out his job competently with service users of all origins just because he himself is of *Maghrébin* origin.

Lise (31, French, Vietnamese and White French origins), unlike Amran, does not consider discrimination to have placed barriers on opportunities for her career. She works in an import-export promotions organisation and she links her geographic region of speciality of Asia to her origins as well as the fact that she has several years of work experience in the agricultural commerce sector in South East Asia.

> It's easier to get a foot in the door for work in relation to region that is close to your origins. For example, I am more 'Asia', so when my colleagues next door or even in France when I see that I get assinged French companies in China, well, they see that I have Vietnamese origins and, well, I will give them advice for example, if they had Africans or maghrebins, actually, and this is done all the time, those that work in the south of France, my colleagues they might go to Dubai…

Having not had the sense that she has faced racism in her work life, she is not concerned at the issue of having her mixed ethnicity taken into consideration by her employers, but rather sees it as an advantage for her. Granted, she describes earlier in her interview how her 'expertise' is related to the fact that she lived in South East Asia for a few years where she came 'discover' her Asian origins. Thus, while she sees her embodiment an advantage in the expertise that others will assume she has, she accounts for her ability to give advice

in this area as a cultural skill set that was acquired. Thus, in these examples the interpellation process surmised by McDowell et al (2007) is accommodated but not wholeheartedly internalised by participants who remain aware of their performance of the traits that their employers assume to be innate.

7.5.3 Tokenism

Whether or not they were assigned specifically to work with the community they were perceived to belong to, several Muslim participants found themselves frequently the token spokesperson for Muslims or *Maghrébins* in general. For example, Rose, a vocational *lycée* teacher explains how even though she is not a practicing Muslim herself, because she was raised in a Muslim family with a great deal of religious education, she feels compelled to speak out in the face of her colleagues' ignorance of certain religious matters pertaining to Muslim students at the school. Thus, during Ramadan, she explains how she helped her colleagues understand why they should have reasonable expectations of their fasting Muslim students:

> When I got to the *lycée* there were discussions on the topic of Ramadan, that the students practiced Ramadan and that they shouldn't, well, I remember that there was one teacher, a math and science teacher like me who said something that was totally out of line about students who practiced Ramadan, basically saying that she was bothered by that and that she didn't understand the practice very well. She couldn't understand why the students could be on edge at the end of the day. Basically that they shouldn't piss her off and that basically they should stop doing Ramadan and so, at that point, I spoke up, even though I never talk about my culture or anything else, I felt obliged to explain to her because I couldn't remain silent because I found that through a lack of knowledge one can become cruel and that it's not acceptable for a teacher so I allowed myself to explain a few things and then she better understood some things, because she hadn't been aware that you don't drink or eat all day so a child who hasn't eaten or drank all day it's normal that by the end of the day they are a little tired. This doesn't mean you have to excuse bad behaviour but still, when you are aware of certain things, you can keep things in perspective. Then I also told her, if a student complains about Ramadan, you tell them they are not obliged to do it there is nothing written in the texts that makes it obligatory so if a student complains about hunger and thirst he is not in the right spirit of the practice…so, yes, I can't disengage myself entirely from Islam, I'm not allowed to.

In this passage Rose describes the process by which she is prevented from experiencing the promise of republicanism in the sense that she is not allowed the opportunity to keep her religious education as a private affair that does not come into play at work. She experiences a real sense of obligation to the Muslim students at her school because, on hearing her colleagues' misgivings and misinterpretations of the religion, she feels concerned for their well being ('I found that through a lack of knowledge one can become cruel and that's not acceptable for a teacher'). Her experience is a form of everyday racism as theorised by Essed (1991) who notes that for more privileged members of racialized groups, there is still a vicarious experience of racism through association when they are confronted with devaluation of a group they identify with to some extent. Rose describes then how she is interpellated as a member of the Muslim community in this situation, called upon to speak out and educate her colleagues about the religion. She highlights the contradictions of this role which she experiences as being thrust upon her given that she herself has distanced herself from the religious practice and does not strongly identify as a Muslim.

Rose's claim to discriminatory treatment then is grounded in a republican grammar of hospitality in which she ought to be allowed to leave her religious and cultural background at the door of her work place. In addition, it is clear that the prejudicial views held by her colleagues of Islam violate the principles of neutrality that ought to be upheld in the public school as well as in any public space within the Republican legal framework. However, Rose's basis of judgement became more ambiguous in its republicanism as she describes her expectation that her colleagues take into consideration the way observing Ramadan might affect a child when they are disciplining their students: 'so a child who hasn't eaten or drunk all day it's normal that by the end of the day they are a little tired. This doesn't mean you have to excuse bad behaviour but still, when you are aware of certain things, you can keep things in perspective.' In order for her colleagues to uphold her expectation that they be understanding of the fasting students, they would need to recognize the students as Muslims and 'keep this in perspective.' In fact, she even suggests that not only they recognize their students religion, but even utilise an awareness of the expectation that the practice of Ramadan be carried out in a spirit of willingness to admonish

students who complain about having to fast and remind them they are not obliged to fast, but ought to do so willingly or not at all.

The experience of being catapulted into the role of spokesperson was a familiar one to several maghrebin participants I interviewed. Farid described how amongst his colleagues working in family services he sometimes felt obliged to intervene and carry out pedagogical work (‘*un travail pedagogique’*) because of the way their racist perspectives around Islam and Maghrebin origins families was interfering in their ability to provide adequate support to the families they were working with. He explains that this is sometimes possible because the colleague is open to a dialogue on these issues, however, some colleagues are not willing to engage and hold tightly to ideological views:

> you see in every day life as well as in professional life, there are these situations where you have to educate people, after, well, it’s like anywhere else, it’s sometimes possible because people are capable of participating in an exchange, they have ideas and perspectives that they discuss, etc, there are others, unfortunately, who, well its ideological, so…

Farid discussed the way in which depending on the ‘power geometries’ in a given situation, there were situations in which rather then being compelled to speak out he opted instead for the strategy he termed as ‘camouflage’ in which he actively decided to be passive in relation to racist comments expressed by colleagues or supervisors. Once again, his accounts reinforces the recognition needed of the efforts required to manage these types of situations and to opt for the most judicious response added for these participants to the demands of their working lives, particularly given the already onerous emotional demands of caring work.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined in detail the basis upon which participants made sense of negative experiences in their schooling and working lives in a manner which allowed them to situate their experience not as a singular and exceptional occurrence but one related to a wider social problem of discrimination. I noted several examples in my empirical discussion in which participants reported awareness of oppression but were powerless to do anything to resist beyond simply surviving the experience

with a modicum of dignity. Many reported that their agency was deployed precisely to resist internalising the judgements made of them through routine everyday racist practices that resulted in a consistent underestimation of their capacities and employability or an essentialisation of their ethnic identities as innate and immutable traits.

I found that many of the examples and anecdotes shared with me and reported in this chapter resonated strongly with other accounts of experiences of everyday racism at school and at work based on studies at different time periods and in different national contexts including the United Kingdom, the United States and the Netherlands (Batnitzky and McDowell 2011; Bell 2003; Essed 1991; Howarth 2006; Lamont and Mizrachi 2011; McGee and Martin 2011; Silberman 2011). This suggests the enduring nature and transnational dimensions of White supremist thinking and practices that Essed theorised over twenty years ago and which can still be observed, almost intact, in contemporary studies of racism. Nonetheless, as Essed (1991) emphasises in her own work, national framing of racism and discrimination plays a role in rendering everyday racism more or less visible while the presence or absence of anti-racist movements which are truly founded on the experiences of racialized groups make resistance strategies more available and knowledge of the operation of covert racism more publicised. In addition, Essed noted the need for identifiers of racism to see themselves as part of a racialized collective.

In the context of France, none of these dimensions that are identified as key to foster awareness of everyday racism are available. I found, not surprisingly, that in evaluating the fairness of their experience participants use the principles of colour-blind republicanism. Hence it is also not surprising that many analysts have found racialized youth in France to identify with the national collective and celebrate republican Enlightenment values of individual level equality, fraternity and freedom. The participants in my study for the most part eschewed collective identities as '*communautaire*' and references to membership in an ethnic or racialized group while sometimes expressed in passing were rarely done in a systematic fashion. In this chapter, I highlighted how in fact being linked to a collective identity was a process that itself was identified as some participants as unequal treatment (as in the case of

Nadia who resented being asked if she needed religious holidays). On the other hand, the process of being associated with stigmatised groups was indeed found over and over again to be a barrier to employment and also resulted in indirect experiences of racism when participants found themselves empathizing strongly with members of a similar origin groups as their own who were treated disparagingly by colleagues or employers. Nonetheless, inevitably association with a wider community crept into conversation such as when *Maghrébin* participants explained to me the reason for which *Maghrébine* women ought not wear the veil if it compromises the economic advancement of 'the community'. The inconsistency and ackwardness associated with explicitly identifying as a member of a group as a justification for particular treatment by others was thus a barrier to identifying everyday racism due to ascription to a stigmatised group.

Only a few participants reported taking part in anti-racist organisations, although most were familiar with mainstream Republican anti-racist groups such as SOS Racisme. In addition, two participants reported attempting unsuccessfully to bring hteir employeres to court for discriminatory treatment although for different reasons including lack of time and funding for legal fees, these procedures were not taken to completion.

While for the most part, participants utilised principles of republican equality based on individual access to equal opportunities, their narratives point to examples of moments of critical judgement which rely on different principles other than republicanism, notably when questions of dignity arose in which when treating everybody the same way compromised participants' comfort and sense of self worth.

Men were more likely to identify discrimination in their experience of school and work then women in my study as well as in the wider TeO survey. In this chapter, therefore,I also tentatively suggest that the prevalence of the discourse of the crisis of *banlieue* masculinities might make it more difficult for racialized women to link any experience of difficulty they have in their schooling or working lives to a wider societal problem. By this I mean the common assumption that women are doing well while men are facing both under-achievement in schooling as well as blocked mobility in the labour market. This belief folds with the notion of postfeminist

rationality (McRobbie 2009; McRobbie 2011b) which sees gender emancipation as the equivalent of successful attainment of education and work. Thus acknowledging struggles in relation to everyday racism in these arenas might be particularly difficult for racialized women, given that in addition the common assumption shared implicitly by many participants is that discrimination is only associated with outright exclusion from the labour market and relatively successful trajectories are not affected. As I found through discussions with participants, women who wear the headscarf face high levels of exclusion from the labour market yet are especially likely to be expected by others to take personal responsibility for their lot rather then to consider it as a result of racism.

I have also highlighted here one of the most difficult clashes of justification that remained unresolved for most people at work: the perception that equality policies justified on republicanism would compromise market-based profitability of companies. Thus, this observation links with arguments made in the previous chapter in which I discussed the prevalence of neoliberal governmentality which equates fairness and rational decision making with freedom to compete in the market place. I have shown how participants perceived their company would suffer in their profit margins if they were equitable in their hiring processes, and this was experienced as an unresolved tension at the workplace.

Thus, I found the capacity to make a judgement on an experience or a series of routine experiences as being linked to everyday racism relied all too often on a limiting republican logic of individual equality. In my introduction I acknowledge that this might be partly related to the interview effect as studies have shown that revealing more covert experiences of racism depends to some extent on the belief that the interviewer has at their disposal the experience necessary to understand the subtleties of this experience rather then to question the interpretation of the events. However, I also argue that this is not the only factor making it difficult for participants to link their experience more systematically with everyday racism. The suppression of a knowledge of the operations of racism in the French context and the rather restrictive framing of equality through the lens of republican citizenship and equality also make this more difficult. I also argue that the critical process is further

complicated by postfeminist and neoliberal discourses which help to marginalise a conception of justice that holds as key principles equitable power relations.

Thus, this final empirical chapter illustrates the serious consequences of the everyday routine social processes that, in conjunction with the colourblind and amnesiac (in relation to colonialism) representations of the French nation explored in Part One of the thesis, serve to perpetuate the gendered and racialized relations of domination. Given the focus on relatively well-educated and employed young adults, it might be assumed that the consequences of making invisible everyday racism are likely to be more acute for less privileged people. While the racialized young people who I interviewed are able to survive and sometimes thrive in hostile conditions which act on some personalities as fodder for motivation, the findings of this chapter reveal that while participants are usually aware that their struggles are a result of everyday racism, their capacity to resist is too often limited to survival and maintenance of a sense of self-worth rather than a more direct challenge to the structures and practices of unequal treatment.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I explore the gendered and racialized working lives of young people in the context of the contested politics of colour-blind citizenship in contemporary France. To do this, I examined the ways in which young people understand their schooling and working lives and the opportunities and barriers they face from their own point of view. I also examined the representations of young people and racialized communities in France who are absent in the public sphere and in official state documentation except under the banner of youth 'of immigrant origin' (*issue de l'immigration*) or 'suburban youth' (*jeunes de banlieues*)(Silberman 2011, Breviglieri and Stavo-Debauge 2004). I explored the rationale behind the silence on racial categorisations and the preference in *lieue* of 'race' to make reference to immigrant origins. These constructions routinely serve to discursively link racialized communities to immigration to the detriment of the lives of racialized young people, many of whom have grown up French and have no experience of migration. In this way, I have actively pursued what Dorothy Smith would call the 'ruling relations' of French republicanism which serve to organise young people into the naturalised dichotomous categories of French or 'of immigrant origin' that frames labour market success as a question of immigrant 'integration' and in turn obscures the way that racism structures peoples lives.

In this final chapter I draw together the unifying threads and arguments that this thesis has developed, highlight some key implications of the findings as well as suggest some areas for further research.

8.2 Discussion of Key Findings and Contributions to the Geographical Literature

Grounded both within the field of Anglophone human geography and a large French litearature about justice, inequality and social mobility, the study contributes to the subfields of social geographies of young people, as well as economic, urban and political geographies. I bring a new approach to the growing field of youth studies, by highlighting the connections between young peoples lives and key debates relating to

citizenship, 'race', ethnicity and work in France. This is done through a mixed-methods analysis of reasons for not counting origins, the discursive and material representation of republicanism and migration and an analysis of young people's experiences of school and employment in an era of increasing austerity and inequality.

8.2.1 Theories and Practices of Anti-Racism

The first part of the thesis, entitled *Working on the Republic*, paints a portrait of the French national context of the past twenty years or so with regards to the ongoing debates raging on citizenship, immigration and the place of cultural difference in the public sphere. It focuses on the specific ways in which anti-racism is officially constructed and how this particular interpretation of anti-racism is justified and maintained. In this way, this section of the thesis contributed to the lacuna of scholarly attention to the understanding and implementation of theories and practices of anti-racism (Bonnett 2000; Lentin 2004). These authors point out that while anti-racism is assumed simply to be the struggle against racism, empirical studies reveal instead that anti-racist ideas are highly contextual and the consequences of anti-racist practices depend in large part to how the concept of 'racism' is understood and explained.

The socio-political construction of belonging in the French nation and the state-level approach to colourblind anti racism politics are exemplified in both the protraction of debates around the legitimacy of census categorisation of 'race', ethnicity and religion and the creation of the *Cité national de l'histoire de l'immigration* (CNHI). The ban on ethnoracial categorisation and the creation of a museum to recognise immigrants as members of the nation are both manifestations of the dominant French interpretation of anti-racism as a form of immigrant integration.

Amongst French political and intellectual elite, the use of 'race' and 'ethnicity' categories in official studies is eschewed, in part because such categories are said to stabilise divisions in French society that ought not be legitimized. The arguments

used against these categorisations are based on a moral objection to the concept of 'race' as well as an aversion to the reification of sub-national difference, concerns that are also evident in Anglophone scholarship on race and racism. The avoidance of categorisation in France also reflects the prioritisation of universalist ideals as a means towards anti-racism and solidarity amongst individual citizens.

This perspective lends itself too easily to the promotion of notions of immigrant assimilation which have consistently inflected the debate in France around the merits of categorisation that has existed since the mid 1990s (Simon and Stavo-Debauge 2004). Thus, in arguing both for and against the collection of data on ethnicity and 'race', proponents generally take for granted certain key assumptions about cultural differences. Those arguing against the data suggest that categories will promote the longevity of communitarian or self-segregated communities which will act as a barrier to full participation in the French national. For a long time, even those arguing for the data rationalised the need for it as a means to examine whether immigrant communities are successfully disappearing into the masses, as they ought to over several generations according to assimilationist immigrant integration reasoning. Nonetheless, in recent years and with pressure from the European Union Race Directive, there is recognition of the need for such data to identify discrimination in multiple spheres of life including education, the labour market and housing. Nonetheless, French policy makers are still moving towards the implementation of categorisation at a very stalled pace.

A key outcome of this ongoing lack of official recognition of racialized communities, however, is that the inequalities must be detected through the use proxy data that identifies racialized communities by utilising country of origin of parents. In addition, policy approaches to addressing inequality sidestep the question of racism. Since 'race' is not the recognized factor in the experiences documented, but rather, migration history is the signifier instead, then policies are developed to tackle 'immigrant integration' rather then racism. Two important examples of policies were intended to do just this: urban policy (*la politique de la ville*) and the headscarf ban in public schools.

Since racialized groups are only conceived of in relation to immigration, and immigrants and their descendents are disproportionately found in marginalised *banlieues*, urban policy operates in the French context as a form of immigrant integration initiative (Bleich 2004; Donzelot, Mével, and Wyvekens 2003). Urban policy for the past thirty years in France has taken the form of 'positive discrimination' geared at specific territories, which are justified in terms of the negative effects of dilapidated infrastructure and urban space on the advancement of marginalised communities. One drawback of this form of intervention is that it acts as smoke screen to addressing the social relations of domination that give meaning to the interconnections between spatial, class and racial boundaries. Furthermore, because these policies have evolved recently to construct *banlieue* youth as hoodlums and delinquents requiring disciplining, these urban policies are having the perverse effect of reinforcing the stigma associated with youth of 'immigrant origins' and *banlieues* youth rather then easing it (Dikeç 2007; Open Society Institute 2009; Terrio 2003).

A second policy connected to the dominant French conception of universalist notion of anti-racism is the headscarf ban in public schools. This ban officially implemented in 2005 reflects the reticence to move towards an anti-discriminatory paradigm that recognises particular group needs in order to create the conditions for equal footing amongst minority religious and cultural groups. In fact, the ban illustrates precisely how French conceptions of equality rely on universalist notions of citizenship that mandate the stripping of differential cultural and religious practices rather then their protection as a means to anti-discrimination. By forcing young women to remove their headscarves at school, this policy is justified as enabling these young people to have exposure to the kind emancipation and equality that is necessary in attaining republican citizenship ideals that are believed to deliver solidarity and fraternity amongst members of the national community.

The focus on the specificities of French republican anti-racism practices extended to In Chapter 5, drawing on visual methodologies, the creation of the CNHI was the focus. This national museum is understood by its proponents to address the stigmatisation of 'immigrants' by valorizing their part in building the French nation.

While there is no doubt that remembering the all too easily overlooked contributions of immigration to France's national history is important, the official story line of the museum intentionally cleaves the histories of colonialism and slavery from that of migration. Instead, the narrative renders equivalent the various waves of European and post-colonial migration by suggesting that all groups faced stigmatisation and struggle upon settling in France. In attempting to deploy the museum as a strategy to tackle discrimination, the colour-blind representation serves instead to naturalise the discrimination experienced by contemporary descendants of postcolonial migration as simply part of the process of settlement that must be endured, despite the fact that for many members of these communities themselves have no personal experience of migration. Although a dominant narrative was conveyed through textual panels and visual displays, there is an inevitable polyvocality of the museum space and objects within it, and so counternarratives are also found within its walls.

8.2.2 Representation, 'Race' and Place

I situated my arguments within broader theoretical debates around how both statistics and museums engage in classification and thus the objectification of particular orders of knowledge (Desrosières 2008; Jordanova 1989; Macdonald 1996; Saetnan, Lomell, and Hammer 2011). Both provide a particular abstraction of the world, one through the generalisation of the social through counting and mathematical language, and the other through its representation through material objects on display.

In this way, this part of the thesis serves as exploration of intellectual theories about the links between representation and lived experience, and in particular to the relationship between categories that describe the world and the reality they purport to describe. Specifically, I consider the categories used to talk about those whom I refer to in this study as 'racialized youth' in the French context and the underpinning assumptions that serve to formulate policy interventions in relation to them as well as how this affects the experience of these young people themselves. Not only do these same theories clarify how things are playing out (and as such, are powerful tools of description of the world) but these very ideas are used as justifications and

rationalisations for how things are done (powerful tools being utilised in the world being described). In this way, in France, they are part of a configuration of the social landscape that helps stabilise the world that they also describe. Therefore, I might add that this section of the study is also about the 'agency' of the social construction paradigm (as emerging from its situation in an assemblage of human-object relations) on the social construction process itself.

One important implication of examining representative practices in elite spaces is to emphasize the ways in which everyday racisms are operationalised far from sites in which many racialized groups live everyday. In undertaking a study of discrimination and racism in France, it is often assumed that the research will take place in the *banlieues*. However, my research shows how the processes of racialization span across a range of elite and intellectual spaces, to national memorial landscapes to everyday work and schooling sites. Thus, I contribute to the 'new' geographies of 'race' and racism by exposing 'the enduring geographical significance of racialized discourses, imaginaries and experiences' (Dwyer and Bressey 2008).

Another important implication of the arguments of these initial chapters is the recognition that anti-racism as a theory and practice that is not exclusively associated with resistance and struggle against oppression. My research supports Bonnett's (2000) contention that anti-racism is often associated with the creation and maintenance of the power of the state and the legitimacy of the nation. These initial chapters showed how French political elites and public servants justify particular representations of the nation as a republic of individual citizens in anti-racist terms. The consequences of these representations for racialized communities, however, are adverse. I have shown how these representations stifle the identification of systemic inequalities and the remembrance of historic colonisation and oppression that continues to have a bearing on the lives of young people today. In the second half of the thesis, the impacts of these particular representations of the French republic were further explored at the level of individual narratives of experiences of everyday racism in employment and at school.

8.2.3 Gender, 'Race', Religion and Work in the 'New Economy'

Part Two - *Working in the Republic* - is enriched by, and bring to life, the account of the contested national politics of recognition and 'race' described in Part One by shifting attention to the experience of the young people living and working in Paris and surrounding suburbs. The ways in a generation of young people in France have interpreted and experienced the politics of 'race' and national identity in their own engagement with the labour market are uncovered. I focus specifically on the experience of what some youth scholars have termed 'the missing middle,' that is, young people who are not amongst the most excluded and deprived as is the usual focus, but who are relatively well educated and employed (Roberts 2011). In this way, rather than concentrating on extreme marginality and exclusion, this thesis contributes to a deepening of understanding of the everyday experiences of racism and the meanings of success amongst members of racialized groups often stigmatised as inferior and lacking of motivation but who are yet contributing to French society in numerous ways including through their engagement in education and employment (McGee and Martin 2011).

My research is an original contribution to recent feminist scholarship adding to the arguments of, for example, McDowell (2009) and McRobbie (2011) who in the British case have pointed to the short-fallings of recent theories which emphasise the novelty of the heightened precariousness and flexibility of work place arrangements under contemporary conditions of capitalism (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005; Sennett 2006). These widely accepted accounts suggest that work arrangements at the top end of the polarized labour market in the leading edge sectors, and especially the creative sector, are increasingly flexible and autonomous and require that individuals take charge of their own careers. Rather than relying on a gradual progression up the corporate ladder of a particular firm, careers increasingly take the form of a string of self-directed projects. Landing each subsequent 'project' requires the ongoing development of one's set of skills and overall employability. In this context of heightened precariousness, individualised motivation is, apparently, the key to success. However, such accounts of the new forms of work have been accused of lacking an empirical grounding (Doogan 2009; McDowell and Christopherson 2009; McRobbie 2011a) and, I suggest, good comparative analysis. As youth scholars point

out, macro-level economic transformations that alter employment conditions such as those theorised in the New Economy literatures are likely to reveal themselves in the working lives of young people who are on the front lines of change as the largest group of newcomers to the job market (Bradley and Hoof 2005; Reiter and Craig 2005; Roberts 2011; van Hoof and Bradley 2005). These working lives, of coure, take different forms in different places: a persistent claim of geographers who have long argued for the importance of scale and place in understanding the consequences of economic transformation (Massey 1991; McDowell 1999).

Young people's careers are far from individualised and egotistical but framed by collective experience of the family, romtantic relationships and wider societal hegemonic norms and legal frameworks. In Chapter 6, I unpack the complexity of the motivations for engaging in different career trajectories.

On a theoretical level, I deploy the concept of governmentality as it pertains to the production of subjectivities in the thought of Michel Foucault. This contemporary form of social control helps to shape actions by enlisting the actors themselves to 'choose' to act along the lines outlined by promoting certain forms of rationality and mentalities which act as powerful and attractive normative ideals (Foucault 1978; Foucault 2004 [1978-9]; McNay 1994; Yildiz 2011). At least three normative narratives help to interpret the aspirations and motivations of those interviewed for the study. These are the rationalities and ideals of (i) secular and colour-blind republicanism as explored in the first half of the thesis, (ii) neoliberal citizenship, based on the guiding principles of free market competition being applied to a wider and wider swathe of life and (iii) post-feminism, in which gender emancipation is construed as a completed project. The effects of these overlapping disciplinary complexes are dispersed across various aspects of life but share common terrain in their influence in shaping individuals and their attachment to work. Thus these normative regimes also have a bearing on the structure of contemporary capitalist labour arrangements.

In France, neoliberal self-responsibilisaty is often hopelessly entangled with both post-feminist and assimilationist republican citizenship governmentalities in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. Norms about the desirability of a

particular conception of autonomous adulthood play out in the lives of young men and women in a variety of ways that differ along lines of 'race,' class and religion. The assimilationist undertones to the widely held view of racialized minorities as both needing to 'integrate' into wider society and as lacking the ability to make individual decisions but, rather, as prisoners of their culture and religious beliefs, are demonstrated to orient narratives of the early career decisions of the successful young racialized young people I interviewed towards a construction of their own agency and autonomy.

Building on the work of Angela McRobbie (2011), I show how this is particularly the case for young racialized women and, especially, Muslim women, as the assumption of their lack of autonomy and independence is particularly extreme and bolstered by the prevalence of a post-feminist governmentality which constructs gender emancipation as already attained and synonymous with the access to education work and sexual freedom. Such a perspective constructs feminist politics as passé and especially, as incompatible with certain minoritised cultures, particularly those associated with Islam. In this way the headscarf ban, that is based on a notion of European modernity as the only way towards gender equality, serves as a powerful post-feminist disciplinary tactic which disciplines Muslim and non-Muslim bodies alike (Fekete 2009; McRobbie 2011b; Yildiz 2011). It promotes a particular form of femininity as desirable and emancipated while a pious Muslim feminine identity is portrayed as inimical to progressive politics and European modernity.

8.2.4 Everyday Racism in Education and Work Settings

In many ways, the arguments culminate in the subject matter explored in Chapter 7 where I examine how young people interpret their negative experiences at school and work and the circumstances in which they develop a critique of racism and other dimensions of power relations as having shaped their life trajectories. The previous chapters of this thesis explored the reasons for which the interpretation of everyday racism is actively stifled while at the same time racism is clearly rampant and resulting in a very unequal distribution of societal resources in France. As I have

shown, racism tends to be defined very narrowly in this context as (i) using racial categories in any situation, or (ii) an overt expression of racial hatred while (iii) institutionalised disadvantage is only just starting to be acknowledged and in such a way that it is conceptualised as entirely divorced from routine everyday actions. Discrimination in France is framed over and over again in terms of immigrant origin, a framework which quickly shifts the responsibility for inequality so clearly evident in French society on those who are at the brunt of it because of the associations made between discrimination and the so-called lack of capacity of its victims to 'integrate'. Discrimination is also presented as entirely unrelated to colonial histories of French domination and the maintenance of White and Christian ideological supremacy through the purported neutrality of secular republicanism.

Not surprisingly, in evaluating the fairness of their experience participants use the principles of colour-blind republicanism. I explored a number of examples of situations in which participants identified themselves as the victims of unfair treatment based on their origins. These ranged from the underestimation of the intellectual capacities at school, their frequent experiences of outright rejection of their applications for work or internships, the negative comments of coworkers and supervisors, the atmosphere at work which rendered certain religious practices unwelcome, the frequent experience of being interpolated to speak as a spokesperson on behalf of an entire community and the indirect experience of racism by being exposed to negativity expressed towards a group in which participants held social ties. Other than when they sensed they were unfairly rejected from jobs, however, many participants were reluctant to label these experiences as racism. As Essed (1991) predicts, the definition of racism most commonly promoted by French anti-racism discourses excludes the recognition of the way that routine everyday practices such as those described accumulate to produce the broader systemic level inequalities.

Men were more likely to identify discrimination in their experience of school and work than women in my study and this was also the case in a recent national survey (Beauchemin, Hamelle, and Simon 2010). In Chapter 7 I propose a theory to explain this. I draw inspiration from the ideas introduced by McDowell (2003) in her

exploration of the adverse consequences of changes in gender relations for working class young men and her subsequent reflections as to how these processes might equally be effecting young women (McDowell 2011b). I suggest that the prevalence of a discourse of a crisis of masculinity in the *banlieues* perhaps based on the high level of visibility of masculine discontent in the form of rioting and violence might make it more difficult for racialized women to link any experience of difficulty they have in their schooling or working lives to a wider societal problem. I did find it to be a common assumption that women are doing well while men are facing both underachievement in schooling as well as blocked mobility in the labour market. Yet the quantitative data suggests that certain groups of racialized women are facing equally high levels of unemployment. I suggest that perhaps young women are even more likely to blame themselves then young men for their setbacks in this regards since they are now construed as naturally academically successful and relatively easier to integrate into the labour market. This belief folds into the postfeminist rationality theorised by McRobbie (McRobbie 2009; McRobbie 2011b) which constructs gender emancipation as the equivalent of successful attainment of education credentials and workplace participation. Thus acknowledging struggles in relation to everyday racism in these arenas might be particularly difficult for racialized women, as it would involve somehow identifying themselves as inadequately emancipated from their ethnicities and therefore as the victims of the purported patriarchy of their ethnic communities. I found through discussions with participants that women who wear the headscarf face high levels of exclusion from the labour market yet are especially likely to be expected by others to take personal responsibility for their lot rather then to consider it as a result of racism.

Often what impedes more equitable hiring practices is the perception that it would compromise market-based profitability of companies. Thus, this observation links with arguments made in the previous chapter in which I discussed the prevalence of neoliberal governmentality which equates fairness and rational decision making with freedom to compete in the market place. I have shown how participants perceived that their company would suffer in their profit margins if they were to hire racialized employees who would not be the 'right fit' for the social engagements required with customers.

8.2.5 Theorising Young People's Agency and Resistance

Both Chapters 6 and 7 engage with theoretical debates about the nature of young people's agency and resistance. In Chapter 6, in relying on Foucauldain post-structural theories of governmentality and subjectification, I identify the the narrative agency of those I interviewed by noting how they construct their actions through a grid of subversion or reproduction of hegemonic norms (Laborde 2008).

I also introduce another way of theorising young people's agency developed by Saba Mahmoud (2005) to interpret the way in which young Muslim women exerted control over their bodies and identities through routine practices which they used to develop and deepen their modesty and religious practice. In this way I consider Mahmood's theorisation as a way of conceiving of agency as a modality of action, not only in relation to actions to resist gender (or in the case of this chapter, racist and capitalist) oppression. To apply her thinking to the analysis being undertaken in this thesis, agency is a form of action of which actions undertaken to resignify or subvert dominant hegemonic constructions of racialized identities would be only one kind amongst innumerable other modalities.

Nonetheless, the thesis is informed by normative principles in which I am particularly interested in forms of resistance to racial oppression as it intersects with other dimensions of social relations including gender and class. Thus, I continue to consider the limitations of agency being theorised as resistance to oppression in Chapter Seven where I illustrated empirically the way in which Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* underestimates the conscious and sometimes deliberate process by which marginalised groups manage their social positioning in everyday interactions. As I showed, participants reported awareness of oppression but were powerless to do anything to resist beyond simply surviving the experience with a modicum of dignity. Nonetheless, many reported that their agency was deployed precisely to resist internalising the judgements made of them through routine everyday racist practices that resulted in a consistent underestimation of their capacities and employability or as an essentialisation of their ethnic identities as innate and immutable traits. My findings complement through a different case study the theoretical arguments made

by a number of critics who highlight the need for Bourdieu's theories to more adequately attend to critical capacity and reflexivity without assuming that these competencies are directly linked to overt resistance (Adkins 2004b; Boltanski and Thévenot 1991; Sayer 2005; Skeggs 2004a; Thévenot 2011b).

8.3 Areas for Future Research

While making key contributions to the literature, this study is inevitably partial and limited and many of my findings are explorative and require further research to substantiate thugh case studies in, perhaps different cities in France. It remains subject to further confirmation, for example, that the discourse of what I am referring to as a 'crisis of *banlieue* masculinity' serves to obscure the disadvantages faced by young racialized women. Further empirical research on the construction of feminities of young women in the French context would help shed light on this area. I have also identified that my own positionality may also be a barrier for a more in depth exploration of the subtleties of everyday racism that other researchers might be better positioned to explore.

In addition, this study has largely focussed on the experiences of young people of North African and South East Asian origins and largely neglected those who identify as, or are racialized as Black or have origins in Subsaharan and Western Africa and French Overseas Territories. It is particularly timely to undertake an exploration of Black identities in France given the recent mobilisation of Black associations under the banner of the *Conseil Représentatif des Associations Noires* (CRAN). This network of Black associations has been very vocal in calling for a change in colour-blind politics in France. Exposing the everyday racism as experienced by those racialized as Black and attention to the extent to which they might identify collectively in racial terms and with the political standpoints of this network would be interesting and politically relevant.

Another possible key area of future research is the experience of racialized French émigrés. Many of those I interviewed left France for a year or two, or considered leaving permanently in the face of extreme difficulties in securing good work commiserate with their training. This was particularly common amongst

women who wear the headscarf. Studies of migration tend to focus on flows of labour from relatively less economically advantaged countries to those in the Global North. Migration to escape prejudice is associated with groups who identify as refugees. However, as I found through my study there is a steady stream of young people who choose to leave France to live in the UK, the US and Canada to escape racism whose experiences and perspectives are worthy of further exploration (Roche 2007).

Finally, while I touched up on this in the discussion of the *sans-papier* occupation of the CNHI, there is a tension between the measures taken to advance the situation of racialized *citizens* in France and the experience of undocumented workers in the country. This relates perhaps to the limitations of state-lead anti-racism and the entanglement of the nation-state system with process of inclusion and exclusion, often based in part on 'race'. In centring the experience of citizens of France, my theorisations reach their limits if non-citizens' wellbeing is to be taken into account, as it should be. An attempt to draw together an analysis that avoids the reification of the nation-state and draws out the connections across borders of experiences of marginality is another pressing intellectual endeavour for future research.

8.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is a central premise of this thesis that highly mediatised discussions in France revolving around the meaning of the French national identity, immigration and integration, youth unrest in the *banlieues* and the place of religion in French society are all implicitly discourses of 'race' and racism, despite the concerted and explicit avoidance of the deployment of racial terminology. The thesis documents some of the processes that proceed to produce the systemic racial inequality that French intellectual and political elites are so resistant to documenting. The originality of the approach undertaken in this work is to draw together an analysis of racialization processes as they take place at different scales and arenas from the denial of the significance of racialization in intellectual milieus, to the process of invisibilisation of racialization at work in museum displays and memory narratives to

the individual and collective everyday lived experience of racism of relatively high achieving young racialized adults.

It has become all the more pressing to address the deeply discriminatory French labour market given the menace of European recession. As I write the conclusion to this thesis, the European economic crisis, especially in the Eurozone, is looming large and unemployment has reached its highest levels since 1999 in France (Anon. 2011b). Young people have been on the front lines of the economic downturn, with unemployment for those under 25 reaching 25%. Youth who are discounted as potential employees based one racism and discrimination are certain to suffer disproportionately from this hostile youth labour market. Even before the economic crisis, unemployment amongst young people living in the *banlieues* was regularly reported at over 40% and thus these figures are likely to be reaching even more catastrophic levels. Thus, as the economic downturn sets in, the inequalities reported in this study are likely to pose even graver concern and policies in response are even more urgent.

Appendix A List of Interview Participants

Gender	Age	Self-Identity, ethnicity, origins	Employment Status	Recruitment Method	School to Work Transition[29]
F	32	French, (father Indian, mother Vietnamese)	accountant in a bank	TeO	Smooth
F	26	French with Cambodian origins	retail, accessories shop	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
F	30	French, mother French, father Vietnamese	social work, refugee support centre	TeO	Medium
F	28	French, parents Chinese/Lao	IT support for public sector office	TeO	Smooth
F	31	French, mother Vietnamese, father French	manager, food products, parapublic export promotion company	TeO	Smooth

[29] This column indicates the degree to which I assessed the participant's transition from school into work to be marked by difficulty in securing the type of education and employment sought as opposed to unfolring with relative ease and continuity. In the case of the former, it is labelled as 'smooth', while in the latter case it is referred to as 'bumpy.' If it fell somewhere in the middle it is labelled as 'medium'.

F	29	French, father Vietnamese, mother French	science high school teacher	TeO	Smooth
M	31	French, Vietnamese	management, engineer in car industry	TeO	Smooth
M	29	French, Pakistani, Vietnamese	nurse	TeO	Smooth
M	29	French (parents Lao)	IT engineer	TeO	Bumpy
M	27	French (parents Vietnamese)	cameraman	Personal/ Snowball	Medium
M	31	Parisian, French, European, Cambodian, Asian	clerk, working for EU government agency	Personal/ Snowball	Medium
M	27	French, Algerian origins	special educator	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
M	29	French, parents from Morocco	social work	TeO	Bumpy
M	32	Algerian (immigrated at 9)	National Library part-time	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
M	32	Tunisian, French	university researcher	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy

M	34	French, Algerian origins	student	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
M	31	Algerian (immigrated at 17 to France)	engineer	Personal/ Snowball	Medium
M	29	French, Moroccan parents	Engineer, digital television	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
M	33	French, Algerian roots	unemployed	TeO	Bumpy
M	28	French	unemployed journalist	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
F	26	French, European, Arab, parents Algerian and Kabyle	Phd student, teaching assistant	Personal/ Snowball	Medium
F	30	French, Berber origins	unemployed, teaches religion	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
F	35	French, *Magrhébin* parents and neighbourhood	High school teacher at BacPro level	TeO	Smooth
F	29	French, Maghrébin and Kabyles origins	temp contract, secretarial work, social work	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
F	34	French, Maghrébin and Kabyles origins	tourist agent	Personal/ Snowball	Smooth

M	30	French (grandparents Spanish/Ukrainian)	stay at home dad, owner small music company	Personal/ Snowball	Smooth
M	31	French	management, insurance company	Personal/ Snowball	Medium
M	27	French	retail, Zara	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
M	34	French	unemployed	Personal/ Snowball	Medium
M	25	French by naturalisation, born in Poland, grew up in France since 2	art student/ teacher exam	Personal/ Snowball	Medium
F	30	French (self identifies as ‘de souche')	sales (agent of engineers)	Personal/ Snowball	Smooth
F	24	French/ Parisienne	studying at college of design-textiles	Personal/ Snowball	Medium
F	30	French from the South-West	Statistical analyst for SNCF	TeO	Smooth
F	28	Italian/French/World citizen	clerk of the court	Personal/ Snowball	Smooth

F	31	French	clerk of the court	Personal/ Snowball	Smooth
F	30	Irakien/French	Administrative work	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy
F	30	French, antillais	employment counselling	Personal/ Snowball	Smooth
F	32	French, antillais	group home worker, educateur specialise	TeO	Medium
M	22	French/Guadeloupe	internship leaderprice discount supermarket	Personal/ Snowball	Bumpy

Appendix B Initial Interview Guide

Version: 27 octobre 2009

[The objective of the interviews will be to elicit participants' narratives, in their own words, of their experiences. The following questions will be used to guide discussion and will be personalized for participants for whom I have data from the TEO study.]

[L'objectif de ces entretiens sera d'obtenir le récit par les participants, en leurs propres mots, de leur vécu. Les questions suivantes serviront pour diriger la discussion et seront personnalisées pour les participants pour lesquels je possède des données provenant de l'étude TEO.]

Introduction

Thanks for helping me with my research about employment and identity in France. This research is for my doctoral work in human geography. I am working on my PhD at the University of Oxford in England.

Merci de m'aider dans mes recherches sur l'emploi et l'identité en France. Je mène ces recherches dans le cadre de mes études de doctorat en géographie humaine. Je poursuis des études de doctorat à l'université d'Oxford en Angleterre.

Everything that we talk about today will be anonymous and confidential. When I write about what I have learned I will protect your confidentiality as I will never use your real name and I will remove any information that could possibly reveal your identity. Even when I store my files on my computer at home I will separate your name and identifying details from the notes of your interview to protect your anonymity.

Tout ce que nous dirons aujourd'hui restera anonyme et sera confidentiel. Quand je rédigerai mes conclusions, je respecterai votre confidentialité en n'utilisant jamais votre vrai nom et j'enlèverai toute information susceptible de révéler votre identité. Même quand je répertorierai mes fichiers électroniques sur mon ordinateur personnel, je séparerai votre nom et autres détails permettant de vous identifier afin de préserver votre anonymat.

Would it be possible for me to record our interview? I will also save the recording of the interview in such a way that your name is not on the file. It's helpful for me because, as you can probably tell, French is not my first language and this allows me to avoid having to take too many notes while we talk.

Puis-je avoir votre autorisation d'enregistrer notre entretien? Je répertorierai également l'enregistrement de telle manière à ce que votre nom ne figure pas sur le fichier. Cela me serait utile, car comme vous le voyez sans doute, le français n'est pas ma langue maternelle et cela m'éviterait de prendre trop de notes en parlant.

I was hoping that today we could have a conversation about your work life as well as about the way that you define your identity. I have prepared some questions but I don't need to follow them very strictly- they are really just to get us talking. Also, if you don't want to answer a question that I ask you that is not a problem no question is obligatory. If you want to end the interview at any time, this is fine too.

J'aimerais bien qu'aujourd'hui nous ayons une conversation sur votre vie au travail ainsi que sur la façon dont vous définissez votre identité – sur la façon dont vous vous définissez vous-même. J'ai préparé des questions, mais je ne suis pas obligée de les suivre très strictement – elles ne sont là que pour nous aider à démarrer. De plus, si vous ne voulez pas répondre à une question, ce n'est pas un problème. Aucune des questions n'est obligatoire. Vous pouvez également terminer l'entretien quand vous le voudrez, ça n'a pas d'importance.

Before we start, do you have any questions you want to ask me?

Avant qu'on commence, avez-vous des questions à me poser?

A) Paid Work/Travail rémunéré

1. To start with, are you currently working? Can you explain to me the kind of work that you do? How long have you had this job? Are you working full time or part-time? Is this a permanent position or a contract or another arrangement?

If not working: Are you looking for work? How long have you been looking for work? When was the last time you had paid work? What were you doing at this time? Do you have any informal jobs that you do to support youself?

Pour commencer, est-ce que vous travaillez en ce moment ? Pouvez-vous me décrire le genre de travail que vous faites ? Est-ce que cela fait longtemps que vous avez cet emploi? Est-ce un emploi à temps complet ou partiel ? Est-ce un emploi permanent ou un contrat de courte durée ou autre?

Si vous n'avez pas d'emploi rémunéré, en cherchez-vous un? Depuis combien de temps cherchez-vous du travail rémunéré? Quelle est la dernière fois que vous avez

eu un emploi rémunéré? Quel emploi? Comment joignez-vous les deux bouts? Avez-vous des petits boulots qui vous permettent de survivre?

2. How did you get this job? How did you get into this line of work? What other employment options did you think about before ending up in this one?

Comment avez-vous obtenu ce travail? Comment avez-vous commencé dans ce genre de travail? Quelles autres possibilités d'emploi avez-vous considérées avant de vous retrouver dans votre emploi actuel?

3. Can you describe what you do on a day-to-day basis at work? What do you like best about your job? What do you like least?

Pouvez-vous décrire ce que vous faites de jour en jour au travail ? Quels aspects de votre travail aimez-vous le plus ? Est-ce qu'il y a des aspects que vous n'aimez pas, lesquels ?

4. Are you satisfied with your current job? [Probe- hours, level of responsibility & stress, pay] Do you plan to stay at this job for a long time?

Etes-vous satisfait de votre emploi actuel? Les horaires, vos responsabilités, le niveau de stress, le salaire? Pensez-vous rester dans cet emploi longtemps ?

5. How would you describe the atmosphere among workers? Are there areas of conflict or division (ask for examples)? What should be different? How are they resolved? Is there any formal mechanisms for resolving complaints?

Pouvez-vous décrire l'ambiance entre les employés ? Y a-t-il des conflits ou des clans ? Comment les conflits sont-ils réglés ? Si l'ambiance est négative, que faut-il faire pour l'améliorer ?

6. Amongst your co-workers, are there any with whom you get along with particularly well? What qualities do you like about them?

Parmi les employés, y en a-t-il avec lesquels vous vous entendez particulièrement bien ? Qu'appréciez-vous chez eux ?

7. Without giving me a name, is there someone at work who you don't like very much? Describe the person and why you do not like them. (Probe – sources of conflict, conflict, concrete examples of person's disliked behaviour)

Sans la nommer, y a-t-il une personne au travail avec laquelle vous ne vous entendez pas tellement bien? Pouvez-vous me décrire cette personne ? [Les sources du conflit, le conflit, des exemples concrets de ce qui vous a déplu dans le comportement de cette personne ?]

8. If you think about your supervisors, are there any advantages you have being in your position rather than theirs? Can you see any advantages that your bosses have that you don't?

Quand vous pensez à vos supérieurs, ont-ils des avantages que vous n'avez pas ? D'un autre côté, avez-vous des avantages par rapport à eux ?

9. Do you feel that your job is secure? Do you feel that you can count on having this job for a long time? If not, why not?

Avez-vous l'impression que votre emploi soit stable ? Pourrez-vous compter sur cet emploi longtemps ? Sinon, pourquoi pas ?

10. Would you say that there are an equal number of men and women at your workplace? In some cases, men and women accomplish different kinds of task and hold different kinds of positions, is this the case at your workplace?

Y a-t-il autant d'hommes et de femmes sur votre lieu de travail ? À votre travail, les hommes et les femmes accomplissent-ils les mêmes sortes de tâches et occupent-ils les mêmes types de postes?

11. Would you describe your workplace as culturally diverse? At your workplace, do people from different cultural backgrounds accomplish different kinds of tasks and hold different kinds of positions?

Sur votre lieu de travail, y a-t-il des personnes d'origines ethniques différentes ? Accomplissent-elles les mêmes sortes de tâches, font-elles les mêmes choses et occupent-elles le même type de postes?

12. Would you say you live to work or work to live? Does your work leave you enough time for your home life? Do you have enough spare time for yourself? What kinds of activities do you do in your spare time?

Est-ce que pour vous, le travail c'est la vie ou juste un gagne-pain ? Avez-vous assez de temps en dehors de vos heures de travail pour votre vie personnelle ? Qu'est-ce que vous faites dans vos heures libres?

13. Can you describe the kinds of work that you have done since you finished your schooling until now?

Pouvez-vous me décrire les types d'emplois que vous avez eus depuis la fin de votre scolarité/ depuis que vous avez quitté l'école, jusqu'à maintenant?

14. To what extent do you feel satisfied with the way your work life has unfolded? Where do you see yourself in ten years time? In relation to people your age, your parents, your siblings, and in French society in general, to what extent do you consider yourself to have succeeded in your work life?

Êtes-vous satisfait(e) du déroulement de votre vie de travail ? Où pensez-vous être dans cinq ou dix ans ? Par rapport aux personnes de votre âge, à vos parents, à vos frères et sœurs, et dans la société française, dans quelle mesure estimez-vous avoir réussi ?

15. Can you describe your schooling experience? Since leaving school have you undertaken any additional training or courses?

Qu'est-ce que vous avez fait comme études ? Quelle impression l'école vous a-t-elle laissée? Depuis que vous avez quitté l'école, avez-vous suivi d'autres formations/ fait d'autres études ?

B) Personal Life/Vie personnelle

1. Who are you currently living with?

Avec qui vivez-vous actuellement?

2. Tell me about your spouse/partner. What does she/he do? What are the things that you like about her/him? Are there some things you like less?

Pouvez-vous me décrire votre partenaire, si vous en avez un/une ? Quel est son travail/qu'est-ce qu'il/elle fait comme travail rémunéré? Quelles sont ses qualités ? Quels sont ses défauts ?

3. Do you have any children? How old are they? Do they live with you? Who takes care of your children? [If they don't have children, how important is having children in the future to them?]

Avez vous des enfants? Vivent-ils avec vous? Quel âge ont-ils? Comment vous organisez-vous pour la garde de vos enfants? [Si vous n'avez pas d'enfants, est-ce qu'avoir des enfants un jour est important pour vous ?]

4. What household chores do you do? Who else does the housework in your household?

Quelles tâches ménagères faites-vous à la maison ? (La vaisselle, la lessive, le ménage, les courses, la cuisine) Qui d'autre, à part vous, fait ces tâches ?

5. When you are looking for work, do your household and family responsibilities influence your choices? [If they don't yet have children but would like to have them: do you take into consideration your future plans to have children when making choices about your work situation?]

Quand vous cherchez un emploi, est-ce que vos responsabilités familiales et/ou domestiques ont une influence sur votre choix? [Si vous n'avez pas encore d'enfants mais vous envisagez en avoir, est-ce que vous tenez compte de ce désir dans le choix d'un emploi ?]

6. If I asked you to describe to me in general in life, the kind of people you like, what are the qualities that are most important to you ?

En général, pouvez-vous me décrire le genre de personnes que vous appréciez ? Quelles sont les caractéristiques qui sont importantes pour vous ?

7. What kinds of people would you rather avoid? Which qualities do you tend to dislike in others?

Quel genre de personne éviteriez-vous ? Qu'est-ce que vous avez tendance à ne pas apprécier chez les gens ?

8. Whether we admit it or not, we all feel inferior or superior to some people at times. In relation to what types of people do you feel inferior? Superior? Can you give me concrete examples? What do these people have in common?

Il nous arrive de nous sentir en position d'infériorité ou de supériorité par rapport aux autres. Par rapport à quelles sortes de personnes vous sentez-vous inférieur ? Supérieur ? Avez-vous des exemples concrets ? Qu'est-ce que ces personnes ont en commun ?

9. Where do you live? How long have you lived in this community? How do you like living here? Do you feel safe living here?

Où habitez-vous ? Depuis quand habitez-vous à cet endroit ? Aimez-vous habiter dans ce lieu ? Vous y sentez-vous en sécurité ?

10. Do you feel that you know most people around here? Are the people that live around here like you or different?

Connaissez-vous beaucoup de monde dans votre quartier ? Les gens qui habitent dans votre quartier sont-ils comme vous ou différents de vous ?

11. Do you feel you are part of this neighbourhood? In what way? Do you invest in your neighbourhood?

Est-ce que vous vous sentez chez vous dans le quartier ? De quelle manière ? Est-ce que vous vous investissez dans le quartier ?

12. Do you think that there are similarities and differences in the cultures of the various people that live in your neighbourhood? What are the positive and negative aspects of different cultures in your neighbourhood ?

Y a-t-il des différences entre les groupes de différentes cultures dans votre quartier - ou des ressemblances entre les groupes? Est-ce qu'il y a des gens de cultures différentes dans votre quartier ? Quels sont les aspects négatifs et positifs des cultures des personnes d'origines diverses dans votre quartier?

C) Identity/Identité

1. Thinking about your family history, how would you describe your origins (s)? What did your parents do? How long has your family been living in France? Are you [and your partner, if appropriate] religious?

En pensant à votre histoire familiale, de quelle(s) origine(s) vous diriez-vous? Vos parents venaient d'où ? Vos parents ont fait quoi ? Est-ce que vous [et votre partenaire] êtes religieux ?

2. I'd like to return to a question that you were asked last year when you completed the questionnaire for the Trajectories and Origins study. It doesn't matter if your answer has changed.

J'aimerais revenir sur une question qu'on vous a déjà posée l'année dernière quand vous avez rempli le questionnaire sur l'enquête Trajectoires et Origines. Ça ne fait rien si votre réponse a changé.

What would you say amongst the following list of characteristics best defines who you are when you are at a) home, b) in your neighbourhood , c) with your Partner, d) with your friends, e) at work, f) is there any other place where you think how you define yourself might be a bit different ? [Can you explain your answers ?]

Dans cette liste de caractéristiques, lesquelles, d'après vous, vous définissent le mieux quand vous êtes a) à la maison, b) dans votre quartier, c) avec votre partenaire, d) avec vos amis, e) au travail, f) y a-t-il un autre lieu dans lequel, selon vous, vous vous définissez un peu différemment ? [Pouvez-vous expliquer vos réponses ?]

Your generation or age

Your gender

Your profession or social class

Your level of studies

Your neighbourhood or hometown

Your health status (disability or chronic illness)

Your nationality

Your origins

Your skin colour

Your region of origin

Your religion

Your interests and passions

Your political opinions

Your position in your family (mother, father, grand-mother, grand-father, etc.)

Other

Refuse to answer

Don't know

Votre génération ou votre âge

Votre sexe

Votre métier ou votre catégorie sociale

Votre niveau d'études

Votre quartier ou votre ville

Votre état de santé (un handicap ou une maladie)

Votre nationalité

Vos origines

La couleur de votre peau

Votre région d'origine

Votre religion

Vos centres d'intérêt ou vos passions

Vos opinions politiques

Votre situation de famille (père, mère, grand-père, grand-mère)

Autre chose

Refuse de répondre

Ne sait pas

3. Do you think that people perceive you in the same way as the way you define yourself? Do you notice this difference depending on where you are (home, school, work, your neighbourhood, other parts of the city, with friends, with your partner, during your leisure activities, night clubs, etc.]

Pensez- vous que les gens vous perçoivent de la même manière que vous vous percevez vous-même ou est-ce que d'autre critères entrent en jeu? Est-ce que cela dépend du lieu ou vous vous trouvez? Par exemple, école, travail, foyer, quartier, lieu de loisirs (boîtes de nuit par ex.), etc.? ou avec qui vous vous retrouvez- par exemple- votre partenaire, vos amis, en famille… ?

4. Do you consider yourself a working class person, a middle class person, or… ? (defined in economic terms, competence ?)

Vous considérez-vous membre de la classe ouvrière, de la classe moyenne ou bourgeoise, où vous situez-vous ? (D'après quels critères vous situez-vous ? des critères financiers, de compétence ?)

5. What would you do if you had a lot of money? Can you describe to me the kinds of things you would like to own and the kinds of things you would like to do? [Prompt for brands, cars, etc.]

Si vous aviez beaucoup d'argent, que feriez-vous avec ? Pouvez-vous me décrire quel genre d'articles ou d'objets matériels vous aimeriez acheter ou posséder (par exemple : voitures, marques de vêtements, etc.)

6. How would you describe your personal style? When people see the way that you présent yourself in terms of your clothes, hairstyle, jewellery, tatoos, etc, what image do you think they have of you?

Quelle image de vous aimez-vous donner aux autres? Par exemple, par les vêtements, le maquillage, le tatouage, culturisme… Quand les gens voient la façon dont vous vous présentez - les vêtements que vous portez, votre coiffure, vos bijoux ??, vos tatouages, etc., quelle image, à votre avis, ont-ils de vous?

7. What languages did you speak growing up? What language do you feel most comfortable in today? Do you find that you adapt the way you speak depending on where you are and who you are talking to? Can you explain?

Quelles langues avez-vous parlées dans votre enfance ? Dans quelle langue vous sentez-vous le plus à l'aise ? Adaptez-vous votre langage selon les lieux et les personnes à qui vous parlez? Par exemple, parents, amis, partenaire, collègues, etc.…

8. Can you tell me about your personal tastes in terms of music, tv shows, films, books, etc.?

Pouvez-vous me parler de vos goûts (musique, émissions de télévision, cinéma, livres, etc.) ?

9. Eric Besson, the Minister of Immigration and National Identity has recently launched a public debate about what it means to be French, what values unite french citizens and what there is to be proud of as french people. What do you think of this debate? For you, what does being french mean? How important is being french to you? Do you feel that you belong in France?

Eric Besson, ministre de l'immigration et de l'identité nationale, a récemment lancé un débat public sur ce que ça veut dire qu'être français, quelles valeurs unissent les citoyens français et ce dont on peut être fier en tant que peuple français. Que pensez-vous de ce débat? Ça veut dire quoi, être français, pour vous? C'est important, pour vous, d'être français? Avez-vous l'impression d'appartenir en France?

D) Discrimination

1. To what extent do you think that discrimination is a problem in French society? What kinds of discrimination do you think are the most present in French society?

Est-ce que vous pensez que la discrimination est un problème dans la société française ? Quelles sortes de discriminations sont les plus présentes dans la société françaises ?

2. Do you have the sense that you have been the victim of discrimination in your life? Have you been confronted with racism, sexism or other forms of discrimination in your daily life, at your work, at school, elsewhere?

Avez-vous eu l'impression d'être discriminé dans votre vie ? Avez-vous été confronté au racisme, au sexisme ou à une autre forme de discrimination au cours de votre vie quotidienne, au foyer, à l'école, sur votre lieu de travail, dans votre quartier, ailleurs…

3. What do you think ought to be done to address these inequalities? At the individual level or at the level of government policy? Do you think that there is anything you could do personally to address some of the problems you've raised?

Que peut-on faire, à votre avis, pour lutter contre ces inégalités? (sur le plan personnel, dans les entreprises, dans les politiques mises en œuvre par les pouvoir publics, etc.) Est-ce qu'il y a quoi que ce soit que vous puissiez faire personnellement pour régler les problèmes que vous avez soulevés?

4. Do you usually vote in elections? Do you think that you can influence politics in France? How so? What kinds of things do you do to change things?

Est-ce que vous votez aux élections? Croyez-vous que vous pouvez influencer la politique en France? Comment? Quel genre de choses faites-vous pour entraîner des changements?

E) Income/Revenu

1. Do you own your home or do you rent?

Est-ce que vous êtes propriétaire ou est-ce que vous louez votre maison/appartement ?

2. If you don't mind sharing this information with me, would you tell me what your net monthly income ? What about your net monthly household income? How much is left after your major monthly expenses are paid?

Si cela ne vous dérange pas, pourriez-vous me dire quel est votre salaire mensuel net ? Et le revenu mensuel de votre foyer ? Combien vous reste-t-il après que vous avez réglé vos notes mensuelles principales ?

F) Future Contact

1. I will write a transcript of this interview- can I send this to you by e-mail or by mail and this will give you the chance to add, remove or change anything that you said in the interview. (Ask for e-mail address and check mailing address.)

1. Je vais rédiger une transcription de cet entretien. Puis-je vous l'envoyer par courriel ou par la poste pour vous permettre d'y ajouter ou d'y enlever quelque chose, ou de modifier ce que vous avez dit pendant l'entretien. (Demander l'adresse courriel et vérifier l'adresse postale)

2. Would it be okay if I contacted you by telephone or in person in the next few weeks after I have written a transcript of this interview to ask you for any clarifications about what we discussed? What is the best way to reach you? (Telephone number)

2. Seriez-vous d'accord pour que je vous contacte au téléphone ou en personne au cours des prochaines semaines après que j'aurai rédigé la transcription de cet entretien pour vous demander des clarifications? Quelle est la meilleure façon de vous joindre? (Numéro de téléphone)

3. I would like to present what I learn from my study to those that participated in the work, such as yourself. This allows me to see whether my observations and conclusions make sense to the participants in the study. I probably won't be ready until late next spring. At that time, could I contact you to discuss with you what I have learned?

3. J'aimerais présenter les résultats de mon étude à ceux qui y ont participé comme vous l'avez fait. Cela me permettra de voir si mes observations et les conclusions auxquelles je suis arrivée sont admises par les participants de l'étude et leur paraissent logiques. Je n'aurai probablement pas fini avant le printemps ou l'été prochain. A ce moment-là, pourrai-je vous contacter pour discuter avec vous de ce que j'aurai appris?

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