Immigration and Diversity Management in Britain and France from 1930 to present

Duration of the course

12 lectures in English of 2 hours each, commencing on 4 September 2023.

Aim of the course

The aim of this course is twofold. On the one hand, it intends to shed light on the diverging routes taken by the UK and France in the framing of immigration and integration policies since the postwar period and in the attitude of both countries towards diversity-related issues. On the other hand, its aims at providing students with an introduction to international comparisons, a fruitful analytical tool frequently deployed in social science research.

As we shall see, the interwar years in both countries were characterised by convergences (i.e. the weight of the colonisation in Britain's and France's relations with their colonies and their inhabitants) and divergences (France's comparative sluggish demography made it necessary for her to resort to mass immigration, mostly from Europe, whereas Britain remained, by an large, a country of emigration over the same period). This obviously contributed to shaping their respective immigration policies and their attitude to migrants in general and refugees in particular.

After WW2 the immigration policies set up in Britain favoured a political and civic approach to immigration, which quickly enough led to a disconnection of immigration from the country's actual economic and manpower needs. In France, immigration went for the most part unchecked but 'immigrants', even when technically French at that stage (e.g. Algerians) were to be defined only in relation to their contribution to the national economy, which means they were to be kept at a distance from French society for the next thirty years, a reality visible in 'travailleurs immigrés' (i.e. immigrant workers), a phrase that prevailed throughout the Trente Glorieuses period for designating immigrants.

For political reasons mostly, mass economic immigration came to an end in the UK as early as 1962, despite the country's substantial residual economic needs. Immigration controls became combined both with a unique anti-discriminatory legislation (« dual state interventionism ») and a liberal interpretation of integration, distinct from any attempt at 'cultural uniformity', in Roy Jenkins's own words.

It took France twelve extra years to put an end to unskilled, mass immigration and to its laissez-faire approach to economic immigration. Both countries converged towards increasingly strict immigration controls from then on but remained apart as regards integration, ignored or at least overlooked by successive French governments in the 1960s and 1970s.

In the 1980s and the 1990s in Britain, there was a shift towards 'multiculturalist' policies in keeping with the dual state interventionism of the 1960s and 1970s ('multicultural consensus or settlement'). Such policies were put in place at a time when France was still struggling to

define a modern-day integration policy, although François Mitterrand's election in 1981, signalled a much more pro-active approach. Under Mitterrand's second seven-year term, there eventually emerged the *politique d'intégration républicaine* (1991)formulated by the newlycreated *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration*, which is still France's official policy in relation to diversity in 2022. Since the early 2000s, the multicultural consensus has (superficially, at least) been questioned in Britain. France, by contrast, has been relatively stable, although one has undeniably witnessed some degree of 'ethnicisation' of the country, to quote anthropologist Jean-Loup Anselme.

One may therefore argue that in recent years the British model has shifted towards some degree of universalism, while the French one - and French society as a whole- have become more differentiated. A common trait has been the instrumentalisation of immigration and integration policies by both extremist and mainstream political parties, as seen since the Brexit referendum campaign or the 2017 and 2022 French presidential and legislative elections, with the inexorable rise of Marine Le Pen's *Rassemblement National* and the partial dealignment of supporters of the mainstream right and indeed, of sections of the left.

Suggested reading list

On comparitive methods

JULIEN, Élise, « Le comparatisme en histoire. Rappels historiographiques et approches méthodologiques », *Hypothèses*, 2004/1, p. 1. URL : https://www.cairn.info/revue-hypotheses-2005-1-page-191.htm (lien actif le 15 juin 2018).

SMELSER, Neil J., *Comparative methods in the social sciences*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1976.

VIGOUR, Cécile, *La comparaison dans les sciences sociales : Pratiques et méthodes*, Paris, La Découverte-Guides Repères, 2005.

On diversity-related issues in the UK and / or France

ANSELME Jean-Loup, *Vers un multiculturalisme français. L'Empire de la coutume*, Paris, Flammarion-Champs Essais, 1996 & *L'ethnicisation de la France*, Paris, Editions Lignes, 2011.

ESTEVES Olivier, GARBAYE Romain & LATOUR Vincent (editors), « Exception britannique / Exception française : regards croisés », Revue Française de civilisation britannique XXV-4 | octobre 2020.

LATOUR Vincent, « Converging at last? France, Britain and their minorities », in Tariq Modood & Gino Raymond, *The Construction of National Identities*, London / New York, Palgrave- Macmillan, November 2007

LATOUR Vincent, « The *Sarkozy* Years: Attempting to Define a New Paradigm for Diversity Governance in France », in *The Sarkozy Presidency: Breaking the Mould*?, edited by Gino Raymond, London / New York: Palgrave, 2013.

LATOUR Vincent « The Securitisation of British Multiculturalism », in *The Politics of Ethnic*

Diversity in the British Isles, edited by Romain Garbaye and Pauline Schnapper, Basingstoke, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2014

LATOUR Vincent & PUZZO Catherine, « Framing and Legitimising Discriminatory Immigration Policies: A Cross-Channel Survey (1948-1970) », in *Windrush (1948) and Rivers of Blood (1968) Legacy and Assessment*, edited by Trevor Harris, London, Routledge, 2020, pp 197-209.

LATOUR Vincent & VERVAECKE Philippe, « Institutionnaliser l'islam : comparaison trans-Manche », dans *L'Atlantique multiracial : Discours, politiques, dénis*, sous la direction de James Cohen, Andrew J. Diamond et Philippe Vervaecke, Paris, Karthala-Science Po CERI, 2012, pp 289-314.

Assessment

Two questions in English on two separate aspects of the course. Both questions will be comparative and will have to be drafted along mini-essay lines (20 to 25 lines max. per question, in, English).