

Vincent TOURNIER

THE MYTH OF A RACIST FRANCE

(2) FROM
THE FAILURE
OF RACIALISM
TO THE BIRTH
OF THE MYTH

FONDATION^{POUR}
L'INNOVATION
POLITIQUE
fondapol.org

fondapol.org

THE MYTH OF A RACIST FRANCE

(2) FROM THE FAILURE OF RACIALISM TO THE BIRTH OF THE MYTH

Vincent TOURNIER

Fondapol is a liberal, progressive and European think tank.

Chair: Nicolas Bazire

Vice-chair: Grégoire Chertok

Executive Director: Dominique Reynié

Chair of Scientific and Evaluation Board: Christophe de Voogd

FONDAPOL

A liberal, progressive and European think tank

Created in 2004, the Fondapol has an economically liberal, progressive and European perspective. Through its work, it has two objectives: to contribute to a pluralist and informed debate, and to inspire public decision-making.

As a state-recognized organization, the website fondapol.org provides public access to all the Foundation's work. Anyone can access and use all the data gathered for the various surveys via the “[data.fondapol](http://data.fondapol.org)” platform, made available in accordance with a government policy desiring the sharing of public data. Moreover, when it comes to international surveys, the data are available in the different languages of the questionnaire; for example, in 45 languages for the survey *Freedoms at risk: the challenge of the century*, conducted in 55 countries.

Under the name “**Anthropotechnie**”, the Foundation aims to explore new avenues prompted by human enhancement, reproductive cloning, human/machine hybridization, genetic engineering and germline manipulation.

Fondapol is independent and receives no financial support from any political party. Its funding comes from both public and private sources.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. ANTI-RACISM AS A SOCIAL NORM	9
1. An Open Population.....	10
2. Diversity as an Ideal	12
3. Acts of Racist Violence.....	15
4. Proof from Aya Cissoko?	19
II. STRUCTURAL ANTI-RACISM	21
1. Race in the United States.....	21
2. Race in France.....	23
3. The Invisibility of Origins.....	24
4. The Visibility of the Invisible.....	27
III. THE MYTH OF STRUCTURAL RACISM	29
1. On the Origin of Myths.....	29
2. Instrumentalization.....	31
3. Over-Interpretation.....	33
4. Reductionism.....	35
5. Blindness.....	37
CONCLUSION	39

SUMMARY

Having highlighted, in the first volume of this study, the factors that have kept France at a distance from the ideology of race, we now turn our attention to the – very concrete – evidence that French society is characterised by a structural hostility to racism and racialism. A comparison with the United States, a country that is similar in many respects, helps to highlight the divergence in trajectories between the two countries. As well as criticising the systemic racism thesis, we need to understand why such a thesis has been able to emerge and enjoy relative success. To do this, a diversion into mythology is necessary. Situating systemic racism within the context of myth allows us to understand its intellectual underpinnings and to grasp the risks that this theory entails, particularly in a time of heightened tensions around immigration and the role of minorities.



THE MYTH OF A RACIST FRANCE

(2) FROM THE FAILURE OF RACIALISM TO THE BIRTH OF THE MYTH

Vincent TOURNIER

Senior lecturer in political science,
Grenoble Institute of Political Studies.

I. ANTI-RACISM AS A SOCIAL NORM

Identifying norms is an important step in sociological analysis: it enables us to distinguish the rule from the exception, the essential from the incidental. There are, for example, road accidents, but these remain rare when considered in relation to the number of drivers; the norm therefore lies in cautious, law-abiding driving that, even if reckless drivers do exist.

Proponents of structural or systemic racism never approach the problem from this angle. They themselves are careful not to say why they have managed to escape a norm that is supposed to be so pervasive. But the question is essential: what is the norm? Not asking this question means that we do not have to prove the existence of a racist norm, and we do not have to explain its origins.

Yet all evidence suggests that, in France, the norm has developed in opposition to racialism. Built up over the long term, this anti-racist norm was further consolidated after 1945. Long prevalent among the elites, it also prevails among the French population, whose ethos (or basic personality, to use the term of the anthropologist Abram Kardiner) is marked by strong anti-racism.

1. An Open Population

To regard France as a structurally racist country seems inconsistent with the presence of a long-standing and significant immigrant population. Admittedly, immigration is driven by economic considerations, but it reached such proportions without a relatively open context. This helps to explain, for instance, how a large Algerian population was able to settle in France after decolonisation, even though the legacy of the Algerian war could have led to much more frequent violence than what actually occurred.

Contrary to popular belief, the French population has not exhibited widespread racist or exclusionary attitudes. Until the 1980s, the far right never achieved significant electoral breakthroughs. While xenophobia may have influenced a part of the electorate at various times – particularly during periods of economic difficulty – it never translated into votes.

Even during periods of high immigration, the fear of demographic submersion remained limited, likely outweighed by a strong confidence in the country's ability to assimilate, thanks to its schools, military service and prosperous economy.¹ Another factor that played part may have been the feeling that the elites were committed to protecting the population, as evidenced by the long lists of the dead engraved on the walls of the *Grandes Écoles*.

Numerous factors, presented in the rest of this text in a series of concrete examples, testify to the broad openness of the French population. France granted the right to vote to Black people and Arabs before granting it to French women. This anteriority provoked the anger of the feminist Hubertine Auclert, who wondered how it was possible to give priority to “savage Negroes over cultivated White women”.² Even today, residents of the overseas territories are considered to be full citizens, since they vote in national elections, which is not the case in the United States or Great Britain, where overseas populations are not allowed to take part in national elections.³

The Black man has never been a repulsive figure, quite the contrary. An indicator is provided by an old advertisement for Banania cocoa powder with the slogan « *Y'a bon, Banania* » (“Yum, Banania”). First appearing in 1914, this slogan was displayed alongside the joyful face of a Senegalese rifleman, identifiable by his red headgear, the *chéchia*, a traditional male headdress worn in some Muslim countries.

1. Jean Raspail's book, rediscovered in the 2010s when some saw in it a premonitory reflection. See Jean Raspail, *Le Camp des Saints*, Robert Laffont, 1973.

2. Hubertine Auclert, *Le vote des femmes*, V. Giard & E. Brière, 1908, chapter « Les femmes sont les nègres ».

3. Ilyès Zouari, « Le droit de vote pour les ultramarins: une exception et une fierté françaises », *Causeur*, 14 January 2022 [online].

A controversy arose in 2005 when Banania wanted to reintroduce this design in a stylised form. Accusations of racism were immediately made by the MRAP (*Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples* - Movement against Racism and for Friendship between Peoples) and an overseas group and the drawing was withdrawn.⁴ But was it racist? The text on the box read “Family breakfast”. It is inconceivable that the promotion of a product aimed at children could be based on a frightening or despicable character: if this rifleman was chosen, it was because he embodied a warm and sympathetic figure, no doubt even a protective one.

Polarisation on the supposed racism of French society leads to a series of misunderstandings. A case in point is the controversy surrounding the sign of a former Parisian café called « Au Nègre Joyeux » (“The Happy Negro”), which features an 1897 painting of a Black man and a White woman. Anti-racist activists interpreted the painting as a White bourgeois woman being served by a Black slave, when in fact it was the opposite: a White maid serving a tray to a Black man dressed as a gentleman.⁵

During the First World War, American authorities were concerned that Black soldiers, after experiencing a non-segregationist country, would develop ideas of liberty and equality.⁶

In the interwar period, the music brought by Black marching bands captivated audiences and contributed to the success of “Negro art”. At the time, this adjective carried no derogatory connotation, as the writer Aimé Césaire turned it into a badge of pride by celebrating his *négritude*. It was even in the company of Léopold Sédar Senghor and Léon Gontran Damas, all three of whom were to become members of parliament, that in 1935 Césaire founded the magazine *L'Étudiant noir* (The Black pupil), which was at the origin of the *négritude* movement.⁷ The fact that the term *nègre* was taken up so readily by these figures was a sign that it did not have the same contemptuous connotation as “Negro” in the United States.⁸

4. « “Y’a bon Banania” disparaîtra bel et bien », *L'Express*, 20 May 2011 [online].

5. Didier Rykner, « ‘Au Nègre Joyeux’ n’est pas une enseigne raciste », *La Tribune de l’art*, 18 November 2017 [online].

6. Benjamin Doizelet, « L’intégration des soldats noirs américains de la 93e division d’infanterie dans l’armée française en 1918 », *Revue historique des armées*, n°265, 2011 [online].

7. Since 1971, there has also been a *Maison de la Négritude et des Droits de l’Homme* in Champagny (Haute-Saône). Through this modest institution, which owes its name to Léopold Senghor who came to give it his patronage, the inhabitants wanted to commemorate the astonishing gesture of their ancestors who, in article 29 of their cahier de doléances dated 19 March 1789, called for the abolition of Black slavery [online]. During the Revolution, some 70 people in the depths of France said that “the inhabitants and community of Champagny cannot think of the evils suffered by the Negroes in the colonies without their hearts being filled with the deepest sorrow as they imagine their Peers, still united to them by the double bond of religion, being treated more harshly than beasts of burden” [online].

8. Daniel Derivois, « Pour lutter contre le racisme, mieux comprendre le mot ‘nègre’ », *The Conversation*, 21 February 2023 [online].

When Joséphine Baker, the mixed-race American dancer, arrived in France in 1925 – where she would triumph with the *Revue Nègre* before becoming the star of the *Folies Bergères* – she said she was struck by the absence of racial segregation: “I was suffocating in the United States (...). I felt liberated in Paris”. In her *memoirs*, she was highly critical of the situation in North America, before confessing: “France made me who I am, beyond all prejudice”. Celebrated by many artists who were passionate about Negro art, she became a French citizen in 1937. After taking part in the *Résistance*, she devoted the rest of her life in France to humanitarian work.

This testimony is similar to that of the academic Pap Ndiaye who, before becoming Minister of Education, said he had never encountered racism in his youth, albeit having lived in a White environment. “We weren’t exposed to these issues”, confirmed his sister Marie. He himself admits that he only “discovered the Black world” once in the United States, where he obtained a university scholarship thanks to an *Affirmative Action* programme.⁹

2. Diversity as an Ideal

In the early 2000s, the “children of Creuse” affair hit the headlines. This was named after the children from l’île de la Réunion – most of whom had been abandoned – were placed in the child welfare system and sent to metropolitan France, mainly to the Creuse region. Launched by former Prime Minister Michel Debré – a deputy of la Réunion – this operation resulted in around 2,000 children being placed with families in mainland France between 1962 and 1984.¹⁰

Rediscovered years later, this affair gave rise to a terrible indictment of the French State, which was accused by the *Association des Réunionnais de la Creuse* of having organised a “deportation”. Yet there was nothing racist about this policy: neither the public authorities nor the inhabitants of Creuse saw racial difference as an insurmountable obstacle.¹¹

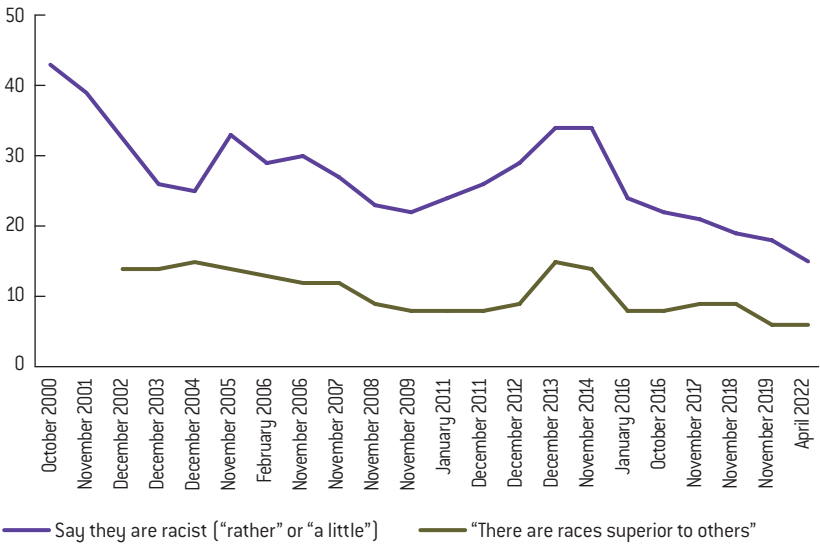
9. Benoît Hopquin, « Pap Ndiaye, républicain de souche », *Le Monde*, 2 January 2009 [online].

10. Gilles Gauvin, « L'affaire des enfants de la Creuse. Entre abus de mémoire et nécessité de l'histoire », 20 & 21. *Revue d'histoire*, vol. 143, n°3, 2019, p.85-98 [online].

11. Very few of these children (around 150) have come forward to seek compensation, see Patrick Roger, « “Enfant de la Creuse” : un rapport pointe la responsabilité de l'État », *Le Monde*, 10 April 2018 [online]. It is interesting to note that this affair, which provoked reactions that were each more dramatic than the last (the National Assembly passed a resolution in February 2014; the Minister for Overseas France set up a fact-finding mission entrusted to a sociologist in 2016; CRAN considered filing a complaint for crimes against humanity, etc.) has not been tempered by the concomitant debates on unaccompanied minors (UAMs), young children generally from the Maghreb, for whom the State and local authorities are this time being called upon to take charge of them despite the fact that they are far from their place of origin and, what's more, despite the exorbitant cost.

In reality, two different conceptions of adoption clashed here: in la Réunion, as in some parts of the world (Sub-Saharan Africa, Oceania), adoption is part of the practice of *confiage*, which involves entrusting one's children to other family members without severing the bond of parentage.¹² This is not the case in France, where full adoption creates a true legal parent-child relationship.

Figure 1: Overt Racism in France (2000-2022)



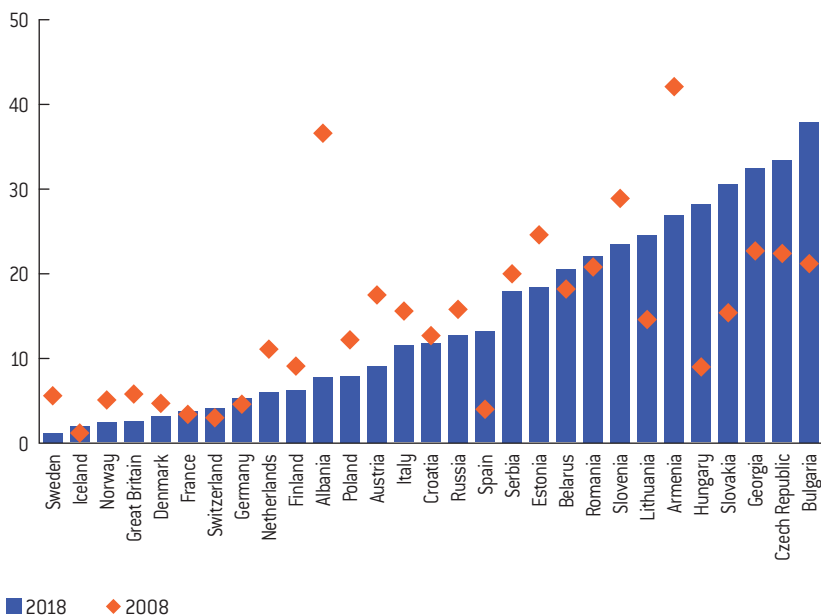
Source: CNCDH (annual reports).

Although it is not easy to assess the degree of racism in a population, the data compiled by the *Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme* (the National Consultative Commission for Human Rights – CNCDH) since the early 2000s show that the proportion of the population who declare themselves to be racist is low, even when taking into account individuals claiming to be “a little” racist (*Figure 1*).

More significantly, the proportion of French people who think there are “superior races” is limited to 10%. For these two indicators, there is a downward trend, which is hardly compatible with the idea that society is structurally racist.

12. Jean-François Mignot, *L'adoption*, La Découverte, 2017.

Figure 2: Percentage of individuals who cite “people of different races” as undesirable neighbours



Source: European Values Survey [author's calculations].

An even more significant indicator is knowing with whom one would refuse to live as a neighbour. According to surveys on the values of Europeans (*Figure 2*), few French people say they do not want immigrants as neighbours (13% in 1990, 9% in 2018) or people of a different race (9% in 1990, 4% in 2018). These figures are among the lowest in Europe. They are incomparable to the groups that provoke much more hostility, notably drug addicts (57% of the French do not want them as neighbours), alcoholics (41%) or Gypsies (23%).¹³

Interracial couples are often portrayed in advertisements and television programmes as an expression of a mixed diversity that aligns with the ideal of exogamous marriage. No one knows how common such couples are in real life, whose media presence is openly encouraged by Arcom, but the fact is that their presence on screens has become normalised without causing much outrage: no organised protests, no calls for boycotts accompany these advertisements in which anthropologists might see a sign of an open society that is willing to give its women. Few, like Jean Messiaha,

13. For more details, see Vincent Tournier, « Dis-moi qui tu ne veux pas pour voisin : les Européens et la tolérance », *The Conversation*, 25 February 2020 [online].

are surprised that the model often presented is limited to a Black man with a White woman, following a possibly sexist model.¹⁴

If we add to this the fact that people of colour regularly feature among the favourite personalities in France, or that the French have a strong taste for travel and world cultures, perhaps driven by hedonism but also by a sincere desire to discover and engage with what others are doing¹⁵ – so much so that they are accused of “cultural appropriation” – or the fact that French students are taught tolerance and respect from an early age, and that young people rank the fight against racism highly among their concerns, it is indeed difficult to detect systemic racism in French society.

3. Acts of Racist Violence

In general, racism is assessed only on the basis of opinions and prejudices. However, acts of racism belong to an entirely different register. While prejudices may be widespread, acting upon them follows a different logic, as the psychologist Richard LaPiere observed along his journey with a Chinese couple in 1930s America.¹⁶

In France, acts of racist violence are rare. Outbursts of violence have occurred on certain occasions, such as during the Aigues-Mortes riots in 1893, when a dozen Italian workers were lynched by the crowd. This type of event was an exception, however, and needs to be put into context. In Aigues-Mortes, not only was fierce competition for jobs exacerbating tensions, but terrorist attacks were being committed by anarchists – many of whom were Italian – such as the infamous Caserio, who assassinated President Sadi Carnot.¹⁷

14. Jean Messiha, « Le métissage (mais pas n'importe lequel) : la nouvelle norme du progressisme », *Causeur*, 20 February 2020 [online]. See also Denis Bachelot, « De la représentation ethnique dans la publicité », *Commentaire*, n°188, Winter 2024 [online].

15. The traditional Polynesian pirogue (the *vaa'a*) has even been given a new lease of life in Brittany. See Malo Camus-Le Pape, « Relocalisation d'une activité sportive "traditionnelle" : altération ou renforcement identitaire ? Le cas du vaa'a, la pirogue polynésienne, en Bretagne », *Sciences sociales et sport*, vol. 19, n°1, 2022 [online].

16. During his two-year trip to the United States, Richard LaPiere found that hotels and restaurants had no problem accommodating him and a couple of Chinese friends. After his trip, he wrote to 250 establishments (including those he had visited) to ask them if they accepted Chinese people, who were victims of anti-Chinese legislation at the time. More than 90% of the establishments replied in the negative, which led LaPiere to say that it is important to distinguish between prejudice and action. See Richard LaPiere, “Attitudes vs. Actions”, *Social Forces*, vol. 13, n°2, 1934.

17. Stéphane Mourlane, « Les anarchistes italiens dans les Alpes-Maritimes et le Var à la fin du xixe siècle : le choix de la marginalité ? », *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, n°. 69, 2004; Yvan Gastaut, « L'italien anarchiste à Nice dans les rapports de police à la fin du xixe siècle : la figure introuvable du terroriste », *Recherches régionales*, Centre de documentation des Alpes-Maritimes, 48^e année, 2007, n°187, pp. 9-16.

Even in 1930s France, at the height of an unprecedented wave of immigration and with far-right leagues in full swing, there were no recorded massacres or killings of foreigners, at a time when political violence was widespread across Europe.

The same is true for the Jews: no pogrom has taken place in France since the one in Strasbourg in 1349. While antisemitism re-emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, it did so in the context of intense conflict between Republicans and Catholics. The Republicans had launched a vast purge of the State, brutally removing Catholics from the administration, the army and the judiciary. They were accused of giving free rein to Freemasons, Protestants and Jews. For their part, many Jews supported the Republic¹⁸, which exacerbated resentment against them.¹⁹

But antisemitism remained essentially verbal. During the Dreyfus Affair, often described as the peak of antisemitism, no Jewish person was killed or even attacked.²⁰

Pierre Birnbaum spoke of a “victimless pogrom”.²¹ The expression is not very apt, but underlines that calls to violence remained merely a “virtual threat” (Birnbaum), incomparable with the massacres carried out in Russia, Ukraine, Vienna, Warsaw, Constantine, or Hebron.

Although historians have noted “alarming signs” in the 1930s, acts of violence – albeit poorly documented – were very few.²² The peak seems to have occurred in 1938 during the Sudeten crisis. Faced with the threat of war, Jews were accused of inciting confrontation. There was a spike in threats, insults, graffiti, broken glass and some assaults, particularly in Alsace and Lorraine.²³

The fascist threat was then brandished by the left. Leagues thrived, particularly among veterans, but the far right had no electoral presence, unlike in Italy and Germany at the time. The main league, the *Croix-de-Feu*, was republican and strongly anti-fascist. The germanophobia of its leader, Colonel de La Rocque, who denied any antisemitism, led him early on to

18. Pierre Birnbaum, *Les fous de la République*, Fayard, 1992.

19. Édouard Drumont, *La France juive. Essai d'histoire contemporaine*, Flammarion, 1886.

20. The last recorded anti-Jewish attack in France occurred in Durmenach (Bas-Rhin) in February 1848. There was material damage but no casualties. The village priest gave asylum to Jews who were unable to flee.

21. Pierre Birnbaum, *Le moment antisémite. Un tour de la France en 1898*, Fayard, 2015 [1998].

22. Léon Blum was the victim of an attempted mugging on 13 February 1936. It should be pointed out that violence against political leaders was common at the time, including against the *Action française*, since several of its leaders had been murdered by anarchists (Marius Plateau in 1923, Ernest Berger in 1925). See Emmanuel Debono, « Les années 1930 en France : le temps d'une radicalisation antisémite », *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, vol. 198, n°1, 2013, pp. 99-116 [online].

23. Emmanuel Debono, « Radiographie d'un pic d'antisémitisme. La crise de Munich (automne 1938) », *Archives Juives*, vol. 43, n°1, 2010, pp.77-95 [online].

join the *Résistance* (a term which he coined) before being arrested and deported by the Germans.

Even under the Vichy regime, there were hardly any attacks or murders of Jews committed by individuals. It is worth noting that, to counter certain claims that Marshal Pétain saved French Jews, several historians have argued that if the vast majority of French Jews survived during the war, it was largely due to the help of ordinary French people – including police officers during the Vel d'Hiv round-up.²⁴ Jacques Semelin speaks of “the solidarity of small gestures”²⁵ and the historian Laurent Joly points out that, contrary to legend, few Jews were denounced.²⁶

This optimistic assessment should not, of course, lead us to forget the racist attacks and crimes that have punctuated contemporary history, particularly the *ratonnades* of the 1960s and 1970s, as in Marseille in 1973.²⁷ But once again, these violent acts need to be put into perspective and contextualised. They took place in the wake of the Algerian war, during which each side was highly radicalised while retaining a deep aversion to the other. The events of May 1968 increased ideological polarisation. Far-left and far-right groups clashed violently and attacked those they saw as allies of the opposite camp.

The oil crisis exacerbated tensions linked to immigration from the Maghreb. Unemployment, which had already been on the rise since the late 1960s, entered a new phase and the government halted labour immigration in 1973. It was against this backdrop that violence against North Africans broke out in Marseille, following the murder of a bus driver by an Algerian man. The violence was often led or encouraged by former members of the *Organisation de l'Armée Secrète* (OAS) and the army.

While these tragedies are far from negligible, they should not be overemphasised in the interpretation of the situation: at the same time, France was welcoming large numbers of Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees (the boat people) fleeing Communist regimes, which only serves to highlight the specific nature of the Franco-Algerian dispute.

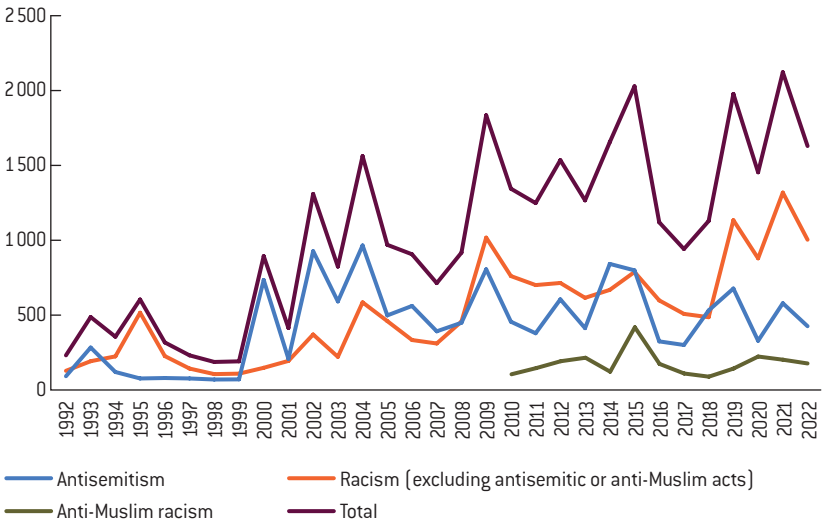
24. This analysis has been supported by a number of historians: Alain Michel, « Vichy désirait protéger tous les Français, dont les juifs », *Causeur*, 25 November 2021; Jean-Marc Berlière, « La rafle du vel' d'hiv' vue par les médias et les politiques : c'est l'histoire qu'on assassine ! », *Causeur*, 9 August 2022.

25. Jacques Semelin, *Une énigme française. Pourquoi les trois quarts des Juifs en France n'ont pas été déportés*, Albin Michel, 2022; Pascale Tournier, « Jacques Semelin : "Concernant le maréchal Pétain et les juifs français, Zemmour a exploité une faiblesse de l'historiographie" », *La Vie*, 4 January 2022 [online]. See also Annette Wiewiorka, « Vichy n'a pas sauvé les Juifs », *L'Histoire*, 6 January 2022 [online].

26. Laurent Joly, *L'État contre les juifs. Vichy, les nazis et la persécution antisémite*, Grasset, 2018.

27. Yvan Gastaut, « Une année noire dans le Midi. Le racisme anti-arabe en actes, de Grasse à Marseille », *Hommes & migrations*, n°1330, 2020, pp.31-36 [online].

Figure 3: Trends in racist incidents recorded by the SRCT (1992-2022)



Source: CNCDH annual reports

Although a precise analysis has yet to be carried out, an inventory of racist incidents since 1992 shows that there has been a deterioration since 2000 (*Figure 3*). This deterioration is primarily based on the increase in antisemitic acts, the origins of which seems to lie with the Muslim population, who project the Israeli-Palestinian conflict onto the Jews, as occurred after the massacres committed by Hamas on 7th October 2023.

The rise in racist acts recorded since 2019 is worrying, but the lack of information on perpetrators and victims makes interpretation difficult. France's ethno-religious diversification may have increased conflict situations, as evidenced by the emergence of inter-community rivalries. In early 2019, for example, there was a punitive expedition in *quartiers sensibles* (neighbourhoods characterised by social and economic challenges) in the Paris region against Roma, accused of kidnapping children²⁸, or a Chechen expedition against Algerians in Dijon in June 2020.²⁹ Moreover, the legislation evolved in 2018: seven new offences can now be incriminated for racism. This includes, in particular, insulting a public official, an offence that has seen a significant rise (from 27 in 2018 to 192 in 2019).³⁰

28. Allan Kaval, « Agressions contre des Roms : "Depuis l'attaque, on hésite à sortir, à aller faire nos courses, à aller travailler" », *Le Monde*, 19 March 2019 [online].

29. Jean Chichizola, « À Dijon, l'incroyable expédition punitive de Tchétchènes », *Le Figaro*, 15 June 2020 [online].

30. In 2019, 15 new offences have been added.

Anti-Muslim acts are few and far between, especially when compared with anti-Christian acts.³¹ The Islamist terror attacks of 2015 caused a slight spike in acts against Muslims, but France did not experience the equivalent of the murders committed in Canada (6 deaths on 29 January 2017) or New Zealand (51 deaths on 15 March 2019). This confirms that the anti-Maghrebi violence of the 1970s was indeed linked to a specific context.

4. Proof from Aya Cissoko?

One question is rarely considered by proponents of structural racism: what do the victims have to say about it? What does this supposedly omnipresent racism actually mean? The testimony of former French boxer Aya Cissoko, who left the rings to become a writer, is worth listening to attentively, as she was emphatic: “There is real structural racism in France”, adding: “I have been confronted with racism all my life”.

When the journalist asked her to explain how this racism manifested itself, she gave the following answer:

“In a very insidious way. Racism doesn’t necessarily mean someone shouting ‘dirty Black’ or ‘dirty nigger’ at you in the street. These are ‘microaggressions’. Racism is, for example: you’re pregnant, you’re in the lab waiting for some test results, you’re reading a book by Stefan Zweig and someone right next to you says, ‘oh you read that?’ Another example of racism is the fact that you’re a champion and the press is always going to write ‘champion of Malian origin’. What is supposed to sound like an addition, feels like a subtraction. In other words, I’m not entirely French, not fully French, I’m ‘French but...’. And therein lies the problem”.³²

Such an account leaves one wondering. Far from supporting the thesis of structural racism, it highlights its limitations. Can we speak of structural racism when it manifests itself in the form of “micro-aggressions” or “feelings”, without it being possible to detect more measurable manifestations? How is being surprised to see someone reading Stefan Zweig at the doctor’s surgery a racist attack? Is it not more simply an attempt – no doubt clumsy – to make contact? Similarly, why is it insulting to point out someone’s origins, especially at a time when migration is often brandished as a badge of pride?

31. Anti-Christian acts have only been counted since 2018 and are counted separately. They are around twenty times higher than anti-Muslim acts (760 compared to 42 in 2019, 492 compared to 22 in 2020).

32. Rebecca Fitoussi, « Aya Cissoko : Il y a un véritable racisme structurel en France », *Public Sénat*, 27 April 2021 [online].

Aya Cissoko's story is all the more unsettling because her own life story suggests a diametrically opposite reading. At the start of her interview, she recalls the tragedy she experienced as a child, when her father and sister died in an arson attack, apparently claimed by the far right. It was a terrible tragedy, but she was subsequently supported by public and private institutions. Her family was quickly rehoused. She herself went to school and was able to find associations that gave her the opportunity to practise the sport of her choice, enabling her to cultivate her talent. After an injury, she was admitted to Sciences Po thanks to sponsorship from the Lagardère foundation. She then took up writing and found publishers to support her, first Calmann-Lévy, then *Le Seuil*. Her first novel won an award from *Le Figaro* before being adapted into a screen production.

Admittedly, Aya Cissoko has not had an easy life. She has encountered difficulties and even tragedies, and she has had to face them head on. But there is nothing to suggest that French society has failed her.

Let's go a step further. Aya Cissoko sees the origins of French racism in "a history of slavery and colonisation" – the two being confused. She recalls that it was because of this colonisation that her parents came to France, because "France needed people to build its roads and fill its factories".³³

Curiously, her critical assessment of the past does not go so far as to point out that her parents come from a country, Mali, which was itself a slave state before the arrival of the French and that, without colonisation and her family's migration to France, she might not have been able to enjoy the same opportunities in life.

33. Rebecca Fitoussi, « Aya Cissoko : Il y a un véritable racisme structurel en France », *op. cit.*

II. STRUCTURAL ANTI-RACISM

The geopolitical and cultural pre-eminence of the United States since 1945 has ultimately created an optical illusion: believing that what happens over there also happens in France. Has a French Interior Minister not considered kneeling, following the Black Lives Matter movement and the George Floyd case?³⁴ During the Euro 2020, which took place in 2021, the entire French team announced that they would participate in this new ritual, only to back out at the last minute in the face of protests.³⁵

This Americanisation of the national imagination should not, however, be misleading. French society is very different from American society, particularly on the issue of race and racism. A basic reminder of some of the characteristics of American history helps to better understand this difference.

1. Race in the United States

It is no coincidence that terms such as “structural racism” or “institutional racism” have flourished in the United States. In this country, racism has been at the heart of the social contract through the issue of slavery. The 1787 Constitution, which followed the failure of the Confederation, was only agreed upon between the states in exchange for a guarantee not to interfere with slavery (the Connecticut Compromise) and to adjusting the weight of each State based on the number of slaves.

This institutional arrangement gave rise to recurrent debates on the balance between slave-holding and non-slave-holding states. Above all, it has led to race becoming a societal and legal norm. Case law has gone so far as to deprive Black people of their citizenship (*Scott v. Sandford*, 1857) and legislation has long referred to “White persons” in determining eligibility for naturalisation,³⁶ forcing the Supreme Court to engage in legal contortions to determine who qualified as such.³⁷

A glaring contradiction was thus established between the egalitarian ideal and legal reality. This contradiction could only be resolved through a particularly bloody civil war, but the issue did not end in 1865.

34. Anthony Berthelie, « Contre le racisme, Castaner prêt à mettre un genou à terre », *Huffington Post*, 9 June 2020 [online].

35. Grégory Schneider, « Pourquoi les Bleus ont lâché l'affaire sur le genou à terre », *Libération*, 16 June 2021 [online].

36. Olivier Richomme, « Race et citoyenneté aux États-Unis : restrictions raciales à la naturalisation aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles », *Miranda*, n°7, 2012 [online].

37. Daniel Sabbagh, « Le statut des “Asiatiques” aux États-Unis. L'identité américaine dans un miroir », *Critique internationale*, vol.20, n°3, 2003, pp.69-92 [online].

Laws enforcing racial segregation were upheld by the Supreme Court in its 1896 decision (*Plessy v. Fergusson*). In the Southern states, where the Democratic Party had long been dominant, an alternative national memory emerged – one that idealised the pre-Civil War period and encouraged a lenient view of racism and the practice of slavery.

The issue of race remained a deeply structuring force for a long time. In 1919, President Wilson opposed the Japanese proposal to include “racial equality” in the statutes of the League of Nations. This proposal stipulated that the signatory states would not make distinctions on the basis of race. The American veto was experienced as a humiliation by Japan, which was particularly sensitive to the treatment of its nationals in the United States. In California, for example, Japanese were denied access to public education and a 1913 law prohibited them from acquiring land.

The issue of race has therefore had a profound impact on American society. This explains why the affirmative action policies of the 1960s and 1970s were able to use race as a reference point, with the more or less explicit support of the Supreme Court, whose rulings at times ran counter to the constitutional principle of equal protection under the law.³⁸

It is not without a certain irony that the Supreme Court, in its recent ruling against of affirmative action in universities, noted that Harvard University had notoriously distinguished itself in the interwar period by imposing quotas on Jewish students.³⁹ The racial and segregationist policies implemented in the United States were so harsh that they attracted interest from Nazi Germany.⁴⁰

The war against Nazi Germany undermined the doctrinal foundations of racial segregation in the United States.⁴¹ Nevertheless, American jurists had to exercise caution during the Nuremberg trials to avoid establishing a legal precedent that could have backfired on their own country.⁴²

This racist legacy has left its mark. Public statistics in the United States make extensive use of ethnic and racial criteria, even though, since the year 2000, censuses have relied on racial self-identification:

38. *Griggs v. Duke Power Company* [1971] held that neutral tests could be discriminatory, and while the *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* [1978] prohibited racial quotas in universities, it accepted that compensation mechanisms could be introduced. Several subsequent rulings have ruled that racial quotas in private or public companies are legal.

39. See *Students for Fair Admission v. Harvard College*, 29 June 2023.

40. James Whitman, *Hitler's American Model. How American racial laws inspired the Nazis*, Armand Colin, 2018.

41. Pap Ndiaye, « États-Unis : un siècle de ségrégation », *L'Histoire*, n°. 306, February 2006.

42. Guillaume Mouralis, « Race et droit aux États-Unis : l'ombre de Nuremberg », *La Revue des droits de l'homme*, n°19, 2021 [online].

individuals are free to indicate the race to which they belong; they even have the option to indicate several.⁴³

Race continues to be used in public policy. Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, companies with more than 100 employees (or fewer if they belong to a group or receive public contracts) are required to submit a confidential report entitled EEO-1 (Equal Employment Opportunity) to assess their efforts in terms of ethnic and racial diversity. The EEO Commission encourages employers to rely on the racial self-identification of their employees; if employees refuse, it is up to the employer to declare the race of its employees, as all must be identified.⁴⁴

The issue of Native American tribes also contributes to legal racialism, as membership in a tribe has very significant legal implications (local government participation, access to land ownership and tribal jurisdiction, etc.). A genealogical classification must therefore be established. An Indian is defined as “a person who has a certain degree of Indian blood”⁴⁵; it is the responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to issue a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB).⁴⁶

2. Race in France

France has never experienced anything like this. No law, no social benefit, no migration policy, no condition of access to nationality or naturalisation, no regulation of the public space has used race as a criterion.

French institutions have always refrained from using racial criteria, even during periods of great tension. In the early 1930s, laws designed to protect the national workforce, adopted during the economic crisis in response to a surge in immigration, were based solely on nationality (the 1932 law set the foreigner quota for companies responding to public tenders at 5%).

The first time racial affiliation appeared in an official text was with the Marchandau Decree of 1939, which aimed precisely to condemn racism. Article 1 of the 1958 Constitution states that France “ensures the equality of all citizens before the law, regardless of origin, race or religion”.

43. The Census Bureau distinguishes five races: White, Black or African American, American native or Alaska native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, see “About the Topic of Race”, *U.S. Census Bureau*, 20 December 2024 [online].

44. “Frequently Asked Questions: EEO-1 Component 1 Data Collection”, U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

45. “As a general principle, an Indian is a person who is of some degree Indian blood and is recognized as an Indian by a Tribe and/or the United States”, see “Frequently Asked Question about Native Americans”, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Tribal Justice [online].

46. One site calculates the percentage of Indian blood possessed and ranks tribes according to the percentage needed to be considered a member. See “What Percentage of Native American Do You Have To Be To Enroll With a Tribe?”, *PowWows.com*, 5 January 2024 [online].

In 1972, anti-racist legislation was adopted (the Pleven law). Its legal usefulness is debatable, but at the time it was intended to facilitate the movement of overseas populations to metropolitan France, some of whom had expressed their desire to remain French.⁴⁷

Even in the case of Gypsies, who have always sparked strong aversion in public opinion, legislation has refrained from invoking race. The law of 1912, adopted in a very hostile climate, relied solely on a strictly social criterion: a nomad is someone who does not have a fixed residence.⁴⁸ It even took care to distinguish between nomads and travelling workers, considering that the latter, by virtue of their activity as itinerant traders, fell into the category of seasonal workers. The term « gens du voyage » (“travellers”), which has appeared in administrative vocabulary since the 1970s, is an even more blatant rejection of biological criteria, whereas the Gypsies have fewer qualms about asserting their ethno-racial identity.

Despite what may be said, for all the reasons mentioned above, French society has developed a deep-seated reticence towards origins, even when certain issues are at stake. This is why positive discrimination in France, implemented in the context of priority education (1981) or urban policy (1990), has relied solely on social and geographical criteria, and never on racial or ethnic criteria.

3. The Invisibility of Origins

An accusation has emerged in recent years that the Republic is rendering ethnic minorities “invisible”, an accusation that has been reinforced by the 2004 and 2010 laws on religious symbols and the burqa.⁴⁹

While this accusation illustrates the rise of the multiculturalist framework to the detriment of the assimilationist framework, it implicitly confirms that the French political and legal tradition has always refused to take physical criteria into account. To say that the Republic makes minorities invisible is to acknowledge that it is blind to origins: individuals must be judged on the basis of their qualities and personality, not their appearance or genealogy.

47. A case of racial discrimination dating back to 1966, before the 1972 law, was punished by the Seine criminal court for refusal to sell and public insult. See Emmanuel Debono. *Le racisme dans le prétoire. Antisemitism, racism and xenophobia before the law*, PUF, 2019.

48. Emmanuel Filhol, « Le discours républicain sur les "nomades" [1908-1912] : les cas d'Étienne Flandin et de Marc Réville », *Ethnologie française*, vol. 48, n°4, 2018, pp.687-698 [online].

49. Patrick Ténoudji, « Les minorités invisibles. Être “noir” dans une entreprise d'insertion en banlieue parisienne : parcours d'intégration », *Les Temps Modernes*, vol. 615-616, n°4-5, 2001, pp. 180-205 [online] ; Vincent Geisser, « Minorités visibles versus majorité invisible : promotion de la diversité ou de la diversion ? », *Migrations Société*, vol. 111-112, n°. 3-4, 2007, pp. 5-15 [online].

This is why race has never featured in national censuses, unlike in the United States or in England. Statistics on origins continue to be tightly regulated.⁵⁰ Public institutions responsible for collecting statistics refuse to allow any indicators that could resemble the identification of origins. Even a question on the nationality of parents at birth has become suspect, as it is deemed potentially stigmatising, and has thus been removed from the 2025 census, which may make it more difficult to count immigrants.⁵¹

In criminal matters, where it is rather necessary to identify individuals on the basis of their appearance, race is also rejected in principle. The National DNA Database (Fnaeg, established in 1998) only archives non-coding DNA, i.e. segments that do not reveal any information about a person's physical characteristics, with the exception of gender. The inclusion of ethno-racial information in the police's offence database (The *Système de traitement des infractions constatées* - STIC) has been very poorly accepted, notably by the independent French administrative authority that ensures the protection of personal data and privacy (the *Commission Nationale de l'Informatique et des Libertés* - CNIL) and the Human Rights Defence Authority (the *Défenseur des Droits*), but indifference to race has reached its limits here, as it seems difficult to conduct investigations without this information.⁵²

All claims based on race (for example, so-called "ethnic" statistics or racial quotas in companies and administrations) have come up against a brick wall. This situation does not exclude perverse effects, such as when a social landlord was convicted for trying to avoid the overrepresentation of an ethnic group in one of its buildings, but it does confirm that French society is fundamentally averse to race.⁵³

This aversion to origins is reflected in the great caution exercised by the media and social sciences. Acts of incivility and crime are never documented according to the ethnic characteristics of their perpetrators. The same applies to harassment in the street or in schools, or to domestic and marital violence. Only nationality is ever taken into account, for example in prison administration statistics.

50. A law passed in 2004 prohibits the collection of data that "directly or indirectly reveals racial or ethnic origins", and the French Constitutional Council has prohibited studies that take into account "ethnic origin or race" on the grounds that such information does not form part of "objective data" [decision of 15 November 2007].

51. Michèle Tribalat, « Une innovation dans le bulletin de recensement qui pourrait en cacher une autre : l'abandon de la définition actuelle des immigrés », micheletribalat.fr, 2 May 2022 [online].

52. Jean-Marc Leclerc, « Polémique sur le fichage selon la couleur de peau », *Le Figaro*, 5 December 2008 [online].

53. Isabelle Rey-Lefebvre, « Le bailleur social Logirep condamné en appel pour 'discrimination raciale' », *Le Monde*, 18 March 2016 [online].

Another sign of this aversion is the profound disgrace that has befallen the expression *Français de souche* (French of native descent).⁵⁴ This discrediting is consistent with the anti-racist rationale: in a society where genealogical origins are becoming more diverse, emphasizing one's Franco-French ancestry is a way of distinguishing oneself that may seem incompatible with civic equality.

However, this disgrace has created a void: how should we refer to the French who are not of immigrant origin? The National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) refers to them as “people with no migratory ancestry”,⁵⁵ while the National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) refers to them as “non-immigrants”.⁵⁶

A pattern is emerging behind these subtleties: the historic people tend to be defined negatively on the basis of a lack. They cease to be the reference norm, which shifts towards populations who have come from elsewhere: since there are no such French of native descent, every French person is an immigrant, unbeknownst to them.

A shift then threatens to occur. Not only is the native Frenchman no longer mentioned – except, perhaps, when he is to be criticised – but the notion that France owes its very foundations to foreigners is gaining traction.⁵⁷ “Our great-grandparents liberated France, our grandparents rebuilt it, our parents cleaned it up. We’re going to tell the story”, comedian Jamel Debbouze summarized in 2006 during the release of the film *Indigènes*, which won an award at the Cannes Film Festival.

Public institutions sometimes embrace this shift, as Pap Ndiaye did when he was director of the *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration* (National Museum of the History of Immigration): “Our mission is to make immigration a central part of national history”.⁵⁸ Upon its reopening in the spring of 2023, after three years of renovation work, it launched an advertising campaign featuring a portrait of Louis XIV accompanied by the slogan: “It’s amazing how many foreigners made French history”. This presentation was surprising in more than one respect: not only did it celebrate a king who enacted the *Code Noir* and revoked the Edict of Nantes, but it also implied that a child of a foreigner – since Louis XIV’s mother was Spanish – remains a foreigner forever.

54. Hervé Le Bras, *Le démon des origines*, Éditions de l'Aube, 1998.

55. « Inactivité, chômage et emploi des immigrés et des descendants d'immigrés par origine géographique. Données annuelles 2023 », Insee, 29 August 2024 [online].

56. « Flux migratoires des non-immigrés », Methodological note, April 2024 [online].

57. In February 2015, at a CRIF dinner, François Hollande was not afraid to accuse “French of native descent” of desecrating a Jewish cemetery. See Alexandre Devecchio, « “Français de souche, comme on dit” : le décryptage de Michèle Tribalat », *Le Figaro*, 24 February 2015 [online].

58. Aureliano Tonet and Cédric Pietralunga, « Pap Ndiaye : « Notre mission, c’est faire de l’immigration un élément central de l’histoire nationale » *Le Monde*, 19 March 2021 [online].

4. The Visibility of the Invisible

As Paul Yonnet aptly pointed out, the anti-racism movement of the 1980s paradoxically brought the issue of racial identities back into the public debate.⁵⁹ Identity-based demands became increasingly important, albeit often masked by euphemistic language (« Beurs », « Maghrébins », « Blacks », « Renois », « Rebeus »).

The year 1998 accelerated this change of direction. The victory of France's *Blanc Black Beur* team was accompanied by the birth of the *Égalité* collective, created by several artists of African origin: Calixthe Beyala (novelist), Manu Dibango (musician), Luc Saint-Éloi (director) and Dieudonné (actor). This collective condemns the treatment of Black people and their underrepresentation in society. The association's president, Calixthe Beyala, criticises the education system for ignoring Black slavery. She demands racial quotas in employment and the media.⁶⁰ During the 25th César Awards ceremony, along with Luc Saint-Éloy, she proclaimed herself the spokesperson for a community defined by race, denouncing the absence of visible minorities. In passing, she made an explicit comparison with the situation of Jews, via the writer Martin Gray:

“In the name of 8 or 20 million of these citizens [from visible minorities], in the name of all my people,⁶¹ and this is not a film title, in the name of the just and legitimate fight that the *Égalité* collective is waging for a true representation of the multiracial reality of France in all the media and in all places of culture, we wish to tell you that the situation we have been subjected to for too long flouts any notion of human dignity”.⁶²

After holding hearings with the *Égalité* collective, the *Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel* (the French Broadcasting Authority – then CSA, now ARCOM) began counting screen appearances according to skin colour. Its annual reports deplore the fact that “people perceived as non-White” represent only 14% of the characters shown on television screens. But how do we know who is perceived as White or non-White? And above all, how can we know, in the absence of national statistics on race, whether the proportion of “non-Whites” established by the CSA is not

59. Paul Yonnet, *Voyage au centre du malaise français. L'antiracisme et le roman national*, Gallimard, 1993.

60. « Minorités invisibles », *Le Monde*, 21 July 2000. Calixthe Beyala went on to publish several similar articles. See Florence Hartmann, « Calixthe Beyala, “Il n'y a pas de Navarro ou de Julie Lescaut noirs” », *Le Monde*, 10 October 1999 [online] ; Calixthe Beyala, « Les Africains-Français attendent », *Le Monde*, 11 March 2002 [online].

61. *Au nom de tous les miens (In the Name of All My Own)* is the title of the autobiography by Martin Gray, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto and Treblinka.

62. « En février 2000, Luc Saint-Éloy bousculait “la grande famille du cinéma”. Depuis, rien n'a changé... », 97LAND, 9 March 2020 [online].

overrepresented relative to the actual demographic composition of the country.⁶³ Such a count remains rather peculiar and rather incompatible with an institution of the French Republic.⁶⁴

A break has certainly occurred. It is even considerable when recalling the virulent reactions that accompanied Jean-Marie Le Pen's remarks on the proportion of players of foreign origin in the French national football team,⁶⁵ or those of the writer Renaud Camus on the number of Jews in *France Culture* programmes.⁶⁶

Once strongly condemned, this type of categorization is now gaining legitimacy. The president of *France Télévision*, Delphine Ernotte, has not hesitated to declare her intention to put an end to "a television of White men over 50" (23 September 2015). Similarly, an official report sets out to catalogue the staff of the Paris Opera based on racial criteria.⁶⁷

There is a back-and-forth at work: while the majority is called upon to be discreet, or even to make amends for its past faults, minorities are invited to proudly display their origins.

The invisible must become visible. In films, Black actors play White characters, such as Omar Sy who plays Doctor Knock in the 2017 film *Knock*, while the paperback edition of *Dom Juan* features a Black actor on its cover.⁶⁸

This situation would hardly be imaginable in reverse: it is hard to picture a White actor playing a Black personality without being accused of blackface. A « Miss Black France » competition was held in 2012 without facing significant opposition, whereas it would be entirely unthinkable to have a 'White only' Miss France competition – a competition that has crowned several women of colour over the years, from Sonia Rolland, of Rwandan origin (2000), to Angélique Angarni-Filopon from Martinique (2025).⁶⁹

63. See the report « La représentation de la société française dans les médias audiovisuels », *Arcom*, July 2022 [online].

64. For a more detailed analysis, see our contribution to Emmanuelle Hénin, Xavier-Laurent Salvador and Pierre Vermeren, *Face à l'obscurantisme woke*, PUF, 2025 [forthcoming].

65. Renaud Dely, « Le Pen fait sa sélection des footballeurs pas assez français », *Libération*, 26 June 1996 [online].

66. Isabelle Rüf, « France Culture accuse l'écrivain Renaud Camus d'antisémitisme », *Le Temps*, 25 April 2000 [online].

67. Pap Ndiaye and Constance Rivière, *Rapport sur la diversité à l'Opéra national de Paris*, January 2021 [online].

68. Thomas Sotinel, « Omar Sy et le docteur Knock, un rendez-vous raté », *Le Monde*, 18 October 2017 [online].

69. The media did speak of a "controversy" over the pageant, but without pronouncing any radical condemnation. See « Mbathio Beye, première "Miss Black" française », *France Info/AFP*, 29 April 2012 [online]; « Mbathio Beye est la première Miss Black France », *Elle*, April 2012 [online]; Anna Benjamin, « Miss Black France, un concours de "beautés noires" qui fait polémique », *Le Monde*, 27 April 2012 [online].

The *Conseil représentatif des associations noires* (the Representative Council of Black Associations, CRAN, created in 2005) has no equivalent among White people, and while the press may speak condescendingly of “little White people”, it is hard to imagine them using the same tone when talking about “little Black people”.⁷⁰ Could the Folies Bergères musical *Black Legend*, which aims to trace “four centuries of Black people” based on the great African-American singers, be transposed into “White Legends”?⁷¹ If a news site can praise an American rapper “who puts his celebrity at the service of Black communities”, it seems hard to imagine the same enthusiasm for a singer who would serve “White communities”.⁷²

III. THE MYTH OF STRUCTURAL RACISM

Like other contemporary ideologies (for example, decolonialism, gender theory or intersectionality),⁷³ with which it shares connections, the thesis of structural racism is based on elements that are, at best, questionable and superficial, and at worst, false and misleading.

The question then becomes why such a thesis has emerged and gained ground in France, even within academic circles, when it exhibits all the characteristics of a scholarly conspiracy theory or, at the very least, false pseudoscience. Answering this question requires taking a detour through the analysis of myths.

1. On the Origin of Myths

According to Claude Lévi-Strauss, a myth is a narrative whose function is to describe the origin, the present and the future of things.⁷⁴ It is related to ideology but differs in that it has no explicit political project.

Freud proposed that myths could be explained by internal conflicts linked to anxieties and psychological impulses. He concluded that “mythology is a projected psychology”.⁷⁵

70. Sylvie Laurent, « Le “petit Blanc” n’est plus ce qu’il était », *Le Monde*, 2 October 2012 [online].

71. *France O*, 26 March 2015.

72. Donia Ismail, « Stormzy, le rappeur qui met sa célébrité au service des communautés noires », *Slate*, 30 May 2023 [online]. The article ends with praise for Stormzy’s “incisive words”: “If you try to rob them for their dreams, of course I’m gonna put a target on your back”. A White singer saying the same thing would probably not provoke the same indulgence.

73. Vincent Tournier, « Misère de l’intersectionnalité », *Commentaire*, n°189, Spring 2025.

74. Claude Lévi-Strauss et Bernard Pivot, « Claude Lévi Strauss définit les mythes », INA, 4 May 1984 [online].

75. Didier Anzieu, *Le travail de l’Inconscient*, Didier Anzieu, 2009, chapter 2.

While myths certainly borrow aspects from psychology, they also reflect the “social thought” of a society by expressing “the tensions and contradictions that arise within it”.⁷⁶ This is why myths tend to emerge in times of crisis or difficulty.⁷⁷ When traditional narratives become obsolete, new ones emerge to help resolve tensions and give meaning to the new order of things.

Myths have an ambiguous relationship with reality: they both draw inspiration and distance themselves from it. In his novel *Përbindëshi* (*The Monster*), published in 1965, the Albanian writer Ismaël Kadaré put forward the hypothesis that the myth of the Trojan horse served to conceal a less glorious story, namely that the Greeks had succeeded in defeating their adversaries by signing a peace agreement that they did not honour. A horse was no doubt among the gifts exchanged. It was on this basis that the myth could take shape, its function being to erase the shame associated with this act of treachery.

Following this line of thought, the myth of structural racism could be seen as a response to the contradictions of the present age and as a way to avoid facing an unsettling reality. The postcolonial period raises difficult questions: why was the end of the colonial empire accompanied by significant immigration from the former colonies, and why do immigrants and their descendants sometimes struggle to integrate?

This facilitates the creation of a sense of coherence. Not only does it give meaning to France’s failure in its former colonies, it also serves to deflect accusations of racism that could be directed at the decolonial movement itself – since that movement justified decolonisation by the need to preserve the identity of the indigenous peoples, defined precisely by criteria that would never have been accepted if applied to the French: blood, ancestry and land. In this way, the decolonial movement rehabilitates the idea of a racial struggle as a key to understanding history – an idea reminiscent of the theory of the Germanic origins of the nobility or the racial conflict central to Augustin Thierry’s work.

The myth of structural racism is also a way of resolving a conflict between, on the one hand, the idealisation of immigration – an idealisation that views formerly colonised populations as victims in need of protection – and, on the other, a migratory reality that turns out to be far less positive than expected, especially given that the countries of origin have not become the peaceful and democratic havens hoped for by decolonisation advocates.

76. Jean-Pierre Vernant, « Œdipe sans complexe », in *Raison présente* n° 4, August-September-October 1967 [online].

77. Girardet Raoul, *Mythes et mythologies politiques*, Seuil, 1990.

The myth thus allows all these difficulties to be pushed aside. It serves to resolve a kind of “psychological suffering” in the Freudian sense, by offering a comforting explanation that shifts the responsibility for integration problems onto the host society.

2. Instrumentalization

A myth does not necessarily have to be believed.⁷⁸ Legendary narratives provide a psychological comfort that short-circuits any questioning. Although myths are not always taken seriously, they nonetheless fulfill social function and serve certain interests.

Anti-racist activists need to dramatise the situation in order to better justify their cause and sustain the commitment of their members.⁷⁹ The many associations whose mission is to combat racism or assist migrants – now fully-fledged actors in migration policy – have a vested interest in maintaining a pessimistic view of French society in order to justify their role and secure funding.

The same applies to independent administrative agencies and international organisations, part of whose activity involves exercising a form of moral authority, which encourages them to adopt a highly critical discourse on French society.⁸⁰

The moral condemnation of racism can also be amplified by foreign media⁸¹ or by countries with an interest in criticising France.⁸²

Intellectuals and academics have every incentive to endorse the thesis of structural racism in order to ride the wave of post-materialistic values that have emerged from decolonisation and the post-war economic boom (the *Trente Glorieuses*): By presenting themselves as crusaders against a looming racism, they position themselves up as guardians of virtue – earning media and academic recognition at little cost.

78. Paul Veyne, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes*, 1983.

79. The Musulmans en France information website readily denounces “State racism” : « Mort de Nahel, le racisme d’État en question », Musulmans en France, 30 June 2023 [online].

80. « Il est urgent de s’attaquer au racisme systémique et aux doctrines de supériorité raciale », *United Nations*, 14 November 2022 [online] ; « Racisme : taux disproportionnés de décès de personnes d’ascendance africaine par les forces de l’ordre dans différents pays », *United Nations*, 30 September 2022 [online] ; “Tackling structural racism and ethnicity-based discrimination in health”, World Health Organization [online].

81. The American press is often very critical of France’s treatment of minorities, which may be explained by the desire to reject the Republican model and relativise racial problems in the United States. See for example this article published after the murder of Samuel Paty: “Instead of fighting systemic racism, France wants to ‘reform Islam’”, *Washington Post*, 23 October 2020 [online].

82. For example, Turkish President Erdogan regularly accuses France: “Today, cultural racism has turned into institutional racism in many European countries, especially in France”. See Ayvaz Çolakoğlu, « Erdogan : en France, on est face à un racisme institutionnel », *Anadolu Ajansı*, March 2021 [online]. The urban riots of June 2023 gave him the opportunity to take up this accusation of “institutional racism”. See « “Passé colonial”, “racisme institutionnel” : Erdogan donne sa version des émeutes en France », *Bfmtv*, 3 July 2023 [online].

More broadly, the myth of structural racism has the advantage of offering a convenient interpretation of the political situation. By focusing on the racism of the French population, it avoids questioning the mechanisms that have allowed the *Front National* (FN – a far-right populist party in France) to prosper, even though its success does not in any way signify the end of the anti-racist norm: in fact, it is precisely because the FN has been perceived as a racist party that its electoral growth has been contained, despite strong public concern about immigration and security.

The myth of structural racism prevents us from seeing the support for the FN (now *Rassemblement National* – RN) vote stems less from deep-rooted French racism than from a sense that successive governments have been overly accommodating towards foreigners.⁸³ Part of public opinion may have felt that a fundamental element of the social contract had been broken. A political insecurity has been added to the cultural insecurity highlighted by Laurent Bouvet: are the elites still committed to defending the people, given that their focus is now firmly set on Europe and globalisation, all the while managing to shield themselves from the negative effects of a process from which they largely benefit?⁸⁴

Moreover, the crisis of trust is fuelled by the perception that two narratives are clashing: a positive discourse about foreigners, and a disparaging one about the French themselves. From Jacques Chirac evoking France's "responsibility" in the deportation of the Jews, to Emmanuel Macron describing colonisation as a "crime against humanity", and the Taubira law focusing solely on the condemnation of the Western slave trade, French voters may feel that they are being blamed collectively by their own leaders.⁸⁵

The popularity of the expression « Grand Remplacement » (the "Great Replacement" theory) likely stems less from actual demographic changes – although these are hardly disputable – than from the feeling that the elites have their role of protecting and valuing their own population.⁸⁶ While the phrase « nos ancêtres les Gaulois » ("our ancestors the Gauls") is now considered a racist expression, a consortium of public institutions

83. Pierre Martin, « Le Vote Le Pen : l'électorat du Front national », *Note de la Fondation Saint-Simon*, n° 84, 1996 ; Jérôme Fourquet, « 1983 : année charnière pour le Front national », Fondation Jean-Jaurès, 7 March 2018 [online].

84. Laurent Bouvet, *L'insécurité culturelle*, Fayard, 7 January 2015.

85. « En Algérie, Macron qualifie la colonisation de "crime contre l'humanité", tollé à droite », *Le Monde*, 15 February 2017.

86. According to a Harris Interactive poll of 2,544 people conducted for *Challenges* in October 2021, 61% of those questioned believe that the 'great replacement' is going to happen, and 67% say they are worried about it. The theme was presented as follows: 'Some people are talking about the 'great replacement': White, Christian European populations being threatened with extinction as a result of Muslim immigration from North Africa and Black Africa'. Baromètre d'intentions de vote à l'élection présidentielle de 2022 - Vague 18, Harris Interactive for *Challenges*, 20 October 2021 [online].

(INRAP, *France Télévision*, CNC, *Institut du monde arabe*) produced a documentary entitled *Nos ancêtres, les Sarrasins* (*Our Ancestors, the Saracens*), which was promoted up by *Le Monde* without provoking any real debate.⁸⁷

3. Over-Interpretation

Like Thomas Kuhn's paradigm, myths act like filters: they retain confirmatory elements and discards discordant ones.

The myth of structural racism leads to over-interpretation. Secularism is seen as racist because it is deemed hostile to public manifestations of religious identities, which minorities are presumed to have a vital need for. The concept of "indirect discrimination", borrowed from Canadian case law to mean that a uniform rule discriminates against minorities, establishes a formidable logic. It results in labelling as racist any rule devised by the majority population, and even any cultural tradition (for instance public holidays or food preferences).

Racism is supposed to lurk in any restriction on immigration, or in differential treatment between nationals and foreigners, as though nationality were a racial criterion. Criticism of Islam, for example, has led to accusations of "anti-Muslim racism". Anti-racist laws have themselves been accused of racism,⁸⁸ as have refusals to grant naturalisation in cases of polygamy.⁸⁹

Many phenomena are interpreted without proof in terms of racism. Was footballer Antoine Griezmann's blackface a racist act or a tribute to the famous Harlem Globetrotters?⁹⁰ Is the imitation of an African accent in Michel Leeb's sketch *L'Africain*, now denounced as racist, fundamentally different from mockery of Belgian, Swiss or Corsican accents?⁹¹ It is not the case when this accent is used by Black artists, as in the case of *Les Inconnus*. Just recently, comedian Nicolas Canteloup imitated an Asian

87. « Nos ancêtres, les Sarrasins : un nouveau webdocumentaire », INRAP, 19 February 2015 [online]; « Nos ancêtres les sarrasins ... », *Le Monde*, 29 September 2016 [online].

88. "Universalism is portrayed as a tool of structural racism. It has indirectly allowed for the perpetuation of racial categories and the inherent violence associated with them", writes Rachida Brahim. See Rachida Brahim, « La législation antiraciste française, support d'un racisme structurel », in *Race et racismes*, Communications, vol. 107, 2020 [online].

89. Abdellali Hajjat, « Race et droit de la nationalité en contexte postcolonial : le cas de refus de naturalisation au motif de la polygamie », *Revue des droits de l'homme* n°19, 2021 [online].

90. « Le "blackface" d'Antoine Griezmann indigne, il s'excuse et retire la photo », *Huffington Post*, 17 December 2017 [online].

91. Françoise Vergès, « Comme Michel Leeb, les racistes non racistes refusent de comprendre ce qu'est le racisme », *Le Monde*, 13 December 2017 [online].

accent to mock Jean-Vincent Placé⁹² and Jean-Luc Mélenchon even used a southern French accent to mock a journalist.⁹³

Revisiting the work of past authors can give the impression that racism has been omnipresent in French history. But this rereading is often taken out of context and tends to exaggerate the influence of the discourse. Sensitive to scholarly rigor, academics tend to unearth forgotten authors to whom they attribute great influence, without taking concrete policies into account. In support of his thesis on the “French origins of racism”, Zeev Sternhell claims to have discovered “a very vast movement of thought which, although it did not produce a structured political organisation in France, nonetheless profoundly permeated the intellectual atmosphere”.⁹⁴ But can a “vast movement of thought” be devoid of the slightest political outlet? Similarly, if the Third Republic really was imbued with a “racial paradigm”, as one historian maintains, why did the legislation bear no trace of it?⁹⁵

Sociological analysis is no more satisfying as arguments often remain superficial. The desire to validate the thesis of structural racism leads to any statistical discrepancy being interpreted as proof, or to phenomena such as discrimination or police stop-and-searches being blamed on racism.

But all these elements are more indicative of a confirmation bias than authentic proof. This brings us back to Thomas Kuhn’s concept of a paradigm: the myth becomes a hermetic belief that dismisses conflicting facts and overinterprets supposed confirming evidence.

Statistical gaps based on origin (for example in academic achievement, access to employment, social or health problems, early mortality, etc.) are not in themselves proof of malicious mechanisms of domination or exclusion. As for calls for testimonies regarding discrimination, they constitute fragile evidence: anyone can interpret a school or professional failure through the lens of discrimination, especially when one can claim prejudice in court. Feelings, however, are not necessarily a reliable indicator. This is not to deny the existence of discrimination, but rather to recall that it is also stems from regulations, even when these are intended to be benevolent and protective. In a country that intends to protect employees and tenants, it is logical that employers and landlords should be particularly cautious when making selections, to the detriment of groups

92. « Placé déplore l'imitation “pas drôle” de Canteloup », *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, 21 September 2014 [online].

93. « Jean-Luc Mélenchon se moque de l'accent d'une journaliste, des élus du Sud réagissent », *Ouest France*, 19 October 2018 [online].

94. Zeev Sternhell, « Les origines intellectuelles du racisme en France », *L'Histoire*, n°. 17, November 1979 [online].

95. Carole Reynaud-Parigot, *La République raciale (1860-1930)*, PUF, 17 February 2006.

that are subject to suspicion or uncertainty (which includes, for example, young people or people who are overweight).

Moreover, research has suggested that the scale of discrimination should be put into perspective, going so far as to imply to opposite conclusions.⁹⁶ For example, it has been shown that for the same social background, children from immigrant families receive more leniency when advancing to the second year of secondary school.⁹⁷ Experimental studies support this direction: they confirm LaPiere's conclusions by demonstrating that declared discrimination does not reflect actual practices: if anonymous CVs were abandoned, it is because experiments showed that discrimination is weaker when employers know the origin of individuals.⁹⁸ The anonymous CV would be a good solution if society were structurally racist; but if this is not the case, it becomes an obstacle by preventing recruiters from exercising the goodwill they show towards minorities.

As for so-called "racial profiling" checks, which are supposed to provide proof of structural racism within the police, they are hardly conclusive in the absence of data on delinquency and incivility rates according to origins. Police officers have practical knowledge that leads them to prioritize risk factors. A study conducted in Paris in 2009, the most thorough to date, showed that checks vary according to a number of parameters: location, gender, age, or clothing.⁹⁹ Furthermore, this study did not take into account other factors such as suspicious behavior, the presence of a crowd or gathering of people, crime-prone areas, and so on.

4. Reductionism

Myth is like a spotlight: it illuminates as much as it obscures. While structural racism has the advantage of providing a reassuring explanation, it has the disadvantage of interrupting reflection. Its message is reduced to a moral injunction: we must fight racism and prejudice because it is possible to eradicate all these phenomena. This injunction is understandable from a human point of view, but reflection cannot be confined to this moral stance.

96. Yaël Brinbaum, Géraldine Farges and Élise Tenret, « Les trajectoires scolaires des élèves issus de l'immigration selon le genre et l'origine : quelles évolutions ? », CNESCO, September 2016 [online].

97. Yaël Brinbaum and Annick Kieffer, « Les scolarités des enfants d'immigrés de la sixième au baccalauréat : différenciation et polarisation des parcours », *Population*, vol. 64, n°3, 2009 [online].

98. Luc Behaghel, Bruno Crépon and Thomas Le Barbanchon, « Évaluation de l'impact du CV anonyme », *Paris School of Economics - Inra, Crest and J-PAL Europe*, 31 March 2011 [online]. See also Alain Lacroux and Christelle Martin-Lacroux, « Quelle efficacité pour le CV anonyme ? Les leçons d'une étude expérimentale », *Revue de gestion des ressources humaines*, 2017, n°104.

99. Fabien Jobard et al., "Measuring Appearance-Based Discrimination: An Analysis of Identity Checks in Paris", *Population*, vol. 67, n°3, 2012 [online].

The myth of structural racism is reductionist as it confines racism to the attitude of the White majority towards ethnic minorities. However, racism is neither a recent phenomenon, nor a Western specificity. It is a reality far older and more universal, related to the propensity of each human group to believe that there are natural differences between itself and others, particularly its enemies, to whom all the faults of the earth are attributed. This is why the term race was once used to refer to the “Prussian race”¹⁰⁰ or the “Breton race”.¹⁰¹

This disconnection from physical traits is unsurprising, as race is primarily a social construct, meaning that it depends primarily on sociopolitical parameters. The 1994 genocide of the Tutsis by the Hutus demonstrated this, while interethnic wars in Africa or elsewhere, as well as the various rivalries across the globe (between Flemings and Walloons, Quebecers and Canadians, Czechs and Slovaks, Catalans and Castilians, etc.) confirm that identity conflicts are not limited to skin colour.

The distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is a universal trait that can emerge even in the absence of competition for resources.¹⁰² Every group creates its own derogatory vocabulary to refer to those outside it. The French spoke of « Boches », « Ritals » or « Rosbifs »; and they refer to themselves as « Zoreils » on Reunion Island, « Popa’a » in Polynesia, « Békés » in the West Indies or « Gadje » (the Gypsies). Hatred itself seems universal, even if the hypothesis of “anti-White” racism is hard to fathom, even when it arises in a video clip calling for “hanging Whites”.¹⁰³

Physiological and physical traits may reinforce this phenomenon, but they do not create it. Racism exists without race, as Norbert Elias asserted when studying social relations in a small English town where the ‘Established’ set out to distinguish themselves from the ‘Outsiders’.¹⁰⁴

From this perspective, it is not wrong to say that racism has a structural dimension – provided we remember that all human groups are concerned. In this respect, Michel Foucault was right: race is probably a constitutive element of all human societies, whether the aim is to differentiate between groups or to distinguish an elite with qualities deemed superior. “There is not one racism, but many racisms”, said Pierre Bourdieu, pointing to the “racism of intelligence” as a form of “class racism”.¹⁰⁵

100. Jean Louis Armand de Quatrefages de Bréau, *La race prussienne*, Librairie Hachette & Cie, 1871.

101. Stéphane Strowski, *Les Bretons: essai de psychologie et de caractériologie provinciales*, Rennes, 1952.

102. Henri Tajfelet al, “Social categorization and intergroup behaviour”, *European Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 1, issue 2, 1971 [online].

103. « Pendez les Blancs : le rappeur Nick Conrad relaxé en appel pour vice de procédure », *Le Parisien*, 23 September 2021 [online].

104. Norbert Elias and John Scotson, *Logiques de l'exclusion*, Fayard, 17 September 1997.

105. Pierre Bourdieu et al, « Classe contre classe: de l'existence d'un racisme social », *Différence*, n°24-25, July 1983, quoted in *Interventions 1961-2001*, Agone, 2002.

What Michel Foucault failed to see, however, was that the French miracle lies precisely in having prevented this elementary psychosocial tendency from becoming a social practice or an institutional norm – unlike in the United States, where racism was incorporated into legislation for several decades. In France, race has neither governed the legal and institutional order, nor shaped the ethos of the elites or of the broader population.

5. Blindness

By adopting as its ideal a world free of racism and discrimination, the myth of structural racism refuses to acknowledge that discrimination stems from a universal inclination to favour members of one's own group (ingroup) over outsiders (outgroup).¹⁰⁶

In every human community, there is a preference for similarity and a corresponding distrust of difference.¹⁰⁷ Discrimination is part of the basic logic of social life. It reflects the desire to make one's environment feel secure. Everyone seeks to reassurance by favouring those who resemble them – whether in everyday life or in their professional environment.

One could draw here on the expression “sphere of recognition” proposed by the sociologist Axel Honneth. Human groups live in environments where ways of being and behaving form shared codes of mutual recognition – language, rules of politeness, food preferences, notions of the sacred, historical references, and so on. These codes send reassuring signals, serving to foster a soothing environment for individuals.

These affinity-based mechanisms are powerful. The phenomenon of diasporas or the segmentation observed on social media – giving rise to bubbles of like-mindedness – are evidence of this. Wealthier segments of the population go to great lengths to ensure the best possible social and educational environment for their children, even if it means setting aside their “luxurious beliefs” about the benefits of diversity.¹⁰⁸ Even students, typically very concerned about tolerance and openness, tend to group by nationality when participating in international exchange programmes. It is also well known that in assisted reproductive treatment, racial matching is often requested or favoured by doctors, even though French law does not require it, unlike in Great Britain.¹⁰⁹

106. Nonna Mayer, « Une approche psycho-politique du racisme », *Revue française de sociologie*, 37, 1996 [online].

107. See Laurent Cordonier, *La nature du social. L'apport ignoré des sciences cognitives*, PUF, 2018 [online] ; See also Bernard Lahire, « Eux/nous : ethnocentrisme, racismes », in *Les structures fondamentales des sociétés humaines*, Bernard Lahire, *La Découverte*, 2023.

108. Rob Henderson, “‘Luxury beliefs’ are the latest status symbol for rich Americans”, *New York Post*, 17 August 2019 [online].

109. Stéphanie Hennette-Vauchez, « PMA : qui choisit le donneur? », *Libération*, 18 June 2019 [online].

Proponents of structural racism remain blind to this reality. They identify only those discriminatory practices that emanate from the majority towards minorities; while other forms of discrimination – between minority groups or from minorities towards the majority – are rarely mentioned, studied, or condemned.¹¹⁰

Discrimination itself is often analysed in a superficial manner. It is typically explained as stemming from prejudice against minorities, without acknowledging that prejudices are shaped through interactions and are not always irrational.

The nature and extent of discrimination can, of course, vary. But the more diverse societies become, the more discrimination tends to increase. It is precisely because French society has become more ethnically and religiously diverse that discrimination has been put on the political agenda – a topic that was largely absent in earlier decades.

One of the blind spots of the systemic racism narrative is its lack of reflection on the implications of increasingly diverse societies. The challenges posed by this diversification are considerable. Can a diverse society succeed in creating a shared civic space? Can it establish a consensual political representation that is not a source of frustration for a part of the population? Is it possible to live under a common legal framework? Can there even be a unified national memory – with shared legends and heroes – and, by extension, uniform school curricula suitable for all of society?

These issues are not theoretical. The hostility towards the police in certain neighbourhoods stems, in part, from a lack of legitimacy linked to ethnic differences. For example, a female youtuber was sentenced for calling a Black police officer a “traitor” during a protest,¹¹¹ just as the activist journalist Taha Bouhafs was convicted by the Paris Criminal Court for calling the police unionist Linda Kebbab a “token Arab”.¹¹²

The thesis of structural racism dismisses these questions and instead focuses on the idea that racism and discriminatory practices are aberrations that can be overcome and eradicated. Although this belief is contradictory to the very premise of structural racism, it helps preserve the ideal of diversity. However, it comes at the cost of ignoring the fact that, in European history, multi-ethnic or multi-religious societies have rarely been successful. For a continent that has endured brutal wars of religion, two world wars largely linked to the problem of national minorities, and the painful experience of decolonisation, such obliviousness is a remarkable feat of memory.

110. Olivier Galland, « La sociologie du déni. L'exemple des travaux sur l'immigration », *Le Débat*, vol. 197, n°. 5, 2017 [online].

111. « Policier noir traité de “vendu” : une Youtubeuse condamnée à quatre mois de prison avec sursis », *Le Figaro*, 9 December 2021 [online].

112. Guillaume Poingt, « “Arabe de service” : Taha Bouhafs reconnu coupable d’injures raciales envers Linda Kebbab », *Le Figaro*, 27 September 2021 [online].

CONCLUSION

During the World Cup final in Qatar in December 2022, which saw France face Argentina, French spectators were stunned by the racist reactions of some Argentinians towards Kylian Mbappé.¹¹³ Admittedly, the French player had provoked his opponents by mocking the quality of South American football, but the vehemence of the Argentinians suggested that something deeper was at play. Indeed, the Argentina's relationship with Black identity is of particular concern, given that Black people have virtually disappeared from public life in this country, despite having once represented up to 30% of the population.¹¹⁴ Today, Argentina sees itself as an exclusively White nation.¹¹⁵

France is certainly not Argentina – nor is it South Africa, the United States or India.¹¹⁶ To speak of structural or systemic racism in the French context feels oddly misplaced, and it is surprising how readily the social sciences have adopted such terms, yet another sign that ideological activism has made worrying inroads into academia.¹¹⁷

The problem is that the myth of structural racism is not without consequences for contemporary issues. Not only does it delegitimise any policy of assimilation (why try to integrate newcomers if France is intrinsically racist?), but it also fosters a form of reverse racism by attributing to White people an indelible guilt rooted in their history and culture.¹¹⁸

By assuming that racist norms prevail everywhere, the myth constructs a narrative that obscures the fact that anti-racist norms are in fact so deeply embedded in French society that they prevent any open discussion or resolution of immigration-related challenges. In particular, by fostering deep mistrust towards the the population, the myth of structural racism prevents the elites from affording even the slightest consideration to popular common sense. One might even cynically argue that the myth also serves to conceal the

113. See Étienne Leray, « Coupe du monde 2022 : Kylian Mbappé pris pour cible par Emiliano Martinez et des supporters argentins lors des célébrations à Buenos Aires », *France Info*, 21 December 2022 [online] ; See Sébastien Ferreira, « Insultes, cercueil et photo brûlée : pourquoi les Argentins s'acharnent-ils sur Mbappé? », *Le Figaro*, 21 December 2022 [online].

114. Ewa Grotowska-Delin, « Les invisibles: l'Argentine noire », *Amerika*, n°22, 2021 [online]; Agustina Barrachina, « Les racines africaines d'un pays qui s'imaginait blanc », *EHESS*, 12 October 2020 [online].

115. A similar phenomenon can be found in other countries, such as the Maghreb, where ethno-religious identity is combined with anti-Black racism inherited from the slave trade. See Célia Sadai, « Racisme anti-Noirs au Maghreb : dévoilement(s) d'un tabou », *Hérodote*, vol. 180, n°. 1, 2021 [online].

116. On little-known racism in India, see Sofia Pequignot, « L'Inde noire: quelle condition pour les Siddi, Indiens descendants d'Africains? », *EHESS*, 2 February 2021. [online].

117. Gérard Bronnert and Étienne Géhin, *Le danger sociologique*, PUF, 4 October 2017; Nathalie Heinrich, *Ce que le militantisme fait à la recherche*, Gallimard, 27 May 2021.

118. Lilian Thuram, *La pensée blanche*, Philippe Rey, 1st October 2020.

fact that globalisation and metropolisation have made immigrants an essential component in ensuring the well-being of urban elites – from Uber drivers to pizza deliverers and even cannabis dealers. This situation bears striking similarities to a form of neocolonialism – if not, indeed, systemic or structural neocolonialism.

More troubling still is that this accusatory and guilt-laden discourse ultimately leads to a rejection of republican universalism, now accused of maintaining racial oppression under the guise of an ideal deemed hypocritical and deceptive.¹¹⁹

Simply endorsing the concept of “White privilege” in a country where the notion of privilege carries such historically loaded significance, can have dangerous implications.¹²⁰ How can a privilege be abolished if it is not enshrined in law? What can be the outcome of such a cause, other than anger and resentment? Is there any solution other than the dismantling of the society said to produce such monstrosities?

To be sure, every society needs its myths. But not all myths are created equal: some are constructive and conducive to progress, while others are stifling or regressive – and must therefore be challenged.

The myth of structural racism, insofar as it contributes to the intellectual paralysis of our time, belongs to the latter category. It may go down in history as one of the few myths through which a society has methodically discredited itself – a reality that makes denunciation all the more urgent, at least if one hopes to preserve the French miracle.

119. Pierre-André Taguieff, *L'Imposture décoloniale. Science imaginaire et pseudo-antiracisme*, Éditions de l'Observatoire/Humensis, n° 86, 2020 [online].

120. Alain Policar, « “Islamisme-gauchisme” à l’université : “Le concept de ‘privilège blanc’ n’est pas sans pertinence” », *Le Monde*, 21 March 2021 [online]. See also Gaël Giraud, « Il y a urgence à quitter le monde du mâle blanc, urbain et privilégié », *Mediapart*, 20 October 2022 [online].

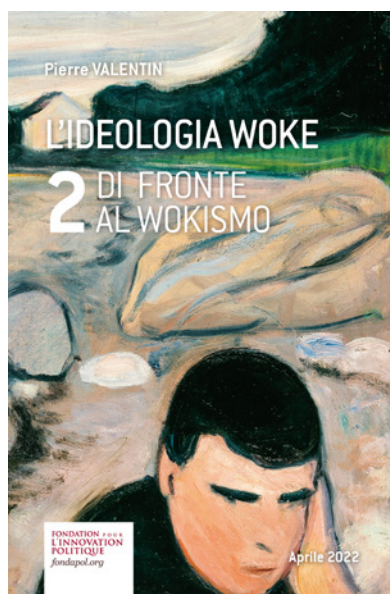
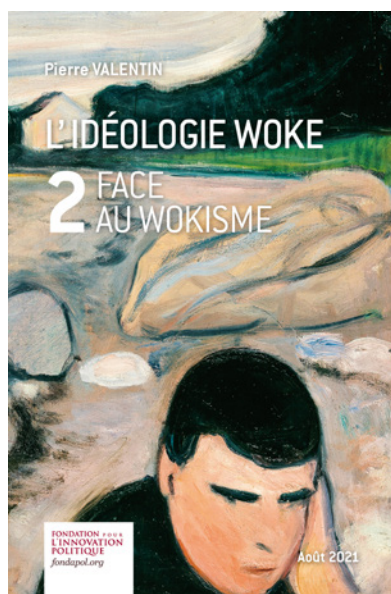
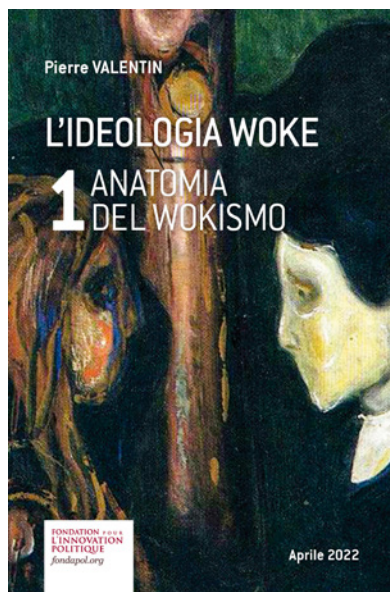
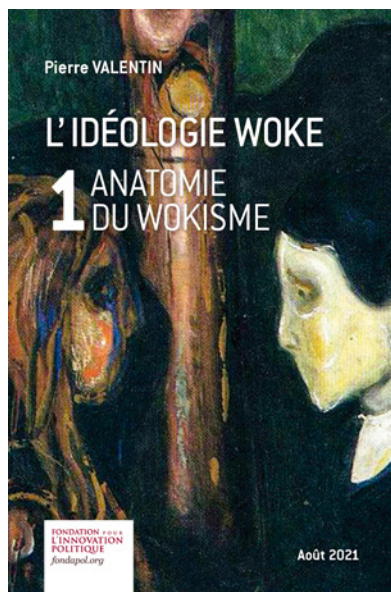
Vincent TOURNIER

THE MYTH OF A RACIST FRANCE

(1) RACIALISM,
THE HISTORY
OF A FAILURE

FONDATION POUR
L'INNOVATION
POLITIQUE
fondapol.org

May 2025







**PAUL
THIBAUD**
LA FRATERNITÉ

www.fondapol.org

fondapol
FONDATION POUR
L'INNOVATION
POLITIQUE

Juin 2011

**ANDRÉ
GLUCKSMANN**
LIBERTÉ,
ÉGALITÉ,
FRATERNITÉ

www.fondapol.org

fondapol
FONDATION POUR
L'INNOVATION
POLITIQUE

Mai 2011

NOS PUBLICATIONS

Le détournement populiste du courant libertarien (2)

Le populisme paléo-libertarien de Javier Milei

Jérôme Perrier, avril 2025, 53 pages

Le détournement populiste du courant libertarien (1)

Des origines de l'anarcho-capitalisme au populisme de droite

Jérôme Perrier, avril 2025, 56 pages

L'IA au service de la sécurité

Benoit Fayet, Bruno Maillot et Mathieu Zagrodzki, mars 2025, 29 pages

Retraites : optimiser les dépenses, introduire une part de capitalisation

Bertrand Martinot, mars 2025, 38 pages

Contribution à la mission flash de clarification du financement des retraites

Note pour le premier président de la cour des comptes

Jean-Pascal Beaufret, février 2025, 53 pages

Union européenne : l'étouffoir de l'écologisme bureaucratique

Emmanuel Bloch, février 2025, 37 pages

Les non-dits économiques et sociaux du débat sur la fin de vie

Yves-Marie Doublet et Pascale Favre, janvier 2025, 30 pages

Pourquoi donner

Claire-Marie Morinière avec Wakil Belhaddad et Claude Birman, janvier 2025, 41 pages

L'histoire des think tanks

Simon Amat, janvier 2025, 33 pages

Équilibres et mérites de la loi qui encadre la liberté d'expression en France

Basile Ader, janvier 2025, 26 pages

Innovation politique 2023

Fondapol, décembre 2024, 536 pages

Jeux vidéo : violence et addiction ?

Loïse Lyonnet et Michaël Stora, décembre 2024, 33 pages

L'utérus artificiel et la reproduction humaine

Élisabeth de Castex, décembre 2024, 42 pages

Pour une renaissance de la politique familiale : liberté, lisibilité et pérennité

Gérard-François Dumont, décembre 2024, 41 pages

L'industrie automobile européenne en 2035

Marc Alochet et Jean-Pierre Corniou, décembre 2024, 46 pages

Fondapol. Des Idées pour la Cité. L'aventure d'un think tank

Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié, éditions du Cerf, novembre 2024, 304 pages

L'inévitable conflit entre islamisme et progressisme aux États-Unis

Martha Lee, novembre 2024, 45 pages

Structure économique et sociale des territoires et vote populiste en France

Guillaume Bazot, novembre 2024, 58 pages

La capitalisation : un moyen de sortir par le haut de la crise des retraites ?

Bertrand Martinot, novembre 2024, 46 pages

Le FPÖ au défi de l'Europe : radicalité idéologique et contrainte électorale en Autriche

Patrick Moreau, octobre 2024, 39 pages

L'AfD : l'extrême droite allemande dans l'impasse

Patrick Moreau, octobre 2024, 66 pages

Radiographie de l'antisémitisme en France - édition 2024

AJC Paris et Fondapol, octobre 2024, 48 pages

Les attentats islamistes dans le monde 1979-2024

Fondapol, octobre 2024, 92 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2023

Dominique Reynié (dir.), éditions Marie B/collection Lignes de Repères, juillet 2024, 284 pages

Législatives 2024 : le grand désarroi des Français

Anne Flambert, Nicola Gaddoni, Mélodie Jourdain et Dominique Reynié, juin 2024, 36 pages

Les Européens abandonnés au populisme

Dominique Reynié, mai 2024, 80 pages

Victoire populiste aux Pays-Bas : spécificité nationale ou paradigme européen ?

Christophe de Voogd, avril 2024, 40 pages

Les pogroms en Palestine avant la création de l'État d'Israël (1830-1948)

Georges Bensoussan, avril 2024, 37 pages

Le vote des Européens. Vingt-trois ans d'élections nationales en Europe

Corinne Deloy, Préface de Dominique Reynié, éditions du Cerf, avril 2024, 460 pages

Les étrangers extra-européens et le logement social en France

Michel Aubouin, avril 2024, 36 pages

Les mots de la fin de vie : ne pas occulter les termes du débat

Pascale Favre, mars 2024, 30 pages

Suicide assisté, euthanasie : le choix de la rupture et l'illusion d'un progrès

Yves-Marie Doublet, mars 2024, 35 pages

L'Europa e la Sovranità. Riflessioni italo-francesi (1897-2023)

Sous la direction de Maria Elena Cavallaro, Gaetano Quagliariello et Dominique Reynié, éditions Rubbettino, avril 2024, 332 pages

L'Europe et la Souveraineté. Approches franco-italiennes 1897-2023

Sous la direction de Maria Elena Cavallaro, Gaetano Quagliariello et Dominique Reynié, éditions Plein Jour, mars 2024, 516 pages

Fratelli d'Italia : héritage néofasciste, populisme et conservatisme

Marco Tarchi, février 2024, 41 pages

L'émergence d'une gauche conservatrice en Allemagne :

l'alliance Sahra Wagenknecht pour la raison et la justice (BSW)

Patrick Moreau, janvier 2024, 41 pages

Innovation politique 2022 (tome 2)

Fondapol, novembre 2023, 252 pages

Innovation politique 2022 (tome 1)

Fondapol, novembre 2023, 310 pages

Mouvements protestataires : le retour de la violence

Eddy Fougier, novembre 2023, 38 pages

La réforme Affelnet à Paris : un voyage au pays où 15 = 20

Marion Oury, octobre 2023, 48 pages

Le jumeau numérique en santé

Serge Soudoplatoff, septembre 2023, 34 pages

La régulation du numérique : Chine, États-Unis, France

Aifang Ma, septembre 2023, 44 pages

L'industrie française du jeu vidéo. De la French Touch à la French Pride

Loïse Lyonnet et Pierre Poinssignon, juillet 2023, 40 pages

La défiance vue par le prisme du médiateur de l'assurance

Arnaud Chneiweiss, juillet 2023, 26 pages

L'Europe et notre souveraineté. L'Europe est nécessaire, la France aussi

Édouard Balladur, juin 2023, 18 pages

L'enseignement supérieur privé en France

Laurent Batsch, juin 2023, 57 pages

Complexité. Critique d'une idéologie contemporaine

Sophie Chassat, juin 2023, 40 pages

Politique migratoire : que faire de l'accord franco-algérien de 1968 ?

Xavier Driencourt, mai 2023, 29 pages

De la transition écologique à l'écologie administrée, une dérive politique

David Lisnard et Frédéric Masquelier, mai 2023, 30 pages

Pour un nouvel ordre énergétique européen

Cécile Maisonneuve, avril 2023, 56 pages

Le XXI^e siècle du christianisme - édition de poche

Dominique Reynié (dir.), éditions du Cerf, mars 2023, 378 pages

Élections, médias et réseaux sociaux : un espace public en décomposition

Victor Delage, Dominique Reynié, Mathilde Tchounikine, mars 2023, 32 pages

Souveraineté, maîtrise industrielle et transition énergétique (2)**Transition énergétique, géopolitique et industrie : quel rôle pour l'État ?**

Jean-Paul Bouttes, mars 2023, 48 pages

Souveraineté, maîtrise industrielle et transition énergétique (1)**Les conditions de réussite du programme nucléaire français de 1945 à 1975**

Jean-Paul Bouttes, mars 2023, 44 pages

Immigration : comment font les États européens

Fondapol, mars 2023, 46 pages

La politique danoise d'immigration : une fermeture consensuelle

Fondapol, janvier 2023, 57 pages

L'opinion européenne 2020-2022

Dominique Reynié (dir.), éditions Marie B/collection Lignes de Repères, décembre 2022, 240 pages

Innovation politique 2021 (tome 2)

Fondapol, décembre 2022, 340 pages

Innovation politique 2021 (tome 1)

Fondapol, décembre 2022, 440 pages

Maghreb : l'impact de l'islam sur l'évolution sociale et politique

Razika Adnani, décembre 2022, 36 pages

Italie 2022 : populismes et droitisation

Anna Bonalume, octobre 2022, 60 pages

Quel avenir pour la dissuasion nucléaire ?

Bruno Tertrais, octobre 2022, 39 pages

Mutations politiques et majorité de gouvernement dans une France à droite

Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié, septembre 2022, 64 pages

Paiements, monnaie et finance à l'ère numérique (2)**Les questions à long terme**

Christian Pfister, juillet 2022, 34 pages

Paiements, monnaie et finance à l'ère numérique (1)**État des lieux et perspectives à court-moyen terme**

Christian Pfister, juillet 2022, 47 pages

La montée en puissance de l'islamisme woke dans le monde occidental

Lorenzo Vidino, juin 2022, 29 pages

2022, présidentielle de crises

Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié, avril 2022, 80 pages

Les déchets nucléaires : une approche globale (4)**La gestion des déchets : rôle et compétence de l'État en démocratie**

Jean-Paul Bouttes, janvier 2022, 49 pages

Les déchets nucléaires : une approche globale (3)

L'enjeu des générations futures

Jean-Paul Bouttes, janvier 2022, 41 pages

Les déchets nucléaires : une approche globale (2)

Les solutions pour maîtriser le risque effectif

Jean-Paul Bouttes, janvier 2022, 42 pages

Les déchets nucléaires : une approche globale (1)

Déchets et déchets nucléaires : durée de vie et dangers potentiels

Jean-Paul Bouttes, janvier 2022, 49 pages

Radiographie de l'antisémitisme en France – édition 2022

AJC Paris et Fondapol, janvier 2022, 38 pages

Prestataires de santé à domicile : les entreprises au service du virage ambulatoire

Alice Bouleau et Nicolas Bouzou, janvier 2022, 34 pages

Libertés : l'épreuve du siècle

Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié, janvier 2022, 96 pages

Enquête réalisée en partenariat avec l'International Republican Institute, la Community of Democracies, la Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Genron NPO, la Fundación Nuevas Generaciones et República do Amanhã

Élections départementales et régionales 2021 : une analyse cartographique

Céline Colange, Sylvain Manternach, décembre 2021, 76 pages

Innovation politique 2020 (tome 2)

Fondapol, décembre 2021, 428 pages

Innovation politique 2020 (tome 1)

Fondapol, décembre 2021, 344 pages

Défendre l'autonomie du savoir

Nathalie Heinrich, novembre 2021, 32 pages

Rapport pour l'Assemblée nationale. Mission d'information visant à identifier les ressorts de l'abstention et les mesures permettant de renforcer la participation électorale

Fondapol, novembre 2021, 82 pages

2022, le risque populiste en France (vague 5)

Un indicateur de la protestation électorale

Dominique Reynié (dir.), octobre 2021, 72 pages

Parti et Démocratie

Piero Ignazi, aux éditions Calmann-Lévy, avec le concours de la Fondapol et de Terra Nova, octobre 2021, 504 pages

Commerce illicite de cigarettes, volet II.

Identifier les parties prenantes, les effets de réseaux et les enjeux financiers

Mathieu Zagrodzki, Romain Maneveau et Arthur Persais, octobre 2021, 32 pages

Complémentaires santé : moteur de l'innovation sanitaire

Nicolas Bouzou et Guillaume Moukala Same, octobre 2021, 47 pages

Les décroissants en France. Un essai de typologie

Eddy Fougier, septembre 2021, 31 pages

Les attentats islamistes dans le monde, 1979-2021

Fondapol, septembre 2021, 84 pages

Les primaires électorales et les systèmes de départage des candidats à l'élection présidentielle

Laurence Morel et Pascal Perrineau, août 2021, 51 pages

L'idéologie woke. Face au wokisme (2)

Pierre Valentin, juillet 2021, 32 pages

L'idéologie woke. Anatomie du wokisme (1)

Pierre Valentin, juillet 2021, 34 pages

Protestation électorale en 2021 ?

Données issues du 1^{er} tour des élections régionales

Abdellah Bouhend, Victor Delage, Anne Flambert, Élisabeth Grandjean, Katherine Hamilton, Léo Major, Dominique Reynié, juin 2021, 40 pages

2022, le risque populiste en France (vague 4)

Un indicateur de la protestation électorale

Dominique Reynié (dir.), juin 2021, 64 pages

La conversion des Européens aux valeurs de droite

Victor Delage, mai 2021, 40 pages

Les coûts de la transition écologique

Guillaume Bazot, mai 2021, 37 pages

Le XXI^e siècle du christianisme

Dominique Reynié (dir.), éditions du Cerf, mai 2021, 376 pages

Les protestants en France, une minorité active

Jean-Paul Willaime, avril 2021, 34 pages

L'agriculture bio et l'environnement

Bernard Le Buanec, mars 2021, 27 pages

Devrions-nous manger bio ?

Léon Guéguen, mars 2021, 36 pages

Quel avenir pour l'agriculture et l'alimentation bio ?

Gil Kressmann, mars 2021, 48 pages

Pauvreté dans le monde : une baisse menacée par la crise sanitaire

Julien Damon, février 2021, 33 pages

Reconquérir la biodiversité, mais laquelle ?

Christian Lévêque, février 2021, 37 pages

Énergie nucléaire : la nouvelle donne internationale

Marco Baroni, février 2021, 66 pages

Souveraineté économique : entre ambitions et réalités

Emmanuel Combe et Sarah Guillou, janvier 2021, 66 pages

Relocaliser en décarbonant grâce à l'énergie nucléaire

Valérie Faudon, janvier 2021, 36 pages

Après le Covid-19, le transport aérien en Europe : le temps de la décision

Emmanuel Combe et Didier Bréchemier, décembre 2020, 40 pages

Avant le Covid-19, le transport aérien en Europe : un secteur déjà fragilisé

Emmanuel Combe et Didier Bréchemier, décembre 2020, 35 pages

Glyphosate, le bon grain et l'ivraie

Marcel Kuntz, novembre 2020, 45 pages

Covid-19 : la réponse des plateformes en ligne face à l'ultradroite

Maygane Janin et Flora Deverell, novembre 2020, 42 pages

2022, le risque populiste en France (vagues 2 et 3)

Un indicateur de la protestation électorale Dominique Reynié, octobre 2020, 86 pages

Relocalisations : laisser les entreprises décider et protéger leur actionnariat

Frédéric Gonand, septembre 2020, 37 pages

Europe : la transition bas carbone, un bon usage de la souveraineté

Patrice Geoffron, septembre 2020, 35 pages

Relocaliser en France avec l'Europe

Yves Bertoncini, septembre 2020, 40 pages

Relocaliser la production après la pandémie ?

Paul-Adrien Hyppolite, septembre 2020, 46 pages

Qui paie ses dettes s'enrichit

Christian Pfister et Natacha Valla, septembre 2020, 37 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2019

Dominique Reynié (dir.), éditions Marie B/collection Lignes de Repères, septembre 2020, 212 pages

Les assureurs face au défi climatique

Arnaud Chneiweiss et José Bardaji, août 2020, 33 pages

Changements de paradigme

Josef Konvitz, juillet 2020, 20 pages

Hongkong : la seconde rétrocession

Jean-Pierre Cabestan et Laurence Daziano, juillet 2020, 62 pages

Tsunami dans un verre d'eau

Regard sur le vote Europe Écologie-Les Verts aux élections municipales de 2014 et de 2020 dans 41 villes de plus de 100 000 habitants Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié, juillet 2020, 44 pages

Innovation politique 2019 (tome 2)

Fondapol, juin 2020, 412 pages

Innovation politique 2019 (tome 1)

Fondapol, juin 2020, 400 pages

Covid-19 - États-Unis, Chine, Russie, les grandes puissances inquiètent l'opinion

Victor Delage, juin 2020, 16 pages

De la distanciation sociale à la distanciation intime

Anne Muxel, juin 2020, 24 pages

Covid-19 : Cartographie des émotions en France

Madeleine Hamel, mai 2020, 24 pages

Ne gaspillons pas une crise

Josef Konvitz, avril 2020, 23 pages

Retraites : leçons des réformes suédoises

Kristoffer Lundberg, avril 2020, 37 pages

Retraites : leçons des réformes belges

Frank Vandenbroucke, février 2020, 40 pages

Les biotechnologies en Chine : un état des lieux

Aifang Ma, février 2020, 44 pages

Radiographie de l'antisémitisme en France

AJC Paris et Fondapol, janvier 2020, 32 pages

OGM et produits d'édition du génome : enjeux réglementaires et géopolitiques

Catherine Regnault-Roger, janvier 2020, 35 pages

Des outils de modification du génome au service de la santé humaine et animale

Catherine Regnault-Roger, janvier 2020, 32 pages

Des plantes biotech au service de la santé du végétal et de l'environnement

Catherine Regnault-Roger, janvier 2020, 32 pages

Le soldat augmenté : regards croisés sur l'augmentation des performances du soldat

CREC Saint-Cyr et Fondapol, décembre 2019, 128 pages

L'Europe face aux nationalismes économiques américain et chinois (3)

Défendre l'économie européenne par la politique commerciale

Emmanuel Combe, Paul-Adrien Hyppolite et Antoine Michon, novembre 2019, 52 pages

L'Europe face aux nationalismes économiques américain et chinois (2)

Les pratiques anticoncurrentielles étrangères

Emmanuel Combe, Paul-Adrien Hyppolite et Antoine Michon, novembre 2019, 40 pages

L'Europe face aux nationalismes économiques américain et chinois (1)

Politique de concurrence et industrie européenne

Emmanuel Combe, Paul-Adrien Hyppolite et Antoine Michon, novembre 2019, 36 pages

Les attentats islamistes dans le monde, 1979-2019

Fondapol, novembre 2019, 80 pages

Vers des prix personnalisés à l'heure du numérique ?

Emmanuel Combe, octobre 2019, 46 pages

2022, le risque populiste en France (vague 1)

Un indicateur de la protestation électorale

Dominique Reynié, octobre 2019, 44 pages

La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, protectrice critiquée des « libertés invisibles »

Jean-Luc Sauron, octobre 2019, 48 pages

1939, l'alliance soviéto-nazie : aux origines de la fracture européenne

Stéphane Courtois, septembre 2019, 51 pages

Saxe et Brandebourg. Percée de l'AfD aux élections régionales du 1^{er} septembre 2019

Patrick Moreau, septembre 2019, 26 pages

Campements de migrants sans-abri : Comparaisons européennes et recommandations

Julien Damon, septembre 2019, 44 pages

Vox, la fin de l'exception espagnole

Astrid Barrio, août 2019, 36 pages

Élections européennes 2019. Le poids des électorats comparé au poids électoral des groupes parlementaires

Raphaël Grelon et Guillemette Lano. Avec le concours de Victor Delage et Dominique Reynié, juillet 2019, 22 pages

Allô maman bobo (2). L'électorat urbain, de la gentrification au désenchantement

Nelly Garnier, juillet 2019, 40 pages

Allô maman bobo (1). L'électorat urbain, de la gentrification au désenchantement

Nelly Garnier, juillet 2019, 44 pages

L'affaire Séralini. L'impasse d'une science militante

Marcel Kuntz, juin 2019, 35 pages

Démocraties sous tension

Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié, mai 2019,

volume I, Les enjeux, 156 pages ; **volume II**, Les pays, 120 pages

Enquête réalisée en partenariat avec l'International Republican Institute

La longue gouvernance de Poutine

Michel Eltchaninoff, mai 2019, 31 pages

Politique du handicap : pour une société inclusive

Sophie Cluzel, avril 2019, 23 pages

Ferroviaire : ouverture à la concurrence, une chance pour la SNCF

David Valence et François Bouchard, mars 2019, 42 pages

Un an de populisme italien

Alberto Toscano, mars 2019, 33 pages

Une mosquée mixte pour un islam spirituel et progressiste

Eva Janadin et Anne-Sophie Monsinay, février 2019, 46 pages

Une civilisation électrique (2). Vers le réenchantement

Alain Beltran et Patrice Carré, février 2019, 34 pages

Une civilisation électrique (1). Un siècle de transformations

Alain Beltran et Patrice Carré, février 2019, 32 pages

Prix de l'électricité : entre marché, régulation et subvention

Jacques Percebois, février 2019, 42 pages

Vers une société post-carbone

Patrice Geoffron, février 2019, 36 pages

Énergie-climat en Europe : pour une excellence écologique

Emmanuel Tuchscherer, février 2019, 26 pages

Innovation politique 2018 (tome 2)

Fondapol, janvier 2019, 544 pages

Innovation politique 2018 (tome 1)

Fondapol, janvier 2019, 472 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2018

Dominique Reynié (dir.), éditions Marie B/collection Lignes de Repères, janvier 2019, 176 pages

La contestation animaliste radicale

Eddy Fougier, janvier 2019, 35 pages

Le numérique au secours de la santé

Serge Soudoplatoff, janvier 2019, 38 pages

Le nouveau pouvoir français et la coopération franco-japonaise

Fondapol, décembre 2018, 204 pages

Les apports du christianisme à l'unité de l'Europe

Jean-Dominique Durand, décembre 2018, 29 pages

La crise orthodoxe (2). Les convulsions, du XIX^e siècle à nos jours

Jean-François Colosimo, décembre 2018, 31 pages

La crise orthodoxe (1). Les fondations, des origines au XIX^e siècle

Jean-François Colosimo, décembre 2018, 28 pages

La France et les chrétiens d'Orient, dernière chance

Jean-François Colosimo, décembre 2018, 33 pages

Le christianisme et la modernité européenne (2)

Comprendre le retour de l'institution religieuse

Philippe Portier et Jean-Paul Willaime, décembre 2018, 30 pages

Le christianisme et la modernité européenne (1)

Récuser le déni

Philippe Portier et Jean-Paul Willaime, décembre 2018, 30 pages

Commerce illicite de cigarettes : les cas de Barbès-La Chapelle, Saint-Denis et Aubervilliers-Quatre-Chemins

Mathieu Zagrodzki, Romain Maneveau et Arthur Persais, novembre 2018, 64 pages

L'avenir de l'hydroélectricité

Jean-Pierre Corniou, novembre 2018, 41 pages

Retraites : Leçons des réformes italiennes

Michel Martone, novembre 2018, 33 pages

Les géants du numérique (2) : un frein à l'innovation ?

Paul-Adrien Hyppolite et Antoine Michon, novembre 2018, 77 pages

Les géants du numérique (1) : magnats de la finance

Paul-Adrien Hyppolite et Antoine Michon, novembre 2018, 56 pages

L'intelligence artificielle en Chine : un état des lieux

Aifang Ma, novembre 2018, 40 pages

Alternative für Deutschland : établissement électoral

Patrick Moreau, octobre 2018, 49 pages

Les Français jugent leur système de retraite

Fondapol, octobre 2018, 28 pages

Migrations : la France singulière

Didier Leschi, octobre 2018, 34 pages

Les Français face à la crise démocratique : Immigration, populisme, Trump, Europe...

AJC Europe et Fondapol, septembre 2018, 72 pages

La révision constitutionnelle de 2008 : un premier bilan

Préface d'Édouard Balladur et de Jack Lang

Hugues Hourdin, octobre 2018, 28 pages

Les « Démocrates de Suède » : un vote anti-immigration

Johan Martinsson, septembre 2018, 41 pages

Les Suédois et l'immigration (2) : fin du consensus ?

Tino Sanandaji, septembre 2018, 33 pages

Les Suédois et l'immigration (1) : fin de l'homogénéité ?

Tino Sanandaji, septembre 2018, 35 pages

Éthiques de l'immigration

Jean-Philippe Vincent, juin 2018, 35 pages

Les addictions chez les jeunes (14-24 ans)

Fondapol, juin 2018, 56 pages

Enquête réalisée en partenariat avec la Fondation Gabriel Péri et le Fonds Actions Addictions

Villes et voitures : pour une réconciliation

Jean Coldefy, juin 2018, 40 pages

France : combattre la pauvreté des enfants

Julien Damon, mai 2018, 32 pages

Que pèsent les syndicats ?

Dominique Andolfatto, avril 2018, 40 pages

L'élan de la francophonie : pour une ambition française (2)

Benjamin Boutin, mars 2018, 28 pages

L'élan de la francophonie : une communauté de langue et de destin (1)

Benjamin Boutin, mars 2018, 28 pages

L'Italie aux urnes

Sofia Ventura, février 2018, 29 pages

L'intelligence artificielle : l'expertise partout accessible à tous

Serge Soudoplatoff, février 2018, 40 pages

L'innovation à l'ère du bien commun

Benjamin Boscher, Xavier Pavie, février 2018, 44 pages

Libérer l'islam de l'islamisme

Mohamed Louizi, janvier 2018, 64 pages

Gouverner le religieux dans un état laïc

Thierry Rambaud, janvier 2018, 36 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2017

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Fondapol, janvier 2018, 140 pages

Innovation politique 2017 (tome 2)

Fondapol, janvier 2018, 492 pages

Innovation politique 2017 (tome 1)

Fondapol, janvier 2018, 468 pages

Une « norme intelligente » au service de la réforme

Victor Fabre, Mathieu Kohmann, Mathieu Luinaud, décembre 2017, 28 pages

Autriche : virage à droite

Patrick Moreau, novembre 2017, 32 pages

Pour repenser le bac, reformons le lycée et l'apprentissage

Faÿçal Hafied, novembre 2017, 55 pages

Où va la démocratie ?

Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié, Plon, octobre 2017, 320 pages

Violence antisémite en Europe 2005-2015

Johannes Due Enstad, septembre 2017, 31 pages

Pour l'emploi : la subrogation du crédit d'impôt des services à la personne

Bruno Despujol, Olivier Peraldi et Dominique Reynié, septembre 2017, 33 pages

Marché du travail : pour la réforme !

Fajçal Hafied, juillet 2017, 45 pages

Le fact-checking : une réponse à la crise de l'information et de la démocratie

Farid Gueham, juillet 2017, 49 pages

Notre-Dame- des-Landes : l'État, le droit et la démocratie empêchés

Bruno Hug de Larauze, mai 2017, 37 pages

France : les juifs vus par les musulmans. Entre stéréotypes et méconnaissances

Mehdi Ghourigate, Iannis Roder et Dominique Schnapper, mai 2017, 38 pages

Dette publique : la mesurer, la réduire

Jean-Marc Daniel, avril 2017, 33 pages

Parfaire le paritarisme par l'indépendance financière

Julien Damon, avril 2017, 36 pages

Former, de plus en plus, de mieux en mieux. L'enjeu de la formation professionnelle

Olivier Faron, avril 2017, 31 pages

Les troubles du monde, l'islamisme et sa récupération populiste :

l'Europe démocratique menacée

Pierre-Adrien Hanania, AJC, Fondapol, mars 2017, 44 pages

Porno addiction : nouvel enjeu de société

David Reynié, mars 2017, 34 pages

Calais : miroir français de la crise migratoire européenne (2)

Jérôme Fourquet et Sylvain Manternach, mars 2017, 52 pages

Calais : miroir français de la crise migratoire européenne (1)

Jérôme Fourquet et Sylvain Manternach, mars 2017, 38 pages

L'actif épargne logement

Pierre-François Gouiffès, février 2017, 31 pages

Réformer : quel discours pour convaincre ?

Christophe de Voogd, février 2017, 37 pages

De l'assurance maladie à l'assurance santé

Patrick Negaret, février 2017, 34 pages

Hôpital : libérer l'innovation

Christophe Marques et Nicolas Bouzou, février 2017, 30 pages

Le Front national face à l'obstacle du second tour

Jérôme Jaffré, février 2017, 33 pages

La République des entrepreneurs

Vincent Lorphelin, janvier 2017, 37 pages

Des startups d'État à l'État plateforme

Pierre Pezziardi et Henri Verdier, janvier 2017, 36 pages

Vers la souveraineté numérique

Farid Gueham, janvier 2017, 31 pages

Repenser notre politique commerciale

Laurence Daziano, janvier 2017, 35 pages

Mesures de la pauvreté, mesures contre la pauvreté

Julien Damon, décembre 2016, 25 pages

L'Autriche des populistes

Patrick Moreau, novembre 2016, 59 pages

L'Europe face aux défis du pétro-solaire

Albert Bressand, novembre 2016, 34 pages

Le Front national en campagnes. Les agriculteurs et le vote FN

Eddy Fougier et Jérôme Fourquet, octobre 2016, 36 pages

Innovation politique 2016

Fondapol, PUF, octobre 2016, 758 pages

Le nouveau monde de l'automobile (2) : les promesses de la mobilité électrique

Jean-Pierre Corniou, octobre 2016, 48 pages

Le nouveau monde de l'automobile (1) : l'impasse du moteur à explosion

Jean-Pierre Corniou, octobre 2016, 34 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2016

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Éditions Lignes de Repères, septembre 2016, 224 pages

L'individu contre l'étatisme. Actualité de la pensée libérale française (XX^e siècle)

Jérôme Perrier, septembre 2016, 39 pages

L'individu contre l'étatisme. Actualité de la pensée libérale française (XIX^e siècle)

Jérôme Perrier, septembre 2016, 39 pages

Refonder l'audiovisuel public

Olivier Babeau, septembre 2016, 31 pages

La concurrence au défi du numérique

Charles-Antoine Schwerer, juillet 2016, 27 pages

Portrait des musulmans d'Europe : unité dans la diversité

Vincent Tournier, juin 2016, 51 pages

Portrait des musulmans de France : une communauté plurielle

Nadia Henni-Moulai, juin 2016, 33 pages

La blockchain, ou la confiance distribuée

Yves Caseau et Serge Soudoplatoff, juin 2016, 35 pages

La gauche radicale : liens, lieux et luttes (2012-2017)

Sylvain Boulouque, mai 2016, 41 pages

Gouverner pour réformer : éléments de méthode

Erwan Le Noan et Matthieu Montjotin, mai 2016, 54 pages

Les zadistes (2) : la tentation de la violence

Eddy Fougier, avril 2016, 29 pages

Les zadistes (1) : un nouvel anticapitalisme

Eddy Fougier, avril 2016, 29 pages

Régionales (2) : les partis, contestés mais pas concurrencés

Jérôme Fourquet et Sylvain Manternach, mars 2016, 39 pages

Régionales (1) : vote FN et attentats

Jérôme Fourquet et Sylvain Manternach, mars 2016, 45 pages

Un droit pour l'innovation et la croissance

Sophie Vermeille, Matthieu Kohmann et Mathieu Luinaud, février 2016, 38 pages

Le lobbying : outil démocratique

Anthony Escurat, février 2016, 32 pages

Valeurs d'islam

Dominique Reynié (dir.), préface par le cheikh Khaled Bentounès, PUF, janvier 2016, 432 pages

Chiites et sunnites : paix impossible ?

Mathieu Terrier, janvier 2016, 29 pages

Projet d'entreprise : renouveler le capitalisme

Daniel Hurstel, décembre 2015, 29 pages

Le mutualisme : répondre aux défis assurantiels

Arnaud Chneiweiss et Stéphane Tisserand, novembre 2015, 32 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2015

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Éditions Lignes de Repères, novembre 2015, 140 pages

La noopolitique : le pouvoir de la connaissance

Idriss J. Aberkane, novembre 2015, 40 pages

Innovation politique 2015

Fondapol, PUF, octobre 2015, 576 pages

Good COP21, Bad COP21 (2) : une réflexion à contre-courant

Albert Bressand, octobre 2015, 35 pages

Good COP21, Bad COP21 (1) : le Kant européen et le Machiavel chinois

Albert Bressand, octobre 2015, 34 pages

PME : nouveaux modes de financement

Mohamed Abdesslam et Benjamin Le Pendeven, octobre 2015, 30 pages

Vive l'automobilisme ! (2). Pourquoi il faut défendre la route

Mathieu Flonneau et Jean-Pierre Orfeuill, octobre 2015, 32 pages

Vive l'automobilisme ! (1). Les conditions d'une mobilité conviviale

Mathieu Flonneau et Jean-Pierre Orfeuill, octobre 2015, 27 pages

Crise de la conscience arabo-musulmane

Malik Bezouh, septembre 2015, 25 pages

Départementales de mars 2015 (3) : le second tour

Jérôme Fourquet et Sylvain Manternach, août 2015, 41 pages

Départementales de mars 2015 (2) : le premier tour

Jérôme Fourquet et Sylvain Manternach, août 2015, 43 pages

Départementales de mars 2015 (1) : le contexte

Jérôme Fourquet et Sylvain Manternach, août 2015, 30 pages

Enseignement supérieur : les limites de la « mastérisation »

Julien Gonzalez, juillet 2015, 33 pages

Politique économique : l'enjeu franco-allemand

Wolfgang Glomb et Henry d'Arcole, juin 2015, 22 pages

Les lois de la primaire. Celles d'hier, celles de demain

François Bazin, juin 2015, 35 pages

Économie de la connaissance

Idriss J. Aberkane, mai 2015, 40 pages

Lutter contre les vols et cambriolages : une approche économique

Emmanuel Combe et Sébastien Daziano, mai 2015, 44 pages

Unir pour agir : un programme pour la croissance

Alain Madelin, mai 2015, 42 pages

Nouvelle entreprise et valeur humaine

Francis Mer, avril 2015, 21 pages

Les transports et le financement de la mobilité

Yves Crozet, avril 2015, 23 pages

Numérique et mobilité : impacts et synergies

Jean Coldefy, avril 2015, 24 pages

Islam et démocratie : face à la modernité

Mohamed Beddy Ebnou, mars 2015, 27 pages

Islam et démocratie : les fondements

Aḥmad Al-Raysuni, mars 2015, 27 pages

Les femmes et l'islam : une vision réformiste

Asma Lamrabet, mars 2015, 36 pages

Éducation et islam

Mustapha Cherif, mars 2015, 34 pages

Que nous disent les élections législatives partielles depuis 2012 ?

Dominique Reynié, février 2015, 4 pages

L'islam et les valeurs de la République

Saad Khiari, février 2015, 34 pages

Islam et contrat social

Philippe Moulinet, février 2015, 29 pages

Le soufisme : spiritualité et citoyenneté

Bariza Khiari, février 2015, 46 pages

L'humanisme et l'humanité en islam

Ahmed Bouyerdene, février 2015, 46 pages

Éradiquer l'hépatite C en France : quelles stratégies publiques ?

Nicolas Bouzou et Christophe Marques, janvier 2015, 32 pages

Coran, clés de lecture

Tareq Oubrou, janvier 2015, 32 pages

Le pluralisme religieux en islam, ou la conscience de l'altérité

Éric Geoffroy, janvier 2015, 28 pages

Mémoires à venir

Dominique Reynié, janvier 2015, enquête réalisée en partenariat avec la Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, 156 pages

La classe moyenne américaine en voie d'effritement

Julien Damon, décembre 2014, 31 pages

Pour une complémentaire éducation : l'école des classes moyennes

Erwan Le Noan et Dominique Reynié, novembre 2014, 48 pages

L'antisémitisme dans l'opinion publique française. Nouveaux éclairages

Dominique Reynié, novembre 2014, 44 pages

La politique de concurrence : un atout pour notre industrie

Emmanuel Combe, novembre 2014, 42 pages

Européennes 2014 (2) : poussée du FN, recul de l'UMP et vote breton

Jérôme Fourquet, octobre 2014, 44 pages

Européennes 2014 (1) : la gauche en miettes

Jérôme Fourquet, octobre 2014, 30 pages

Innovation politique 2014

Fondapol, PUF, octobre 2014, 554 pages

Énergie-climat : pour une politique efficace

Albert Bressand, septembre 2014, 47 pages

L'urbanisation du monde. Une chance pour la France

Laurence Daziano, juillet 2014, 34 pages

Que peut-on demander à la politique monétaire ?

Pascal Salin, mai 2014, 38 pages

Le changement, c'est tout le temps ! 1514 - 2014

Suzanne Baverez et Jean Sènié, mai 2014, 48 pages

Trop d'émigrés ? Regards sur ceux qui partent de France

Julien Gonzalez, mai 2014, 48 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2014

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Éditions Lignes de Repères, avril 2014, 284 pages

Taxer mieux, gagner plus

Robin Rivaton, avril 2014, 52 pages

L'État innovant (2) : diversifier la haute administration

Kevin Brookes et Benjamin Le Pendeven, mars 2014, 35 pages

L'État innovant (1) : renforcer les think tanks

Kevin Brookes et Benjamin Le Pendeven, mars 2014, 43 pages

Pour un new deal fiscal

Gianmarco Monsellato, mars 2014, 8 pages

Faire cesser la mendicité avec enfants

Julien Damon, mars 2014, 35 pages

Le low cost, une révolution économique et démocratique

Emmanuel Combe, février 2014, 52 pages

Un accès équitable aux thérapies contre le cancer

Nicolas Bouzou, février 2014, 52 pages

Réformer le statut des enseignants

Luc Chatel, janvier 2014, 7 pages

Un outil de finance sociale : les social impact bonds

Yan de Kerorguen, décembre 2013, 27 pages

Pour la croissance, la débureaucratisation par la confiance

Pierre Pezziardi, Serge Soudoplatoff et Xavier Quérat-Hément, novembre 2013, 37 pages

Les valeurs des Franciliens

Guénaëlle Gault, octobre 2013, 22 pages

Sortir d'une grève étudiante : le cas du Québec

Jean-Patrick Brady et Stéphane Paquin, octobre 2013, 31 pages

Un contrat de travail unique avec indemnités de départ intégrées

Charles Beigbeder, juillet 2013, 5 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2013

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Éditions Lignes de Repères, juillet 2013, 268 pages

La nouvelle vague des émergents : Bangladesh, Éthiopie, Nigeria, Indonésie, Vietnam, Mexique

Laurence Daziano, juillet 2013, 29 pages

Transition énergétique européenne : bonnes intentions et mauvais calculs

Albert Bressand, juillet 2013, 33 pages

La démobilité : travailler, vivre autrement

Julien Damon, juin 2013, 35 pages

Le Kapital. Pour rebâtir l'industrie

Christian Saint-Étienne et Robin Rivaton, avril 2013, 32 pages

Code éthique de la vie politique et des responsables publics en France

Les Arvernes, Fondapol, avril 2013, 12 pages

Les classes moyennes dans les pays émergents

Julien Damon, avril 2013, 26 pages

Innovation politique 2013

Fondapol, PUF, janvier 2013, 652 pages

Relancer notre industrie par les robots (2) : les stratégies

Robin Rivaton, décembre 2012, 30 pages

Relancer notre industrie par les robots (1) : les enjeux

Robin Rivaton, décembre 2012, 40 pages

La compétitivité passe aussi par la fiscalité

Aldo Cardoso, Michel Didier, Bertrand Jacquillat, Dominique Reynié et Grégoire Sentilhes, décembre 2012, 20 pages

Une autre politique monétaire pour résoudre la crise

Nicolas Goetzmann, décembre 2012, 28 pages

La nouvelle politique fiscale rend-elle l'ISF inconstitutionnel ?

Aldo Cardoso, novembre 2012, 5 pages

Fiscalité : pourquoi et comment un pays sans riches est un pays pauvre...

Bertrand Jacquillat, octobre 2012, 30 pages

Youth and Sustainable Development

Fondapol/Nomadéis/United Nations, juin 2012, 80 pages

La philanthropie. Des entrepreneurs de solidarité

Francis Charhon, mai / juin 2012, 34 pages

Les chiffres de la pauvreté : le sens de la mesure

Julien Damon, mai 2012, 30 pages

Libérer le financement de l'économie

Robin Rivaton, avril 2012, 40 pages

L'épargne au service du logement social

Julie Merle, avril 2012, 32 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2012

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Éditions Lignes de Repères, mars 2012, 210 pages

Valeurs partagées

Dominique Reynié (dir.), PUF, mars 2012, 362 pages

Les droites en Europe

Dominique Reynié (dir.), PUF, février 2012, 552 pages

Innovation politique 2012

Fondapol, PUF, janvier 2012, 648 pages

L'école de la liberté : initiative, autonomie et responsabilité

Tanneguy Larzul, janvier 2012, 27 pages

Politique énergétique française (2) : les stratégies

Rémy Prud'homme, janvier 2012, 31 pages

Politique énergétique française (1) : les enjeux

Rémy Prud'homme, janvier 2012, 36 pages

Révolution des valeurs et mondialisation

Luc Ferry, janvier 2012, 27 pages

Quel avenir pour la social-démocratie en Europe ?

Sir Stuart Bell, décembre 2011, 32 pages

La régulation professionnelle : des règles non étatiques pour mieux responsabiliser

Jean-Pierre Teyssier, décembre 2011, 34 pages

L'hospitalité : une éthique du soin

Emmanuel Hirsch, décembre 2011, 29 pages

12 idées pour 2012

Fondapol, décembre 2011, 110 pages

Les classes moyennes et le logement

Julien Damon, décembre 2011, 40 pages

Réformer la santé : trois propositions

Nicolas Bouzou, novembre 2011, 30 pages

Le nouveau Parlement : la révision du 23 juillet 2008

Jean-Félix de Bujadoux, novembre 2011, 32 pages

La responsabilité

Alain-Gérard Slama, novembre 2011, 32 pages

Le vote des classes moyennes

Élisabeth Dupoirier, novembre 2011, 40 pages

La compétitivité par la qualité

Emmanuel Combe et Jean-Louis Mucchielli, octobre 2011, 32 pages

Les classes moyennes et le crédit

Nicolas Pécourt, octobre 2011, 40 pages

Portrait des classes moyennes

Laure Bonneval, Jérôme Fourquet et Fabienne Gomant, octobre 2011, 36 pages

Morale, éthique, déontologie

Michel Maffesoli, octobre 2011, 33 pages

Sortir du communisme, changer d'époque

Stéphane Courtois (dir.), PUF, octobre 2011, 672 pages

L'énergie nucléaire après Fukushima : incident mineur ou nouvelle donne ?

Malcolm Grimston, septembre 2011, 15 pages

La jeunesse du monde

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Éditions Lignes de Repères, septembre 2011, 132 pages

Pouvoir d'achat : une politique

Emmanuel Combe, septembre 2011, 42 pages

La liberté religieuse

Henri Madelin, septembre 2011, 31 pages

Réduire notre dette publique

Jean-Marc Daniel, septembre 2011, 35 pages

Écologie et libéralisme

Corine Pelluchon, août 2011, 40 pages

Valoriser les monuments historiques : de nouvelles stratégies

Wladimir Mitrofanoff et Christiane Schmuckle-Mollard, juillet 2011, 22 pages

Contester les technosciences : leurs raisons

Eddy Fougier, juillet 2011, 34 pages

Contester les technosciences : leurs réseaux

Sylvain Boulouque, juillet 2011, 28 pages

La fraternité

Paul Thibaud, juin 2011, 26 pages

La transformation numérique au service de la croissance

Jean-Pierre Corniou, juin 2011, 45 pages

L'engagement

Dominique Schnapper, juin 2011, 26 pages

Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité

André Glucksmann, mai 2011, 30 pages

Quelle industrie pour la défense française ?

Guillaume Lagane, mai 2011, 21 pages

La religion dans les affaires : la responsabilité sociale de l'entreprise

Aurélien Acquier, Jean-Pascal Gond et Jacques Igalens, mai 2011, 33 pages

La religion dans les affaires : la finance islamique

Lila Guermas-Sayegh, mai 2011, 28 pages

Où en est la droite ? L'Allemagne

Patrick Moreau, avril 2011, 50 pages

Où en est la droite ? La Slovaquie

Étienne Boisserie, avril 2011, 35 pages

Qui détient la dette publique ?

Guillaume Leroy, avril 2011, 36 pages

Le principe de précaution dans le monde

Nicolas de Sadeleer, mars 2011, 33 pages

Comprendre le Tea Party

Henri Hude, mars 2011, 31 pages

Où en est la droite ? Les Pays-Bas

Niek Pas, mars 2011, 31 pages

Productivité agricole et qualité des eaux

Gérard Morice, mars 2011, 36 pages

L'Eau : du volume à la valeur

Jean-Louis Chaussade, mars 2011, 27 pages

Eau : comment traiter les micropolluants ?

Philippe Hartemann, mars 2011, 34 pages

Eau : défis mondiaux, perspectives françaises

Gérard Payen, mars 2011, 56 pages

L'irrigation pour une agriculture durable

Jean-Paul Renoux, mars 2011, 38 pages

Gestion de l'eau : vers de nouveaux modèles

Antoine Frérot, mars 2011, 28 pages

Où en est la droite ? L'Autriche

Patrick Moreau, février 2011, 36 pages

La participation au service de l'emploi et du pouvoir d'achat

Jacques Perche et Antoine Pertinax, février 2011, 28 pages

Le tandem franco-allemand face à la crise de l'euro

Wolfgang Glomb, février 2011, 34 pages

2011, la jeunesse du monde

Dominique Reynié (dir.), janvier 2011, 88 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2011

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Édition Lignes de Repères, janvier 2011, 254 pages

Administration 2.0

Thierry Weibel, janvier 2011, 45 pages

Où en est la droite ? La Bulgarie

Antony Todorov, décembre 2010, 28 pages

Le retour du tirage au sort en politique

Gil Delannoi, décembre 2010, 34 pages

La compétence morale du peuple

Raymond Boudon, novembre 2010, 26 pages

L'Académie au pays du capital

Bernard Belloc et Pierre-François Mourier, PUF, novembre 2010, 222 pages

Pour une nouvelle politique agricole commune

Bernard Bachelier, novembre 2010, 27 pages

Sécurité alimentaire : un enjeu global

Bernard Bachelier, novembre 2010, 27 pages

Les vertus cachées du low cost aérien

Emmanuel Combe, novembre 2010, 36 pages

Innovation politique 2011

Fondapol, PUF, novembre 2010, 676 pages

Défense : surmonter l'impasse budgétaire

Guillaume Lagane, octobre 2010, 30 pages

Où en est la droite ? L'Espagne

Joan Marcet, octobre 2010, 34 pages

Les vertus de la concurrence

David Sraer, septembre 2010, 40 pages

Internet, politique et coproduction citoyenne

Robin Berjon, septembre 2010, 28 pages

Où en est la droite ? La Pologne

Dominika Tomaszewska-Mortimer, août 2010, 38 pages

Où en est la droite ? La Suède et le Danemark

Jacob Christensen, juillet 2010, 40 pages

Quel policier dans notre société ?

Mathieu Zagrodzki, juillet 2010, 24 pages

Où en est la droite ? L'Italie

Sofia Ventura, juillet 2010, 32 pages

Crise bancaire, dette publique : une vue allemande

Wolfgang Glomb, juillet 2010, 22 pages

Dette publique, inquiétude publique

Jérôme Fourquet, juin 2010, 28 pages

Une régulation bancaire pour une croissance durable

Nathalie Janson, juin 2010, 30 pages

Quatre propositions pour rénover notre modèle agricole

Pascal Perri, mai 2010, 28 pages

Régionales 2010 : que sont les électeurs devenus ?

Pascal Perrineau, mai 2010, 52 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2010

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Éditions Lignes de Repères, mai 2010, 245 pages

Pays-Bas : la tentation populiste

Christophe de Voogd, mai 2010, 43 pages

Quatre idées pour renforcer le pouvoir d'achat

Pascal Perri, avril 2010, 26 pages

Où en est la droite ? La Grande-Bretagne

David Hanley, avril 2010, 30 pages

Renforcer le rôle économique des régions

Nicolas Bouzou, mars 2010, 28 pages

Réduire la dette grâce à la Constitution

Jacques Delpla, février 2010, 54 pages

Stratégie pour une réduction de la dette publique française

Nicolas Bouzou, février 2010, 30 pages

Iran : une révolution civile ?

Nader Vahabi, novembre 2009, 16 pages

Où va la politique de l'église catholique ? D'une querelle du libéralisme à l'autre

Émile Perreau-Saussine, octobre 2009, 26 pages

Agir pour la croissance verte

Valéry Morron et Déborah Sanchez, octobre 2009, 8 pages

L'économie allemande à la veille des législatives de 2009

Nicolas Bouzou et Jérôme Duval-Hamel, septembre 2009, 7 pages

Élections européennes 2009 : analyse des résultats en Europe et en France

Corinne Deloy, Dominique Reynié et Pascal Perrineau, septembre 2009, 50 pages

Retour sur l'alliance soviéto-nazie, 70 ans après

Stéphane Courtois, juillet 2009, 16 pages

L'État administratif et le libéralisme. Une histoire française

Lucien Jaume, juin 2009, 26 pages

La politique européenne de développement : une réponse à la crise de la mondialisation ?

Jean-Michel Debrat, juin 2009, 30 pages

**La protestation contre la réforme du statut des enseignants-chercheurs :
défense du statut, illustration du statu quo**

Suivi d'une discussion entre l'auteur et Bruno Bensasson David Bonneau, mai 2009, 40 pages

La lutte contre les discriminations liées à l'âge en matière d'emploi

Élise Muir (dir.), mai 2009, 65 pages

Quatre propositions pour que l'Europe ne tombe pas dans le protectionnisme

Nicolas Bouzou, mars 2009, 12 pages

Après le 29 janvier : la fonction publique contre la société civile ?

Une question de justice sociale et un problème démocratique

Dominique Reynié, mars 2009, 22 pages

La réforme de l'enseignement supérieur en Australie

Zoe McKenzie, mars 2009, 74 pages

Les réformes face au conflit social

Dominique Reynié, janvier 2009, 14 pages

L'opinion européenne en 2009

Dominique Reynié (dir.), Éditions Lignes de Repères, mars 2009, 237 pages

Travailler le dimanche : qu'en pensent ceux qui travaillent le dimanche ?

Sondage, analyse, éléments pour le débat

Dominique Reynié, janvier 2009, 18 pages

Stratégie européenne pour la croissance verte

Elvire Fabry et Damien Tresallet (dir.), novembre 2008, 125 pages

**Défense, immigration, énergie : regards croisés franco-allemands
sur trois priorités de la présidence française de l'UE**

Elvire Fabry, octobre 2008, 35 pages

Retrouvez notre actualité et nos publications sur fondapol.org

FONDAPOL NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

To reinforce its independence and carry out its mission, Fondapol, an independent organization, needs the support of private companies and individuals. Donors are invited to attend the annual general meeting that defines the Fondation orientations. The Fondation also invites them regularly to meet its staff and advisors, to talk about its publication before they are released, and to attend events it organizes.

As a government-approved organization, in accordance with the decree published on 14th April 2004, the Fondation pour l'innovation politique can accept donations and legacies from individuals and private companies.

Thank you for fostering critical analysis on the direction taken by France and helping us defend European integration and free economy.

THE MYTH OF A RACIST FRANCE (2)] FROM THE FAILURE OF RACIALISM TO THE BIRTH OF THE MYTH

By Vincent TOURNIER

Having highlighted, in the first volume of this study, the factors that have kept France at a distance from the ideology of race, we now turn our attention to the – very concrete – evidence that French society is characterised by a structural hostility to racism and racialism. A comparison with the United States, a country that is similar in many respects, helps to highlight the divergence in trajectories between the two countries. As well as criticising the systemic racism thesis, we need to understand why such a thesis has been able to emerge and enjoy relative success. To do this, a diversion into mythology is necessary. Situating systemic racism within the context of myth allows us to understand its intellectual underpinnings and to grasp the risks that this theory entails, particularly in a time of heightened tensions around immigration and the role of minorities.

Our platforms

**ANTHROPO
TECHNIE**
LES ENJEUX DE L'HUMAIN AUGMENTÉ



Our website

fondapol.org



Our open data

data.fondapol



978 2 36408 358 5

ISBN : 978-2-36408-358-5