

失業問題と国際労働者

—フランスの移住民をめぐる社会，経済的な論争—

ダオ・フー・ジュン

失業問題と国際労働者
——フランスの移住民をめぐる社会、経済的な論争——

ダオ・フー・ジュン*

移民についての討論の際には感情的、主観的な見解がよく出て、ホストの国の人びとを分裂させ、対立を引き起すと言っても過言ではない。国際労働者たちは普通、自分の故郷から離れ、世界各地へ技術と知恵をもたらすと同時に、自分のためもっと豊かで、自由な生活の実現を夢みて来る。しかし、戦争または経済不振の時になると、彼等は招かれざる客と見られ、差別され、冷遇される。

周知の様にヨーロッパ諸国は現在いろいろな経済問題に直面し、その中でも失業問題は一番深刻である。結果として社会不安と人種間の緊張が高まり、潜在的な人種の偏見が暴露されうる状態である。国民の中にも自分の苦況の原因とみられる外国労働者に憎しみを持つ人達はすくなくない。フランスでは、極右民族中心主義者の祖国戦線（フロントナシオナル）が外国労働者排除の宣伝をくりひろげた。最近、南仏の知事選挙では、与党と野党の連合で抵抗したにもかかわらず、祖国戦線は四度目の勝利を飾った。その町こそ失業率は19%に達し、移住民の人口が多い所なのである。

拙著は先ずフランスの移民の歴史をふりかえった後、この国で生活する国際労働者に対する従来の政策や今日の危機的な経済状の中にいるその人達をめぐる諸論争を取り上げる。それからフランスの例を通じて、日本または他の国の外国労働者の問題と比較し、幾つかの積極的な解決案を提出したい。

* 研究員

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE ALIEN WORKFORCE. Socioeconomic debates over immigration in France.

DAO HUU-DUNG

The stunning success of xenophobic populist Joerg Haider's Freedom Party in Austria early this year, the anti-Asian immigration maiden speech of Australian Parliament member Pauline Hanson as well as the designation of "mongrels" and "blackies" for colored ethnic groups in public by some high-profile international officials, all are only various symbols of expanding inter-ethnic tensions on question of immigration in advanced countries. The research on this problem with a view from France, the fourth economic power in the world with a population of 3.6 million of immigrants (10% of the working population) and more than 3 million of jobless, seems interesting in the context of economic slowdown due to not only conjunctural but structural difficulties.

Migration is indeed a major social phenomenon today, as it has been for thousands of years. Presently, there are 100 million immigrants in the world, 19 million of them refugees (22). In the old time, the migrants might be sometimes conquerors or colonialists but vast numbers of them migrated to escape the carnage or the tyranny that has so often accompanied conquests. Deportations and evacuations, exile and forcible repatriations, massacres and panic-stricken flights, highly risky mass exodus outnumbered peaceful, voluntary and well-organized movements of populations. By road, sea and air, the immigrants often left behind them less productive land and waters and more hostile political regimes to go for new destinations where they believe-not always true-the promised biblical Canaan.

I) The importance of 1974 in the history of immigration in France

Despite its recent prominence, immigration is not a recent event in France. French history witnessed the conquest of Gaul by the Roman Empire (58-52 BC), the invasions of barbarians and the arrivals of Saracens (from North Africa and Spain), the Huns (from Asia) as well as the Vikings from Scandinavia. The so-called

Gaulois, French ancestors, known for their ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity, were progressively unified by Christianity. Succeeding these bellicose migrations, from 12th century, there was immigration for economic reasons evident in settlements of Italian artists, Castilian shipmasters, Dutch sheet-makers, German typographers, Swiss and Spanish mercenaries...on French soil. This population of migrants with specific skills was added others such as temporary agricultural laborers and foreigners exiled from their homeland because of their religious or political convictions.

After 1850, the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of natural contraception caused France to appeal for immigrants from neighboring states as Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, England, Switzerland and Germany. From 1900, the alien population was dominated in number by immigrants consisting of Belgians and Italians from the frontiers of France. Immigration of non-European immigrants was so small in number that they were not taken into account.

The deaths caused by wars and declining birth rates obliged France to open the door to waves of immigration, this time not only from neighboring regions but also from Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, Armenia, Algeria and even from as far away as China. In the twenties alone, there were 1.2 million foreign workers (3) arrived in France and this without consideration of already important number of illegal immigrants. In terms of immigrations. France became one of the first ranked countries in the world, if not the first. In 1931, France had 2.7 million resident foreigners out of a total population of 42 million. Then foreigners comprised 6.4% of the population, a percentage identical to that in 1990.

The alien population went down drastically in the period before the Second World War because of economic crisis. The government tried different measures in order to restrain their arrival and to encourage their departure (10). The alien population stayed quite low during the decade following the war (1.7 million in 1954 as in 1946). Suddenly, thanks to economic expansion of the Three Glorious Decades (Les Trente Glorieuses), came the most important and historical wave of immigration with 4 million people from the Maghreb, Spain and Portugal. In 1974, France had 3.5 million foreigners again, reaching the record of 6.4% of population first

established in 1931. France needed human resources for the reconstruction of the war-torn country. The ONI (Office Nationale d'Immigration) founded in 1945 aimed to organize and control the recruitment of alien workers (10). In part as a result, the migration became large in scale from the fifties. It was encouraged by both the government and employers. After the war, when Italians, Poles, Spaniards and Belgians began to become French citizens, their places were taken by newcomers such as Algerians, Moroccans, Tunisians and Portuguese. At the official suspension of immigration for working in 1974, the increase of African and Asian refugees among alien population in France was observed (9). However, their figures were still not so important. By 1990, the foreign contingent in France was estimated to be around 3.6 million, or again 6.4% of the population. 1974 is a very meaningful date in the history of immigration in France because it represents the end of the Three Glorious Decades of economic reconstruction and expansion under the presidencies of Charles de Gaulle and Georges Pompidou. The immigration once considered a spur to economic development became the source of economic depression and social unrest not only in France but also elsewhere in Europe. Eight months after Germany had decided to suspend immigration, French government decided, in July 1974, to follow suit. This decision was taken shortly after the election of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing as the new President and in the context of the oil crisis at the end of 1973. However, aliens continued to come in France not as international workers but under various circumstances such as political asylum or family gathering. For that reason, the flow of immigration was not discontinued.

II) A century of French policies of immigration

A) 1870-1945 : Until the end of the Second World War

The French republic intervened for the first time in the question immigration only in the second half of 19th century when immigrant movements greatly increased. From 1888, aliens residents had to declare their presence at the city hall, and from the first years of the 19th century, France concluded conventions with other states (Italy, Belgium, and later, Poland and Czechoslovakia) to organize the arrival of immigrants workers needed. The SGI (Société Générale d'Immigration),

a private company, was charged to recruit foreign labor requested by French companies. The Algerians came in France too, from 1919, without the necessity of obtaining working visas because Algeria was then a French protectorate. The depression of 1929 was the origin of government measures to restrict immigration. A 1932 law was passed fixing a quota of aliens in a company. The following year, the Armbruster law prohibited foreigners from practicing medicine and the forced return of jobless workers to their native lands. Already at that time, the economic crisis was the motivation of the creation of an Under Secretariat of State for Immigration (1938). Georges Mauco, the famous civil servant and theoretician in that new structure, advocated immigration with selection based on economic utility and social assimilability. This soon was turned into the ethnic discrimination performed under fascist Vichy. Even so, the necessity of human resource in the time of war obliged the Pétain regime to amend its policies towards alien workers. Some of them even enjoyed privileged status, as in the case of Italian immigrants, in occupied France because their country belonged to the Axis.

B) 1945-1974 : The Three Glorious Decades (Les Trentes Glorieuses)

There was no remedy for the lack of labor at the end of the war other than a planned immigration. In 1945, the alien population was just 1.5 million i.e. 1 million less than in prewar France. The idea of an ethnic selection of immigration favoring Northern Europeans, Northern Italians and Northern Spaniards was still advocated by members of the “Haut Comité de la Population”, organization installed by General de Gaulle. However, this idea was not maintained in the Ordinance of 1945, the basic law on immigration in France until today. The above-mentioned ONI (Office National d’Immigration) which became OMI or Office de Migration Internationale in 1984) introduced or regularized between 1946 and 1977, about 2.5 million aliens, not counting colonized Algerians and Africans.

The Algerians coming into France again from 1946 now represent the biggest alien community in the country, following by Portuguese, Moroccans, Spaniards, Tunisians and Italians...French authorities in the sixties still considered them as the

necessary source of cheap labor, useful for dirty and heavy jobs usually disdained by French workers. Their conditions of living were not at all comfortable and indeed, sometimes inhuman. They were not supposed to stay indefinitely in France and the family gathering was often discouraged. The events of 1968 stirred up the debate over the living conditions as well as respect for the human dignity of alien workers who participated in strikes and other forms of protest lead by French Left. The partial success of the protest may have alarmed the French government and finally force it to decide to suspend immigration in 1974. This event was preceded by the unilateral announcement of Algerian side to stop its own emigration to France. The reason for the latter was a chain of racist acts against Algerian immigrants in France.

C) From 1974 to the present : attempts of dislocating alien workers

At the beginning of this period from 1974, France manifested a certain liberalism in the politics of immigration. The Chirac administration authorized some family gathering, organized a funding system for the immigrants' housing projects and provided a financial assistance for those who wished to repatriate definitively. From 1977, Raymond Barre, the Prime Minister, proposed a project of law to accelerate the repatriation of 500,000 alien workers in order to replace with French subjects, but this project was not accepted by the Parliament. Only the Bonnet law fixing the measures to control the period for which alien workers were permitted to stay was enacted.

The socialist president François Mitterrand showed more tolerance towards the immigrants and granted an amnesty in 1981, in effect regularizing the status of 130,000 illegal immigrants. However, he could not keep all electoral promises to give more favor to them since the economic situation worsened and the extreme rightist Front National emerged, surprising everybody. This political movement with its anti-foreigner slogans won election from election between 1984 and 1985 and forced the Socialist administration to launch the campaign of financial assistance for aliens who wanted to leave France. Despite of antiracist efforts of the Left during the

period 1986-88, the second Chirac government, under the pressure of Front National, took severe measures such as police control at the frontier and deportation. The government also prepared a project to reform the Law on Nationality to make more difficult for foreigners to become French citizens. At the election of 1988, the Front National received over 14% of vote and in 1991, the Socialist Premier Edith Cresson advocated (as Conservatives had done in the past) as her turn the use of chartered planes to send undesired immigrants back home.

Not only alien workers but also political asylum seekers found their requests refused by the country proud of its tradition as “asylum seekers’ homeland “(terre d’asile). When the conservative Gaullists came back to the power, the Minister of Interior Charles Pasqua tried to master the immigration problem by making the acquisition of French nationality difficult even for persons born in France, by giving more freedom to the police during the identity checks, and by limiting family gathering. Even if the Pasqua law had been accepted by the Constitutional Council in the totality, it was still not able to quiet the political unrest or to reduce the antifoignier tensions.

To sum up, the period from 1974 until now, Sami Nair (27) divided it into 3 phases representing three different attitudes :

1) 1974-1981 : the emergence of socio-economic debates over immigration. The immigrants, considered by governments and growing public opinion as harmful to employment in France. The policy was not integration but exteriorisation of immigration under the presidency of Center-Rightist Valéry Giscard d’Estaing.

2) 1981-1993 : the shutdown of frontiers and the refusal of entry to immigrants except for family gathering and political asylum.. Leftist president François Mitterand and the reigning Socialist party tried to regularize illegal immigrants’ status and accelerate the process of integration on behalf of immigrants settled already on French soil.

3) 1993 to the present : the come-back of such conservative Gaullists as Edouard Balladur and Jacques Chirac with the intention to break-down immigration through projects of law refusing the “Right of the Soil” (Jus Soli in Latin) in French Civil Law obtained by children born in France from foreign parents (even

though “the Right of the Soil” until then had been as important as “the Right of the Blood” (Jus sanguinis)). Also highlighted in this project of law is the disposition to strengthen preventive controls of identity of immigrants such as identity checks for the purpose of finding and expelling illegal immigrants.

III) The rejection of the minority migrants

A) Economic hard times coincide with the intensification of xenophobia

French unemployment hit a record high in September 1996. The number of workers without jobs grew to 3.1 million pushing the jobless rate to a record of 12.6% of the work force. Everyday, firms announce they are compelled to make drastic staff cuts. Though few people pay more taxes and social charges than the French (VAT 20.6%, Corporate Income Tax 43.33%....), paradoxically, French save more money than any other nation in Europe. According to André Fontaine, a former editor in chief of the daily *Le Monde*, the tendency to save leads to stagnation of consumption and negative growth. As a result, companies have to adapt to a reduction of their profits, which then caused them to cut jobs again. Finally, because general tax revenues are declining, the French government that promised to make the unemployment problem its “absolute priority” has had to cut the ranks of civil servants and public company personnel. It is without doubt a vicious circle.

In the same period, from 1974, we can see the use in juvenile delinquency and aimless violence, the problem of quarrelsome neighbors in the suburbs of big cities, the errancy of beggars and the homeless (27). There were also the indifference towards parliamentary politics and the radicalization of racist and xenophobic sentiments.

As for racism in France, Tahar Ben Jelloun, the Moroccan author and winner of the Goncourt Prize of Literature (Prix Goncourt de la Littérature) remarked of the transformation in these years of the “soft” and intellectual racism into a primary, instinctive “hard” and nazi-oriented racism (2). Statistics showed that between 1990 and 1995, attacks against foreigners became more deadly (6). The

racist behaviors was often aimed at often Arabs and Jews more than other ethnic groups and was orchestrated mainly in the majority by the new-born Skinhead movements. However, the most concerning problem is the “political” racism represented by the Euro-Far Right with was enjoyed continuing success from the seventies. In France, Jean-Marie Le Pen and his National Front Party are still known for their commitment-directly or indirectly-to violent actions but their popularity is always confirmed by polls through the years. Recently, the 1994 European elections demonstrated the Front’s strength : almost one in five French people voted for policies advocated by the Front.

B) The arguments

Economic reasons were valuable arguments against immigration for xenophobia and anti-Semitism in the time when the image of the “cosmopolitan Jews” prevailed, and Jews was judged enemies of French interests. Now, the enemies are not only Jews but also Arabs and other minorities without French cultural identity.

1) Immigration as the cause of unemployment

A national crisis, as Charles Maurras had asserted already in 1912 (2), often begins when people work for a low salary they cannot accept or a comfortable salary they can dream of. France has not only 3 million unemployed workers but also 2 million of people who benefit from a variety of measures ensuring employment (professional training, pre-retirement activities, etc....) and more than million jobs either (temporary with short-term contract...). In a word, there are 7 million of people looking for steady work among of a working population of 25 million. The decline from full employment after the Second World War to the current mass and long term unemployment was due to structural problems, much too complicated to be attributed to so simple a cause as immigration alone. However, Le Pen’s thesis which considers aliens taking the job of French workers was approved by 33% of French according to a SOFRES (Société Française d’enquêtes par Sondage) opinion poll on March 28th 1996 (27). This thesis is not the monopoly of the Far Right. Socialists and Communists, long ago (1921), already shared this argument (2).

2) Immigration as the source of insecurity

The alien population was often defined as the origin of delinquency, The statistics showed that aliens (6.4% of the population in total) made up one third of prisoners in France. From 1974 to 1992, prisoners of foreign origin increased by 3.6 times while prisoners of French origin increased only 1.5 times. (3). Usually, the ethnic groups which considered a threat to public were Arabs and Tziganes, accused of everything from violence and robbery to drug-dealing and even causing the spread of AIDS. In the same SOFRES poll in 1996, 35% of the interviewed French agreed with National Front view that increased crime and violence were due to the presence of immigrants.

3) Immigration creates social injustice

It is well-known that the French Social Security system has been in the red in recent years to the extent that the state control system may have to be privatized to avoid a bankruptcy. The image of a stereotyped leisured and numerous alien family (because of polygamy and high birth rates), making their living with Social Security benefits is the origin of Frenchmen's anger. For them, these people are nothing but parasites, and their presence on French soil is not welcomed. The graffiti such as "La valise ou le cercueil" (means "The suitcase or the coffin") are often seen on the walls of big cities as Paris, Lyon or Marseilles. Aliens also cause housing problem when native French have to line up to obtain a low rental flats controlled by state-run HLM (Habitation à Loyer Modéré or Moderate Rental Housing). Aliens take also too places in overcrowded French schools and too many beds in busy French hospitals. The above mentioned SOFRES polls gave another 35% of approval on this question.

4) Immigration provokes French cultural disorder

The French former president Giscard d'Estaing once considered that the immigrants, particularly Arabs, were so culturally different from French as call into question their continued stay in France (27), The Front National went further in

accusing Arabs of being racist against the French and in describing with horror the image of a French Islamic Republic in decades to come if immigration is not stopped now. Moslem rituals are interpreted often as the acts of barbarians (e.g. the sacrifice of a lamb at the occasion of Ait festival) or anti-republican behaviors (e.g. the obligation of Chador for Islamic women). With the tendency toward declining birth rates in France and in Europe, sooner or later, French will be outnumbered by Arabs and their descendants, argued The Front National and its allies who claimed to be struggling to uphold traditional French values. Through symbols as Clovis, the first pagan king converted to Christianity, and Joan of Arc, the young virgin who challenged foreign invaders (English), the Front National defends, so it claims, Christianity and national pride.

C) The propagation and acceptance of arguments against immigration

Le Pen is a quite talented orator but the reason his idea was accepted by one-third of French population does not depend only on such talent. A study of Le Pen's supporters (27) showed their profile as follows :

- they are young (18% of them from 18 to 24 years old)
- they are male (19% men, 12% female)
- they came rather from modest circumstances (30% of them as workers and 25% unemployed)
- they are not well-educated (14% primary school graduates and 17% secondary school)
- they are non practicing Catholics (18%) or without religion (14%)
- they are not necessarily rightist (29% identified with the political center and 18% with the left)
- they live in urban regions with high concentrations of alien population (20% to 25% in big cities)

The results of this study demonstrated that Le Pen obtained the support those parts of the French electorate which are facing the problem of unemployment and social segregation. This electorate found in the violence and the virility of Le Pen speeches and the Front National's actions, the promised solution to their problem. They

unmasked at the same time the hidden face of their enemy, the immigrants, whom they saw as origin of their misfortune. Then, the famous theory of *Préférence Nationale* (Priority For French) gave them a sense of belonging to a homogeneous group not only political but also anthropological and historical. In depending on this group and in excluding others, they followed the process of institutionalization of the hostility towards foreigners.

IV) Social problems and policies of integration

A) Minorities or the Underclass

Certainly, social unrest coming from unemployment or social exclusion is a very important issue but this issue concerns everybody, French or non-French altogether. The following figures demonstrated however, immigrants are far from being the source of French unhappiness.

1) Unemployment among alien workers

From 1974, the alien workers were very concerned by the conditions of labor market, for two main reasons :

- The active alien population got older after the suspension of labor-importation immigration in 1974. The working force issued from foreigners coming for family gathering purpose can not compensate the lost of activities (10% in 2 years from 1988 to 1990)
- The alien population during the period of 1955-1975 largely comprised unskilled workers taking jobs given up by native French workers. With such structural changes as automation and outplacing, alien workers are the first to be out-of-work. They had to move to other economic sectors where they found harder competition and less stable jobs.

Between 1975 and 1990 unemployment rates increased 2.75 times among the native French and 4 times among aliens side (3). This phenomenon can be explained by the modest social origin, racial discrimination and lack of professional training of

foreign workers. Discrimination based on racial origin is plainly obvious. It concerned alien workers from the Maghreb and Black Africa more than those from European Union (10) (14). The rate of unemployment was quite high for newly arrived immigrants and for younger workers.

2) Delinquency and alien workers

The study of Tournier and Robert in 1991 (3) resulted in the inclusion of violation of Immigration Code in the statistics concerning delinquency among aliens. It represented 40% of the violation of the law in general. Moreover, these aliens were rather young males, less educated, and more often unemployed in comparison with their French counterparts. The nature of their infractions (e.g. assault, robbery...) sent them directly to the prison. That prevented them from being released with bail such as those enjoyed by white-collar criminals (e.g. tax invaders or bad drivers). We should notice that policeman, in the name of control against illegal immigration, keep a closer eye on aliens than on natives. There are difficulties in getting accurate statistics about the delinquency of migrant workers if we take into accounts these particularities (10).

3) Social Security benefits, government benefits and alien workers

Indeed, the alien workers receive more general benefits as well as Social Security benefits than native workers (in 1992, family support benefits were F2600 for alien and F1740 for native French (10). The reasons were as follows :

- Alien families had more children on average (43.6% of alien families with 3 children, 25.1% of French families) ;
- Alien families had less incomes (53.6% of alien families earn less F60000 per year ; only 27.6% of French families had the same low income).

The migrants went to see a physician 3 times per year when native French did it 4 times in 1991. Only 6.5% of foreigners stayed in a hospital compared to 16.6% of native French. The migrants had less comfortable Social Security system in comparison with French. About 78% of the latter enjoyed a full scale of Social Security plus Mutual Insurance reimbursement. That is the case for only 56% of

migrants.

INSEE (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques) statistics also showed more alien workers living in moderate rental apartments offered by HLM (28%), especially non-European migrants. This HLM population contained only 13.7% French. It was observed that 56% of French lived in their own house while only 26% of aliens enjoyed the same circumstances.

4) Social disorder and alien workers

The cultural disharmony and the defense of French identity are main arguments against the presence of migrant workers. It supposes that the integration in French society and the assimilation into French culture of foreign subjects is simply impossible. However, in 1992, one half of migrant population consists of white Catholic Europeans (Spaniards, Italians, Portuguese, Poles, etc...).(14). The majority of the remaining came from colonies or protectorates and were acquainted at least with the French way of life or French style of administration. The second and the third generation (10 million born in France from immigrant parents or grand parents) know nothing but French culture. As for the rebirth of radical and fundamentalist Islam in recent years (e.g. the incident of the Islamic Chador in public school, Arab militant terrorism), it is in a sense the counter reaction of poor countries after the fall of Berlin wall. The Islamic cause is also considered as a refuge for those excluded socially or out-of-work. It is dangerous to underestimate its influence (37% of the 2.7 million of Moslems practice it) but the majority of Moslems in France favors a more secular Islam than its populist and fundamentalist obedience. For that reason, some researchers consider that the Front National are certainly wrong to defend the French identity in reducing it into a simple slogan as "Préférence Nationale" (Priority For French). For them, it is better to develop the French identity through multiplicity of local, national and supranational encounters because cultural impoverishment means also social insecurity and political impotence (27).

5) Migrants are minorities or the underclass

With the expansion of unemployment, the migrant workers became the migrants exclusively. The statistics demonstrated this tendency as far as the colored workers from Maghreb, Black Africa and French overseas territories are concerned. The economic crisis chased them away from the possibility of finding a new job. The migrant workers do not take anything away from the French workers. They just do not belong anymore to the working class (14) but the social under-class by accumulating handicaps as unemployment, schooling setbacks, delinquency, violence, drug abuse, broken family, poverty and dependence on Social Security benefits. The right to participate is refused. Young and old, they then join other marginalised groups concentrated in urban zone of large conurbation (Paris, Lyon, Marseilles., Amiens, Roubaix., etc..), together or apart from French workers. This became the origin of the “problème des banlieues” (suburban problem), like the English “inner city problem”, a ground for violence and rage which, governments one after another have so much difficulty to solve.

B) Policies on Immigration

Patrick Weil, a former member of the Ministry of Migration and Population, summarized public policies towards immigrants in France from June 1974 to March 1995 in the following way (29) :

1) As the illegal immigrants are concerned, the government policy is to prevent them from transformation into a regular category except in the famous the short-lived amnesty after May 1981 on the occasion of the first election of President Mitterrand.

2) As for regular immigrants themselves, the alternative governmental measures between 1974 and 1993 were to increase or maintain their resources and their rights except during the period from March 1977 to 1981 under President Giscard d'Estaing. Since March 1993, the tendency to reduce these privileges has been quite clear.

3) Concerning the repatriation of regular immigrants, except policy of “unforced

and natural repatriation” pursued by the Socialist government under the Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy (May 1981-March 1983), there were application of “voluntary return with or without financial assistance” and the provocation of “forced return” or “expulsion” by successive governments from both the Right and the Left.

All these strategies had little success : the radical actions hurt French traditional democratic and republican ideals and were contested by humanitarian organizations and immigrant associations defending their own interests. Indeed, the alien labor force had made a large contribution to French economy during the Three Glorious Decades particularly in the automotive and construction. As for tolerant measures, these lead sometimes to abuses from the immigrants and caused deep indignation from the French population. The political outcome of the above strategies was evident because in the presidential election of 1989, 14% of French agreed with the anti-immigrant platform defended by Jean-Marie Le Pen (29). In 1995, France received a big blow when the Front won the municipal elections in Toulon, Orange, Marignane, the 3 French medium cities with population over 30,000 (27).

The reinforcement of control at the borders (French frontiers and European Union frontiers by European members) to prevent further illegal immigrations from non European Union countries seems to have been approved by all political parties but the integration of regular immigrants is still the subject of debate.

Different from either insertion which is an action to introduce the immigrant into a kind of pre-established system or assimilation which bring the immigrant into conformity with national norms, integration means to incorporate something in into a unified, harmonious whole. With integration, the subject can keep its own roots in behaving as a part of the community. To achieve this purpose, it needs effort from both parties : the subject as well as the community itself. Everybody should accept a role as a part of the total and respect the integrity of the total.

C) Integration from the immigrant standpoint

The immigrants have no doubt a divided cultural roots : France and their

homeland. They can make the integration a success if they know how to face to this cultural differentiation. Tribalat observed the behavior of a mosaic population of immigrants from Europe (Spain, Portugal), Africa (Algeria, Morocco, Black Africa), Asia (Indochina, Turkey) through their bilinguism, their use of mass media, their sociability, their religious practice, their matrimonial practice, their mixture of union, their ethnic and social homogamy, their wish to repatriate or to be buried in the homeland, their frequency of visits to the country of their origin... She revealed, by each category and in general, the Portuguese, Algerian and Turkish attached more to their countries than Spaniard, Moroccan or Indochinese. Independent to those ethnic particularities, Tribalat also found the young age, the melange of couples, the better of housing, the higher social position and higher degree of education, the lack of confrontation during the period of colonialism, the affinity of races... are strong points leading to a quicker integration (26) (See also 3).

Following are some of propositions to the population of immigrants to accelerate the process of self-conduct toward a lay and equalitarian model of integration, suggested by Tribalat (26) :

- Abolish of traditional matrimonial practices harmful to the public order or human rights as polygamy or female circumcision..
- Practice bilinguism or encourage the French speaking
- Make the religion a private affair, not a public demonstration
- Construct a harmonious relationship between the homeland and France without sacrificing one's own identity.
- Favor mixture in daily life : whether in the working place, in the living environment, during leisure time or in marriage.
- Try to learn the culture of others to reduce individual, collective or institutional discrimination.
- Engage completely in the civil life in France : participate in elections and compulsory military service (for French citizens), in community and other social activities (for other immigrants)

D) Integration from the host-society standpoint

1) Integration in the French context

Now is not the first time France has had to face the problem of immigration. In the first half of this century, the country had the experience of alien workers coming from Poland, Belgium and Italy. However, for this time, the population of immigrants consists of unskilled workers and many of them from former colonies. The host society is confronted with more delicate situation than the precedent. There is the awakening of the quest for French identity with the presence of alien workers served as a scapegoat. Moreover, a society built on the basic consensus of republican values risks implosion if the menace of an integrist Islam becomes an obsession.

In order to realize a harmonious relations between the immigrant population and the native French, and to ensure that none is excluded from the system, the host-society should take actions in favor of integration. In 1991, France transformed the Ministry of Social Affairs into the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration. Its noble purpose was to avoid the marginalization of one part of its population, not only immigrants but also native French (long term unemployed persons, the homeless, the former colonial Moslem soldiers, the Harki, the young generation of children of foreign born parents, the nomadic Tziganes, the people coming from overseas territories as the Caribbean islands). First and the foremost, it concerns fundamental changes in attitudes and legal reforms to appease social unrest and to prepare for the best of integration (29) :

-To ease some equalitarian republican principles in giving the priority to receive the candidates for immigration with best ethnic and cultural and professional suitability to existing social conditions in France ;

-To engage dialogue with countries from which large numbers of immigrants come in order to stop immigration at the source. Some governments encourage the emigration of their own population as labor exportation, an important contribution in the form of remitted salaries to national economies. Financial assistance to these countries should be given according to their collaboration in this field.

-To establish restrictive legislation to prevent labor “black market”, which employs illegal immigrants in underground factories and evades French taxes. Combined measures in favor of integration should be taken (29) with the following objectives :

-Standardization of the period of stay for the immigrants of the first generation and establishment of procedures for the quick granting of French citizenship to the second generation ;

-Better economic conditions to permit easier access to the labor market for the first generation and a chance for social advancement for the second by means of education ;

-Equal treatment of immigrants and non immigrants in state run facilities ;

-Maintenance of secular tradition and strengthening of civic education in schools. The development of ethnic identity through religious and cultural practices should be favored only in the private sphere. Education and communication are two key points suggested by Le Huu Khoa when he distinguishes 4 types of integration (integration by communication, integration by education, integration by adaptation and integration by taking initiatives) (15). Here again, the active participation of the immigrants is strongly recommended.

Some of measures presented by Weil (29) were applied in the past but the results were still unsatisfactory inspite of great financial effort by the government. The money may be used in better ways in the convergence of ideas and ideals between the administration and volunteers from groups of citizens in the promotion of actions and the management of projects in favor of integration. The participation of immigrants in local elections defended by the Socialists and still impracticable is also an interesting subject to be discussed (12).

2) Integration in the context of European Union

In twelve nations composing the European Union, there are 8 million of immigrants coming from non EU countries (2.5% of the EU population) and 1.9 million of them are in illegal situation (3). The Treaty of Shenghen, signed twice in 1985 and 1990 and prior to the Treaty of Maastricht, fixed the measures of control against

immigration from outside the frontier of the community and the standardization of visa issuance policies among the signatories. At the same time, the treaty abolished internal frontiers between its signatories. What we may perceive from now on is a Europe too permissive within its borders and too conservative in its external policy. For a variety of reasons including computer system problems, the Treaty of Shenghen has still not been fully implemented. As for the Treaty of Maastricht signed in Dec 1991, the creation of European citizenship made the integration of non European immigrants tougher and their right to vote even in local elections inconceivable (3).

In general, Europe agreed for to suspend immigration by unqualified workers and to accept only skilled immigrants-in effect to be beneficiary of brain drain. We note the different experience in the management of immigration between the Northern Europe (Scandinavia, France, Germany, etc...) and the Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, etc...). The latter, nations of emigration until now, have only recently discover the problem of immigration. Even in the North, there are differences among British, German and French traditions : the UK distinguishes British subjects and Commonwealth subjects and has no intention of unifying these two categories. Germany, on the other hand, is always very strict in the procedure for granting German citizenship for which the renunciation of former citizenship is a prior condition. This rigidity can exclude in many generations immigrants coming from countries such as Turkey or the former Yugoslavia from the German community.

V) Unemployment and Migrant Workforce from a worldwide approach

The present situation in France may become a universal problem and it begins in advanced countries. From the United States to Australia, an acceleration of flows of immigration is observed. Due to the opening of East European borders and the demographic and economic division between the North and the South, the aggravation of this situation began in 1990 and continues till the present. Every year, there are one million of migrant workers and one other million of refugees settled in other country than their native land.

We can find in our days Filipinos in Spain and Italy, Iranians and Lebanese in Sweden, Vietnamese in Australia and Canada, Pakistanis in Norway and Poles, Hungarians and Rumanians in Germany. In the same time, Ukrainians, Bulgarians have established themselves in Hungary, the Czeck Republic and Slovakia. Africans and other Asians have taken the places of Vietnamese and Cubans in Russia. We notice also the movement of 19 million refugees including 3 million Afghans into Pakistan and 2.5 million Palestinians around the world. Since every refugee is an immigrant (temporary or permanent) and also a potential worker, the problem of refugees is linked to joblessness and inter-ethnic tensions. These tensions are not only between the majority and the minorities as we can imagine but also among the minorities themselves as the case of Los Angeles riots few years before (7).

A recent report from the United Nations' ILO (International Labor Organization) revealed that roughly billion people worldwide were either unemployed or under-employed in 1995 (1). According to this report, unemployment in the 15-member of European Union increased to 11.3% of the workforce, compared with the 2% in the 1960s. France, Germany, Italy and Sweden suffered the biggest jumps, with Spain leading the jobless rate at 22.3%. In Central and Eastern Europe, unemployment remained at double-digit levels in most countries, the report said. Nearly one third of the jobless were below the age of 25.

All of these dramatic figures are creating disorder, raising anxiety and tensions just because immigration is considered as the origin of job losses. Rich countries are trying to fight against joblessness but, in the same time, they are confronted with other problems. For example, the EU is occupied with new fiscal goals that reduce debt rather than unemployment as it strives to enter into economic and monetary union by the end of the decade, To sustain economic growth is the best recipe for getting people back to work (1) but what the EU is paying more attention is simply elaborate the control of immigrants as done the United States. Recently, in the US (5.1% of unemployment), the GOP and Democrats both agreed to double the size of Border Patrol, stiffen penalties for document fraud and alien smuggling and establish pilot projects for employers to verify job applicants' work eligibility. The Australians Against Further Immigration Party is politicizing Australian fear of the

so-called “Asianization” of Australia (4). In their anti-immigration arguments, there are always references to the employment matter, if not to security or social benefit issues.

Developing countries such as Malaysia also have to challenge their own problem of immigration. In Malaysia, the immigrants are equal to 10% of the population and many of them illegal. Jobless Malaysians began to show signs of social unrest at the view of the introduction of Bengali cheap labor in this country.

Japan with its 1.3 million aliens including 0.7 million Korean descendants residing here for many generations (24) and with an unemployment rate of 3.3% may not consider the immigrant matter as so urgent. Japan also has a tight control over the immigration (after Kajita (11), only 33,000 illegal immigrants in 1991). However, the nation has showed some concerns about aliens matter. We can mention examples such as discussions about the participation of foreign residents in advisory body or in the management of local administrations (example of Kawasaki city) as well as symposiums on the development of ethnic media... (5). It is wise to foresee what may happen in the near future (the globalization of world economy, the demographic bombs in neighboring countries, Japan being the most aged society in the world by 2020...). To prepare much more from now appropriate and combined policies of immigration and full employment is the best way to avoid problems faced by other advanced countries which the most illustrious example is France.

December 1996

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1) Associated Press, Global Joblessness Reaches Grim Levels, The Japan Times, Issue of 1996, Tokyo, November 27 th, page 1.1.
- 2) Ben Jellouh, Tahar, *Hospitalité Française*, Paris, Points Actuels, Paris, 1984.
- 3) Bernard, Philippe, *L'Immigration*, Le Monde Editions, Paris., 1994.
- 4) Chong, Florence, Tolerance For ' Too Many Asians' Severely Tested, in The Japan Times, Oct 25th 1996, Tokyo.
- 5) Corliss, Mick, 1996, Ethnic Media Highlighted, in The Japan Times, Tokyo, December 5th 1996, page 3.
- 6) Comité National de Droit de L'Homme, *La Lutte Contre Le Racisme et La Xénophobie*, Documentation Française, Paris 1996.
- 7) Findlay-Kaneko, Beverly, Beyond Korean American Stereotypes (Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riot), in The Japan Times, September 3rd 1996, Tokyo.
- 8) 福岡安則, 在日韓国, 朝鮮人, 中央新書, 東京 1994.
- 9) 本間浩, 難民問題とは何か, 岩波書店, 東京 1994.
- 10) INSEE, *Les Etrangers en France, Portrait Social*, Editions INSEE, Paris, 1994.
- 11) 梶田孝道, 外国人労働者と日本, 日本放送出版協会, 東京 1994.
- 12) 梶田孝道, 外国人の参政権, 西欧諸国の対応, 国際政治110号, 東京 1995.
- 13) Hieu, Dinh Trong, *La Pagode, au Vietnam et dans L'Immigration*, in *Hommes & Immigrations* NO 1171, pages 21-25, Paris, 1993.
- 14) Lapeyronnie, Didier, *L'individu et les Minorités, La France et La Grande Bretagne face a leurs Immigrés*, Presses Universitaires de France. Paris, 1993.
- 15) Khoa, Le Huu, *Variations d'Intégration : Insertion, Adaptation, Appropriation*, in *Hommes & Immigration* NO 1134 pages 4-12, Paris, 1990.
- 16) Khoa, Le Huu, *Les Réfugiés du Sud-Est Asiatique en France*. ADRI, Paris, 1989.
- 17) Lebon, André, *Immigration et Présence Etrangère en France 1992-1993*, Ministère des Affaires Sociales, de la Santé et de la Ville, Paris, 1993.
- 18) 内藤正典, アツラーのヨーロッパ, 移民とイスラム復興, 東京大学出版会, 東京, 1996.
- 19) 野村達朗, 民族'で見るアメリカ, 講談社現代新書, 東京, 1992.
- 20) Roquejoffre, Alain, *L'insertion Sociale des Réfugiés de l'Asie du Sud-Est à Limoges Beaubreuil*, in *Hommes & Immigrations* NO 1134 pages 39-48, Paris, 1990.
- 21) 斯波義信, 華僑, 岩波新書, 東京, 1995.
- 22) Sowell, Thomas, *Immigrations and Cultures, A World View's*, Basic Books, New York, 1996.
- 23) 高木桂蔵, 客家, 講談社, 東京, 1991.
- 24) 田中宏, 在日外国人, 新版, 岩波書店, 東京, 1996.
- 25) 田中友義, 河野誠之, 長友貴樹, *ゼミ名ナール欧州統合, 有斐閣ビジネス*, 東京, 1994.
- 26) Tribalat, Michèle et al., *De L'Immigration à L'Assimilation*, INED, Paris, 1996.
- 27) Viard, Jean et al., *Aux sources du Populisme Nationaliste*, Editions de l'Aube, Le Château, 1996.
- 28) Yoshida, Reiji, Tokyo Begins Moves To Let Foreigners vote, in The Japan Times, Tokyo, November 10th 1996..
- 29) Weil, Patrick, *La France et ses Etrangers, Folio Actuel*, Paris, 1995.