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Citizenship as a Field: A Theoretical Framework for Analysing the Political Integration of Muslim French Citizens

1   The Horizontal *Civitas* Vs the Vertical *Polis*: Linking Citizenship to Political Integration

To deal with the question of citizenship and its relation to multiple dimensions of integration, there are a number of definitions and approaches on which we can rely. One of the most influential is Marshall's formulation (1950), which defines citizenship as a broad notion having evolved over time, gradually acquiring certain civic and political dimensions. The Marshallian account no doubt owes its success to a powerful heuristic that corresponds to an abiding belief in the virtues of post-WWII Western democracy, and in the efficient way in which it keeps class inequality at tolerable levels through economic redistribution. As such, it has been the target of criticism, both because of its hidden normative content and its underlying theoretical tenets. Its normative content does suggest a certain naivety. For the progress towards 'social rights', which Marshall sees as the last stage of his formulation, has often proved to be an ambition rather than a result, a desirable aim to pursue, rather than a process actually taking place, and having a real effect on inequalities. As neoliberalism spread from

the USA and Britain to most of the West from the early 1980s onward, the hegemonic impulse has rather gone in the opposite direction, with countries shifting from ambitious models of social citizenship to configurations that recognise far fewer rights (Isin et al. 2008). As regards the critique of Marshall's theoretical tenets, what must be said is that his account has brought together different types of rights (civic and political rights, then at a later stage social rights) in a cohesive narrative that links them together. But in so doing, it has also at times blurred the distinctions between them, thereby failing to engage with the question of how rights relate to each other and lead to variable outcomes.

For instance, Marshall's notion of 'civic citizenship' is defined as a combination of membership and of civic protection. Citizenship is the legal ability to fully enjoy the freedoms that policy actors and institutions bestow on citizens on the basis of their common membership of a citizenry which they both recognise and choose to actively engage with. But civic rights do not necessarily lead to political rights, which are instead definable in terms of the access citizens have to institutions and policy actors in order to participate in decision-making. The existence of a *continuum* between civic and political rights is not a theoretical necessity nor has it been a historical constant. In fact, the civic and the political dimensions of citizenship have often developed separately, and sometimes in direct opposition to each other. In some places and at some times, the main dimension of citizenship was civic in nature, since it consisted in having access to a specific body of citizens, with whom sharing equal rights (as guaranteed by institutions and decision-makers) as well as developing common purpose and mutual acknowledgement. In other places and at other times, the main dimension of citizenship was political: citizenship was seen as the source of sovereignty, and therefore as providing opportunities to access and influence the domain of decision-making. I will refer to these two dimensions of civic and political citizenship as 'horizontal' and 'vertical' respectively. The first dimension of citizenship is horizontal because it is based on the idea of equal membership, with citizens enjoying equal rights, acknowledging each other as well as engaging with the rest of the citizenry. The second dimension is vertical because it emphasises the relationship between institutions and policy actors on the one hand, and citizens on

the other, and focuses on aspects like political representation and openness of institutions and policy actors.

This distinction between the horizontal and the vertical dimensions of citizenship is so fundamental that it has informed completely different approaches to citizenship since the earliest day of Western democracy. Athens was the cradle of vertical citizenship, focusing as it did on the relationship between citizens and the *polis*. The very etymology of the word 'political' shows that citizenship, in Athens, was by nature vertical, since it focused on the citizens' access to the '*polis*'. Greek citizenship was the very source of politics. Citizens met in the central square to discuss decisions and to vote on them, so they had a determining influence on institutions and policy actors, and gave legitimacy to their decision-making. By contrast, Rome was the cradle of civic citizenship, based on the mutual acknowledgement of the equal rights of all Roman citizens. As its etymology shows, citizenship in Rome was 'civic' because of the horizontal access to the *civitas*, which protected citizens by guaranteeing their rights (*plenum ius*) as a same public civic body.[1] Put simply, the idea of citizenship as an essential source of political life is a Greek legacy. As the 'life of the *polis*' (*zoon politikon*) citizens were first and foremost seen as political agents who could directly influence the decisions of those who governed them. Conversely, the Romans left us a more formal and abstract notion of citizenship. Roman citizenship had nothing to do with concrete political agency, but rather it represented a civic status that entitled any citizen to protection of institutions and policy actors.

Furthermore, since it was potentially open to any person residing on Roman soil, Roman citizenship (*civitas romana*) also introduced the idea of universal access, since it was extended to the vast majority of free people, including men and women living beyond the borders of Italy and of the *urbs romana*.[2] This contrasted with the exclusionary practice of citizenship in Athens, which did not give women, the poor or any non-Athenians access to it. This difference between a *civitas*-based civic citizenship and a *polis*-based political citizenship is an important cultural inheritance that has had a profound impact on successive developments of Western democracy. After first reappearing in a number of city-states during the Middle Ages, democracy came into its own with

the American and French revolutions, and finally—through the slow and laborious adaptation of constitutional monarchies in Europe in the nineteenth century—it became generalised in the twentieth century, as suffrage was extended to the whole body of citizens.[3]

Crucially, this distinction between the horizontal and the vertical dimensions of citizenship also informed the way some major Western democracies—who had greatly benefited from their large open markets which relied on vast migration inflows—dealt with their population of migrant workers from the 1980s onward, in the aftermath of the 1970s economic crisis. Rather than forcing all these migrant workers to return to their countries of origin, many states chose to transform large sections of these migrants into new citizens. Not surprisingly, countries such as Britain and the Netherlands—with their traditions of segmentation and of managing a plurality of interests, evident in the colonial context where they had to negotiate with local peoples (Waller 2013)—privileged the political dimension to include the voices and the interests of new citizens into the policy domain. Given their vertical perspective, the main issue they had to deal with was how to best represent these citizens and how to take their interests into account in order to encourage their access to the *polis*. The French Republic, however, could hardly opt for this type of pluralist, client-based approach. Its self-perceived role as a 'civilising power' (Burrow 1986) rested on the not-so-implicit idea that new citizens were to be the objects, rather than the subjects, of policy-making, at least until they had become fully integrated into the public body and aligned their views with its general interest. Put simply, the French republican approach was framed by the long-standing tradition of universalism and individual equality. France had to widen first the pathway to citizenship for migrants by strengthening their horizontal access to the national *civitas*. The issue of their political access to the *polis* was a second step that would eventually follow access to French *civitas*, which was considered to be of greater importance.[4]

In short, even from this cursory historical overview, we can see that horizontal civic citizenship and vertical political citizenship are far from being two peas in a pod. Rather than representing two stages in the same process, these two dimensions of citizenship are best understood

if we compare them to one another, and if we consider the main achievement that each of them is typically associated with, that is, political integration. Most importantly, the horizontal and the vertical dimensions stand out as the central point of an ontological conceptualisation of citizenship. The study of this central point is essential if we wish to understand whether the main substantive content of citizenship should be to access the French *civitas* through a form of mutual recognition and through the sharing of equal endowments and common purposes, or rather, whether it should be to access the *polis* through better political representation and more influence over policies and institutions. This ontological approach will serve as a framework for our analysis, completing other scholarly accounts that have dealt with the integration of migrants and of their descendants, but which have often lumped them together into one large category perceived as unproblematic, thereby failing to engage in full with the process which transforms old migrants into new citizens.

2   Ontological Citizenship: Explaining the Integration of MFCs

The horizontal and vertical dimensions of ontological citizenship are the basis of my own comprehensive account of the political integration of MFCs. Ontological citizenship clearly has an edge compared to the standard epistemological approach, which is entirely centred on identifying who the citizens are. Typical of this obsession to determine who counts and who does not count as a citizen is the abiding scholarly distinction between *ex ante* 'natural' citizens (who have typically inherited their citizenship from their naturalised parents, or from even more distant ancestors) and *ex post* 'created' citizens (who have typically 'acquired' their citizenship at birth or through 'naturalisation'). Given that this distinction is especially relevant when focusing on people who are not '*ex ante* natural-born citizens', the epistemological approach to citizenship has obviously been most successful in the study of migrants, and in particular in examining the very different ways in which

countries define who is part of their national community (Brubaker 1992; Favell 1998; Ireland 1994). While some scholars have argued that these different ways tend to converge (Garbaye 2005; Joppke 2007), others have argued that the cross-national variations of epistemological citizenship can be so significant as to prevent, even within Europe, the emergence of effective transnational approaches to integration (Geddes 2003).

Focusing specifically on Muslims, this epistemological approach has stoked a contentious debate that has split those scholars who consider the promotion of cultural differences to be compatible with national citizenship in liberal states, from those who see cultural markers as discrepant with a truly liberal understanding of citizenship (Barry 2001; Modood 2007; Parekh 2008; Phillips 2007). The very nature of this dispute would almost seem to indicate that contemporary scholars have re-elaborated an old normative debate among historians and philosophers of the 'nation' (Smith 1986; Hobsbawm 1992; Friedlander 1992), thereby reiterating a state-centric interest in the epistemological recognition of citizenship from the perspective of the national state and its national community.[5] This debate has also gained momentum because of the contentious corporative dynamics of academia, where 'fecund' antagonisms are more or less consciously encouraged since they improve the visibility of comparative scholars who stress the cross-national divergence between 'models' (Bleich 2003; Koopmans et al. 2005) and of more transnational scholars who emphasise the effects of Europeanisation processes or of historical transitions from one model to the other (Geddes 2000; Jacobson 1996; Joppke 2007; Sassen 1996; Soysal 1998). Indeed, the epistemological accounts have become so prominent that the question of determining who the citizens are has taken precedence over and thereby detracted attention from systematic research into the ontological essence of citizenship.[6] The predominance of epistemological citizenship in the scholarly field may also explain why various aspects of integration of Muslims have been discussed with chronic references to migration literature, even in countries where large numbers of Muslims were already natural-born citizens, and, as in the case of France, only had distant memories of their migratory background (Arkoun 2010).[7]

The connexion between the epistemological dimension of citizenship and political integration is intuitively strong. For example, an ethno-assimilationist approach that stresses the gulf between natural citizens and unnatural aliens is obviously expected to offer the fewest incentives to migrants to integrate politically. By contrast, policies that favour the *ex post* acquisition of citizenship are expected to lead to higher levels of integration, since migrants are more likely to respond positively when the doors to citizenship are left open to them (Cinalli and Giugni 2011; de Rooij 2012; Jones-Correa 1998; Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009; Howard 2009; Martiniello 2009). Nevertheless, the use of epistemological citizenship has produced inconsistent results when applied to the integration of Muslim citizens across Europe (Cinalli and Giugni 2016a). In this case, hypotheses are harder to formulate and testing yields ambiguous results owing to the application of a framework thus has been built for the study of migrants, not citizens. Of course, it is possible that an ethno-assimilationist type of epistemological citizenship may have a broader discursive resonance that constrains both Muslim migrants and Muslim citizens; yet the impact it has on them can hardly be the same because of the deeper processes that help to embed citizens (including Muslims), but not migrants into the structures, practices and purposes of their national communities.[8]

My ontological conceptualisation of citizenship represents a more suitable framework for analysing variations in the integration of MFCs. First of all, because it is possible to establish a parallel between the horizontal and vertical dimensions of citizenship on the one hand, and civic behaviour, shared dispositions, and more specifically political engagement on the other. When one considers the large volume of works that have been produced about integration, one is astonished to discover that this is a central issue even in the Western democracies with the most successful integration records (Adams 2007). The idea of integration has originally been approached from an economic perspective, for example by focusing on things like income and employment status, based on the assumption that once they are economically integrated, migrants automatically develop deeper forms of integration. Hence, migrant literature

from the late 1990s onwards has especially dealt with these deeper forms of integration, looking at issues like language, marriages, identity, participation in institutional life, and inter-ethnic friendships (Kymlicka 1998: 17–18). A lot of work has been done, involving the analysis of a large volume of variables, often aggregated into more sophisticated indexes, according to a multidimensional approach (Coussey and Christensen 1997; Fizgerald 1997).

Most importantly for our own analysis, many works have relied on extensive research on indicators of integration that fit well the two main dimensions of ontological citizenship, for example, by focusing on variables such as voting, political mobilisation, associationism, volunteer networks, trust, values, and so forth. In particular, these variables have been used as an operationalisation of a comprehensive notion of political integration, and then linked, in a more or less explanatory approach, to different decision-making and institutions in the policy domain. The aim was usually to assess specific policy performances, often in order to determine whether multiculturalism was achieving better or worse results than other models.[9] These works have also done their utmost to go beyond the limited possibilities offered by the analysis of typical government census data, often drawing on individual surveys designed to capture the subjective dimensions of integration (Choi and Madhavappallil 2009; Reinsch 2001; Statham and Tillie 2016). In spite of their usual epistemological approach, they have thus provided the basis on which to develop subsequently more systematic studies of the relationship between horizontal citizenship and vertical citizenship on the one hand and integration on the other, which goes beyond the simple *hic et nunc* assessment of multicultural policies.

Focusing on the two dimensions of ontological citizenship also has the advantage of making my analysis less subject to the continuing legal shifts which constantly alter the rules governing nationality and thereby change the boundaries of a country's national community. French policies regulating the acquisition of nationality—the most emblematic way of declaring who belongs to the national community—have changed significantly over time, to such an extent that today there is still no conclusive scholarly consensus about whether France should be considered, in the long term, a country of civic or of ethnic citizenship (Weil 2008).

At the same time, my conceptualisation of ontological citizenship takes integration as a dependent variable, but also allows for a more focused approach on space and directions (the field, the horizontal and vertical directions) that can account for the relational dynamics linking citizenship to integration outcomes, beyond the usual analysis of causal effects based on (hierarchical) linear models and multivariate analysis.

Conceived in this way, the two dimensions of horizontal and vertical citizenship prove to be of central importance, though this is not always recognised across a number of scholarly fields that focus on various issues of political integration. Within the horizontal dimension, it has often been asserted that relations among citizens and their patterns of affiliation also characterise citizenship in general (Rokkan 1970). Works on social capital have also shown an interest in the public body of citizens and studied not only associational membership, but also trust and mutual exchanges (Bourdieu 1986; Putnam 1993, 2000).[10] As regards the vertical dimension, ensuring that 'minorities' of different kinds are properly represented has become a pressing item of discussion among policy-makers and scholars at least since the 1990s. By then, several countries in Europe had grown more culturally diverse, largely because of their significant number of Muslim citizens (Parekh 2000), and had therefore decided to encourage political integration via institutional structures and those mechanisms of electoral politics that favour their presentation of various cultural groups (Bird 2003; Bird et al. 2011; Cameron et al. 1996; Tate 2003). Scholars have also underlined the importance of responsiveness, stressing the key impact that elected officials have when they actively listen to the wishes of the governed, thereby reinforcing the relationship between citizens and their representatives (Powell 2004). Of crucial importance for projects which, like this one, are interested in the combined dynamics of horizontal and vertical citizenship, scholars have had a long-standing interest in the mutual relationship between a specifically civic dimension of (political) integration and a specifically political dimension of (political) integration (Almond and Verba 1963), for example by studying the interaction between an individual's previous experiences of engagement in associations (including associations whose goals are specifically political) and engagement with politics itself (Armingeon 2007; Verba et al. 1995).

Political integration has been studied as part of a broader focus on the structures and policies that are most likely to impact behaviours and attitudes. Particular attention has been paid to the effects of variations in 'political opportunity structures' (Della Porta 1995; Kriesi et al. 1995; Tarrow 1998; Tilly 1978). These have been the focus of many scholarly studies specifically interested in Muslims and their engagement with politics. In particular, the concept of political opportunity structures has been useful to articulate further together horizontal and vertical citizenship. For example, scholars have focused on anti-discrimination legislation, or on other policy provisions, elaborated to promote more civic connections and a stronger mutual recognition between citizens. At the same time, scholars have analysed the relationship between the degree of access that Muslims are granted to the domain of policy actors and institutions on the one hand, and their direct engagement with politics on the other (Cinalli and Giugni 2013a, 2016a; Cinalli and O'Flynn 2014a), for example looking at the impact of special rights of representation which are often given to Muslims on the basis of their common Muslim background (most often—though not exclusively—in multicultural countries). Crucially, conclusions about political opportunities have also shed light on the role of contextual environments of opportunities at the urban level (Eisinger 1973), thereby paving the way for my research on the variable combinations of the two ontological dimensions of citizenship and their impact across the national and the sub-national levels.

3   Combining Horizontal and Vertical Citizenship: The Bidimensional Field

I shall now examine more closely the potential combinations between the two dimensions of ontological citizenship, and their relationship with a specifically civic dimension and a specifically political dimension of (political) integration. My aim in so doing is to clear the ground for a research agenda that prioritises the study of the meso-level relational dynamics that alone can bridge the gap between
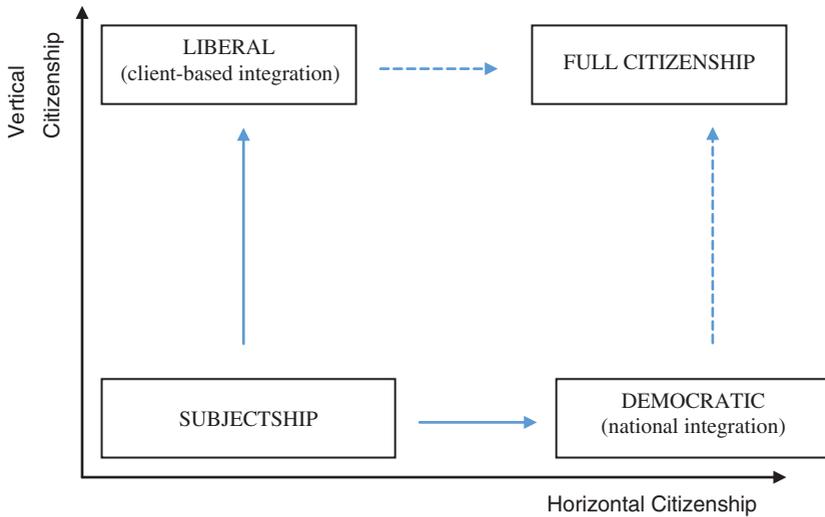
Fig. 1   Muslim citizenship and political integration as a bi-dimensional field

macro-level structures of citizenship and the micro-level behaviour and attitudes. Accordingly, Fig. 1 shows that citizenship for MFCs can be studied as a bidimensional field in which the horizontal and the vertical dimensions of citizenship combine. This bidimensional space can be used to identify any potential context of citizenship—reflected by the many combinations at the intersection between the two axes—impacting various instances of integration of MFCs. Represented in this way, the bidimensional field conveys quite well the notion of a citizenship that is in continuous transition between weaker or stronger access to the *civitas* or, alternatively, to the *polis*, thereby fitting the transition between migration and citizenship undergone by an important part of the population.

However, as is the case for the heuristics of any typology, it is easier to first consider the combinations taking place at the corners of the bidimensional field, in order to identify four major ideal types which can be used as the main coordinates for this open space, and in order to discuss their likely implications in terms of integration. In the bottom left-hand corner, low levels of horizontal citizenship combine with low

levels of vertical citizenship. This combination can be seen as the ideal type of 'subjectship', a situation in which MFCs have little access to either the *civitas* or the *polis*. Standing in direct opposition to the ideal type of 'full citizenship' located in the opposite top-right corner, subjectship is a state which is expected to bring about low levels of integration among MFCs, contrasting with the high levels of integration that are expected to follow 'full citizenship'. Subjectship can also be seen as the starting point from which countries of long-standing migration, like France, began to gradually move upwards (into the top left-hand corner) or sideways (into the bottom right-hand corner), as they sought to help the transformation of their large population of migrants into citizens. Historically, the various guest-worker schemes that boosted post-WWII reconstruction in Europe, at a time when migrants were seen as temporary visitors outside the scope of the national community, also correspond to the ideal type of subjectship. From the 1980s onwards, however, as these beliefs were shaken by economic globalisation, political neoliberalism, as well as by the forces of international conflict and famine, which pushed increasing numbers of migrants towards the West, old Westphalian national states were forced to become more flexible, not only in terms of sovereignty (e.g., by letting other nations have a say in their decision-making or by devolving it altogether to supranational institutions in the case of the EU) but also in their approach to citizenship, and opened up their national communities to migrants. This process translated into upward or sideward movements within the bidimensional space, with the exact nature of these movements varying from country to country depending on their decision to give non-national migrants greater access especially to the *civitas* or especially to the *polis*.

The sideways movement into the bottom right-hand corner represents the ideal type of 'democratic' citizenship. In this case, the pathway of Muslims between migration and citizenship is facilitated by equal rights and state protection, so as to promote common purposes and mutual engagement within the overall *civitas*. This is a democratic transition insofar as the main concern is in the creation and expansion of the *demos* (into which Muslims become incorporated over time). Policy actors and institutions in France focus first of all

on improving access to the *civitas,* postponing the issue of power and influence on decision-making, to such an extent that it often remains unproblematised. The optimistic assumption of French republicanism is that an expansive horizontal citizenship will automatically lead to better vertical access to the policy domain, as the French *civitas* corresponds itself with the French *demos*. So MFCs first gain access to the French public body sharing equal rights and common republican protection, and this first phase—which is expected to be followed by their increasing levels of political integration—gradually leads to the opening of vertical channels of full representation and better access to the policy domain. Full access to the *civitas* thus becomes the foundation on which MFCs can build to also gain better representation, and better access to policy-making. This means that from the perspective of the democratic type of transition from subjectship to full citizenship, there is no need, for example, for Muslim representatives with a special mandate to represent MFCs. In fact, democratic citizenship is expected to influence the behaviour and attitudes of MFCs in such a way as to align them with the rest of public body, for example by convincing them not to support and in fact to disapprove of political parties or movements appealing exclusively to Muslim constituencies.

The democratic transition is crucial when it comes to promoting full citizenship on the basis of the nation's general interest, as opposed to another contrasting type of ontological citizenship, namely, the 'liberal', that promotes the transformation of old migrants into new citizens on the basis of a different 'client-based' teleology of citizenship (Freeman 2002). The upward movement into the top left-hand corner represents this ideal type of liberal-clientelist citizenship. In this case, the national community is expanded by opening Muslims' access to the policy domain of institutions and decision-making, often by promoting the interests of Muslim constituencies, in order to ensure their political representation and to enable them to give direct input to policy actors and institutions when their particular interests are at stake. As regards its impact on integration, the liberal-clientelist citizenship is also expected to give Muslim stakeholders co-opted into the policy domain a stronger incentive to compete among themselves for better

visibility and a greater degree of recognition (Cinalli 2004; Della Porta and Andretta 2002; Fillieule 2003, 2005; Hayes 2005; Lolive 1999). The upward movement between subjectship and liberal-clientelist citizenship—in which the interests and preferences of Muslim citizens are considered in disjunction from the broader public interest—reflects a distinct teleology of citizenship in countries who see intermediate groupings (Muslims, in this case) as clients with whom gradually building the common *polis*. Those who give their preference to liberal-clientelist citizenship argue that Muslims are in a better position to engage horizontally with the public body of citizenry when they have already permeated the vertical dimension to such as extent that institutional representatives and decision-makers already take their preferences and claims into account.

Put simply, the democratic and the liberal-clientelist types are different, but similarly optimistic in their assumption of having devised the best way to promote political integration along the route toward full citizenship. The democratic type, with its focus on horizontal over vertical citizenship, is geared at increasing integration by fostering social proximity, mutual engagement and shared understanding. However, this in turn has an indirect beneficial impact for seizing opportunities that are vertically available, and hence, it enables Muslims to publicly express their needs and claims (Cinalli and O'Flynn 2014a; Gidengil and Stolle 2009; Lee et al. 2007; Maxwell 2007; Schildkraut 2015; Statham and Tillie 2016). By contrast, liberal-clientelist citizenship starts by prioritising the opening of access to institutions and decision-making (Browning et al. 1984; Shefter 1986; Ramírez and Fraga 2008), but then it indirectly has a positive impact for fostering higher levels of civic spirit and of mutual acknowledgement (Jacobs et al. 2004; van Deth et al. 2007).[11] Either way then, horizontal and vertical citizenship can reinforce each other through a virtuous cycle whereby one type of ontological citizenship leads to another. However, while this may be true in theory, there is less historical evidence supporting this convergence or some significant overlap, which in turn calls for more research into how different types of ontological citizenship can evolve into a fully functioning citizenship. Not only may full citizenship be an

unattainable chimera, but regressive scenarios always remain a possibility, as for example, when close interactions between Muslims and policy-makers take place in the context of strong social distance, with no convergence between the horizons of Muslims and of the broader public body of citizenry. This situation may well serve the state's purpose in pre-empting hard claims and collective mobilisations, but it also risks encouraging Muslim actors to compete even more for vertical access, thereby reinforcing their horizontal isolation and civic distance from the other citizens. Alternatively, a beneficial impact of horizontal citizenship in terms of integration can just as well hide—behind a formal acknowledgement of equal rights and common protection—discriminatory practices which effectively establish a second-class citizenship, a situation in which Muslims conform socially and culturally, but still lack vertical access.[12]

These potential interactions between the two dimensions of ontological citizenship invite us to investigate the relational nature of the bidimensional field of ontological citizenship a bit further. A number of relational dynamics can be identified which would fill the space left open between ontological citizenship as it appears at the macro-level and the micro-level behaviours and attitudes of MFCs. Horizontal citizenship is believed to reduce social distance and to increase the mutual recognition between MFCs and the citizenry. Thus, in the typical operationalisations of scholars working on social distance, weak ties among citizens, or a strong involvement in associationism, have been singled out as very important aspects. As regards vertical citizenship, it is believed to boost the political engagement of MFCs and to give them more influence over institutions and policy actors; it is also expected to lead to more favourable views on political involvement. Let us focus for a moment on the notion of representation along this vertical axis of citizenship. In order to determine how well represented Muslim citizens are, it is important to look not only at the policies favouring their proper representation—for example, the French Council of the Muslim Faith (henceforth, CFCM)—but also at the way these policies translate concretely into the interactions between MFCs and institutions and policy actors.

Moreover, being a relational field, the bidimensional field of citizenship is also useful in order to analyse dynamics that work across different scales; it represents a field of political and social interpenetration that extends from the level of political context at the macro-level to the micro-level behaviours and attitudes of MFCs. The articulations between the vertical and the horizontal dimensions of citizenship reflect a large number of interactions that fill the gap between ideal types of citizenship and the concrete outcomes of political integration. By focusing on these relational dynamics, the study of citizenship and integration breaks both with methodological individualism and with holistic determinism, which both move too hastily from the micro- to the macro-level, and vice versa. A case in point are the various approaches to epistemological citizenship, reflected in the debate about the respective merits of multiculturalism and French republicanism. This debate has often led to empirical studies that rely on syllogistic logic. So for instance, if multicultural contexts score higher than French republicanism on certain measures of integration, researchers deduce that multiculturalism is a better predictor of integration. By contrast, when one approaches citizenship as a relational field, the strongest emphasis is on the variable combinations of horizontal and vertical citizenship, and to variable outputs in terms of integration. By approaching the problem of integration in this way, I get a better grasp of the many open-ended interdependency relationships that can link MFCs to the public body and to the policy domain, respectively. Seen from this perspective, the study of the relational dynamics at work in the bidimensional space allows for a more nuanced understanding of the integration of MFCs.

4   Citizenship as a Relational Field: Networks, Discourse and Contentious Politics

I have showed that approaching citizenship as a relational field brings together a number of essential concepts such as opportunities, representation, civic membership, mutual acknowledgement, common

purposes, political participation and trust, to mention but a few, which are at the heart of a comprehensive framework that emphasises cross-scale relational dynamics. The privileging of relational dynamics means that I also need to focus more specifically on the interactions between Muslims and policy actors and institutions on the one hand, and broader civil society on the other, and, in particular, on the way these interactions are shaped by their discourse, their networks and their use of contentious politics. If we begin by analysing discourse as a relational dynamic, we need to proceed in two stages, which correspond to the horizontal and the vertical dimensions of the bidimensional field. On the one hand, it is important to measure discourse in such a way as to be able to detect potential idiosyncrasies which indicate if there is a distance between Muslims and the broader public body of citizenry (these can include anti-Muslim attitudes and prejudices), since hostility may increase or decline as MFCs strengthen their connections to across the public and the policy domain (Ford 2008; Hajnal 2002). By relying on the pragmatics of discourse, we can distinguish between public interventions that promote a pro-Muslim discourse, and those that promote an anti-Muslim discourse. In other words, an extensive study of the public domain also makes it possible to evaluate discursive conflicts by taking into account the pro- or anti-Muslim views expressed by all the actors.

On the other hand, it is also important to engage with the production of a hegemonic semantics (Fetzer 2000; Sides and Citrin 2007; Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2008). The advantage of a semantics-based approach to MFCs is that it sheds light on them by analysing specific themes and frames. After all, the overall opportunities and constraints for MFCs do not only consist of formal political arrangements, legislation and policies, but also of informal beliefs and agreements that resonate throughout hegemonic public discourse. This allows us to examine how the connections between citizenship and integration are intermediated by discourse, which helps to forge certain institutional and public orientations when it comes to Muslims, to foster (or to undermine) their visibility in the public domain, and to make their ability to

intervene in it stronger or weaker. In fact, the cultural construction of citizenship does not only take place within the confines of the political realm,[13] but it is also shaped by a widespread public participation in the continuous re-elaboration of discourse (Chilton and Schäffner 1997; De Cillia et al. 1999; Wodak 2009).

Furthermore, my assessment of the cross-scale relational dynamics at work in the field of citizenship will be carried out not only at the national level, but also by focusing on the specific situation in urban Lyon. The advantages of triangulating with sub-national data become very obvious when we consider the second type of meso-level relational dynamics, namely, networks. A closer look at networks is useful in order to identify the most important relational dynamics that shape horizontal and vertical access of MFCs to civil society and policy actors, respectively. Some scholars have specifically focused on horizontal networks, for example, by studying some of the major cultural communities in Europe and their networks of organisations, relying on the notion of 'ethnic capital' (as it is reflected by these networks) to explain their level of integration (Fennema 2004; Tillie 2004). This analysis has even been extended in two main directions. On the one hand, some studies have focused on the role of interactions between cultural communities and autochthonous majorities (Jacobs et al. 2004; Phalet and Swyngedouw 2002), in order to evaluate integration by measuring the degree of mutual acknowledgement. On the other hand, however, other studies have preferred to focus on vertical networks, for example by analysing political integration in terms of the bottom-up exchanges of minorities with policy actors (Leighley 2001), and by considering the extent to which institutions may channel generalised trust from the top (Rothstein and Stolle 2003).

Overall, these studies have relied on a strong scholarly tradition of network studies underlying the distinction between 'weak' and 'strong' ties (1973). This distinction rests on the idea that 'whatever is to be diffused can reach a larger number of people, and traverse greater social distance when passed through weak ties rather than strong' (Granovetter 1973: 1366). Ties between two given actors are stronger, or weaker, to the extent that these ties link the two actors to a larger, or

smaller, number of other actors to which they both are connected.[14] By contrast, weak ties work as a bridge between different cohorts of actors that would be otherwise disconnected.[15] These weak ties do not foster cohesion, but they are crucial for spreading ideas and practices that may help to fill in gaps between different groups on the basis of different religion, nationality, geography, and so forth (Granovetter 1983: 202). The analysis of weak ties can be highly telling when applied within the context of research on MFCs, even when not dealing directly with issues of political integration. Some scholarly works have focused on social interactions between 'co-ethnics' or between 'ethnic' majorities and minorities. In so doing, these works have proved that weak ties serve as bridges between distinct webs of dense networks (Hagan 1994, 1998; Wilson 1998), and that can produce some strong beneficial effects, for example, in terms of economic integration (Bagchi 2001; Pfeffer and Parra 2009; Sanders et al. 2002).

Lastly, my focus on contentious politics as yet another relational dynamic sheds further light on the role of Muslim actors as aggregative sites favouring agency. While many indicators of political integration reflect purely individual experiences, for example voting and associationism, many others pertain to engagements which are relationally grounded (see Boudourides 2004; Knoke 1990; Savage and Burrows 2007). Accordingly, contentiousness can be appraised as a relational characteristic that can impact on Muslim actors in a way to make them the 'insiders' or the 'outsiders' within the political processes (Tilly 1978; McAdam et al. 2006). In this way, the analysis of contentiousness fits the search for cross-scale relational dynamics in the middle range between 'the stratosphere of global abstraction and the underground of thick description' (Elster 1989; Hedstrom and Swedberg 1998; Little 1991; Merton 2004/1949; Tilly 2007: 1). These dynamics at the heart of contentious politics can concatenate into more complex processes such as 'radicalisation and polarisation of conflict; formation of new balances of power; and re-alignments of the polity along new lines' (McAdam et al. 2001: 33; Sustein 2002), thereby intermediating between political structure at the macro-level and the political agency at the micro-level (Tilly 2007).

Put simply, the study of contentious politics takes my analysis of relational dynamics at the meso-level a step further. It suggests engaging in full with the collective mobilisations of MFCs through their movements and organisations in their quality of main channels of contentiousness of MFCs. Attention needs to be focused not only on the public side of these collective mobilisations—to be taken as what is visible in the public domain, for example in media outlets—but also on the invisible side of other forms of contentious politics that do not reach out the public domain. Different forms and degrees of contentiousness may foster broader cross-cutting alliances and identities within the citizenry. They may prove to be crucial when individuals come together and, through increasing interactions, build up common political attitudes and identities, negotiate a shared conception of their interests and, through successive brokerages and aggregations, manage to achieve collective mobilisation (Diani and McAdam 2003; McAdam et al. 2001; McAdam et al. 2007). Since different forms and degrees of contentiousness may deepen the potential cleavage between Muslim outsiders and policy insiders, a more accurate analysis is needed to show the extent to which this cleaving process is at work. So, for example, polarisation is regarded with utmost concern on the base of the assumption that actors united through strong relationships tend to be more alike, thus clashing with actors from other groupings—instead of encouraging integration, like-minded interaction instead encourages contentiousness and clashing (cf. Cinalli 2003; Fishkin et al. 2010; Phalet and Swyngedouw 2002; Sunstein 2002). Yet, when dealing with the collective mobilisation of MFCs, it remains to be seen whether contentiousness comes truly together with interactions among the like-minded, since more relational space for MFCs to communicate among themselves, frame issues, and develop arguments, do not necessarily translate into clashing (Mansbridge 1999).

Overall, a broad range of questions can be answered by relying on a research design that makes use of discourse, networks, and contentious politics to evaluate cross-scale relational dynamics linking citizenship to integration. I can appraise the weight of potential

divides between Muslims and non-Muslims, the policy domain and civil society, the national and the sub-national levels, identifying any durable pattern in terms of vertical and horizontal interpenetration. My analysis of cross-scale dynamics in the relational field also enables me to observe closely the role played by Muslims across the public and the policy domains, and to evaluate whether policy agendas are likely (or not) to adapt to prevailing stances in the public domain (Freeman 2002).

5 Indicators, Analyses and Cross-Scale Conundrums

The elements of the theoretical framework underpinning the research in this book have by now been well spelt out. What I will provide in this appendix are more details about my approach to each of these elements (or my 'operationalisation' of them, in the jargon of the social sciences). The data that I draw on are unique in France insofar as they come from a number of large research projects that have been carried out throughout the long decade under examination. The analyses presented in the course of the next chapters are thus based on a number of different approaches and datasets, that form part of an overall research strategy that relies on continuous triangulations at the national and the sub-national levels, as well as across various fields, simultaneously dealing with systematic information at the micro-level of agency, at the meso-level of cross-scale relational dynamics, and at the macro-level of policy-making and legal provisions. Focusing first on policy-making and on legal provisions, my analyses take the institutional context into account in order to investigate the impact of a number of variables of 'political opportunities'.[16] By analysing various policy documents, regulations, statistics and official sets of data, and by conducting interviews with policy insiders, I was able to better grasp the institutional context in which MFCs evolve. The data relates to the major provisions designed to give MFCs full and equal access to the community of

French 'nationals' (horizontal citizenship), as well as to those that facilitate their access to the policy domain (vertical citizenship).

Vertically, I focus my attention on the role granted by the state to Muslim institutions such as mosques or the CFCM, in order to promote the access of MFCs to the French *polis*. Most importantly, this book also analyses data pertaining to representation. This includes information about electoral dynamics, which I use to assess not only the extent to which MFCs integrate politically, but also the extent to which they are politically included, by examining the composition of France's legislatures. Being represented in a legislative body is obviously a telling variable, since it indicates a group's degree of access to the *polis*, especially in contexts of strong universalism that preclude any form of top–down programmes specifically targeting Muslim citizens on the basis of their group interests (at least compared to contexts of strong multiculturalism). While a republican context obviously does not translate into strong substantive representation—for example, through speeches or programmes focusing on issues pertaining to the preferences, interest, and needs of MFCs—it is nonetheless normal to expect MFCs to enjoy a reasonable level of descriptive representation in a country of long-standing migration like France, and for there to be a number of MPs of migrant origin with a Muslim background.

The vertical dimension needs to be completed with a horizontal analysis that considers policies and legal provisions that facilitate or constrain common republican protection and the equal access of MFCs to the *civitas*. Here I pay particular attention to policies and legal arrangements that promote anti-discrimination initiatives and that work for cultural pluralism. While the anti-discrimination focus makes it possible to assess whether discrimination does indeed affect MFCs in spite of the fact that they are theoretically equal to all other citizens, analysing policies dealing with cultural pluralism (like those devoted to issues such as Muslim schools or the wearing of headscarves) allows us to shed light on the relation between the French state and Islam. It should be noted that I have entirely excluded from my analysis the study of variables pertaining to citizenship acquisition (which many scholarly works on Muslims typically take into account) because they create a confusion between Muslim migrants and citizens. The majority of MFCs may be of migrant descent, and this book is

indeed focused on the pathway leading from migration to citizenship. For the most part, however, MFCs were born on French soil, attended French schools and only have weak connections to their countries of cultural origin. I have thus established a clear distinction between 'Muslims' and 'migration'. This allows me to avoid reproducing the normative bias noticeable in those analyses that constantly establish a connection between them.

Moving on to consider the micro-level of integration, my approach relies on punctual outcomes and focuses on measurable behaviours and attitudes. It thereby goes beyond any exclusively behaviourist view of political engagement, thus taking into account the interiorisation of crucial republican values and attitudes. In line with the extant scholarship about the role of cultural, social and religious values (Inglehart and Norris 2012), the specifically civic dimension of political integration is assessed by determining the extent to which MFCs mentally incorporate two fundamental republican tenets. The first is the idea that religious practice should be exclusively confined to the private sphere in order to respect the principle of the absolute neutrality of the public space. My focus on this first republican tenet reflects the explicit suspicion, noticeable in public opinion, that Muslims in particular find it more difficult than other citizens to adapt to the imperatives of republican *laïcité*. The second fundamental republican tenet is the idea that all citizens are fully equal, which entails a rejection of patriarchal views that go against the principle of equality between men and women. In this case, there is also an explicit suspicion that Muslims in particular may find it hard to respect the principle of gender equality.

Following this study of secularisation and equality, the study of the specifically civic dimension of political integration then considers the behavioural component by assessing the social ties through which Muslims minimise their distance vis-à-vis non-Muslims, thereby reflecting the republican imperative to stand on the side of non-secluded forms of community life that integrate each individual into the broader *civitas*. The behavioural component is also studied by measuring participation in associative life through the involvement of MFCs in a large range of associations. As regards the analysis of a more specifically political dimension of integration, a number of behavioural variables are equally

analysed with particular reference to voting, contacting activities, protest activities and an overall measure of general political participation that combines all the other specific types. The distinction among these variables is important because it allows for considering the extent to which each type of political behaviour is only one expression from within a large *repertoire* of political mobilisation (Tilly 1978). At the same time, the use of another group of variables points to political attitudes, inquiring into political trust of MFCs, their confidence in having ability to really understand politics, and the interest that they have in politics.

The assessment of cross-scale dynamics intermediating between the macro-level and the micro-level of analysis focuses especially on discourse, networks and contentiousness. The study of discourse allows for examining the vast plurality of modes of public intervention that different actors use beyond typical collective mobilisation (Sanders 1997; Tilly 1978; Young 2000), while at the same time expanding the specific attention that studies of discourse typically give to French public controversies such as the ban on headscarves and full-face veils. The study of networks allows for appraising the variable interpenetration of Muslims with civil society and policy actors, with a view to identify cleavages across actors and their groupings, and the variable nature of these cleavages. Lastly, the study of contentiousness is valuable to identify the mobilisation of Muslims, as well as their position in the relational field between a contentious pole of adversarial politics on the one hand, and, on the other, a pole where Muslim actors stand out for pacified action. Altogether, the treatment of these three cross-scale dynamics draws on a burgeoning scholarly literature that has applied a relational approach not only to the study of contentious politics (Diani 1992, 1995; Gould 1995; Diani and McAdam 2003; Diani and Bison 2004), but also to the analysis of the relationship between bottom-up involvement and decision-making processes in the policy domain (Cinalli 2007; Christopoulos 2008; Christopoulos and Quaglia 2009; Feiock and Scholz 2010).

While the specific choices that guide the analysis of these three cross-scale dynamics in the relational field will be explained in better detail

in Chap. 5, here it is sufficient to emphasise the crucial role of these relational dynamics for bridging the potential distance between MFCs on the one hand, and, on the other, French *civitas* and *polis*, respectively, across different levels and different fields. The case study of urban Lyon is central throughout the assessment of cross-level dynamics in the relational field. This sub-national focus makes all the more sense when dealing with networks, since any analysis centred on the national context would make it impossible, in practice, to really identify all the ties linking Muslim actors to all the other actors across the public and the policy domains.[17] At the same time, I compare the political behaviour of Muslim actors with the political behaviour of unemployed actors (including movements, associations, and organisations of different kinds). By taking the field of unemployment as a baseline, my aim is to gain new insights into the political integration of MFCs, be it only in relative terms compared to another major field of potential marginalisation. A comprehensive cross-scale approach grounded on a cross-level and cross-field comparison can thus rely on an extensive set of key conceptual and methodological tools for examining the relational field within which MFCs engage with politics.

Notes

1. In Rome, there were different legal classes with different legal rights associated with them. Although the right to vote for assemblies and the right to stand for a public office were reserved for the highest class, the main question was not how to channel vertically the desires of citizens in order to influence the decisions of governors (or how to make the latter more accountable to the governed), but rather the main focus was the horizontal integration of all citizens, citizenship being understood as an unconditional protection for all those who could claim '*civis romanus sum*' ("I am a Roman citizen").

2. Cf. the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (also known as the 'Edict of Caracalla') which declared that all free men and women in the Roman Empire had the same rights as Roman men and women. Although there is an extensive debate about the true reasons for passing the Edict (possibly based on taxation needs), the significance of this constitutional change

was considerable. Before then, only inhabitants of Italy (or Romans and their descendants living anywhere) held full citizenship, whereas 'provincials' were for the most part non-citizens. The weaker exclusionary practices compared to Athens may be due to the particular practicing of Roman citizenship rather than to its stronger emphasis on horizontal citizenship. This contrast, however, opens up the possibility of further research to assess the extent to which a more political practice of citizenship is likely to naturally include a smaller number of people.

3. This climax also included the granting of social rights in the aftermath of World War II, and from May 1968 onwards the adoption of a stronger inclusion agenda, so as to promote a level playing field for political engagement.

4. Besides the mainly vertical approach and the mainly horizontal approach, one can also identify a third group of countries who continued to rely on a regime of 'guest-working', thereby ignoring the issue of migrants' access to citizenship. In some cases, however, the choice between vertical citizenship and horizontal citizenship, and their variable combinations, was simply delayed by of a few decades, until it no longer became tenable to deny that migration had renewed the national community, and when the situation was more propitious to launch plans aimed at expanding the citizenship (as in the economically growing and politically left-leaning Germany just after its reunification in the 1990s).

5. Of course the ontological and the epistemological dimensions are linked, as the literature on, for instance, the classic dichotomy between republican and ethnic citizenship makes quite clear (Brubaker 1992). For example, the republican model has responded to the requirement of universalism by promoting the more abstract and formal notion of the neutral citizen. Citizenship is in this case defined by the fundamental rights that are shared by all those who are part of the citizenry. Nevertheless, the emphasis has mostly been put on the criteria for becoming part of that citizenry. In the republican camp, scholars have identified citizens as those who are willing to adhere to certain political values and to take pride in belonging to the national community (Renan 1882; Schnapper 1994). Similarly, an ethnic conception of epistemological citizenship founded on various cultural affiliations (race, ethnicity, religion, and so forth) has reinforced the use of cultural criteria for determining who is (or is not) a member of the national community. Once the restrictive agenda of excluding non-citizens had

been replaced by an expansive agenda aimed at including them, ethnic citizenship helped to establish multiculturalism as a system where access to the citizenry was granted on the basis of cultural affiliations (Kymlicka 1995; Taylor 1992).

6. The hegemony of epistemological citizenship has also overshadowed other key questions, for example its teleological justifications.

7. One practical example of problematic nomenclature is immensely telling. During the last decade, the French government created a 'Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Solidarity Development' (*Ministère de l'Immigration, de l'Intégration, de l'Identité nationale et du Développement solidaire*). By blurring, in its own name, the very difference between migration and citizenship, this Ministry showcased the contentious confusion surrounding these issues. The Ministry had a short life and ended as early as 2010 amidst protests from French society at large.

8. Cf. the notion of 'discursive opportunities' in the literature, which has been used to discuss this ambiguous confusion between the citizenship status of Muslims and the religious background of Muslim citizens (Cinalli and Giugni 2013a, b; Koopmans et al. 2005).

9. But see Sadhna and Jonnalagadda (2001) and Siegel (2007) for a few rare examples of studies where political integration is taken as an independent variable.

10. Cf. Fennema and Tillie (1999) as well as Togeby (2004) for a similar argument stating that social capital can help groups with few resources, such as migrants, to achieve a higher level of political integration compared to other groups.

11. Many scholars have looked at the importance of active participation and positive attitudes even while remaining within the borders of the pro- vs. anti-multiculturalism debate, mostly in order to highlight the drawbacks and the advantages of multiculturalism (Fennema and Tillie 1999, 2001; Berger et al. 2004; Jacobs et al. 2004).

12. For example, the widespread social movements and protests which began in the late 1960s—and which included African Americans in the USA, women, young people, and cultural groups of different kinds—put an end to a long-lasting period of second-class citizenship which had been maintained by a mismatch between horizontal citizenship and vertical citizenship. Also Cf. the old category of 'denization' used in Great Britain between the 1601 Act of Denization and the 1914 British

Nationality Act, but which can be traced as far back in history as certain legal precedents in ancient Rome (Berry 1944; Koessler 1946).

13. As one could be led to believe if one only examined the political claims made during parliamentary speeches, or in party manifestos, government press statements, and so forth.

14. In the original formulation of 'strong' and 'weak' ties of Granovetter (1973), the focus is on individuals. Here, I use the more neutral label of 'actor' as it can also be referred to associations and organisations of different kind.

15. A bridge is a tie that connects two other actors that would otherwise remain disconnected (Granovetter 1973: 1364).

16. Of course, the concept of political opportunities has been extensively operationalised in the literature, especially in works that include cross-national comparisons. For example, studies of 'configurations of power' typically focus on state decentralisation, the distribution of power across institutions, the degree of electoral proportionality, and the shape of party systems. This book does not need these extensive operationalisations because of its specific focus on France, using cross-national comparisons only to have a more detailed appraisal of integration in France on relative terms.

17. Cf. Frank (2011) and Wasserman and Faust (1994) for the hard limitations of sampling techniques in the study of networks.

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