

FRENCH POLITICS AND POLICY GROUP NEWS

No.9/October 2008

FPG/APSA Coordinators: Amy G. Mazur and Andrew Appleton, Season Hoard (Assistant Coordinator) Department of Political Science, Washington State University
e-mail: mazur@wsu.edu

Website: <http://www.wsu.edu/~frg/>

FPPG/ PSA Coordinator: Ben Clift, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick
e-mail B.M.Clift@Warwick.ac.uk

Website: <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/staff/clift/psafpp/>

GREETINGS TO FPG MEMBERS

The FPG-APSA continues to go from strength to strength, thanks to the great contributions of our membership, now up to 230 members from France, the USA, Denmark, Italy, Greece, Canada, Germany, Japan and the UK. We had a record seven panels at the APSA meetings in Boston this year and a hugely successful reception thanks to our generous sponsors--the French Embassy, AFSP, CEVIPOF, Sciences Po Bordeaux, and the PSA as well as seven submissions for the Georges Lavau Dissertation Award. The group is publishing its first book, *The French Fifth Republic at Fifty: Beyond Stereotypes* (Palgrave, 2009), and the Stanley Hoffmann Best Article Award, to be awarded for the second time in 2009, has become fully institutionalized with long-term financing from Sciences Po Paris and the AFSP working with the group to administer the prize. International collaborative efforts continue through APSA-Toronto 2009, AFSP-Grenoble 2009 and the French Politics and Policy Group of the Political Studies Association in the UK, in particular through this newsletter.

In light of the ever-increasing institutional permanence of the group and the length of our own tenure as coordinators since 2000, we will be conducting a search for bringing a new leadership team in Fall 2009. Special thanks this year go to François Rivasseau, James Shields, Nonna Mayer, Yves Déloye, Pascal Perrineau, Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot, Michael Bosia, Jocelyn Evans, Ben Clift, Sylvain Brouard, Daniel Sabbagh, Katherine Oppello, Jean-Michel Eyméri-Douzans, Michel Gardette, Gérard Grunberg, Pascal Daloz, Francesca Vassallo and Nirmal Joshi. We would also like to welcome our new assistant at WSU, Season Hoard.

So please read on for more details on our collective accomplishments and future activities. The first half of the newsletter is on the FPG-APSA and the second half on the PSA group. Additional information about the two groups and their activities can also be found on their websites listed above. And as always, do not hesitate to share with us your news, comments and questions.

Bien Cordialement,

Andrew Appleton and Amy G. Mazur

News of the French Politics Groups-APSA

APSA- Boston, 2008

Thanks to two permanent panel slots from APSA and two additional slots from the related group of the ECPR and the APSA theme section, panel chairs willingness to propose to other sections, and division chairs agreement to co sponsor, we were able to sponsor seven panels with the divisions of European Politics Society, Sexuality and Politics, Religion and Politics, Comparative Politics and Ethnicity and Politics. One of our panels was also picked up by two other divisions. We include a list of the panel titles. A detailed listing is available on our website and papers may be downloaded at the APSA website <http://www.apsanet.org/>.

- Act-Up Paris at 20: A Transatlantic Dialogue on Social Movements, the State, and Global Inequality
- Roundtable in Honor of Stanley Hoffmann: The U.S., France, and the Search for a Just International System
- Governing and Administrating: The French Case in Comparative Perspective
- The New 'Special Relationship'?: Post-Gaullist France and America
- Roundtable: Indirect Strategies toward Racial Equality: The United States in Comparative Perspective
- Muslims in Western Democracies: Religious Diversity and Political Incorporation
- The Impact of Gender Parity Law on French Political Life and Beyond

Under the leadership of roundtable chair, James Shields at the University of Warwick, and with the line-up of stellar participants he assembled, the Stanley Hoffmann roundtable drew a record number of attendees--over 100 people. Publication possibilities are also being explored. The combined attendance of the other panels reached 100 as well.

APSA-Toronto, September 3rd-6th, 2009: Politics in Motion: Change and Complexity in the Contemporary Era

Proposals for papers, panels and roundtables need to be submitted through the APSA web-based system by **December 15th**. You will also need to submit to the FPG coordinators your proposal by this deadline. Given our limited number of panel slots, a pre-requisite for all submissions is co-sponsorship, so please indicate your division cosponsor in your application. We will still accept proposals for individual papers, but we will give priority to complete panels and will place papers on preexisting panels, where possible. Consider submitting directly to the theme chairs if your panel fits well with this year's theme. Last year, we were able to obtain an additional panel. Be sure to let us know you are doing this; we will also contact the theme program chairs on your behalf. If you have questions, do not hesitate to contact us; we are happy to help you with the APSA web based submission system, which can difficult to navigate.

Short Courses at APSA – Also remember the short course format at APSA. You can hold half day or day long workshops on a given topic the Wednesday prior to the conference. The deadline is not until mid March for this and short courses are automatically accepted. This is a great format for teaching workshops or coordinating a new or on-going project. We have held two short courses – one on teaching French Politics in 2005 and a second one for the Fifth Republic at Fifty book in 2006.

Frank L. Wilson Best APSA Paper Award

Inaugurated in 2004, the award is given each year for papers presented on French politics at the previous year's meeting. Papers can be comparative as long as a significant part focuses on France. For the fourth year of the prize, the award committee decided to recognize an entire panel:

The 2007 French Presidential Election: A Case Study for Electoral Choice Models

Vincent Tiberj (Sciences Po Paris / CEVIPOF)

Eric Belanger (McGill University)

Michael Lewis-Beck (University of Iowa)

Jean Chiche (Sciences Po Paris /CNRS-CEVIPOF)

Viviane Le Hay (Sciences Po Paris / CNRS-CEVIPOF)

Bernard Dolez (University of Nantes, CERAPS)

Annie Laurent (CNRS-CERAPS)

Georges Lavau Dissertation Award for 2008

Co-sponsored by the FPG and the journal, *French Politics, Culture & Society*, the award was first made in 1993 and is given every three years. With seven submissions for dissertations published from 2005 to 2007, the selection committee, chaired by James Shields (Warwick University) with Francesca Vassallo (University of Southern Maine) and Jean-Pascal Daloz (University of Oxford), made the award to:

Marcos Ancelovici (McGill University) for his dissertation, “Between Adaptation and Resistance: Labor Responses to Globalization in France” (MIT, 2008, defended in 2007).

The other dissertations submitted included the following:

- Nicholas Toloudis, “From Mobilization to Resistance: Transgressive Teachers in France and the United States, 1830-1960” (Columbia, 2006)
- June Burnham, “The Impact of Political Leadership on Bureaucratic Institutions in France: The Case of DATAR” (LSE, 2005)
- Jonathan Laurence, “Managing Transnational Religion: Muslims and the State in Western Europe (1974-2004)” (Harvard, 2006)
- Kyoko Sato, “Meanings of Genetically Modified Food and Policy Change and Persistence: The Cases of France, Japan and the United States” (Princeton, 2007)
- Michelle Neuman, ‘Governance of Early Care and Education: Politics and Policy in France and Sweden’ (Columbia, 2007)

- Mark Vail, “Beyond the Frozen Welfare State: Recasting Welfare Capitalism in Contemporary France and Germany” (California Berkeley, 2005).

See our website for complete versions of some of the dissertations. The next award will be made in 2011 for dissertations defended from 2008-2011. Previous awardees include:

Cyndy Skach 2005 (Harvard University)
 Virginia Guiraudon 1999 (European University Institute)
 John Huber 1996 (Columbia University)
 Amy Mazur 1993 (New York University)

Stanley Hoffmann Best Article Award on French Politics

With permanent financial support from Science Po-Paris and administrative support from the Association Française de Science Politique, we will be making our second award in 2009. Awarded on a semi annual basis, the Stanley Hofmann Prize is given for the best English-language article published in a refereed journal on French Politics. Articles may be on any aspect of French Politics and the selection committee makes its choice from articles published in over 100 journals. Articles published in 2007 and 2008 will be considered for the 2009 award, and the award will be announced at our business meeting at the APSA meetings. The awardees receive 2000 euros and are required to accept the award at the annual APSA meeting the year the award is made.

Following an extensive consideration of a pool of 233 articles, the prize committee selected the following three winners for the first award given in 2007, with the top prize going to James Shields (University of Warwick) for his January 2006 article in *Parliamentary Affairs*, “Political Representation in France: A Crisis of Democracy?” and second place going to David Yost (US Naval Postgraduate School) for his June 2006 article in *International Affairs*, “France’s New Nuclear Doctrine” and Elaine Thomas (Bard College) for her March 2006 article in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, “Keeping Identity at A Distance: Explaining France’s New Legal Restrictions on the Islamic Headscarf.” For the list of reviews consulted and abstracts of the 233 articles considered go to our website.

The French Fifth Republic at Fifty

Coming out of an APSA Short Course sponsored by the FPG and organised by Sylvain Brouard in 2006, the book, *The French Fifth Republic at Fifty: Beyond Stereotypes*, will be published by Palgrave in 2008 (<http://www.palgrave.com/products/title.aspx?PID=318913>). Under the combined editorship of Sylvain Brouard, Andrew Appleton and Amy Mazur, the book is the culmination of the highly collaborative and international nature of the FPG more broadly speaking. A follow-up conference will be held at Sciences Po Bordeaux in early 2009 to further the international dialog about research on the Fifth Republic. Here, we present the book’s table of contents.

1 France the Unexceptional by Andrew Appleton

Part I Decision-making Institutions

2 Studying the Presidency under the Fifth Republic: Past Approaches and Future Perspectives by Robert Elgie

3 Governments under the Fifth Republic: The Changing Instruments/Weapons of Executive Control by Emiliano Grossman

4 Gone With the Wind? The National Assembly under the Fifth Republic by Eric Kerrouche

5 The French Party System: Fifty Years of Change by Nicholas Sauger

6 The Constitutional Council: The Rising Regulator of French Politics by Sylvain Brouard

7 Defence and Armed Forces: The End of the Nuclear Monarchy? by Bastien Irondelle

8 France, Europe and the World: Foreign Policy and the Political Regime of the Fifth Republic by Richard Balme

Part II Institutions and State–Society Relations

9 Economic Interventionism in the Fifth Republic by Ben Clift

10 Patterns of Public Budgeting in the French Fifth Republic: From Hierarchical Control To Multi-Level Governance by Frank Baumgartner, Abel François and Martial Foucault

11 Rethinking Social Protection in the Fifth Republic: ‘Buttressed Liberalization’ in an Age of Austerity Mark Vail

12 Local/regional Governments and Centre–periphery Relations in the Fifth Republic by Patrick le Galès and Gilles Pinson

13 The Demise of Statism? Associations and the Transformation of Interest Intermediation in France by Cornelia Woll

Part III The Republican Universal Model as Institution

14 Republican Universalism Faces the Feminist Challenge: The Continuing Struggle for Gender Equality by Eleonore Lépinard and Amy Mazur

15 Race, Racism and Anti-discrimination in France by Ariane Chebel d’Appolonia

Assessing French Political Science

The FPG has been working with the AFSP and APSA to facilitate an assessment of contemporary political science in France. Researchers have been compiling data on various aspects of institutional and individual practices, such as methodology requirements for graduate training, publication patterns in French political science journals, and a meta analysis of political science scholarship on France. Some of these data have already appeared in essay form in the Data, Measures, and Methods section of *French Politics*. See also the recent article by Yves Déloyes and Nonna Mayer. “French Political Science at a Turning Point.” *French Politics*. 6(3) 280-301. A special issue in *PS: Political Science* is in the planning stages based on the two APSA roundtables on mapping French Political Science will also provide the foundation for a special issue in *PS: Political Science*.

Methodology and French Political Science, AFSP-Toulouse, 2007

The FPG-APSA and the AFSP co sponsored the workshop, "Réflexions sur les méthodes en Science politique des deux côtés de l'Atlantique" at the 9th Toulouse Congress for the AFSP in 2007. The workshop was a great success with over 100 participants across the three sessions. For more details on the Toulouse conference, the AFSP-FPG collaboration and the AFSP more generally go to <http://www.afsp.msh-paris.fr/>. Nonna Mayer's report on the workshop, posted on our website under the rubric "International Collaboration", provides some excellent reflections about methodology on both sides of the Atlantic.

Teaching and Research Resources on the FPG Website

The following resources are available on the FPG website:

- Collection of syllabi on French Politics posted under the rubric "Teaching";
- A list of journals where articles are published on French Politics and all abstracts of articles on French Politics between 2005-0 in the Awards section under the Stanley Hoffman Best Article Award;
- Recently defended dissertations in the Awards section under the Dissertation Award.

Search for A New Leadership Team

In the context of the institutionalization of the French Politics Group and the long tenure of the current leadership team at Washington State University – since 2000—we will be undergoing a search for new coordinators for the group to be put into place after next year's APSA meeting in Boston. A call will be sent out this Fall to all FPG members outlining specific administrative obligations and the new team will be announced at APSA—Toronto. The major criteria for selection will be the capacity to maintain and further develop current FPG activities.

News of the French Policy and Politics Group-PSA

APSA Conference in Boston, September 2008

The group cosponsored a drinks reception organised by Amy and the French Politics Group of the American Political Science Association.

PSA 2009 at Manchester: The Group's Proposed Panels

The Group has sponsored three panels for the forthcoming Manchester PSA Conference. We have yet to hear whether they have been accepted onto the programme.

FRENCH POLITICAL ECONOMY: Economic Patriotism and Economic Policy

This panel explores contemporary developments within French political economy against the backdrop of the conceptual framework of 'economic patriotism' (EP). This panel explores what the politics of EP in France tell us about the persistent tensions between neo-liberal market integration and national economic policies, with specific reference to the European political economy and EU economic governance. We are interested in how economic patriotism is inscribed within contemporary processes of market-making, or the re-regulatory activity framing markets in contemporary Europe.

Owen Parker (University of Warwick) *Challenging 'new constitutionalism' in the EU: French resistance, 'social Europe' and 'soft' governance*

Ben Clift (University of Warwick) *French Economic Patriotism: Legislative, Regulatory, & Discursive Dimensions*

Emiliano Grossman (Sciences-Po Paris) & Cornelia Woll (Sciences-Po Paris) *The French and the Bolkestein Directive: economic policy and public opinion*

Roundtable: The Fifth Republic at Fifty

Chair & Discussant: Ben Clift

At its inception, a time of great political upheaval in France, it was uncertain whether the new regime would last five years, let alone fifty. The longevity of the regime is due in part to its flexibility and adaptability, which is one theme explored in this roundtable. The roundtable explores some of the interesting patterns and dynamics of change and continuity within the French Republic over the last 50 years. As is fitting on such an anniversary, each contribution will offer a brief historical overview of their issue area and analyze the similarities and differences between the contemporary period and 50 years ago. The roundtable will reflect upon important elements of the Fifth Republic constitutional settlement.

Participants and their contribution titles:-

The French Party System, French Electoral Behaviour, and the French fifth Republic
Jocelyn Evans (Salford)

Governance and Governing in Fifth Republic France
Alistair Cole (Cardiiff)

The Fifth Republic – its political institutions and their evolution
Emiliano Grossman (& *Nicolas Sauger*) (CEVIPOF, Sciences Po, Paris)

The Far Right in the Fifth Republic at Fifty - electoral defeat, ideological victory? *James Shields* (Warwick)

The third panel, cosponsored with the Political Leadership specialist group, is organised by Professor David Bell. Details to follow in a later edition of this newsletter.

PSA 2008 at Swansea: The Group's Panels

The Group sponsored four very successful panels at the 2008 PSA Conference Swansea.

- Sue Collard (Sussex) organised a panel on the French Municipal Elections, 2008, involving Alistair Cole (Cardiff) and Aurelia Troupel (Monpellier).
- Jocelyn Evans (Salford) organised a panel entitled 'The French Elections one year on: academic and political 'rupture' involving himself, Rainbow Murray (Queen Mary, University of London), David Bell (Leeds), & Byron Criddle (Aberdeen).
- Alistair Cole organised a panel on State Reform and State Capacity Building in France' involving himself, Jean-Michel Eyméri-Douzans (IEP Toulouse), and Paul Stephenson (University of Maastricht)
- Ben Clift (Warwick) organised a panel entitled 'Changing Attitudes to the EU Within French Party Politics' involving himself, Gilles Ivaldi (Université de Nice), and Nick Startin (University of Western England).

PSA Vincent Wright Memorial Award 2007

The Judge for the 2007 Vincent Wright Prize for the best French Politics paper presented at the 2007 PSA conference in Bath was Professor David Bell (Leeds). The winner of the prize was Susan Milner (Bath) for her paper '*What Happened to the French Ministry for Social Economy?*'

In awarding the prize to Dr Milner's paper, Professor Bell's noted:

"Three conference papers were shortlisted. These were all excellent papers and they tackle very different problems of French government. All these papers are well-written although they are in first draft, but the Paper by Dr Milner, '*What Happened to the French Ministry for Social Economy?*' is the more finished of them. It is a paper that weaves in a good deal of primary research, opens up a question that ought to have been posed more urgently within the 'political studies' community and uses an interesting and challenging array of concepts. The other papers are also conceptually sophisticated and depend on first hand research, although not to the same degree."

PSA Vincent Wright Memorial Award 2008

The Judge for the 2008 Vincent Wright Prize for the best French Politics paper presented at the 2008 PSA conference in Swansea is Professor Nick Hewlett (Warwick). The short-listed papers were recently sent to Professor Hewlett. Deliberations are ongoing, and we will announce the winner in a future issue of this newsletter.

Franco-British Alliance Workshop on Economic Patriotism, Paris, September 2008.

The Second Workshop in the Franco-British Alliance Grant Series, organised by Ben Clift (University of Warwick) and Cornelia Woll (CERI, Sciences Po Paris) took place at CEVIPOF, 11-12 September 2008. This was the second workshop in a series on *Economic Patriotism: The Limits of the European Market Project*. It involved a range of speakers and participants including Glenn Morgan (Warwick), Helen Callaghan (Max Planck Institute), Emiliano Grossman, (Sciences Po), Patrick Le Galès (Sciences Po), Nicolas Veron (Bruegel), Ben Rosamond (Warwick), Catherine Hoeffler (Sciences Po), Wyn Grant (Warwick), Simon Bromley (Open University), and Nicolas Jabko (Sciences Po). Some of the team will be involved in the 2009 PSA panels organised by the group.

Conference Sponsorship: Women in French Politics: Still *le deuxième sexe*?, June 2008

In June the FP&P group sponsored a conference organised by Rainbow Murray at Queen Mary, University of London, entitled "Women in French Politics: Still *le deuxième sexe*?". The conference was well attended with a range of speakers, including keynote addresses from Amy Mazur (Washington State University) and Mariette Sineau (CEVIPOF). This was the first English-language conference on this subject and it attracted researchers from a range of countries. This resulted in the formation of an international research network on Women in French Politics (if you would like to join, please email Rainbow: r.r.murray@qmul.ac.uk). Selected papers from the conference are due to be published in a special issue of *Modern and Contemporary France* in 2010.

Conference sponsorship: Sarkozy's France one year on, May 2008

The Group sponsored a conference entitled *Sarkozy's France one year on* which took place at the *Institut Français* in London on May 5th-6th, 2008. Organised by Pierre Purseigle (Birmingham), the event explored, one year after the fact, what the election of Nicolas Sarkozy tells us about the evolution of French society and political culture. It explored whether the "*rupture*" advocated by the President paved the way for radical changes in the governance of the country or does it merely amount to a cunning political operation. Does Nicolas Sarkozy have what it takes to reform France in the face of a fierce globalized economic competition?

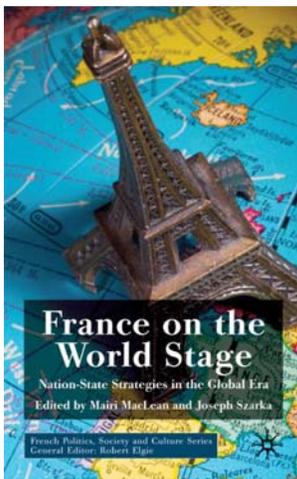
This two-day conference, organised by the University of Birmingham and Demos coincided with the first anniversary of the last presidential elections. Held at the French Institute, it brought a group of French experts to London, where together with British academics, policy makers and journalists, they shared their findings, discuss the latest scholarship, and propound evidence-based analyses of the Sarkozy administration. Speakers included: Marie-Anne Cohendet (Sorbonne), Jérôme Fourquet (IFOP), Gérard Grunberg (CEVIPOF), Kalypso Nicolaïdis (Oxford), Marc-Olivier Padis (Revue *Esprit*), Pascal Perrineau (CEVIPOF), François Purseigle (ENSA, Toulouse), Yves Surel (Sciences Po, Grenoble), Daniel Cohen, Eric Besson & Pierre Moscovici.

Symposium sponsorship: *The Lisbon Treaty and the Future of the European Union*, Glasgow University, December 2007

The Group cosponsored (along with the Italian and German PSA specialist groups) a symposium entitled *The Lisbon Treaty and the Future of the European Union* held at the University of Glasgow on 6-7 December 2007. Organised by Maurizio Carbone (Glasgow) (m.carbone@lbs.gla.ac.uk), the event involved a number of leading Europeanists have been approached, including S. Bulmer and C. Jeffrey on Germany; C. Lequesne, A. Cole and H. Drake on France. A book based on the conference proceedings is forthcoming.

Book Publication

Edited by Joseph Szarka & Mairi Maclean, *France on the World Stage: Nation State Strategies in the Global Era*, a book based on a conference the French Politics and Policy group sponsored in July 2005, was published by Palgrave in April 2008.



Detailed contents

Globalization and the Nation State: Conceptual Lenses on French Ambitions in a Changing World Order; M.Maclean & J.Szarka
French-American Relations after the Iraq War; G.Parmentier
From Confidence to Confusion: Franco-African Relations in the Era of Globalisation; T.Chafer
France in East Asia: The Europeanization of French Foreign Policy; R.Wong
The Burdensome Heritage of Prestige Politics; A.Sonntag
The French Rejection of the 2005 EU Constitution in a Global Context; N.Startin
Supporting Europe and Voting 'No'?; L.Binet
Using Europe to Keep the World at Bay: French Policy on EU Economic Governance; D.Howarth
French Corporate Governance in a Globalized World: A Changing Business Model?; M.Maclean

From Industrial Policy to Competitiveness Policy?: The New French Strategy; J-M.Trouille & H.Uterwedde
Facing Global Climate Risk: International Negotiations, European Policy Measures and French Policy Style; J.Szarka
Pushing Back and Reaching Out: French Television in the Global Era; R.Kuhn
Globalization and the Specificity of the French Republic: The End of the French Counter-Model?; G.Raymond

Future Plans

As ever, the group is keen to facilitate academic exchange of all kinds. It continues to make teaching documents available, and is always looking for additions to its portfolio of module documents. These can be sent to Ben Clift (B.M.Clift@Warwick.ac.uk).

We are always looking to support initiatives to organize conferences or seminars – either exclusively on French politics, or on French politics in a broader comparative perspective. If you have an idea for an academic event on French politics, why not contact either Ben Clift (B.M.Clift@Warwick.ac.uk) or Jocelyn Evans (J.A.Evans@salford.ac.uk).