



**UNIVERSITY
OF LONDON**

**INSTITUTE
IN PARIS**

ULC140

Issues and debates in contemporary French politics

Autumn 2023

Course convenor:

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Course objectives

The aim of this course is to introduce students to some of the key social and political debates in contemporary France. We will focus on the notion of a 'French exception' and how the republican tradition and model of integration shape the framing of these debates.

Course assessments

- Essay 1 (1200 words) – 30 % of overall mark
- Oral presentation (15 min) – 20 % of overall mark
- Essay 2 (1500 words) – 50% of overall mark

Please note that essays can be written in either French or English.

Course outline

1. French exceptionalism

This class will explore the question of French exceptionalism. What exactly does this term signify? We will begin by looking at the idea itself, its origins and how it is understood in the French context. We will then discuss its relation to republicanism.

Required reading:

- Chabal, Emile (2017), 'From the *banlieue* to the burkini: the many lives of French republicanism', in *Modern & Contemporary France*, 25:1, pp.68-74, DOI: [10.1080/09639489.2016.1246164](https://doi.org/10.1080/09639489.2016.1246164)
- Lovecy, Jill (1999), 'The End of French Exceptionalism?', in *West European Politics*, 22(4), pp.205-224, DOI: [10.1080/01402389908425340](https://doi.org/10.1080/01402389908425340)

Further reading:

- Rieker, Pernille (2018), 'French status seeking in a changing world: taking on the role as guardian of the liberal order', in *French Politics*, 16, pp.419-438
- Godin, Emmanuel and Tony Chafer (2010), *The End of the French exception?: Decline and Revival of the French Model*, London: Palgrave
- Godin, Emmanuel and Tony Chafer (2005), *The French Exception*, London and New York: Berghahn.
- Cole, Alistair, Patrick Le Galès and Jonah Levy (eds) (2005), *Developments in French politics 3*, London: Palgrave.
- Maclean, Mairi (1997), 'Privatisation, dirigisme and the global economy: An end to French exceptionalism', in *Modern and Contemporary France*, 5(2), pp.215-228
- Furet, François, Jacques Julliard and Pierre Rosanvallon (1988), *La République du centre. La fin de l'exception française*, Paris : Calmann-Lévy
- Raissiguier, Catherine (2010), *Reinventing the Republic : Gender, Migration and Citizenship in France*, Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Rieker, Pernille (2017), 'French exceptionalism: Old wine, new bottle?', in *French Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan

2. Immigration and the debate on citizenship in contemporary France

This class will explore the question of immigration and its links to the wider issues of French national identity and republicanism. We will examine the changes in migratory flux that occurred in the post-WWII period and the effects that these changes had on the question of immigration and, consequently, on the question of identity.

Required reading:

- Jennings, Jeremy (2000), 'Citizenship, republicanism and multiculturalism in contemporary France', in *British Journal of Political Science*, 30, pp.575-598

Further reading :

- Hargreaves, Alec (2007), 'Overview', in *Multi-Ethnic France : Immigration, Politics, Culture and Society*, New York & London: Routledge, pp.8-39
- Hayward, Jack (2007), *Fragmented France: two centuries of disputed identity*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- Begag Azouz (2007), *Ethnicity and Equality : France in the Balance*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press
- Raymond, Gino and Modood, Tariq, (eds.) (2007), *The Construction of Minority Identities in France and Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Modood, Tariq, Anna Triandafyllidou and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (2006), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach*, London & New York: Routledge
- Guénif-Souilamas, Nacira, (ed.) (2006), *La République Mise à Nu par son Immigration*, Paris: Fabrique éditions
- Weil, Patrick (2005), *La République et sa diversité: Immigration, intégration et discrimination*, Paris: Seuil
- Silverstein, Paul (2004), *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race and Nation*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Weil, Patrick (2002), *Qu'est-ce qu'un Français? Histoire de la Nationalité Française depuis la Révolution*, Paris: Grasset
- Noiriel, Gérard (1996), *The French Melting Pot : Immigration, Citizenship and National Identity*, Minneapolis & London: Minnesota University Press
- Silverman, Maxim (1992), *Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in modern France*, London : Routledge
- Thomas, Elaine (2011), *Immigration, Islam and the Politics of Belonging in France: A comparative framework*, University of Pennsylvania Press

3. Islam and Islamophobia in France

Drawing on the previous session, we will focus on the place of Islam in French society. To illustrate our discussion we will draw on the 1989 'headscarf affair' and more recent 'burkini controversy' (2016).

Required reading (read two of the following):

- Dimitri Almeida (2018), 'Marianne at the Beach: The French Burkini Controversy and the Shifting Meanings of Republican Secularism', in *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 39(1), pp.20-34, DOI: [10.1080/07256868.2017.1410112](https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2017.1410112)
- Mondon, Aurélien and Aaron Winter (2017), 'Charlie Hebdo: Republican secularism and Islamophobia', in Titley, Gavan, Des Freedman, Gholam Khiabany and Aurélien Mondon (eds.), *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech*, London: Zed Books, pp.31-45
- Khemilat, Fatima (2019), 'Dissimulating and landscaping racism: sexuality, intersectionality, and neo-orientalism in French discourses', in *Socioscapes: International Journal of Societies, Politics and Cultures*, 1(1), pp.181-190

Further reading :

- des Neiges Léonard, Marie (2022), 'Islam and the Republic', in *Racial Diversity in Contemporary France: The Case of Colorblindness*, Bristol University Press, pp.108-127 (Available on QMPlus)
- Mohammed, Marwan (2020), 'The political transversality of Islamophobia: An analysis of historical and ideological foundations', in Demossier, Marion, David Lees, Aurélien Mondon & Nina Parish (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of French Politics and Culture*, Routledge, pp.79-86 (Available on QMPlus)
- Wolfreys, Jim (2013), 'Making racism respectable: Islamophobia in Sarkozy's France', *Global Social Justice Journal*, June, available online: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150114052626/http://cbu-cis.ca/making-racism-respectable-islamophobia-in-sarkozys-france/>
- Bowen, J. (2007), 'Scarves and schools', in *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State and Public Space*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.65-97
- Kastoryano, Riva (2006), 'French secularism and Islam: France's headscarf affair', in Modood, Tariq and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach*, pp.57-69
- Thomas, Elaine R. (2000), 'Competing Visions of Citizenship and Integration in France's Headscarves Affair', in *Journal of European Area Studies*, 8(2), pp.167-185, DOI: [10.1080/14608460020014158](https://doi.org/10.1080/14608460020014158)
- Modood, Tariq and Anna Triandafyllidou (2006), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach*, London & New York: Routledge
- Thomas, Elaine R. (2011), *Immigration, Islam and the Politics of Belonging in France: A comparative framework*, University of Pennsylvania Press
- Weil, Patrick (2005), *La République et sa diversité: Immigration, intégration et discrimination*, Paris : Seuil
- Lorcerie, Françoise (dir.) (2005), *La Politisation du Voile: l'Affaire en France, en Europe et dans le Monde Arabe*, Paris: L'Harmattan
- Hajjat, Abdellali and Marwan Mohammed (2013), *Islamophobie: Comment les élites françaises fabriquent le "problème musulman"*, Paris: La Découverte
- Tévanian, Pierre (2005), *Le Voile Médiatique: Un Faux Débat*, Paris: Raisons d'Agir
- Tévanian, Pierre and Ismahane Chouder (2008), *Les filles voilées parlent*, Paris: La Fabrique
- Tévanian, Pierre (2013), *La Haine de la Religion: Comment l'Athéisme est Devenu l'Opium du Peuple de Gauche*, Paris: La Découverte

- Deltombe, Thomas (2007), *L'Islam Imaginaire: La Construction Médiatique de l'Islamophobie en France, 1975-2005*, Paris: La Découverte
- Wolfreys, Jim (2018), *Republic of Islamophobia : The Rise of Respectable Racism in France*, London : Hurst Publishing
- Plenel, Edwy (2016), *For the Muslims : Islamophobia in France*, London: Verso

4. Afro-Frenchness in contemporary France.

Drawing on recent protests and mobilizations (following the killing of George Floyd in the United States), we will discuss Afro-Frenchness in contemporary France. This will also enable us to focus on antiracist struggles in France, and the particular challenge posed by the republican model of integration.

Required reading :

- Niang, Mame-Fatou (2020), 'France's racial spring', 26 August, <https://www.rosalux.eu/en/article/1761.france-s-racial-spring.html>
- Bleich, Erik (2000), 'Antiracism without races : Politics and policy in a « color-blind » State', in *French Politics, Culture & Society*, Vol. 18, N°3, pp.48-74

Further reading:

- Martin, Tom (2020), 'Anti-racism, race and the Republic in contemporary France', in Demossier, Marion, David Lees, Aurélien Mondon & Nina Parish (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of French Politics and Culture*, Routledge, pp.108-118 (Available on QMPlus)
- Small, Stephen (2018), *20 questions and answers on black Europe*, Amrit
- Clark Hine, Darlene, Trica Keaton and Stephen Small (2009), *Black Europe and the African Diaspora*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press
- Thomas, Dominic (2006), *Black France: Colonialism, Immigration, And Transnationalism*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press
- Keaton, Trica, Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Tyler Stovall (2012), *Black France / France Noire: The History and Politics of Blackness*, Durham: Duke University Press
- Niang, Mame-Fatou (2019), 'On France's contempt for black bodies', in *Monitor: Global Intelligence on Racism*, May, <http://monitoracism.eu/on-frances-contempt-for-black-bodies/>
- Taguieff, Pierre-André (1995), *Les fins de l'anti-racisme*, Paris : Michalon
- Strangler, Cole (2020), 'In France, just like the United States, we can't breathe', in *Jacobin*, <https://jacobinmag.com/2020/06/france-racial-justice-protests-adama-traore-assa>
- Fassin, Didier and Eric Fassin (eds.) (2006), *De la question sociale à la question raciale*, Paris : La Découverte
- Bessone, Magali (2020), 'Racisme : La guerre des facts n'aura pas lieu', in *AOC*, <https://aoc.media/opinion/2020/09/07/antiracisme-la-guerre-des-facts-naura-pas-lieu/>

5. A revolt against the Republic ? The urban riots of Autumn 2005.

Building on the previous sessions, this class will focus on the uprising that engulfed France's banlieues in late 2005.

Required reading :

- Dikec, Mustafa (2007), 'Voices into noises : Revolts as unarticulated justice movements', in *Badlands of the Republic*, Oxford : Blackwell Publishing, pp. 152-169

Further reading :

- des Neiges Léonard, Marie (2022), 'Rioting the residences and reclaiming the Republic' , in *Racial Diversity in Contemporary France: The Case of Colorblindness*, Bristol University Press, pp.86-107 (Available on the ULC140 QMPlus page)
- Horvath, Christina (2020), 'The French "banlieues": realities, myths, representations', in Demossier, Marion, David Lees, Aurélien Mondon & Nina Parish (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of French Politics and Culture*, Routledge, pp.133-144 (Available on QMPlus)
- Jobard, Fabien (2009), 'Rioting as a Political Tool: the 2005 Riots in France', in *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 48, pp.235-244, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2311.2009.00564.x
- Kokoreff, Michel and Mathew Moran (2010), 'Republic of Lies: Exploring the French Riots of 2005 and 2007', in Averis, Kate and Mathew Moran, *Le Mensonge: Multidisciplinary Perspectives in French Studies*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp.35-51
- Kokoreff, Michel (2008), *Sociologie des émeutes*, Paris: Payot
- Beaud, Stéphane, Joseph Confavreux and Jade Lindgaard (2006), *La France Invisible*, Paris : La Découverte
- Marlière, Eric (2008), *La France nous a lâchés: Le sentiment d'injustice chez les jeunes des cités*, Paris: Fayard
- Mucchielli, Laurent, and Véronique Le Goaziou, *Quand les banlieues brûlent: retour sur les émeutes de novembre 2005*, Paris : La Découverte
- Belaïd, Chakri, Clémentine Autain, Stéphane Beaud, Paul Chemetov (eds.), *Banlieue, lendemains de révolte*, Paris: La Dispute
- Marlière, Eric (2005), *Jeunes en cité: Diversité des trajectoires ou destin commun ?*, Paris: L'Harmattan
- Derderian, Richard (2004), *North Africans in France: Becoming Visible*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan

6. READING WEEK (30 October – 5 November)

7. Gender equality and the debate on *parité*

The French political landscape is historically male dominated. This class will explore recent efforts to increase the level of female representation in politics. Particular attention will be given to the campaign and debate on '*parité*'.

Required reading :

- Bereni, Laure (2007), 'French Feminists Renegotiate Republican Universalism: The Gender Parity Campaign', *French Politics*, Vol.5, pp.191-209

Further reading:

- Sineau, Mariette (2003), 'Parité in politics: From a radical idea to consensual reform', in Célestin, Roger, Eliane DalMolin and Isabelle de Courtivron, *Beyond French Feminism: Debates on Women, Politics and Culture in France, 1981-2001*, London: Palgrave, pp.113-126
- Opello, Katherine (2006), *Gender Quotas, Parity Reform and Political Parties in France*, Boulder and New York: Lexington
- Ramsey, Raylene (2003), *French Women in Politics: Writing Power, Paternal Legitimization and Maternal Legacies*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn
- Allwood, Gill and Khursheed Wadia (2000), *Women and Politics in France, 1958-2000*, London: Routledge
- Allwood, Gill, 'Popular conceptions of gender and the parity debate' in Marks, John and Enda McCaffrey (eds.), *French Cultural Debates*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, pp.8-21
- Duchen, Claire (1986), *Feminism in France from May 68 to Mitterrand*, London: Routledge
- Perry, Sheila and Sue Hart (2000), 'Parity in French Politics', in Twomey, Lesley (ed.), *Women in Contemporary Culture: Roles and Identities in France and Spain*, Bristol: Intellect
- Gaspard, Françoise (1994), 'De la parité: genèse d'un concept, naissance d'un mouvement', *Nouvelles questions féministes*, 15(4), pp.29-44
- Gaspard, Françoise, Claude Servan-Schreiber and Anne Le Gall (1992), *Au pouvoir citoyennes! Liberté, Egalité, Parité*, Paris : Seuil
- Lépinard, Eléonore (2007), 'The contentious subject of feminism : defining « women » in France from the Second Wave to Parity', in *Signs*, 32(2), pp.375-403
- Haase-Dubosc, Danielle (1999), 'Sexual Difference and Politics in France Today', in *Feminist Studies*, 25(1), p183-210
- Wallach Scott, Joan (2005), *Parité : Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

8. 'Sexual minorities' and the Republic: From the PaCS to the 'marriage for all'

This class will explore the issue of LGBT rights in France. Particular attention will be given to the debate surrounding the PaCS (Pacte Civil de Solidarité) and more recently the 'marriage pour tous'.

Required reading :

- Fassin, Eric (2001), 'Same sex, different politics: "Gay marriage"' debates in France and the United States', in *Public Culture*, 13(2), pp.215-232, <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-13-2-215>
- Baruch, Marc-Olivier (2013), 'Gay marriage and the limits of French liberalism', in *Dissent*, Fall, <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/gay-marriage-and-the-limits-of-french-liberalism>

Further reading:

- McCaffrey, Enda (2005), *The Gay Republic: Sexuality, Citizenship and Subversion in France*, Burlington: Ashgate
- Martel, Frédéric (2008), *Le Rose et le Noir: les Homosexuels en France Depuis 1968*, Paris : Points
- Pratt, Murray (1998), 'The defence of the straight state: heteronormativity, AIDS in France, and the space of the nation', in *French Cultural Studies*, 9, pp.263-280
- McCaffrey, Enda (2001), 'The PaCS debate and the implications for universal equality in France', in *French Cultural Debates*, Newark: University of Delaware Press
- Sibalis, Michael (2005), 'Gay liberation comes to France: The Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire (FHAR)', in *French History and Civilization*, 1(1), pp.265-276
- Jackson, Julian (2009), *Living in Arcadia: Homosexuality, Politics and Morality in France from the Liberation to AIDS*, Chicago: Chicago University Press

9. The return of the social question?

This class will discuss the contemporary relevance of the 'social question'. Particular attention will be given to 'post-industrialisation', to claims that the struggle between capital and labour have given way to new forms of social conflict and to the notion that an underclass of the excluded has emerged in modern France. To illustrate our discussion we will focus on the 'Gilets Jaunes' protests.

Required reading (read at least two of the following):

- Badiou, Alain (2019), 'Lessons from the « Yellow Vests » movement', in *African Yearbook of Rhetoric*, 9, pp.14-19
- Galí, Marta Camell, Matteo Polleri, Federico Puletti, Christina Aislinn Chalmers (2020), 'The Gilets Jaunes: From Declassing to Counter-power', in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-8663771>, pp.866-876

Further reading :

- Lem, Winnie (2020), 'Notes on militant populism in contemporary France : contextualizing the gilets jaunes', in *Dialectical Anthropology*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10624-020-09595-1>
- Boltanski, Luc and Eve Chiapello (2007), 'The resurgence of the social critique : from exclusion to exploitation', in *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, London : Verso, pp.346-372
- Borrel, Monique (1996), *Conflits du Travail, changement social et politique en France depuis 1950*, Paris: L'Harmattan
- Bensaïd, Daniel (1996), 'Neo-liberal reform and popular rebellion', in *New Left Review*, 215, January-February, pp.109-116
- Aguiton, Christophe and Daniel Bensaïd (1997), *Le Retour de la Question Sociale: Renouveau des Mouvements Sociaux en France*
- Gorz, André (1982), *Farewell to the working class*, London:
- Gallie, Duncan (1978), *In Search of the New Working Class: Automation and Social Integration within the Capitalist Enterprise*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Touraine, Alain (1966), *La conscience ouvrière*, Paris : Seuil
- Touraine, Alain (1973), *Production de la société*, Paris : Seuil
- Touraine, Alain, Michel Wierviorcka and Michel Dubet (1984), *Le Mouvement Ouvrier*, Paris : Fayard
- Donzelot, Jacques (1990), *L'invention du social*, Paris : Fayard

- Murard, Numa (1996), *La protection sociale*, Paris : La Découverte
- Beaud, Stéphane and Michel Pialoux (1999), *Retour sur la Condition Ouvrière*, Paris : La Découverte
- Castel, Robert (1999), *Les Métamorphoses de la Question Sociale*, Paris : Gallimard
- Alain Bihr and Roland Pfefferkorn, *Déchiffrer les inégalités* (Paris, 1999)
- Rosanvallon, Pierre (2000), *The New Social Question: Rethinking the Welfare State*, Princeton University Press
- Confavreux, Joseph (dir.) (2019), *Le fond de l'air est jaune : Comprendre une révolte*, Paris : Seuil
- Bourmeau, Sylvain (dir.) (2019), « *Gilets jaunes* » : *hypothèses sur un mouvement*, Paris : La Découverte
- Jeanpierre, Laurent (2019), *In Girum : Les leçons politiques des ronds-points*, Paris : La Découverte
- Collectif (2019), « *Gilets jaunes* » : *Hypothèses sur un mouvement*, Paris : La Découverte
- Kinniburgh, Colin (2019), 'Climate politics after the Yellow Vests', in *Dissent*, Spring, <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/the-yellow-vests-uncertain-future>
- Kipfer, Stefan (2019), 'What colour is your vest? Reflections on the yellow vest movement in France', in *Studies in Political Economy*, 100(3), pp.209-231, DOI: [10.1080/07078552.2019.1682780](https://doi.org/10.1080/07078552.2019.1682780)

10. Globalisation and the revival of French exceptionalism?

Building on the previous class, this class will explore the question of globalisation in the French context. We will focus on how globalisation has influenced the French political and social landscape in recent years. Particular attention will be given to anti-globalisation protests and movements in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Required reading:

- Bodnar, Judit (2003), 'Roquefort vs Big Mac: Globalization and its others', in *European Journal of Sociology*, 44(1), pp.133-144

Further reading:

- Ancelovici, Marcos (2002), 'Organizing against globalization: the case of ATTAC in France', in *Politics & Society*, 30(3), pp.427-463, doi:[10.1177/0032329202030003003](https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329202030003003)
- Maclean, Mairi and Joseph Szarka (eds.) (2008), *France on the World Stage: Nation State Strategies in the Global Era*, London: Palgrave
- Beresford Smith, Timothy (2004), *France in Crisis: Welfare, Inequality and Globalization since 1980*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Gordon, Philip and Sophie Meunier (2001), *The French Challenge: Adapting to Globalization*, Washington DC: Brookings Institute
- Agrikoliansky, Eric, Olivier Fillieule and Nonna Mayer (eds.) (2005), *L'altermondialisme en France: La longue histoire d'une nouvelle cause*, Paris: Flammarion
- Sommier, Isabelle (2012), 'Le renouveau de la critique sociale depuis les années 1990: entre mythe et réalité', *Modern & Contemporary France*, 20(2), pp.153-168

11. Paris ou le désert français : Anti-urban sentiments in contemporary France

In this class we will discuss the issue of regional identities and the Paris-province relationship.

Required reading :

- Marchand, Bernard and Joëlle Salomon Cavin (2007), 'Anti-urban ideologies and planning in France and Switzerland: Jean-François Gravier and Armin Meili', in *Planning Perspectives*, 22(1), pp.29-53, DOI: [10.1080/02665430601051965](https://doi.org/10.1080/02665430601051965)
- Hargreaves, Alec (2000), 'The challenges of multiculturalism: regional and religious differences in France today', in Kidd, William and Sian Reynolds, in *Contemporary French Cultural Studies*, London: Arnold, pp.95-110

Further reading :

- Marchand, Bernard and Joëlle Salomon Cavin (2010), *Antiurbain: Origines et Conséquences de l'Urbaphobie*, Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes
- Marchand, Bernard (2009), *Les Ennemis de Paris: La Haine de la Grande Ville des Lumières à nos Jours*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes
- Rogers, Susan Carol (2002), 'Which heritage? Nature, culture, and identity in French rural tourism', in *French Historical Studies*, 25(3), pp.475-503
- Sallustio, Madeleine (2018), 'Le "retour à la terre" : entre utopie et nostalgie', in *Conserveries mémorielles*, 22, <http://journals.openedition.org/cm/2910>
- Grenouilleau, Olivier (2019), *Nos Petites Patries: Identités régionales et État central en France, des origines à nos jours*, Paris: Gallimard NRF)
- Lebovics, Herman (2004), *Bringing the Empire Back Home: France in the Global Age*, Duke University Press

12. Towards a new republican model ?

To conclude we will go over the various issues addressed over the course of the semester.

Suggested reading:

- Perreau, Bruno (2006), *50 ans de vie politique française: le débat sur la fin de la Ve République*, Paris : Librio
- Dahan, Vidal (2006), *Le désordre établi ou la politique française de 2002 à 2006*, Paris : L'Harmattan
- Alistair Cole, Patrick Le Galès and Jonah Levy (eds), *Developments in French politics 3*, London: Palgrave
- Milner, Susan and Nick Parsons (2003), *Reinventing France: State and Society in the Twenty-first Century*, London: Palgrave
- Safran, William (2003), *The French polity*, London: Longman
- Bell, David S. (2002), *French politics today*, Manchester: MUP