

## City Narrative

# Lyon

## France

### The Contemporary History of Lyon in the Aftermath of World War II

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Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism: Culturalisation and  
Religionisation of what is Social, Economic and Political in Europe (ERC AdG 785934)

“Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism: Culturalisation and Religionisation of what is Social, Economic and Political in Europe”

This research analyses the current political, social, and economic context of the European Union, which is confronted by two substantial crises, namely the global financial crisis and the refugee crisis. These crises have led to the escalation of fear and prejudice among the youth who are specifically vulnerable to discourses that culturalise and stigmatize the “other”. Young people between the ages of 18 to 30, whether native or immigrant-origin, have similar responses to globalization-rooted threats such as deindustrialization, isolation, denial, humiliation, precariousness, insecurity, and anomia. These responses tend to be essentialised in the face of current socio-economic, political and psychological disadvantages. While a number of indigenous young groups are shifting to right-wing populism, a number of Muslim youths are shifting towards Islamic radicalism. The common denominator of these groups is that they are both downwardly mobile and inclined towards radicalization. Hence, this project aims to scrutinize social, economic, political and psychological sources of the processes of radicalization among native European youth and Muslim-origin youth with migration background, who are both inclined to express their discontent through ethnicity, culture, religion, heritage, homogeneity, authenticity, past, gender and patriarchy.

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## Preface

In this research, we argue that local aspects are as important as national and global aspects to understand the root causes of radicalisation, extremism, nationalism, populism, fundamentalism and violence. In this respect, we want to magnify the contemporary history of each city in which we conduct our interviews with both native and Muslim-origin youngsters as far as the processes of deindustrialization, unemployment, poverty, exclusion, alienation and isolation are concerned. Because we claim that radicalisation processes of both groups of youngsters in the European context are likely to result from their local forms of response to the detrimental effects of globalisation. We believe that revealing local socio-economic, political, demographic and ethno-cultural dynamics may help us better understand the current forms of youth radicalisation.

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## 1. Demographic structure and History of Migration

### 1 ) Demographic trends in Lyon

The population of Lyon seems to have followed continuous tendencies between 1968 and 2016. First of all, this population experienced a decline between 1968 and 1990, but it involved a progressive rise between 1990 and 2016 (Table 1). This evolution does not seem to have been strengthened by the natality factor: during this period, the birth rate and the natural balance respectively remained the same. The balance of inflows and outflows certainly had an influence on the demographic decline between 1968 and 1990 (especially during the period 1968-1982) but was then stabilized around -0,1 and 0,1 since 1990 (Table2). A sharp tendency should be mentioned: the (almost) continuous decline of mortality since 1982 (Table 2). Lastly, the average annual percentage change in the local population is positive began to be positive in 1982, and even stabilized around 0,8 between 1990 and 2011 (Table 2).

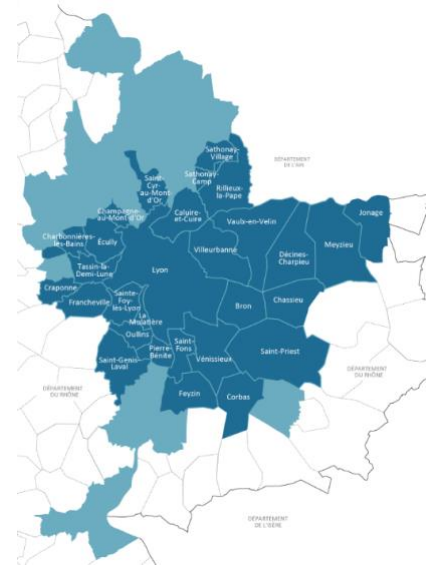


Figure 1. Metropolis of Lyon

**Table 1 / Lyon – Number of habitants between (1968-2016)**

1968	1975	1982	1990	1999	2006	2011	2016
527 800	456 716	413 095	415 487	445 452	472 305	491 268	515 695

**Table 2 / Lyon – Demographic evolutions between (1968-2016)**

	1968-1975	1975-1982	1982-1990	1990-1999	1999-2006	2006-2011	2011-2016
Average annual % change in population	-2,1	-1,4	0,1	0,8	0,8	0,8	1,0
<i>Due to the natural balance as a %</i>	0,5	0,3	0,5	0,6	0,7	0,9	0,8
<i>Due to the apparent balance of inflows and outflows as a %</i>	-2,5	-1,7	-0,4	0,1	0,1	-0,1	0,1
Birth rate (‰)	15,6	13,9	14,8	15,2	15,3	15,5	15,2
Mortality rate (‰)	10,9	10,9	10,2	8,9	7,8	7,0	6,8

## 2 ) A historical perspective on immigration in Lyon

Lyon is a historical place of immigration since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Jean-Luc de Ochandiano described these long-term processes in three neighborhoods of the seventh district (*arrondissement*)<sup>1</sup>: La Guillotière and Gerland. If we focus on the first neighborhood,

In these migrant areas, a genuine culture of mobility and emigration has developed and has had a profound effect on the organisation of social groups and their ways of life. The industrial development of the 19<sup>th</sup> century led these groups to expand their radius of action: [...] the new building use in Lyon of a material such as plaster, require professional skills that are lacking in the local workforce. Hence the development, in the 19th century, on a still modest scale, of an immigration essentially seasonal, with mostly skilled or even highly skilled workers like the wood ornamentalists from Piedmont<sup>2</sup> (de Ochandiano, 2012: 1-2).

Besides,

the immigration that feeds La Guillotière has the same characteristics and is developing for the same reasons: [...] we are faced with professional migration channels that supply most of the time of very small production units. (Ibid : 2).

Therefore, since the 1880 decade, the Italian population became demographically predominant in this neighborhood. The same phenomenon was existing at this time in Gerland, but related to different economic activities: « In this space, large industries were established in the second half of the 19th century: a few glass factories each employing several hundred workers, from many establishments that depend on the animal industry [...] and chemical plants [...] » (Ibid : 3). This particular structure of local economics created a context favorable to the employment of low-skilled workers: «The factories that set up in Gerland are also relying less and less on the work of workers skilled [...]. On the contrary, they are seeking to recruit a number more and more workers with no real qualification [...]. The French workers showed some resistance to occupying these demeaning and off-putting positions. These are, therefore, in many of the cases, the foreigners who accepted them [...]» (Ibid : 3). These economic transformations progressively led to an Italian prominence in Gerland: «only three Italians live in the impasse Gerland (now rue Lortet) in 1886. They are 16 ten years later, 40 in 1901, 123 in 1906 and 130 in 1911. At that time, they represented 42% of the inhabitants of the street. The Glassworkers' Way was already home to 6% of transalpine traffic in 1886 (29 out of 448). This rate rises to 16% in 1901, then to 31% in 1911.» (Ibid: 4).

Behind these two cases, we can highlight the existence of Swiss and German communities in the region of Lyon between the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 1914 (d'Abrigeon, 1989). This tendency will continue after the World War I and even increase because of economic dynamics but also political events (such as the Russian Revolution and civil war, the Armenian genocide, and Mussolini's rise to power). This immigration increase is particularly visible in the official census data from this period: « while in 1921 foreigners accounted for 10.7% of the Villeurbanne's population, their numbers rose to 16.8% ten years later in 1931 and 15.38% in 1936» (Mouchit, undated). During the Nazi occupation, a part of these migrant-origin populations will be involved in the French Resistance, such as anti-fascist Italians, who joined

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<sup>1</sup> Lyon is subdivided in nine districts.

<sup>2</sup> The texts from which the extracts are quoted were all originally published in French. All the translations have been carried out by ourselves.



the FTP (*Francs-tireurs et partisans*) and the MOI (*Main d'œuvre immigrée*) organizations, linked to the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français* – PCF) (Collin, 2005).

In a regional perspective, after World War II, the foreign population was much less numerous in the territory of what constitutes today the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region: if we exclude Auvergne, the number of foreigners living in this area decreased from 200.000 individuals in 1936 to 150.000 in 1946. Then, immigration increased again from the 1950s onwards: the number of foreigners rose from 149.788 people in 1954 to 444.640 in 1975. In 1975, the North-Africans were the first foreign group of the region, and 49% of the foreigners living in the Rhône came from the Maghreb. However, this North-African prominence declined in the following decades. In 1975, 90 % of foreigners living in this area were originating from Northern Africa or Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal and Italy), while this percentage only amounted to 68 % in 1999, as a result of immigration diversification, especially from sub-Saharan Africa, South-Eastern Asia and Europe (Schweitzer, Chaplain, Berbagui, Elongbil-Ewane, 2009: 45).

### 3 ) *Who are the Moroccans and Turks of Lyon?*

Lyon can be described as a historical place for North-African immigration too, especially for Moroccans, and Algerians. This immigration was an indirect consequence of World War I because of the lack of the workforce in factories; industrialists first mobilized women, then Chinese and Morrocans and Algerians. While the majority of them were sent back to North Africa after the 1918 victory, a minority succeeded to stay in Lyon (especially Algerians from Kabylia region) and working as labourers in the factories or on construction sites. Lyon progressively became the regional capital of anticolonial activism. In 1934, Mohamed Beddek opened a coffee shop which began the unofficial office of the « North-African Star », the Algerian nationalist movement created by Messali Hadj (de Ochandiano: 6). Then, during the Algerian War of Independence, Lyon was the place of violent confrontations between the Algerian National Movement (led by Messali Hadj) and the National Liberation Front (Elongbil-Ewane, 2012; MacMaster, 2012; Atger, 2009) between May 1957 and May 1958, 64 people died in Lyon, in this context of nationalist rivalry (Elongbil-Ewane, 2012 -: 2). At the end of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s (especially after the election of the Socialist François Mitterrand, in 1981), Lyon's suburbs became the place of a dense network of associations and organizations emanating from North-African descents, like the women's organization *Zaâma d'Banlieue* (Nasri, 2011). The March for Equality and Against Racism (which was nicknamed by the media « Marche des Beurs »<sup>3</sup>), organized in 1983 by young North-African descents to protest against xenophobia, immigration policy and police violences, was initiated by habitants of Les Minguettes (a Vénissieux's working-class neighborhood) following riots and violent clashes between the police and some youngsters (Beaud, Masclat, 2006; Santelli, 2004; Bouregba-Dichy, 1990).

Turkish immigration was a more recent phenomenon in France. France signed a labour exchange agreement with Turkey in 1965, as a response to a request from industrial circles, wishing to diversify the origin of its workforce coming from abroad. In 2001, Lyon was the French city in which the number of Turkish teachers was the highest (64, whşch was 63 in Paris

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<sup>3</sup> *Beur* (colloquial term) : people from North-African descent.

and 50 in Strasbourg) (Dumont, Pérouse, de Tapia, Akgönül, 2002: 105). Besides, the first communitarian webradio (Radio MIT<sup>4</sup>) was created by two French-Turks from Lyon (Muhammet Akyüz and Halil Ibrahim Üstündağ<sup>5</sup>). The local Turkish community is characterized by a dense network of associations, overwhelmingly nationalist or conservative. We can quote the Association for the Thought of Atatürk<sup>6</sup>, which is close to the *ulusalcı* (nationalist) tendency. However, within local nationalist circles, the *ülküçü* movement stays predominant, For instance, *Ülkü Ocakları* were established in Lyon<sup>7</sup> and Trévoux<sup>8</sup> (a small town belonging to the suburbs of Lyon), but also in the neighbouring city of Grenoble<sup>9</sup>. Turkish Islamism is also present in Lyon, through the local section of *Millî Görüş* and its mosque Eyüp Sultan<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, the local Turkish population widely supports the Justice and Development Party. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan even held a meeting in Lyon during the campaign for the presidential election of 2014<sup>11</sup>. During the 2017 referendum on the Turkish regime's shift to the presidential system, the « yes » vote obtained 86.1 % in the consulate of Lyon. The results below show the popularity of the AKP within the Turkish electorate of Lyon (Tables 3-4).

**Table 3 / Lyon consulate – Turkish parliamentary elections – Scores of the AKP**

Lyon	June 2015	November 2015	2018
Justice and Development Party (AKP)	74.6 %	80.6 %	75.9 %

**Table 4 / Lyon consulate – Turkish presidential elections – Scores of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan**

Lyon	2014	2018
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	85 %	86.7 %

<sup>4</sup> Available on : <http://www.radiomit.com/>

<sup>5</sup> “Radio Miy: la voix des Turcs de France”, *Red’Action*, 27 November 2017. Available on : <https://www.redaction.media/articles/radio-mit-la-voix-des-turcs-de-france/>

<sup>6</sup> Facebook page available on : <https://www.facebook.com/groups/addrhone/>

<sup>7</sup> Facebook pages available on : <https://www.facebook.com/Lyon-T%C3%BCrk-K%C3%BClt%C3%BCr-Oca%C4%9F%C4%B1-Association-Culturelle-Turque-de-Lyon-170990962921110> ; <https://www.facebook.com/actlyon>

<sup>8</sup> Facebook page available on : <https://www.facebook.com/pages/category/Community/Tr%C3%A9voux-%C3%9Cik%C3%BC-Oca%C4%9F%C4%B1-580546298816791/>

<sup>9</sup> Facebook page available on : <https://www.facebook.com/Grenoble-%C3%9Cik%C3%BC-Oca%C4%9F%C4%B1-109652069115943>

<sup>10</sup> Facebook page available on : <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/milligorulyon/>

<sup>11</sup> MARTINIERE Mathieu, “Erdoğan à Lyon : meeting controversé pour la plus grande communauté turque de France”, *Rue 89*, 22 June 2014. Available on : <https://www.rue89lyon.fr/2014/06/22/erdogan-a-lyon-meeting-controverse-grande-communaute-turque-france/>



In the whole region (Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes), the numbers of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco were respectively 45.900, and 59.800 in 2015. In the same year, 9.600 Turks, and 14.400 Moroccans were living in the Rhône county. In Lyon, habitants whose country of birth are Morocco and Turkey predominantly tend to be between 25 and 54 years old – 57.6 % for people who were born in Morocco, and 68.1 % for those who were born in Turkey (Table 5).

**Table 5 / Country of birth (Morocco and Turkey) – Age groups (2015)**

Country of birth	Less than 15	15-24	25-54	55 or more	Total
Morocco	55	534	2506	1253	4348
Turkey	16	62	625	213	917

The same tendency can be highlighted about those who are Moroccan and Turkish citizens – 49.6 % of the Moroccans who live in Lyon are aged between 25 and 54, and 54.9 % of the Turkish citizens are situated in the same age group (Table 6).

**Table 6 / Citizenship (Moroccans and Turks) – Age groups (2015)**

Citizenship	Less than 15	15-24	25-54	55 or more	Total
Moroccans	235	462	1145	465	2307
Turks	95	87	400	147	728

Lyon habitants who were born in Morocco and Turkey also share similarities about their socio-professional situations they tend to be predominantly employees – 44.3 % for people whose place of birth is Turkey, and 46.1 % for those whose place of birth is Morocco (Table 7). Unsurprisingly, a similar trend can be observed in the case of habitants who have Moroccan or Turkish citizenship – respectively, 36.9 % of Moroccan citizens and 44.3 % of Turkish citizens are employees (Table 8).

**Table 7 / Country of birth (Morocco and Turkey) – Types of activity (2015)**

Country of birth	Employee	Unemployed	Pensioners	Students	Householders	Other inactive
Morocco	1980	630	659	366	354	304
Turkey	400	161	103	56	90	92

**Table 8 / Citizenship (Moroccans and Turks) – Types of activity (2015)**

Citizenship	Employee	Unemployed	Pensioners	Students	Householders	Other inactive
Moroccans	765	305	261	330	230	181
Turks	234	106	66	85	64	79

However, differences arise about the socio-professional categories of these two groups, if we exclude beforehand the “other” answer modality. Thus, the relative majority of Lyon habitants, whose country of birth is Morocco are employees (18.1 %). In comparison, those who were born in Turkey mainly tend to be workers (16.8 %) (Table 9). Of course, the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) admits that the distinction between these two categories cannot be clearly defined<sup>12</sup>, but a worker would be theoretically a person devoted mainly to “manual” work in the industrial sector. However, this categorization may be contested and questioned by the concerned actors themselves, as Cédric Lomba demonstrated in the Belgian case (Lomba, 2004). The data about citizenship reveals the same social characteristics since 16 % of Turks who are living in Lyon are workers, whereas 13.2 % of Moroccans are employees (Table 10).

**Table 9 / Country of birth (Morocco and Turkey) – Socioprofessional category (2015)**

Country of birth	Craftsmen/shopkeepers/business owners	Executives/senior professionals	Intermediate occupations	Employees	Workers	Pensioners	Other
Morocco	149	453	541	786	556	657	1195
Turkey	76	90	120	116	154	103	255

**Table 10 / Citizenship (Moroccans and Turks) – Socioprofessional category (2015)**

Citizenship	Craftsmen/shopkeepers/business owners	Executives/senior professionals	Intermediate occupations	Employees	Workers	Pensioners	Other
Moroccans	52	175	189	307	277	262	1039
Turks	44	39	67	70	117	66	325

<sup>12</sup>Source: <https://www.insee.fr/fr/metadonnees/pcs2003/categorieSocioprofessionnelleAgregree/6?champRecherche=false>

Historically, Lyon experienced a phase of increased industrialization after WWII, partly in the construction sector. This sector has relied heavily on the mobilization of a workforce from abroad: “In 1968, the building and industry categories concerned barely 40 % of the active and working Rhone-Alpians, but more than 80 % of foreigners working. On the other hand, foreigners, 9% of the region’s population, account for no less than 25% of the building employees” (Schweitzer, Chaplain, Berbagui, Elongbil-Ewane, 2009: 43-44). However, the immigrant workforce was also present in another sector, the metal industry – as evidenced by the strike of March 1972 in the factory of Pennaroya company, which lasts thirty-three days and involved five hundred Algerian and Moroccan skilled workers (Zancarini-Fournel, 2002 : 5).

## 2. Industrialization and Impact on Local Economy

At first glance, the Lyon region appears to be relatively prosperous in economic terms. According to the data quoted by Lyon metropolis, 75.000 jobs could be accounted in 2016, in 6.500 different industrial structures. More generally, 265.000 jobs were collated in the productive sector (that is to say, industrial companies and associated services) in 2014. 57 % of the wealth produced in Lyon metropolis was linked to this productive sector in 2018. Lastly, local industrial areas (5 300 ha) represent 80 % of Lyon metropolis’ economic zoning<sup>13</sup>.

**Table 11 / Lyon – Population aged 15 years and over – Socioprofessional category**

	2016	%	2011	%
<b>Total (15 and more)</b>	<b>436 339</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>415 121</b>	<b>100,0</b>
Exploiting farmers	59	0,0	180	0,0
Craftsmen, shopkeepers, business leaders	12 015	2,8	10 565	2,5
Executives and Senior Professionals	83 901	19,2	72 963	17,6
Intermediate occupations	75 775	17,4	72 661	17,5
Employees	62 841	14,4	63 978	15,4
Workers	28 241	6,5	30 614	7,4
Pensioners	80 200	18,4	78 539	18,9
Other unemployed	93 308	21,4	85 620	20,6

<sup>13</sup> Data quoted in <http://www.economie.grandlyon.com/industrie-lyon-secteur-industriel-1028.html>

According to the INSEE, if we focus on Lyon’s population aged 15 and over (and if we exclude beforehand pensioners and other unemployed people), we find that the most represented categories (both in 2011 and 2016) are the intermediate occupations and the executives/senior professionals (Table 11). Furthermore, between 2011 and 2016, the only active population who experienced an increase were the executives/senior professionals and (to a lesser extent) craftsmen/shopkeepers/business leaders (Table 11). On the contrary, intermediate occupations, employees and workers have suffered a slight decline (Table 11). Concerning the number of jobs, the three socio-professional categories which account for the most are (in descending order) executive/senior professionals (94.848 jobs in 2016), intermediate occupations (94.268 during the same year) and employees (81.692) (Table 12).

**Table 12 / Lyon – Jobs by socio-professional category (2016)**

Total	317 474	100 %
Exploiting farmers	137	0 %
Craftsmen, shopkeepers, business leaders	16 401	5,2 %
Executives and Senior Professionals	94 848	29,9 %
Intermediate occupations	94 268	29,7 %
Employees	81 692	25,7 %
Workers	30 128	9,5 %

If we take a similar perspective on activity sectors (Table 13), then the top two job-providing sectors are first trade/transport/miscellaneous services, and then public administration/education/health/social work, both in 2011 and 2016. Tendencies were inclined to stay stable during this period, except for the workers’ category, who experienced a decline from 7,3 to 6,9 %.

**Table 13 / Lyon – Jobs by sector of activity**

	2016				2011	
	Number	%	Women in %	Employees %	Number	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>317 474</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>52,1</b>	<b>89,5</b>	<b>297 896</b>	<b>100,0</b>
Farming	164	0,1	28,2	57,5	260	0,1
Industry	21 802	6,9	38,9	93,6	21 895	7,3
Building	10 751	3,4	13,9	77,7	10 366	3,5
Trade, transport, miscellaneous services	186 455	58,7	48,0	87,5	173 034	58,1
Public administration, education, health, social work	98 301	31,0	67,1	93,6	92 341	31,0

**Table 14 / Lyon – Companies creations by sector of activity (2018)**

	Founded companies		Individual companies	
	Number	%	Number	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 655</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>8 534</b>	<b>73,2</b>
Industry	292	2,5	200	68,5
Building	477	4,1	238	49,9
Trade, transport, accommodation and catering	3 293	28,3	2 444	74,2
Market services for companies	5 467	46,9	3 787	69,3
Market services for individuals	2 126	18,2	1 865	87,7

Concerning job creations (Table 14), the first sector which is involved in this dynamic is the one about market services for companies (5.467 companies founded in 2018). Besides, the

metropolis of Lyon is characterized by the presence of eleven competitive clusters (*pôles de compétitivité*)<sup>14</sup>, which contribute to the vitality of the local economy (Table 15). Moreover, this metropolis benefits from an export phenomenon in some specific sectors, whose main deals with chemicals, perfumes and cosmetics, according to 2018 estimations (Table 16).

**Table 15 / Lyon – Competitive clusters (*Pôles de compétitivité*)**

Clusters' names	Activities
Lyonbiopôle	Health and biology
Axelera	Chemistry and environment
Imaginove	Digital entertainment
Pôle LUTB	Transport and heavy vehicles
Techtera	Textiles
ViaMéca	Mechanics
Plastipolis	Plasturgy
Mov'eo	Automobile and public transport
Tenerrdis	Renewable energies
Minalogic	Micro-nanotechnologies and Embedded Systems
Lyon Biopôle	Vaccine and diagnostics

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<sup>14</sup> According to the DATAR (Interministerial Delegation of Land Planning and Regional Attractiveness : this institution existed between 1963 and 2014, and was replaced by the General Commission for the Equality of Territories in 2014, and by the National Agency for Territorial Cohesion in 2020), a competitive cluster can be described by the fact of « bringing together, in a well-identified area and on a targeted theme, small, medium or large enterprises, research laboratories and training establishments » (quoted by Juppín, 2016).



**Table 16 / Lyon – First exported products (2018)**

Categories of products	Amount of exports, in millions of euros
Chemicals, perfumes and cosmetics	3 636
Industrial and agricultural machinery, miscellaneous machinery	2 159
Transport equipment	2 125
Metallurgical products and metal products	1 299
Pharmaceutical products	1 249

Nonetheless, the region of Lyon suffers also from offshoring, in the industrial sector and among the most well-known examples of past offshoring, which destabilized the local industrial area, we can quote the respective closures of Nexans and SITL companies<sup>15</sup>. However, Lyon stays a relatively prosperous city, despite some social problems. For instance, in 2016, the poverty rate in Lyon was slightly higher (15 %) compared with the national average (14%<sup>16</sup>) (Table 17). An interesting fact should be highlighted here: in Lyon, poverty does not seem to be linked with age (whereas on the national scale, poverty tends to be associated with belonging to the juvenile categories). In the case of Lyon, the main parts of the populations who are the poorest are people under the age of 30 (21 % of poor), but also those whose age is between 40 and 49 (17 %) or between 50 and 59 (16 %) (Table 17) This data implies that our future interviewees, in the context of the PRIME Youth project, will tend to be among the poorest populations of Lyon, even if the relationship between age and poverty is not locally linear. Moreover, the unemployment rate has reached significant proportions in Lyon, and even slightly increased between 2011 (12,7 %) and 2016 (13,6 %) (Table 18). Regardless of the year selected, women tend to suffer more employment than men (Table 18).

<sup>15</sup> PIAZZA Leïla, “A Lyon-Gerland : derrière les biotechs, les plans sociaux”, *Rue 89*, 29 October 2013. Available on : <https://www.rue89lyon.fr/2013/10/29/lyon-gerland-derriere-biotechs-plans-sociaux/> See also NGUYEN Loan, “A Lyon, adieu aux usines ?”, *L’Humanité*, 6 March 2014. Available on : <https://www.humanite.fr/social-eco/lyon-adieu-aux-usines-560521> See also GIRADON Caroline, “Lyon : Pourquoi Cenntro Motors (ex Brandt) a été un fiasco industriel”, *20 minutes*, 22 February 2016. Available on : <https://www.20minutes.fr/lyon/1791979-20160222-lyon-pourquoi-cenntro-motors-ex-brandt-fiasco-industriel>

<sup>16</sup> INSEE, “Revenu, niveau de vie et pauvreté en 2016”, 20 December 2018. Available on : <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3610277?sommaire=3650460>

**Table 17 / Lyon - Poverty rate by age group of the fiscal referent (2016)**

	Rate in %
<b>Ensemble</b>	<b>15</b>
Less than 30	21
30-39	13
40-49	17
50-59	16
60-74	10
75 or more	7

**Table 18 / Lyon – Unemployment rate (15-64)**

	2016	2011
<b>Unemployed (15-64)</b>	<b>35 872</b>	<b>32 063</b>
Unemployment rate in %	13,6	12,7
Unemployment rate for men in %	13,3	12,7
Unemployment rate for women in %	14,0	12,8
Share of women among the unemployed (%)	51,3	49,9

### 3. City Politics and Participation

#### *a ) The framing of immigration and Islam by local political elites*

As we previously explained, Lyon is a historical place of immigration since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Currently, the main discourse about immigration tends to be a process of “patrimonialization” of past migration waves, as a way to value a kind of “multiculturalist identity”. During a public reunion in Lyon (on February 2028), Prime Minister Edouard Philippe declared: “I don’t know if the anecdote is true, but it is said that in Roman times the city of Lugdunum had about thirty different nationalities, even though the concept of nationalities was meaningless because everyone was Roman. Faithful to this historical tradition of hospitality, the city has a lot of

ideas, goodwill and energy to produce great results. It is up to us to convert this culture into a national ambition.<sup>17</sup> This patrimonialization perspective is also visible in the policy which is led by some municipalities of Lyon suburbs, like Villeurbanne. Morane Chavanon even describes this policy as “the implementation of subversion through institutional channels”, even if its framing tends to be oriented in a depoliticized perspective, by putting potentially conflicting historical episodes on the back burner (Chavanon, 2014). However, despite this local rhetoric, the mayor of Lyon Gérard Collomb was considered as the embodiment of a securitarian approach to immigration, when he was minister of the Interior (between May 2017 and October 2018). For instance, his law “Asylum and immigration”<sup>18</sup> – whose most debated aspects were shortened time limits for filing and processing asylum applications, the extension of the administrative detention period, and the derogation from the principle of *jus soli* in the overseas department of Mayotte – was even criticized among parliamentarians from his party (The Republic Forward – LREM)<sup>19</sup> and 11 of the party’s MPs abstained, and one voted against<sup>20</sup>. In this context, Gérard Collomb mobilized his city’s example as a justification of his approach: “We have welcomed many people, and for a long time, during the Armenian genocide and then with the Spanish, Italian and Portuguese immigrants. We have this tradition of welcoming, but we also know that we must welcome well. It is, therefore, important to know who has the right to asylum and who does not. We are going to make sure that we can make a decision within six months so that we do not allow ourselves to build up a number of lives that will have no way out. That is what we are trying to do with a fair and balanced law.”<sup>21</sup>

Contrary to immigration, Islam tends to be more politicized in the local political discourse. Of course, the National Rally (RN) tends to be the owner of this issue (Egan, 2013; Walgrave, Lefevre, Tresch, 2012). For instance, when the Salafi imam Nader Abou Anas cancelled his conference in Lyon because of the SNCF railway strikes, the RN candidate Agnès Marion stated on Twitter that “They’re hiding behind the strikes, but it’s actually our determination that has embarrassed the authorities and driven back those Islamists who despise our morals.”<sup>22</sup> The RN explicitly referred to the controversial talks of Nader Abou Anas about couple relationships and marital rape<sup>23</sup>, by depicting him as “a preacher who became known for his theocratic and

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<sup>17</sup> Quoted in LAGRANGE Catherine, “ Collomb défend l'équilibre de sa politique d'immigration à Lyon”, *Le Point*, 20 February 2018. Available on : [https://www.lepoint.fr/politique/collomb-defend-l-equilibre-de-sa-politique-d-immigration-a-lyon-20-02-2018-2196283\\_20.php](https://www.lepoint.fr/politique/collomb-defend-l-equilibre-de-sa-politique-d-immigration-a-lyon-20-02-2018-2196283_20.php)

<sup>18</sup> The text of the law is available on : [https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do;jsessionid=0C1C284B7E00B22E92396161AED0C69E.tplgfr38s\\_1?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000037381808&categorieLien=id](https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do;jsessionid=0C1C284B7E00B22E92396161AED0C69E.tplgfr38s_1?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000037381808&categorieLien=id)

<sup>19</sup> GALLET Ludwig, SULZER Alexandre, “Projet de loi immigration: critiqué dans son camp, Collomb cajole la majorité”, *L'Express*, 9 January 2018. Available on : [https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/projet-de-loi-immigration-critique-dans-son-camp-collomb-cajole-la-majorite\\_1974579.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/projet-de-loi-immigration-critique-dans-son-camp-collomb-cajole-la-majorite_1974579.html)

<sup>20</sup> UGOLINI Sarah, “Loi asile-immigration : une députée REM en passe d'être exclue du groupe pour avoir voté contre”, *RTL*, 28 July 2018. Available on : <https://www.rtl.fr/actu/politique/loi-asile-immigration-une-deputee-irem-en-passe-d-etre-exclue-du-groupe-pour-avoir-vote-contre-7794255914>

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in LAGRANGE Catherine, “Collomb défend l'équilibre de sa politique d'immigration à Lyon”, *art. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in “Le prédicateur salafiste annule sa conférence à cause de la grève à la SNCF”, *Le Progrès*, 8 December 2019. Available on : <https://www.leprogres.fr/edition-lyon-villeurbanne/2019/12/08/le-predicateur-salafiste-annule-sa-conference-a-cause-de-la-greve-a-la-sncf>

<sup>23</sup> CONDOMINES Anaïs, “Comment l'imam Nader Abou Anas s'est-il retrouvé dans la liste des signataires de l'appel contre l'islamophobie ?”, *Libération*, 7 November 2019. Available on : [https://www.liberation.fr/checknews/2019/11/07/comment-l-imam-nader-abou-anas-s-est-il-retrouve-dans-la-liste-des-signataires-de-l-appel-contre-l-i\\_1762073](https://www.liberation.fr/checknews/2019/11/07/comment-l-imam-nader-abou-anas-s-est-il-retrouve-dans-la-liste-des-signataires-de-l-appel-contre-l-i_1762073)

misogynistic statements”<sup>24</sup>. Nevertheless, this politicization of Islam is not only led by the RN. The Communist André Gérin, ex-mayor of Vénissieux from 1985 to 2009, asserts that “too many taboo issues are left to the National Front<sup>25</sup>”, claims that “the right and the left should lead a struggle against political Islam<sup>26</sup>” and frequently advocated a securitarian approach about Salafi Islam: “We cannot accept everything in the name of possible social peace. At this rate, we’re going to let Sharia law take hold little by little. For the question of the veil, and in particular the full veil, it is only the tip of the iceberg. When you have girls under 18 years of age in a neighbourhood who cannot dress as they would like, who cannot go to family planning, who are obliged to be exempted from sports classes ... it is simply a takeover of the territory by some people.<sup>27</sup>” Besides, the rhetoric of André Gérin tends to associate immigration and Islam, as he stated that “We must denounce anti-Arab, anti-Muslim racism, and anti-Semitism. However, anti-white, anti-France racism is also part of what people in working-class neighbourhoods experience. Neighbourhoods that have changed their face in twenty years. Today, the “native” French are almost no longer present there because it’s becoming unliveable for them for that reason, but also because a new form of banditry, of thuggery, is taking hold there.<sup>28</sup>” The aforementioned radical discourse of some political elites refers to a particular local context, characterized by an ancient structuration of fundamentalist or Islamist organizations in Lyon.

### *b ) Fundamentalist and Islamist organizations in Lyon*

One of the first French Jihadists (Khaled Kelkal, who got involved in Paris attacks of 1995) grew up in Lyon (Haenni, 2006: 123), and was close to the Armed Islamic Group of Algeria. Independently from this example about violent activism, Lyon is considered as a stronghold of some associations linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, like the Union of Young Muslims, founded in 1987 (Haenni, 2006 : 122) – who leads the library, conference center and publishing house Tawhid<sup>29</sup> – or the Coranic school Al Kindi<sup>30</sup>, whose founder (Nazir Hakim) was a former member of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood<sup>31</sup>. Another example is the organization

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<sup>24</sup> Quoted in MENVIELLE Dominique, “Lyon: le Rassemblement national dénonce la venue d’un “prédicateur” salafiste”, *Le Progrès*, 2 December 2019. Available on : <https://www.leprogres.fr/edition-lyon-villeurbaine/2019/12/02/lyon-le-rassemblement-national-denonce-la-venue-d-un-predicateur-salafiste>

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in “André Gerin : “Trop de sujets tabous sont laissés au Front National”, *Lyon Mag*, 8 February 2012. Available on : <https://www.lyonmag.com/article/35632/andre-gerin-trop-de-sujets-tabous-sont-laissees-au-front-national>

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in “André Gerin : ‘Droite et gauche devraient mener un combat contre l’islam politique’”, *Lyon Mag*, 20 April 2015. Available on : <https://www.lyonmag.com/article/72187/andre-gerin-droite-et-gauche-devraient-mener-un-combat-contre-l-islam-politique>

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in “André Gerin : ‘Les responsables politiques de notre pays doivent oser dire non à l’islam politique’”, *Tout Lyon*, 9 November 2017. Available on : <https://www.le-tout-lyon.fr/andre-gerin-les-responsables-politiques-de-notre-pays-doivent-oser-dire-non-a-l-islam-politique-8488.html>

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in LAGRANGE Catherine, “Islam radical - André Gerin : ‘Les gouvernements successifs ont renoncé à combattre le mal’”, *Le Point*, 20 January 2015. Available on : [https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/islam-radical-andre-gerin-les-gouvernements-successifs-ont-renonce-a-combattre-le-mal-20-01-2015-1898144\\_23.php](https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/islam-radical-andre-gerin-les-gouvernements-successifs-ont-renonce-a-combattre-le-mal-20-01-2015-1898144_23.php)

<sup>29</sup> Website available on : <https://www.ujm.fr/activites-educatives-et-spirituelles/>

<sup>30</sup> Website available on : <http://www.al-kindi.fr/>

<sup>31</sup> HAMEL Ian, “Près de Lyon, une inquiétante école musulmane sous contrat et... sous influence”, *Marianne*, 5 April 2019. Available on : <https://www.marianne.net/societe/pres-de-lyon-une-inquietante-ecole-musulmane-sous-contrat-et-sous-influence>

named Muslim Participation and Spirituality<sup>32</sup>, which is close to the Moroccan Islamist movement Al Adl Wal Ihsane (Justice and Spirituality)<sup>33</sup>. Other Islamic tendencies are historically present in the periphery of Lyon, like the Tabligh in Bron (Bouregba-Dichy, 1990: 631), or Salafism – especially through specific libraries like Al Qasas, or mosques, such as At-Tawba, Mosaab ibn Omayer and Sébastien Gryphe street’s mosque<sup>34</sup>. Besides, many educational and cultural Islamic centers exist in Lyon, which are not clearly linked to one of the tendencies mentioned above. Among these Koranic schools, we can quote Al Oussoul<sup>35</sup>, Alif Lam Mim<sup>36</sup>, Shâtibi<sup>37</sup>, La Plume<sup>38</sup> or La Maison d’Arqam<sup>39</sup>. In addition, a memorandum from the intelligence services reckoned 22 Salafi mosques in 2015<sup>40</sup>.

### c ) Extreme-right organizations in Lyon

Lyon is also recognized as a stronghold of far-right organizations, and these organizations respectively embody diverse tendencies within right-wing extremism. For instance, some hooligans of the local football club Olympique Lyonnais (the Bad Gones, Lyon 1950 and Mezza Lyon) frequently engage in racist rhetoric and hate speech<sup>41</sup>. Likewise, the neo-Pagan movement *Terre et Peuple* (Land and People) and its political branch *Europe identité* (Europe identity) are located in Lyon<sup>42</sup>, as well as Traditionalist Catholicism through the Saint-Georges church<sup>43</sup>. Neo-fascism is present too, through organizations like *Lyon Populaire* (People’s

<sup>32</sup> Website available on : <https://www.psm-enligne.org/psm-dans-votre-region/national/10379-journees-detudes-15eme-edition>

<sup>33</sup> AKNOU Abderrahmane, “Le legs d’Abdessalam Yassine : L’expérience personnelle de Dieu ou l’art de mettre son ego sur la table”, *Participation et Spiritualité Musulmanes*, undated. Available on : <https://www.psm-enligne.org/islam/figures-de-lislam/abdessalam-yassine/7639-legs-dabdessalam-yassine-l'experience-personnelle-de-dieu-l-art-de-mettre-ego-table>

<sup>34</sup> This last mosque is evoked in the two following press articles :

BURLET Laurent, “A Lyon, les représentants musulmans font le ménage chez les salafistes”, *Rue 89*, 14 December 2015. Available on : <https://www.rue89lyon.fr/2015/12/14/lyon-les-representants-musulmans-font-le-menage-chez-les-salafistes/>; “A Lyon, les autorités musulmanes sur le qui-vive face à l’entrisme salafiste”, *L’Express*, 5 February 2015. Available on : [https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/societe/a-lyon-les-autorites-musulmanes-sur-le-qui-vive-face-a-l-entrisme-salafiste\\_1648670.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/societe/a-lyon-les-autorites-musulmanes-sur-le-qui-vive-face-a-l-entrisme-salafiste_1648670.html)

<sup>35</sup> Website available on : <http://institut-aloussoul.fr/>

<sup>36</sup> Website available on : <https://institut-aliflammim.fr/>

<sup>37</sup> Website available on : <http://shatibi.fr/formations/science-islamique/>

<sup>38</sup> Website available on : <http://www.groupe-scolaire-laplume.com/>

<sup>39</sup> Website available on : <http://lamaisondarqam.fr/>

<sup>40</sup> “Lyon : 22 mosquées salafistes recensées dans l’agglomération”, *Lyon Mag*, 17 February 2015. Available on : <https://www.lyonmag.com/article/70815/lyon-22-mosquees-salafistes-recensees-dans-l-8217-agglomeration>

<sup>41</sup> ENJALBAL Bertrand, “Manchester City – OL : encore un salut nazi parmi les supporters lyonnais”, *Rue 89*, 20 September 2018. Available on : <https://www.rue89lyon.fr/2018/09/20/manchester-city-ol-encore-un-salut-nazi-parmi-les-supporters-lyonnais/>. See also GOLDBAUM Maxime, “Football : Lyon plus que jamais confronté à ses ultras”, *Le Monde*, 24 September 2018. Available on : [https://www.lemonde.fr/ligue-1/article/2018/09/24/football-lyon-plus-que-jamais-confronte-a-ses-ultras\\_5359409\\_1616940.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/ligue-1/article/2018/09/24/football-lyon-plus-que-jamais-confronte-a-ses-ultras_5359409_1616940.html). See also “Retour du racisme dans les tribunes de foot : le cas de Lyon”, *L’Obs*, 16 March 2012. Available on : <https://www.nouvelobs.com/sport/20120316.OBS3910/retour-du-racisme-dans-les-tribunes-de-foot-le-cas-de-lyon.html>

<sup>42</sup> MOUTTET Jean-Baptiste, “Lyon, capitale de l’extrême droite la plus radicale”, *Slate*, 6 June 2013. Available on : <http://www.slate.fr/story/73523/extreme-droite-radicale-lyon>

<sup>43</sup> LAGRANGE Catherine, “Lyon, nouvelle capitale de l’ultra-droite ?”, *Le Point*, 7 August 2018. Available on : [https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/lyon-nouvelle-capitale-de-l-ultra-droite-07-08-2018-2241937\\_23.php](https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/lyon-nouvelle-capitale-de-l-ultra-droite-07-08-2018-2241937_23.php)

Lyon)<sup>44</sup> or the ex-Bastion Social, founded by Steven Bissuel, and whose ideology and modes of action are directly inspired by the Italian movement Casapound<sup>45</sup>. This anti-Muslim, anti-Semitic and homophobic<sup>46</sup> movement (dissolved by the authorities on April 2019) reconstituted itself through two organizations: *Audace Lyon* (Boldness Lyon) and *Vent d'Est* (Eastern Wind)<sup>47</sup>. Neo-fascist activists also try to settle in rural areas around Lyon, like the *Monts du Lyonnais*: the Association Terra Nostra in Larajasse is an example of this trend<sup>48</sup>. Another ideological family is present in Lyon, which is the Identitarian movement. For instance, *Génération Identitaire* (Identitarian Generation) has a boxing gym (Agogé Lyon<sup>49</sup>) and a bar (La Traboule<sup>50</sup>) in this city. Lastly, Marion Maréchal-Le Pen opened her training institute (ISSEP – Institute of Social, Economic and Political Sciences) in Lyon<sup>51</sup>.

How to explain this local presence of the extreme right? The historian and political scientist Stéphane François underlines the specific context of the post-Vichy period as follows: “At the Liberation, Lyon was also a place of purging, with a large number of summary executions (about 270) and settlements of accounts. Children of purged people, having kept the same ideals as their parents, were recruited by the authorities of Lyon-III.<sup>52</sup>” Indeed, the University of Lyon-III then became a hotbed for the recruitment of extreme-right academics, especially those involved in Holocaust denial propaganda, such as Robert Faurisson, Bernard Notin, Henri Roques or Jean Plantin<sup>53</sup>. Besides, the negationist publishing house Akribeïa (founded by Jean Plantin) is located in a village of the Monts du Lyonnais (Saint-Genis-Laval)<sup>54</sup>. The Nouvelle Droite and the GRECE were also present within Lyon-III, through the Institute of Indo-European Studies.<sup>55</sup> Lastly, one of the figures of the National Front’s most radical current (Bruno Gollnisch) was a teacher at this University. Indeed, the FN’s Lyon branch was well-known for the extremism of some of his leaders. For example, the former-city councillors of

<sup>44</sup> Facebook page available on : <https://www.facebook.com/pages/category/Community/Lyon-Populaire-100640967972530/>

<sup>45</sup> MAGAL Marylou, “Bastion social : les habits neufs de l'extrême droite radicale”, *Le Point*, 25 March 2018. Available on : [https://www.lepoint.fr/politique/bastion-social-les-habits-neufs-de-l-extreme-droite-radicale-19-03-2018-2203821\\_20.php](https://www.lepoint.fr/politique/bastion-social-les-habits-neufs-de-l-extreme-droite-radicale-19-03-2018-2203821_20.php)

<sup>46</sup> ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE, Report N°2006, 6 June 2019, 323 p.

<sup>47</sup> PLOTTU Pierre, “Le mouvement néofasciste Bastion social renaît de ses cendres”, *Slate*, 29 October 2019. Available on : <http://www.slate.fr/story/183429/bastion-social-gud-extreme-droite-radicale-ultradroite>

<sup>48</sup> SEVIGNON Thomas, “Larajasse : mobilisés contre l'ouverture du local Terra Nostra”, *Le Progrès*, 29 February 2020. Available on : <https://www.leprogres.fr/edition-sud-lyonnais/2020/02/29/ils-sont-plusieurs-centaines-a-manifester-ce-matin-contre-l-ouverture-du-local-terra-nostra>

<sup>49</sup> Twitter account available on : [https://twitter.com/AgogeLyon?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor](https://twitter.com/AgogeLyon?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor)

<sup>50</sup> Twitter account available on : <https://twitter.com/latraboule?lang=fr> See also VINCENT Thierry, “Lyon : comment la capitale de la Résistance est devenue ‘facholand’”, *Vice*, 15 December 2017. Available on : <https://www.vice.com/fr/article/d3xdak/lyon-comment-la-capitale-de-la-resistance-est-devenue-facholand>

<sup>51</sup> “Tout savoir sur l'ISSEP, l'école de Marion Maréchal”, *L'Express*, 22 June 2018. Available on : [https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/fn/la-marion-marechal-le-pen-academie-devoilee\\_2010528.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/fn/la-marion-marechal-le-pen-academie-devoilee_2010528.html)

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in MOUTTET Jean-Baptiste, “Lyon, capitale de l'extrême droite la plus radicale”, *art. cit.*

<sup>53</sup> CONAN Eric, “L'affaire Lyon III révisée”, *L'Express*, 8 November 2004. Available on : [https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/l-affaire-lyon-iii-revisee\\_487986.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/l-affaire-lyon-iii-revisee_487986.html) See also LAGRANGE Catherine, “Lyon, nouvelle capitale de l'ultra-droite ?”, *art. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> MOUTTET Jean-Baptiste, “Lyon, capitale de l'extrême droite la plus radicale”, *art. cit.*

<sup>55</sup> DELBERGHE Michel, “Un réseau construit autour de l'Institut d'études indo-européennes”, *Le Monde*, 4 March 1998. Available on : [https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1998/03/04/un-reseau-construit-autour-de-l-institut-d-etudes-indo-europeennes\\_3656469\\_1819218.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1998/03/04/un-reseau-construit-autour-de-l-institut-d-etudes-indo-europeennes_3656469_1819218.html) See also DELY Renaud, “Un ‘nid de fachos’ bouté hors la fac”, *Libération*, 28 October 1998. Available on : [https://www.liberation.fr/france/1998/10/28/un-nid-de-fachos-boute-hors-la-fac\\_249258](https://www.liberation.fr/france/1998/10/28/un-nid-de-fachos-boute-hors-la-fac_249258)



Vénissieux and regional councillors Yvan Benedetti and Alexandre Gabriac were expelled from the National Rally because of their anti-Semitism, racism and explicit neo-fascist sympathy<sup>56</sup>. Then, Bendetti was also a member of the Pétainist organization L’Oeuvre française (until 2013, year of dissolution by French authorities) and is currently member of the neo-fascist French Nationalist Party. Alexandre Gabriac then founded the *Jeunesses Nationalistes* in 2011 (which were dissolved jointly with L’Oeuvre française) and joined the nationalist and fundamentalist Catholic movement Civitas in 2017<sup>57</sup>. Nevertheless, the political scientist Joël Gombin notices that “We don’t observe any correlation between this radical presence and the vote for the FN [RN]”<sup>58</sup>. The electoral results below tend to show this (Tables 19-20-21).

**Table 19 / Presidential Election (2017 – first round) – Populist and radical right candidates**

Candidates	Votes	Expressed votes
Marine Le Pen	20 766	8.8 %
Nicolas Dupont-Aignan	6 199	2.6 %

Despite the visibility and the strength of extreme-right movements in Lyon, this city is not characterized by popularity of the populist radical-right in the ballot boxes. Indeed, during the first round of the 2017 presidential election (Table 19), the RN leader Marine Le Pen and the Eurosceptic and Gaullist candidate Nicolas Dupont-Aignan respectively obtained 8.8 and 2.6 % of expressed votes. Besides, the candidate who got ahead during this election was Emmanuel Macron (30.2 % of votes). The two following candidates were the liberal-conservative François Fillon (23.4 %) and the radical left leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon (22.8 %).

**Table 20 / European Elections (2019) – Radical, populist and extreme-right parties**

Political parties	Votes	Expressed votes
National Rally	15 551	10.2 %
France Arise <sup>59</sup>	2 330	1.5 %
The Patriots <sup>60</sup>	398	0.2 %
The French Dissidence <sup>61</sup>	23	0.0 %
Royal Alliance <sup>62</sup>	18	0.0 %
The Clear Line <sup>63</sup>	6	0.0 %

<sup>56</sup> [https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/lyon-nouvelle-capitale-de-l-ultra-droite-07-08-2018-2241937\\_23.php](https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/lyon-nouvelle-capitale-de-l-ultra-droite-07-08-2018-2241937_23.php)

<sup>57</sup> ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE, Report N°2006, 6 June 2019, 323 p. See also LAGRANGE Catherine, “Lyon, nouvelle capitale de l’ultra-droite ?”, *art. cit.* See also SOULLIER Lucie, “Le local du groupuscule d’extrême droite Bastion social fermé par la ville de Lyon”, *Le Monde*, 6 November 2018. Available on : [https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2018/11/06/le-local-du-groupuscule-d-extreme-droite-bastion-social-ferme-par-la-ville-de-lyon\\_5379703\\_823448.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2018/11/06/le-local-du-groupuscule-d-extreme-droite-bastion-social-ferme-par-la-ville-de-lyon_5379703_823448.html)

<sup>58</sup> LAGRANGE Catherine, “Lyon, nouvelle capitale de l’ultra-droite ?”, *art. cit.*

<sup>59</sup> Right-wing populism/Gaullist and Eurosceptic.

<sup>60</sup> Right-wing populism/pro-Frexit.

<sup>61</sup> Neo-fascist.

<sup>62</sup> Monarchist.

<sup>63</sup> Anti-immigration and Identitarian.

The same tendency could be highlighted during the European elections of 2019 (Table 20) in which the National Rally obtained 10.2 % of expressed votes. In contrast, France Arise (the party of Nicolas Dupont-Aignan) received 1.5 %. The Patriots, founded by Florian Philippot (ex-advisor of Marine Le Pen) get 0.2 % of the votes. Concerning the three extreme right lists, they jointly obtained 47 votes. Indeed, the two first parties during this election were Emmanuel Macron’s The Republic Forward (28.7 %), and Europe Ecology-The Greens (21 % EELV).

Besides, a Muslim party (the Union of French Muslim Democrats) campaigned too during this election, but their score was insignificant in Lyon (208 votes, 0.1 %). Nevertheless, this party obtained higher scores in some working-class towns of Lyon metropolis, such as Vaulx-en-Velin (4.8 %) and Vénissieux (3.8 %). In this last city, the LREM candidate for mayoral elections (Yves Blein) even announced for the second round – which will be organized on 28 June – an alliance with Yalçın Ayvalı, ex-candidate of the PEJ (Equality Justice Party) during 2017 parliamentary elections<sup>64</sup>: founded by French-Turkish citizens, this party (ideologically close to the AKP) advocates a communitarian and religiously inspired programme. Similarly to European elections, the local popularity of ecologists was visible during the first round of mayoral elections (March 15, 2020) (Table 21).

**Table 21 / Mayoral Elections in the nine districts of Lyon (2020 – first round) – National Rally**

Districts	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
RN list	2.6 %	6.2 %	5.2 %	3.5 %	6.1 %	4.8 %	5.3 %	8 %	6.1 %

EELV was the first party in eight of the nine Lyon districts. The only district which had a divergent vote was the sixth, which voted predominantly for a list supported by the liberal-conservative party The Republicans. On the contrary, the RN occupied a marginal electoral place as its best score was obtained in the eighth district, with 8 % of expressed votes.

<sup>64</sup> LOISON Laurence, “À Vénissieux, Yves Blein (LREM) fusionne avec un candidat pro-Erdogan”, *Le Progrès*, 3 June 2020. Available on : [https://www.leprogres.fr/politique/2020/06/03/a-venissieux-yves-blein-\(lrem\)-fusionne-avec-un-candidat-pro-erdogan](https://www.leprogres.fr/politique/2020/06/03/a-venissieux-yves-blein-(lrem)-fusionne-avec-un-candidat-pro-erdogan) See also “Municipales : à Vénissieux, un candidat pro-Erdogan rallie la liste LREM”, *Le Point*, 4 June 2020. Available on : [https://www.lepoint.fr/elections-municipales/municipales-a-venissieux-un-candidat-pro-erdogan-rallie-la-liste-lrem-04-06-2020-2378508\\_1966.php](https://www.lepoint.fr/elections-municipales/municipales-a-venissieux-un-candidat-pro-erdogan-rallie-la-liste-lrem-04-06-2020-2378508_1966.php)

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