

THE DYNAMICS OF THE FRENCH MULTIPARTY SYSTEM AND ITS RELATION TO MULTICULTURALISM

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ABSTRACT

This article will discuss the implementation of the multiparty system in France and the implementation of the French legislative elections in 2022. To discuss these two things, a study of various relevant literature sources was carried out. France is one of the various countries in the world that implements a multi-party system as its party system. This of course makes France a country that applies democratic values in its political life, because the multi-party system is a party system that can be said to provide wide enough opportunities for its citizens to be able to participate in managing their country through political parties based on their respective ideologies. respectively. However, of course, there are strengths and weaknesses in every party system, and the multiparty system is no exception. The strengths are certainly not far from the role of political parties as a forum for people to be able to express their aspirations politically, as well as ideological freedom for each political party. In addition, the wide opportunity for new parties to emerge and participate in contests in the election is also a strength. While the weaknesses are when the executive tends to be weaker to be able to carry out its role in government, this is because no one political party can fully dominate another political party when occupying an executive position so it must form a coalition with other political parties. The multiparty system will also have an influence on the dynamics that occur in the electoral process.

Keywords: Multiparty, Election, Political Party, France

INTRODUCTION

General elections or elections are the most basic indicators in a democratic system. The election itself is an activity in which the people will choose individuals who they think are appropriate to occupy parliamentary seats, as their representatives in submitting their aspirations in government. In accordance with the concept of democracy, namely a government that comes from, for, and by the people, it means that the role of society in the

implementation of elections is very large because it will determine the style and level of welfare of a country. There are at least two things that make elections a key factor in a democratic country. First, elections as an instrument of peaceful transfer of political power without violence and bloodshed, but through an election mechanism in which the winner is determined by the votes of the general public. Second, the existence of conflict in society cannot be avoided. This is a necessity in social life (Przeworski, 1988). Therefore, it is necessary to institutionalize conflicts so that in this case elections are present as the party that resolves these conflicts so that the democratic process can run as it should. Another meaning, is that elections are a tool that functions to determine the people's representatives who will later sit in parliament. Thus, elections are actually a forum that functions as a place for healthy contestation between political parties that aims to voice the interests of the people in order to achieve a democratic state that upholds the voice of the people.

In discussions about elections, of course, the presence of political parties is a term that will continue to stick, where in the process, political parties play such an important role. In a democratic country, political parties are a forum for people to be able to participate in managing their country. Through these political parties, people can try to get into their governing bodies, especially Parliament. Referring to Miriam Budiardjo (2008), political parties can be defined as organized groups with members within them who share the same orientation, values, and ideals. The goal of political parties is of course not far from efforts to gain power in politics so that they can carry out the plans they have formulated, for example through participation in general elections. The functions of political parties themselves vary, depending on the political system implemented in the country the political party is located in (Budiardjo, 2008) . If the country applies democratic values in its political life, then the function of political parties will remain in accordance with its "nature". However, if the country tends to be or even completely authoritarian, then political parties will tend to become tools for power holders. Political

parties, according to their ideal form, have at least four functions, namely as a means of political communication, a means of political socialization, a means of political recruitment, and a means of regulating conflict (Budiardjo, 2008).

The relations and interactions that exist between political parties in the process of the political system are basically integrated into a network known as the political party system. Andrew Heywood then formulates the division of the political party system which is classified by the number of existing and developing parties that participate in the contestation for power by going through general elections (Heywood, 2002). The parameter "a number of political parties" was not the first time expressed by Heywood, but was introduced and popularized by Maurice Duverger in 1954, where he divided the existing party system into three, namely, single-party system, two-party system, and multi-party system. Duverger also stated that the party system is constructed by the design of the electoral system. As one of the existing party systems, the multi-party system is a system that is widely used in various countries that carry out electoral contests or elections (Maurice, 1954). The multiparty system itself is a system that facilitates the existence of more than two political parties in a country. The multiparty system exists as a solution offered to countries where the society is heterogeneous or plural, where a system that allows for many parties is expected to be able to present parties that can represent various groups in society.

The condition of a heterogeneous and plural society is certainly related to the idea of multiculturalism which is an ideology or school that is very influential in the current contemporary era. The elements of multiculturalism are very binding on the socio-political life in various countries. According to Andrew Heywood, multiculturalism, like other developing concepts and theories, certainly has some core or basic points that emphasize the four concepts (Heywood, 2012). First, the politics of recognition is closely related to the opposite concept of "political rights" and "politics of redistribution". "Rights politics" itself is based on the value of Republicanism which is often

associated with the ideology of liberalism. The values of Republicanism also often refer to the principle of citizenship, namely that every individual in society has the right to receive equal status and protection. Meanwhile, the "politics of redistribution" is based on social reformist thinking which tends to adhere to the ideology of contemporary liberalism and social democracy because they feel that the concept of just citizenship and formal equality is still unable to answer the existing issues of subordination and marginalization. Then, the problem in the politics of recognition is not only formed in terms of law and politics, but also in terms of the economy, education-welfare, social structure, inequality, and so on. Adherents of multiculturalism who even make multiculturalism understand themselves are often considered to be more concerned with differences than equality. This also explains the concept of "recognition politics" which includes a positive reinforcement that encourages marginalized individuals or groups or what can be called subaltern groups to reaffirm their identity through reclaiming the authentic feelings of their distinctive culture. Like the theory of multiculturalism, these political ideas of recognition were also shaped by post-colonial thoughts that arose in the early period after the end of World War II. The second core point is culture and identity. Also related to the first point, multiculturalism can be considered a political form of cultural self-affirmation. Cultural politics itself is usually formed by two forces, namely communitarianism which tends to emphasize its attention to the differences that each group has, and also identity politics which views culture as a source of freedom and reinforcement to achieve a "pure" identity so that it can also be said that identity politics is only a form that seeks various personal and political aspects.

The third important point is the emphasis on minority rights. Multiculturalism which is built on the basis of cultural diversity certainly goes hand in hand with views that support the recognition of minority rights or also known as multicultural rights. In a piece of literature by Will Kymlicka there are at least three types of minority rights. First, the right to self-regulate which

is usually closely related to the granting of political autonomy is usually implemented through a system of federalism which can also be developed to a more independent stage, namely recognition of the sovereignty of an independent territory. Second, polyethnic rights aim to help ethnic and religious minority groups so that they are able to maintain and apply their 'unique' culture or tradition. Third, the right of special representation which aims to fight for the interests of minority groups or those who are marginalized (subalterns) in the fields of education, politics, social affairs, and so on. The fourth important point is "diversity". The notion of multiculturalism can be identified by its attitude which rejects the association of the concept of diversity with conflict, instead, multiculturalism assumes that diversity will be able to mingle with integration or unity. Political stability is also considered to occur through the recognition of the culture of each group. Diversity is highly valued by multiculturalism groups because diversity is believed to be needed and expected by a multicultural society because its presence is of great value to society as a whole. These benefits can be explained through the description that diversity encourages cultural exchange and recognition which then develops an attitude of tolerance and the ability to accept the differences that exist in society.

Based on the descriptions above, this article is here to analyze and provide an explanation of the electoral contestation process in France which is also related to the multiparty system which is the party system adopted. This article is structured to include a discussion of ideas around elections, electoral parties, party systems, to multicultural society which refers to the implementation of elections that are still hot or have just ended, namely the 2022 French Parliamentary Elections. Not only that, but this article also seeks to reexamine the strengths and weaknesses of the multiparty system in France by reviewing the strength of the support received by Emmanuel Macron as the president who won the election, bearing in mind that the support he received is no longer the absolute majority as in the previous period.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article uses a qualitative descriptive research method as the main technique in the manufacturing process. Qualitative research itself is a research concept that focuses on the researcher as an actor who collects various data, which then analyzes the various phenomena and activities studied through an interpretation of meaning (Nugrahani, 2014). The author here also describes specifically related phenomena that are not appropriate to be quantified so that these various phenomena can be more practically described. The study model used in this resume is library research or known as the literature study method which emphasizes secondary data as a source of information or search. The secondary data is obtained through the accumulation of data and information contained in various sources such as books to credible presentation materials. The author's reason for using this method is because of its practicality in obtaining credible and optimal information without having to carry out field studies such as interviews, surveys, or direct observation. The process of compiling this paper also does not forget to use inductive logic techniques as the basis for the author's thinking, in which the subject and theme of the writing are determined first, which then proceed to the processing and analysis of data in a comprehensive manner.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

CONDITIONS OF THE MULTIPARTY SYSTEM IN FRANCE

France is a country that upholds the freedom of its people in voicing political aspirations. This is fully regulated and guaranteed in the French constitutional book. The party system adopted by France itself is multi-party which means that any party can participate in political contestation in France. The implementation of a multiparty system also allows various parties to exist so that no single party in France has full power. However, in reality, there were two factions in power in France, namely the center-right (*droite*) and center-left (*gauche*).

In 1978 the French party system changed from a structural to a conjunctural system. This change in the party system has an effect on the electoral system which is no longer based on the profile of the party, but rather the profile of the individual who represents the party. This can be seen when Emmanuel Macron and Marine Le Pen advanced in the second round of the 2017 French elections. Since the change in the party system, parties that are outside the mainstream are generally able to participate in French politics. Some examples include the center-right party (droite), namely the Movement for France (MPF) and the National Front (FN) which were raised by Marine Le Pen. In fact, Front National managed to qualify for the second round with a total of 21.5% of the vote in the 2017 French Presidential Election. Not only that, in the last legislative elections which were held on June 19, 2022, French extreme right-wing groups got a lot of votes and the number of representatives in parliament increased significantly up to 10 times. At this time, Le Pen's party, National Rally (NR) became the second largest party in parliament with 90 seats (Kompas, 2022).

IMMIGRANTS AND THE FAR-RIGHT PARTY

France after the battle in World War 1 led to the depopulation of French citizens. It is recorded that approximately 1,300,000 French people died. With the high need for human resources to carry out reconstruction, the faucet for recruiting immigrants was opened on a large scale. These immigrants came from various countries such as Italy, Poland, Armenia, and others. In 1931 France became the largest immigration country in Europe with an immigrant composition reaching 7% of the total population and currently France has a percentage of 11.6 percent of the immigrant population. However, their existence is increasingly marginalized, especially with the increasingly strong position of the conservative right wing. For this reason, the National Front, led by Marine Le Pen, then issued a main program to resist the massive immigration that had occurred in France.

ADVANTAGES OF A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM IN FRANCE

France as a country that adheres to a multi-party system certainly provides freedom and guarantees for each party in determining political direction so that it is possible for parties to form coalitions with each other in strengthening support and actively contributing to French political dynamics. Therefore, it can be said that no single party has become the most dominant in controlling seats in the French parliament. Not only that, a multiparty system also provides space for parties with different ideologies and orientations to continue to exist and contribute to the national political system. This then gave rise to the classification of parties with various kinds of adherents, starting from the left (Gauche), the extreme left (l'Extrême Gauche), the middle (Centre), the right (Droite), to the extreme right (Extrême Droite).

One of the roles of parties in France is as a means for people to channel their aspirations politically, where this is also guaranteed in the French constitution. Of course, the opening up of possibilities and the guarantee of freedom of ideology for every party in this multiparty system is in line with the guarantee contained in the French constitution on October 4, 1958, which states: "Political parties and groups shall contribute to the exercise of suffrage. They shall be formed and carry on their activities freely. They shall respect the principles of national sovereignty and democracy." The constitution indicates that the freedom to express voting rights and contribute to the state has been guaranteed by adhering to the principles of democracy and national sovereignty.

The multiparty system that facilitates the presence of many contesting parties also provides opportunities for the emergence of new parties to participate in competing in the struggle for power through general elections. One of the new parties that emerged was in 2016 for the first time since World War II, the presence of a center and liberal party appeared. The emergence of this new party also later recorded a new history, where the president elected in the 2017 Presidential Election in France did not come from the two main

parties, namely Republicans and Socialists. The party was previously known as La République En Marche! (LREM) and now changed to the Renaissance Party. This party is a party founded by Emmanuel Macron in the political movement after he resigned from the Socialist Party. Macron then became president-elect at the time with his new party. This party exists to integrate two currents, namely the left and right streams with a pro-European, pro-open, and pro-integration vision. In that election, Macron managed to defeat his opponent, Marine Le Pen, who is a far-right, anti-immigrant and anti-European extremist.

DISADVANTAGES OF THE MULTIPARTY SYSTEM IN FRANCE

Miriam Budiardjo (2008) explains that a multiparty system will tend to emphasize more power in the legislature, while the role of the executive will be weaker. The multiparty system makes it less possible for one political party to have enough strength to face other parties, unlike the two-party system in which the political party that wins the election will have the ability to "suppress" the losing political party. Political parties in a multiparty system that win in general elections must form coalitions with other parties that have seats in parliament because the number of parties contesting in elections is not small and no party really dominates so the political parties that enter parliament are not small. also. The large number of political parties that enter parliament means that the winning political party will be far from 50% + 1 in the number of seats it has won. This causes the executive (eg the president) to experience immobility and even deadlock when there is disagreement with parliament.

The weakness of the multiparty system can be found in France as well. In the 2022 election, Emmanuel Macron won another victory in the French presidential election contest. However, the political parties that support Macron only won 234 seats in his legislative elections, unlike the previous period which won 347 seats, while to achieve an absolute majority they must

have at least 289 seats (Jamil, 2022). This certainly made Macron and his supporters try to form a coalition with other parties. This can be seen when Macron invited representatives of the main political parties in France to hold talks in an effort to build strength for French political stability, the invitation also included the leader of the hard left party Jean-Luc Melenchon and the chairman of the right-wing Marine Le Pen (Mulyana, 2022).

What has happened in France after the 2022 elections can be said to be a clear form of the weakness of the multiparty system. Emmanuel Macron's victory in the presidential election does not guarantee that his political party will win an absolute majority in his legislative elections. When the executive like the president does not have strong enough support from parliament, it can have an adverse impact on the executive position to carry out its role, so that political parties supporting the executive are "forced" to form coalitions with other political parties so that the executive role can run smoothly. This may be proven by looking at the actions of Macron and his supporters who explicitly try to embrace other political parties so they can form a coalition.

FRENCH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION 2022

On Sunday 19 June 2022, France held its final round of legislative elections which will determine the fate of its government for the coming period. As is known, France also held a presidential election last May which was won by Emmanuel Macron from the LREM party which is a centrist party. It should also be remembered that France is a country that adheres to a semi-presidential system of government and a multi-party system so in order to produce an effective government, the elected President must obtain majority support in the French Parliament. With a multi-party party system, the possibility for a party to gain an absolute majority position is very low, so a coalition is needed for each party (both opposition and government supporters) to achieve this absolute majority position. The results of the French Parliamentary elections in 2022 turned out to be quite disappointing

for President Macron's camp. The results of the legislative elections announced on Monday, 20 June 2022 marked a major victory for the coalition of left and right parties who united to fight the center coalition that supports the government (Planasari, 2022). The government coalition called Ensemble! or which means "Together" only won 245 seats, lacking 44 seats to win a majority in Parliament of 289 seats out of a total of 577 seats. The remaining 332 seats out of the 245 seats held by the pro-government coalition are held by the large coalition of the opposition that wants to oppose Macron's reform agenda. The grand opposition coalition consisted of the new leftist coalition NUPES which won 135 seats under the leadership of Jean-Luc Melenchon along with several other smaller leftist parties. The opposition has also partnered with a coalition of right-wing parties, which is dominated by the National Rally Party under the leadership of Macron's rival, Marine Le Pen, which won 89 seats. Several coalitions of right parties and other right parties also joined the grand opposition coalition. The results of the parliamentary election will certainly have an impact on all aspects of life in France, including politics and multiculturalism in France.

In the political field, of course, the victory of the opposition coalition in Parliament will hinder the performance of the French government because of course the differences in views between the opposition and the government will lead to different programs and policies that want to be implemented while with a semi-presidential system of government, the president must be able to work closely with parliament in exercising power. President Macron himself has a series of agendas for his second term, including strengthening economic reforms to reduce unemployment, cutting taxes for businesses and households, increasing the retirement age from 62 years to 65 years, integrating various social security programs into one system that would address social issues, and increase benefits to 50 percent for single mothers. In addition, he also plans to increase income for education and health workers, as well as simplify the bureaucratic flow in the health sector and make health

services more affordable for all groups of people. It doesn't stop there, support for agricultural aspects, increasing the development of renewable energy, and improving the quality of housing will also be carried out. However, all of these promises cannot be realized in their entirety if they refer to the French constitution which stipulates that parliament as the main institution that handles domestic policy together with the prime minister is controlled by the opposition.

Almost all of the power of the President of France is also based on the approval of his prime minister, where the prime minister is also the individual who is largely responsible for running the government and national and international agendas. In this case, when Parliament is controlled by the opposition, the president is forced to appoint a prime minister who has been approved by the majority coalition in parliament, namely the opposition (Decodeurs, 2022). Even though this obligation is not written in the constitution, if the president still insists on appointing a prime minister from the government side, then his government is threatened by a vote of no confidence which can be issued by parliament at any time. These conditions then forced President Macron to face several choices.

First, to inaugurate the prime minister from the opposition party or to retain the prime minister who has been appointed, namely Elisabeth Borne from her own coalition, and carry out a cabinet reshuffle or even dissolve parliament. However, this last radical step was not possible because it would cause great political instability in the future. This is not the first time something like this has happened and has happened several times in the past. The most likely option is for the president to carry out intensive negotiations with the opposition, but most likely the prime minister will still be controlled by the opposition. It can be concluded that the results of the 2022 parliamentary elections seriously tarnish the victory of Macron's side in the presidential election one month earlier because, without a prime minister on their side, the president will have difficulty carrying out his political agenda.

Various aspects such as benefits, insurance, taxes, immigration, job creation, and various other regulations fall into the hands of parliament and the president can only refuse to sign policies that have been formulated by parliament. However, the president is also unable to appoint various important officials according to his choice unilaterally without consulting the opposition through his prime minister (who in this case is most likely from the opposition camp). Officials such as ambassadors, advisers, and others also need the signature of the prime minister's approval, except for defense and foreign officials, which is the prerogative of the French President. So far, Macron's efforts to gain the support of one of the opposition parties to switch sides to the government side have been unsuccessful. Macron tried to negotiate with Christian Jacob who is the leader of the center-right Les Republicains (LR) party, but Jacob stuck to his position as an oppositionist but promised to be a constructive opposition (Stancil, 2022). However, in accordance with the concept of a multiparty system, an opposition coalition that is so large from the left to the right does not necessarily produce a strong opposition. Those dominated by certain parties are trying to switch sides to become supporters of a government coalition or even join a government coalition that can reverse the conditions in parliament with a government coalition holding an absolute majority.

On the other hand, with regard to multiculturalism, the results of the French parliamentary election in 2022, which marked the victory of the left and right, also haunted aspects of multiculturalism there. Of course, various policies of the right that are more radical and anti-immigration to anti-tolerance towards minority beliefs on the grounds of secularism will further disrupt social life in France. If you look at President Macron's first stable government, various cases such as violence involving Muslim groups in France due to blasphemy have proven the failure of multiculturalism in France. Charlie Hebdo magazine repeatedly insulted the Prophet Muhammad by illustrating it which then sparked a strong reaction from some Muslim

communities which was accompanied by violence (Yulianingsih, 2020). At that time, Macron's government defended Charlie Hebdo magazine on the grounds of freedom of expression and condemned acts of violence by Muslim communities who wanted "revenge". The government also acts tough and only sees the strong reaction of the Muslim community as a form of extremism so that everything related to Islamic teachings such as the burqa and excessive religious symbols is prohibited, although the hijab is still permitted. Therefore, he is worried about the French Parliament which is currently controlled by the opposition, where the largest party comes from the right. Added to this is the possibility that the Prime Minister who will be sworn in will also come from the right group, adding to the threat of more radical policies that are intolerant towards minority groups. The leader of the right-wing National Rally (RN) party, Marine Le Pen, was once famous for his policy of banning the use of the hijab in public places. Le Pen considers the hijab as an Islamic attack which is a form of extremism that can harm society so its use needs to be banned in the French community (CNN Indonesia, 2022). In conclusion, the results of the parliamentary elections in 2022 need to be watched seriously because in this period there is a possibility that there will be greater deviations in the multicultural life of French society, whether carried out by the government through parliament or by radical community groups who feel 'supported' by the government by influential right-wing parties.

CONCLUSION

France is one of the countries that implements a multiparty system. In France itself, although there are many parties contesting, there are several parties and coalitions of parties that significantly gain high votes. For example, the National Rally party, the NUPES coalition party, and the Ensemble! The multiparty system run by France certainly has advantages and disadvantages. Among the advantages found is that this system provides freedom for each party to determine its political direction, allows parties with various ideologies

and orientations to exist, and makes it easier for people to express their aspirations through existing parties. In addition, the implementation of a multiparty system that allows many parties to contest this certainly opens up space for the inclusion and representation of diversity, including cultural, religious and ethnic diversity in France.

The drawback of a multiparty system is that political parties that win in elections are less likely to face the strengths of other parties. So this requires the party that wins the election to form a coalition with the party in parliament because in a multiparty system, no party really dominates. This weakness was seen during the French Legislative Election a few days ago, Emmanuel Macron's party failed to get a majority in parliament. In fact, Macron won the presidential election last May. It is feared that this will lead to friction between the executive and legislature in the future Macron government.

The failure of the government coalition party, Ensemble! in the June 19 legislative elections in gaining a majority of votes not only influenced the political situation in France. But also in social life, especially in the issue of multiculturalism. Unfortunately, the relationship between politics and issues of multiculturalism in France is sometimes not very harmonious. The existence of differences in responding to issues of multiculturalism can become a complicated debate between parties. Some parties may be able to be inclusive and multicultural when talking about diversity or differences, while others are exclusive and more oriented toward national interests. For example, the right-wing party created by Le Pen, National Rally, tends to be anti-immigration and diverse. This is reflected in Le Pen's several statements regarding the use of the hijab in France, where he explicitly forbade Muslims to wear burqas and hijabs in public places. Therefore, this certainly deserves special attention so that the diversity and tolerance of religious communities in France are not tarnished just because of political interests and agendas.

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