

A French Point of View: Statistics, Integration and Universalism

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Abstract: Immigration is one of the most important and pressing issues in contemporary France. It has stirred up controversies over concepts such as "integration" (vs. "assimilation") and immigrants' and immigrants' children's belonging to spotted groups (debates between researchers and politicians). Conceptual considerations are important because they shape the forms of statistical knowledge. Populations are social constructions and figures are their consequences. At the moment when many social scientists of others countries ask themselves about the viability of ethnic classifications, French theorists and practioners of statistical studies about migrants and migrants' children disagree with the different criteria that should be used. Few French demographers neglect current evolutions despite certain aspects of British and American usages justify French traditionnal misgivings. Operational difficulties aren't the whole problem. But there are links between official statistical categories and the cultural and political projects which always made the French specificity that can be analysed as a republican pretention to universalism. French INSEE's data are fortunately solidly buttressed by legal and objective categories. It has nothing to do with "biological ancestry" and "ethnicity". The ethnic classifications' refusal mustn't be analysed as an unwillingness to recognize immigrants and their descendants as identifiable groups within the French society in which each of them appears in a never-ending integration process. The use of few criteria such as previous and current citizenships, collecting personal and parents' birthplace are enough to realise, with appropriate surveys, statistical studies which recount populations' destiny.

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Migrants' and migrants' children's presence in France entailed the development of studies about participation's forms of these people to the French society's current evolution. While most are rejoicing the traditional impossibility to distinguish in statistical data, among all children of France, those that is henceforth usual to call *immigrant's children* (*enfants d'immigrés*), numerous searchers and manager of the economic and social worlds would wish to be able to quantify differently observed social phenomena (1). Socio-economic and political actors who organize policies to the benefit of populations of immigrant origin cope with concrete difficulties. Quantitative studies are not sufficient to render account the totality of explanatory elements, but their usefulness never appears as obvious as when their lack renders hazardous conclusions based on the only qualitative analyses. Opinions are often forged by intuitions more than by quantified elements but the statistical study of the populations of immigrant origin is often rendered delicate by technical or political factors which constitute a true obstacle to scientific research (2). Several years of scientists' debates have not enabled coherent formulations, unanimously admitted by most French searchers of the different academic disciplines, to emerge. In an area into which the irrational approach has too often overridden the knowledge of objective phenomena, the searchers' responsibility for using expressions is obvious because of the particular French political context. Demographic data are social constructions influenced by historical circumstances and by the administrative authorities' choices (3). Until 1993, almost all immigrants' children born in France became automatically French when they reached the age of majority. They now have to ask for getting the French citizenship, excepted Algerians' children born in France who are still French-born. Facing the statistical material he can work with, the searcher may adopt two strategies. The first consists in denouncing the illusory of the statistics that would provide only an incomplete image of the society, even perhaps deformed. On the second hand, we consider that data should be used but there's a need to extract of them the efficient matter, non without making sometimes the necessary processing (4).

A. LEXICOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CHOICES, SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

The term *immigrant* (*immigrant*) is only very rarely used in French while its usage is developed in works in English language. The

explanation is that *immigrant* also means *immigrating* in French (5). The particularity of denominations generally used in French can be partly explained by the will of use of a substantived past participle that implies the affirmation of the bygone character of a migration: the migrant has settled in France. The current usage (as a noun) of the substantived form of the past participle *immigrated* (*immigré*, in French) enters therefore also in the French integrationist perspective (6). Since 1791, the French term *emigrated* has been appearing to call, at the period of the French Revolution, Royalists that had left France and, one hundred and twenty years later, Russians who came in France after the 1917's events (7). So as to avoid repetitions and to diversify the terms employed, we also recommend the use of the word *immigrant* (*immigrant*) in French, notably when the implicit affirmation of the non-definitive character of the establishment of the person or of its children in the country will seem us relevant.

The filter *French vs. Strangers* is maladjusted to grasp the size and the main demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of migrant's children. An element pleads in favor of the study of the whole population of immigrant(s)'(s) children rather than that of the only foreign children. In a longitudinal study's logic that we have in mind, the interest turns on individual trajectory. We consider that processes of acquisition of the French nationality can only be analyzed and understood from the study of the totality of the population that is or had been, at the origin, susceptible to acquire it. Undertaking longitudinal surveys, at the time $[t+\Delta t]$, about a population of strangers noticed at the initial date t , after having decided to exclude from the steady population all people that would have acquired the French nationality in the interval $[t, t+\Delta t]$, would be meaningless. The study's restriction to the only children who declared not to be French or to the only foreign parents' children would not enable therefore to analyse the social integration even if the comparison of the situations of populations with similarly characteristics based on a current nationality is realized (8).

Indications on a possible belonging to religious or ethnic groups, claimed or not, do not appear on variables' lists of the databases produced by French public institutions as INSEE. It seems us logical that the categorizations rest on either demographic or geographical criteria (place of birth, for example), or on ones leaning on the positive law that has been concerning people (the past or current nationality of a person that may be a parent of the person belonging to a sample). So we plagiarize searchers

that would wish to undertake statistical studies based on roundups of persons from main criteria or secondary others that nationalities or places of births of these individuals or their parents. We consider that ethnic classifications, notably in the framework of a quantitative study realized with data produced by public administrations, can not, paradoxically, contribute to maintain the ambiguity on that the statistical information which only contain informations on characteristics linked to the law (nationality and former nationality, country of the place of personal and parents' place of birth). The most adequate solution is to realise analysis based on the use of the place of birth of a person or of his/her parents (9). Regards to the French History, on a pure political point of view, there are no doubts that that solution is the more reasonable: some ethnic classifications have been used, more than fifty years ago, for tragical purposes. It has been underlined by the French demographer Alfred Sauvy. From 1941 to 1944, the Statistics National Service (SNS) of the French State of Pétain established codes that allowed to classify, by means of mecanographic files, residents according to their racial origin. Created following the abolition of the Crémieux décre of 1870, used categories differentiated the "French citizens", "Algeria's and all colonies' natives, excepted Jews", "Jewish natives", and "foreigners". It would have been possible to use that files for helping the German occupants (10).

Since the Liberation (1945), in its publications, INSEE (the French public institute of statistics) never has been categorizing populations by so-called ethnic groups. In the United-States, questions about ethnic and racial belongings introduced in the census questionnaire since 1977 are proven to provide only more and more inoperative data. Thus, an increasingly number of persons contested, in that country, the classification of the population with answers to a question about ethnicity (11). In the framework of pre-census "inquiries-tests", category modifications envisaged in reason of the weakness of the traditionnal nomenclatures (12) have shown the problems' insoluble character of the determination of belongings to ethnic or racial groups. Until the last American census, people could not declare a plurality of racial ethnic and ancestral ("ancestry") belongings. Many parents objected, at the moment to fill in the forms of inscription in schools, that it was difficult for them to choose, for their children, only one to belonging to a cultural ou ethnic minority or community. This behavior would imply the negation of a different perception felt by the parents and their children. Indeed, in the context of cognitive interviews, according to formulations of questions and the order of the possibly proposed items, answers differed

appreciably. In cases where questions offered a possibility of a multi-belongings answer, this last category was very clearly more chosen if it was placed in last position of the list presented to questioned persons (13). Similarly, for the question on the ethnic belonging eventually coupled with one about racial groups, the size of the different populations (i.e. racial groups) varies considerably. Thus, in the May 1995 Current Population Survey organized by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the people beforehand reputed Hispanic by the administration spontaneously declared themselves as such with percentages varying from 79% to 95%, depending on the tested taxinomies. Moreover, socioeconomic characteristics of populations thus constituted were considerably modified according to the processing of the undertaken information (14). These classifications have however a certain deserves, because undertaken from variables explicitly envisaged to construct them. They're not built without people's knowing, people that might possibly be chosen beforehand (15). What is the legitimacy to construct the ethnicity from several variables that are not directly associated to a positive definition of this concept, what would suppose an auto-designation? Thus, the change of the nature of the collected information does not solves a problem that seems undoubtedly insoluble if one persists in wanting to measure some aspects with statistics data. U.N.O. does not consider possible categorizations in ethnic groups as essential in the framework of a census (this is not a fundamental feature of the populations) (16).

We should also note that using a criterion to show possible effects concerning a totality of persons whose some sameness of their life history, their behaviors or abilities could have possibly justified the utilization of the term of community, does not necessarily imply neither an a priori conviction of the pertinence of a such choice, nor the certainty of a result which would reinforce this hypothesis a posteriori. F. von Hayek clearly posed the terms of this problematical, in his book *Scientism and the study of the Society* (17). There are more than forty years ago, the authors of one of the firsts surveys leaded among the Algerian migrants in France suited: "*Does the immigrants' group constitute a real group, with characteristic life-style and models of conduct that differentiate them from their compatriots, or is it an arbitrary and artificial construction ?*" (18). The uncertain answer to that question entailed the production of academics writings about surveys where the national origin was considered only as a variable among much important others ones (19). But that's not because we believe that it is difficult to consider foreign-born people and natives of the same origin as members of a same cultural

community that would be categorized with statistical data, that we deny the existence of cultural strategies or of community bonds who concern some people (20).

B. NAMING MIGRANTS' CHILDREN

The denomination of migrants' children in function of their origin creates problems that cannot be dissociated from the nature of criteria chosen to construct such a population (21). In an Economic and Social Council's recent report entitled *Schooling of the migrant's children*, it is thus indicated: "*One measures (...) all the difficulty that it there has to surround today with precision the concept of immigrants' children. If we examine only the case of children with foreign nationality we neglect many French children of immigrant origin, who we have the pain to evaluate the number and more again the "performances", fault of statistics*" (22). Wishing to underline the current consequence importance of ancient migratory flows, many historicists notice that "*a century after the invention of the immigration, all the conditions exist for the invention of the second generation*" (23). For fifteen years, this "second generation" expression has been getting a relative success: anyone can understand that, in the precedent quotation, it is question of youths whose presence in France results from the migration of at least one of their parents. The expression "second generation" (*seconde génération*) can't be envisaged without a reference to a "first generation" whose a preliminary definition (if possible, unanimously accepted) has to be given. According to most sociologists, the "first generation" has to be understood as regrouping the *firstly-migrants* (*primo-migrants*). The "second generation" is then, consequently, compound of *primo-immigrants'* children. For few French demographers, the use of "first generation" should be reserved only on purposes of denomination of the first generation of people born on the national territory: it regroups then solely children of immigrants (24). The "second generation" is therefore doubly to the center of the debates... The meaning it most commonly spread of the expression "seconds generation" is the first presented: its utilization implies also the affirmation of the existence of a logic of continuity and individual destiny sameness. The main merit of that designation "second generation" is to fit well with the problematical of social reproduction that facts do not deny (25).

It seems us therefore preferable to employ in French the expressions "young generations of foreign origin" ("*jeunes générations d'origine étrangère*") or "young generations of immigrant origin" ("*jeunes générations d'origine immigrée*"). Despite their relative imprecision, these expressions enable to avoid expressions that, if used wrongly, would not account for problems to which demographer are facing with when they use available statistical materials.

Naming *migrants* persons who are born in the country where they are living, is wrongly marking them with a false extraneous seal. 4% of French by birth people (*i.e.* two millions citizens) that have seen the day out of our frontiers and that live henceforth in France, never are considered as the immigrants, substantive participle too often used as seconds half an antinomic couple whose first member would be French (26). It invites not to forget the existence of this a priori that engenders the common sense (27). But two millions of French by birth are born out of France. An expression that would also integrate the international character of the parental migration would be more precise, but longer, little dresser and difficult to formalize. Speaking about "young generations of immigrant origin" seems us relevant by reason of the reference that is thus undertaken to the international migration concept, economic and demographic phenomenon that has no only senses if it is considered in reference to a population or to a political or geographical entity that is also a social construction, a product of the History (28). Moreover, if a migrants' child keeps on living in France, it is, as long as it stays in that country, a youth of immigrant origin, to the extent of his parents have generally been migrants until the end of their days, while they have been able to acquire the French nationality during the cycle of life and possibly to become French before the birth of the child whom it is here question. Migrateing an installed in a country of welcome it residence so that it stays there, but does not remain necessarily a foreigner *ad vitam eternam*. The expression we prefer constitutes therefore the expression of an euphemisation's tendency: these youths are considered as sons and girls of a phenomenon that transcends them. In this text the term "generation youths immigrated origin" gathers both migrants's children who accompanied their parent(s) in the migration and those born in France from immigrants.

Many immigrants' children are French, either because of their birth in France, or because they acquired the French nationality, independently or non of the eventual entry of their parents in the French people. A

French that has acquired the French nationality is a French full right citizen: the place of birth of an individual or that one of its parents, no more than the religion, the belonging to a so-called *race* (29) or the categorization within *ethnic groups*, does not constitute a criterion of distinction whose use would be authorized, by the law, in the area of the exercise of the liberties and individual rights, including that of exercise or research of a job.

The tradition of the French integration (*l'Intégration à la française*) (30) opposes for the usage of expressions similar to the American expressions such that "hispano-american" or "black-american", formulations that abound in the Anglo-Saxon literature (31). Without denying the persistence of community feelings belonging (32), we prefer to use expressions of the type "Italian origin youth", "of Spanish origin", "Algerian origin", according to the declaration of nationality of birth of the parent of the child. Such a formulation does not earn indeed in concision, but allows nevertheless, from a judicial criterion, to conceive the family origin question independently from the current nationality of the individual, while leaning on a criterion a priori of nature judicial and non subjective. For example, a young of Tunisian origin who have the French nationality should be considered as a French citizen of Tunisian origin rather than as a Franco-Tunisian, expression that would forebode not only a plurality cultural membership, but also a plurality of allegiances, which is not necessarily the case. Thus, among youths of a given national origin some are foreigners, others French. To study the progress of the firsts without studying that others would equal to forget that the passage from a category to the other, *via* the entrance in the national community by the way of the French nationality's acquisition, is an important phenomenon, to multiple consequences. Consequently, we will not appoint, for example, youths of Spanish origin born in France, as originated of Spain. If they are born in France, we will consider the origin that we attribute to them is cultural and family, and non purely geographical with respect to their person.

In the framework of the *Geographical Mobility ans Social Insertion Survey* (MGIS), a sample of 1956 children of immigrant origin who were born in France has been statistically studied with only retrospective data. The searcher who leads the exploitation of results of this survey built variables "ethnic origin" (33) that can't, according to her, be assimilated to a strict ethnic belonging which only concern immigrants parents. This origin has been finally attributed, whether in function of the

parent(s)' country, for the children for whom one wanted to affix an ethnic qualification, whether by the way of designation by others sample's people questioned. The weakness of the rigor of such an approach is evident: youths of a so-called "ethnic origin" can marry (on a so-called matrimonial ethnic market) a person of a similarly "ethnic origin", origin that is assimilated to the ethnic belonging (if that last person is foreign-born) (p. 108 of the book). But, according to this study's author, the ethnic origin can't be identified as equivalent to the ethnic belonging that would only concerns the primo-migrants (on the so-called distinction, p. 272) (34). One can imagine that there was concept vagueness at the period of the writing of the questions of the form of the inquiry (p. 214, p. 218) (35). One can nevertheless be astonished by this method whose logical consequence could be to determine, voluntarily or by induced effects, a French ethnic group. Moreover, this classification is not adapted to true population studies (demography) (36).

Thanks to the French law, migrants' children of Algerian origin born in France are French by birth because their parents are reputed to be born in France if they are born in Algeria (French department) before 1962. In her previous book, M. Tribalat wrote that youths of Algerian origin born in France where "originally French" (*Français d'origine*) (37). She now considers that they are of Algerian ethnic origin, even if only one of their parents is or legally had been Algerian. According to her, only one immigrant parent is enough to consider the young as a *person of foreign ethnic origin* but it is necessary to have both *French by birth* parents to be a so-called *founder French* ("*Français de souche*", in French, *souche* means *root*). In fact, the problem of ethnic belonging is insoluble if there are weddings between people of different generations of immigrant origin. On that point, H. Le Bras gave recently a clear example. If 100 foreign men marry with 100 foreign women who are living in France and then all have a boy and a daughter, they are parents of 200 children of foreign origin. "*But, let's suppose that half of the foreign men and of the foreign women intermarry with French people. 50 foreign men marry 50 foreign women, constituting 50 unions which have 100 children. 50 foreign women intermarry 50 French men, constituting 50 unions which have 100 children, and 50 foreign men intermarry 50 French women, and so it leads to 50 unions and to 100 children. What is therefore the population of foreign origin ? The 100 children whose both parents are strangers, or the 300 children whose at least one parent is stranger ?*" The reader can imagine what will happen with the next generation which is a term which doesn't mean anything anymore because

people of different generations can marry together. We consider that people of foreign origin are the only migrant(s)'(s) children, not to be confused with people who only have an old partial foreign ancestry (only one immigrant grand-parent out of the four, for example) (38). All those considerations are of the greatest importance when demographers are establishing demographic projections of foreign populations. However, M. Tribalat's new classifications can't be analysed as the logical results of her previous methodological approach but are based on apriorities whereas in other countries statisticians using ethnic classifications ask directly people to declare to which self-defined ethnic group they belong.

Classifications are the product of individuals or collectivities' (public authorities, searchers, administrative or economic managers) choices. According to criteria and used terms, it is possible to decide to create or to make disappear a human group, to provoke its public appearance or to deny its existence. The contradiction of the French statistical system is that its users have to deploy a particular endeavor to identify the minorities whose existence is denied because the existence of community logics is not absolutely certain. Nobody however doubts the importance of the belongings and origins in the explanation of individual and family's life-history (40). Accordingly with public authorities' recommendations, administrators of the statistical public system have built a machine whose form can not be dissociated from policies' objectives (39). Indeed, in 1992, the High Council of Integration (HCI) indicated: "*The logic equality opposes that the durable installation on our foreign person ground or foreign origin is sought-after and lived on the mode of roundups community, constituted on an ethnic basis national, and negotiate their own spaces and specific rights*" (40). The construction of a meaningful social population (a people) rests therefore on a social homogenization work thanks to which a disparate collection of men and women transforms itself into an integrated whole (41).

C. INTEGRATION VERSUS ASSIMILATION

Contemporary debates around this question have often been strongly confusing and have not led to operative definitions. Adaptation was sometimes used formerly, by the French Institute National for Demographic Studies (INED) but is no longer used. The distinction of the "integration" and the "adaptation" does not appear obvious nowadays (42) and the use of this last concept is first legitimated for the study of the alone migrant populations (43). Terms such as "assimilation", "insertion"

and "integration" have sometimes been indifferently employed, but the lexicological analysis does not permit us to conclude on the equivalence of these three terms (44).

Privileging the choice of one of the three concepts is relatively delicate, because of their own character and because of the extreme diversity of the observed social situations. Political risks interfere with what concerns the utilization of the concepts and this, not only for partisan purposes. The sociologist Dominique Schnapper even considered, twenty years ago, that "*assimilation, integration have in common to have been elaborated for political and not scientists reasons*" (45). The recent political events and some speeches with scientific pretension have shown that the reasoned choices of some terms by politicians aren't random ones (46). The area of the research in social sciences can not subtract to these contexts that interfere in debates, but nevertheless, researchers continue to use the term "assimilation".

As P. Weil noted, historically, "*subsidiarily, few demographers have the purpose to differentiate among the different ethnic origins, cultural or national, the most easily assimilated*" (47). To evoke a so-called ancient "French assimilation model" would at least necessitate to define the concept differently that by a reference to very vague "*cultural ethnic or others features [not] making, a priori, obstacles to the assimilation*" (48), which remains to demonstrate. According to some authors, the assimilation would imply the resorption of cultural specificities (49). A convergence of behaviors and observed situations exists but a certain diversity persists: the regional languages and cultures of the French regions, for example. Important differences persist between local companies and between the beliefs and individual behaviors, but it seems that they do not oppose themselves to the possibility of a construction of a national identity. Some regional cultures integrate elements that ascend to very ancient migratory waves or religious traditions. It seems even that the greatest resemblance that entails the progressive convergence of the attitudes, behaviors and aptitudes of populations seems to brake the "social harmony", in some areas (50).

Concept introduced in the area of social sciences by sociologists of the Chicago's School (51), assimilation is often presented as the way of the most radical adaptation (52). The lexicology demonstrates that assimilation can effectively be understood thus, but the term can also mean the affirmation of an apparent sameness or formal equality but not

considered as real. If the assimilation can be the process by which the different entities become similar, it can also be means of comparison that does not presuppose the identity (53). We make then reference to the usage of the pronominal verb "to assimilate". Extract from the French Larousse Dictionary: "S'assimiler (*To be assimilated*): To become similar or absorbed: these immigrants are perfectly assimilated as residents. Be to compare: to be assimilated to great men"; Larousse French Dictionary, 1978, p. 73). The first usage of the French pronominal verb meaning *to be assimilated* has been done by the liberal demographer Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in 1897, in *La question de la population et la civilisation démocratique* (*The question of the population and the democratic civilization*): "Foreigners coming from prolific neighbors countries, come toward the rich and stationary people and, if they do not shake its inertia, the less they dress to some of the disadvantages of its torpor "and" whatever are the disadvantages that exist to the point of view of the maintenance of the traditions and the national seal, this infiltration and this fixing on the ground of an exotic population, it invites the stationary people, and specially the declining people, to welcome and to assimilate these new immigrants" (54). Finally, assimilation would be foreseeable without interaction between the migrants (or their descendants) and populations of native families. "The notion of integration exceeds, as we can see, the only question of the foreign immigration and applies the whole society". On that point, we agree with M. Tribalat but, in rupture with the pro-Ernest Renan philosophy of the High Council of Integration, she poursuits: "The assimilation is not an affair of contractual commitment", but she considers that contractual agreements such as "mixed unions constitute a supreme indicator appreciation of the assimilation" (55). The pertinence of the belief that there could be what the one would call "assimilation" in a society where agents and collective authorities would be passive is illusory (56). (Although the undertaken quantitative study suffered a defect of preliminary reflection on the constitution of populations of immigrant origin, it seems us interesting to remind here a result of an inquiry of A. Muxel. In 1987, 88% of youths of 18 years having a foreign father of Moslem religion, declared to be favorable to their "integration in the French society" (57)). This is why we think, that one does not have to study matrimonial behaviors of young of immigrant origin without relating connection with the opening of strategies placement of sons and daughters of French by birth because the logical continuation of such an incomplete analysis is then the catastrophist speeches on the diminution of the number of births in two French parents' couple (58). Moreover, if the

degree of matrimonial strategies' opening was today so close (*i.e.* little) among the immigrants' children as it is nowadays among the children of French by birth, we could say "*assimilation is OK*" (because of the sameness of the respective strategies' opening degree) in spite of the failure of the integration. But what is assimilation if average behaviours do change in the whole society ? However, assimilation is not a relevant term if we adopt an only demographic point of view.

Term introduced in sociology by H. Spencer (59), integration, is, as A. Sauvy wrote it, "*a possible solution that can be given to the problems of the coexistence of two different populations under a same political authority*" (60). Considering that the assimilation or the integration are also terms used to the exit of a process (one speaks thus a succeeded integration), one can be tempted to see in the noun "insertion" the most neutral of the three formulations. This word can be more easily employed in the beginning of the observation of a phenomenon" that takes the time", without prejudging the posterior evolution. Its usage is legitimate in the particular contexts but a clarification is required. By resuming partly the definition proposed by J. Costa-Lascoux and by transposing it to individuals of our sample, we will consider that to use the term generic of "insertion" consists in recognizing to a youth of origin immigrated the place that it occupies in a economy, a cultural or social framework; but also to envisage that it could possibly preserve, at least partially, an identity of origin, the cultural specificities and traditional way of life of its family; to accept the idea and the possibility of a possible detachment by the refusal to register its facts and acts in correspondence to laws the company of welcome or by the will of reinsertion in the country where the parents were originated from (and where the child is possibly born). The utilization of the insertion term has been contested to several resummptions, because it would suppose a logic of reciprocally claimed permanence of community particularisms (61). It would concern the process by which the dissolution of a community entity, then its dispersion, by the integration, would be given in cause (62).

In the case concerning us, we do not study the question to know if people of foreign origin make part the French society, which is assuredly the case, but how, to the instar of the youths whose parents are born in France, they came into different social structures. Indeed, when one studies the scholastic success, the entry in the active life or matrimonial behaviors, it is the study of an insertion in different structures (the educative system, the labor market and the world of adults by the

intermediary of the family's constitution, for example), although interrelations can exist between the different segmented markets (the labour market, the matrimonial market). It seems us excessive to reduce the measure of the totality of process by examining the only professional activity. Such a choice would constitute also the negation of the interrelations which exist between the professional trajectories and socio-demographic and judicial characteristics such as the nationality and the matrimonial state (63). G. Kepel underlines thus: "(...) *the French authorities are striving nowadays to define an "integration policy" which, by various measures in favor of the social insertion of concerned populations (accesses to the labour market by training a "second chance" to the scholastic failure continuation, policy of the social accommodation aiming to avoid the constitution of ghettos, minimum insertion income, etc.), processes the problem through its causes and not through its symptoms*" (64). The integration would have therefore as characteristic "*to be able to be realized only as secondary effect of actions which are undertaken for others purposes*" (65). This are these measures that allow to conceive this individual insertion as a preliminary to a possible definitive and ulterior integration (66), necessarily accompanied by an assimilation of dominant norms (assimilation taking also the senses of apprenticeship, in that case) (67).

Integration is a long-run process. This is an obviousness too often forgotten. Integration begins from the first day of the stay in France. Its study presupposes the acceptance not to be able to study it that a posteriori, by means longitudinal techniques. To study the integration implies, at worse not to forget, at best to study, dimensions that do not notice the possible completion of the process.

Integration is the concept that prolongs, on the terrain of the explanation of the social reality, the conclusions that bring interactionist approaches that seem to provide, in the area of the human and social sciences, the most relevant of the analysis grilles of individual and collective behavior (thematic of the "*reverse enrichment*") (68). Indeed, integration is a polysemic term. F. Perroux wrote, in 1954: "*In the obscure and "without beauty" words' hierarchy whose discussions encumber our language, the term of integration occupies a good rank*" (69). Being able to be applied is to a social system, is to the report that maintain reciprocally an individual and a social system, the concept of integration designates a state strong interdependence or coherence between elements or well social process (70). There are forty years, this term was often used by partisans of the Algeria French, in reference to the

judicial and institutional situation of Moslem populations natives (71). We will use it, for our share, such that it is defined by Sophia Mappa, and used by Philippe Hugon, in the book *L'Europe des douze et les autres: intégration ou auto-exclusion (Europe of the twelve and others. Integration or auto-exclusion)*: "*Integration is a collective process and social groups in presence consider themselves as relatively autonomous subjects and aware of their objectives. It supposes compatible projects with accepted differences*" (72). It is foreseeable only in case of consent to live together and to constitute a same society.

The usage of *integration* seems well to be the more appropriate, in the French and European context, in the different languages (73). Marceau Long, President of the High Council for Integration considers: "*(...) the High Council [for Integration] has defined the integration non as a medium way between assimilation and simple insertion, but as a specific process; it has recommended that France maintains a logic of personal equality that entered in its history, in its principles, in its spirit that it seems us to be higher than the blooming of rights of the person with the recognition of minority communities' rights (...)*" (74). The French decline of the usage of the concept assimilation is consecutive to the development of the research (75). In fact, the usage of the assimilation does not permit to consider necessarily the immigration as a particular fact in the French economic organization, but as an underlying phenomenon possibly linked to an absolute demographic or economic necessity. The French usage of integration tends to reduce the complexity of the studied phenomenon because the essential of the social differentiation between the populations could be reduced by an intermediate process, while the formulation of the problematical on others bases would imply the affirmation or the recognition of permanent distinctions and differences of some populations, distinctions at an other level. This French specificity is sometimes misunderstood by the foreign observants (76).

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CONCLUSION

Our conclusion finally is the continuation of above-mentioned developments. It seems important to me to consider that forms of the available statistics articulated with general arguments and decisions of the administrators of the official statistical databases. Many French demographers consider that it is necessary that people of immigrant origin and the French by birth intermarry and "produce" children unable to define a unique and separated origin (77). The process is already begun, and the French practice, that refuses to record people according to their ethnic or religious origin, make the empirical analysis of the phenomenon of the populations' brewing difficult. This administrative practice illustrates the coherence of the republic's principles who are individualist and egalitarian. In the United States, for diametrically opposite reasons to those that we have evoked in the beginning of this conclusion, the same measure's impossibility of the consequences of intercultural unions is observable. We think that to accept our reflection in the logic exposed in the preceding pages and in the first part of the quotation above-mentioned implies the acceptance to renounce to a certain type of statistical analyses. We have shown that it is paradoxical to use henceforth in France typologies of ethnic classifications, when in the countries where they are traditionally used, one observes that they are often maladjusted and give uncertain quality's results. Anglo-Saxon authors themselves suit the validity of arguments against the racial and ethnic classifications (78). The most convincing demonstration has been given, with a perspective of public policy's analysis, in 1975, by N. Glazer (79). The anthropology (or the ethnology) enables to answer, with other models and instruments, to some interrogations. In France, the demographer H. Le Bras had analysed the biologising dimension of some lexicological choices: assimilation, founder French, *etc.* (80). We agree with M. Weber who proposed to abandon the adjective "ethnic" as a sociological concept for studying populations as a whole (81). However, the limits of the categorizations do not concern only questions of the ancestry and the cultural belongings. Family model's evolution and the relations that are developing between family precariousness and social exclusion provoke a shaking of the certainties registered in judicial categories whose usage is legitimated by administrations. The evolution of the used typologies to represent professional and scholastic situations, to better surround the haziness of the professional insertion's period, just as those new spottings of intermediate situations between inactivity and full-time professional occupation, demonstrates it. The necessary renewal of representations opposes to the continuity of representation norms. But a necessary

continuity is consubstantial with the longitudinal character of data which have vocation to make possible the measure of the evolutions and samenesses.

NOTES

(1) TAPINOS G.P., *La démographie. Population, économie et sociétés*, Paris, De Fallois, 1997, p. 43-44.

(2) SILBERMAN R., "Immigration in French statistics", p. 112-123, in HOROWITZ D.L. & NOIRIEL G. (eds.), *Immigrants in two democracies. French and American experience*, New-York, New-York University Press, 1992; SILBERMAN R., *L'approche longitudinale pour les populations issues de l'immigration. Apports et difficultés méthodologiques*, Appendix of the Acts of the *XVe Journées de l'Association d'Economie Sociale: L'analyse longitudinale en économie sociale*, Nancy, ADEPS/ Commissariat général au plan, vol. 1, 1995.

(3) BORGOGNO V., "L'Etat anthropologue, la connaissance sociale et les immigrés", p. 55-67, in VIEILLE P. (ed.), *L'immigration à l'Université et dans la recherche*, Paris, 1986 (published in *Babylone*, n°6-7, 1989). About the same difficulties in most european countries, see CHARBIT Y., *Children of migrant workers and their home countries*, 1979, p. 36-37) and in the United States, see *The new second generation*, *International Migration Review*, XXVIII, *Special issue*, 1994).

(4) THEVENOT L., "Statistique et politique", *Politix*, n° 25, 1994, p. 5.

(5) See HOLLIFIELD J.F. , *Immigrants, Markets and States. The political economy of postwar Europe*, Cambridge/London, Harvard University Press, 1992.

(6) It is not possible to distinguish *ex ante* the migrating people (*migrants*, in French) and the immigrants (*immigrés*, in French); GIRARD A. & STOETZEL J. (ed.), *Français et immigrés. Nouveaux documents sur l'adaptation. Algériens-Italiens-Polonais. Le Service social aide aux migrants*, Paris, INED/Presses Universitaires de France, 1954, p. 87.

(7) GEBAUER & VARRO, "Femmes transplantées", p. 77, in VARRO G.(ed.), *Les couples mixtes*, 1995.

(8) SILBERMAN R., "Statistiques, immigrations et minorités", p. 72, in VIEILLE P. (ed.), *L'immigration à l'Université et dans la recherche*, Paris, 1986 (published in *Babylone*, n°6-7, 1989).

(9) SIMON P., *La représentation statistique de l'immigration. Peut-on comptabiliser l'ethnicité ?*, *Communication au colloque INED - Centre Jacques Cartier "Anciennes et nouvelles minorités. 6-8 décembre 1995 - Lyon"*, 1995.

(10) SAUVY A., "Heurs et malheurs de la statistique pendant la guerre (1939-1945)", *Revue d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*, n° 57, 1965, p. 53-62; VOLLE M., *Histoire de la statistique industrielle*, Paris, Economica, 1982.

(11) The american census traditionnaly includes a question about the race, one about ethnicity and one about the ancestry.

(12) See *Race and Ethnic Targeted Test*", june 1996.

(13) Weaknesses analysed in a document published by the *Federal Register*, par le *Office of Management and Budget*, en août 1995. For the United-Kingdom, see

- BALLARD R., "The construction of a conceptual vision: «Ethnic Groups» and the 1991 UK Census", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, XX, n° 1, 1997, p. 182-194.
- (14) KALISH S., "U.S. Ponders Retooling Its Race and Ethnic Categories for 2000 Census", *Population Today*, XXIV, n° 1, 1996, p. 1-2; WATERS M., "Ethnic Options. *Choosing Identities in America*", 1990.
- (15) For a definition of ethnicity who fits well with that opinion, see WEBER M., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, 1922 (p. 416, in the French edition, Paris, Plon, 1971).
- (16) LACROIX J., *Préparation du recensement de la population de 1999. Bilan de la consultation effectuée au 4ème trimestre 1993 sur les imprimés de collecte*, Paris, INSEE, 1995, p. 7-9.
- (17) HAYEK F. (VON), *Scientism and the study of Society*, Glencoe, Free Press, 1952, p. 30-35.
- (18) BOGART L., "Les Algériens en France. *Adaptation réussie et non réussie*", p. 89, in GIRARD A. (ed.), *Français et immigrés. Nouveaux documents sur l'adaptation. Algériens - Italiens - Polonais*, Paris, INED/Presses Universitaires de France, 1954.
- (19) RUDDER (DE) V., TABOADA-LEONETTI I. & VOURC'H F., *Immigrés et Français: stratégies d'insertion, représentations et attitudes*, Paris, CNRS, 1990.
- (20) SCHNAPPER D., *La France de l'intégration*, Paris, Gallimard, 1991, p. 99.
- (21) NOIRIEL G., "Les jeunes d'origine immigrée n'existent pas", p. 211-221, in LORREYTE B. (ed.), *Les politiques d'intégration des jeunes issus de l'immigration*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1989.
- (22) BOCQUET P., *La scolarisation des enfants d'immigrés, Rapport au Conseil Economique et Social*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1994, p. 33.
- (23) NOIRIEL G., *Le creuset français. Histoire de l'immigration XIXè-XXè siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 1988, p. 293.
- (24) TRIBALAT M., "Combien sont les Français d'origine étrangère ?", *Economie et statistique*, n° 242, avril 1991, p. 17-26.
- (25) ABOU SADA G., "Génération issues de l'immigration: problèmes de définition et aspects démographiques", p. 27, in ABOU SADA G. & MILET H. (dir.), *Génération issues de l'immigration. "Mémoires et devenirs"*, Paris, Arcantère, 1986.
- (26) BONNAFOUS S., "Mots et paroles de l'immigration. *Essai de mise en perspective sur vingt ans*", *Revue Française des Affaires Sociales*, XXXXVI, n° hors-série, "L'immigration en France. *Données, perspectives*", 1992, p. 5-14; WIHTOL DE WENDEN C., "Etranger ou immigré", p. 39-48, in DESPLANQUES G. (ed.), *La population étrangère en Ile-de-France*, Paris, Conseil économique et social d'Ile-de-France, 1993; VALLIN J., *La démographie*, Paris, La découverte, 1991, p. 44.
- (28) A population can't be considered as equivalent to a civilization, a concept that shouldn't be reduced to a population's numeric dimension; LE BRAS H., "Le vieillissement de la population: de la rhétorique à l'idéologie", *Revue française des affaires sociales*, XLVIII, n° 1, 1994, p. 157-177.
- (29) For refusal's justifications of demographic analysis in terms of races, see JACQUARD A., *The genetic structure of populations*, New-York, Springer, 1970; JACQUARD A., *Eloge de la différence. La génétique et les hommes*, Paris, Seuil, 1978; LANGANEY A., *Les hommes. Passé, présent, conditionnel*, Paris, A. Colin, 1988.
- (30) Title of the Synthesis Report of the High Council for Integration, 1993.
- (31) Few anglosaxon economists use the classifications we use in France, see PIORE M., *Birds of passage*, New-York, Cambridge University Press, 1979; MAANI S.A.,

"Are Young First and Second Generation Immigrants at a Disadvantage in the Australian Labor Market", *International Migration Review*, XXVIII, n° 4, 1994, p. 865-881.

(32) References that can be linked to a national or regional origin, to a tongue or to a melanodermic phenotype. We can't consider the fields of these references to be the same and possibly be analysed in terms of ethnicity.

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(34) BLUM A., *Un futur imaginaire de la démographie*, Communication au Colloque international 1945-1995: un demi siècle de Démographie. Bilan et perspectives, 25-27 octobre 1995, Paris, INED, 1995.

(35) TRIBALAT M., *De l'immigration à l'assimilation. Enquête sur les populations d'origine étrangère en France*, Paris, La découverte, 1996.

(36) For more details, see our thesis.

(37) TRIBALAT M. (ed.), *Cent ans d'immigration, étrangers d'hier, français d'aujourd'hui. Apport démographique, dynamique familiale et économique de l'immigration étrangère*, Paris, INED/Presses Universitaires de France, 1991.

(38) LIAUZU C. (ed.), *Essai et recueil statistiques*, Paris, Med Campus / University of Paris VII - Denis Diderot, 1996, p. 18.

(39) The absence of a question about ethnicity in the French census is not an exception; see ROUGERIE C., "Les recensements dans la Communauté européenne", *INSEE Méthodes*, n° 52-53, 1995, p. 30-31.

(40) HAUT CONSEIL A L'INTEGRATION, *Conditions juridiques et culturelles de l'intégration*, 1992, p. 63.

(41) NOIRIEL G., *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France. XIXème-XXème siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1992, p. 86.

(42) GIRARD A. & STOETZEL J., *Français et immigrés. L'attitude française, l'adaptation des Italiens et des Polonais*, Paris, INED/Presses Universitaires de France 1953; GIRARD A. & STOETZEL J. (ed.), *Français et immigrés. Nouveaux documents sur l'adaptation. Algériens-Italiens-Polonais. Le Service social aide aux migrants*, Paris, INED/Presses Universitaires de France, 1954; GIRARD A., "Attitudes des Français à l'égard de l'immigration étrangère. Enquête d'opinion publique", *Population*, XXXVI, n° 5, 1971, p. 827-876.

(43) SCHNAPPER D., "Présentation", *Ethnologie française*, VII, n° 3, 1977, p. 216.

(44) COSTA-LASCOUX J., *De l'immigré au citoyen, Notes et études documentaires*, n° 4886, 1989, p. 9-12.

(45) SCHNAPPER D., "Présentation", *Ethnologie française*, VII, n° 3, 1977, p. 216.

(46) The exclusive use of "assimilation" is very rare and is particularly recommended by the natalistic review *Population et avenir. Alliance nationale*; see DEPREZ A., *La politique familiale dans le contexte de la montée de l'extrême droite. Analyse du discours de la revue Population et avenir. Alliance nationale*, DEA dissertation, Institut de démographie de l'Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium), 1996, p. 42 & 69. The French National Front (J.-M. Le Pen) fears an "ethnic revolution": "Assimilation keeps intact the French identity", but integration which "does not include the reject of the immigrants' original culture" should be fought; *Le Monde*, 21-22 July 1996; RICHARD J.-L., *Analyse de textes autour du concept de «race»*,

Communication Colloquium "Racism and exclusion", Congress of the French Society of Psychology, Nice, 22-23 may 1997.

(47) WEIL P., *La France et ses étrangers*, Paris, Seuil, 1991 (p. 37 dans l'édition de 1995). About "assimilationist racism", see TAGUIEFF P.-A., *La force du préjugé. Essai sur le racisme et ses doubles*, Paris, La découverte, 1987, p. 323.

(48) TRIBALAT M., "Faire fi des a priori idéologiques", *MARS*, n°6, 1996, p. 89-94.

(49) Alain Touraine: "*social integration*", "*cultural assimilation*"; TOURAINE A., *Critique de la modernité*, 1992, p. 345-346; TODD E., *Le destin des immigrés. Assimilation et ségrégation dans les démocraties occidentales*, 1994, p. 369.

(50) "Population: les 50 ans du baby-boom", interview of G. Tapinos, *L'Expansion*, 15 octobre-10 novembre 1992, p. 63; see SILVERMAN M., *Deconstructing the nation. Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in Modern France*, 1996, p. 18-20.

(51) PARK R. & BURGESS E., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, 1921.

(52) BAROU J., "Les paradoxes de l'intégration. De l'infortune des mots à la vertu des concepts", *Ethnologie française*, XXIII, n° 2, 1993, p. 169-176.

(54) Quoted in VIDAL A., *La pensée démographique. Doctrines, théories et politiques de population*, 1994, p. 54.

(55) See p. 51, in INED, *Vingt-cinquième rapport sur la situation démographique de la France*, Paris, Ministère du Travail et des Affaires sociales - Ministère de l'Aménagement du territoire, de la Ville et de l'Intégration, 1996 and TRIBALAT M., "Chronique de l'immigration", *Population*, LII, n° 1, 1997, p. 193.

(56) BOHNING W. R., *Intégration des travailleurs migrants au marché du travail: progrès ou recul ?*, 1996; ORIOL P., SAYAD A. & VIEILLE P., "Inverser le regard sur l'émigration-immigration", *Peuples méditerranéens*, n° 31-32, 1985, p. 5-21.

(57) MUXEL A., *Les jeunes migrants de la deuxième génération et leur inscription dans le système politique actuel*, Colloque CEVIPOF Clés pour l'élection présidentielle, January 1988.

(58) P. Bourcier de Carbon (demographer, member of the "scientific council" of the French National Front) in *Population et avenir. Alliance nationale* (see DEPREZ A., *La politique familiale dans le contexte de la montée de l'extrême droite. Analyse du discours de la revue Population et avenir. Alliance nationale*, p. 74).

(59) SPENCER H., *The principles of sociology*, New York, D. Appleton, 1891.

(60) SAUVY A., *Préface*, in GIRARD A. & STOETZEL J., *Français et immigrés. L'attitude française, l'adaptation des Italiens et des Polonais*, Paris, INED/Presses Universitaires de France, 1953, p. 13. In 1953, A. Girard et J. Stœtzl only used *assimilation* with commas.

(61) COSTA-LASCOUX J., "L'immigration au gré des politiques", in FERREOL (ed.), *Intégration et exclusion dans la société française contemporaine*, Paris, 1992.

(62) KEPEL G., "Les populations d'origine musulmane: insertion ou intégration ?", p. 292-293, in TAPINOS G. (dir.), *La France dans deux générations. Population et société dans le premier tiers du XXIème siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 1992.

(63) MERLLIE D. & PREVOT J., *La mobilité sociale*, Paris, La découverte, 1991, p. 23.

(64) KEPEL G., "Les populations d'origine musulmane: insertion ou intégration ?", p. 300-301, in TAPINOS G. (dir.), *La France dans deux générations. Population et société dans le premier tiers du XXIème siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 1992.

(65) SAYAD A., "Qu'est-ce que l'intégration ?", *Hommes et migrations*, n° 1182, décembre 1994, p. 13.

- (66) COSTA-LASCOUX J., "Assimiler, insérer, intégrer", *Projet*, n° 227, automne 1991, p. 11.
- (67) NOIRIEL G., "L'histoire des femmes immigrées", p. 15, in GREC, *Femmes immigrées. Quelles chances pour quelles insertions sociales et professionnelles ?*, Cahiers du GREC, n° 8, 1991.
- (68) TAPINOS G., "La «question de la population» en France", p. 41, in TAPINOS G.(ed.), *La France dans deux générations*, Paris, Fayard, 1992.
- (69) PERROUX F., *L'Europe sans rivages*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1954, p. 419.
- (70) BESNARD P., 1993, p. 124, in BOUDON R. et al. (dir.), *Dictionnaire de la sociologie*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1993.
- (71) See FAUX E., LEGRAND T. & PEREZ G., *Plumes de l'ombre*, Paris, Seuil, 1991, p. 99.
- (72) HUGON P., "Marginalisation et intégration en Afrique dans un contexte d'unification européenne", in MAPPA S. (dir.), *L'Europe des douze et les autres. Intégration ou auto-exclusion*, Paris, Karthala, 1992, p. 331-332.
- (73) TAPINOS G. (ed.), *Inmigracion e integracion en Europa*, Barcelona, Fundacion Paulina Torras-Domenech, 1993.
- (74) LONG M., *Préface* in WEIL P., *La France et ses étrangers. L'aventure d'une politique de l'immigration*, Paris, Seuil, 1991, p. 16-17.
- (75) BERTAUX S., "Les nouvelles catégories d'analyse des populations immigrées et de leurs enfants en démographie: «assimilation» et «population de souche»", p. 143-155, in RONSIN F., LE BRAS H. & ZUCKER-ROUVILLOIS E. (ed.), *Démographie et politique*, Dijon, Editions Universitaires de Dijon, 1997.
- (76) WEIL P. & CROWLEY J., "Integration in Theory and Practice: A Comparison of France and Britain", *West European Politics*, XVII, n° 2, 1994, p. 110-126.
- (77) TODD E., *L'invention de l'Europe*, Paris, Seuil, 1990, p. 494.
- (78) RALLU J.-L., "Quand l'ethnie déclarée change...", *Population et sociétés*, n° 309, 1996, p. 2-3; HARGREAVES A.G., *Immigration, "race" and ethnicity in contemporary France*, London/New-York, Routledge, 1995.
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- (81) WEBER M., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1922 (French edition: Paris, Plon, 1971, p. 394-395).