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## YOUTH OF FOREIGN ORIGIN ENTERING THE LABOR MARKET IN FRANCE: AN APPROACH OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHILDREN OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS

*Discrimination on the labour market in France affects not only foreigners, but also French citizens of, or assumed to be of, foreign origin. A 2001 law has been an important decision in the recognition of the phenomenon and strengthened the legal basis for the fight against discrimination. An independent authority for the fight has been institutionalised in 2005. In spite of these public policies, the statistical study of the differences in unemployment situation correcting for such variables as age and educational attainment has been rarely realised. It appears that the introduction of national origin variables in logistic regressions concerning unemployment of all migrants' sons or daughters highlights the reality of discrimination against some of the young people of foreign origin. Especially, young people with a North African or a Sub Saharan African background. The analysis involved multivariate regression models employing interesting demographic, economic, and cultural variables. Analysing EDP data (EDP: French Permanent Demographic Sample, an INSEE longitudinal data base which is the French equivalent to the English Longitudinal Survey) and correcting for such variables as age and educational attainment, we can conclude that, for some youngsters, the ethnic background indisputably is a factor negatively correlating with these young people's chances on the labour market.*

Discrimination on the labour market in France affects not only foreigners, but also French citizens of, or assumed to be of, foreign origin<sup>1</sup>. A 2001 French law has been an important decision in the recognition of the

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**Jean-Luc Richard\***

Abstract : Discrimination on the labour market in France affects not only foreigners, but also French citizens of, or assumed to be of, foreign origin. A 2001 law has been an important decision in the recognition of the phenomenon and strengthened the legal basis for the fight against discrimination. An independent authority for the fight has been institutionalised in 2005. In spite of these public policies, the statistical study of the differences in unemployment situation correcting for such variables as age and educational attainment has been rarely realised. It appears that the introduction of national origin variables in logistic regressions concerning unemployment of all migrants' sons or daughters highlights the reality of discrimination against some of the young people of foreign origin. Especially, young people with a North African or a Sub Saharan African background. The analysis involved multivariate regression models employing interesting demographic, economic, and cultural variables. Analysing EDP data (EDP : French Permanent Demographic Sample, an INSEE longitudinal data base which is the French equivalent to the English Longitudinal Survey) and correcting for such variables as age and educational attainment, we can conclude that, for some youngsters, the ethnic background indisputably is a factor negatively correlating with these young people's chances on the labour market.

Discrimination on the labour market in France affects not only foreigners, but also French citizens of, or assumed to be of, foreign origin<sup>1</sup>. A 2001 French law has been an important decision in the recognition of the phenomenon and strengthened the legal basis for the fight against discrimination. An independent authority for the fight has been institutionalised in 2005. In spite of these public policies, the statistical study of the differences in unemployment situation correcting for such variables as age and educational attainment has been rarely realised about the situation of African migrants' children, especially of those whom parents are born in Sub-Saharan Africa. The French Permanent Demographic Sample (EDP, an INSEE longitudinal data base which is the French equivalent to the English LS) is the French main data source which identifies the children of immigrants who are living in France. Due to its size, the EDP enables the study for both migrants' child populations: young foreign-born people who grew up in France and young people of foreign origin who are born in France. The EDP is a census-based panel survey that, on average, comprises a

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<sup>1</sup> This article has been written in the context of a convention between the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) and the Centre of Research about Political Action in Europe (CRAPE – CNRS – University of Rennes 1).

1% sample of all immigrant groups. It has information on a person's nationality in relation to his/her labour market position. According to most scholars, it also contains valuable socio-demographic and socio-economic information on parents and their sons and daughters<sup>2</sup>. The data registry was created in 1967 and now includes data from the 1968, 1975, 1982, 1990 and 1999 censuses. In a first panel study (1997, 1990 data), we found that the poor performance of the young immigrants in the labour market to be due to their ethnic background, which is negatively correlated with labour market opportunities. A considerable divergence in performance between European immigrants' children and North-African immigrants' sons and daughters was observed<sup>3</sup>. Sub-Saharan African and Turkish family reunifications and formations at the time were still in their initial phases in the 1970's and 1980's. The increase of these new immigrants' waves enabled this new study.

### **Diploma and frequency of unemployment**

The low economic possibilities of the French labour market since the early 1970s were not conducive to the economic integration of immigrants and their children. From 1945 to 1975, the growing labour market played the leading role in the integration of immigrants. Today, school has taken over this role for the children of immigrants. However, school undoubtedly plays a lesser role, due to the potential distortion between the upward social mobility prospects implicit in schooling and the reality of final professional destinations. The problems they experience in this area need to be analysed in the light of the important role played by qualifications obtained in the education system as a mediator between the weight of family origins and professional destiny. However, consideration of the level of education does not imply disregarding the possible effects of family origins. The social and socio-demographic conditions explain the differences observed in terms of educational achievement (see table 1). The fact that they perform about the same as native children from working class families, indicates the school system's ability to integrate immigrant children to an extent similar to that of comparable "native" children whose parents are "French by birth". University graduates with a North African background are mostly female, which means that on the labour market they have to face a double labelling, as part of a "visible" minority and- as women. Compared to the other students, the "North African" youths appear more frequently to have repeated years in primary or secondary school. The youths in question have also often opted for a technological "baccalauréat" (*i.e.* technological "A" level) rather than an academic one. French natives, on the other hand, are more likely to take a more prestigious scientific "baccalauréat" even if they drop out without obtaining a diploma<sup>4</sup>.

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2 KING Russell, FIELDING Tony, WARNES Tony, *Gender, age and generations*, SCMR-Sussex Centre for Migration and population Studies, University of Sussex, 2004, 96 p., ([www.imiscoe.org/workingpapers/documents/gender\\_age\\_and\\_generations.pdf](http://www.imiscoe.org/workingpapers/documents/gender_age_and_generations.pdf)).

3 RICHARD Jean-Luc, "Unemployment Among Young People of Foreign Origin in France: Ways of Measuring Discrimination", pp. 101-135, In : SFSO (eds.), *On the way to a multicultural society ?*, Bern, Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 1997.

4 FRICKEY Alain, MURDOCH Jake, PRIMON Jean-Luc, "Employment prospects of graduates with an immigration background on the French labour market", European Research Network on Transitions in Youth, TIY 2005,

Table 1. Educational achievement (20-29 years old) – 1999 (%)

	Sons of « French by birth » parents	Daughters of « French by birth » parents	Children of « French by birth » parents	Children of at least one immigrant parent	Sons of at least one immigrant parent	Daughters of at least one immigrant parent
No qualification	12.4	9.8	11.1	18.2	21.3	15.0
Primary School	0.6	0.4	0.5	1.0	1.2	0.8
Secondary School Level	6.2	5.9	6.1	6.9	7.4	6.5
1st certificate of apprenticeship	13.7	7.2	10.5	10.7	13.2	8.1
2 <sup>nd</sup> certificate of apprenticeship	14.6	12.6	13.7	14.9	15.4	14.4
Technological Baccalauréat	16.7	16.4	16.5	15.4	14.7	16.1
Academic general Baccalauréat (« A » level)	10.9	14.0	12.4	11.5	9.4	13.8
University Short Education	14.3	18.8	16.5	12.4	10.4	14.4
University Master Degree	10.6	14.6	12.7	8.9	7.1	10.8
	Born in France and	Foreign born and	2 parents immigrant	Father North- African	Mother North-	Monoparent al family,

	at least one immigrant parent	at least one immigrant parent	s from North Africa	immigrant, mother « French by birth »	African immigrant, father « French by birth »	parent North African immigrant
No qualification	16.6	2.5	16.3	15.5	13	25.1
Primary School	0.8	1.6	1.1	0.7	3	1.3
Secondary School Level	6.8	7.4	8.5	15.1	5	6.8
1st certificate of apprenticeship	10.7	10.8	9.6	11.5	9	13.2
2 <sup>nd</sup> certificate of apprenticeship	15.4	13.4	16.8	16.8	10	20.9
Technological Baccalauréat	15.7	14.4	15.6	14.2	16	9.6
Academic general Baccalauréat (« A » level)	12.1	9.5	12.1	12.7	17	7.7
University Short Education	12.8	11.1	11.9	11.8	15	9.6
University Master Degree	9.1	8.3	7.3	9.5	11	5.8
N =			3172	534	92	311

	at least one parent from Sub- Saharan Africa	at least one South- East Asian parent	1 or 2 Turkish parents (95 % two Turkish parents)
No qualification	9.9	11.8	30.8
Primary School	1.1	0.5	2.75
Secondary School Level	9.6	10.2	8.88
1st certificate of apprenticeship	6.8	4.3	13.95
2 <sup>nd</sup> certificate of apprenticeship	17.3	9.7	15.86
Technological Baccalauréat	19.3	15.0	5.71
Academic general Baccalauréat (« A » level)	16.4	16.9	13.53
University Short Education	11.6	14.5	6.98
University Master Degree	7.9	16.9	1.48
N=	353	372	473

Source : INSEE, Echantillon démographique permanent 1990-1999.

Immigrants and their children are integrated rapidly, whatever their country of origin, in the fields of linguistic practice, culture and leisure activities, and demographic behaviour. This is in striking contrast with the difficulties they experience in achieving integration in the labour market, associated with the erosion of employment during the 1980s and 1990s. Job-seeking by young people of foreign origin should be viewed in particular from the standpoint of changing opinions about the immigrant population in general and especially their descendants. Once it is deemed possible that some employers discriminate, it is important when measuring the likely magnitude of this phenomenon, to make a distinction between the consequences of discrimination in a balanced labour market and the consequences in a labour market with a labour supply surplus. In the first case, discrimination is found by studying the “training/job occupied” or social mobility relation, since the level of unemployment is too low to identify discriminatory practices by comparing unemployment rates. The study of wage differences between individuals with the same level of qualifications is therefore a typical stage in the analysis ; this has been developed in the United States where the unemployment rate is considerably lower than in France. During the employment crisis that had been developing since 1975, corporate demand for labour was too low to ensure equilibrium on the labour market. The young working population was hit particularly hard by this situation, since firms with openings tended to prefer hiring manpower with previous professional experience. Both young people of foreign origin and young people born of long-standing French families were subject to the economic fluctuations and structural underemployment (see table 2).

However, this problem primarily affects immigrants from North Africa whereas it is still unknown to immigrants of Portuguese origin, for example<sup>5</sup>. In 1999, the percentage of young Algerian migrants’ sons (20-29 years old) looking for a job was 29 %. This is the reason why the percentages given, correspond to a proportion of unemployed individuals within the various sub-populations, whether they are of different national origin or not, rather than to the unemployment rate in the economic sense of the term. The overall group of individuals out of the labour force is therefore integrated into the total numbers used as the fraction denominator. This is consequently a revealing proportion of the real magnitude of youth unemployment. As 42 % of these young men of Algerian origin were working in 1999 (and the others “out of the labour market”, *i.e.* often “students”), the unemployment rate was at the level of 41 % in 1999 (see table 2). Indeed, this high proportion of unemployment among these people is more important than their average training level and the closing of public occupations to those of foreign origin could explain<sup>6</sup>. If they are Algerian citizens, 35 % of them are looking for a job ; their unemployment rate during the same period is about 48 % (40 % if

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<sup>5</sup> RICHARD Jean-Luc, “ Immigration, Integration and Demographic Forecasts in the European Context : Conclusions and Implications of The French Commissariat Général Du Plan Report” : [www.sfi.dk/graphics/ESPAnet/papers/jlrichard.pdf](http://www.sfi.dk/graphics/ESPAnet/papers/jlrichard.pdf) , Proceedings of the European Social Policy Conference, Copenhagen, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> LAINE Frédéric, OKBA Mahrez, *Jeunes de parents immigrés : de l'école au métier*, « Travail et emploi », n° 103, 2005, pp. 79-93.



French of Algerian origin, and that is the case of almost all the young adults of Algerian origin born in France). We observe an almost similar rate of unemployment for the men of Moroccan origin (26 % are unemployed, the unemployment rate is 40 %). As a comparison, for adults whose parents are French by birth, the rate of unemployment is 18-%, 15 % for men, 21 % for women.

Young women of Algerian descent are less likely to apply -for a job than men with the same origin (24 % of women, but this lower frequency than for the men is also the consequence of withdrawals onf the labour market, to ensure of the domestic family tasks, in a common context of discouragement because of the difficulties to find a professional opportunity). 19 % of young ladies whose parents were Moroccan immigrants are job seekers. (36 % have a job, so the unemployment rate climbs up to 34 %). The unemployment situation is observed at a level of 20 % for the children of Tunisian immigrants (43 % do occupy a position). Being a French citizen is, for these young people, an element which facilitates access to employment. Among women of the same origin, the unemployment rate is equal to 28 % (17 % are applying for jobs, 43 % do practice a profession). Nevertheless, we cannot exclude that the existence of high unemployment could have a repercussion in terms of a semblance of protracted education and could consequently contribute to reducing the real number of job seekers. A real student status (excluding post-graduates) is actually incompatible with the status of job seeker, despite the fact that many students and pupils leave the education system at all levels to enter the labour market when they sign what they feel to be an opportune employment contract. It is therefore both pertinent and useful to reason in terms of the probability of the individuals in a given population group *A* being unemployed (we thus refer to the percentage of unemployed individuals in the total population), rather than in terms of the unemployment rate among the working population made up of population group *A*. It is therefore important not to forget that high unemployment rates do not imply a higher frequency of unemployed individuals among these young generations than the frequencies observed among older individuals. During the 80's and 90's, the increase in the unemployment rate of under-25s in France was more than proportional to the increase, when all is said and done, in the number of job seekers in this young population.

Table 2. Percentage of unemployed and the unemployment rate in 1999. 20-29 years old.

Origin	Percentage of unemployed	Unemployment rate-(%)
Children of 2 « French by birth » parents	13	18
Men	11.5	15
Women	14	21
Algerian origin	27	39
Men	29	41
Women	24	37

Sub-Saharan origin	20	35
—— Men	19	33
—— Women	22	37
Moroccan origin	23	38
—— Men	26	40
—— Women	19	34
Tunisian origin	19	30
—— Men	20	31
—— Women	17	28

Source: INSEE, Echantillon démographique permanent, 1990-1999.

In both 1990 and 1999, the probability of immigrants being unemployed was a growing function of recent residency in the country, even after over fifteen years spent in France<sup>7</sup>. The differences are significant. Young adults having at least one immigrant parent of Sub-Saharan Africa are often considered as victims of stigmatizations. EDP data confirm this affirmation, especially for women. They have problems which are even more important than for the young women of Algerian descent. Unemployment rates are about 40 %, 7 % higher than for the young active males whose parents came from Sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, 20 % of those people were job seekers in 1999, versus 13 % of the children of two “French by birth” parents (11.5 % for men, 14 % for women). On the contrary, young men who have a Turkish father and/or mother do not seem to be widely stigmatized (16.5 % are looking for a job, *i.e.* employment rate at about 20 % as 64 % do occupy professional positions). The situation is worse for the women whose parents came from the same country. 21 % are unemployed and 41 % are working in firms or public offices. Other analysis (not reproduced in this article) also shows that youngsters born into families of Asian or European immigrants do not seem to be penalised on the French labour market.

It is obvious that some firms have policies that discriminate against young people of foreign origin, especially Algerian children among North African Muslims. As far back as 1982, young people of African descent alone suffered ‘en masse’ at the hands of such practices in violation of basic rights. Formal equality does not necessarily bring about “actual equality” and there are no “sectional pseudo-markets” on the “fragmented labour market” to enable candidate workers to enter independent markets.

The economic reasons that could lead an employer to practise such discrimination may be associated with the anticipated negative consequences of hiring a certain category of manpower. Some

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<sup>7</sup> RICHARD Jean-Luc, *Partir ou rester ?*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2004, 270 p..

company heads, especially in the service sector, may therefore consider for reasons of prestige or image, or out of fear of losing market share, that it is economically more profitable to employ certain individuals rather than others, independently of the comparative qualities and productivity levels of the respective manpower. An employer preference for discrimination in an economy with fixed or regulated wages results in a general absence of wage differences between immigrants and natives in equivalent jobs. Then, it is the unemployment rates that are different. In our previous study, about migrants children, it has been shown ‘*n the basis of the EDP, they are faced with discrimination, especially under conditions of a shrinking labour market when competition is strong and employers can afford to be ‘choosy’*’<sup>8</sup>. This is a key point. Economists have formulated an explanation for unemployment based on the effects of *hysteresis*, according to which a phenomenon may persist even when its causes have disappeared<sup>9</sup>. More fundamentally, in the labour market, temporary unemployment thus becomes persistent unemployment under the dual impact of the presumed erosion of the skills of the unemployed and of companies<sup>10</sup>. The “theory of statistical discrimination” leads to equivalent results based on a different initial assumption. Some sort of operating “statistical discrimination” hinders the full potential of young grown-ups who are children of immigrants. This is the idea that employers are in a situation of imperfect information and that they cannot make an accurate ex-ante measurement of the real productivity of workers in certain minorities. Given these circumstances, hiring discrimination based on risk aversion exists. This “theory of statistical discrimination” was formulated in part by K.J. Arrow and, if we consider a possible effect on the unemployment rates of the population groups, by E.S. Phelps, G.J. Borjas and M.S. Goldberg.

### **Statistical analysis of disadvantages on the labour market**

In the purpose of studying the causes of unemployment and the variables strongly linked with it, logistic regressions are very useful to understand the effects’ complexity. There is a risk of incompleteness in analysis of behaviour limited to the observation of bivariate frequency tables breaking out a state according to one or more criteria. Various structural effects may lead to erroneous interpretations of the observed phenomena. The importance of the specific effect of one variable may be incorrectly understood. A more detailed study should endeavour to isolate the specific effect of one factor using other things being equal reasoning. The variables contained in the EDP are essentially discrete, qualitative, polytomous variables whether ordered or not. In this context, it is not possible to use the correlation analysis method. The logistic regression is therefore suitable for showing the effect of each of the variables liable to be involved in the occurrence of a situation. The main individual characteristics are taken into account ; national origin, current citizenship, place of birth, eventual date

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<sup>8</sup> DOOMERNIK Jeroen, *The effectiveness of integration policies towards immigrants and their descendants in France, Germany and The Netherlands*, “International Migration Papers”, n°27, ILO-BIT, Geneva, 1998 : <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/download/research/imp/imp27.pdf>.

<sup>9</sup> ELMSLIE Bruce, SEDO Stan, *Discrimination, social psychology and hysteresis in labor markets*, “Journal of Economic Psychology”, vol. 17, 1996, pp. 465-478.

<sup>10</sup> FITOUSSI Jean-Paul, LAURENT Eloi, MAURICE Joël, *Urban Segregation and Social Integration*, “The Newsletter of the French Council of Economic Analysis”, vol. I - 01, January 2004, pp. 1-4.

of the migration to France, social background of the family they're originating from, individual qualification of the youngs and of their parents (professional occupation, diploma). Using separate models for the male and female populations is, of course, firstly necessary because we need to understand the peculiar logics occurring on the labour market. However, as we can consider that national origin seems to be the most explanatory reason of unemployment rates' differences among the groups, it is necessary to introduce in the models variables that can have an influence on employers' choices. Many public opinion polls showed the importance of the feelings of discriminations felt by numerous French citizens with North-African descent<sup>11</sup>. Daughters of Sub-Saharan immigrants are the most discriminated among women (see table 3).

It is obvious that the biographical dimension of the integration process necessitates a research approach that goes beyond "ethnic belongings" in attempting to understand the individual destiny<sup>12</sup>. Ethnic markers are part of an individual make-up, but they interact with other dynamic factors. The approach we use takes account of the individual's experience and personal or family history. The higher unemployment rate for individuals from large families reflects the fact that a certain number of young people from these families have to seek work to supplement their households' incomes even though they often lack the level of education that will secure them a job. The qualifications obtained by the child are therefore the mediator by which the 'de-facto' reproduction of social classes and negation of the weight of origins simultaneously operate. The professional downgrading of young people from French and foreign working class families results for two reasons from the absence of human capital.

The interest turns on individual trajectories we consider that processes of relations between personal job situations and acquisition of the French nationality can only be analysed and understood from the study of the population that has been, since childhood, susceptible to acquire the French citizenship. It implies the availability of longitudinal analysis. Gaining citizenship is usually regarded as an important sign of civic and political assimilation amongst immigrants, but it can also be seen as a factor of their economic assimilation. French nationality makes it easier for young immigrants to get jobs. It is better to be a young Algerian or Moroccan with French nationality than to be a young Algerian or Moroccan who does not have French nationality. Thus, one must not overlook the role that nationality plays with respect to employment access (see table 3). So, it must be considered as an intermediate step, *"one that strengthens integration, in particular in its socio-economic aspect. It can be assumed that naturalization affects immigrants' status on the labour market and, in particular, their ability to secure a job, due to a range of reasons. When an immigrant gains French nationality, the range of jobs available to him opens up, to include in particular all of the jobs requiring French nationality. At the same time, it can be assumed that the immigrant can more easily circumvent*

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11 One of the best studies as been conducted by Vincent Tiberj and Sylvain Brouard ; TIBERJ Vincent, BROUARD Sylvain, *Français comme les autres ?*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2005, 168 p..

12 BLUM Alain, "Resistance to identity categorization in France", pp. 121-147, In : KERTZER David, AREL Dominique, *Census and Identity. The politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses*, Cambridge/New-York, CUP, 2002, 222 p..

discriminatory situations during the hiring process. Several empirical studies have revealed such forms of discrimination”<sup>13</sup>.

Table 3. Logistic regression. Frequency of unemployment among young active women (23-29 years old). Daughters of two “French by birth parents” vs. women with at least one North-African immigrant parent.

	$\beta t$	$\sigma \beta t$	<i>ts</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>P - Po</i>	$\Delta$ (%)
<i>constant = -0.584*</i>		0.336	-1.74	36%		
<b>Age marginal effect of one more year</b>						
<i>year</i>	-0.037**	0.010	3.53	35%	-1%	-2%
<b>Foreign citizenship 1999</b>	0.291*	0.155	1.87	43%	7%	19%
<b>Familial Origin:</b>						
<i>2 French by birth parents</i>	0.053	0.204	0.26	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>At least 1 Tunisian imm. parent</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>At least 1 Moroccan imm. parent</i>	0.257	0.230	1.12	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>At least 1 Algerian imm. parent</i>	0.487**	0.217	2.25	48%	12%	33%
<b>Family size in 1990 :</b>						
<i>1-2 children</i>	-0.109**	0.043	2.56	33%	-2%	-7%
<i>3-4 children</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>5-6 children</i>	0.139*	0.081	1.78	39%	3%	9%
<i>7 children and more</i>	-0.020	0.128	-0.16	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Occupation of the household's reference person</b>						
<i>Farmer/Farm worker father 1990</i>	-0.105	0.128	0.82	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>Shopkeeper/Craftsman father 1990</i>	-0.050	0.072	-0.69	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Manager/teach/research father 1990</b>						
<i>1990</i>	0.020	0.074	0.27	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>Middle management father 1990</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>Employee/Clerk father 1990</i>	0.158**	0.074	2.14	40%	4%	10%
<i>Manual worker father 1990</i>	0.236**	0.078	3.03	41%	6%	16%
<i>Household employee parent 1990</i>	0.014	0.055	0.25	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Married 1999</b>	-0.262**	0.048	5.43	30%	-6%	-16%
<b>Number of own children (1999)</b>						
<i>None</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>1 child</i>	0.611**	0.046	13.38	51%	15%	42%
<i>2 children</i>	0.238**	0.051	6.490	41%	6%	16%
<b>Educational attainment– Diploma</b>						

<sup>13</sup> FOUGÈRE Denis, SAFI Myrna, “The Effects of Naturalization On Immigrants Employment Probability : France, 1968-1999”, paper presented at the Second Migrant Ethnicity Meeting (IZA), Bonn (Germany), May 14 - 16, 2006.

<b>1999</b>						
<b>No qualification</b>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<b>Primary Leaving Certificate</b>	-0.022	0.224	0.10	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Secondary School Level ('O' level)</b>	-0.188**	0.091	2.07	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>
<b>1st certificate of apprenticeship</b>	-0.137*	0.075	1.82	33%	-3%	-9%
<b>2nd certificate of apprenticeship</b>	-0.191**	0.069	2.78	32%	-4%	-12%
<b>Baccalaureat ('A' level)</b>	-0.554**	0.063	7.90	24%	-12%	-32%
<b>University Education</b>	-1.034**	0.064	12.79	13%	-23%	-64%
<b>Concordant % :</b>	<b>66%</b>				<b>N = 21634</b>	

Source : EDP INSEE 1999

$\beta_0$  = intercept                       $\beta_i$  = variable's regression coefficient                       $\sigma\beta_i$  =  $\beta_i$  's standard error  
 $P_0$  = probability associated with  $\beta_0$      $\Delta P$  = marginal effect ( $= [P - P_0] / P_0$ )  
*Ref.* = Reference situation                       $P$  = probability associated with  $\beta_i$   
 Statistical significance : \*\* = 0.05 ; \* = 0.1, *d.n.s.* = not significant difference  
*ts* : Student's *t*.                      *N*: number of observations

The percentage given at the bottom of the table also indicates the quality of the regression (percentage agreement between the estimated situations and the observed situations). The quality of a logistic regression can be judged using other criteria and coefficients calculated by statistical programs. These tests should lead to the rejection of the  $H_0$  null hypothesis defined such that the model contains no significant explanatory variable.

The formulae used to calculate the probabilities that measure the penetration rate of a state in the population are:

$P(0) = 1 / (1 + \exp(-\beta_0))$  where  $\beta_0$  is the constant estimated by the model.

The probability of an individual "x" deviating from the situation made up of all the reference states by variables  $x_i$ ,  $x_j$  and  $x_k$  is:

$P(x) = 1 / (1 + \exp(-(\beta_0 + \beta_1 + \beta_j + \beta_k)))$ .

There is therefore no additivity of deviation effects for the probabilities, but solely for the  $\beta_i$  coefficients. It is then possible to calculate the variations in probabilities provoked by state changes/differences. The significance of parameters  $\beta_i$  is established by the application of *Student's t-test (ts)*. Each  $t_{si}$  is compared with the *ts* values associated with the different probabilities  $P$  of uncertainty over the  $H_0$  hypothesis of  $\beta_i$  being null. If  $t_{si}$  is higher than *ts*, the  $H_0$  hypothesis is rejected.

Table 4. Logistic regression. Frequency of unemployment among young men (24-29 years old) in 1999. Sons of two "French by birth" parents vs. men with at least one African immigrant parent.

	$\beta_i$	$\sigma\beta_i$	<i>ts</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>P - Po</i>	$\Delta$ (%)
<b>Constant = -1.867**</b>	0.107	17.42	13%			
<b>Age (1999):</b>						
24	-0.091	0.075	1.22	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
25	-0.052	0.071	0.73	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
26	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>
27	-0.097	0.072	1.34	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
28	-0.149**	0.075	1.97	12%	-2%	-12%
29	-0.251**	0.081	3.11	11%	-3%	-20%
<b>Foreign-born</b>	-0.064	0.190	-0.34	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Foreign citizenship 1999</b>	0.194	0.126	1.54	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Familial origin :</b>						
2 « French by birth » parents	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>
At least 1 Algerian imm. parent	0.833**	0.099	8.46	26%	13%	96%
At least 1 Moroccan imm. parent	0.75**	0.137	5.50	25%	11%	84%
At least 1 Tunisian imm. parent	0.235	0.206	1.14	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
At least 1 immigrant parent from Sub-Saharan Africa	0.428*	0.247	1.74	19%	6%	43%
<b>Family size in 1990 :</b>						
1-2 children	-0.206**	0.086	2.38	11%	-2%	-17%
3-4children	-0.187**	0.086	2.18	11%	-2%	-15%
5-6 children	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>
7 children and more	0.356**	0.132	2.69	18%	5%	35%
<b>Occupation of the household's reference person</b>						
<b>Farmer/Farm worker father 1990</b>	-0.266*	0.147	1.81	10%	-3%	-24%
<b>Shopkeeper/Craftsman father 1990</b>	-0.212**	0.078	2.72	11%	-2%	-17%
<b>Manager/teach/research father 1990</b>	-0.030	0.080	0.37	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Middle management father 1990</b>	0.110*	0.065	1.69	15%	1%	10%
<b>Employee/Clerk father 1990</b>	0.085	0.079	1.08	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Manual worker father 1990</b>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>
<b>Household employee parent 1990</b>	0.165**	0.060	2.73	16%	3%	20%
<b>Living in Urban Sensible Area (1999)</b>	0.365**	0.070	5.24	18%	5%	36%
<b>Married 1999</b>	-1.039**	0.086	12.07	5%	-8%	-61%
<b>Educational attainment – Diploma 1999</b>						
No qualification	0.919**	0.064	14.27	28%	15%	109%
Primary Leaving Certificate	0.656**	0.205	3.19	23%	10%	71%
Secondary School Level ('O' level)	0.686**	0.091	7.56	23%	10%	75%
1st certificate of apprenticeship	0.383**	0.070	5.51	18%	5%	38%
2nd certificate of apprenticeship	0.242**	0.072	3.35	16%	3%	23%

<i>Baccalaureat ('A' level)</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>	<i>Réf.</i>
<i>University Education</i>	-0.439**	0.066	6.60	9%	-4%	-32%
<b>Concordant % :</b>	<b>68%</b>					<b>N: 18823</b>

Sensitive urban areas are in an increasingly delicate situation and data from recent censuses shows that it has been somewhat aggravated in some areas, over the past ten years. Social imbalances are firmly embedded in French cities. This has found a particularly clear expression in the establishment of the ZUS (*Zones urbaines sensibles* –sensitive urban areas). Urban segregation brings with it urban dislocation, in that it breaks down equality in social spaces, most importantly the workplace. There is a need to take into account the history of cities and territories. Moreover, this phenomenon is becoming increasingly important, due to the influx of immigration to cities. The name of a street, the very name of a city, regardless of the neighbourhood, can affect employment. Discrimination generates a dynamic of urban divergence: urban segregation is the spatial inscription of a social disequilibrium. This socio-spatial polarisation bears witness to a long period of persistent unemployment. Living in sensitive urban areas increases the probability of being jobless (Tables 5 and 6). The 1999 census also reveals other characteristics: the percentage of foreigners in the population (which averages 5.6% nationally) is much higher in the ZUS (16.5%).

Table 5. Logistic regression. Frequency of unemployment among young active women (24-29 years old) in 1999 (daughters of two 'French by birth parents' vs. women with at least one parent immigrant from Africa)

	$\beta_i$	$\sigma\beta_i$	<i>ts</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>P - Po</i>	$\Delta$ (%)
<i>constant = -2.191**</i>		0.080	27.50	10%		
<b>Age (1999):</b>						
<b>24</b>	0.278**	0.080	3.83	13%	3%	28%
<b>25</b>	-0.022	0.072	0.30	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>26</b>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<b>27</b>	-0.060	0.071	0.85	10%	-1%	-5%
<b>28</b>	-0.198**	0.074	2.69	8%	-2%	-16%
<b>29</b>	-0.238**	0.080	2.99	8%	-2%	-19%
<b>Foreign citizenship 1999</b>	0.296*	0.178	1.66	13%	3%	29%
<b>Familial origin :</b>						
<b>2 « French by birth » parents</b>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<b>At least 1 Algerian imm. parent</b>	0.365**	0.115	3.18	14%	4%	38%
<b>At least 1 Moroccan imm. parent</b>	0.261*	0.155	1.68	13%	3%	26%



<i>At least 1 Tunisian imm. parent</i>	0.145	0.243	0.60	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>At least 1 immigrant parent from</i>						
<b><i>Sub-Saharan Africa</i></b>	<b>0.683**</b>	<b>0.274</b>	<b>2.50</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>80%</b>
<b><i>Family size in 1990 :</i></b>						
<i>1-2 children</i>	-0.046	0.043	2.56	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>3-4children</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>5-6 children</i>	0.207**	0.081	1.78	11%	1%	13%
<i>7 children and more</i>	0.088	0.146	0.60	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b><i>Occupation of the household's reference person</i></b>						
<i>Farmer/Farm worker father 1990</i>	-0.223	0.149	1.50	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>Shopkeeper/Craftsman father 1990</i>	-0.310**	0.080	3.89	8%	-2%	-25%
<b><i>Manager/teach/research father</i></b>						
<i>1990</i>	0.007	0.081	0.09	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>Middle management father 1990</i>	-0.203**	0.068	2.96	8%	-2%	-17%
<i>Employee/Clerk father 1990</i>	-0.029	0.082	-0.36	10%	0%	-3%
<i>Manual worker father 1990</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>Household employee parent 1990</i>	0.031	0.062	0.50	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b><i>Living in Urban Sensible Area</i></b>						
<i>(1999)</i>	0.272**	0.075	3.65	13%	3%	27%
<b><i>Married 1999</i></b>	<b>-0.175**</b>	<b>0.052</b>	<b>3.40</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	<b>-15%</b>
<b><i>Number of own children (1999)</i></b>						
<i>None</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>1 child</i>	0.708**	0.058	12.30	18%	8%	84%
<i>2 children</i>	0.694**	0.050	13.88	18%	8%	82%
<b><i>Educational attainment – Diploma 1999</i></b>						
<i>No qualification</i>	1.149**	0.073	15.85	26%	16%	159%
<i>Primary Leaving Certificate</i>	1.286**	0.259	4.96	29%	19%	186%
<i>Secondary School Level ('O' level)</i>	0.809**	0.097	8.33	20%	10%	100%
<i>1st certificate of apprenticeship</i>	0.778**	0.079	9.88	20%	10%	95%
<i>2nd certificate of apprenticeship</i>	0.713**	0.070	10.13	19%	9%	85%
<i>Baccalaureat ('A' level)</i>	0.428**	0.061	7.07	15%	5%	46%
<i>University Education</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<b><i>Concordant % :</i></b>	<b>68%</b>				<i>N =:</i>	<b>15481</b>

Source : INSEE, Echantillon démographique permanent 1990-1999.

The young people whose only relative (generally the father) is an immigrant from sub-Saharan Africa do not seem to be significantly penalised (table 6). The results are very interesting as can be seen below. Frequently in discrimination research, the ethnic background of young people is defined

by the ethnic background of one of the parents (generally the father). We decided to widen this definition and to include the situations of heterorganic parents, with the possibility of mothers being of foreign background. Among young men and women, those with two parents born in North Africa are facing more difficulties in obtaining a job. The young men with two immigrant parents of sub-Saharan Africa are also obviously discriminated. Young men who have immigrated from the Maghreb have more difficulties when their father (from which they often ‘inherit’ of the patronymic surname) is an immigrant, but the children of a Maghrebian mother and of a ‘French by birth’ father do not face so many difficulties (table 6). Certainly, there is an effect of the patronymic surname on probabilities of being recruited, as shown, for the French case, by Amadiou<sup>14</sup>.

Table 6. Logistic Regression. Frequency of unemployment among young active men (23-29 years old) in 1999.

	$\beta_i$	$\sigma\beta_i$	<i>ts</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>P - Po</i>	$\Delta$ (%)
<i>constant = -1.392**</i>		0.138	10.06	20%		
<b>Age (1999):</b>						
23	0.258**	0.074	3.47	24%	4%	22%
24	0.204**	0.074	2.77	23%	3%	17%
25	0.056	0.069	0.81	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
26	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
27	-0.182**	0.069	2.62	19%	-1%	-5%
28	-0.276**	0.072	3.86	17%	-3%	-15%
29	-0.426**	0.077	5.54	16%	-4%	-18%
<b>Foreign born</b>	0.122	0.125	0.97	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Foreign citizenship 1999</b>	-0.091	0.140	0.65	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Familial Origin :</b>						
<b>2 Maghrebian parents***</b>	1.060**	0.110	9.67	42%	22%	110%
<b>Maghrebian father, “French by birth” mother</b>	0.440**	0.211	2.08	28%	8%	40%
<b>Maghrebian mother, “French by birth” father</b>	0.355	0.584	0.61	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>2 parents from Sub-Saharan Africa</b>						
***	0.605**	0.293	2.07	31%	11%	57%
<b>1 parent from Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	0.544	0.594	0.92	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>at least 1 Turkish parent</b>	0.167	0.222	0.74	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>2 « French by birth » parents</b>	0.025	0.077	0.32	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<b>Other origin</b>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<b>Family size in 1990 :</b>						

<sup>14</sup> AMADIEU Jean-François, « Employment discrimination : The Situation Today and Future Research required », Paper presented at Columbia University, New-York, mai 2005 : <http://cergors.univ-paris1.fr/docsatelecharger/EMPLOYMENT%20DISCRIMINATION.pdf>

<i>1-2 children</i>	-0.137*	0.084	1.64	18%	-2%	-11%
<i>3-4 children</i>	-0.149*	0.084	1.79	18%	-2%	-11%
<i>5-6 children</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>7 children and more</i>	0.379**	0.134	2,83	27%	7%	34%
<b>Occupation of the household's reference person</b>						
<i>Farmer/Farm worker father 1990</i>	-0.309**	0.141	2.19	15%	-4%	-22%
<i>Shopkeeper/Craftsman father 1990</i>	-0.218**	0.075	2.91	17%	-3%	-16%
<b>Manager/teach/research father</b>						
<i>1990</i>	0.194**	0.079	2.46	23%	3%	16%
<i>Middle management father 1990</i>	0.191**	0.063	2.96	23%	3%	16%
<i>Employee/Clerk father 1990</i>	0.146*	0.077	1.90	22%	2%	12%
<i>Manual worker father 1990</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>Household employee parent 1990</i>	0.214**	0.059	3.63	24%	4%	18%
<b>Living in Urban Sensible Area 1999</b>	0.388**	0.067	5.75	27%	7%	35%
<b>Educational attainment – Diploma 1999</b>						
<i>No qualification</i>	0.335**	0.087	3.86	26%	6%	30%
<i>Primary Leaving Certificate</i>	-0.037	0.205	0.18	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>	<i>d.n.s.</i>
<i>Secondary School Level ('O' level)</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
<i>1st certificate of apprenticeship</i>	-0.358**	0.090	3.97	15%	-5%	-26%
<i>2nd certificate of apprenticeship</i>	-0.488**	0.093	5.27	13%	-7%	-33%
<i>Baccalaureat ('A' level)</i>	-0.516**	0.088	5.90	13%	-7%	-35%
<i>University Education</i>	-0.849**	0.090	9.42	10%	-10%	-52%
<b>Concordant % :</b>	<b>66%</b>					<b>N = 21031</b>

\*\*\* or single parent family with same origin

Source : INSEE, Echantillon démographique permanent 1990-1999.

It is not easy for young people of foreign origin in France to enter the labour market. The problems they experience in this area needed to be analysed in the light of the important role played by qualifications obtained in the education system as a mediator between the weight of family origins and professional destiny. Gaining citizenship is often an important stage, which will lower certain discriminatory barriers but the lesson from the French experience is that assimilation through cultural and political venues is not enough. Cultural and economic integration should be intertwined to be successful. The discrimination's phenomenon exacerbates still further the phenomenon of urban segregation. Impacting, in particular, access to work and to housing. There is a substantial need for further social quantitative studies on immigrant's children in France<sup>15</sup>. Finally, the effectiveness of

<sup>15</sup> CONSTANT Amelie & al., "Immigrant Adjustment in France and Impacts on the Natives", pp. 263-302, In : ZIMMERMANN Klaus .F. (ed.), *European Migration: What Do We Know ?*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, 688 p..

targeted policies could be established as far as they aim at integration defined in a narrow sense. France should recognise the social embeddedness of the immigrants and their families. Research on the assimilation and integration of migrants children need further support and often better treatment by using advanced econometric techniques and more appropriate data, but 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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