Chapter 7
The Integration of Immigrants in France: Economic and Geographical Approach

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Abstract Integration is a key issue in the literature about migration. It refers to a set of public policies aiming at integrating foreign populations in a given society. This paper aims at investigating the relationships between the integration of four communities installed in France (Algerian, Portuguese, Turkish and Vietnamese) and the presence of associations. The methodology is rooted on two approaches, quantitative economics and geography. It uses a new database, extracted from the *Official Journal* and several surveys, noticeably TeO. In a first step, we ask whether the regional distribution and the density of associations explain the degree of integration of the migrants stemming from the four communities. In a second step, we test whether memberships into an association increase or decrease the adoption of oppositional identities and if the latter influences the integration via the access to employment.

Keywords France • Immigration • Integration • Applied economics • Geographical approach

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7.1 Introduction

The subject of integration is a major thrust of the research literature on immigration. The term was used for the first time in France by public authorities in 1974, when labour immigration was halted and family reunification (spouses and minor children) was introduced. It refers to a set of policies that governments implement to correctly insert populations, be they immigrant or not, into a given society. The goal is assimilation into mainstream society. According to the Chicago School and Emile Durkheim, integration also refers to the process by which an individual or group of individuals slowly find a place in society. It begins at the economic level, with access to employment, and continues with learning of the norms that govern the society. This learning principally takes place within the family or at school.

Sociological studies on integration involve a number of debates. For some authors the process is not linear: in many cases integration through norm and value learning does not translate into upward social mobility; occasionally, upward mobility (a sign of economic integration) is achieved without cultural integration (Safi 2006). Furthermore, integration takes different forms depending on the country: integration contracts (France, Switzerland and Austria), mandatory language classes for newcomers (Germany and France) and tests upon arrival (Netherlands, Great Britain, Estonia, Denmark, Germany, etc.). In some countries integration is combined with openness to cultural particularities: for example, for a time the United Kingdom practised multiculturalism by promoting ethnic minority representation in public sector employment and by funding associations promoting interethnic relations; the Netherlands is home to faith-based community institutions funded, inter alia, by the state.[1]

Mohand Khellil (Sociologie de l'intégration – the sociology of integration) defines integration as follows: "a fairly long process whereby one or several individuals living in a by definition foreign society express willingness to participate in the construction of the national identity of this society, which take a series of economic and social measures targeting them to help attain this objective". When the notion is applied to a country's entire population, and not just immigrants, it is referred to as "socialisation". The process involves the action of two actors: the host country (e.g. through public policies) and the person or the group who integrate by travelling a certain distance. Integration must be distinguished from assimilation, which is predicated on the physical and cultural severing of relations with the home country.

This article focuses on France, which has long served as a model of assimilation into the so-called French melting pot (Noiriel 1988). This idea of a melting pot has been thoroughly debated (Brubaker 2001; Amiraux and Simon 2006), and many public policies show that governments have adopted a much broader vision of migration issues since the 2000s, taking into account the Muslim population,

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[1] The June 2009 issue of the journal *Sciences Humaines* includes a chart of European pathways to integration.

for example, to fight against ethnic discrimination. However, it is the Jacobin approach that continues to prevail (Beauchemin et al. 2011), against the backdrop of the idea that integration involves severing ties with the country of origin and ties with the immigrant population from the same community.

Our objective is to study potential relationships between the integration of people from four communities and the existence of associations by crosscutting a geographical approach and an economic approach. We would like to know whether or not there is a contradiction between integration and the membership in associations. Does maintaining ties with the country of origin and its community through community organisations prevent integration? To contribute to the discussion on this issue and provide answers, we propose to compare the integration of members of four communities (Algerian, Portuguese, Turkish and Vietnamese) residing in France against the density of association networks. We deliberately chose this sample of communities because they have very different characteristics in terms of size, length of presence, rate of entry, etc.

First, we will present the methodology applied and the sources used (mainly the *Official Journal* and TeO survey), after reviewing existing research on the link between integration and association networks. Next, we will show the geography of the community associations linked to the four selected population groups (Algerian, Portuguese, Turkish and Vietnamese associations). We will seek to determine whether there is a relationship between the geography of association availability and the geography of these populations' performance with regard to integration, by comparing different regions of metropolitan France. In the second part, we will observe what we call the density of association availability (the number of associations for the four considered groups in each region), and we will only consider community associations, that is, ones that are exclusively tied to first-generation Algerian, Portuguese, Turkish and Vietnamese immigrants. In the third part, the observed variable will be different: the focus will be the four community members' tendency to be members of associations, be they community associations or not. By using several models, we will seek to determine whether being a member of one or several associations strengthens immigrants' adherence to values that conflict with the cultural model of the host country (in this case, France) and whether this at least indirectly impacts their integration through access to employment.

7.2 Immigration, Integration and Association Networks: The State of the Art and the Sources

Wanting to explore the link between the integration of foreign populations and of their descendants and association dynamism may seem self-evident. However, the available data are scarce, and, more generally, it remains very difficult to access the information. At the same time, and in the spirit of the relationship that France has developed with foreign immigration, a refusal to include the integration problematic within the framework of community rhetoric – unlike Anglo-American approaches –

has shifted this issue to the fields of urban policy or specific educational policy (such as ZEP) studies, where the issue of social integration became more pressing due to the concentration of immigrant populations (Schnapper 2007, p. 204).

The dialectic linking association practices and integration was thus further complicated, not least because of state action. Successive French governments since the 1980s have continually created, reconfigured or redefined the public framework for the political priority that integration has become. The multiplicity of initiatives undertaken and the variety of responses to them have contributed to defining the notion of integration. At the beginning of the 1990s, this dynamic led Dominique Schnapper to capture its spirit by describing integration as "the process by which individuals participate in community life through professional activity, learning of consumption norms, adoption of family and social behaviour, and building relationships with others" (1992, p. 18). More recently, Serge Paugam noted that this notion cannot be reduced to the issue of immigration and that "the explanation to integration problems is no longer only sought in immigrant populations' inherent difficulties with prevailing norms in the host country, but also in the functioning – or, rather, malfunctioning – of the institutions expected to enable integration" (2014, p. 5).[2]

This article builds on knowledge of integration processes by making association structure the focus of the discussion and observing it from both a spatial and thematic perspective. Building on data provided by the *Official Journal*, this involves embracing – as Marie Poinsot (2000, p. 49) suggested – a functional approach in which the associations' areas of activity are used to provide insight into the shared dynamics of the four groups being studied, as well as the specificity of their action and involvement, especially at the regional level. In addition to this spatial reading, this research casts new light on association dynamics through the lens of the values and identity choices that drive them based on findings from the TeO survey (Trajectories and Origins), the first proper major study in France on the impact of origins on living conditions and social trajectories. In this respect, the conclusions provided on the decisive nature of adherence to oppositional values and identity choices echo the reflections made at the end of the 1990s by D. Baillet, who distinguished between societies' associations and associations with a community dimension called communalist (2000, p. 56). Thus, the research challenge is considerable, even if we know that any attempt to categorise immigration situations is inherently flawed due to the fact, as Jocelyne Streiff-Fénart put it, that "assessment of the values of immigrants depends on the perspective from which they are considered; and this perspective is in large part shaped by national conceptions of immigration and of the relationship to foreigners, as well as by institutional arrangements drawing on these conceptions, and the public policies that implement them" (Streiff-Fénart 2000, p. 854).

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[2] It should be noted that D. Schnapper offered this perspective in the context of writing "public policies can only aim to integrate all populations through citizenship and participation in economic activity, complemented by the protection of the welfare state. No democratic government would contemplate an exclusionary policy. It is therefore the terms of these policies that should be analysed" (2007, p. 203).

7.2.1   The Association Movement and Immigration: A Slow Process Towards Equal Rights

In an article published on the occasion of the centennial of the Waldeck-Rousseau law of 1 July 1901 on the freedom of association, François Boitard noted that France and associations "have always had fraught relationships, veering between freedom and control, especially when foreigners are involved" (2001, p. 5). The law of 1901, which enacted the freedom of association in France, was indeed the result of a slow process (comparison to Great Britain, which authorised it beginning in the seventeenth century) in which the events of 1789 compounded the feeling of distrust towards potentially conspiring collective dynamics. Nevertheless, its culmination – the law of 1901 – did not place any restrictions on the association activities of foreigners. It was not until the decree-law of 12 April 1939 that this freedom was removed from foreigners, and it would be over 40 years before François Mitterand's government repealed the law, on 9 October 1981 (Belorgey 2000; Boitard 2001). While prohibited by law, political events in some of the countries of origin of foreigners residing in France have always resulted in forms of mobilisation and groupings by nationality. In his work, Antoine Dumont (2010, p. 128) mentions the example of Italians who were active in antifascist movements during the interwar period and that of the Etoile Nord-Africaine (North African Star), an Algerian association involved in Algerian independence movements that was founded in Paris in 1926.

It is not until the 1980s and the shift from temporary emigration to a phase of immigrant settlement that the problematic of the associational life of migrants and their descendants became a research subject. The dysfunction of the institutions that were supposed to enable their integration (to use Serge Paugram's terms) had to become part of public debate (e.g. the "Marche des beurs – walk of the French Arabs" in 1983) for research to obtain state funding. While there is no space here to delve into the gradual interweaving of integration and urban policy issues or the emergence of the identity issue and the trans-nationalisation of mobilizations and feelings of belonging[3], it should be noted that this development was not unique to France.

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[3] These notions echo the problematic of nationality defined by Benedict Anderson. As Antoine Dumont notes, "rather than abandon the idea of associational ethnicity, it should be rebuilt on what is the foundation of many migrant associations, that is, their attachment to their national origin and their feeling of national belonging. This is the feeling that Benedict Anderson calls "nationness", in contrast to nationality: the latter grants access to political rights, while the former describes the feeling of belonging to a "national community" defined by a history, a culture, a religion and a language" (Anderson 1991). "This distinction makes it easier to understand that possession of the nationality of a state is not always accompanied by a feeling of belonging to the nation represented by this state" (2010, p. 128). Still according to Antoine Dumont, to be grasped, associational nationness requires "not only combining theories of nationality and of ethnicity, but also taking into account the fact that this nationness is expressed from a distance, from a state other than that to which this nationness is tied" (2010, p. 128).

Whether or not public policies embraced a community-based approach, most states converged towards the same questioning of association ambivalence (Cattacin 2007).

The political, economic and identity effects stemming from the multidimensional nature of the association problematic have been explored in France. But it is especially at the local level that research has been able to explore variation in the association dynamic. In 1997, the journal *Migrations Etudes* focused one of its syntheses on this level of analysis and emphasised that "despite the many dysfunctions analysed, what shaped the study was identification of the significant integrating role played by associations as active components of local sociability. By drawing on the lived world of neighbourhood residents and on community organization of everyday life, the associations help maintain a social link and create a civil link that could be seen as a means for these under-integrated populations to "strike" upon a local and partici-patory citizenship. These associations may fall short of civic involvement in public affairs, and of a vision of social proximity as a civic matter or anti-establishment matter, but the idea is to see how they reconstruct, in a somewhat humble and invisible way, a "civil community" where ordinary reciprocal rights between individuals are reconstituted in daily human interactions" (Eme and Neyrand 1997, p. 2).

The associative process is thus driven by a dynamic of "working together" that is also expressed in community choices characterised by a wish for social segregation. To use the expression of M.-A. Hily and M. Poinard in relation to the Portuguese association movement, the objective is to explore the "dynamic density" of the association movement to help outline the moral relations developed by individuals in Durkheim's meaning of the term, according to these authors: "that is, individuals who not only trade services or compete with each other but also live in common" (1985, p. 25).

With over 1.3 million associations in France (over half of which are devoted to sports and culture), it is very difficult to have a sufficiently detailed reading to grasp the range of conditions for association processes in the context of migration. However, various elements allow for the development of a sufficiently stable methodological basis to understand the phenomenon spatially.

Due to the lack of reliable data on the number of associations involved in migra-tion, we are not able to measure the density of the association phenomenon, but one of the last reports produced by the Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (High Council for Integration) called "investing in associations to succeed with integration" estimated that at the beginning of the 2000s, only 1,300 associations remained partners of the state in the area of integration, in addition to "9,000 associations funded by the agence nationale pour la cohésion sociale et l'égalité des chances (ACSE – National Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunity) and the secrétariat général du comité interministériel des villes (SG-CIV – General Secretariat of the Inter-ministerial Committee on Cities) in the context of urban policy".[4]

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[4] Quote extracted from the High Council on Integration's opinion (p. 13) called "investing in associations to succeed with integration" (2012, p. 82).

7.2.2   From Referencing to the Survey or the TeO "Evolution"

Listing the associations was one of the first steps in this article's methodology. France offers direct access to the *Official Journal*, where associations recognised under the law of 1901 are referenced (see Fig. 7.1).

We were therefore able to explore this database and extract data on associations linked to the four countries of origin studied here. The information provided includes the head office location, the date of creation and the objective (see Fig. 7.1). One of the drawbacks is that associations do not always inform the administrative services when they cease to exist. Besides this *Official Journal* list, which allowed us to

Fig. 7.1 An example of data sheet in the *Journal Officiel* (*Journal Officiel de la République française*)

gather over 4,350 associations, we used a survey called "Trajectoires et Origines. Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France" (TeO survey – Trajectories and Origins. Survey on population diversity in France). This is the first major survey to be conducted with the goal of enlightening the French political class on population diversity as well as discrimination and inequality issues. The combination of these two sources forms the body of work that allowed us to pursue a double interpretation of the association process: an original geographical interpretation for the four groups studied and an effort to highlight the specificities of the integration process in light of association availability.

The TeO survey aims to identify the impact of origin on living conditions and social trajectories, while considering other socio-demographic characteristics, including the social environment, neighbourhood, age, generation, gender, and level of education.

Integration and discrimination issues play an important role in public debates. Yet France still lacks national statistics that would allow for study of these phenomena. The TeO survey was created to close these gaps. TeO covers all the populations living in metropolitan France, their current living conditions and their journeys. However, the survey is particularly interested in populations who might encounter obstacles in their trajectories due to their origin or physical appearance (immigrants, people from the DOMs and their descendants). The TeO survey was jointly conducted by INED and INSEE. It was rigorously monitored by organizations in charge of public statistics (CNIS; CNIL). It strictly respects the rights of respondents: people were interviewed voluntarily and anonymously. The gathering (from 22,000 respondents in metropolitan France) took place between September 2008 and February 2009 (http://teo.site.ined.fr/)

7.3 The Geography of Association Availability in France for Four Communities

7.3.1 Different Association Geographies Depending on the Group

The association geographies of the four considered population groups share several characteristics. Paris and the Ile-de-France region are by and large the locations with the largest concentration of associations (Fig. 7.2), with high primacy indexes (share of the region with the highest concentration in the national total) for associations related to Algeria and Vietnam (Table 7.1). By contrast, the associational network is relatively weaker in the swath stretching from the northeast of France to the Massif Central, to Brittany, to the north-eastern part of the great Paris basin (Normandy, Picardy, Champagne-Ardenne) and to Corsica, that is, in the areas where population densities are on average lower. However, there are differences among the population groups:
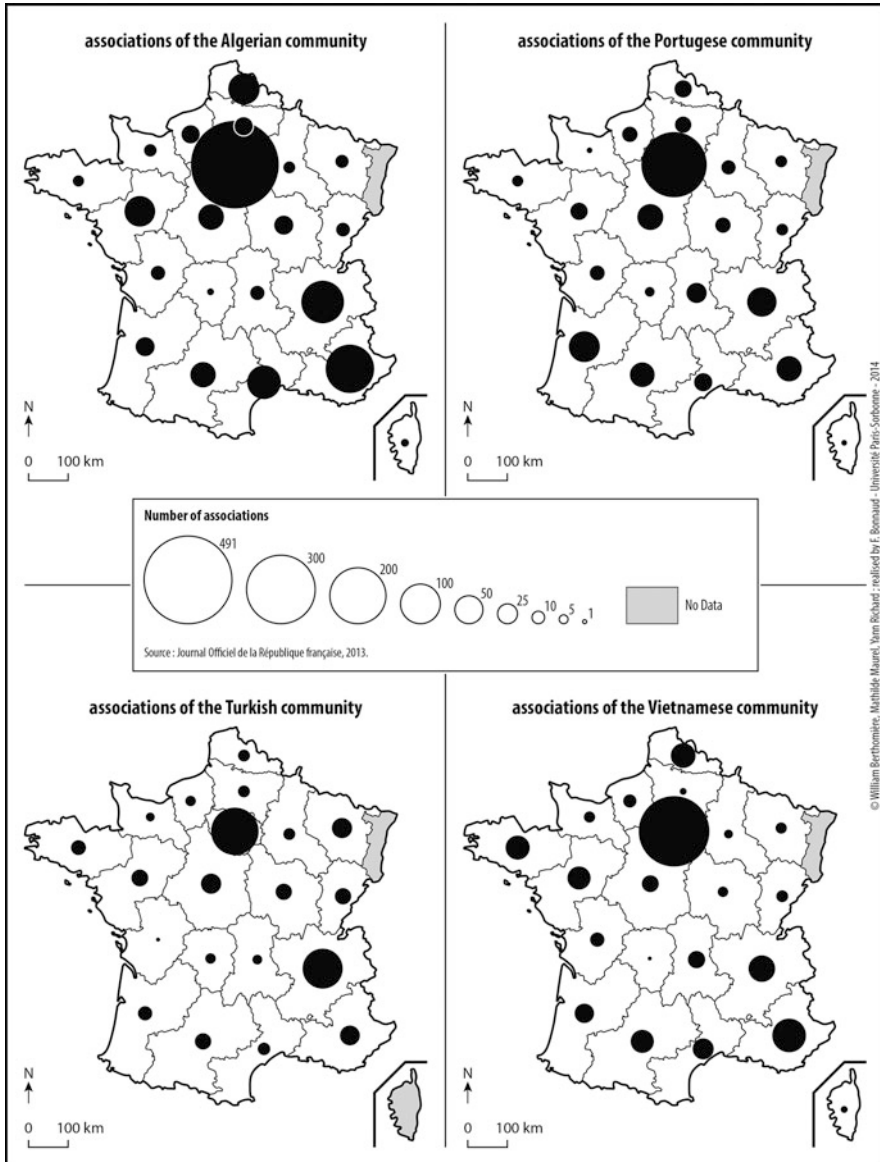
Fig. 7.2 Spatial associations of immigrants in France (Source: Official Journal of the French Republic, 2013)

Table 7.1 The associations associated with the four communities

Group	Algerians	Portuguese	Turkish	Vietnamese
Associations in Ile-de-France	497	273	143	318
Associations in France	1205	712	482	763
Ile-de-France (share)	41 %	22 %	29 %	41 %

Source: Official Journal of the French Republic, 2013; authors' calculations

– The associational network related to the Algerian community is mainly concentrated along the Paris-Lyon-Marseille axis (Rhône-Alpes and Provence-Alps-Côte-d'Azur, hereafter PACA), followed by other regions in the south of France (especially Languedoc-Roussillon), Nord-Pas-de-Calais and the Val de Loire (Pays de la Loire region).
– Besides the Ile-de-France region (with 22 % of associations identified in France), the Portuguese associational network is concentrated in the South, especially in Aquitaine and Rhône-Alpes, followed by PACA, Midi-Pyrénées and the Centre region.
– The Turkish associational network has the most mixed geography, with two major areas of concentration (Ile-de-France and Rhône-Alpes). Furthermore, the primacy of the Ile-de-France region is also relatively weak (29 %).
– The geography of Vietnamese associations is different: the major concentrations are in the peripheral regions, from Bretagne to PACA, in contrast to the great Paris basin (regions abutting the Ile-de-France region), the east and the centre of France.

7.4   How Can the Geography of Associations Be Explained?

It is no surprise that the main explanatory variable for the geography of the associational network is the geographical distribution of the Algerian, Portuguese, Turkish and Vietnamese populations. We note a very strong correlation between two variables: on the one hand, the relative weight (in percentage) of each French region in the total population of the four population groups considered and, on the other, the number of associations (all fields combined) registered in each region over the total number for all of France. The Algerian, Portuguese, Turkish and Vietnamese population stocks were collected in the Lili survey (see above): in all cases these stocks by region include foreign or French people residing in France but born in the country of origin. The French-born descendants of these people were not taken into account. Only true immigrants were therefore counted in this survey.

Given the small number of territorial units considered in this study (around twenty French regions), it is not possible to calculate a strong coefficient of determination between the geography of the communities studied (the weight of each region in the total number of people belonging to each community) and the geography of association availability. However, a link probably exists. It is worth noting the remarkable weight of the Ile-de-France region in the distribution of the populations and of the associations concerned.

Even if this region is removed, the geographical correlation remains. We also note that the geographical distribution of Vietnamese associations outside of the region of Ile-de-France does not align with this group's population geography. This can be explained by its extreme concentration in the Ile-de-France region, which brings together 44 % of the community and 41 % of associations. For Turkish associations, the geographical correlation is a lot less clear when the Ile-de-France

and Rhône-Alpes regions are excluded. This means that variables other than the geographical distribution of these two groups' populations play a significant role in the geography of the associational network. However, these variables could not be identified.

The association ratio can greatly vary from one region to the next within a same community. Simply calculating the number of inhabitants per association in the different regions makes this apparent. The lower the number, the higher the association ratio, meaning that the number of associations relative to the number of considered inhabitants is high: for the Algerian community, the number varies from 403 inhabitants per association (Pays de la Loire) to 2,665 (Lorraine); for the Portuguese community, from 317 (Nord-Pas-de-Calais) to 2,152 (Basse-Normandie); for the Turkish community, from 87 to 1,225 and for the Vietnamese, from 15 to 824. Thus, there are major differences across the communities in France (on a national average). The Vietnamese community has the greatest tendency to create associations, with 128 people per association, followed by the Turks (477), the Portuguese (784) and the Algerians (1,029). Moreover, the density of the associational network varies considerably from one region to the next and from one immigrant population to the next. Generally speaking, the regions with the highest number of associations in absolute terms tend not to be those with a high network density (Fig. 7.3), because the targeted populations in these regions tend to be among the largest.

7.4.1 Different Thematic Distributions

The *Official Journal's* database classifies associations into over 20 major areas of activity, which are in turn divided into several dozen subareas. This makes it possible to give a pretty accurate picture of the thematic range of associational networks in all the regions and to note the nuances between the regions. For example, map 3 of Fig. 7.4 represents the number of associations in two areas for the four populations involved: "cultural and artistic" associations and "social intervention" associations (Fig. 7.4). It shows that the ratio between social intervention and cultural activity is not the same from one group to the next: social action clearly dominates for the Algerian group, while the opposite is true for the three other groups.

By classifying associations by area, nuances appear from one group to the next, but several major features can be highlighted:

– Some areas often appear at the top of the ranking: the "culture, artistic activities and cultural practices" area dominates in the Vietnamese (23 %), Portuguese (58 %) and Turkish (30 %) groups; the "social interventions" area dominates in the Algerian group (45 %) but is highly ranked in the other groups too. These two areas also rank among the top two areas for three population groups: Vietnamese, Turkish and Algerian. Associations in the "clubs, affinity groups and mutual
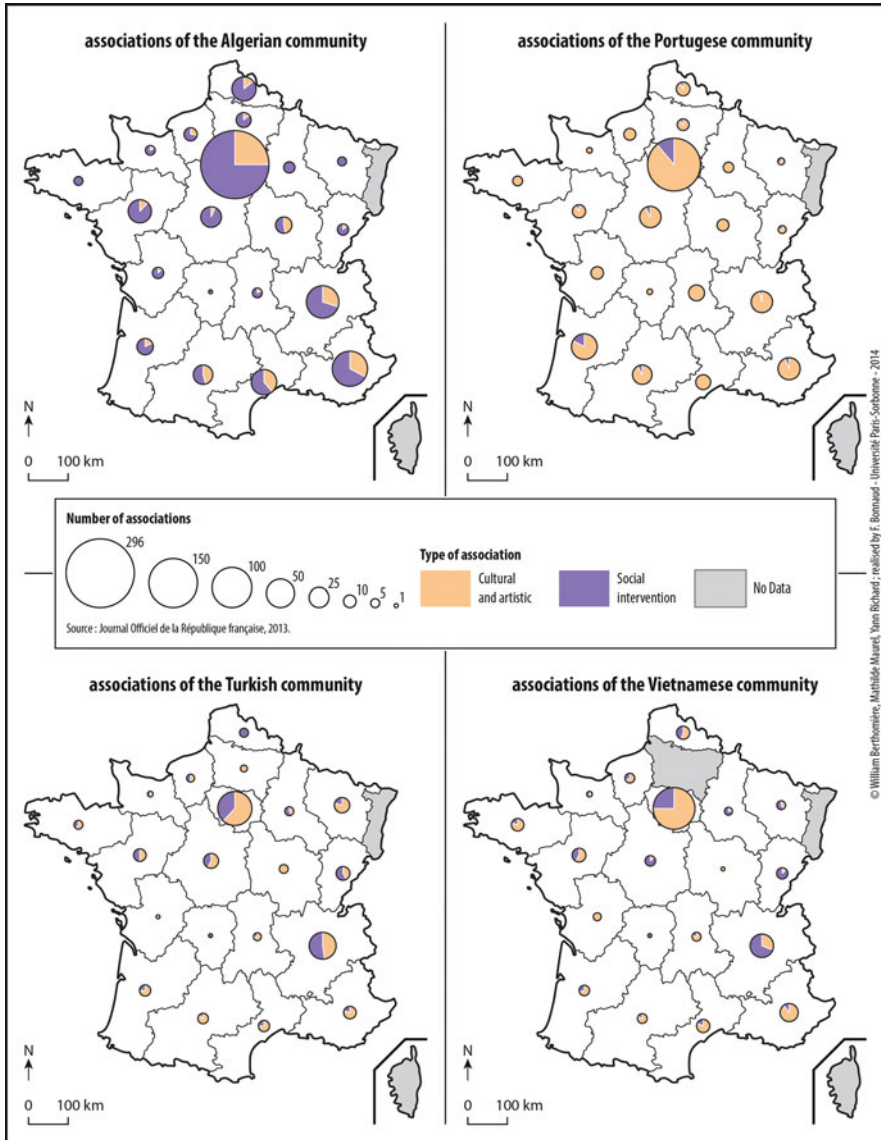
Fig. 7.3 Number of persons per associations in the four communities in France (Source: Official Journal of the French Republic, 2013)

aid groups" or "education, training" areas often rank highly, as do sports associations (10 % of the total for the Portuguese population).

– Conversely, some areas are underrepresented: tourism, the defence of economic interests, employment assistance, religious, philosophical and spiritual associations, justice, etc.
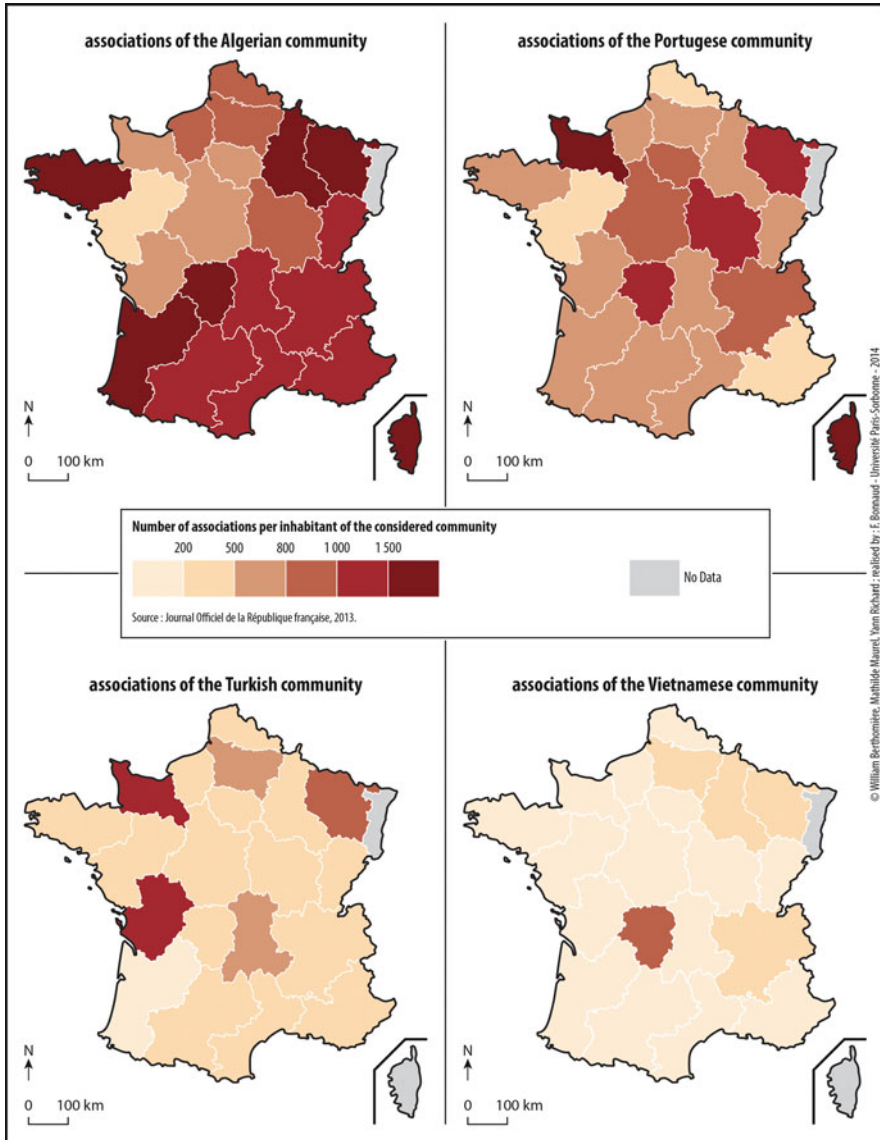
Fig. 7.4 Examples of thematic distribution of associations in France for the four communities (Source: Official Journal of the French Republic, 2013)

– Some associational areas that could theoretically promote the integration of immigrant populations are underrepresented ("defence of economic interests", "employment assistance"). On the other hand, some well-represented associational areas do not, at least in theory, promote integration into the French population and instead foster "self-segregated community" practices

("clubs, affinity groups, mutual aid groups"; "culture, artistic activities, cultural practices").

Finally, the thematic range presents noticeable differences between regions that are not always easy to explain. Observing the data nonetheless enables the identification of several important facts:

- In broad terms, the thematic range is only complete in the Ile-de-France region. This is not surprising given that it is the region with the largest populations from the four groups and with a higher number of associations. Next are Rhône-Alpes and PACA and then the Nord-Pas-de-Calais in some cases (Algerians and Vietnamese).
- The ranking of associations in number can vary significantly by region within a group. For example, the thematic breakdown for associations in the Algerian group shows that the "social intervention" area clearly dominates in all the regions, except in the Limousin (dominated by the "defence of fundamental rights and civic rights" area) and in Corsica (tied with the area of "charitable and humanitarian associations, development aid, development of volunteer work"). For Portuguese associations, the "culture, artistic activities, cultural practices" area clearly dominates in 17 regions (at least 47 % of listed associations),but not in Lorraine, France-Comté and Midi-Pyrénées, where the thematic breakdowns are more balanced.

7.5 Association Availability: An Impact on Economic and Social Integration?

It is widely known that immigrants are worse hit than nationals by unemployment, especially immigrants from non-EU member countries.[5] According to INSEE, the unemployment rate for working immigrants[6] 15 years and older was 16 % (20 % for non-EU immigrants and 8 % for EU immigrants), while it was only 9 % for nonimmigrants. The differences appeared at all skill levels and across all age groups. There were also large variations depending on the country of origin: for immigrants aged 25–64, the unemployment rate was only 7 % for EU nationals, 25 % for Turks, 22 % for North Africans and 19 % for other Africans. Only the acquisition of French nationality was correlated with a considerably lower unemployment rate, which can be explained in several ways: they have resided in France longer; they are better acquainted with the host society; they have had time build a network that can help them find employment.

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[5] "L'insertion professionnelle des immigrés et de leurs descendants en 2010", Inf. Migrations n° 31, DSED, Jan. 2012.

[6] In this part, the considered populations are composed of people born abroad.

In light of INSEE's analyses, we might assume that community association availability is not conducive to contact with the host society but rather strengthens relations within the community and therefore does not have a positive impact on access to employment. This is not exactly what we found from looking at the figures. The completion of simple linear regressions between the absolute number of community associations in the various French regions and the unemployment rate for members of the four communities considered shows that there is actually no correlation, be it positive or negative, between the density of association availability and access or lack of access to employment. For three of the groups taken into account in the INSEE statistics (the Algerians, the Portuguese and the Vietnamese), we compared (i) the unemployment rate and the number of associations and (ii) the unemployment rate and associational density (number of people per association in the regions). The conclusion would be that community associations play neither a positive nor a negative role in the economic integration of communities. However, this method does not yield robust results because the sample size is too small. Comparing the geography of indicators can nonetheless help determine whether their geographical variation across France is superimposable. We reused this methodology for other indicators providing information on the economic and social integration of immigrants: length of job search, level of education and the proportion of owners. The result was the same. No correlation appeared, be it positive or negative.

The absence of results might be attributable to the nature of the highly aggregated data, from which it is impossible to establish a more subtle causality considering the association membership of a particular individual in relation to the probability of having a job, etc. Certain data are inaccessible, which limits the possibility to cross-reference them. For instance, there is not much information on the commitment of the studied groups of population in associations, on the residence time of members of the associations, etc. It would also be very useful to learn more about the political, economic and social context more or less favourable in various regions for the creation of associations, in particular community associations. Going further in this direction requires in-depth field research. Nevertheless, the TeO database provides some means to analyse this causality.

7.6   Association Membership, Adherence to Oppositional Values and Integration Through Employment

Establishing a subtle causality requires the formulation of hypotheses under which obtained results can be interpreted. This third section is devoted to analysing the link between membership in an association, whether or not the association is tied to an immigrant population, and the probability of finding a job. We will use the conceptual framework from the model of adherence to oppositional values developed by Battu and Zenou (2010), to which we have added a hypothesis on the role of associations in individuals' choice of identity. In this part the variable is no longer associational availability, that is, the number of community associations for the four groups considered in each region; rather, it is the tendency of members of

these four communities to belong to associations in general, be they community associations or not.

In theory, associations can play a socially integrating role or, on the contrary, a segregating one. They can reduce the transaction costs between an individual belonging to a minority group and the rest of society and in this case integrate. Or they can tend to draw individuals from the same minority group towards community values, thereby increase the costs of integration, and as a result segregate. In the latter case, individuals reject the dominant group's positions and bear the cost that this rejection involves. Indeed, adherence to oppositional values reduces the likelihood of finding a job. In his analysis of North African organisations in France, Baillet (2001) distinguished between organisations that, by promoting community grouping, widened the gap with the dominant culture and organisations that facilitated their members' integration into this group.

The literature shows that adherence to oppositional values is linked to key economic challenges, such as labour market participation and integration. For example, Berthoud (2000) has shown that the employment of individuals from ethnic minorities in Great Britain depends on identity variables, which are causes of exclusion from employment. Blackaby et al. (1997) suggest that some minority groups prefer to withdraw into their own community, thereby limiting economic opportunities and increasing unemployment. These works assume that integration into the labour market depends on the cultural distance between the job seeker and the country's dominant culture or of identification with the host country's values. Variables such as the level of proficiency in the host country's language, (past) exposure to racist behaviour, harassment, etc. change the choice of identity, which in turn affects the probability of integration into the labour market. The focus here is on a new variable – membership in an association – as a determinant of adherence to oppositional values or choice of identity, in addition to the aforementioned variables.

7.6.1   Econometric Model and Approach

Following the example of Battu and Zenou (2010), who tested the model on British data, we are verifying whether adherence to oppositional values influences the probability of finding employment.

While membership in an association does not directly affect the probability of finding employment,[7] it affects adherence to oppositional values and therefore indirectly (via adherence to oppositional values) affects the probability of finding employment. In the selected communities – Portuguese, Turkish, Algerian and Vietnamese – membership in an association influences variables such as the feeling of being French and of being perceived as French and distrust of French institutions. These variables (Table 7.2) were selected as markers of adherence to oppositional

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[7] The results are not published here due to space constraints but are available.

Table 7.2 List of variables

Employment
Employment counts as one if the individual is in the labour market and has a job
Adherence to oppositional values
Justice = 1 if the individual states having "no" or "little" trust in French justice
Policy = 1 if the individual states having "no" or "little" trust in French policy
Public Services= 1 if the individual states having "no" or "little" trust in French public employment services
School = 1 if the individual states having "no" or "little" trust in French schools
Feeling French = 1 if the individual responds "mostly disagree" or "completely disagree" with the statement: "I feel French"
At home = 1 if the individual responds "mostly disagree" or "completely disagree" with the statement: "I feel at home in France"
Seen as French = 1 if the individual responds "mostly disagree" or "completely disagree" with the statement: "I am seen as French"
Freq. Controls= 1 if the individual responds "often" or "sometimes" (as opposed to "rarely" or "never") to the question: "how often are you asked about your origins"
Association membership
Sports = 0 if the individual is in a sports association
Parent of Student = 0 if the individual is a member of a parent-student association
Solidarity = 0 if the individual is a member of a solidarity and mutual aid association
Defence of Rights = 0 if the individual is a member of an association defending human rights and fighting against racism
Culture = 0 if the individual is a member of a cultural association
Religion = 0 if the individual is a member of a religious association
"Control" variables
Nonmar = 1 if the individual is single
% Neighbourhood = 1 if the individual answers "almost all" or "over half" to the question: "what is the percentage of immigrants living in your neighbourhood"
Immi1 = 1 if the individual's migration status is "immigrant"
Immi2 = 1 if the individual's migration status is "descendant of one or two emigrants" or "descendants of one or two DOM natives"
Immi1c if the status of the individual's current spouse is "immigrant"
Immi2c if the status of the individual's current spouse is "descendant of one or two emigrants" or "descendant of one or two DOM natives"
Controls = 0 if the individual answers "never" to the question: "how often does the police or gendarmerie check your identity"
Racism = 0 if the individual answers "no" to the question: "have you been the target of racist comments or attitudes over your lifetime in France"
Marriageforce = 1 if the individual states not having wanted to get married and being forced to by family pressure
Religious Education= 1 if the individual answers "great importance" to the question: "what was the importance of religion in the education you received"
Fem = 1 if the individual is a woman
Age corresponds to the individual's age
Age of arrival in France corresponds to the age of arrival in France

(continued)

Table 7.2 (continued)

French proficiency = 1 if proficiency in French is high
Nodipl = 1 if the individual has no degree
Cep = 1 if the individual has a CEP (certificate of primary education) or its foreign equivalent
Brevet = 1 if the individual has a *brevet des collèges* (general certificate of secondary education), the BEPS, *brevet élémentaire* or its foreign equivalent
Capbep = 1 if the individual has a CAP (vocational training certificate), BEP (vocational diploma) or its foreign equivalent
Bac = 1 if the individual has a vocational or technological baccalaureate or an equivalent degree, a general baccalaureate (A, B, C, D, E, ES, L, S series), an advanced certificate, a basic legal qualification, a DAEU (diploma granting access to university studies) or its foreign equivalent
Higheredu = 1 if the individual has a degree that is at least equivalent to BAC + 2

values and therefore of identity choice. By affecting the distance from the dominant cultural group, they alter the probability of finding employment. In an econometric approach, by functioning as instruments, they make it possible to identify the impact of adherence to oppositional values on the probability of finding employment. The influence of associations is therefore indirect: it is not because individuals belong to an association but rather because they see themselves as more French or place greater trust in French institutions and that they have greater chances of finding employment.

The model identifies two steps, formulated as follows:

In the first step (the results are presented in Table 7.3), association membership, which is the explanatory variable of interest, prompts or maintains adherence to oppositional values, depending on the nature and functioning of the associations that the TeO database allows us to consider (see the box below). *Adherence to oppositional values = a2 association membership + b2 controls.*

In the second step (Table 7.4), adherence to oppositional values alters the probability of being employed. *Employment = a1 adherence to oppositional values + b1 controls.*

This two-stage strategy has the advantage of addressing the endogeneity between the choice of an oppositional identity and whether or not the individual is employed. Indeed, being unemployed or not having a job certainly has an impact on the feeling of being French, of being perceived as such, of feeling at home in France and even the trust an individual places in French institutions. Therefore, while adherence to values rejecting French identity might explain integration into the labour market, the reverse is just as true. An individual has a higher chance of feeling well integrated or considering that she/he is perceived as such and of trusting institutions, if she/he is employed. Instead of identifying a causal relationship with potential implications for economic policy advice, we found a simple correlation between two variables expressing or measuring the same thing. The hypothesis on which our methodology is based is that membership in associations reduces oppositional behaviour; in the same way that, conversely, frequent police controls, exposure to racist reactions and cultural practices that are far removed

Table 7.3 Association membership and adherence to oppositional values

Variables	1 Feel French	2 At home	3 Seen as French	4 Freq. Controls	5 Justice	6 Policy	7 Public Services	8 School
Parent of Student[a]	0.252	0.285	0.0124	−0.127	0.441**	−0.174	0.0783	**0.869****
	(0.189)	(0.181)	(0.197)	(0.175)	(0.213)	(0.182)	(0.171)	**(0.416)**
Sports[a]	**0.219***	0.0467	0.102	−0.122	−0.0359	0.210*	−0.0569	**0.474****
	(0.126)	(0.117)	(0.125)	(0.113)	(0.123)	(0.125)	(0.112)	**(0.209)**
Solidarity[a]	−0.0386	0.0372	**−0.377***	0.274	−0.0773	0.0288	0.216	0.169
	(0.178)	(0.175)	**(0.221)**	(0.168)	(0.182)	(0.181)	(0.172)	(0.259)
Defence Rights[a]	−0.0118	−0.439	−0.526	−0.411	0.348	−0.409	−0.0888	−0.340
	(0.351)	(0.367)	(0.479)	(0.357)	(0.395)	(0.354)	(0.341)	(0.399)
Religion[a]	−0.175	−0.107	−0.122	−0.0349	−0.0928	−0.112	0.216	0.351
	(0.162)	(0.173)	(0.202)	(0.158)	(0.172)	(0.171)	(0.164)	(0.266)
Policy[a]	0.173	−0.113	−0.325	−0.305	0.105	0.122	0.189	**−0.826*****
	(0.296)	(0.273)	(0.326)	(0.267)	(0.302)	(0.292)	(0.264)	**(0.293)**
Culture[a]	0.187	0.108	0.175	**0.198***	**0.246***	**0.310****	**0.279****	0.0696
	(0.126)	(0.123)	(0.133)	**(0.117)**	**(0.131)**	**(0.132)**	**(0.118)**	(0.168)
Controls	0.285**	0.141	0.230	0.354***	0.443***	0.914***	0.292**	0.195
	(0.117)	(0.124)	(0.151)	(0.120)	(0.118)	(0.119)	(0.115)	(0.149)
Racism	0.273***	0.156**	0.432***	0.371***	0.390***	0.371***	0.267***	0.412***
	(0.0646)	(0.0659)	(0.0754)	(0.0628)	(0.0651)	(0.0651)	(0.0619)	(0.0817)
Marriageforce	−0.146	−0.0735	0.143	−0.349	0.336	0.175	0.0223	0.132
	(0.286)	(0.296)	(0.346)	(0.272)	(0.280)	(0.287)	(0.275)	(0.356)
Religious Education	−0.0459	0.0309	0.0817	0.0848	0.0409	0.00478	0.0789	−0.0124
	(0.0588)	(0.0604)	(0.0661)	(0.0566)	(0.0608)	(0.0611)	(0.0566)	(0.0781)
Immi1c	0.158**	0.449***	0.320***	0.135*	−0.0202	−0.161**	−0.144**	−0.264***
	(0.0766)	(0.0747)	(0.0807)	(0.0724)	(0.0772)	(0.0772)	(0.0718)	(0.0988)
Immi2c	0.0631	0.394***	0.204*	0.0710	−0.0638	−0.233**	−0.119	−0.369**
	(0.111)	(0.112)	(0.123)	(0.106)	(0.116)	(0.115)	(0.106)	(0.155)
French proficiency	−0.345***	−0.633***	−0.305***	−0.0433	0.0125	−0.0660	−0.0308	−0.145
	(0.0694)	(0.0698)	(0.0776)	(0.0669)	(0.0722)	(0.0729)	(0.0673)	(0.0941)

(continued)

Table 7.3 (continued)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variables	Feel French	At home	Seen as French	Freq. Controls	Justice	Policy	Public Services	School
% Neighbourhood	0.171***	0.0579	0.0911	0.0786	0.0402	0.148**	0.0322	0.0757
	(0.0592)	(0.0610)	(0.0670)	(0.0573)	(0.0617)	(0.0618)	(0.0574)	(0.0785)
Fem	−0.0529	0.0958	−0.104	0.0270	0.142**	0.00828	0.170***	0.142*
	(0.0582)	(0.0591)	(0.0637)	(0.0557)	(0.0598)	(0.0600)	(0.0557)	(0.0771)
Age	−0.0188***	−0.0292***	−0.0233***	−0.0180***	0.0111***	0.00650**	0.00387	−0.00389
	(0.00314)	(0.00328)	(0.00358)	(0.00302)	(0.00326)	(0.00326)	(0.00303)	(0.00409)
Nonmar	0.207**	0.241***	0.210**	0.220***	0.147*	0.107	−0.102	−0.0331
	(0.0877)	(0.0868)	(0.0935)	(0.0833)	(0.0880)	(0.0874)	(0.0826)	(0.111)
Age arrival France	0.0209***	0.0229***	0.0218***	0.0222***	−0.00695**	−0.00977***	−0.00551*	0.00753*
	(0.00319)	(0.00325)	(0.00360)	(0.00311)	(0.00337)	(0.00338)	(0.00309)	(0.00420)
Immi1	0.0578	0.243	0.466***	−0.161	0.184	−0.0499	0.00147	−0.368*
	(0.178)	(0.171)	(0.165)	(0.161)	(0.175)	(0.166)	(0.157)	(0.196)
Nodipl	0.0865	0.258**	0.341***	0.168*	0.0123	0.162	−0.0623	0.0688
	(0.102)	(0.105)	(0.111)	(0.0975)	(0.104)	(0.107)	(0.0971)	(0.133)
Capbep	0.218*	0.202*	0.00371	−0.00694	−0.0412	0.160	0.0143	0.0419
	(0.115)	(0.116)	(0.120)	(0.110)	(0.115)	(0.118)	(0.108)	(0.151)
Bac	0.295**	0.157	0.207	−0.0317	−0.180	−0.0434	−0.0327	0.159
	(0.120)	(0.123)	(0.132)	(0.115)	(0.125)	(0.129)	(0.115)	(0.154)
Higheredu	0.359***	0.304***	0.468***	0.197*	−0.221*	0.0826	0.116	−0.00200
	(0.113)	(0.115)	(0.125)	(0.108)	(0.117)	(0.119)	(0.107)	(0.149)
Constant	−1.021*	0.285	1.187*	0.197	−1.988***	−1.331**	−0.664	−1.438*
	(0.592)	(0.181)	(0.693)	(0.566)	(0.627)	(0.591)	(0.549)	(0.787)
Observations	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,296
LR Chi2	280	493	348	208	138	202	121	107
Prob>Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Pseudo R2	0.091	0.1558	0.1369	0.0637	0.0510	0.0732	0.0378	0.0689
Unrestricted log likelihood	−1,393	−1,337	−1,099	−1,531	−1,287	−1,281	−1,538	−726

Standard deviation in parentheses

***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$

[a] A positive and significant figure (one or several stars, in bold in the table) means that non-participation in associations (the variable takes the value 1) increases mistrust in institutions and diminishes the perception, by one's self or by others, of being French and of feeling at home in France

Table 7.4 Probability of accessing employment

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
At home[a]	−1.100*							
	(0.571)							
Feel French[a]		−1.282						
		(0.834)						
Seen as French[a]			−1.057**					
			(0.512)					
Freq. Controls[a]				−0.457				
				(0.435)				
Justice[a]					−0.806*			
					(0.445)			
Public Services[a]						−1.011*		
						(0.536)		
Policy[a]							−0.794**	
							(0.312)	
School[a]								−0.186
Immi1c	0.103	0.251	0.143	0.0718	0.0468	−0.00322	0.0109	0.0756
	(0.0961)	(0.159)	(0.102)	(0.0941)	(0.0924)	(0.0969)	(0.0938)	(0.100)
Immi2c	0.0378	0.196	0.0843	0.0347	0.0111	−0.0181	−0.0326	0.0483
	(0.129)	(0.170)	(0.132)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.130)	(0.131)	(0.141)
% Neighbourhood	−0.247***	−0.287***	−0.283***	−0.299***	−0.301***	−0.300***	−0.272***	−0.322***
	(0.0789)	(0.0728)	(0.0723)	(0.0721)	(0.0712)	(0.0712)	(0.0727)	(0.0723)
French proficiency	−0.228**	−0.367*	−0.172*	−0.101	−0.0902	−0.104	−0.108	−0.0946
	(0.107)	(0.195)	(0.0896)	(0.0820)	(0.0819)	(0.0820)	(0.0820)	(0.0848)
Fem	−0.392***	−0.327***	−0.397***	−0.360***	−0.340***	−0.307***	−0.381***	−0.344***
	(0.0709)	(0.0701)	(0.0711)	(0.0681)	(0.0683)	(0.0722)	(0.0689)	(0.0694)
Age	0.0164***	0.0116	0.0174***	0.0205***	0.0263***	0.0247***	0.0245***	0.0211***
	(0.00533)	(0.00879)	(0.00479)	(0.00486)	(0.00390)	(0.00369)	(0.00368)	(0.00375)

(continued)

Table 7.4 (continued)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nonmar	−0.215**	−0.177	−0.228**	−0.255**	−0.249**	−0.324***	−0.257**	−0.269***
	(0.107)	(0.125)	(0.104)	(0.106)	(0.102)	(0.101)	(0.100)	(0.101)
Age of arrival Fr.	−0.0135***	−0.0111	−0.0150***	−0.0172***	−0.0230***	−0.0232***	−0.0236***	−0.0198***
	(0.00519)	(0.00719)	(0.00455)	(0.00487)	(0.00392)	(0.00393)	(0.00388)	(0.00378)
Immi1	0.0669	0.168	0.225	0.0245	0.101	0.0506	0.0295	−0.00848
	(0.203)	(0.217)	(0.220)	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.203)	(0.204)	(0.211)
Nodipl	0.0729	0.147	0.139	0.0719	0.0483	0.0184	0.0822	0.0643
	(0.113)	(0.130)	(0.121)	(0.115)	(0.112)	(0.114)	(0.113)	(0.113)
Capbep	0.282**	0.280**	0.192	0.198	0.193	0.203	0.241*	0.213
	(0.137)	(0.140)	(0.131)	(0.131)	(0.131)	(0.131)	(0.132)	(0.132)
Bac	0.356**	0.308**	0.304**	0.236*	0.200	0.221	0.231*	0.242*
	(0.148)	(0.143)	(0.140)	(0.137)	(0.139)	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.139)
Higher education	0.389***	0.386***	0.398***	0.294***	0.208	0.297**	0.276**	0.272**
	(0.142)	(0.150)	(0.142)	(0.130)	(0.131)	(0.128)	(0.127)	(0.128)
								(0.670)
Constant	0.731*	1.142*	0.891*	0.493	0.451	0.915*	0.439	0.417
	(0.432)	(0.673)	(0.470)	(0.418)	(0.373)	(0.497)	(0.366)	(0.401)
Observations	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,36	2,296
LR Chi2	206	205	207	204	206	206	209	185
Prob>Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Pseudo R2	0.1020	0.1013	0.1022	0.1007	0.1017	0.1019	0.1033	0.0950
Unrest. log likelihood	−909	−910	−909	−911	−909	−909	−908	−884

Standard deviation in parentheses
*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$
[a] A negative and significant figure in the employment equation means that adherence to oppositional values diminishes the probability of access to employment

from the dominant practices in France foster this behaviour. Associations promote integration and assimilation, just as other variables (racism, different cultural practices) discourage them. All of these variables appearing in the equation of adherence to oppositional values are instrumental, because they only explain employment through their impact on the construction of an identity rejecting or accepting French society. This hypothesis is bold and certainly debatable. Membership in an association might have a direct impact on the probability of finding employment, because an association might act as a network (Zenou and Battu 2009). We therefore tested the validity of our instruments, and the test results confirm the assumption that the impact of membership in an association on employment is only indirect.

However, these tests are not definitive and our results are only valid within the boundaries of our modelling. The two explained variables – rejection of the dominant culture and probability of finding employment – are dichotomous variables (taking two values: 0 and 1). We therefore estimate two probit models. The equation mobilising the determinants of rejection of the dominant culture, allows for the construction of the rejection of the dominant culture as predicted (or theorised) by the instruments. This prediction is used in the employment equation instead of the different variables we selected to measure adherence to oppositional values: the feeling of being French, the feeling of being perceived as French (feel French, at home, seen as French) and distrust of French institutions (Justice, Policy, Public Services, School).

The results are presented in Tables 7.3 and 7.4. Table 7.3 explains adherence to oppositional values and includes eight columns corresponding to the eight proxies for adherence to these oppositional values (see the box describing the variables used): I feel French; I feel at home in France; I am seen as French; assessment of the justified or excessive nature of controls; level of trust in French justice; level of trust in French policy; level of trust in public services for employment in France; and level of trust in French schools.

Other variables:

– Untimely police or gendarmerie controls (Controls) and acts that respondents characterise as racist towards them (Racism) were significant in almost all cases and deepened the sample of foreigners' distrust towards their host country.
– Cultural practices that are clearly foreign to France, such as forced marriage (Marriageforce), oddly had no impact on variables measuring integration. An education centred on religion (Religious Education) also played no role.
– In contrast, high proficiency in French (French proficiency) promoted integration by reducing adherence to oppositional values. This result is common in the literature (see, e.g., Constant and Zimmerman 2008).
– Living in a neighbourhood where over half of the inhabitants are foreigners (% Neighbourhood) promoted adherence to oppositional values.

– Women (fem), people who came to France young (Age of arrival in France) and single people (Nonmar) were better integrated.
– Finally, the level of education (Nodipl, Cep, Brevet, Capbep, Bac, Higheredu) played a role.

Table 7.4 shows the impact of different proxies for adherence to oppositional values on the probability of finding employment. Irrespective of the marker of adherence to oppositional values (not feeling French, not feeling at home in France, not being perceived as French, not trusting French institutions), the probability of access to employment was significantly reduced.

The other variables had expected effects on the probability of finding employment. Thus:

– The nationality of the spouse or of the latter's parents played no role.
– The proportion of foreigners living in the neighbourhood and proficiency in French had the expected impact (respectively, negative and positive) on the probability of being employed.
– Women, young people and people who are unmarried or who came to France later in life were less employed.
– Finally, education is positively correlated with access to employment.

7.7   Conclusions

Do associations help strengthen the integration of those who suffer from discrimination and who, in some geographic zones, are mostly of foreign origin? Building on the TeO survey, which is extensively used in this article, the High Council for Integration had noted that foreign nationals born abroad and the descendants of immigrants represented over half of the people between the ages of 18 and 50 living in ZUS (*zones urbaines sensibles* – sensitive urban zones). Is it advisable to invest in associations to achieve successful integration? Does France still know how to integrate immigrants? Surveys confirm that an overwhelming majority of French people are open to immigration, on the express condition that immigrants and their children adapt to French values and mores, that is, that they integrate.

There are significant difficulties to working on the integration of immigrants. First, adequate databases are lacking. So we had to do with what existed to try to assess the performance of associations regarding the integration of four immigrant communities that were selected on the basis of representativeness criteria. Thus, the national index of associations that we used in the second part did not include a specific "integration" section. The associations were therefore classified by subject area, such as "defence of fundamental rights, civic activities", "cultural action", "education-training", "social intervention" and still others that might or might not support integration. It is therefore not necessarily alarming to not find a correlation between the density of associations or association's presence on the one hand and indicators of integration into the labour market on the other, given that the objective

of these associations is not to integrate. The TeO database on which the analysis draws in the third part has the same problem, in addition to lacking information on the ethnic or community belonging of the association (its members are part of a foreign community and the association defines itself as such).

A brief overview of the history of immigrant associations in France furthermore shows that the integration of foreign populations, particularly economic integration, has not been a stated objective but rather improved housing for North African families who settle in France, the fight for equality between French people and foreigners or the fight against racism (SOS racism), for example. Our emphasis was integration in terms of access to employment, via the choice of identity, which was assessed in terms of adherence to oppositional values. Our resolutely quantitative approach shows that membership in a noncommunity association influences the choice of identity (by playing a role in the level of adherence to oppositional values) and that the latter affects the probability of finding employment. Individuals have lower chances of finding employment if they do not feel French, do not feel at home in France, are not perceived as French and do not trust French institutions. The choice of identity is also influenced by membership in associations that can serve as social integrators.

These results should obviously be taken with a grain of salt. First, they cannot exactly pinpoint what associations should be funded – associations claiming to be involved in integration or the more professional ones that have a partnership with the state or local communities. They also give no further insight into whether it is preferable to subsidise associations or to pursue the type of policy that has been in place for several years now and has translated into integration policies and urban policy at the national and local levels. However, they do provide context for the past decade's declining number of state-funded associations specifically working to integrate immigrants and their immediate descendants, as grants to these associations fell from 200 million euros in 2000 to 100 million euros in 2010 (High Council for Integration 2012).

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