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The Feeling of Discrimination and Job-Market Entry in France

Résumé :

Cette étude porte sur des jeunes qui ont ressenti des discriminations en raison de leur origine étrangère en France. Nous avons mobilisé une enquête qui a suivi pendant sept ans l'évolution de la situation professionnelle des jeunes sortis du système éducatif en 1998. A partir de cette enquête, nous avons construit une typologie (méthode de regroupement des cartes d'auto-organisation), complétée par une analyse économétrique. Nous cherchons à montrer en quoi le fait de se déclarer victime de discrimination peut avoir une influence sur la position professionnelle de ces jeunes adultes. En étudiant conjointement la durée d'accès à l'emploi stable et la qualité de l'insertion professionnelle, nous repérons certains liens qui différencient les trajectoires des jeunes d'origine étrangère victimes de discrimination de celles des autres jeunes : un retard dans l'accès à l'emploi stable, une moindre qualité de l'emploi ou encore un cumul des désavantages. Des entretiens qualitatifs menés auprès de certains jeunes se déclarant discriminés complètent ces résultats statistiques. Néanmoins, les résultats montrent que les liens entre les discriminations ressenties et les trajectoires ne sont pas aussi forts qu'on pourrait le penser en première analyse.

Mots-clés : discrimination, segmentation, insertion professionnelle des jeunes, France

Classification JEL : J71

Abstract: This research focuses on individuals who consider they have been victims of discrimination in France. The aim is to look at the feeling of discrimination young people may feel due to their "foreign origin" and to assess its links on career paths, seven years after leaving school in 1998. We used the method for clustering self-organising maps, supplemented by an econometric analysis to distinguish eight major classes of career pathways. The aim is to see how the fact of declaring having suffered discrimination may influence the professional situation of these young adults. By looking at both the time it takes to get a stable job and the quality of entry into the labour market, we were able to identify certain trends which differentiate the experiences of young persons of foreign origin suffering discrimination from those of other youths: the former need more time to get a steady job, while the quality of their work is lower and they may also suffer from both these disadvantages. Qualitative interviews were conducted with young people declaring discrimination in order to complement our statistical results. All the results show that the link between discrimination and career path is not so strong as one might think.

Key words: Discrimination, Segmentation, Youth job-market entry, Youth, France

JEL Classification: J71

1. Introduction

The analysis focuses on the feeling of discrimination experienced and the manner in which young people of foreign origin enter the French job market.[1] In our study, two definitions need to be clarified. The first concerns the category of "youths" or "young people". As our work looks at entry into the labour market, they are defined here as persons "leaving the education system". From this point of view, they belong to the generation of people who left education in 1998. According, "youths" in this case does not relate to a specific age cohort. Their integration into the labour market is analysed seven years after leaving school: they are therefore young adults. The second definition concerns "foreign origin": in the current survey, this category is constructed by crossing country of birth and the nationality of both parents.

The objective is to look at the feeling of discrimination expressed by these young people and try to evaluate its link on their career paths seven years after leaving the educational system. Our approach allows the differences in career paths to be analysed for three populations: i) young people of French origin, ii) those of foreign origin, and iii) those of foreign origin who declare having experienced discrimination. Based on subjective feeling, this study focuses on individuals who feel they have been discriminated against, i.e. to have suffered unfair treatment, intentionally or not, because of their foreign origin. We attempt here to show how the act of declaring having been a victim of discrimination has a link on the professional position of these young adults. Our study draws mainly on quantitative methods, typologies and probit models, taking data from the *Génération 98* survey carried out by the Céréq (the Centre for Study and Research on Qualifications). The interviews conducted help clarify and refine the statistical results obtained from the statistical calculations.

Our analysis of various forms of discrimination differs from the neoclassical economic definition whereby people whose real or potential productivity is identical while they are actually treated differently because of certain individual characteristics, such as gender or ethnicity. Numerous econometric methods taking "all other things as being equal" also consider discrimination as a "residual": in other words, that share of remaining occupational and/or wage inequality which is not explained by the productive characteristics of individuals.[2] In this context, the long-standing theories of discrimination have sought, first to measure the phenomenon of discrimination, and secondly to understand how situations of wage discrimination in employment may exist and persist, though economically they seem irrational, inefficient in the medium term or related to problems of the quality of information (statistical discrimination, Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972), and therefore correctable in the market (Becker, 1957). More recently, multi-dimensional analysis taking into account sex and race especially (Darity & Mason, 1998; Meurs & Pailhé, 2010) have opened up graduated appreciations about positions held in the job market. These range from the accumulation of disabilities to strategies for compensating disadvantages. They include, for example, how young people of immigrant origin may have felt discrimination, but with time were able to have dominant positions in their group.

By choosing to work on the feeling of discrimination, we derive any *a priori* association between foreign origin and discrimination, in contrast to common statistical and econometric analysis. Here, any person of foreign origin is not identified automatically with persons who have suffered discriminated. The article aims to highlight the link of declaring oneself as a victim of discrimination (i.e. having experienced discrimination at school, during job search, in employment, or in daily administrative activities, at leisure, or in the street, etc.) on the quality of job-market entry. So, we show that this correlation is difficult to measure.

The dynamic nature of youth labour market participation was first explored in the early 1980s by Freeman and Wise (1982). Since their seminal work, numerous studies on labour market entry by young people have stressed the importance of the transition from school to work, and on the importance of taking a longitudinal approach (OCDE, 2010; Céreq, 2007). The OECD (2010) identifies four groups of young people, in reference to work by Quintini and Manfredi (2009) four key pathways: i) the high performers, ii) the poorly-intergrated, iii) the left-behind, and iv) persons returning to education. To better understand the nature and quality of job market entry, we have also distinguished several groups of young persons, who experienced quite different career starts. Overall, our own classification into three major classes is similar to the contents given by the OECD (2010), though our groups were not constructed in the same way. The OECD uses several criteria to isolate the pathways: "i) sequences of monthly activity statuses over period's of five years are obtained for youths leaving education upon completion of upper secondary school or earlier; ii) the

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[1] This research is part of the ANR contract on "Perceived Discriminations and Social Inequalities" (*Discriminations ressenties et inégalités sociales* (DRIS)).

[2] Other methodologies allow the analysis and measurement of discrimination to be taken further (Brown R.S., Moon M. & Zoloth B.S.,1980; Joseph & Lemière, 2006).

distance between each pairwise combination of sequences is calculated using Optimal Matching; and iii) cluster analysis is conducted to group similar sequence analysis" (OECD, 2010, p. 69). The OECD methods allows the place of groups within a generation to be studied, and different countries to be compared. Thus, in France, the group of high performers accounts for 50% of young people; persons poorly-integrated about 25% and those left-behind about 11%. The size of the latter group can be can be proxied by the number of young people who are neither in employment, nor in education or training (NEET).

Our aim is more limited than the OECD study. It seeks to identify the particularities of labour market entry by young people of foreign origin who have suffered discrimination. The criteria used for differentiating pathways are the time taken to access a stable job as well as the quality of employment as indicated by the type of the employment contract (a permanent or fixed-term contract). We seek to place young people of foreign origin who have suffered discrimination within three groups: i) persons who have obtained a stable job after seven years, meaning that access is long, including work with temporary contracts; ii) persons whose pathways continue to be characterised by job insecurity, and iii) persons whose pathway is mainly characterised by non-employment. Our data show that it may take a long time to acquire a stable job, often more than three years, especially for people who enter the labour market with short-term contracts. From this point of view, the interest in our study in such long pathways lies in understanding how young people enter working life.

Our hypotheses hold that individuals' internalisation and experience of discriminatory practices by employers and/or discrimination experienced in other spheres of life contribute to labour market segmentation. The central aim of segmentation theories is to show how differentiated employment management strategies pursued by companies structure employees' scope for mobility. The seminal works by Doeringer and Piore (1971) and Reich *et al.* (1973) stressed how the choice certain companies to implement internal labour markets leads them to create entry barriers which exclude employees deemed unfit to enter a stable employment relationship. Discriminatory criteria for getting a job are assigned to individuals: for example, the exclusion of women and immigrants is based on their presumed instability. Selection criteria may also be linked to the nature of employment held by individuals in the past: someone who has held a series of precarious jobs may be considered *a priori* as unstable. Thus, employees from the external labour market or who have individual characteristics associated with instability will have difficulties entering companies with internal markets.

Fuelling theories of segmentation and in contrast to the proponents of job search, theoretical approaches concerning employer search (Barron *et al.,* 1985) clearly show how companies choose and arbitrate between candidates (data here relates to the Netherlands, the United States, the United Kingdom and France). In fact, job-seekers and employers both contribute to aggravating segmentation. Several types of barriers exist: Holzer (1987, 1988) has shown that job-search choices by young Americans depend on their individual characteristics (skills, qualifications, place of residence, etc.), search costs and the expected chances of success. For example, young Afro-Americans used different channels to young Whites/Caucasians, notably public placement agencies rather than unsolicited applications or personal relations. The effectiveness of a channel depends on the profile of the job-seeker, and its use varies according to origin and colour. In our data, temping work also constitutes a particular path to employment for young people of foreign origin who do not have family or professional relationship networks.

This segmentation leads to persistent inequalities (Aeberhardt *et al.,* 2010). When people believe they will be treated less well on the labour market, then they reduce their human capital investments and endorse beliefs in their lower productivity (Coate & Loury, 1993). This constitutes a kind of vicious circle of statistical discrimination. Extensions of these models in the 1980s led the expectations of groups suffering discrimination to be taken into account, especially concerning their investments in human capital (Lundberg & Startz, 1983). Young people of immigrant origin are thus assumed to invest less than others in their education, and to limit themselves to lower-paid career pathways as they expect difficulties in pursuing a career. Such behaviour in categories experiencing discrimination may contribute to creating observable spaces of regulation for certain types of jobs which are overwhelmingly held by young people of immigrant origin (Hellerstein *et al.,* 2008).

Being excluded from internal markets, disadvantaged groups are forced to focus on the external market. Following Piore, the updating of theory has centred on the transformation of internal markets, the development of precarious work, as well as the issue of dualism in labour markets (Gazier & Petit, 2007; Bruyère & Lizé, 2010). The context of our data includes weakening internal markets which the parents of the young people surveyed may have experienced (some being former workers with large auto makers), while their job-market entry is into external or "non-organised" labour markets. Discrimination is thus embedded in segmentation and may be self-fulfilling as people internalise social norms and/or experience

discrimination in other spheres of life. Furthermore, both internal and external markets renew themselves over time. The dynamics of precariousness establishes itself in labour market segments in which contracts are open-ended, but nevertheless increasingly fragile, holding out poorer career prospects and reduced working time. Such phenomena are observable in our data, though with limits. In our study, individual data describes above all the supply of labour, so that it has not been possible to look at labour demand directly.

Our main question hinges on whether the fact of having experienced discrimination determines the specific job-market entry pathway taken by young people who are the descendants of immigrants. We take the link of declaring having experienced discrimination as being twofold: first it affects the access (or not) to certain entry paths, and second, within a given path, it may lead to more or less vulnerable outcomes. Results show correlations between career paths and the feeling of discrimination; nevertheless we find very low correlation.

Our paper proceeds as follows. In the following section, we set out the data. In the Section 3, we explain the used method, which is both quantitative and qualitative. The main results of the research are presented in the Section 4. The article concludes with a brief discussion on our results in the Section 5.

2. The data

2.1. The survey
The results presented in this paper are based on the *Génération 1998* survey of 742,000 young people who entered the labour market in 1998 (Céreq, 2007). This survey follows a panel of youths who left the school system in 1998. This *Génération 1998* was followed for seven years. A series of interviews were conducted on a sample of 16,000 individuals in Spring 2001 (after three years in work, first wave), and again in Spring 2003 (after five years in work, second wave) and in Autumn 2005 (at the end of the seventh year of active life, third wave). Each of these three interviews was based on a questionnaire administered by telephone and the responses were automatically recorded on-line.

The "Generation 98" survey focuses mainly on young people's occupational pathways with a view to drawing a longitudinal picture of their school-to-work transition and early career experience. In each interview, an "occupational calendar" was used to collect details of the respondents' situation month-by-month: employment, unemployment, inactivity, etc. Further questions were then asked about the various periods of employment, about the employers and conditions of employment (work contract, salary, position, type of occupation, etc.) and the respondents' job satisfaction. The respondents were also questioned about their periods of unemployment, as to whether they had taken undertaken job-search, had undergone vocational training, received unemployment benefits, etc. A second calendar focusing on housing and the family was used to record any changes in the personal lives of the young people interviewed (Couppié *et al.* 2007).

2.2. The populations studied and the specificities of young people of foreign origin who declare they have suffered from discrimination
Three types of population are compared: persons of French origin, persons of foreign origin and lastly persons of foreign origin who declare they have suffered discrimination. Persons of foreign origin who declare they have suffered discrimination replied positively to this question in 2001 and/or 2005, when the Céréq *Generation 98* survey was conducted. It is the first and third wave of the Céreq survey. The causes for discrimination included here are linked to the individual's origins.

Box 1: Sample of persons of foreign origin declaring they have suffered discrimination

The slight differences in the survey questions (discrimination in access to employment and discrimination in employment, etc.) are not taken into account here, as they are held to be of little significance in understanding the processes at work. Moreover, the interviews conducted indicate that discrimination outside working life (concerning housing, school streaming, overall social situations, access to discos, police checks, etc.), often adds to the feeling of discrimination in general.

Furthermore, the descriptive statistics helped identify young people of French origin who nevertheless declared themselves to be "victims of discrimination because of their origin". These young persons were taken out of the sample, after analysis. Indeed, the experiences of young people of French origin who declare having suffered discrimination (due to their origins) are studied specifically. Though their number is statistically limited (about 1.5% of young people of French origin, i.e. less than 200 individuals), they may nevertheless have significant structural weight in our analysis. Also, these youths may include both young

people of French origin but different colour, who may (or may not) come from France's Overseas *Départements* and Territories (people from these Overseas *Départements* and Territories are often black or Afro-French), or young people of French origin but whose grand-parents might have been foreign. In short, the complexity of this sub-population, and hence important error risks explain why they have been taken out of this analysis.

Table 1: The distribution of the sample for the three populations

Populations	numbers	weighted numbers
Young people of French origin	13,802	620,450
Young people of foreign origin who declare not having suffered discrimination	1,610	85,764
Young people of foreign origin who declare having suffered discrimination	411	22,349

Source: *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.

Among the young persons surveyed, 14.8% are of foreign origin, 20.3% of whom declared themselves as having experienced discrimination (the percentages are calculated on weighted numbers). This sentiment varies according to origin: 37.1% for youths of North African origin, compared to 4.5% of young people from Southern Europe. Fully 67% of the victims of discrimination come from North Africa.

Non-graduates (of whatever level of training – pre-high school diploma, France's high school diploma and undergraduate training) are over-represented among young people declaring themselves as having suffered discrimination. There is also a strong link between social origin and foreign origin, a link that is even more pronounced among the self-declared victims of discrimination. While 16% of young persons of French origin have a father with a managerial position, only 7.8% of youths of foreign origin do so, a figure which falls to as little as 1.9% for the victims of discrimination. Among those declaring discrimination, 10% have an unemployed father and 57.7% have mothers who are homemakers (not working outside the home). In contrast, only 2.1% of French-origin young people have an unemployed father and only 9.1% have mothers with no outside work. Young people of foreign origin not experiencing discrimination are in an intermediate position.

Similarly, causes for breaking off education are also strongly linked to declaring discrimination. "Positive" reasons for ceasing education exist less among the victims of discrimination: 27.4% of French-origin youths end their studies to take up employment, while 49% do so because they have obtained the "desired level" of education. The figures are respectively 24.8% and 36.2% among young people of foreign origin, and fall to 20.8% and 22% for persons declaring having suffered discrimination. Also, more victims of discrimination quit studying as they are refused access to higher classes and for financial reasons (a factor which also holds true for foreign origin students who have not experienced discrimination).

Table 2: Characteristics of the three populations (percent)

	Young persons of French origin	Young persons of foreign origin not declaring discrimination	Young persons of foreign origin declaring discrimination
N (weighted population)	620,450	85,764	22,349
Parents' occupation in 1998			
Father: senior executive, engineer, teacher	16%	7.8%	1.9%
Father unemployed	2.1%	5.2%	10%
Mother (occupation in 1998): homemaker	9.1%	31.1%	57.7%
Reason for dropping-out of education			
Reached the desired level of schooling	49%	36.2%	22%
Found a job	27.4%	24.8%	20.8%
Was refused access to the following class	9.5%	12.7%	16.1%

Financial reasons	20%	21.8%	29%
Failed to obtain diploma			
Failed vocational diploma in high school (CAP and BEP)	6.6%	11.1%	21.5%
Failed high school diploma	3.7%	4.5%	5.6%
Failed 1 or 2 years in higher education	13%	13.6%	16.8%

Source: *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.
Note: 16% of French origin youths with a father in an occupation like senior executive, engineer, teacher. Statistics are calculated with a weight.

3. Methodology
3.1. Typology the Job-Entry Pathways
Constructing a typology of job-entry pathways for young people is the first step in processing the data statistically.

The method used here is consistent with the issues studied, in particular to take into account a possible link between work pathways and the feeling of discrimination. Several types of links have been identified. On the one hand, a young person may have suffered from discrimination, which affects his/her entry into work, either by delaying it or via job insecurity. On the other hand, the young person may feel discrimination, even if he/she manages to get a stable job rapidly. Or even, the young person may have internalised a form of discrimination which he/she seeks to circumvent by proving himself/herself in the labour market. In this case, the young person may rely on temporary employment situations such as temping work. If entry into the job market is delayed, time spans need to be measurable and precise. If quality of employment is involved, then the status of having a permanent contract needs to be considered as a vector for making the pathway more secure. In particular, different situations in temporary jobs, fixed term contracts, temping and subsidised contracts, all reflect different pathway dynamics or employment management strategies by firms. As an example, a fixed-term contract (FTC, or CDD in French: *contrat à durée déterminée*) is little removed from an open-ended contract (OEC or CDI in French: *contrat à durée indéterminée*) in the three years following education. This integrates the way FTCs can act as a stepping stone to an OEC. Later in life, an FTC is closer to unemployment, thus indicating its evolving status towards job insecurity. Similarly, temporary work and OECs converge when they provide the same medium-term employment perspectives.[3] Unemployment is not an indicator of job insecurity during the first year, but gradually becomes one thereafter. It is thus important that the metric between pathways takes into account the nature of working situations in terms of labour market entry, and that it is also sufficiently detailed to indicate the temporality of insertion.
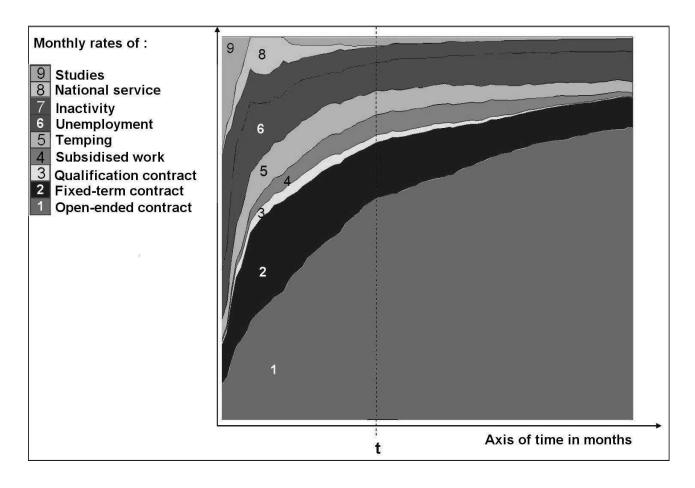
In summary, aiming to analyze the possible link between work pathways and the feeling of discrimination, the method is expected to supply pathways patterns and situate individuals among them. Moreover, while the large variability of pathways dynamics leads to numerous patterns, the result must provide an organization of them in terms of job security (high/low or increasing/decreasing level). To this end, the chosen method (Rousset *et al.*, 2012) is a typology using a metric that gives most weight to the role of contracts in pathways dynamics and a clustering method that organizes patterns providing a graphical display of cluster membership. Moreover, this graphical tool allows interviewees to be positioned within an overall picture of job market entry. Considering the metric, we have compared several ones. In particular, our data was processed using optimal matching (Abbott & Hrycak, 1990) and harmonic analysis.[4] The relevant properties of the chosen metric are its ability to distinguish short and long-term stepping stone such as increasing and decreasing trajectories (in terms of security).

Graph 1: Chronogram of the Cohort of School Leavers in 1998

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[3] A detailed and precise study of the role of states of labour market entry and temporality has been developed by Rousset et al. (2012). This role is integrated into the metric.
[4] The difficulties for optimal matching to take transitions into account have led to debate among sociologists. Information about this debate can be found in Wu (2000) and Halpin (2010).

Monthly rates of :

9 Studies
8 National service
7 Inactivity
6 Unemployment
5 Temping
4 Subsidised work
3 Qualification contract
2 Fixed-term contract
1 Open-ended contract

Axis of time in months

t

Source: Céreq, *Génération 98* Survey, of the complete cohort.

Explanation: the chronogram provides the share of different employment statuses or of non-employment for all data (y-axis: time in months). This representation has the advantage of showing the evolution over time of the relative importance of different statuses. The figure shows the rise in FTCs, a fall followed by a stabilisation of temporary work and unemployment statuses. This representation also smoothes out information hiding the greater variation of pathways at the individual level. It has the advantage of showing that transitions between states exist, as well as the overall link on the cohort, but without identifying them completely (some may be very rare or very common, oneway or twoway, such as FTCs leading to OECs, or OECs leading to FTCs).

Concerning the clustering method, we have chosen, among the family of k-means models, the self-organising maps, which generalise the stochastic algorithm of MacQueen (MacQueen, 1967). This has a twofold interest, both in terms of precision and description. Indeed, this method may allow the number of classes to be increased without a loss of legibility, and therefore help increase precision concerning the timescale of labour market entry. The other notable gain relates to the cartography of labour market entry thus provided, which allows us to locate young people easily in the landscape of job market entry in the qualitative analysis (Graph 2). Kohonen's algorithm of self-organising maps is used here (Kohonen, 1984 ; Villman *& al*., 1997; and in case of applying to time series see Cottrell *& al*., 1998 and Massoni *& al.,* 2009). This makes it possible to process simultaneously proximities between states (FTC and temping, inactivity and unemployment) and over time ("access to an OEC via a 1-year FTC" and "access to an OEC via an 18-month FTC). Thus, the characteristics of classes may be generalised for their home region, as a variation or an evolution to the same event. The map provides a level of clustering for 100 classes and hence makes it possible to interpret results by region.

Box 2: The self-organising map and reading the two-dimensional grid

The clustering method using self-organising maps generalises the method based on mobile centres incorporating a neighbourhood structure between classes. This structure is given by a network structure called a map, which in general is a two-dimensional grid. Its main property, known as topology preservation, is that two individuals associated with neighbouring classes on the map are close together in the data space. In the figure below, the squares neighbouring C4, in a radius of 2, 1 and 0, are variously shaded squares (constituting a large square A2-E6), the only dark grey squares (rectangle B3-D5), and C4 itself. This characteristic allows the map to be a representation system both of the intrinsic structure of the data and of the classes. The map thus becomes a varied representation tool on the basis of the same principle: the units on the map are symbolised by squares which are used as a graphic window to represent the
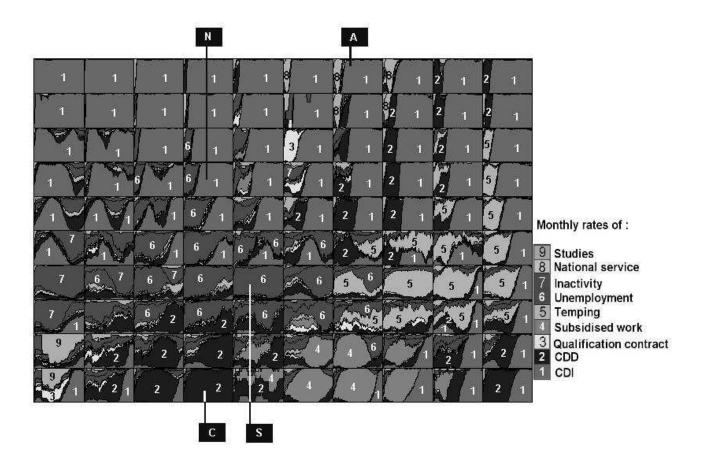
characteristics of the associated classes. It is generally expected that the internal structure of the classes confirms the neighbourhood structure of the map. The repetition stemming from the fact that neighbouring classes by endogenous data are often close in terms of exogenous data is dealt with by the structure of the map.

A self-organising map: the example of a two-dimensional grid

Interpreting the self-organising map (two-dimensional grid): the grey squares neighbouring the C4 square with a radius of 0, 1 and 2 are of varying intensities of grey.

Graph 2: Typology of 100 classes of career paths based on a self-organisating map: an overall picture of job market entry

Monthly rates of :

9	Studies
8	National service
7	Inactivity
6	Unemployment
5	Temping
4	Subsidised work
3	Qualification contract
2	CDD
1	CDI

Source: *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.
Note: Reading the map is based on geographical position, depending on the cardinal points: north, south, east and west. In our application, we identify: areas of direct access to OEC in the northwest, OEC via a long term FTC in the northeast, a non-

employment area in the centre and southern areas of precarious work. We see the position on the map for four specific individuals N, A, C, and S whose trajectories have been analyzed especially using qualitative interviews.

Graph 3: The distribution of the 8 macro-classes on the map

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3
4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
5	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
6	4	4	7	7	5	5	5	5	5	3
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	5	5	3	3
8	7	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	3
9	8	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	2	2
10	8	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	2

Source: Céreq, *Génération 98* Survey, for the complete cohort.
Note: this map is constructed with reference to Graph 2 and indicates the grouping of 100 classes of the map, into 8 regions. The 100 classes are grouped into 8 macro-classes which are identified by a shade of grey and their number. Class 1 (North-West): rapid access to an OEC. Class 2 (North-East): an OEC via a long term FTC. Class 3 (East), an OEC via a long period of temping. Class 4 (West), loss of an OEC. Class 5 (South), precarious work. Class 6 (South East), time spent in subsidised work. Class 7 (centre), a situation of non-employment. Class 8 (South-West), return to training/study.

The map shows up various zones. The centre relates to non-employment paths. The pathways which may be assimilated to different forms of instability are found in the first radius around the centre. Paths maintaining precarious employment (temporary and subsidized jobs) are in the South. Paths following from the loss of an open-ended contract (OEC) are in the North West of the map, with the remainder of the belt being made up of late access to an OEC via temporary jobs (fixed-term contract or temping). The last part of the map concerns the North, and the West, which concern immediate access pathways to an OEC. Rapid access to an OEC is also shown in the East, via military service, training/qualification contracts and temporary employment. We decided to group together 100 micro-classes into 8 macro-classes, including 7 major classes and one very marginal one (Class 8), as shown in the map (see Graph 3). Thus, once an individual is characterized at the macro-level as "Access to an OEC after a fairly long term FTC", the 100-classes level gives the duration of the FTC experience.

3.2. An econometric analysis

This is the second stage of our quantitative work. The use of econometric modelling makes it possible to identify the link between the feeling of discrimination and being part of a particular type of pathway. The aim is to appreciate its significance with regard to the person's career/work pathway in the first seven years of working life. Accordingly, we postulate that the fact of having experienced discrimination due to foreign origin leads to a positive or negative link to the three groups of pathways considered here. It is now clearly established in the literature that discrimination has a negative correlation on stable work (Boumahdi & Giret, 2005), and that individuals born to immigrant parents are at a distance removed from the sphere of stable work at the beginning of their working lives. Our data show that young people of foreign origin spend more time accessing a stable job than do young people of French origin: 45 months and 28 months, respectively (see Annex III, Table G). Various econometric analyses have been conducted using the macro-classes. The aim is to identify better the link of the feeling of discrimination on job-market entry which has been shown up (see Annex I, Tables A, B, and C).

To understand the correlation on a career path when someone declares having suffered discriminated due to origin,[5] we developed three econometric models to estimate probabilities.[6] Three interesting variables are

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[5] The econometric models only concern the population of young people of foreign origin, as we assume that young people of French origin cannot experience discrimination due to their ethnic origins. Interpreting the occurrence of such

explained by individual characteristics: i) the probability of following a pathway to obtaining an open-ended contract (OEC – see macro-classes 1, 2, and 3); ii) the probability of taking the pathway to precarious employment (see macro-class 5), and iii) the probability of being on a pathway to no employment (see macro-class 7). The explanatory variables used provide information about individual's schooling (type of diploma/degree, training specialty, reason for stopping to study) on his/her geographic location at the end of their education and on their social origin, via the socio-professional position of the father. Our main explanatory variable is "to have declared discrimination".

Overall, the results show that having reported being a victim of discrimination leads to a significant negative link on the probability of being mainly in stable employment during the first seven years of working life. In contrast, a weakly positive correlation was found for the probability of having experienced a situation of long-term unemployment or inactivity during the same period. This characteristic is neutral for pathways in temporary employment. The results of these three major types of pathways are set out in detail in Part 3.

Box 3 : An extension of the econometric analysis: bi-probit models

We have extended our A, B and C probit models as it may be assumed that the results of these models suffer from a bias, especially due to the "having suffered discrimination" variable (see Annex II, Tables D, E and F). This variable may mask an endogenous variable in explaining the variable of interest here. Indeed, we should consider that individuals having given such information are susceptible to having unobserved individual characteristics that affect both variables together. It is not unreasonable to think that such individual characteristics may affect persons' sensitivity to possible discrimination (and to reporting it). At the same time, they may affect persons' behaviour in the labour market, as well as their career paths. We model both variables simultaneously using a recursive bivariate probit model. To capture the endogeneity of "having declared discrimination", we draw on the individual's place of residence at the end of schooling, i.e. whether they live in a "sensitive urban area" (*zone urbaine sensible*) or not.[7] This is the only instrument we can use with this data. In practice, it is quite difficult to find the right "instruments" to correct for this bias.

The econometric model estimated for each variable of interest is therefore a qualitative, dependent variable with two equations. The error terms of both equations are assumed to follow a bivariate normal distribution (bivariate probit model). The first equation explains the probability of reporting a feeling of discrimination during the person's career. The second equation estimates the probability of having experienced a particular type of career, for example an employment path which is essentially characterised by open-ended employment contracts (OECs, see Annex II, table D). The particularity of the model is to include the dependent variable of the first equation in the second equation, making this a recursive model.

This model is applied to the three main types of job entry pathways. The results are reported in the annexes. It shows that as far as the probability of the OEC pathway is concerned, it is relevant to take endogeneity into account (see Table D, Annex II), according to the significance test of the correlation coefficient between the two equations (this is equivalent to calculating a test on the difference of likelihoods of the models). This is not the case for the two other models.

Furthermore, "having suffered discrimination" is a characteristic whose influence is negative, on the probability of experiencing a pathway to a stable job (OEC). In contrast, its correlation is not significant on the probability of being in a pathway to temporary employment (see Table E, Annex II), as well as the probability of being on a pathway to unemployment or inactivity (see Table F, Annex II).

3.3. A qualitative perspective

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phenomena for these persons is delicate. In contrast, the question may be raised for young people originating from France's overseas *départements* and territories, though it is meaningless, as it is impossible to identify the colour of these individuals in the data used.

[6] Dichotomy models are used rather than polytomous logit models, as we cannot explicitly assert that individuals see themselves as facing choices of paths clearly defined *a priori* at the beginning of their working lives. Furthermore, we do not have information about the characteristics of possible choices (about diverse paths) to use a conditional logit model. For a presentation of this method see Afsa (2003).

[7] This information plays an instrument role which is meant to be linked to the feeling of discrimination, but *a priori* has no link with a particular pathway. In other research, the authors used the density of persons of foreign origin within the geographical area of the individual (Fougère & Safi, 2008). This instrument is not available in our survey, we cannot thus use it.

The aim of providing a qualitative perspective is to situate an event – the feeling of discrimination – in its contexts as well as in individuals' personal history. Such a perspective may help understand better the actual experience of discrimination and its negative consequences (the delay in getting a stable job, the lower quality of work, and the accumulation of disadvantages in particular), but also certain strategies put forward by young people (the various uses of temporary work, the choice of sectors and professions, etc.). Using a sample drawn from the *Génération 98* Survey, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 65 young people of North African origin, in order to collect qualitative data about their educational experience, career guidance, job-market entry, family context, etc. To be sure, these interviews also asked about the "feeling of having been discriminated against": On what occasions did it occur? How did the individual react? The persons were interviewed face-to-face in 2008, i.e. ten years after having left the educational system. The persons selected for interview were all part of the *Génération 98* Survey conducted by the Céreq, in which they declared having experienced discrimination. Each interview threw light on an entry pathway into a job and, thanks to identifiers attributed to them in the Céreq study, we were able to situate them on the chronogram map (see Graph 2), among the eight classes (Box 5). The pathway of an individual can therefore be situated within an overall pathway.

We were able to analyse the interviews by drawing on the following framework:
-   the individual's school to work pathway;
-   the presence (or not) of factors which reduce the possibility of mobility is chosen by individuals (school streaming, job-to-job mobility, compensation pathway, etc.);
-   the accumulation (or not) of disadvantages and disadvantaged social positions (family background: single-parent families or not, number of children, parents' income, parents' education, social origin, place of residence, etc.);
-   The identification of when discrimination was felt: during initial education, in "pre-employment" situations such as apprenticeships, sandwich training courses or internships, discrimination experienced in work (with respect to colleagues, etc.) or discrimination experienced in families and in social life.
-   The reactions to discrimination felt. The range of possible responses is very large: withdrawal, internalisation, defence strategies, opting for temporary work to circumvent selection at recruitment and so achieve job entry, confrontation strategies, rebound attitudes, and the assumption of education or training, for example.

Overall, these people say that they have been discriminated against in employment or in access to employment. Nevertheless, many biases exist in this declaration: in terms of the difference between employment and access to employment; or persons who have not themselves experienced discrimination but who speak out for their relatives or who reiterate the general discourse surrounding them; in terms of persons who suffered discrimination in the educational system or in their school streaming, etc. Another strong limit of the survey is that young people failing the most in the labour market are under-represented among interviewees.

Individuals declaring themselves to be "victims of discrimination" feel a state of racial inequality, which may indeed be clearly discriminatory though not systematic, as racism is not always accompanied by discrimination. When asked about it, they often want to report this injustice.

Box 4 : Levels of diploma in France

- No qualification - Vocational diploma in high school: "CAP and BEP" - High school diploma: "Baccalauréat" - Undergraduate vocational diploma (2 years in higher education): "BTS" - 2 years in higher education and more: University degree

4. Young People of Foreign Origin Facing Discrimination: a Complex Segmentation of Job-Entry Pathways

4.1. The specificities of the 8 classes
Job-market entry by young people from the generation which left the school system in 1998 is analysed after a period of seven years. This interval makes it possible to differentiate the paths between foreign-origin

persons declaring they have suffered discrimination and the two other populations, in particular in terms of the less access to stable employment and higher levels of precarious work (Table 3).
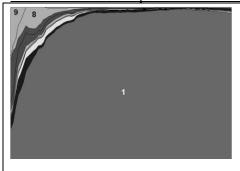
Table 3: Distribution of the three populations into 8 macro-classes (percent)

	1 Rapid access to a OEC	2 An OEC via a long term FTC	3 An OEC via a long period of temping	4 Loss of an OEC	5 Precarious work	6 Time spent in subsidised work	7 A situation of non-employment	8 Return to training/study	Total % (N)
Young person of French origin	35.9	23.3	7.5	5.3	12.5	5.3	7.8	2.4	100 (620 450)
Young person of foreign origin	25.7	17.1	9.4	6.3	15.4	5.5	17.1	3.7	100 (85 764)
Young person of foreign origin declaring discrimination	17.9	13.2	10	6.7	20.9	5.9	21	4.4	100 (22 349)
Population size	250 297	163 147	56 950	39 884	93 990	38 644	67 018	18 633	(728 536)

Source: *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.
Note: 35.9 % of young people of French origin have acceded rapidly to an OEC (an open-ended contract), Statistics are calculated with a weight.

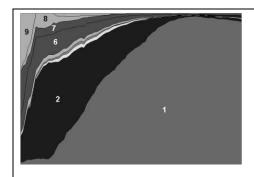Box 5 : A short description of the 8 classes

Class 1: rapid access to a OEC

Access to an open-ended contract (OEC) in less than a year, over-representation of men and graduates, strong inequalities among young persons who declare discrimination and others in terms of subjective loss of social position, less access to managerial jobs and more part-time employment.
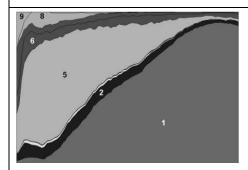
The individual "A" is in this group.
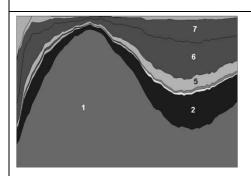
Class 2: a OEC via a long term FTC

Access to an OEC after a fairly long term FTC (fixed-term contract), over-representation of women and persons with 2 years higher education. Young persons declaring discrimination also declare suffering loss of social position in terms of wages, use of skills and access to managerial jobs.

The individual "N" is in this group.

Class 3: a OEC via a long period of temping

Access to an OEC after a fairly long period of temping, under-representation of women and over-representation of blue-collar workers. Young persons of foreign origin feeling discrimination do not associate their situation with a loss in social position.

Class 4: loss of OEC

Job-market entry characterised by one or two terminations of an OEC during the seven years following the completion of study. The situation of young people of foreign origin declaring discrimination is less favourable. For some, the termination of an OEC may be part of a career strategy.

Class 5: precarious or insecure work

Working life characterised by precariousness or insecurity of employment status (FTC or temping), a slight over-representation of women and vocational qualifications usually taken before the end of high school (BEP-CAP certificates), along with a high level of unemployment. The type of precariousness varies according to declared discrimination: young people not declaring discrimination are more affected by FTCs and those of foreign origin declaring discrimination by temping.

The individual "C" is in this group.

Class 6: time spent in subsidised work

Pathway involves subsidised employment (though not sandwich training), over-representation of women, over-representation of failure by qualified employees, strong heterogeneity among young people of foreign origin declaring themselves as victims of discrimination.

	Class 7: a situation of non-employment
	Path characterised by long periods of unemployment and inactivity, over-representation of young people of foreign origin, with an important correlation with father's socio-professional category, but refusal of victimisation in their discourse.
	The individual "S" is in this group.
	Class 8: return to training/study
	Job-market entry marked by a return to education: specifically young people of foreign origin declaring discrimination break off higher education without obtaining a diploma (or degree) or having fallen behind in their studies. A return to education is a way of catching up (with job satisfaction, the wish of having a career, etc.).

Source: *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.

Based on these 8 classes, our analysis centres on three major forms of job-market entry pathways. First, a path that gives direct access to a stable job with an open-ended contract (Classes 1, 2, and 3). Second, a path characterised by job-market entry only via precarious contracts, FTCs or temping (Class 5). Lastly, a pathway not leading to job-market entry, i.e. strongly characterised by unemployment and inactivity (Class 7).

4.2. Job-entry pathways leading to stable employment (Classes 1, 2 and 3)
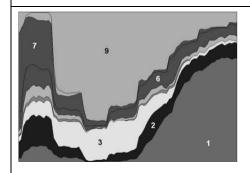Individuals acceding to stable employment (with open-ended contracts) are grouped together here. They either rapidly accede to such jobs, i.e. in less than a year (53.2% of all cases) or possibly after a long pathway (up to 6 years), including a succession of temporary contracts. French origin and foreign origin young people not declaring discrimination face a median time span of 21 months to obtain an OEC, which rises to 25 months for young people of foreign origin declaring discrimination. Despite this heterogeneity in paths, all converge on a stabilised employment situation after seven years.
In this job-entry pathway, 12% of individuals were of foreign origin. They are therefore less represented in the whole sample (14.8%). Among young people from foreign families, 16.3% declared having suffered discrimination, which is less than in the overall sample (20.3%). This job-entry pathway has a higher share of men (56.1%) and includes a number of persons with 2-year undergraduate degrees or 5-year graduate qualifications.
If the variables of sex and diploma obviously have a link on the probability of following a job-entry pathway leading to stable employment, the fact of declaring having suffered discrimination is significant, *ceteris paribus*.
Low skilled young people are likely to experience a poorer work pathway than other young people, and young graduates do indeed have a higher probability of following such a pathway. The specialisation of training also seems to be a distinctive characteristic: young people with a more general education have less chance of moving into a stable job, so that the marginal effect of this characteristic is negative. A gender link can also be observed: men have a higher probability of getting a stable job than women, and the marginal effect is therefore 13 points.
In contrast, the social characteristics of young people such as the father's profession and the mother's workforce participation have no link : the father's profession and the mother's workforce participation are variables which are not significant. Lastly, young people who decide to quit studying because they have found a job have a higher probability of being on this employment path. "Having declared discrimination" is linked negatively on the probability of being on a pathway to stable employment, *ceteris paribus*, the marginal effect of this variable reduces the probability by 12 points.

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This econometric result is corrected for other influential variables such as being behind in their schooling. Overall, job-entry pathways in this case may often be considered as being of good quality. Nevertheless, strong inequalities do manifest themselves between young people facing discrimination and others: a subjective decline in socio-professional status, less possibilities of acceding to managerial positions and more part-time work. These situations appear to be particularly unequal. Indeed, there are far fewer higher education graduates among young people of foreign origin declaring discrimination than within the whole population. For the discriminated, expectations relating to the returns on degrees and their ability to ensure a good social position are certainly very high. Yet, it is likely that a share of graduates experiencing discrimination may have open-ended contracts, though these are weakened due to poor quality or low wages. In fact, young people suffering discrimination are more likely than others to declare that their priorities lie "outside work", thus reflecting perhaps employment situations with no prospects of mobility or making a career.

For 12% of young people on a job-entry pathway, temping seems to provide access to an open-ended contract, bypassing the classical methods of selection. This raises the possibility of pursuing a different type of career, via the acquisition of experience, which also leads to a higher salary. In this class, a bypassing strategy via temping may be crossed with a wage strategy: young people declaring discrimination have a higher median salary than others. The different modes for accessing stable employment do not operate on the same labour market segments and do not concern the same profiles. Certain temping jobs or certain subsidised jobs can act as a stepping stone to an OEC, for young people of foreign origin (see Graph 2 and 3).

The Case of A (Class 1): resorting to a strategy of professional mobility to deal with perceived discrimination

A is of North African origin, and has held OEC jobs in the construction industry since obtaining his undergraduate vocational diploma in 1998. The link of the discrimination he has felt has acted in the long term. He thus explains the problems he had at school and the way he was forced into taking a vocational qualification (BEP), at about 15 years old. He managed however to enter a technology high school diploma programme, but still holds the feeling that his strong potential in maths was wasted and that his ambitions were thwarted by the system. He wanted to be an engineer, yet only became a technician.

He felt discrimination directly in his previous employment: he did not get the job he had been promised and he was a victim of unequal pay compared to colleagues holding the same job with the same qualifications but who were of French origin. As in his previous job, A is still waiting to be promoted to a managerial position. Faced with such discrimination, A has been resigned but has also tried to bounce back. He lives his North African origin as a handicap that has to be compensated for by being beyond reproach: he says it means "turning a fault into a quality", an expression which actually bears witness to a long process of making discrimination endogenous.

A's job mobility could, *a priori*, fit in with the logic of a professional market: he has a recognised qualification and transferable skills. If he resigns, it is to find a better job in the same sector. However, the discrimination he has experienced blurs this interpretation, as his resignations have been "driven by company hierarchies" and his job mobility has not given him access to better status as a manager. His mobility has been imposed on him as much as he has chosen it.

The Case of N (Class 2): rapid entry into an open-ended contract but strong career inequalities

A little more than a year after qualifying with an undergraduate vocational diploma (BTS) as a management assistant, and after difficult job search, N was recruited as a secretary in the company she presently works for. Today, she is responsible for organising IT training and development, on top of her secretarial activities. Her functions have much evolved, but her job status is unchanged, so that her status and salary relating to her new functions are undervalued.

Moreover, her sense of inequality goes back to school. She had to struggle to re-sit a year and hence continue to complete her high school diploma, rather than being streamed towards vocational training (BEP). Getting into a undergraduate vocational diploma programme indicates she made the right decision, which was helped by strong investment by her parents in her studies, despite the financial difficulties and the obligation to pursue her studies locally, etc. She is very interested in further training, has had a skills assessment, but is held back internally within her company.

N's situation combines discrimination in the undervaluation of work done by women with discrimination due to her origins. In fact, she mainly points out the problem of gender discrimination. But she also voices a

feeling of discrimination due to her origins, if understating it somewhat. Yet, regarding racial discrimination she states, "No... No, I don't think so. At least not in my work, not because I'm called N, even though I know that my first boss was slightly racist and used to proclaim, 'well, we do have an N working for us...'."[8] She minimises discrimination, though she also faces it in access to housing.

The issue here is thus not access to a job, but the quality of an open-ended contract in terms of career development, correct pay, access to promotion and training, etc.

4.3. Job-entry pathways characterised by precarious work (class 5)

This group includes persons whose job-entry paths have been much marked by precarious or insecure work: repeated fixed-term contracts (FTCs), temping and unemployment that have not led to an open-ended contract seven years after the end of education. 12.5% of French-origin young people are in this situation, as are 15.4% of foreign-origin youths. Among the latter, 28.1% declare having experienced discrimination, which is a far higher rate than 20.7% for the whole of the population. Furthermore, 20.9% of the victims of discrimination are in this situation, compared to only 12.6% for persons not experiencing discrimination.

This group is slightly more feminised than the average, and vocational qualifications usually taken before the end of high school (CAP-BEP) are more strongly represented. And "other things being equal", only individuals with five years of higher education have less likelihood of being on this pathway, compared to young people only holding the *baccalauréat* (France's high-school diploma).

The status of their first job held is very different, depending on the declaration of discrimination: temping work concerns 50.8% of the young persons declaring discrimination, as opposed to only 26.3% of those not declaring discrimination, while 53.3% are employed with an FTC, compared to 19.9% of young persons declaring discrimination. In 2005, the rate of unemployment among young people of foreign origin experiencing discrimination was especially high in this group (46.4% as opposed to 28.2% for young people of foreign origin and 20.2% of persons of French origin).

When young people in this class were in employment in 2005, their median wage was generally lower than those of other classes. "Blue-collar workers" are the most frequently represented socio-professional category here, especially among victims of discrimination (66% as opposed to 36.9% in the overall sample, 32.2% of French-origin youths, compared to 23.4% overall). Non-marketable services are more marked by this type of precarious work than other sectors. Furthermore, young people of foreign origin declaring discrimination find themselves more in this job-entry pathway than do others in industry, the auto sector or construction.

"Having declared discrimination" raises strongly the risk of being on a pathway of job insecurity. Young people who declaring having experienced inequality have a 53 point higher probability of being on this pathway.

All individuals in this group state that they are holding a poor job and are looking for something else. Nevertheless, victims of discrimination often feel less that they hold jobs inferior to their skills levels. The search for stability is a priority for these persons, especially for the victims of discrimination. The latter are less satisfied with their situation than the sample as a whole and more worried about their professional outlook. In contrast to temporary work that leads to an open-ended contract, this type of precariousness is imposed, and generates strong dissatisfaction and the search for stability.

<u>The case of C (Class 5): in the face of discrimination, holding down a job with an unstable status and avoiding confrontation</u>

At the time of the survey, C had finished his contract with the army (an 8-year FTC) and was preparing to change careers, with a project for creating a business as a manager of a mobile telephone company in a difficult Parisian suburb. In the army he had not been assigned work in his specialty in supplies but worked instead in computing. He was nevertheless obliged to pass exams in supplies and failed. He would like to have stayed in the army, and so his career switch to being self-employed was forced on him.

His professional life manifests both the difficulties faced by young people of working class and North African origin. The son of a construction worker, his schooling was streamed towards technical training at the age of 12: he took a "pre-apprenticeship" and then an apprentice qualification in mechanics. He does not declare himself as coming from a "difficult neighbourhood", as his family had moved from social housing into a residential area, as home-owners.

C's experience illuminates the process of endogenisation of discrimination, knowing that he had been particularly affected by acts of racism and discrimination. He remembers precisely the most striking

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[8] First name and family name of North African connotation.

experience he had when he was training as a car mechanic: "at the age of 19, I resigned from the company because of racism. I was always sweeping up the shop after three years, clearing up the rubbish, and I had to find spare parts lost in waste skips. Above all, in fact, they didn't even use my name. They called me "Mouloud", even though it is actually "C". It wasn't really that serious, I guess. But the day we received our overalls, mine was marked by "Mouloud", and on my locker too I had that name. It didn't bother me that much, I was getting paid at the end of every month, so… But it got worse… and I finally preferred to resign…"

His work experience was clearly characterised by racism which was humiliating. Subsequently in the army, he had the feeling of wasting his time, and did not acquire pension rights (he describes the army as a "monstrous scam"). His feeling of have been employed at below his level of skills is clearly separated from discrimination he encountered. He refused to join the gendarmerie (a police force in France managed by the army) because he "is Arab" and feared having possible problems in his private life, even though he considers the "gendarmes to be very good military personnel". He has also been frequently subject to discrimination in his daily life (with the police using the familiar "tu" and not the formal "vous" in talking to him, and having his ID checked all the time, etc.).

His attitude is one of resignation, leading him to accept the racist discourse and the arbitrary abuse of authority by the police: "you've just got to accept it", "I've never, never, never reacted to those things. People tell me 'it's not good', and I say 'Yes, it's not good'. But that's it. My father taught me to be like that."

At the same time, C rejects the victimisation which sees discrimination as an alibi for Arab-French and Afro-French who do not get hired, "especially for young people in poor housing estates who do nothing, who don't integrate and don't leave their neighbourhoods". His overall work experience seems to be dominated by a feeling of impotence in the face of discrimination.

4.4. Non-integration pathways: long term situations dominated by unemployment and inactivity (Class 7)

This class draws together job-entry pathways which are strongly marked by non-employment, i.e. unemployment or inactivity. It is the 7th class in the typology. After seven years, young people in this group may be in employment, but the median time spent accessing an open-ended contract is very long. Not surprisingly, the rate of unemployment of young people of foreign origin declaring discrimination stood at 66.2% in 2005, compared to 51.7% of young people of foreign origin and 42.3% of those of French origin. Overall, 17.1% of youths of foreign origin were not able to enter employment, and hence find themselves in this class, as compared to 7.8% of youths of French origin.

The feeling of discrimination is strongest in this class, being declared by 25.4% of persons. More than a quarter (27.6%) of young people in this situation of non-employment are of foreign origin. Furthermore, 21% of all persons declaring discrimination are in this class, as opposed to the 8.8% of non-victims of discrimination. Individuals with few skills and women are over-represented in this class, which is made up to 65.4% of women. "Other things being equal", young men have a lower probability than young women of being in a non-employment situation. The effect "having declared discrimination" as the principle characteristic only has low significance in this model (only at the 7% threshold).

When in work (in 2005), individuals in this class often hold part-time positions. These jobs belong more to classes of blue-collar workers or employees. The industries or sectors involved have no specific correlation. Individuals in this class, whatever their origin and feeling of discrimination, declare being undervalued in terms of skills levels and poor employment. They are indeed often looking for other work. Logically, they are deeply dissatisfied and worried about their professional futures.

This situation is often highlighted in order to present the difficulties which young persons of foreign origin face in terms of discrimination (low skills levels, repeated or long-term unemployment, inactivity, etc.). "Other things being equal", unskilled persons or people without diploma have a significantly higher probability of being in non-employment. In contrast, individuals with post-graduate degrees (five years higher education) are less likely of finding themselves on this pathway than are individuals with only a *baccalauréat* (-11 points).

This accumulation of difficulties, however, is not the situation of the majority, as 83% of persons of foreign origin are not in this class (even though they are over-represented in it). Also, though the declaration of discrimination is certainly greater than the average (25.4%), it remains low, given that these persons suffer very high levels of unemployment. These statistical data suggest that young people may be adopting a strategy of "refusing victimisation": discrimination is not mentioned as an explanation of their poor situation

in the labour market. The interviews suggest that the link between these persons' social position and the socio-professional category of their father and mother is more determinant.

<u>The case of S: an accumulation of difficulties and a refusal of victimisation</u>

> S is a young woman of North African origin. She has low skills (a BEP as a secretary) and was unemployed at the time of the survey. Job-entry problems led her to being out of work: her first job as a cashier was followed by a succession of precarious jobs, then by a position as an administrative employee in transport, with an OEC. But she lost her job because of illness. When her unemployment benefit ran out, she went on to social assistance. She suffers all the problems preventing job-entry: she is recognised as a "disabled employee" due to her health problems, but does not inform employers of this. She cannot find training suited to her and has no family nor social networks. She feels that "at 32, I have never had a steady job, despite myself… I'm a bit dependent on my parents, who provide me with food and housing…"
>
> She has felt two types of discrimination, one concerning illness, which she prefers to hide, and the other concerning her North African origin. She recalls an interview with an employee from the public employment agency (ANPE in France): "When I asked [the ANPE employee] for more detailed information, I was asked whether I understood French… For a fraction of a second I asked myself, 'What do I do? Shall I assault him?' Finally I took a deep breath and told him I had been to school and spoke French very well… it was infuriating." These words clearly put S off from accepting other offers of training. She rejects all victimisation due to her origins: "I don't hide behind racial discrimination", yet she strongly feels injustice. Faced with the problems of finding a job, her attitude oscillates between passivity, withdrawal and job search.

5. Conclusion

The typology, the econometric estimates and the interview survey demonstrate the complex correlation of declaring having experienced discrimination on job-entry pathways, seven years after leaving the education system. The paper provides a result about the correlation between career paths and the feeling of discrimination: in fact, we find very low correlation. Certain conclusions may be drawn, though our analyses do have several limits (relating to econometric techniques, available data in the survey, a qualitative approach providing simpler insights, etc.). We have shown that young people who declare "having experienced discrimination" take longer to obtain a stable job. Career prospects may also be less promising than for the "no discrimination" group. Young people who declare having experienced discrimination are over-represented in the pathway marked by job insecurity, with shorter-term contracts being less likely to act as a stepping stone to a stable job. Lastly, among young people in non-employment, persons declaring having experienced discrimination are also over-represented, and we have indeed confirmed that their pathways are often blocked by an accumulation of disadvantages.

Pathways appear to be segmented at two levels: inter-class and intra-class. On the one hand, at the inter-class level, the most successful job-entry pathways benefit young persons having experienced discrimination proportionately less. Other things being equal, the feeling of being discriminated against reduces the probability of following these pathways. At the other extreme, these young people are over-represented in pathways most characterised by unemployment, temping and precarious work. Young people of foreign origin facing precarious work or non-employment declare discrimination more frequently. Nevertheless, this level of discrimination is much less pronounced than could have been expected. Given particularly harsh conditions in the labour market, we have been surprised by this result, as we were expecting the descriptive statistics to reveal a very strong declaration of discrimination, or at least far stronger than those found for "good" job-entry pathways, which is not the case. The econometric analyses confirm this surprise: "declaring having been a victim of discrimination" is not significant in entering a pathway characterised by unemployment and inactivity.[9] This signifies that there is no direct association between job-entry and the fact of being discriminated against: there is no "automatic declaration of discrimination" by young who are disadvantaged in the labour market. The interviews reinforce and refine this result, by stressing the interviewees' refusal to support a discourse of discriminisation victimisation.

On the other hand, this segmentation of job-entry pathways is finer than is usually presented. Strong inequalities exist at the intra-class level, especially among persons who have succeeded in obtaining stable

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[9] The econometric results of the bi-probit model thus indicate that control variables such as residence in metropolitan Paris, living in a sensitive urban zone or being behind in schooling cover all information and make the specific declaration of discrimination non-significant.

employment. Within the same classes which provide the best access to a stable job, persons declaring discrimination often hold part time positions and access jobs as managers less frequently. The interviews reveal the complexity of forms of discrimination within pathways: accessing jobs which are indeed with open-ended contracts are of poorer quality in terms of wages and working time, or hold out less possibilities for career and salary advancement within companies. Access to internal or professional labour markets is thus particularly limited for young people of foreign origin having experienced discrimination. It is possible to identify "resistance" strategies based on returning to education or temping work within persons' autobiographical accounts.

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Annex I

Table A: probability of belonging to employment classes characterised by open-ended contracts (classes 1, 2 and 3)

Variables	Parameter	P > |z|	Marginal effects
Probability of following a pathway to obtaining an open-ended contract			
Men	.3430123***	0.000	.1358621
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
No qualification	-.4881812***	0.000	-.1920562
No graduated	-.2680981***	0.003	-.1066338
Cap – Bep (Vocational high school degree)	-.075856	0.55	-.302085
High school diploma (A-level)	*ref.*	*ref.*	
One year higher education	-.1941404	0.151	.0764853
Two years higher education	.5123869***	0.000	.1947091
Four years higher education	.3146761*	0.064	.122173
Five years higher education	1.298515***	0.000	.4013414
Tertiary field	-.0800674	0.365	-.0318477
General field	-.297203***	0.008	-.1181319
Industrial field	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Studied in an urban area	-.0532371	0.608	-.0211304
Studied in Ile-de-France region	.2648418***	0.001	.1044982
Delay during primary school	.0264874	0.719	.0105313
Stop studies for financial reasons	-.0785086	0.315	-.0312596
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	.0188237	0.856	.0074818
Stop studies for achieving the desired level of education	.1183673	0.142	.0469642
Stop studies for finding an employment	.5339962***	0.000	.2057033
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	-.0275577	0.882	-.0109689
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	.1028042	0.549	.0406713
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	.1318017	0.153	.0522546
Father's occupation : white collar	.1081854	0.346	.0428576
Father's occupation : not declared	-.0862331	0.584	-.034363
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	.2362079	0.109	.0924687
Housewife who have never worked	-.0713007	0.324	-.0283702
Father work in the public sector	-.0300324	0.779	-.0119521
Felt discrimination	-.3115958***	0.001	-.1237984
Integer	-.2159482	0.215	
Likelihood value (Log L)	-1414.6618		
Pseudo R2 (Mac Fadden)	0.1265		
Observed probability			.5215192
Predicted probability			.53155124
N = 2 021			

Note: Probit model is used. The reference modality is recorded on the right in italics. The values are for the estimation coefficients of Probit models. The probability of belonging to employment classes characterised by open-ended contracts is 53.15% for an individual having all the characteristics put in reference. Being a man has a positive marginal effect on this probability, relative to a women : + 13.5 points. Stars reflect significance of parameters at 1% (***), 5% (**), 10% (*). Statistics are calculated with a weight. Field: individuals of foreign origin 2021 persons.

Source: *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.

Table B: probability of taking the pathway to precarious employment (class 5).

Variables	Parameter	P > |z|	Maginal effects
Probability of following a pathway to obtaining an open-ended contract			
Men	-.0812288	0,349	-.0231066
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
No qualification	.1062794	0.490	0.03108
No graduated	.1118953	0.418	0.0326905
Cap – Bep (Vocational high school degree)	.0583745	0.672	0.0168183
High school diploma (A-level)	*ref.*	*ref.*	
One year higher education	-.1071383	0.485	-.0294444
Two years higher education	-.3694428**	0.022	-.0922002
Four years higher education	-.2062196	0.310	-.0541434
Five years higher education	-.791031***	0.002	-.1594186
Tertiary field	.0044135	0.963	0.0012532
General field	.0249515	0.836	0.0071231
Industrial field	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Studied in an urban area	.573029	0.630	0.0159647
Studied in Ile-de-France region	-.1326627	0.142	-.0368925
Delay during primary school	.0597665	0.443	-.0368925
Stop studies for financial reasons	.0586985	0.501	.0168773
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	-.1375809	0.212	-.0374135
Stop studies for achieving the desired level of education	-.0780685	0.351	-.0219206
Stop studies for finding an employment	-.223848***	0.009	-.0604358
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	-.2671271	0.157	-.0684322
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	-.2235442	0.264	-.058022
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	-.1015149	0.289	-.0283372
Father's occupation : white collar	-.1191968	0.306	-.0327388
Father's occupation : not declared	-.2728195	0.141	-.0659151
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	-.2740842*	0.073	-.0699413
Housewife who have never worked	-.0406596	0.600	-.0114902
Father work in the public sector	.0834973	0.429	0.0242327
Felt discrimination	.1819012***	0.041	0.538544
Integer	-.596964***	0.003	
Likelihood value (Log L)	-1173.3742		
Pseudo R2 (Mac Fadden)	0.0403		
Observed probability			.2165882
Predicted probability			.2047008
N = 2 021			

Note: Probit model is used. The reference modality is recorded on the right in italics. The values are for the estimation coefficients of Probit models. The probability of taking the pathway to precarious employment is 20.4% for an individual having all the characteristics put in reference. Being « felt discriminated » has a positive marginal effect on this probability, with respect to individuals who have not declared this feeling (+53 points). Stars reflect significance of parameters at 1% (***), 5% (**), 10% (*).Statistics are calculated with a weight. Field: individuals of foreign origin, 2 021 persons.
Source : *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, author's statistics.

Table C: probability of being on a pathway to no employment (class 7).

Variables	Parameter	P > |z|	Maginal effects
Probability of following a pathway to obtaining an open-ended contract			
Men	-.3992799***	0.000	-.0853807
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
No qualification	1.071155***	0.000	0.3141723
No graduated	.6755349***	0.000	0.1767991
Cap – Bep (Vocational high school degree)	.3847192***	0.020	0.0920605
High school diploma (A-level)	*ref.*	*ref.*	
One year higher education	-.1867577	0.310	-.0363884
Two years higher education	-.1342464	0.523	-.0266072
Four years higher education	-.1310591	0.576	-.0258281
Five years higher education	-.8951188***	0.002	-.1157162
Tertiary field	.0283819	0.798	0.0059861
General field	.1860841	0.169	0.0413871
Industrial field	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Studied in an urban area	.2601689*	0.080	0.0486223
Studied in Ile-de-France region	-.2257725***	0.031	-.0453325
Delay during primary school	-.1039667	0.258	-.0216141
Stop studies for financial reasons	-.1154642	0.263	-.0234586
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	.0601641	0.621	0.0129774
Stop studies for achieving the desired level of education	.1377338	0.180	0.0297485
Stop studies for finding an employment	-.6672636***	0.000	-.1151014
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	.5433903***	0.020	0.1448413
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	-.0523879	0.798	-.010728
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	-.0071483	0.947	-.0015019
Father's occupation : white collar	-.0875033	0.539	-.0178234
Father's occupation : not declared	.4306022***	0.016	0.1104305
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	-.0249752	0.894	-.0051909
Housewife who have never worked	.1558701*	0.088	0.0335863
Father work in the public sector	.0586367	628	0.0126088
Felt discrimination	.1852842*	0.078	0.041411
Integer	-1.359465***	0.000	
Likelihood value (Log L)	-904.7562		
Pseudo R2 (Mac Fadden)	0.1541		
Observed probability			.1707843
Predicted probability			.1290207
N = 2 021			

Note: Probit models is used. The reference modality is recorded on the right in italics. The values are for the estimation coefficients of Probit models. this probability of belonging to precarious employment classes

The probability of being on a pathway to no employment is 12.9% for an individual having all the characteristics put in reference. Completing education in Ile-de-France/metropolitan Paris has a negative marginal effect on this probability with respect to individuals who have completed their studies in another region (- 4 points). Stars reflect significance of parameters at 1% (***), 5% (**), 10% (*).Statistics are calculated with a weight. Field: individuals of foreign origin 2 021 persons.

Source: *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.

Annex II

Table D: probability of belonging to employment classes characterised by open-ended contracts (classes 1, 2 and 3)

Variables	Parameter	P > |z|	Marginal effect Pr(y1 = 1, y2 =1)
Probability of following a pathway to obtaining an open-ended contract [Pr(y1 = 1)]			
Men	.3505038***	0.000	0.0806
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
No qualification	-.49831730***	0.000	-0.0312
No graduated	-.292715***	0.021	-0.0178
Cap – Bep (Vocational high school degree)	-.0790234**	0.0532	-0.0046
High school diploma (A-level)	*ref.*	*ref.*	
One year higher education	.2293445*	0.0088	0.0126
Two years higher education	.4598039***	0.0002	0.0236
Four years higher education	.3386303***	0.049	0.0178
Five years higher education	1.234956***	0.000	0.0450
Tertiary field	-.0634195	0.467	-0.0036
General field	-.2933579***	0.007	-0.0177
Industrial field	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Studied in an urban area	-.0594107	0.564	-0.0166
Studied in Ile-de-France region	.2245485***	0.007	0.0402
Delay during primary school	.1015739	0.168	0.0317
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	-.0013891	0.989	0.0288
Stop studies for financial reasons	-.0523915	0.502	-0.0037
Stop studies for achievingthedesiredlevel ofeducation	.1168662	0.141	0.0006
Stop studies for finding a employment	.5072449***	0.000	0.0269
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	.0198712	0.916	-0.0486
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	- .0170724	0.919	-0.0530
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	.1171894	0.209	0.0179
Father's occupation : white collar	.1546603	0.178	0.0430
Father's occupation : not declared	-.1397911	0.374	-0.0117
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	.308282***	0.039	0.0700
Housewife who have never worked	.021324	0.785	0.0213
Father work in the public sector	-.0029762	0.978	-0.0083
Felt discrimination	-.7992649***	0.000	-0.0503

Integer	-.15000179	0.374	
Probability of feeling discrimination[Pr(y2 = 1)]			
Men	.3786026***	0.000	
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
School leaver from higher education	-.2299192***	0.0040	-0.0353
School leaver from high school	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Graduated at the end of studies	.0355167	0.691	0.0057
Delay during primary school	.1554739*	0.059	
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	.1702733	0.158	
Studied in an urban area	-.07783	0.536	
Studied in Ile-de-France region	.1584853*	0.099	
Youth with a foreign origin (Maghreb)	.9877136***	0.000	0.1801
Lived in a « sensitive urban area »	.3010525***	0.002	0.0520
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	-.348104	0.124	
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	-.3780159	0.111	
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	.0665869	0.528	
Father's occupation : white collar	.1903609	0.142	
Father's occupation : not declared	-.0228357	0.893	
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	.2637232	0.109	
Housewife who have never worked	.1221262	0.184	
Father work in the public sector	-.0510867	0.680	
Integer	-1.615604***	0.000	
Fisher's Z transformed correlation	.3050847***	0.026	
Likelihood value (Log L)	-2391.685		
N = 2 021			

Note: bivariate Probit models are used. The reference modality is recorded on the right in italics. The values are for the estimation coefficients of Probit models. Being a man has a positive correlation on the probability of belonging to employment classes leading to a OEC, relative to women. Being a man increases by 8% the probability of belonging to employment classes leading to a OEC, relative to average probability (marginal effect: 8%). Stars reflect significance of parameters at 1% (***), 5% (**), 10% (*). Statistics are calculated with a weight. Field: individuals of foreign origin 2021 persons.

Source:*Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.

Table E: probability of taking the pathway to precarious employment (class 5).

Variables	Parameter	P > |z|	Marginal effect Pr(y1 = 1, y2 =1)
Probability of taking the pathway to precarious employment [Pr(y1 = 1)]			
Men	-.101962	0.256	0.0113
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
No qualification	.1043573	0.496	0.0040
No graduated	.104216	0.449	0.0040
Cap – Bep (Vocational high school degree)	.062296	0.650	0.0023
High school diploma (A-level)	*ref.*	*ref.*	
One year higher education	-.1072113	0.483	-0.0038
Two years higher education	.3555645***	0.027	-0.0113
Four years higher education	- .1955985	0.334	-0.0066
Five years higher education	.7750315***	0.003	-0.0192
Tertiary field	.00726222	0.938	0.0002
General field	.0242571	0.839	0.0009
Industrial field	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Studied in an urban area	.0484979	0.683	-0.0008
Studied in Ile-de-France region	-.1411096	0.119	0.0013
Delay during primary school	.0474703	0.548	0.0083
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	-.1456456	0.189	0.0012
Stop studies for financial reasons	.0548553	0.529	0.0020
Stop studies for achievingthedesiredlevel ofeducation	-.0749171	0.368	-0.0027
Stop studies for finding a employment	.2189113***	0.011	-0.0076
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	-.2424109	0.203	-0.0163
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	-.1989336	0.323	-0.0157
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	-.1011204	0.292	-0.0010
Father's occupation : white collar	-.1237619	0.287	0.0023
Father's occupation : not declared	-.2706031	0.148	-0.0094
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	-.2943299*	0.056	-0.0015
Housewife who have never worked	-.0785605	0.360	0.0023
Father work in the public sector	.0814006	0.445	0.0008
Felt discriminated	.4279209	0.119	0.01810
Integer	- .6080492***	0.002	
Probability of feeling discrimination[Pr(y2 = 1)]			

Men	.3826644***	0.000	
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
School leaver from higher education	.2334599***	0.040	-0.0086
School leaver from high school	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Graduated at the end of studies	.337128	0.711	0.0013
Delay during primary school	.1592622**	0.053	
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	.1734325	0.150	
Studied in an urban area	-.0674	0.595	
Studied in Ile-de-France region	.1681932*	0.078	
Youth with a foreign origin (Maghreb)	.992287***	0.000	0.0501
Lived in a « sensitive urban area »	.2644891***	0.006	0.0115
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	-.3553504	0.113	
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	-.3752385	0.113	
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	.0680115	0.524	
Father's occupation : white collar	.1929683	0.138	
Father's occupation : not declared	-.023863	0.888	
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	.2649723	0.104	
Housewife who have never worked	.1316743	0.154	
Father work in the public sector	-.052465	0.675	
Integer	-1.629467***	0.000	
Fisher's Z transformed correlation	-.1581792	0.341	
Likelyhood value (Log L)	-2151.9406		
N = 2 021			

Note: bivariate Probit models are used. The reference modality is recorded on the right in italics. The values are for the estimation coefficients of Probit models. Being « graduated with 5 year higher education » has a negative correlation on the probability of belonging to precarious employment classes, with respect to individuals who have completed their studies with High school diploma. Stars reflect significance of parameters at 1% (***), 5% (**), 10% (*). Statistics are calculated with a weight. Field: individuals of foreign origin 2 021 persons.

Source : « Génération 98 » Survey polling seven years, Céreq, statistics authors

Table F: probability of being on a pathway to no employment (class 7)

Variables	Parameter	P > |z|	Marginal effect Pr(y1 = 1, y2 =1)
Probability of being on a pathway to no employment [Pr(y1 = 1)]			
Men	.4078474***	0.000	-0.0015
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
No qualification	1.069315***	0.000	0.0480
No graduated	.672243***	0.000	0.0264
Cap – Bep (Vocational high school degree)	.3855457***	0.020	0.0137
High school diploma (A-level)	*ref.*	*ref.*	
One year higher education	-.1866746	0.310	-0.0053
Two years higher education	-.1298043	0.538	-0.0037
Four years higher education	-.1270226	0.588	-0.0036
Five years higher education	.8918934***	0.002	-0.0164
Tertiary field	.0294572	0.791	0.0009
General field	.1853269	0.170	0.0060
Industrial field	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Studied in an urban area	*.2565777*	*0.083*	0.0056
Studied in Ile-de-France region	.2287511**	0.030	-0.0023
Delay during primary school	-.1084173	0.246	0.0011
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	.0568257	0.642	0.0074
Stop studies for financial reasons	-.116356	0.260	-0.0034
Stop studies for achievingthedesiredlevel ofeducation	.1387949	0.177	0.0044
Stop studies for finding an employment	.6645102***	0.000	-0.0166
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	.5530979**	0.019	0.0047
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	-.0430704	0.835	-0.0097
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	-.0074115	0.945	0.0017
Father's occupation : white collar	-.0888842	0.534	0.0027
Father's occupation : not declared	.4311422**	0.016	0.0153
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	-.0330367	0.863	0.0071
Housewife who have never worked	.1416291	0.165	0.0083
Father work in the public sector	.0577217	0.635	0.0001
Felt discrimination	.2824787	0.348	0.0096
Integer	-	0.000	

	1.364078***		
Probability of feeling discrimination[Pr(y2 = 1)]			
Men	.3771189***	0.000	
Women	*ref.*	*ref.*	
School leaver from higher education	.0378291	0.677	-0.0063
School leaver from high school	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Graduated at the end of studies	-.235623**	0.037	0.0010
Delay during primary school	*.1570281*	*0.057*	
Stop studies for no accessing to the following class	.1726163	0.153	
Studied in an urban area	-.0621583	0.625	
Studied in Ile-de-France region	.170046*	0.076	
Youth with a foreing origin (Maghreb)	.9904857***	0.000	0.03471
Lived in a « sensitive urban area »	.2812617***	0.010	0.0088
Father's occupation : senior executive, engineer, teacher	-.3527816	0.116	
Father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	-.3855501	0.108	
Father's occupation : blue collar worker	.0665504	0.532	
Father's occupation : white collar	.1938711	0.139	
Father's occupation : not declared	.2641232	0.106	
Father's occupation : others categories	*ref.*	*ref.*	
Father was unemployed at the end of the studies	-.0231375	0.891	
Housewife who have never worked	.1245259	0.179	
Father work in the public sector	-.0542614	0.667	
Integer	-1.630918	0.000	
Fisher's Z transformed correlation	-.0620118	0.725	
Likelihood value (Log L)	-1883.881		
N = 2 021			

Note: bivariate Probit models are used. The reference modality is recorded on the right in italics. The values are for the estimation coefficients of Probit models. Completing education in Ile-de-France/metropolitan Paris has a negative correlation on belonging to classes characterised by a situation of non-employment (unemployment of inactivity) with respect to individuals who have completed their studies in another region. Stars reflect significance of parameters at 1% (***), 5% (**), 10% (*).Statistics are calculated with a weight. Field: individuals of foreign origin, 2 021 persons.

Source:*Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.

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Annex III

Table G: Features of the population

	Youth with french origin	Youth with a foreign origin	Total
N	620 490	108 113	728 563
Share of women	49.3	46.8	49
Education level			
Share of youth from high school	60.1	76.6	62.5
Share of youth from higher education	39.9	23.4	37.5
Share of youth with no qualification	6.5	15.8	7.8
Reason for stopping studies			
Refused in the following class	9.5	13.4	10.1
Financial reasons	20	23.3	20.5
Achieved the desired level of education	49	33.2	46.7
Found a job	27.4	24	26.9
Social origin (in 1998) :			
Share father's occupation : senior executive	16	6.6	14.6
Share father's occupation : Technician, middle manager, intermediate	8.6	4.4	8
Share father's occupation : blue collar worker	23.9	30.3	19.5
Share father's occupation : white collar	17.6	17.4	22.9
Share housewife who have never worked	9.1	36.6	13.2
Share of youth living in a "sensitive urban area" in 1998	3.7	20.8	6.2

Share of youth declaring a discrimination	-	20.7	-
Employment rate			
in 2001	90.5	82.9	89.4
in 2003	91.5	81.5	90
in 2005	91.8	80.8	90.2
Unemployment rate			
in 2001	9.5	17.1	10.6
in 2003	8.5	18.5	10
in 2005	8.2	19.2	9.8
Time for accessing to OEC (median in month)	28	45	29
Share of individuals in the sample	85.2	14.8	-
Has known a pathway characterized by			
An Open ended contract	66.7	52.2	64.6
A Precarious work	12.5	15.4	12.9
Unemployment / Out of the labour force	7.8	17.1	9.2
Has known a discrimination and a pathway characterized by			
An Open ended contract	-	16.3	
A Precarious work	-	28.1	
Unemployment / Out of the labour force	-	25.4	

Note: Young people with foreign origin are 14.8%. Three region are identified : South of Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal), North Africa called Maghreb (Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco) and a whole group of other countries. The first group represents 33% of youth, the second one has a contribution of 37% and the last one 29%.

Reading: women account for 49.3% of young persons of French origin. Statistics are calculated with a weight.

Source: *Génération 98* Survey polling seven years, Céreq, authors' statistics.