The Immigrant Integration Process in France: Inequalities and Segmentation

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the integration of immigrants in France as a demographic, economic, social and political process. It uses data from the 1992 *INSEE-INED* "*Mobilité Géographique et Insertion Sociale*" survey (*MGIS*). Taking off from literature emphasizing the multidimensional, segmented character of the process, an empirical typology is developed with which to test the relevance of various models. The classic assimilation hypothesis, which assumes the existence of a uniform convergence process, is shown to be validated only in the case of immigrants from Spain. Other, more complex, segmented models seem to characterize the various communities represented in the survey.

Though public statistics provide an increasingly accurate view of immigrant populations and their descendants, there are few quantitative studies on these groups in France.(1) This text analyzes the immigrant integration process empirically, using material suitable for testing the two major theories that have shaped sociology of immigration: the classic theory of converging assimilation and the segmented assimilation theory. These two theoretical frames differ above all in terms of the importance they attribute to the various actors that may play a role in the integration process. In the classic approach, integration is considered an individual process whose speed and final result are understood to depend on migrant characteristics and length of stay in the host country, whereas the segmentation approach regards integration as the product of combined individual, collective and institutional factors, a combination that may lead to pronounced inequalities in the paths taken by the

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(1) Michèle Tribalat's research, also based on the *MGIS* survey, constitutes one of the few quantitative analyses in this area (Tribalat, 1995; Tribalat *et al.,* 1996). See also the recent study by Jean-Luc Richard (2002), based on a French longitudinal data base ("*Échantillon Démographique Permanent*").

different immigrant communities. The aim of this article is to describe these inequalities and detect mechanisms that may explain them. It shows that when we accept theoretical hypotheses that depart from the French republican model, we obtain original results that highlight the complexity and multidimensionality of the integration process and the diversity of possible integration models.

This study opens with a brief theoretical review of the literature based primarily on the American studies that have shaped sociological thinking on immigration. The review sets down some important theoretical and conceptual hypotheses that lead to the empirical work that follows. After a presentation of the survey, an analysis of the specific relations between the different dimensions of the integration process is carried out through consecutive phases of statistical exploration of the data. Emphasis is on incorporation mode diversity (Alexander, 2001).

Classic assimilation versus segmented assimilation

Assimilationist theory dominated literature on immigration through much of the twentieth century; this explains why it is commonly called classic theory. The classic understanding is that over time and generations, immigrant populations become increasingly similar to host country natives, ultimately becoming indistinguishable from them. Behind this view lies the hypothesis that there is a natural process by means of which a variety of ethnic groups come to share a culture, a process understood to consist in a gradual loss of the former culture in favor of the new one. Once this process has begun, it will inevitably, irreversibly lead to assimilation in the strong sense of the term.(2)

The first consequence of this theory is that it leads to an individualistic vision of immigration and the adaptation process that immigrant populations go through in the host country. Moreover, the idea in classic assimilation is that migration leads to the situation of the "marginal man" (Park, 1928): immigrants are attracted to the host society culture, but their original culture "holds them back". This way of presenting things is very close to the Chicago School studies of immigration. Park and Burgess (1921, p. 735) defined assimilation as sharing the "experience and history" of the host society and incorporating with its members in a "common cultural life". This explains why the first immigration studies concentrated on the process of reducing cultural and social heterogeneities between immigrant populations and the

(2) As Gérard Noiriel has pointed out (1992), the fundamental difference between the concepts of integration and assimilation lies in the fact that the second "operates not only through the community's consciously elaborated moves to strengthen its members' conformity, but also because of unconscious mechanisms (of the sort handled in social psychology) that lead the individual who is integrated into the group (or in the process of becoming integrated) to identify with its collective values and adopt its dominant norms".

native one and did not take into account contextual elements that might impact on the integration process.

We can therefore say that from the classic assimilation viewpoint, ethnic characteristics such as behavioral norms or occupational enclaves are drawbacks: immigrants have to "free themselves" from their former culture in order to get beyond their marginal position. This explains the nature of the empirical studies done in the framework of this theoretical approach. As Abdelmalek Sayad has pointed out (1999), immigrants' characteristics and behaviors are always interpreted in terms of "failings" or lacks with regard to host society norms. The ethnocentrism of this integration theory is clear.

It is important to qualify this understanding, however. The classic view of immigration has itself changed. In the French case, that change has led to the virtual disappearance of the term "assimilation" from scholarly vocabulary, whereas in the United States the word is still used and has no pejorative connotation. In the first immigration studies, assimilation was considered a process of aligning the behavior of persons belonging to minority groups, the implication being that a balance of power is operative that recalls the experience of colonization (Sayad, 1979). In the United States this image was quickly abandoned, though the term remained in use. As early as the 1960s, assimilation came to be defined in the U.S. as "migrants' spontaneous, free interpretation of their original traditions within the legal and political framework of the democratic nation", to quote Dominique Schnapper (1999). In France the wish was to break away from these first studies; the word "assimilation" was dropped entirely, and support became nearly unanimous for "integration", which allows for persistence of immigrant population cultural specificities. The term acquired an official dimension with the 1989 creation of the *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration.*

But the change in term may be said to reflect the weight of a particular political ideology –and a sense of historical guilt– rather than a real theoretical turn. Integration theory "*à la française*" corresponds in large measure to the classic theory as defined above. Integration in France is perceived as a process in which immigrant characteristics uniformly converge toward the average characteristics of French society. Behind this vision lies the hypothesis that the host society is characterized by a unified core that could be qualified as "non-ethnic" or "average". The integration process, then, involves integration into this core, and empirically studying immigration amounts to comparing immigrant population characteristics to those of that same core.

Despite the criticisms that can be made of classic integration theory, nearly all empirical studies done in the United States show that it "worked" rather well until the second half of the twentieth century (Alba and Nee, 1997).(3)

(3) Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for France, simply because in the social sciences field there have never really been any empirical studies that test this type of hypothesis. There have been historical studies, however, namely Gérard Noiriel's (1986, 1992), which show that to the degree this model worked, it did so for reasons linked to the structure of French society –specifically, the "integrationist capacity" of the working class– rather than any intrinsic relevance.

Sociologists were nearly unanimous in claiming that descendants of European immigrants who had arrived in the United States between 1880 and 1924 became fully absorbed into the institutions of American society over the twentieth century. Sociological studies showed that these older immigrant waves were characterized by the existence of intergenerational upward social mobility and increasing intermarriage (Alba and Golden, 1986; Pagnini and Morgan, 1990). The fact is that for the more recent immigrant waves, things seemed increasingly complex (Esser, 2003).

In the 1960s the classic understanding of assimilation was challenged by the arrival of non-European immigrants. Instead of the expected convergence and integration into the society's core, recent studies have brought to light the existence of "anomalies" (Zhou, 1997). The first such anomaly concerns the maintenance of ethnic differences over the generations. In fact, recent studies have revealed the existence of a model diametrically opposed to the classic one: the greater the amount of time in the country, the more pronounced is immigrant maladjustment as measured by educational performance, aspirations, and weight of the immigrant group in the society.(4) In other words, the initial disadvantages do not diminish but are reproduced. Generational mobility studies show that with length of stay, minor differences can become strong occupational and educational inequalities.(5) Moreover, degree of integration has been shown to vary as a function of place of residence that immigrants settle in (in the American case, whether they are living in well-to-do suburbs with middle-class majorities or poor neighborhoods and inner-city ghettos). The characteristics of a high proportion of the children of immigrants have "converged" toward those of inhabitants of poor, underprivileged neighborhoods, places where they are more likely to encounter members of ethnic minorities than of the dominant majority. The classic model is unable to handle these new empirical immigration characteristics.

In the last decade, a team of researchers around Alejandro Portes (1995) has developed a new theory of integration that emphasizes its multidimensional character. In the *segmented assimilation* theory, the classic model of integration becomes a particular case in a more complex typology of possible modes of incorporation into the host society. This method also allows for reconciling integration theory with culturalist critiques (Glazer and

(4) Landale and Oropesa (1995), for example, found that the situation of the children of Asian and Hispanic immigrants is likely to deteriorate as length of time in the United States increases, namely due to the increasing number of single-parent families. In France, studies by Vallet and Caille (1995, 1996) have shown that little in the overall difference in scholastic performance and scholastic career between foreign or immigrant students and others is explained by the fact of being a foreigner or of immigrant descent. It is instead these groups' "objective living conditions"; i.e., the fact that they are overrepresented among social and family groups with low economic and cultural resources, that explains why the children are more likely to have educational difficulties.

(5) Howard S. Becker had already obtained this result in 1963. More recent studies, such as Perlmann (1989), reached the same conclusion on schooling and social mobility of immigrants' children. Felouzis' results on ethnic segregation in French schooling (2003, 2005) are comparable to these integration process "anomalies".

Moynihan, 1972) and structuralist ones (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Portes and Borocz, 1989).(6) It seeks to explain why and in what way the "new immigrants" and their descendants adopt different integration itineraries than those of the earlier waves. This is done by analyzing integration processes from the dual perspective of acculturation and economic adjustment to a society made up of unequal, segregated segments.

In the segmented assimilation theory, immigrants' incorporation may follow three multidirectional models (Portes, 1995; Silberman, 2002):

– Upward social mobility, characterized by acculturation and economic integration into middle-class structures. This model corresponds to the "modern" version of classic assimilation, in which cultural assimilation goes together with gradual upward social mobility.

– Downward social mobility, characterized by acculturation and economic integration into the "underclass" structure. This incorporation mode contradicts the one described by classic assimilation. It corresponds to what may be qualified as "successful" cultural assimilation that is not coupled with socio-economic assimilation. Here, though the cultural differences between immigrant community and host society have become less marked, there are still major gaps between an immigrant community's socio-economic situation and that of the host population. These differences are clearly negative, reflecting the balance of power still inherent in the integration process: the phenomenon still involves a minority linking itself up to a majority. The black population in the United States clearly illustrates the lasting inferiorization that can sometimes characterize integration. This is why it is termed "downward assimilation" (Portes, 1995).

– Economic integration into the middle class with delayed acculturation and deliberate preservation of immigrant community values and solidarity. This form of integration is understood to preserve the immigrant's cultural characteristics without those characteristics contradicting the society's central culture and without that preservation implying any negative effects on the individual's integration in other social areas. In concrete terms, this incorporation mode –sometimes called "cultural pluralistic" (Gordon, 1964)– is characterized by a combination of significant social mobility in the socio-occupational sphere and persistence of the home society's cultural characteristics (reflected in high endogamy and low social mix levels).

According to empirical studies, this "three-part model" accounts well for the integration itineraries of some relatively new migrant waves to the United States, namely the Hispanic population (Portes and Zhou, 1993). It is of great interest to sociologists because it enables researchers in this field to study the

(6) To put it briefly, what multiculturalists reject in classic integration theory is the idea of a culturally unified social core, whereas structuralists reject the hypothesis of a socially unified core. Multiculturalists see society as a fluid, heterogeneous mix of racial and ethnic minorities, whereas the structuralists emphasize the social class diversity of the society, regarded as a stratified system of inequalities. Both critiques have influenced the new integration theories.

integration process by inscribing the individual in the group he or she belongs to, thus bringing to light the social embeddedness of individual actions (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Immigrant groups with a high level of human and social capital, groups that have been received relatively favorably by the host country, are on an upward mobility slope and therefore moving toward integration. Groups with more modest resources do not have access to stable employment and therefore cannot help facilitate their children's educational and occupational success. In this type of immigrant group, second generations are exposed to the teen culture of underprivileged neighborhoods, a culture that discourages making an effort to succeed in school and regards aspirations to upward social mobility as a form of deviance from the norm, even a kind of betrayal. Portes' studies on Haitian and Mexican immigrants offer precise examples of this type of process. The studies that most closely resemble this type of analysis in France are François Dubet's (1987) and David Lepoutre's (1997) of poor districts on the outskirts of large French cities. In "*Trois processus migratoires*", Dubet (1989a) stressed how non-unified the migration process is, calling into question the "melting pot" thesis. He contrasted the Portuguese, Asian and Turkish communities in France with the North African one. The first set are less culturally assimilated yet not as likely to be victims of racism and more dynamic economically than North Africans, who experience an "unbalanced" migration process, according to Dubet –specifically, a "distance between strong cultural assimilation and low social integration".

In the American case, some immigrant groups have been shown to possess enough resources to be able to closely follow and encourage their children's educational performance while limiting their cultural integration into American society (Zhou and Carl's study of the Vietnamese community in New Orleans clearly illustrates this incorporation mode [Zhou and Carl, 1994]). According to the segmented assimilation theory, the immigrant community that has settled in the host country –more exactly, that community's social capital– is an important actor in member integration. Strong community ties can have contrasting effects on two integration dimensions: they delay acculturation and structural integration (by orienting all the immigrant's contacts toward the community of origin) but may facilitate socio-economic integration (by enabling the individual to use resources available in that community). Community ties and resources may therefore act as a kind of social capital that, like human capital, impacts on individual integration trajectories (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Portes, 1998).(7)

(7) I use the term "social capital" in a broad conceptual sense free of the assumption that it has a necessarily positive effect. This concept, which was introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (1979), was defined positively by Coleman (1988), for whom it amounted to a set of entities ensuring a tie between the individual and a social structure, facilitating the individual's action within the society. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) suggest broadening the concept, noting that social structures may represent a constraint or hindrance to economic action. They define social capital as a variable that reflects the way collective characteristics affect individual economic behavior. For a full review of the literature on this notion, see Portes (1998).

Segmented assimilation theory makes it possible to disentangle some divergent results of empirical social science studies. Instead of predicting a uniform adaptation process that improves with length of stay in the host country, the segmented assimilation hypothesis identifies a multitude of factors as determining immigrants' incorporation mode. These are of two types: individual and contextual. The most important individual factors are education, aspirations, proficiency in the host country language, place of birth, age on arrival and length of stay in the country. Contextual factors include family's social and ethnic status, place of residence, socio-economic characteristics of the community the individual belongs to, and attitude of the host country toward that community. In classic assimilation theory, if these different variables are all evolving in the direction of the host population's characteristics (educational success, strong aspirations, mastery of the host country language, being born in the host country or having arrived at a young age, and living outside ethnic enclaves), then the immigrant is becoming integrated. The segmentation model, on the other hand, focuses precisely on cases where these variables are not moving in the same direction.

The aim of the present quantitative study is to test empirically the segmentation theory of integration on French data from the 1992 *MGIS* survey, conducted explicitly to study immigrant integration in France. The primary survey results are from Michèle Tribalat studies (1995, Tribalat *et al.,* 1996).

It is important to mention the "turning point" that this survey marked in French social scientific study of immigration. For the first time ever, the necessary technical arrangements had been put in place for identifying populations of various ethnic and national origins and providing precise statistics on them. Michèle Tribalat's analysis of the *MGIS* survey performed the considerable service of breaking the "French ethnicity taboo" (Tribalat, 1995). As the author points out at the beginning of her book, *Faire France*, her aim was to depict the state of integration of immigrants in France as observed through the survey data. However, measuring integration requires defining what is meant by the term. Tribalat begins by stating her preference for the term "assimilation" because she was situating her research problematics in relation to the French model, which is "secular and egalitarian by very principle and founded on the individual's autonomy in his or her relations with the state and society". She then defines assimilation as "the reduction of specificities through population mixing and behavior convergence". The presupposition is that a more or less radical form of acculturation is a necessary prerequisite to "successful" integration. Consequently, Tribalat's analysis of the survey allows us to measure the "integration level" of each of the national origins represented in the survey and to compare them with each other.

Though Tribalat identifies different integration spheres and provides precious information on France's immigrant population, it can be said that she continues to apply a classic "uniformist" vision of the immigration process. Her hypotheses and the methodological proceedings used in her analyses attest to a conception of integration as a "coherent" process inducing parallel,

uniform movement of immigrant behavior in the direction of the average behavior of French people in the various spheres of social life. Her studies prove close to the "uniform convergence model" presented above, which itself seems perfectly in keeping with the French republican ideal of integration.(8)

The present study is situated in a different conceptual framework. Though it uses the same data base as Michèle Tribalat, it takes off from more flexible theoretical hypotheses, seeking in particular to test the segmentation theory of the integration process. This requires constructing variables that will allow for "measuring" integration in terms of several dimensions –namely by separating the cultural and socio-economic dimensions– and variables that will pick up the role of collective characteristics –namely strength of social ties within immigrant groups– in the integration process. The idea of integration adopted here is thus multidimensional; it makes simultaneous use of the survey's broad information spectrum. Particular attention is paid to the relations between different dimensions in order to identify oppositions that will bring us closer to the theoretical integration models. A comparison between the relative situations of immigrant groups with regard to various dimensions of integration is thus developed. This makes it possible to elaborate an empirical typology similar to the theoretical one presented above.

This study can thus be thought of as an empirical test of a certain theory of immigration that has been developed primarily in the United States, a theory long ignored in France for several reasons, some of them mentioned above, the general idea being that it is irrelevant to French society. This text may therefore be viewed in terms of relations between theory and social experience; it shows that a theory may in fact be adequate and applicable to more than one particular society.

The *MGIS* survey: integration dimensions and indicators

The aim of the "*Mobilité Géographique et Insertion Sociale*" (*MGIS*) survey is to observe the dynamics of the integration process. For funding reasons, the designers chose to limit the sampling frame to immigrants coming from countries (or groups of countries) which they could obtain large samples for.

Respondents were drawn from the 1990 population census to form three subsamples: immigrants (8,522 usable questionnaires), French-born children of immigrants (1,921 usable questionnaires) and the control sample (1,882 usable questionnaires). The immigrant sample is restricted to individuals of Spanish and Portuguese origin for the European Union; Algerian and Moroccan origin for North Africa; Turkish origin; Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese origin for Asia, and lastly individuals originally from sub-

(8) For a critique of the French republican integration model that sheds light on the political context explaining recent adoption of that model, see Blatt (2000).

Saharan Africa.[9] To have large enough samples for each age group and initial origin, the sampling frame was limited to individuals aged 20 to 59 on January 1, 1992, except for persons from Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, for whom the age span was 20-39. For the sample of individuals born in France to immigrant parents, the survey was limited to young people of Algerian, Spanish and Portuguese origin aged 20-29 in 1992.

The following analysis focuses on the immigrant sample, the only one that seems to lend itself to quantitative study. For the results, this creates a considerable limitation: most studies of segmented assimilation are done on the second generation, who seem to better illustrate the diversity of possible incorporation modes.

The questionnaire bore on a number of mostly biographical themes and the view was generally retrospective. It covered individual's migration history, history of family constitution, occupational and residential history. In addition, a number of questions provided information on educational level, degree of language proficiency (French and native language), earnings and property, and it allowed for characterizing cultural, religious and social practices.

In the theoretical frame of this work, the understanding is that integration is a multidimensional phenomenon. To test this hypothesis, we need a data base that will allow for isolating and specifying differentiated integration dimensions and analyzing their interactions. The *MGIS* questionnaire made it possible to construct synthetic indicators that would take into account various dimensions of immigrants' lives. These indicators are the equivalent of scales for measuring integration in different areas. They can be used to rank individuals by behavior or opinions for the different spheres of the integration process, and to assign them a higher or lower "grade" by position in this ranking.[10] This may often lead to the use of a vocabulary linked to hierarchical ranking. It is therefore important to clarify that there is no normative connotation here to calling an individual "more" or "less" integrated; the point was simply to use a working convention that would allow for conducting a quantitative study.[11]

The data were used to construct a technical foundation that makes it possible to test the hypotheses listed above. Milton M. Gordon's 1964 work, *Assimilation in American Life*, influenced this statistical approach.[12] Gordon was the first thinker to forge an integration theory that breaks the process down into several spheres. Works developed in the frame of the segmented

(9) This study uses the survey's country-of-origin indicator, also used by Tribalat. Immigrants' origins figure as seven groups: Algerian, Moroccan, Portuguese, Spanish, Asian, Turkish and African. Clearly, this indicator either isolates a nationality (Spanish, Algerian, etc.) or clusters together several nationalities (Cambodian, Laotian, Vietnamese, grouped together as "Asian"). Tribalat's statistical construction of the national categories in the survey has been criticized.

(10) For all the integration dimensions constructed above, low indicator values correspond to weak integration in the given dimension.

(11) The indicators serve to compare immigrant groups' relative situations.

(12) See the theoretical note on this issue in the Appendix.

assimilation theory, particularly those of A. Portes, also had a great impact on the present study. For practical reasons, this theoretical thinking had to be adapted to the material at hand, i.e., the *MGIS* questionnaire. The scope of the analysis is thus limited to the technical possibilities offered by that survey.(13)

The socio-economic dimension

Ever since Durkheim's studies, sociologists have unanimously affirmed that work and the social relations it allows people to develop are a fundamental vector of integration for all individuals, including immigrants. Socio-occupational situation is an essential indicator of "organic integration" (Paugam, 2005); it has repercussions not only on individual's financial situation but also on his or her general social situation. Though not explicitly present in Gordon's typology, a socio-economic indicator is crucial for testing the segmentation model, since one of its fundamental hypotheses is that the socio-economic dimension does not always coincide with the other integration dimensions. This indicator includes income, employment situation, socio-occupational category and indicators on housing type and condition.

The social mix dimension

The aim of this dimension is to determine the degree of interaction the immigrant has with the host society. It includes several sets of indicators operative in different spheres of immigrants' lives. This class of indicators refers to both Gordon's marital and structural assimilation modes. The aim is to measure degree of population "mix" without specifying one type of relation. It thus encompasses indicators on intermarriage and degree of social mix characteristic of individual's contacts and housing and work situations.

The cultural references dimension

Indicators for this dimension refer to anything pertaining in some way to individual's cultural integration. The aim is to "measure" the cultural difference that may separate him or her from host society culture. This type of measurement often requires dual comparison: is the individual closer to the cultural practices and references of his or her country of origin or to those of the host country?

Quantitatively analyzing the social phenomenon of acculturation is an extremely complicated matter. Acculturation often involves individual's subjectivity and can only be brought to light through long, detailed

(13) For a more detailed account of indicator construction, see the Appendix.

interviews. Still, the *MGIS* survey does contain information on specific acts and attitudes directly linked to immigrants' cultural lives. This dimension is made up of the following indicators: leisure activities, cooking, observance of religious prohibitions, language.

The norms dimension

This category includes indicators aimed at measuring the distance separating respondent from a fundamental characteristic of the host society: modernity. The assumption is that "modern" values favor individual's autonomy from the family circle and the community, emancipation of women, being able to choose one's occupational and conjugal way of life, and a low level of religious practice.(14)

The survey includes several questions that allow for handling this theme. This study focused on the status of women, their economic activity and childbearing behavior, as well as the role played by the family in choosing individual's spouse, with the understanding that this last variable is an indicator of degree of preeminence of individual choice over collective logic. Lastly, a religious practice indicator was included, with the understanding that modern society is characterized by a low level of religious practice.

The national belonging dimension

The aim of this category is to measure the affective and identity relations that immigrants have to their country of origin and the settlement country. The *MGIS* questionnaire included questions that collect information on immigrant's subjectivity in this area, as well as on acts and attitudes that may be interpreted as signs of allegiance to one or the other country.

Regarding subjective indicators, there were two survey questions of interest, one concerning the likelihood of returning definitively to the country of origin, the other the wish to be buried there. Intentions to return give an idea of the space the immigrant feels himself or herself to be inscribed in but do not measure the real probability of returning. They may also reflect the degree to which respondents have internalized the fact that they have definitively settled in France. Choice of country in which to be buried is charged with symbolic and emotional significance. It may also concern cultural practices and religious prescriptions on funeral rites. In this case, attachment to

(14) Two components of religious behavior were distinguished from each other: frequency of religious practice, here considered a norms indicator, and observance of religious prohibitions, here considered a cultural indicator. This analysis follows Tribalat's and corresponds to what is done in a number of quantitative studies of immigrant descendant populations' relations to religion.

original culture or religion may imply "returning" to be buried in the country of origin.

Naturalization and being registered to vote are another set of national belonging indicators, this one linked more strongly to relatively objective acts. These last two variables reveal a certain individual will to become integrated into the host country's political sphere (that will reflected here in the fact of having carried out a few more or less constraining administrative formalities).(15)

The aggregation principle

Each of the five dimensions cited was constructed on the basis of several of the survey's direct questions. It was therefore necessary to choose an aggregation strategy for grouping several answers into synthetic indices. The frequent "no answers" pose particular problems in this regard. That frequency is directly linked to questionnaire structure: the questionnaire often used non-essential "screening questions" that had the effect of considerably reducing the population of interest.(16) When it comes to grouping together several indicators, "no answers" can drastically reduce the final sample. This problem was handled by attributing to each "no answer" respondent the average of his or her answers to the set of questions for the given integration dimension. In this way, the greatest possible proportion of the sample was used. Moreover, this coding method corresponds to the general theoretical hypotheses of this work: since each integration dimension is considered relatively independent, it can be reasonably assumed that individual's responses for the components of a single dimension are consistent with each other.(17)

On the basis of the indicator categories cited above, five synthetic indicators were constructed, and from them a single overall synthetic indicator that is simply the aggregation of all the indicators. This overall indicator is normed (from 0 to 1),(18) with a satisfactory distribution across the entire

(15) It may be argued that the decision to become naturalized is usually a practical, pragmatic one rather than an identity-related one; that it is made in response to phenomena such as administrative restrictions and discrimination. Since these eventualities cannot be measured with *MGIS* data, the act of performing the formalities involved in applying for French naturalization is understood here to reflect a wish to become integrated.

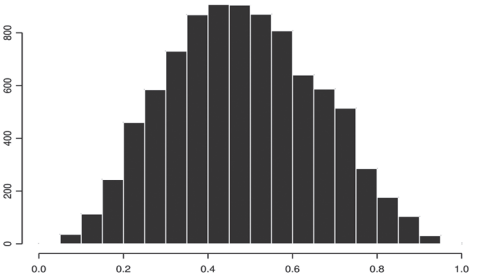
(16) This was a problem when it came to constructing an indicator linked to type of cooking respondent does. The survey question providing this information is preceded by a screening question: does respondent sometimes invite people over for a meal? Individuals who answered that question in the negative were not asked the cooking question; this reduced the initial population by 25%.

(17) See Appendix for a test of this aggregation strategy. Indicator averages and standard deviations calculated prior to the recoding of no-answers (i.e., solely for the respondent sample for all questions) are compared with those calculated after recoding. Results differ only slightly for all indicators. It can therefore be reasonably supposed that the final indicators obtained through this strategy satisfactorily estimate individuals' responses.

(18) All indicators are normed, meaning that they have the same weight in the aggregated indicators.

sample population (Figure 1). It can be regarded as simply the empirical version of classic integration theory: it measures overall integration level and allows for ranking individuals in relation to each other.

FIGURE 1. – ***Distribution of the overall synthetic indicator***



Quantile	Estimation
MAX	0.99
95%	0.81
75%	0.62
Median	0.47
25%	0.32
5%	0.18
MIN	0.016
Mean	0.48
Standard deviation	0.19

One means of testing the relevance of these indicators is to calculate the value of the overall correlation among their components (Cronbach's alpha).(19) Table 1 presents the satisfactory results thus obtained.

TABLE 1. – ***Cronbach's alpha for the indicators***

Indicator	Alpha
Cultural	0.67
National belonging	0.53
Norms	0.53
Social mix	0.60
Socio-economic	0.57
Overall	0.70

(19) The indicator is considered satisfactory at $\alpha > 0.5$, and alpha values above 0.7 are considered extremely high.

Interactions between indicators: some opposition structures

The different theoretical integration hypotheses may now be tested by comparing the constructed indicators. The first stage is to see if there are stable connection structures between them and if so, what they are. By way of factor analysis techniques, these interactions can be described at first for pairs of indicators, then for the set of pairs.

We begin with a descriptive test that allows for measuring the relative ranges of the classic and segmented models presented above for individuals and the sample as a whole. This simply involves measuring the relative frequencies of concordance and discordance for each pair of indicators. One way of doing this is to consider individual's position in relation to the median: for a given pair of indicators, we count the number of individuals situated on the same side of the distribution median for both indicators, and those that change position from one indicator to the other. The latter situation is a clear illustration of the segmented assimilation scheme. Table 2 presents the results for the various indicator pairs.

TABLE 2. – ***Measurement of integration segmentation by indicator pairs***

Indicators	Social mix	Norms	National belonging	Cultural
Socio-economic				
Concordant pairs	54.43	61.29	47.08	64.25
Discordant pairs	45.57	38.71	52.92	35.75
Social mix				
Concordant pairs		50.53	46.52	55.56
Discordant pairs		49.47	53.48	44.44
Norms				
Concordant pairs			47.07	62.70
Discordant pairs			52.93	37.30
National belonging				
Concordant pairs				53.88
Discordant pairs				46.12

Reading: For 54.43% of the sample population, the socio-economic and social mix values lie on the same side of the distribution median for these indicators.

Table 2 shows that the classic convergence model is inadequate at the individual scale. The fact that the difference percentages range from 35.75% to 53.48% means that there are several possible indicator connection configurations. Opposition is most likely to occur within the socio-economic/national belonging, social mix/national belonging, norms/national belonging pairs. Segmentation seems already preponderant for these pairs (more discordant than concordant pairs). Furthermore, the most strongly concordant pairs are the socio-economic/cultural and norms/cultural ones. The case of the cultural/social mix pair is also interesting. For Gordon these two indicators represent respectively "cultural assimilation" and "structural assimilation"; their concordance and discordance percentages clearly show that one does not necessarily entail the other.

Factor analysis can give a fuller view of these indicator connections. This method is useful for analyzing how the different integration dimensions fit together, because it enables us to visualize possible stable indicator groups. Given that the indicators are quantitative variables, PCA (Principal Components Analysis) is used here.(20) The five indicators presented above are introduced as active variables,(21) while immigrant origin is projected as a categorical variable representing the barycenters of individuals' point clouds.

Examining projections on the first two axes enables us to identify a few indicator interaction structures.(22) The first axis represents the classic model. It illustrates a "size effect": all indicators are projected from the positive side, as follows directly from their positive correlation. It is as if this axis represented an integration scale: original nationalities with relatively low indicator values are projected to the left, and those with high values to the right. This axis thus establishes an opposition between individuals originally from Spain and those originally from Turkey, with positive coordinates for Portuguese and Southeast Asian immigrants and negative ones for North African and sub-Saharan African immigrants.

Oppositions between indicators can be identified on the other axes. Axis 2 establishes an opposition between the national belonging and norms indicators, relevant above all for Portuguese and Southeast Asian immigrants. The Portuguese show a high norms indicator level, whereas their national belonging indicator values are fairly low. For Southeast Asians, the graph is reversed. Persons originally from North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa show negative coordinates on this axis and are fairly close to the integration mode of Southeast Asians, while Turkish immigrants seem closer to the Portuguese. Persons of Spanish origin hardly project at all on this axis; they show consistent values for the norms and national belonging indicators. The first opposition between indicators is therefore the one between immigrants' value system (norms indicators) and their feeling of identity (national belonging indicator). This opposition can be interpreted as marking a "cultural distance" between immigrant's society of origin and French society.

Factor analysis enables us to identify another opposition, this one between the socio-economic and social mix indicators and more directly linked to segmentation. If we look at the projections for immigrant origin, we see that persons of sub-Saharan origin contrast with those of Turkish and Southeast Asian origins. The first group are characterized by a higher social mix level than the other two, whereas their socio-economic situation is relatively poor.

(20) It should be specified that though the indicators here are not truly continuous variables, their polymorphous construction means they take on several ordered numerical values, and this makes them very similar to quantitative variables.

(21) Total inertia in a PCA is an increasing function of number of variables. Here I have a limited number of quantitative values, so inertia is low and PCA quality limited. I used this method as a first stage that would enable me to identify structures and relations among indicators, structures and relations which I then tested using more developed models.

(22) Results presented in Appendix, Graphs a, b, c and d.

The factor analysis stage enables us to identify indicator interaction structures that suggest the existence and relevance of integration models that differ from the classic one. The analysis of these various fits between indicators is now pursued while controlling for individual variables that may influence how integration proceeds.

Integration models: multivariate analysis

The aim in this part is to specify and quantify connections among the various indicators while controlling for immigrant's socio-demographic variables and migration characteristics.

There are six models to study: one to explain each of the five particular indicators (socio-economic situation, national belonging, social mix, norms, cultural references) and one to explain the aggregated indicator. Two types of covariables were used:

– Socio-demographic variables: country of origin, geographic origin (place mother was living at the time of respondent's arrival in France), father's socio-occupational category;

– Variables linked to motivation and individual trajectory: motive for coming to France, knowledge of French before arriving in France, location and length of education, age on arrival, length of stay in France.

The dependent variable in each model is dichotomous. The cut-off point is the first quartile of the distribution.(23) To simplify result interpretation, for each explanatory variable, the category corresponding to what may be assumed the lowest integration level was selected as the variable reference (in bold in the following tables). Given the great disparity between results for women and men, separate logistic regressions for each sex were estimated. The results are presented in summary Tables 3, 4 and 5.

The regression models are descriptive rather than explanatory. The interpretation of them suggested here should therefore not be understood as determinist; it is not meant to explain integration by this or that factor from a causal perspective. The point is to provide a descriptive overview that will allow for characterizing population categories. The regressions are there to

(23) For the synthetic indicator, for example, a dichotomous variable was constructed with a value of 0 for indicator values below 0.32 (see value of first quartile in Table 1) and 1 in all other cases. Logistic regression (and therefore dichotomization) was the only possible choice because of low indicator variability across the population (only the overall indicator can be thought of as continuous). Choice of dichotomization bound does not strongly impact on the results, primarily because the aim is to compare immigrant groups for descriptive purposes rather than "predict" how fully they will become integrated. Breaking up the sample at the first quartile level brings to light characteristics that establish a contrast between highly disadvantaged groups and all others. This explains why this study has simply compared regression coefficients and abstained from presenting "average integration probabilities" by immigrant population.

help construct the integration models by bringing to light particular links between pre-constructed indicators.

TABLE 3. – ***Logistic regression results for men (odds ratios without control variables)***

Variables / Country of origin	Overall	Socio-economic	Social mix	Norms	National belonging	Cultural
Turkey						
Algeria	2.01***	0.51***	1.14	1.04	1.09	5.82***
Morocco	1.66***	0.58***	1.26**	0.75***	0.98	3.80***
Portugal	24.76***	3.40***	3.41***	24.42***	1.09	25.29***
Southeast Asia	46.75***	2.29	2.64***	4.06***	4.16***	29.55***
Spain	117.7***	5.44***	13.89***	57.39***	3.5***	47.06***
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.59***	0.41***	2.25***	1.00	0.74	7.51***
Other	6.13***	0.72**	1.73**	1.37*	3.26***	13.42***
Unknown	3.45***	0.79	1.56	1.54*	1.46	4.88***

* significant at 0.10; ** significant at 0.05; *** significant at 0.01.
Source: *MGIS* (1992), sample of 4,793 men.
Reading: Immigrants of Portuguese origin are 3.4 times more likely to be socio-economically "integrated" (rather than not) than immigrants of Turkish origin.

Limited effect of individual characteristics

As Tables 3 and 4 show, there is little difference in the results for a model that uses the country of origin variable alone and one that controls for several socio-demographic variables. Country of origin is therefore the key variable for the integration models designed here. It brings to light the connections among different constructed indicators, connections in line with segmented immigration theory. It is striking that the control variables indicating pre-migration socio-demographic characteristics are often non-significant in the models.(24) It is as if the country of origin variable "absorbed" the effects of the other variables.

Coming from a big city means being more likely to be integrated than coming from a rural geographic location, namely for indicators related to the cultural sphere (cultural, national belonging and norms).

Social background seems to have little influence on integration trajectories (this is particularly true for women). However, managers' sons enjoy higher integration chances for many indicators, namely socio-economic, social mix and norms.

(24) The assumption behind these models is that control variable effect is the same for all countries of origin.

TABLE 4. – ***Logistic regression results for men***
Odds ratios

Variables	Overall	Socio-economic	Social mix	Norms	National belonging	Cultural
Country of origin						
Turkey						
Algeria	2.24***	0.46***	1.04	1.32*	0.96	5.23***
Morocco	1.62***	0.51***	1.09	0.69**	0.93	3.39***
Portugal	32.42***	2.91***	3.36***	28.35***	0.91	25.93***
Southeast Asia	14.01***	1.07	0.99	2.26***	2.41***	12.96***
Spain	97.71***	3.23***	8.79***	59.98***	2.26***	37.30***
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.75***	0.30***	1.43	0.66**	0.71*	5.58***
Other	4.76***	0.43***	1.38	0.90	2.87***	9.40***
Unknown	2.72***	0.42**	0.99	1.5	1.52	3.39***
Urbanization level						
Small town, village						
Large city	1.67***	1.1	1.16	1.69***	1.32**	1.62***
Medium-size city	1.04	0.88	0.98	1.23*	0.82*	0.93
Father's occupation						
Farmworker						
Farmer	0.81	1.43**	1.05	0.94	0.80	0.79
Craftsman, tradesman, head of business	1.16	1.77***	1.14	1.36	0.85	1.19
Manager, liberal or intermediate profession	2.05**	2.74***	4.25***	2.41***	0.83	1.51
White collar	1.52	1.16*	1.64*	1.22	1.24	1.53
Semi-skilled manual	0.90	1.25	1.07	0.97	1.00	0.87
Unskilled manual	0.96	1.02	1.02	1.03	0.98	0.98
Immigrated to work						
No						
Yes	0.37***	0.59***	0.70**	0.51***	0.75*	0.48***
Immigrated for family reasons						
No						
Yes	0.92	1.13	1.03	0.92	1.14	1.08
Prior knowledge of French						
No						
Yes	1.62***	1.33**	1.37***	1.24*	1.52***	1.17
Education in France						
No formal education						
Educated entirely in France	1.55	1.36	1.7	1.63	1.97**	0.49*
Educated partly in France	1.06	1.80**	1.37	1.49	1.38*	0.38***
Educated entirely outside France	1.95***	2.29***	1.56***	1.78***	1.29	0.74*
Length of education						
0-12 years						
13-15 years	1.09	1.14	1.16	1.05	1.15	1.04
16-17 years	1.55**	1.29	1.69***	1.20	1.04	1.45**
> 17 years	1.89***	1.94***	2.09***	0.84	1.15	1.81***
Age on arrival in France						
30-55 years						
0-9 years	2.47***	1.68*	0.78	1.76**	1.83**	1.84***
10-19 years	2.24***	1.68***	1.27	1.64***	1.35*	1.66***
0-29 years	2.23***	1.61***	1.42**	1.59***	1.27*	1.35**
Length of stay	1.01	1.03***	1.03***	0.98*	1.01	1.01*

* significant at 0.10; ** significant at 0.05; *** significant at 0.01.
Source: *MGIS* (1992), sample of 3,804 men.
Reading: With other variables controlled for, male immigrants who came from large cities are 1.62 times more likely to be culturally "integrated" (rather than not) than male immigrants from a small town or village.

TABLE 5. – ***Logistic regression results for women***
Odds ratios

Variables	Overall	Socio-economic	Social mix	Norms	National belonging	Cultural
Country of origin						
Turkey						
Algeria	3.09***	1.01	1.93***	1.20	2.07***	5.48***
Morocco	1.823**	1.24	1.95***	0.70**	1.64***	2.57***
Portugal	29.70***	3.97***	4.51***	35.6***	0.98	42.17***
Southeast Asia	16.45***	2.20***	2.27***	9.10**	9.67***	30.80***
Spain	69.2***	7.04***	11.6***	29.73***	2.39***	31.60***
Sub-Saharan Africa	4.71***	0.91	3.4***	2.27**	1.17	15.3***
Other	5.88***	1.92**	1.52	0.73	3.27***	8.449**
Unknown	4.58***	1.08	1.66	1.02	1.24	4.9***
Urbanization level						
Small town, village						
Large city	1.44**	0.96	1.20	1.65**	1.50***	1.31*
Medium-size city	1.03	0.90	1.06	1.22	0.91	1.10
Father's occupation						
Farmworker						
Farmer	0.78	1.07	1.06	0.90	0.72*	0.89
Craftsman, tradesman, head of business	0.82	0.96	1.22	0.93	0.64**	1.09
Manager, liberal or intermediate profession	1.18	1.73**	1.53*	0.52*	0.64	0.82
White collar	1.70**	1.05	1.49*	1.06	0.98	1.35
Semi-skilled manual	1.07	0.94	1.27	1.45	0.64**	0.93
Unskilled manual	0.79	1.05	1.15	0.80	0.88	0.84
Immigrated to work						
No						
Yes	1.58*	0.95	1.15	6.73***	0.72*	1.13
Immigrated for family reasons						
No						
Yes	0.27***	1.14	0.60***	0.27***	0.71*	0.29***
Prior knowledge of French						
No						
Yes	1.21	1.29**	1.10	1.10	1.08	1.08
Education in France						
No formal education						
Educated entirely in France	2.31*	0.55*	2.24**	1.55	1.25	1.00
Educated partly in France	3.50***	0.88	1.65**	6.11***	1.51	0.77
Educated entirely outside France	1.31*	0.91	1.23	1.65***	1.16	0.48***
Length of education						
0-12 years						
13-15 years	1.19	1.49***	1.25	1.44	0.93	0.96
16-17 years	1.67**	1.93***	1.63***	1.51	0.89	1.17
> 17 years	2.75***	2.19***	2.44***	3.23***	1.1	1.36
Age on arrival in France						
30-55 years						
0-9 years	1.94	1.95**	0.83	4.65*	1.91*	1.82
10-19 years	1.39*	1.49***	0.84	1.93***	1.16	1.53**
20-29 years	1.05	1.54***	0.83	1.29	0.99	1.23
Length of stay	1.01**	1.02***	1.01*	0.98	1.03***	1.02**

* significant at 0.10; ** significant at 0.05; *** significant at 0.01.
Source: *MGIS* (1992), sample of 3,278 women.
Reading: With other variables controlled for, female immigrants who knew French before coming to France are 1.29 times more likely to be socio-economically "integrated" (rather than not) than female immigrants who did not.

Prior knowledge of French seems to play an important positive role, namely for the socio-economic indicator (this is consistent with human capital theory [Becker, 1957]) and the norms, social mix and national belonging indicators. Likewise, we see that length of education impacts positively on the socio-economic and social mix indicators (often above a certain level, namely when immigrant was educated at length in his or her country of origin).

Age on arrival in France has a particularly strong impact on the socio-economic indicator: arriving before age 29 reduces the risk of low integration in socio-economic terms for both men and women. Length of stay in France positively influences integration (10 more years spent in France increases the probability of socio-economic integration to a ratio of 1.34). The effects of these two variables echo economists' studies on the influence of length of stay on immigrants' earnings (Chiswick, 1978). This positive influence may also be interpreted as the effect of age or generation: individuals who immigrated long ago are also relatively old and therefore have better socio-economic situations.

The distinct regressions for men and women often correspond, namely for the role of the country of origin variable. However, the difference in integration probability between Algerian and Moroccan women on the one hand, Turkish women on the other, seems greater than that between Algerian-or-Moroccan men and Turkish men (namely for the overall and social mix indicators). Another difference is the symmetrical roles that the immigration motivation variable seems to play for the two sexes. If we look at the impact of "came to work" and "came for the family" variables on the synthethic indicator, we see that men who came to France for work reasons are less likely to be integrated than others, whereas immigrating in order to work has a positive effect on women's integration. Symmetrically, women who came to France for family reasons are less likely to be integrated than others, whereas this difference is not significant for men. Immigrating for economic reasons strongly influences men's situation as a limit to their integration prospects (they are not even half as likely to be integrated as other men), whereas women's prospects for integration are reduced if they came for family reasons (approximately one-third as likely).

The same results are found for other indicators. We see that for social mix, for example, women who emigrated to France for family reasons are 1.7 times less likely to be integrated whereas for men, coming to France to work seems a particular strong impediment to integration, making them 1.4 times less likely. Immigrating to work strongly increases the norms indicator value for women.(25) In general, if we examine the results for all the indicators, we can say that the "work" migration motive plays a very different role for men and women: for men it may limit integration in the other spheres –namely cultural

(25) This result should also be linked to indicator construction itself, since one component concerns women's activity: given that women who came to France to work are more likely to be working than others, they are also more likely to have high norms indicator values.

reference and social contact with others– whereas for women it either strengthens integration (often the case) or does not present significant effects. For women, the other reason –bringing the family together– works against cultural and relational integration.

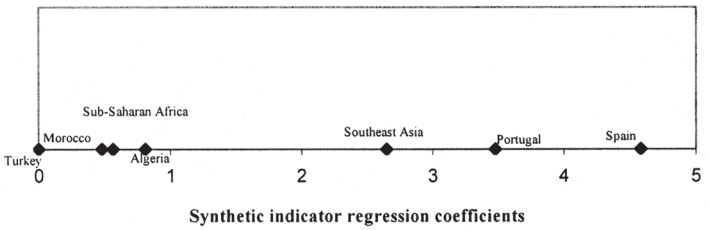
All in all, the models show that the individual characteristics represented by the control variables have a fairly weak impact on integration indicators. In fact, those indicators are more fully explained by "collective" or context variables, assumed to be captured in this model by the "country of origin" variable. More detailed analysis of the effect of this variable allows for validating the intuitions suggested in the descriptive section above and for checking the relevance of the segmentation model as a general theoretical framework for studying immigrants' integration.

The preponderant effect of national origin

As shown by Tables 3, 4 and 5, all modes of the "national origin" variable are nearly systematically significant, even when control variables are introduced. The following analysis focuses on the effect of national origin in the regression for men and emphasizes the different integration models brought to light. The indicator pair results are compared to check for the existence of the opposition structures suggested in the descriptive part. Once again, the "country of origin" variable is not to be thought of as having a determinist effect that would substantivize cultures and national belonging, but rather as a "residual" variable containing whatever cannot be controlled for by means of the model's other variables; e.g., ethnic-cultural characteristics, but also characteristics that the survey does not allow for observing, such as community networks and resources.

The regression results for the synthetic indicator constitute a quantified version of PCA Axis 1, the classic model. This indicator provides a general ranking of the survey's countries of origin that proves quite close to Tribalat's (Figure 2). It ranges from persons of Turkish origin to those of Spanish origin, the latter being 97.7 times more likely to be "well integrated" than the former. Between the two, in "ascending" order, are sub-Saharan African, Moroccan, Algerian, Southeast Asian, and Portuguese immigrants. The order here closely resembles the one for cultural references (with much lower odds ratios). Still, if we analyze indicator pair regression results following the suggestions in the descriptive analysis, we can bring to light other rankings and thereby other relations among indicators, relations that depart from the classic convergence model.

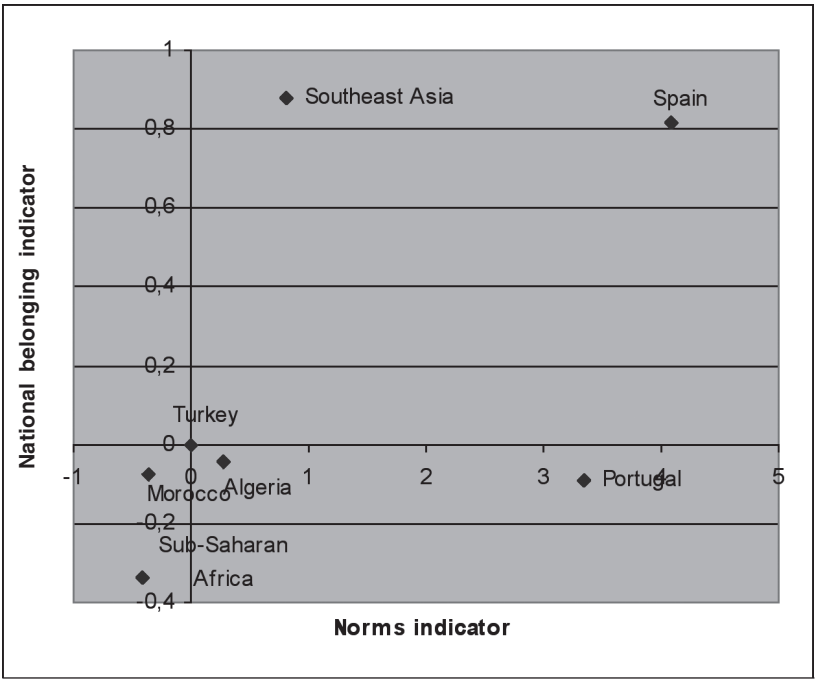
FIGURE 2. – ***Logistic regression results for the synthetic indicator***



Note: Since Turkey is the reference category for the "country of origin" variable, it is the first point on the axis.

We can begin by comparing regression results for the norms and national membership indicators. To do so, the country of origin coefficients can be represented in a two-dimensional graph (Figure 3).

FIGURE 3. – ***Logistic regression results for norms and national belonging indicators: comparison of country of origin coefficients***



Note: Turkey, the reference country, is situated at the intersection of the two axes.

Moroccan and African immigrants are the only groups with norms indicator values lower than Turkish immigrants (they are 1.4 times less likely to be integrated in this area), whereas Portuguese and Spanish immigrants are characterized by extremely high values (respectively 28 and 60 times more likely to be integrated). Asian immigrants occupy an intermediate position (2.3 times more likely than those of Turkish origin to have strong norms indicator values). This indicator therefore seems to represent a measure of the "cultural distance" between societies' value systems. It establishes an opposition between two culturally western countries, Portugal and Spain, and all the other immigrant countries of origin, characterized by cultures that may be qualified as traditional. The question arises as to whether this pre-established cultural difference between countries of origin slows individuals' civic and identity-related integration.

On the basis of the national belonging indicator regression results, we can answer this question in the negative. The relative positions of Portuguese and Southeast Asian immigrants show that convergence is not systematic. We also see that for this indicator, the values for Algerian, Moroccan and Portuguese immigrants are not significantly different from those for Turkish immigrants. We know that Turkish immigrants are very likely to wish to return to their country of origin or at least be buried there, and that they very seldom request naturalization. Moreover, Southeast Asian immigrants are approximately 2.4 times more likely than those of Turkish origin to show high values for the national belonging indicator. Clearly it is not because a Portuguese immigrant comes from a society whose value system seems close to that of France that he or she is more readily integrated in civic terms. This form of "identitary resistance" on the part of Portuguese immigrants has been analyzed by Michel Oriol (1984-1988), who considers it one empirical element of proof of the necessity of replacing integration theory with a theory of "identity variations".

This result must be qualified, however. In addition to cultural attachment to country of origin, national belonging values may be explained in terms of geographic distance: the easier it is to return (in both practical and financial terms), the more likely respondents are to affirm their desire to return. This may explain the responses of Southeast Asian immigrants to this question: the great geographical distance between their two countries leads them to better assimilate the idea of remaining in France and therefore to feel a "practical need" for French citizenship.

Portuguese immigrants' low national belonging indicator values offer a typical example of contradictory fit between integration indicators. Despite their high integration level in several other areas, Portuguese immigrants remain strongly attached to their country of origin, massively refusing to be naturalized French (76% have taken no steps in this direction) and ultimately planning to return to or at least be buried in Portugal. Many qualitative studies show that their mode of integrating into French society does not involve a break from country of origin (Cordeiro, 1987; Charbit, Hily and Poinard, 1997). Using an original approach that involves surveying inhabitants in the

original villages of Portuguese immigrants to France, Charbit, Hily and Poinard have sought to dispel the widely accepted understanding in France that Portuguese "discreetness" shows how well the French integration model functions. The authors demonstrate how such discreetness masks "intense intercommunity ties, preserved and actively maintained relations with the native country, strategies for maintaining a cultural identity that will allow for being at ease in the host country without feeling obliged to meld into it". Contrary to social representations of this group, then, the Portuguese clearly represent an integration model that does not line up with classic theory; their integration into French society does not imply acceptance of new values and clearly has little or nothing to do with an acceptance of new national belonging. Cordeiro (1987) qualifies them as "bi-located" and Charbit, Hily and Poinard (1997) as "constant émigrés" leading a double life based on a "logic of moving back and forth between two spaces, not at all a break or rejection of one space in favor of the other". The Portuguese thus seem a strong counterexample to any theory of integration that attributes major importance to the role of cultural distance between country of origin and host country: while extremely close to France geographically and culturally, Portugal is characterized by a migration mode that preserves particularisms and contact with the native country. This contradiction between cultural distance and identitary integration shows up here in the results for the relation between norm and national belonging indicators. Links such as this between two integration dimensions are not taken into account in the segmentation model, namely because it does not attribute much importance to the political, identity-related components of the integration process.

We can now examine the interaction at the core of segmentation theory problematics; i.e., between the socio-economic and social mix indicators. The way these two fit together brings to light empirical alternatives to classic integration, such as cultural pluralist and downward assimilation.

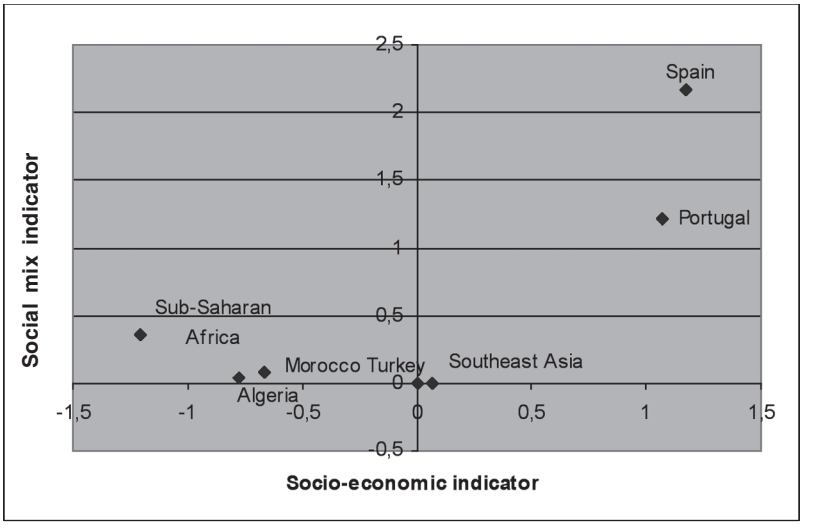
While Turkish immigrants seemed highly disadvantaged for the synthetic indicator, it is Algerian, Moroccan and especially sub-Saharan African immigrants who show the greatest socio-economic difficulties (Algerian and Moroccan immigrants are approximately half as likely as Turkish immigrants to be socio-economically integrated, while sub-Saharan African immigrants are only one-third as likely as Turkish immigrants). But the ranking produced by the social mix indicator does not line up with the one for socio-economic integration. In the former, Spanish and Portuguese immigrants are the only ones to maintain their relative positions.

Turkish and Asian immigrants seem to illustrate the "cultural pluralist" mode of integration. As shown in Figure 4, Turkish immigrants occupy a central position for the socio-economic indicator relative to the other communities while being at the bottom of the social mix indicator axis. Their social mixing is low compared to their socio-economic performance.

For Asians, the results of several qualitative studies (Fourgeau, 1998; Le Huu, 1996) concur with this study. Le Huu showed that alongside a real desire to be integrated as reflected in massive demand for naturalization, a wish to

acquire real estate, and investment in the educational performance of their children, Asians seek to achieve economic autonomy through community enclaves. This may be explained by structural and economic factors (massive available capital, a flexible community-based manual workforce, the mutual trust characteristic of intracommunity transactions), but also by cultural and religious ones, such as collectivist Confucian culture, ancestral traditions of mutual support in exile and active use of family reception networks in host countries, that play a decisive role in what Le Huu calls the "ethnic territorialization of economic space".

FIGURE 4. – ***Logistic regression results for the socio-economic and social mix indicators: comparison of country of origin coefficients***



Note: Turkey, the reference country, is situated at the intersection of the two axes.

Meanwhile, these results allow us to break with several generally accepted notions about Turkish immigrants. They are often thought of as an inward-looking community that refuses to integrate; Tribalat (1995) spoke of the Turkish exception and Gaye Petek-Salom (1999) declared that integration of Turkish immigrants to France had "broken down." The fact is that studies by Altay Manço (2000, 2004), who has a critical view of the classic model of linear integration, show that attachment to the community is a means of becoming integrated in a valorizing way, namely in socio-economic terms. Riva Kastoryano's works (1986, 1992) show how the dynamism of Turkish networks and their associative participation in countries where their numbers are high enable them to be interlocutors that governments have to reckon with; they are therefore in a position to negotiate on political, religious and

identity-related issues in a way that further strengthens community cohesion. While the two authors acknowledge the existence of a kind of Turkish "cultural conservatism" linked to these immigrants' political conception of the nation and identity, they also insist on the importance of network relations at the level of the village, region and ethnic subgroups, and the positive impact these networks can have not only on the economic but also civic and associative participation of Turkish immigrants in French society.

The empirical opposition between social mix and socio-economic indicators thus validates several qualitative studies that have underlined the existence of an integration mode characteristic of Asian and Turkish populations in France that differs from the republican model in that it leaves a room for a kind of cultural pluralism.

The case of sub-Saharan Africans and North Africans is symmetrically opposed to the Turks'; they are at a sharp socio-economic disadvantage compared to other original nationalities whereas their social mix indicator shows higher values than for Turks or Asians (Figure 4). These immigrant groups seem to be in a situation of downward assimilation. All recent studies show their cultural assimilation indicators to be rising: they are among the immigrant populations most likely to intermarry, and this is constantly increasing (Le Bon, 1991-1998); they are highly likely to request naturalization (Belbah and Chattou, 2001); they show high civic and associative involvement (Jazouli, 1986; Lapeyronnie, 1987; Poiret, 1994, 1996; Baillet, 2001; Quiminal and Timera, 2002); lastly, their French is much better than Turkish or Asian immigrants'. But the socio-economic indicators do not follow, and these groups experience record unemployment rates, job and housing insecurity, and their children are relatively likely to have educational difficulties. The low resources of these communities, their weakly organized relational networks,(26) but also and perhaps most importantly the strong discrimination they are subjected to mean that even though there is some solidarity, it cannot very readily be concretized in acts of financial and employment-related support.

The results of this study thus show the existence of differential integration modes: different immigrant communities are characterized by different modes. But though the link between country of origin and integration mode appears collectively strong, it is not systematic for individuals. Not all Turkish immigrants to France have an integration trajectory close to pluralistic integration and clearly not all North Africans are in a state of downward assimilation. To estimate immigration population distribution among the various integration modes, we can classify those modes in ascending hierarchical order (AHC). To directly test the relevance of the segmentation model, namely the opposition between cultural and economic situations, the cultural

(26) Studies of the North African collective movement (Jazouli, 1986; Blatt, 2000) stress its lack of cohesion, internal conflicts and inability to train and put forward full-fledged political "leaders".

indicators are all grouped together (cultural references, norms and national belonging) to produce an overall cultural indicator. The social mix indicator is isolated because it plays a crucial role in the segmented assimilation theory: it can be regarded as a proxy of the level of closeness and solidarity within the various communities. In this connection it can be thought of as a social capital indicator. The AHC thus proceeds on the basis of three active variables: the socio-economic, social mix and overall cultural indicators. These three variables enable us to account for immigrant's individual characteristics in economic and cultural terms and his or her "collective" relations with the community of origin, captured by the social mix indicator. Classification results suggest the existence of four classes. Interclass inertia accounts for 61.1% of total inertia –a satisfactory proportion– and is nearly equal for the four classes, meaning that all four present the same degree of homogeneity and comprise approximately the same number of individuals. The following table summarizes class composition:

TABLE 6. – ***AHC results for men***(27)

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4
N	1,061	1,369	1,188	1,175
Overall cultural	+	-	-	+
Social mix	+	-	-	+
Socio-economic	-	+	-	+
Overrepresented country of origin	Africa Morocco Southeast Asia	Turkey Southeast Asia Portugal	Turkey Africa Morocco	Spain Portugal Southeast Asia
Integration model	Downward	Cultural pluralist	Classic	Classic

Source: Enquête *MGIS. Frame*: 4,793 men.
Reading: In Class 1, the average overall cultural indicator value is higher than for the immigrant population at large, whereas the average value for the socio-economic indicator is lower than for that population at large.

This classification clearly shows that the classic model does not suffice to describe the integration process of the immigrant population as a whole: it applies to only half that population. The first two classes, which make up the second half of the sample, represent the two incorporation modes theorized by the segmentation model: downward assimilation for Class 1 and cultural pluralist integration for Class 2. Moreover, it is clear that at the individual scale there are no exclusive links between integration mode and country of origin. While North African and sub-Saharan immigrants are overrepresented in the downward assimilation class, they are also overrepresented in Class 3, a classic integration class. Likewise, while Portuguese immigrants are strongly represented in the cultural pluralist integration class, they are also overrepresented in classic integration (Class 4). This ranking thus allows for estimating the representativeness of the segmentation model –approximately

(27) Table 6 offers a partial empirical version of François Dubet's table in his conclusion to *Immigrations*: *qu'en savons-nous*? (1989b).

50% of the sample– and relativizing the correlation with the national origin variable.

Is there a time link between the different integration modes? Can we speak of a shift from one mode to the other over time? While Class 3 seems to characterize the outset of an integration process and Class 4 its culmination(28) –or at least an advanced integration stage– the other two classes do not lend themselves to interpretation in terms of time or chronology. They inform us about integration mode rather than progression. In fact, only a longitudinal study encompassing immigrants' descendants would allow for studying the question of a temporal link between the different integration modes.

Lastly, the different integration modes presented here are closely linked to each community's relational networks, the level of community solidarity created by those networks, and the economic and financial resources they allow for mobilizing. This means that hidden behind the social mix indicator is the entire matter of describing the relational network an immigrant develops with his or her community of origin in France, on the one hand, and with French society at large on the other. We can hypothesize that Turkish and Asian networks enable these communities to develop social capital that proves helpful for its individual members' socio-economic situation. Segmentation theory clearly shows that community ties can allow an immigrant community, particularly one subjected to discrimination, to escape downward assimilation.

The effect of community networks on immigrants' economic situation

Comparing social mix indicator regression results with those for the socio-economic indicator allows for asserting the existence of integration modes that are not in line with the classic model, but to validate segmentation theory we need to test in finer detail the causation link that may exist between these two indicators. In other words, can we confirm that for a certain number of cases, the community's social network has a positive effect on the economic situation of community members?

To test this, a model relating all the constructed indicators was estimated. Spanish immigrants were excluded because the preceding regression results show that they perfectly illustrate the classic integration model. The model is based on an ordinary least square analysis (OLS) using household income(29) (household size and composition taken into account) as a continuous dependent variable. There are two continuous explanatory variables –length of stay in the country and length of education– and several categorical variables (father's occupation, reason for immigrating, prior knowledge of French, age on arrival). Cultural, norms and national belonging indicators are

(28) Class 3 concerns recently arrived populations whereas Class 4 comprises immigrants from older migration waves.

(29) Total annual income.

also introduced as covariables in order to represent individual's overall cultural situation. The social mix indicator is introduced by way of two terms, one at the individual level, namely, value of the social mix indicator for the given individual; the other at the community level, calculated as the average of the social mix indicator within the community. This last variable measures the strength of community ties and can thus be said to represent the community's social capital. If the value of this variable is high, community ties are strong and social capital high. The model does not bring in the country of origin variable, because it is perfectly correlated with the social capital one. It is as if the social capital variable represented the effect of the immigrant origin variable while ordering the categories of that variable in terms of the social mix indicator. It is no longer simply being of Moroccan origin that impacts, but being Moroccan with the knowledge that the Moroccan community holds the third position in ascending order for the average social mix indicator by community of origin. This social capital indicator is quite rudimentary, but it does allow for separating the individual effect from the community one. Lastly, to pick up the possible quadratic effect of the impact of this variable, a squared term is introduced. The OLS analysis results are presented in Table 7.(30)

Though simplified, this model provides clearly interpretable results. We see that all indicator values have a positive effect on individual's income. This follows directly from the positive correlation among the indicators. The clearly endogenous nature of these variables means that the interpretation cannot be pushed so far as to claim a causal link.

After controlling for individual human capital and migration conditions variables, we see that the social mix variable shows the opposite effects at the individual and community levels. For individuals, social mix –and the same is the case for all the other indicators– shows a positive effect on socioeconomic situation. In fact, the literature suggests that a major part of this link is due to the selection effect (Kantarevic, 2004): we know that immigrants who intermarry and live in relatively non-segregated neighborhoods are the "most successful". It is as if another variable, one that cannot be observed (intelligence or physical beauty), explained why an individual shows high values for the social mix indicator and has a successful economic career. Still, when social mix for the community as a whole is measured, we see that the impact works significantly in the opposite direction: consistent with segmentation theory, strong social capital within the community –i.e., low social mix– may have a positive effect on immigrants' economic situation. This result may be stressed given the significant coefficient of the quadratic term: the stronger the community ties, the greater their effect on income.

(30) Regression results using the socioeconomic indicator as a dependent variable are very close to those presented above. The regression on income was chosen for reasons of greater sample population variability.

TABLE 7. – ***Results of OLS regression on household income***

Variables	Coefficient	Standard deviation
Constant	206.66***	34.318
Social mix indicator	7.54***	1.8367
Cultural references indicator	9.37***	2.2015
Norms indicator	22.72***	1.7285
National belonging indicator	3.81**	1.6416
Length of time in the country	0.86***	0.064
Education	0.38***	0.072
Social capital	798.41***	134.34
(Social capital)^2	809.16***	129.55
Father's occupation		
Farmworker		
Farmer	4.90***	1.36
Craftsman, tradesman, head of business	9.27***	1.63
Manager, liberal and intermediate	10.31***	2.11
professions	6.77***	1.99
White-collar	2.45*	1.46
Semi-skilled manual worker	0.98	1.46
Unskilled manual worker		
Immigrated to work		
No		
Yes	0.97	1.26
Immigrated for family reasons		
No		
Yes	-3.95***	1.18
Prior knowledge of French		
No		
Yes	3.46***	1.11
Age on arrrival in France		
30-55 years		
0-9 years	-17.33***	2.07
10-19 years	-3.01*	1.58
20-29 years	1.05	1.38

* significant at 0.10; ** significant at 0.05; ***significant at 0.01.
Source: *MGIS* (1992). Sample of 6,715 men and women originally from Portugal, Southeast Asia, Algeria, Morocco and sub-Saharan Africa.

This model thus makes it possible to validate the existence of a specific relation between community social capital and immigrants' socio-economic situation. It has serious limitations: a rudimentary social capital estimator, the problem of endogeneity, a human capital variable that cannot be entirely controlled for. Nonetheless, it shows the value of paying close attention to the individual and collective dynamics of immigrant integration and examining more closely the impact of the national origin variable on immigrants' situations in the host country.

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* *

This study has provided a precise measurement of the classic integration model, represented by a synthetic overall indicator that aggregates all other indicators. This homogeneous vision of integration allows for establishing a hierarchical scale that ranks individuals (and countries of origin) in relation to the integration process. The results obtained confirm Tribalat's; they show a particularly low level of integration for Turkish immigrants and a particularly high one for Spanish immigrants.

However, when we refine the analysis by studying the indicators one by one and comparing how they fit together for the different groups, other integration models, closer to those theorized by Portes, come to light. An empirical counter-example to the integration typology presented at the outset of this article is thus provided. Spanish immigrants are most likely to fit that classic integration model. Africans and to a lesser degree North Africans are the most likely to experience a situation of downward assimilation. The cases of Portuguese, Asian and Turkish immigrants clearly illustrate cultural pluralist integration. Analysis of segmented assimilation by groups of origin is interesting because these groups constitute concrete examples of theoretical integration models.

However, the models used here have several limitations. They do not control for contextual and historical variables. This means the history of the different immigration waves cannot be taken into account. The greatest limitation of this study lies in the fact that it analyzes time-bound integration indicators: though the data used occasionally provide retrospective information, they remain cross-sectional, whereas the integration process takes place over time, and it is crucial to be able to integrate the time dimension into the models.

One result comes strikingly to the fore in the analysis: the predominant effect of immigrant's country of origin. Though we may legitimately assume that this variable reflects the ethnic-cultural characteristics of a given sample of immigrants, we cannot accept a determinist interpretation of its effect on integration.(31) It would be necessary to specify the causal links between national origin and immigrant's situation with respect to this or that integration sphere. This article aimed to test an interpretation of this variable in terms of community networks, taking its cue from the segmented assimilation theory. Behind the country of origin variable lies the issue of social capital and the fact that the immigration phenomenon is not exclusively individual. This means that differences in origin itself are not what determine the integration phenomenon; more concrete variables are operative that then need to be related to the precise conditions of this or that community's migration history, level of material resources the community has been able to accumulate, level of solidarity among community members and intensity of ties within the community. In this study, however, only a relatively rudimentary social capital estimator could be used. It measures only intensity of ties within a given

(31) It cannot be affirmed, for example, that being North African is a factor that itself works against integration.

community and does not inform about the real resources available in that community. Studies of social capital show that the distinction between ties and resources is crucial (Portes, 1998). The interpretation put forward here of the national origin variable in terms of social capital deserves to be further developed by integrating variables that would better characterize how community networks function and by quantifying the resources available to the respective communities. This type of analysis requires following the migration phenomenon over time, in order to determine the role the community plays in receiving new immigrants and in new immigrants' settlement, job-seeking and housing. It would also require using data on second generations, which, as shown by nearly all studies on this question, better illustrate segmentation.

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APPENDIX

Theoretical note: the different assimilation stages according to Milton Gordon

Milton Gordon's work, *Assimilation in American Life,* was the first attempt to theorize the assimilation process. Gordon broke that process down into seven distinct dimensions or stages, presented in the following table [reproduction of Gordon's table, 1964, p. 71].

Subprocess or condition	Types or stages of assimilation	Special term
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society on primary group level	Structural	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital	Amalgamation
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude-receptional	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavior-receptional	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic	None

This breakdown of the assimilation process proves of great practical use since it makes it possible to separate the various assimilation factors and thereby to analyze a multitude of possible integration process configurations. In addition, isolating the different dimensions in this way paves the way for an analysis of integration that marks distances from the convergence model. Given that each of these dimensions has its own particular type of logic and depends on independent social phenomena, there is no reason *a priori* that all of these components should follow the same development path.

Indicator construction

The socio-economic dimension

This set of indicators is composed as follows:

– Income, calculated by consumption unit and broken down into four categories corresponding to income distribution quartiles that take into account household size and composition (number of adults and children).

– Employment situation ("employed", "unemployed", "not working", used to determine social status (as well as financial status);

– Occupation: the French "*Professions et catégories socioprofessionnelles*" nomenclature was used to create an indicator of immigrant's social and occupational situation;

– Housing situation, comprised of the following four indicators: housing condition, (32) type, (33) conveniences, (34) appliances. (35)

(32) Condition: "very good", "good", "poor".

(33) Types: "free-standing house", "apartment", "public housing project apartment", "other".

(34) Conveniences: "all modern", "all except heating", "other".

(35) Appliances: "all", "all except dishwasher", "refrigerator and washing machine", "other".

Social mix dimension

Intermarriage

A three-level indicator was constructed:

– spouse belongs to the same family as respondent;

– an intermediary level where spouse is of foreign nationality; i.e., of the same nationality as respondent (95%), or a different nationality (5%) or naturalized French;

– spouse is French-born.

Degree of social mix characterizing immigrant's contacts

Three different categories were distinguished for this indicator: persons mainly in contact with compatriots; persons in contact with individuals of foreign nationality or of varied origins; persons mainly in contact with French persons. This classification allows for measuring the distance between the immigrant and French society, namely in terms of his or her relational life. To use Gordon's terminology, it allows for determining immigrant's "structural assimilation" level.

Degree of social mix characterizing place of residence

This indicator is directly linked to the theme of spatial segregation. It can therefore be criticized for reflecting a certain organization of space in the host country rather than degree of immigrant integration, especially since living in a given neighborhood is often linked to household income. Still, ethnic composition of the neighborhood the immigrant lives in offers a glimpse of his or her daily contacts, and in the case of individuals living in a neighborhood where the proportion of compatriots is high, it can give an idea of the existence of community networks. It was therefore included in the series of indicators, with the following distinct possibilities:

– persons living in neighborhoods with a high proportion of compatriots;

– persons living in neighborhoods with a high proportion of immigrants but low proportion of compatriots;

– persons living in neighborhoods with a low proportion of immigrants.

Degree of social mix at work

Not only does this indicator inform about a major proportion of the individual's contacts, given that work is a fundamental locus of sociability, it is also adapted to the issue at hand; i.e., the role of the community in immigrant's trajectory, namely with regard to socio-occupational integration. This indicator is broken down into four categories:

– Individuals whose co-workers are primarily compatriot immigrants;

– Individuals whose co-workers are primarily non-compatriot immigrants (including a minority of compatriot co-workers);

– Individuals who have a minority of non-compatriot immigrant co-workers;

– Individuals working with few immigrants, and no-answers.

Cultural references dimension

Composed of the following indicators:

Leisure activities

A composite indicator including information on immigrants' tastes in music, the films they watch and the newspapers they read. In each of these areas the aim was to discern degree of attachment to country-of-origin culture as reflected in the fact of listening to traditional music, watching films from the country or reading newspapers in immigrant's native language or published in the country of origin. Lastly, these indicators were linked to a vacationing place indicator, the aim being to distinguish immigrants who had returned to their country of origin in the preceding 12 months from all others.

Cooking

Recent sociology studies of immigration show that cooking is a particularly enduring cultural feature: immigrants continue to prepare the traditional dishes of their country of origin and transmit them from generation to generation. A culinary heritage indicator was therefore isolated using a question on type of cooking respondent does when receiving guests. A three-level indicator was constructed, distinguishing first, persons who say they cook traditional dishes from their country of origin; second, persons who answered less categorically (they also cook differently, or "it depends"); and third, persons stating they cook French dishes, a response understood to indicate a break from immigrant's original culinary traditions.

Religion

While regular practice is understood to reflect adherence and strong religious feeling, observance of fasting periods and food prohibitions may be intermittent. This is a complex social fact that is hard to elucidate in the framework of a quantitative survey. In general, we can assume that individuals' declarations are more useful in measuring cultural attachment than the exact intensity of their observance of religious prescriptions. Adopting a distinction proposed by Michèle Tribalat, only the question of observance of religious prohibitions was used for the cultural reference indicator, the idea being that the answer to this question is most likely to reflect cultural or identity-based religious commitment. (36)

A three-level indicator of observance of food-related prohibitions (food and drink) was constructed. (37) The first level identifies individuals who say they observe prohibitions for both food and drink; the second, individuals who say they follow one type of prohibition only; the third, persons who follow neither.

Language

The survey informs us on language used with different possible household interlocutors (spouse, children). Three categories can be distinguished: persons who speak exclusively their native language with all these interlocutors; those who speak exclusively their native language with spouse or children; persons who speak French at least from time to time with all their interlocutors.

Norms dimension

Composed of the following indicators:

Choice of spouse

This indicator distinguishes persons whose marital choice was influenced or imposed by their family from all others.

Women's activity indicator

Indicates for female respondents whether they work or are seeking work. Male respondents answered regarding the same characteristics of their spouse or partner. The indicator value is high (successful integration) if the woman in the household works, is looking for a job or retired; it falls if she has never worked or is not looking for work.

Fertility indicator

Given respondent age heterogeneity and the aim of including the greatest number of persons for this indicator, the fertility indicator was constructed by combining two questions, one fac-

(36) Frequency of religious practice itself is included in the norms indicators presented below.

(37) When such prohibitions exist in individual's religion.

tual, [38] the other involving a mental representation. [39] The latter comes into play for individuals who answered that they had at least three children and are below 40 (i.e., procreation age). Individuals with more than three children or expressing the wish to have more than three children were then distinguished from the others.

Religious practice indicator

Four possibilities were distinguished in constructing this indicator: persons stating they practice regularly, persons stating they practice occasionally, persons stating they do not practice (and that they have a religion), persons stating they have no religion.

National belonging dimension

The national belonging indicator is composed of two sets of indicators. The first set groups together the themes of return and burial and is composed of three ordered categories: individuals wishing to return definitively to their country of origin are considered "least integrated"; those not wishing to return but wishing to be buried there represent an intermediate level of integration; those wishing neither to return nor to be buried in their country of origin were ranked "most integrated". The second set comprised the themes of naturalization and voter registration. It was constructed differently for foreigners and persons with dual citizenship. Foreigners who have carried out the formalities of applying for naturalization were distinguished from the others. For persons with dual citizenship, the question was whether they were registered to vote in France. Those who are not were grouped with foreigners who have requested naturalization; those who are were ranked as "most integrated". This indicator is therefore composed of three hierarchically ordered levels.

Table 8 presents quantiles, means and standard deviations for the various indicators.

TABLE 8. – ***Indicator distributions***

	Q1	Median	Mean	Q3	Standard deviation
Socio-economic	0.36	0.47	0.48	0.58	0.17
Social mix	0.33	0.50	0.55	0.75	0.26
Norms indicator	0.25	0.50	0.46	0.66	0.29
National belonging indicator	0.25	0.50	0.44	0.75	0.32
Cultural	0.25	0.43	0.46	0.66	0.27

TABLE 9. – ***Aggregation strategy test***

Indicators	Before application of strategy			After application of strategy		
	N	Mean	Standard deviation	N	Mean	Standard deviation
Cultural	1,981	0.4617	0.2577	8,862	0.4624	0.2678
Social mix	1,478	0.6087	0.2372	8,862	0.5543	0.2666
Norms	5,261	0.5107	0.2753	8,862	0.4587	0.2968
National belonging	8,820	0.4455	0.3251	8,862	0.4451	0.3254
Socio-economic	8,862	0.4788	0.1753	8,862	0.4788	0.1753

(38) "How many live-birth children do you have, even if the children do not live with you?"

(39) "What, in your opinion, is the ideal number of children?"

Clearly the aggregation strategy has a weak impact on results: the difference between indicator distributions "before" and "after" recoding is slight. It is strongest for the synthetic "norms" and "social mix" indicators, whose components were particularly affected by the "no-answer" problem (and above all by the screening questions): if we limit ourselves to individuals who systematically answered all the questions related to these two indicators, we lose a major part of the initial sample. But the difference remains negligible: measured by average, the aggregation strategy increases the social mix indicator by 9.8% and the norms indicator by 11.3%.

FIGURE 5. – ***Indicator summary***

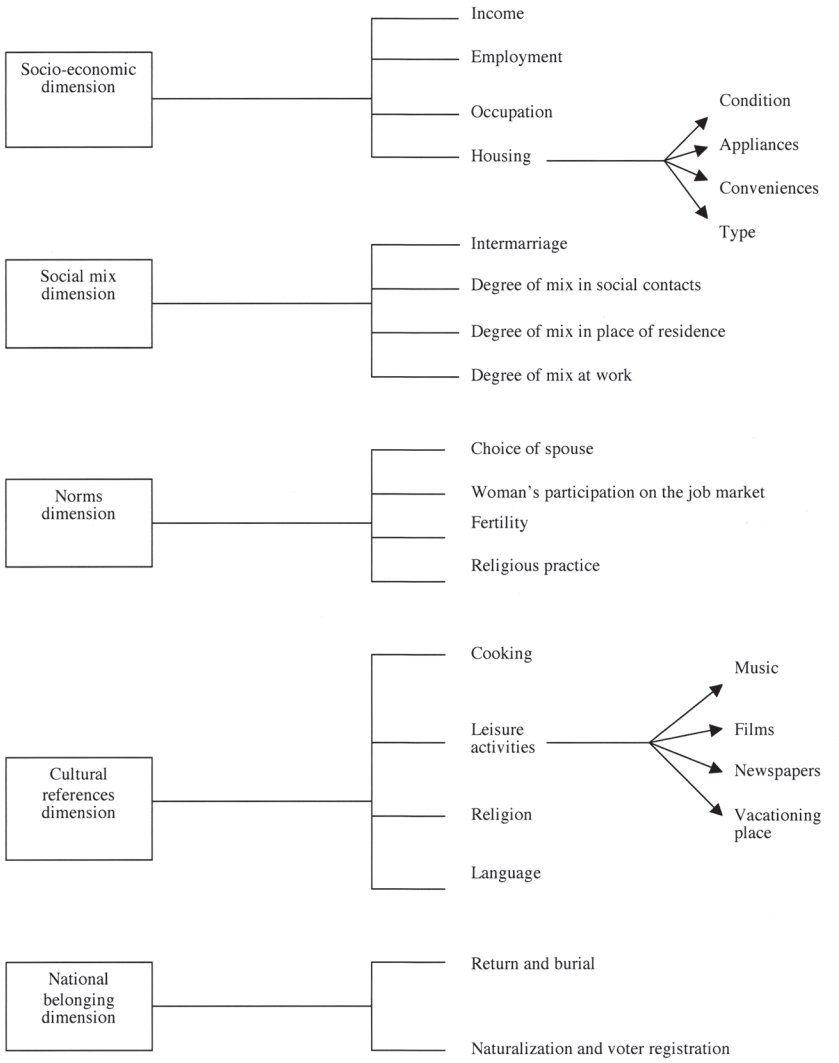
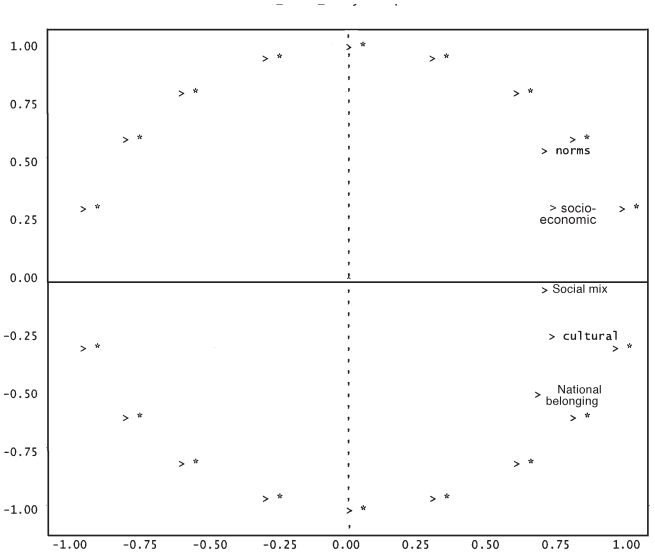
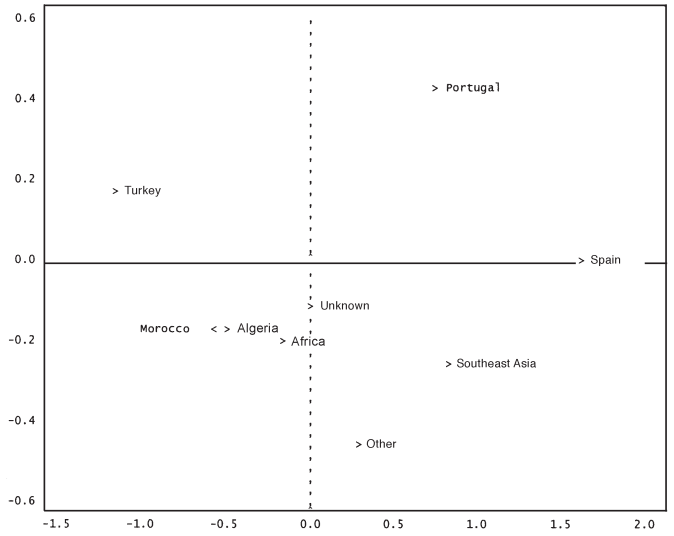


FIGURE. – ***Principal Component Analysis of indicators***

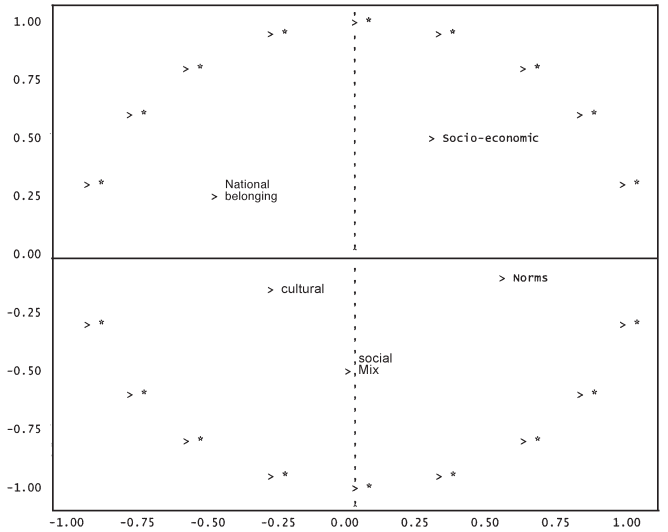
a) Active variables in plane 1-2



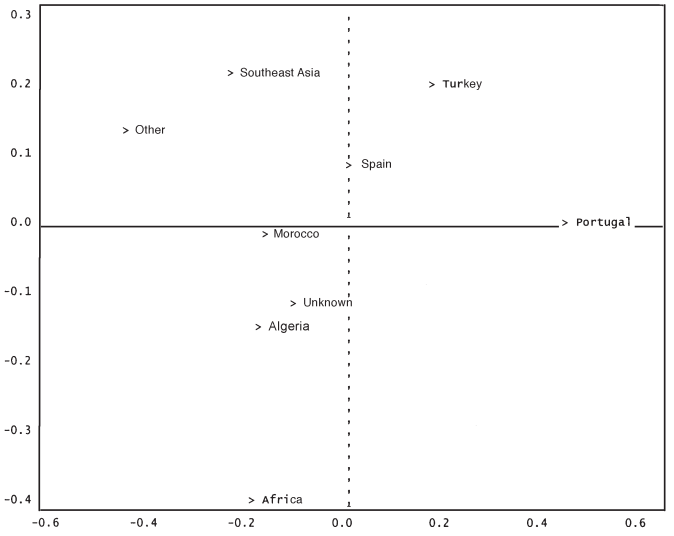
b) Countries of origin in plane 1-2



c) Active variables in plane 2-4



d) Countries of origin in plane 2-4



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