

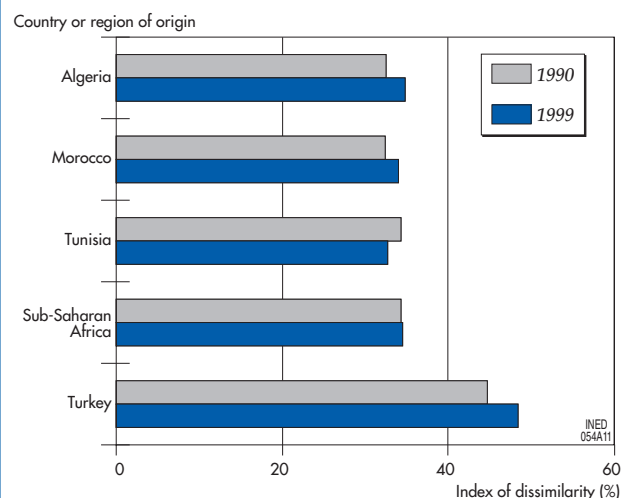
Residential segregation of immigrants in France: an overview

Jean-Louis Pan Ké Shon*

It is well known that certain population groups – be they the most wealthy or the most disadvantaged – tend to congregate in particular neighbourhoods, often referred to as “urban ghettos”. Is this true for the populations of immigrant origin in France? Drawing upon various available data sources, notably the recent Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO), Jean-Louis Pan Ké Shon examines residential segregation in France and its evolution.

In everyday language, the notion of “segregation” evokes the spatial separation of social or ethnic groups and suggests a deliberate intention. In the tradition of urban studies, however, the term is used solely to indicate the separation of one population with respect to another. Segregation is generally measured using the “index of dissimilarity” or “segregation index” which calculates the share of the population that would have to leave a neighbourhood (or municipality) for the composition of the neighbourhood to match that of the rest of the country. The reference population in this case is the mainstream population of French persons born with French nationality (Box 1). The higher the index, the greater the degree of segregation. Of course, this notion is relative, since absolute separation is as rare as systematic mixing, but segregation measured in this way enables us to make comparisons over time and space. We will take a brief look at the studies of segregation in France conducted in recent decades before presenting the new findings of the Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO, Box 2).

Figure 1 - Index of dissimilarity of immigrants and their adult children in the Paris region (Île-de-France), 1990 and 1999



* See Box 1.
Scope: Île-de-France, by municipality (and 80 neighbourhoods for Paris).
Sources: INSEE, 1990 and 1999 population censuses; Prêteceille, 2009 [3].

(J.-L. Pan Ké Shon, *Population & Societies*, no. 477, INED, April 2011)

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◆ Three immigrant groups concentrated in three regions

In 2007, almost half of the 5.1 million immigrants living in metropolitan France (mainland France and Corsica) came from North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa or Turkey (respectively, 30.6%, 12.3% and 4.6%).⁽¹⁾ Among these three groups, almost two-thirds were concentrated in three regions: more than 40% in the Paris region (Île-de-France), one-tenth in the Rhône-Alpes region, and a similar proportion in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region.

The segregation of a group is not proportional to its size, on a nation-wide level at least. For example, Turkish immigrants are few in number and are strongly segregated, while Portuguese immigrants (11.2% of all immigrants), almost as numerous as Moroccans (12.5%) and Algerians (13.6%), are much less so. The reasons for these differences must be sought elsewhere.

◆ Segregation is increasing, but slowly

In 1999, the index of dissimilarity of Algerian immigrants was 33%. In other words, to achieve a total absence of segregation, 33% of Algerians and their cohabiting children who lived in the Île-de-France region would have had to leave their neighbourhood or their municipality and move elsewhere in the region [3]. In none of the municipalities of the region did non-European immigrants and their cohabiting children represent the majority of the population. Fewer than 5% of them represented the majority in neighbourhoods of around 5,000 inhabitants (14 in all) and 20% formed the majority in neighbourhoods of around 2,000 inhabitants [3].

From 1990 to 1999, segregation increased slightly in the Île-de-France region for Algerian, Moroccan and Turkish immigrants, it remained stable for sub-Saharan Africans and fell for Tunisians (Figure 1).

In 1999, in the neighbourhoods of "urban units" with more than 50,000 inhabitants, North Africans, sub-Saharan Africans and Southeast Asians were the most strongly segregated groups (Figure 2) [5]. Alongside Turkish immigrants, they are also the most segregated in the eight largest French "metropolitan areas", each comprising between 100 and 1,600 municipalities [4]. Segregation has risen slightly since 1990 for each of these groups, with the exception of Southeast Asians [4]. However, over a longer timescale – between 1968 and 1999 – segregation fell by 5 percentage points for North African immigrants, by 9 points for sub-Saharan Africans, by 1.7 points for Asians and by 3.6 points for Europeans [5].

◆ Greater residential integration in the second generation

The Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO) conducted in 2008 (Box 2) provides more recent data for the whole of metropolitan France and identifies the "second generation" (persons born in France to immigrant

(1) The other large immigrant groups are from Europe (39%) and Asia (14%).

Box 1

Definitions

Residential segregation: defined as the concentration of disadvantaged populations in circumscribed areas. It is associated with the implicit idea of separation, either deliberate or resulting from individual or institutional decisions that result in segregation (e.g. preference for living with persons of a similar background, policies for the construction and attribution of social housing, etc.).

Index of dissimilarity or segregation index: measure of the proportion of inhabitants of a neighbourhood or municipality who would have to move out in order for the area concerned to match the composition of the reference area as a whole.

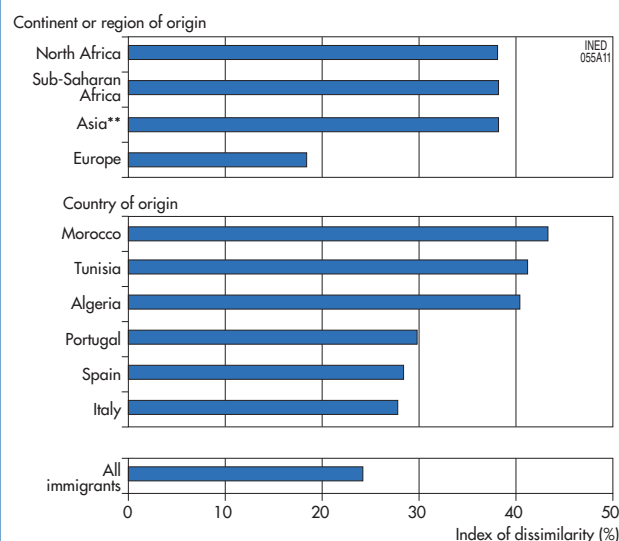
Immigrant: person born abroad to non-French parents and currently residing in France. Immigrants may acquire French nationality after immigrating, or may keep their foreign nationality.

Second generation: person with one or two immigrant parents.

Mainstream population: persons living in France who are not immigrants and do not have an immigrant parent. This group includes French persons born abroad and their children, including colonial repatriates and their children born in metropolitan France. It also includes the adult grandchildren of immigrants. In this study, persons born in the French overseas *départements* (DOM) and their adult children are not counted in the mainstream population.

Disadvantaged neighbourhood: 751 disadvantaged neighbourhoods (*zone urbaine sensible*, ZUS) have been defined in France. Out of this total, 100 neighbourhoods with more than 8,500 inhabitants are classified as urban tax-free areas (*zones franches urbaines*, ZFU) characterized by a high concentration of disadvantaged inhabitants, a degraded living environment and a limited fiscal capacity at municipal level. Companies setting up in a ZFU are exempted from tax and social security contributions for five years.

Figure 2 - Index of dissimilarity* of immigrants in France by country or region of origin



* See Box 1; ** Here, Asia includes Turkey.

Scope: Metropolitan France, neighbourhoods of urban units with more than 50,000 inhabitants.

Sources: INSEE, 1999 population census; Verdugo, 2011 [5].

(J.-L. Pan Ké Shon, *Population & Sociétés*, n° 477, Ined, avril 2011)

parents). The survey findings can be associated with census data on neighbourhoods, such as unemployment rate and proportion of immigrants, for finer analysis of the information obtained.

The stronger segregation of immigrants and their children from sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Turkey needs to be looked at more closely, as their situation is easily masked by the more favourable circumstances of immigrants from other origins.

Observed in this way, segregation in 2008 was very strong: in the most disadvantaged 10% of neighbourhoods (where the unemployment rates are highest), immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Turkey (referred to hereafter as ANT) represented almost 42% of the total population, while members of the mainstream population accounted for just 10% (Box 1, Figure 3). The adult children of ANT immigrants are less concentrated in the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods (35%) and tend to live in neighbourhoods where the unemployment rate is slightly lower. Among persons of ANT origin, residential “integration” progresses from one generation to the next.

◆ Segregation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods

Disadvantaged neighbourhoods (defined in Box 1) combine disadvantaged and immigrant populations, and sometimes a degraded living environment. In 2008, among inhabitants of such neighbourhoods, referred to

Box 2

Trajectories and Origins (TeO), a survey on population diversity in France

The TeO survey aims to describe and analyse the living conditions and social trajectories of individuals in relation to their social origins and their migration history. Around 22,000 individuals born between 1948 and 1990 living in an ordinary household in metropolitan France were interviewed in 2008. For the children of immigrants and persons born in a DOM, the representative scope of the survey was limited to individuals born after 1958.

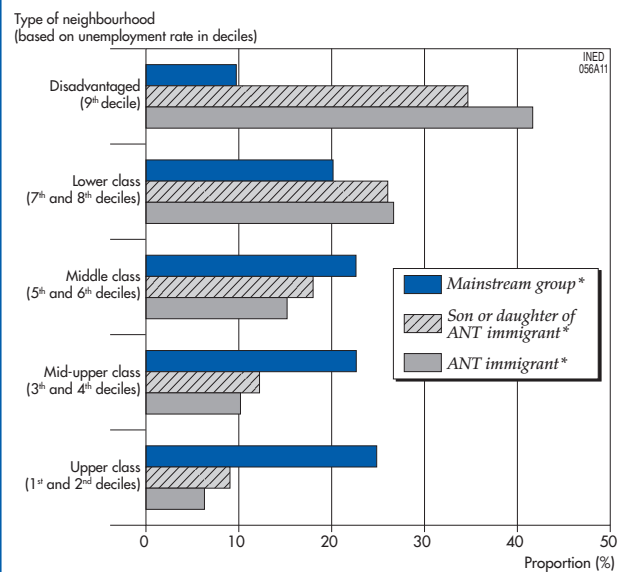
The TeO questionnaire explores the migration history of respondents or their parents, describes their educational and occupational trajectories, their residential history, their housing conditions, their family life and the transmission of languages and religion. It examines individuals' access to goods and services (employment, housing, services, healthcare, etc.) and the discrimination they may experience in these areas.

For our analysis, contextual information on the respondents' neighbourhood was also added. To guarantee anonymity, these data (unemployment rate, proportion of immigrants, proportion of social housing, etc.) were given in deciles. Deciles are values that divide the sorted data, in this case the neighbourhood unemployment rate, into ten equal parts.

The survey was organized jointly by INED and INSEE. It was conducted between September 2008 and February 2009 by INSEE interviewers.

To find out more: http://teo_english.site.ined.fr/

Figure 3 - Proportion of immigrants and their adult children in a neighbourhood by type of neighbourhood (based on unemployment rate)



* ANT = Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Turkey; mainstream population (see definitions in Box 1); immigrants and second generations of other origins are not represented.

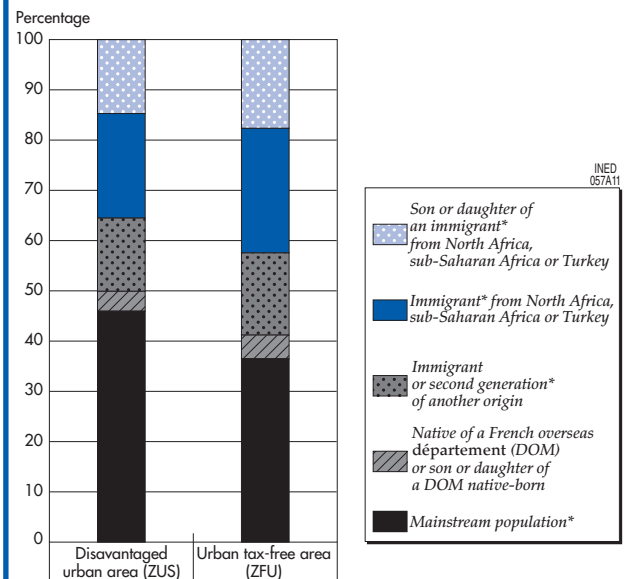
Scope: Persons aged 18-60 no longer living with their parents.

Interpretation: The neighbourhoods are grouped in deciles by type, as proxied by unemployment rate, in 2008 (vertical scale). In the 10% of neighbourhoods with the highest employment rate (9th decile: disadvantaged neighbourhood), the population aged 18-60 includes almost 10% of persons belonging to the mainstream population, 35% of the adult children of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Turkey (ANT) and 42% of immigrants from these regions.

Source: *Trajectories and Origins survey, INED-INSEE, 2008.*

(J.-L. Pan Ké Shon, *Population & Sociétés*, n° 477, Ined, avril 2011)

Figure 4 - Population of disadvantaged neighbourhoods by origin



* See definitions in Box 1.

Scope: Persons aged 18-60 living in metropolitan France.

Source: *Trajectories and Origins survey, INED-INSEE, 2008.*

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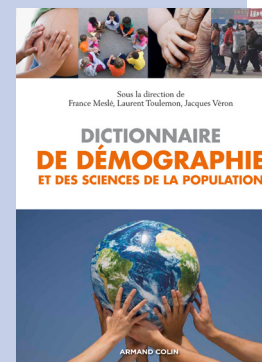
as zones urbaines sensibles (ZUS) in French, 46% were from the mainstream population, 35% were ANT immigrants and their adult children, 15% were other immigrants and their adult children, and 4% were persons born in the French overseas départements (DOM) and their adult children (Figure 4). The urban tax-free areas (zones franches urbaines, ZFU, Box 1) are even more deprived. Compared with the ZUS neighbourhoods, the ZFUs have an even smaller proportion of inhabitants from the mainstream population (36%) and a higher proportion of ANT immigrants (25%) and their adult children (18%), who together represent almost 43% of the total. Persons born in the DOMs and their adult children (4.7%) and inhabitants of other origins (16%) form the rest of the population. Contrary to the “ghetto” image, even in the most segregated neighbourhoods, inhabitants of diverse origins are mixed with the mainstream population. And we should not forget that three-quarters of ANT immigrants (72%) and their adult children (76%) live outside ZUS neighbourhoods. In fact, in 2006-2007 a total of 4.5 million people – immigrants, second generations and mainstream population – lived in a ZUS, and slightly above 1.5 million in a ZFU, for a total immigrant population in metropolitan France of 5.2 million (of which 2.2 million sub-Saharan and North African immigrants and 234,000 Turkish immigrants). The over-representation of immigrants and the second generation in ZUS and ZFU neighbourhoods, notably those from sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Turkey, suggests that a range of factors lies behind their concentration in these particularly disadvantaged areas (low rents, concentration of social housing, direct and indirect discrimination, etc.).⁽²⁾ Residential mobility – primarily upward mobility – in these highly segregated neighbourhoods is nonetheless high, again showing a trend towards residential “integration” over the long term [2].

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(2) It is commonly believed that residential segregation reflects a genuine preference for living with persons of a similar background. But this is not consistent with scientific observation, which shows, on the contrary, that immigrants move to less concentrated neighbourhoods or municipalities if they have the opportunity to do so [1, 2, 3, 4].

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ABSTRACT

In France, residential segregation of immigrant populations from North Africa, sub-Saharan African, Turkey and Asia is high. Between 1990 and 1999, the segregation of Turks, Algerians and Moroccans increased, while for Tunisians it remained stable and for sub-Saharan Africans it decreased. Viewed over a longer timescale (1968-1999), segregation has decreased for all immigrant populations. As shown by the Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO) conducted by INED in 2008, 42% of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Turkey live in the 10% of neighbourhoods where unemployment is highest, and they represent 28% of the population of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The second generations are less concentrated in these neighbourhoods, however, indicating that residential integration increases from one generation to the next.