

Research Brief
Migrant Employment
& Recruitment Costs

France

Philomène Franssen-Ando
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For the purpose of clarity, below are the definitions of the terms “un étranger: a foreigner” and “un immigré : an immigrant” as provided by INSEE (National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies) :

- The term “immigrant” is used and understood as “a person born abroad of a foreign nationality and residing in France”. Certain immigrants may have become French citizens by acquiring the nationality. In 2010, this was the case for 41% ¹ of the total immigrant population.

<https://www.insee.fr/fr/metadonnees/definition/c1328>

- The term “foreigner” is used and understood as “a person born of a foreign nationality abroad and who resides in France but who does not possess French nationality. A foreigner is not necessarily an immigrant; s/he could be born in France (such is the case of minors).”

<https://www.insee.fr/fr/metadonnees/definition/c1198>

- Persons of foreign nationality who are born in France are de facto excluded from the statistics of migration flows.

A long history of immigration²

France has been a country of immigration since the end of the 19th Century. It initially started to welcome foreigners from nearby countries (mostly Italy, Belgium, Spain and Switzerland) due to a workforce shortage. During the First World War, North African, Indochinese and Chinese workers were recruited through the Ministry of War. During the 1920s, immigration became more diversified, with immigrants arriving from Poland and Czechoslovakia, as well as political immigrants from Russia, Armenia, Germany, Italy and Spain. In the early 1930s, the global economic crisis led to the implementation of measures to regulate and limit the number of entries of foreign workers in France and in 1932 a law was voted that granted employment priority to French workers in the industry, through the implementation of quotas for foreign workers.

Between 1945 and 1974, there was a large movement of regularisation of migrants who had originally entered France illegally. Besides, with decolonisation as well as the implementation of the Treaty of Rome (establishing the European Economic Community and, within it, the principle of free movement) in 1958, there was an increase of immigration in France and a shift in the patterns of migrants' countries of origin. There was a marked increase of immigration from Algeria at the end of the 1954-62 war. But, from 1974

¹ Études, Département Des Statistiques Des. *ET DE LA DOCUMENTATION Infos Migrations*(n.d.): n. pag. Web.

² "Chronologie : Histoire De L'immigration En Dates| Vie-publique.fr | Repères | Politiques Publiques." *Vie Publique - Au Cœur Du Débat Public*. Vie-publique.fr - Direction De L'information Légale Et Administrative, 16 Nov. 2015. Web.

onwards, the Giscard d'Estaing presidency sealed the era of open borders and marked the beginning of a much stricter border and migration flows control.

General Overview of Immigration in France

As of 1st January 2016, France had a population of **66,990,826³**, including **5,719,761 immigrants**, who represent roughly 9% of the French population.

In 2012, nearly one out of every two migrants entering France was born in a European country while three out of 10 were born in an African country.

European migration mostly comes from Portugal, the UK, Spain, Italy and Germany; these five countries represent 57% of the total entries in France of migrants born in Europe and one fourth of the total entries of migrants in France in 2012.

Migrants of African origin mostly come from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia (all countries where French is the main second language). France has also seen a new flow of migration coming from China, representing 3% of the total entries in 2012.⁴

Feminisation of migration :

In 2012, 54% of the total migrant population in France were women :

- Migrants coming from Europe represented 46%, of which 51% were women.
- Migrants coming from Africa represented 30%, of which 54% were women.
- Migrants coming from Asia represented 14%, of which 59% were women.
- Migrants coming from America and Oceania represented 10%, of which 56% were women.⁵

Most of the feminine migration from Asia originates from China.

Before the 1970s the immigration was mostly masculine, in order to meet the labour requirements for industrial workers. But in 1974 the oil shock resulted in high unemployment and caused France to stop recruiting immigrant workers. At that time there was an increase of female migration for the purpose of family reunification: women then accounted for 58% of the migration flows. Since the 1980s however, France has seen the reality of its migration turn a corner: nowadays new arrivals of single migrants are more often women, whereas the "reunified" family members are more and more men.

³ "Bilan Démographique 2016." Population Totale Par Sexe Et âge Au 1er Janvier 2017, France–Bilan Démographique 2016 | Insee. N.p., n.d. Web.

⁴ "Les Immigrés Récemment Arrivés En France Une Immigration De plus En plus Européenne." Les Immigrés Récemment Arrivés En France | Insee. N.p., n.d. Web.

⁵ "Les Immigrés Récemment Arrivés En France Une Immigration Asiatique De plus En plus Féminine." Les Immigrés Récemment Arrivés En France | Insee. N.p., n.d. Web.

A population of qualified migrants:

63% of the migrants who arrived in France in 2012 were holders of at least a high school diploma. Among the countries contributing the most to immigration, those less qualified are citizens from Portugal and Turkey (respectively 56% and 57% of them do not hold any diploma). On the contrary, more than one migrant out of two coming from the US, China, Spain, Italy or Russia holds a diploma of higher education.

The labour market in France

“The aging of the population, the persistence of recruitment difficulties in certain sectors of activity (...) explain the needs of the French economy for immigrant labour.

Recruitment difficulties are observed on the one hand in certain expanding activities requiring qualification that is insufficiently available in the resident population (information technology industry, computing, finance and insurance, industrial engineering and health) and on the other hand in certain professions with precarious or unattractive employment conditions (construction and public works, mechanical engineering, hospitality trade and catering, seasonal jobs).⁶

In 2010 it was estimated that the professional immigration accounted for only 9% of the migrations flows in France, while migration for family reunification purpose represented 42% and persons coming in France to study represented 32% of the migration flows.⁷

Which professions do migrants occupy ?

Socio professional categories⁸ in France can be divided as follow:

1. Farmers

This socio-occupational group is exclusively devoted to the classification of persons engaged in an agricultural activity either as a manager or as an operating partner or as a self-employed person. Therefore, this activity includes only self-employed persons.

2. Craftsmen, traders and entrepreneurs

This category includes the people in employment who have capital as heads of their own companies and who either work alone or hire a very small number of people in a field where the manual work is important, excluding agriculture.

⁶ Dos Santos, Manon Domingues. "Besoins En Main D'œuvre Et Immigration". *L'immigration En France*. N.p.: Documentation Française, n.d. 94+. Print.

⁷ Française, La Documentation. "Immigration Et Besoin De Main-d'œuvre : Le Débat." *La Documentation Française*. Direction De L'information Légale Et Administrative, 18 Mar. 2016. <<http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/dossiers/immigration/immigration-clandestine.shtml>>.

⁸ "Nomenclature Des Professions Et Catégories Socioprofessionnelles - PCS 2003." *Pcs2003-1-Agriculteurs Exploitants / Insee*. N.p., n.d. Web. <<https://www.insee.fr/fr/metadonnees/pcs2003/categorieSocioprofessionnelleAgregree/1>>.

3. Executives and higher intellectual professions

This category includes salaried professors and scientific professions who directly apply very detailed knowledge in the fields of human sciences to activities of general interest in research, teaching or health; arts and entertainment professionals whose activities are related to the arts and the media; administrative and commercial executives, employees who have important responsibilities in the management of companies; engineers and technical executives, employees with responsibilities who require in-depth scientific knowledge.

4. Intermediate professions

Two-thirds of the members of the group actually occupy an intermediate position between executives and executing agents, workers or employees. The others are intermediate in a more figurative sense. They work in education, health and social work. Among them are teachers, nurses, social workers.

5. Employees

The group of "employees" is composed of very varied and often ill-defined professions. There are, of course, secretaries and clerks, but also hospital agents, salesmen, firemen or domestic workers. The unity of the group of employees rests more on what they are than on what they do. The vast majority of these jobs are carried out by women. They make up more than three-quarters of each category, except police and military. Moreover, among women under 35 who are employed, one in every two is classified as an "employee". This group also brings together many young people, especially among corporate administrative employees and trade employees.

6. Workers (skilled and unskilled)

The workers' group is structured by a series of oppositions. The qualification established in collective agreements is closely correlated with many variables, such as gender, social origin, education or wages. All these variables make it possible to establish a gradation of the workers, from maintenance professionals to the unskilled workers of the light industries and the agricultural workers.

The second opposition is between industrial and artisanal work. The regulated management of industrial work results in greater stability of employment and an alignment of working hours with the legal duration.

If the difference between workers and employees seems obvious, the boundary between the two groups is not easy to trace. Thus drivers and cooks are at the limit of the working class, and oppose the production workers of large-scale industry or the construction workers who constitute the nucleus.

7. Retirees

8. Other persons not in employment

In 2013 the population of 5, 835, 094 immigrants in France was divided in the above categories as follows⁹:

- 12, 435 Farmers
- 245, 218 Craftsmen, traders and entrepreneurs
- 430, 103 Executives and higher intellectual professions
- 533, 570 Intermediate professions
- 968, 425 Employees
- 972, 555 Workers (skilled and unskilled)
- 1, 124, 435 Retirees
- 1, 548, 354 persons not in employment

Immigrants in France face difficulty to access the most skilled jobs and are therefore overrepresented among workers and employees.

Different trends can be observed in the participation rates of immigrants according to their country of origin: for example, men and women from Portugal and Sub-Saharan Africa are the most active in the labour market (80%); their participation exceeds that of non-immigrants (78%). In contrast, immigrants from the Maghreb (66%), Spain (66%), Italy (61%) and Turkey (58%) are the least active in the labour market.¹⁰

Legislation and regulations for the recruitment of a migrant worker

European migrant workers

Since the law of 26th November 2003¹¹, it is no longer mandatory for EU citizens, Swiss citizens and citizens of Member States to the Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA) to hold a stay permit or work permit in order to work in France. They are allowed to remain in France for six months to look for employment but first they are required to register as jobseekers with the Pôle Emploi¹² (National Agency for Employment) upon arrival. Beyond six months if they have not found a job, they may be obliged to leave France unless able to prove that they continue to actively seek employment or that they have a real chance of being hired in a short period of time. After five years of legal and uninterrupted residence in France, a European worker is entitled to permanent residence (if able to prove the continuity of his stay over the five years) which is valid for 10 years and renewable. He will however be deprived of his

⁹ "Étrangers - Immigrés En 2013 France." *IMG3A - Population Par Sexe, Situation Quant à L'immigration Et Catégorie Socioprofessionnelle En 2013-France-Étrangers - Immigrés En 2013* | Insee. N.p., n.d.
<<https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2020950?sommaire=2106113&geo=FRANCE-1>>.

¹⁰ "Immigration En France: Les Vrais Chiffres Publiés Par L'Insee." *L'Express.fr*. N.p., 09 Oct. 2012.

<http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/immigration-ce-qu-il-faut-retenir-des-chiffres-de-l-insee_1172299.html>.

¹¹ LOI n° 2003-1119 of 26th november 2003 on the control of immigration, residence of aliens in France and nationality.
<<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000795635&dateTexte=>>.

¹² Pôle emploi is a public administrative institution governed by public law.

Permanent Residence if he is absent from France for two consecutive years following the acquisition of this status.

As of 1st January 2014, only citizens of Croatia wanting to work in France had to hold a valid stay permit.¹³

Non-European migrant workers

In order to be able to work in France, a non-European foreign national (meaning one not covered by the EEA agreement) must hold a work permit, i.e either a visa or a residence permit allowing him/her to engage in a paid job, or a temporary authorisation to work. It is the responsibility of the employer to verify at the Prefecture the authenticity of the document provided by the non-EU national he wishes to hire.

However, the following categories of persons are exempted from the authorisation to work rule:

- seconded employee under certain conditions in France, working for a European service provider.¹⁴
- One who has entered France to engage in paid employment for a period of up to three months in the following areas:
 - Sporting, cultural, artistic and scientific events,
 - Symposia, seminars and trade shows,
 - Cinematographic, audiovisual, performing and phonographic production, broadcasting, as an artist or technical staff.
 - Fashion modeling and artistic posing.
 - Personal services (domestic worker) during the stay in France of a private employer.
 - Audit and expertise missions in computer science, management, finance, insurance, architecture and engineering as an employee seconded to the contract.
 - Teaching as a visiting professor.

The steps taken by the employer are different depending on whether the migrant worker already resides in France or not.

The list of occupations open to foreigners who are not nationals of a Member State of the European Union, of another State party to the European Economic Area or of the Swiss Confederation is determined by the

¹³ Croatia became the 28th Member country of the E.U on 1st of July 2013. However, as was the case with Romania and Bulgaria upon their joining of the E.U, some Member countries impose transitional measures whereby citizens of certain newly joined countries are not allowed to pursue a professional activity without having to obtain a work permit. France imposed such a restriction to Croatian citizens upto 30th June 2020.

¹⁴ A Service Provider in the European Union is defined as a natural person or legal entity established in an EU country offering a paid temporary service in another Member State under the same conditions as that imposed by this country on its own nationals.
<<https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/glossaire/R17768>>.

decree of 18 January 2008.¹⁵ These occupations are referred to as “*professions in tension*” (métiers en tension)¹⁶.

Recruitment of a non-European migrant worker residing outside of France

In order for an employer in France to recruit a non-EU national, he must:

- first advertise the position with Pôle Emploi.
- demonstrate that, following the job posting with Pôle Emploi, there are no candidates from France and/or the EU who can fill the vacant position or that none has applied.
- the candidate has the necessary knowledge and qualifications to fill the vacant position.

If there is no French resident interested in the position, the foreign national’s application will be sent to the service of foreign labour of the Direccte¹⁷.

The employer then must apply in France for a “work authorisation”, called the “introduction procedure”.¹⁸

The introduction procedure file must contain:

- the commitment to pay licence fees to the French Office for Immigration and Integration (OFII)
- the work contract of the migrant worker
- a printed form detailing the housing conditions of the future employee (borne by the employer).

Decision process:

To grant or deny permission to work, the administration of the Direccte foreign labour service examines a set of elements:

- the employment situation in the specific occupation.
- whether the foreign worker satisfies the requirements of the diplomas and qualifications posed by the job offer (checking his curriculum vitae, the copy of his diplomas, his possible employment certificates).
- the conditions of employment and remuneration offered to the foreign employee (they must correspond to the usual conditions for the type of employment concerned).

¹⁵ "Légifrance Version électronique Authentifiée Publiée Au JO Du 20/01/2008 N.p., n.d. <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jo_pdf.do?numJO=0&dateJO=20080120&numTexte=9&pageDebut=01048&pageFin=01052>.

¹⁶ Profession in tension refer to occupations, primarily in the Maintenance, Industry, Construction and Health Sectors, for which recruiters face difficulties in finding suitable candidates, mostly due to a lack of applicants.

¹⁷ The Regional Directorates for Enterprise, Competition, Consumer Affairs, Labor and Employment (DIRECCTE) are regional directorates, placed with the Regional Prefect, to foster the development of enterprises and employment, to improve the quality of work and social relations, ensuring market loyalty and consumer safety.

¹⁸ "Recrutement D'un Travailleur étranger Non Européen." *Particuliers - Actif*. N.p., n.d. Web. <<https://www.service-public.fr/professionnels-entreprises/vosdroits/F22782>>.

- the proposed salary which must be at least equal to the minimum wage¹⁹ (even in case of part-time employment).

It also takes into account:

- the compliance by the employer (and / or the company) with the labour and social protection legislation.

In the event of non-compliance, the work authorization is denied (for example: concealed work, non-payment of social contributions).

- arrangements made by the employer to ensure accommodation under normal conditions for the foreign worker.

The decision of the Direccte's foreign labour service is normally made within a maximum period of two months following the filing of the complete application.

Refusal

The application is rejected if one or more criteria for the issuance of the work permit are not met, which is the case if the employer can recruit the labour in France.

If the administration has not replied within this two-month period, the application shall be considered denied, which will be notified to the employer as well as to the foreign worker abroad. In the event of a written refusal, the decision must state the reasons. It must indicate the means and time limits for appeal.

Granting of Application

In the case of the Direccte accepting the application, they will send the file to the relevant consular post and the OFII²⁰, who is responsible for the medical examination and the transport of the foreign worker to France. The medical examination of the migrant worker can be carried out within three months of arrival in France or after the start of the paid professional activity (or in the country of origin if the OFII has an office there). The work permit may be withdrawn if this period is not respected.

Created in 2009, the OFII is under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior and is now the only State operator in charge of legal immigration. It fulfills four main tasks that the State has delegated :

- The management of the regular procedures of migration at the side or on behalf of the prefectures and diplomatic and consular posts.
- The reception and integration of immigrants authorised to reside permanently in France and signing as such a contract of reception and integration with the State.
- The reception of asylum seekers.

¹⁹ In France the SMIC (minimum wage of growth) corresponds to the legal minimum hourly wage that the employee must receive. as of 1st January 2017 the gross amount is 9,76 €/hour.

²⁰ The French Office of Immigration and Integration

- Assistance for the return and reintegration of foreigners in their country of origin.

OFII has offices in eight countries: Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey, Romania, Mali, Senegal, Cameroon, Armenia.

As the interlocutor of companies, it accompanies them in the procedure of introduction to France of their future foreign employees, after the employer has demonstrated that he has not been able to hire the person in the French labour market. The OFII also processes the files of the family members.

So, provided that all procedures are duly carried out by the employer and that a visa approval is granted by the OFII, a long-stay visa is issued to the foreign worker, allowing him to work.

Family reunification

If the non-EU migrant worker wants his/her family to join him/her in France, there are a number of conditions to be met :

1. Residence:

The applicant must reside in France for at least 18 months and hold a residence permit valid for at least 1 year.²¹

2. Resources:

The applicant must have stable and sufficient resources to support his or her family. Their income must reach the average of the monthly amount of the SMIC over the last 12 months preceding the application.

3. Accommodation:

The applicant must have accommodation at the time of the filing of his application or a promise of accommodation on the date of his family's arrival in France. This dwelling must meet the standards and must be comparable to a family living in the same geographic area.

The communes in France are divided into three zones²².

- 42 m² for a family of 4 people living in a commune located in zone A,
- 44 m² for a family living in zone B
- 48 m² in zone C increased by 10m² per additional person.

The dwelling must also fulfill criteria of habitability (sanitation, comfort).

4. Integration into French society:

²¹ As of 1st January 2017, the monthly gross amount of the SMIC (minimum wage) is 1480,27€.

²² In accordance with the Decree of 19 December 2003.

The applicant must respect the essential principles which, in accordance with the laws of the Republic, govern family life in France, failing which family reunification may be refused.

Four conditions must be met by the members of his / her family:

1. Condition of public order :

A family member whose presence in France constitutes a threat to public order may be excluded from family reunification.

2. Health condition :

A medical examination of the members of the family is carried out by OFII after arrival in France or in the country of origin when OFII has a representation there (Tunisia, Morocco, Turkey, Senegal, Mali, Romania and Cameroon).

3. Condition of residence outside France :

The rule is the introduction of family members from the country of origin, but this condition does not apply if the spouse is allowed to stay in France under a one year residence permit.

4. Comprehensiveness condition :

The purpose of bringing the family together is to enable them to lead a normal family life. It must be a request for *all* the family (i.e. no member to be excluded), to be reunited, but if that includes children in whose interests it would be wrong for them to be reunited, then the principle doesn't apply.

Recruitment of a non-European migrant worker already residing in France

At least two working days before the effective date of the recruitment, the employer must ask for the authentication of the foreign national's residence permit or work authorisation. This request shall be made to the prefecture of the administrative department²³ where he intends to hire the foreign national.

A copy of the document granting work authorization to the foreign national must be provided to the Single Staff Register.²⁴

In the case of an employee holding a residence permit that does not authorise him to work, the employee must apply for his change of status with the Prefecture and the employer must apply for an authorisation to work with the relevant territorial unit of the Direccte.

²³ Metropolitan France is divided into 13 regions (as of 1st January 2016), which are then divided into departments (Départements). There is a total of 96 departments, excluding the overseas territories. Each has a capital city or prefecture department which includes its institutions.

²⁴ This register is a document in which the employer must include all information pertaining to the recruitment of all his employees (regardless of the size of the establishment), such as the identification of the employee, his qualifications, the type of contract, the dates of entry and exit of the company, and for foreign workers, the type and number of the document granting work authorization. The entries made in this register must be kept for 5 years from the date of departure of the employee or trainee from the establishment.

Sanctions for infringement of the law

Buying the entry of a worker into French territory is punished by penal sanctions.

Similarly, any employer who hires and/or retains in his service an unauthorized alien in France shall be punished by:

- 15,000 euros fine (per unauthorised alien) and 5 years imprisonment,
- A ban on the exercise,
- The confiscation of the objects used for the offense (eg tools)
- The display or dissemination of the decision imposing sanctions,
- The closure of the establishment.

These penalties are increased to 10 years of imprisonment and a 100,000 € fine when the offense is committed in organized groups. The employer must also pay to OFII a special contribution for each alien who is employed but does not hold a legal authorization to work.

Work permits and permanent residence permits

In order to meet the labour requirements of certain economic sectors for which recruitment is now taking place in a global labour market, it seemed necessary to rethink professional immigration. Therefore there are several categories of work permits: long-stay visas qualifying as residence permits, certain titles and temporary documents and temporary work authorization. The residence permits presented below and that correspond to this objective automatically grant the right to work:

- Stay card "skills and talents" valid for three years.
- Resident card of ten years or long-term resident-EU (unless the employee arrives in France with a stay permit issued by another European country).
- Temporary residence card covering "private and family life" valid for one year.
- Long stay visa valid as a resident permit (VLS-TS) with mention of "student, scientist-researcher, spouse of French citizen or spouse who entered France through the family reunification process".
- Temporary residence permit (APS): students who have finished their studies.

Holders of any of the above permits do not need to request an authorisation to work.

Hidden migration

Despite the well-established and strict policies regulating migration, the French Ministry of Immigration estimates that there are between 200,000 and 400,000 illegal immigrants in France with 80,000 to 100,000 new migrants entering the territory illegally every year.²⁵

In 2015, forced removal of foreign nationals illegally staying in France increased (15,485 in 2015 against 15,161 in 2014). These forced repatriations are the most representative measures taken by authorities to fight illegal migration. In 2015, 251 networks of illegal migration were dismantled by the police, which represents an increase of 11% compared to the previous year.

Geographically located at the center of Europe and sharing borders with Germany, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland and Italy, as well as being a transitory route to the UK, France has had to deal with illegal immigration flows for decades and each Presidency sets the tone for new regulations. As Mr Macron begins his quinquennat, France is yet to see what will be the stand of his Government on this thorny issue.

Conclusion

To summarise, overall, the French system of managing labour migration provides some important protections for migrant workers, with clear and strict regulations preventing employers from monetising the employment of foreign labour, thus discouraging fraudulent and abusive practices. In comparison to the system in place in Singapore, the French system ensures that (legal) migrant workers don't have debt arising from their recruitment, neither to their employers nor to any sort of intermediary.

Another important point to take into consideration is the fact that family reunification is made possible, which absolutely is not the case in the Singaporean system.

Besides, as soon as legally employed on French territory, migrant workers are entitled to social benefits such as healthcare, which ensures that they are not put in a marginalised situation of precarity.

But there is a flipside to that: with 21,30% of electors at the first round and 33,90% at the second round of the French Presidential elections of May 2017, Mrs Marine Le Pen's Front National extreme right wing

²⁵ "Immigration." RFI - Immigration - Combien D'immigrés Clandestins En France? N.p., n.d. Web. <http://www1.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/076/article_43041.asp>.

party has gained an increased popularity, indicating a growing hostility of the French population towards migrants in general.

According to a survey²⁶ conducted in July 2016, 57% of the French population believe that there are now too many immigrants in the country and only 11% consider the impact of immigration to be positive; put the other way around, it means that 89% of respondents consider that immigration has a negative impact on the country, its society or its economy, a figure that speaks for itself.

In countries affected by unemployment, such as France, one can assume that the interviewees feel threatened both by immigrants likely to occupy low-skilled jobs as well as by a “chosen” immigration system, wherein qualified migrants are able to deprive French citizens of certain employments in relation to their education and training. Indeed, with a 10% unemployment rate²⁷ French people express great anxiety on this social and economic problem. In 2013, almost half of the French population thought that in order to reduce the unemployment rate, France had to reduce the number of immigrants. This correlation between immigration and unemployment in France has been the key argument of a number of politicians, primarily of the National Front, for years.

As of today, 87% of the French population believes that immigration has increased in the last five years. "This is the country where we see the most discrepancy between perception and reality on the issue of immigration,"²⁸ analyzes Brice Teinturier, CEO of Ipsos survey company. This perception, whether based on reality or not, pushes French people to be more and more suspicious towards the immigrants.

The reasons for this public opinion are twofold:

- There is a widespread idea that immigrants don't integrate well into the host society but rather contribute to the development of a counterculture which represents a “threat” to the national identity. Besides, in the current context of terrorism, Muslim migrants are even more prone to stigmatisation within the French society. According to a survey conducted in 2013²⁹, 74% of the

²⁶ Bardon, Yves. "Immigration Et Réfugiés : France, Pays D'accueil Ou Pays En Repli ?" IPSOS FRANCE. Ipsos, 08 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.ipsos.fr/decrypter-societe/2016-08-22-immigration-et-refugies-france-pays-d-accueil-ou-pays-en-repli>>.

The Global @dvisor Immigration tracker 2011-2016 study was carried out by Ipsos in 22 countries , from 24 June to 8 July 2016, out of 16,040 individuals representing a representative sample of the population aged 16 to 64 via The Ipsos Online Panel system. The countries surveyed are Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Poland, South Korea, Spain, United Kingdom, Russia, Sweden and Turkey.

²⁷ "Le Taux De Chômage Diminue De 0,1 point Au Quatrième Trimestre 2016 Chômage Au Sens Du BIT Et Indicateurs Sur Le Marché Du Travail (résultats De L'enquête Emploi) (BIT) - Quatrième Trimestre 2016." Le Taux De Chômage Diminue De 0,1 point Au Quatrième Trimestre 2016 | Insee. N.p., n.d. <<https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2586687>>.

²⁸ Bfmtv. "Immigration: 11% Des Français Y Voient Un Impact Positif Pour Le Pays." BFMTV. BFMTV, n.d. <<http://www.bfmtv.com/societe/immigration-11percent-des-francais-y-voient-un-impact-positif-pour-le-pays-1028422.html>>

²⁹ "France 2013 : Les Nouvelles Fractures." IPSOS FRANCE. Ipsos, 17 Oct. 2014. <<http://www.ipsos.fr/decrypter-societe/2013-01-24-france-2013-nouvelles-fractures>>.

people interviewed in France expressed that in their opinion Islam is an intolerant religion, incompatible with the French society.

- There is also this idea that “foreigners” come to benefit from Social Security or public services. Again, this argument has been largely supported and conveyed by the National Front. 67% of the French people agree that family allowances and housing allowances should be reserved for French and EU nationals only and 61 % declare themselves in favor of the abolition of State Medical Aid.³⁰

All these factors weigh considerably in migrants’ experience of integration in the French society; a number of them occupy low skilled jobs, for which they often are overqualified, and live on minimum wage. As a result, they often reside in the city suburbs, in disadvantaged areas, where children are more prone to withdraw from school, thus increasing the risk of delinquency.

While this is not an absolute truth for all migrants, it nonetheless remains a reality for many of them, thus making immigration in France a very arduous process.

³⁰ State medical aid (AME in French) is a system allowing illegal aliens to benefit from access to care. It is awarded under conditions of stable residence and resources. To apply for it, a file must be filed (forms and supporting documents). Once awarded, the AME is granted for 1 year. Renewal must be requested each year.) "Aide Médicale De L'État (AME)." Particuliers - Actif. N.p., n.d. <<https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F3079>>.

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5001 Beach Road, #09-86 +65 6247 7001
Golden Mile Complex info@twc2.org.sg
Singapore 199588