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The Transition from School to Work for Children of Immigrants with Lower-Level Educational Credentials in the United States and France

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Abstract

This paper compares the transition from school to work among Mexican-origin youth in the United States and North African-origin youth in France relative to the native-majority youth with similar low-level credentials. The goal is to understand the extent to which these groups experience ethnic penalties in the labor market not explained by social class, low-level credentials, or other characteristics. The patterns of employment for second-generation minorities play out differently in the two contexts. In France, lack of access to jobs is a source of disadvantage for North African children of immigrants, while in the United States, second-generation Mexicans do not suffer from a lack of employment. Indeed, the Mexican second-generation shows a uniquely high level of employment. We argue that high levels of youth unemployment in the society, as is the case in France, means greater ethnic penalties for second-generation minorities.

Keywords: second generation, children of immigrants, Mexicans, North Africans, Labor market, employment

1. Introduction

The United States and France are two countries with a long history of immigration. This paper compares the transition from school to work among youth of Mexican origin in the United States and North African origin in France with lower-level credentials. Such a comparison allows us to compare second-generation integration in countries with higher versus lower youth unemployment. We focus on labor market entry because the transition from school to work is the key transition in upward or downward

social mobility. We use the term "ethnic penalties" to describe disadvantages in the labor market outcomes among those of similar age and education levels net of other explanatory factors (Heath and Cheung 2007). The goal is to understand the extent to which these groups experience ethnic penalties in the labor market relative to their peers with lower-level credentials with native-origin parentage.

We examine the contemporary labor market outcomes of Mexican American youth and those of North African descent (also known as Maghrébins) in France because these are two groups that have faced difficulties and discrimination in their host countries and also have a greater likelihood to leave school with lower-level or no educational credentials relative to youth of native majority populations. A question that remains, however, is whether these minority youth in France and the United States experience ethnic penalties in the labor market not explained by low-level educational credentials (Heath and Cheung 2007). Alba and Silberman (2009) have noted that "Mexicans in the US and North Africans in France represent the largest immigrant populations in these two countries whose incorporation can be viewed as problematic" (p. 1). However, to date few empirical comparisons have been made between the two groups. A comparison of these groups is warranted as they share a postcolonial relationship with the host country, represent the largest immigrant populations in each country, and tend to attain lower educational credentials than their European-origin peers. France and the United States, however, offer substantially different economic contexts into which children of immigrants may integrate.

In the past, European immigrants in both the United States and France have undergone an assimilative process whereby ethnic distinction became less meaningful over time and generation. In the United States, European immigrants near the turn of the twentieth century began the assimilative process such that by the third generation ethnicity was largely symbolic (Alba 1990, Gans 1979, Fishman 1972). In France, the "Republican model" of assimilation (see Schnapper 1991) strives to make immigrants into citizens within one generation (Simon 2003, p.1091). This suggests that as immigrants and their children become French citizens the expectation is that they are not culturally or otherwise different from the majority population (Simon 2003).

In the United States, there is a scholarly debate over whether contemporary migrants will follow the same assimilative path as European immigrants of the last century. The assimilation perspective posits that over time and generation ethnic differences become less important for life chances (see for example Alba and Nee 2003). In contrast, the segmented

assimilation model theorizes that changes in the labor market context and the racialization of contemporary migrants offer fewer opportunities for social mobility than were afforded to European immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993, Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Although European migrants of the past were able to work their way up from low-level positions over time, the segmented assimilation theory suggests that the current economy has an hourglass structure with positions for very low-skilled workers and high-skilled workers but with little room for mobility from low-skilled to high-skilled positions (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Thus, authors in the segmented assimilation perspective note that assimilation to the mainstream is but one possibility for contemporary immigrants and their children. They note that downward assimilation and maintenance of ethnic outlook are also possibilities. Furthermore, the theory suggests that because new immigrants tend to settle in urban centers occupied by native-born minorities they may assimilate to an "underclass" in part by adopting an adversarial outlook of native-born minorities that thwarts their abilities for social mobility (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The structural changes in the United States' economy are particularly of importance to Mexicans, who are the only large immigrant group to inhabit the "the social bottom" of the labor market (López and Stanton-Salazar 2001). While segmented assimilation theory was developed based on the U.S. context, it has also been applied to the French case. Silberman et al. (2007) note that "were the Maghrébins an immigrant group in the U.S. they would be identified as a group at risk of 'downward assimilation'" although their situation doesn't fit exactly to the U.S. model (p.23). While the Maghrébins have largely assimilated linguistically and arguably culturally to the French society, there is no native "underclass" from whom Maghrébin youth might adopt an adversarial outlook as suggested by the segmented assimilation model in the U.S. Furthermore, while there is discrimination on the basis of skin tone in France, Maghrébins are more likely to cite that they have been discriminated against on the basis of names (Silberman et al. 2007).

Often ignored in theories of immigrant incorporation is the economic context of the host countries (Gans 1992). A receiving country with high unemployment may offer fewer opportunities to for immigrants and their children to integrate than one with lower unemployment. Richard (1997), for example, argues that employment discrimination against second-generation minorities may be more pronounced when unemployment is high. In the transition from school to work, youth of Mexican and North African origins encounter different labor market contexts. While in both countries young people have higher unemployment than the overall po-

pulation, youth unemployment in France is much higher. French youth have had a harder time finding a job than American young people both before and after the emergence of the great recession. In the year 2000, for example, unemployment for youth 15-24 was 20.6% in France, while only 9.3% in the United States (United Nations Statistics Division 2013). By March 2012, youth unemployment had risen in the United States to 16.4%, still less than in France pre-recession, while French youth unemployment rose to 21.8% (OECD 2012). In the United States, Latinos tend to have higher unemployment than the general population. In 2000, before the recession, the Latino unemployment rate was 4.4% while the overall unemployment rate was 2.6 percent, and by May 2012 when the unemployment rate rose to 8.2 percent overall, that of Latinos rose to 11 percent (US Census Bureau 2010, US Department of Labor 2007/2012). In France, North Africans are less likely to be employed than those of French origin. Using data from 2008, Aeberhardt et al. (2010) find that among those with two North African parents only 52% were employed while among those with two parents born in France 78% were employed. Because of the difference in youth unemployment contexts, France may offer the second generation fewer opportunities for labor market integration than the United States.

2. Immigration Contexts in the United States and France

2a. Mexican Migration and the Second Generation in the United States

Mexican migration to the United States has a long history. After the colonization of the Southwest by the United States in the 19th century, the first half of the twentieth century brought a flow of young male immigrants who were driven by the economic conditions created by the Porfirio reforms and the violence of the Mexican Revolution (Massey et al. 1987, Kanellos 1998). Around World War I labor shortages and recruitment of workers drew hundreds of thousands of Mexicans to work in the United States in manufacturing and agriculture (Massey et al. 1987, Kanellos 1998). During the Great Depression Mexicans faced nativist hostility and forced repatriation. However, labor shortages during World War II led to the recruitment of Mexicans to the United States and in 1942, the Bracero Program was created to fill these labor needs. In 1965, The Hart-Celler Act replaced the quota system based on national origins with one based on family reunification. As

a result of the Bracero Program, changes in immigration policy, economic changes in Mexico brought about by NAFTA, and labor needs in the United States, Mexican migration substantially increased over the course of the next several decades (Massey et al 2002).

Mexicans have now become the largest immigrant group in the United States (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). In the United States, those born in the country are citizens at birth so the second and later generations are citizens. The integration of Mexicans reflects their unique status among immigrant groups in the United States. In addition to being the largest immigrant group, they differ from other large immigration groups in a few important ways. Besides having a shared border with the United States, they are the only group who participated in both the large-scale migration at the turn of the century and the contemporary period (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Jiménez 2010). As mostly labor migrants from a nearby country with widespread social networks throughout the United States that can even facilitate undocumented migration in a context of high levels of border enforcement, migration of Mexicans to the United States tends to be less selective than other migration flows to the country (Feliciano 2005, Lindstrom and Lopez Ramirez 2010, Takenaka and Pren 2010, Massey and Riosmena 2010).

That Mexican youth have faced scholastic challenges in the United States has been well documented in the research literature (See Portes and MacLeod 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Eamon 2005; Perlmann 2005). Among factors attributed to such difficulties are limited English language skills, social class, ethnic inequality, sociocultural differences, and discrimination (Macias 1993; Rumberger and Larson 1998, Valenzuela 1999). Valdés (1996) finds that although Mexican parents tend to have positive views of education, they may lack familiarity with the American school system, espouse different values than those of their American peers, and base educational expectations on home country norms. Ream (2005) finds that high instances of residential mobility among Mexican-origin youth limit educationally relevant social capital thus impacting school performance. That said, Telles and Ortiz (2008) have found substantial increases in high school graduation between Mexican immigrant parents and their U.S.-born children, with few gains for later generations. They also find that Mexican-American youth tend to do better educationally than their parents, but worse than their Anglo peers. Alba and Nee (2003) have likewise found that members of the second generation tend to do better scholastically and occupationally than their parents' generation.

Research on the transition from school to work among the children of Mexican immigrants has been more recent as data that would allow

researchers to examine the second-generation's employment outcomes has become more available. Questions remain, however, regarding whether the labor-market transition for second-generation Mexicans with low-level credentials differs from that of their similarly educated native-white peers. Do young workers of Mexican origins face labor market ethnic penalties that cannot be explained by low levels of education? Research has shown somewhat mixed results. Using the Current Population Survey, Model and Fisher (2007) have found that second- and third-generation Mexicans are less likely to be employed than native-born non-Hispanic whites while first generation Mexicans are not different from native-born whites in their likelihood of being employed. They also find that Mexican males have lower mobility by types of occupation by generation than in other groups. Waldinger et al (2007) have found the Mexican second generation to experience a "working class incorporation" with relatively high levels of employment in working-class jobs. In their study of prime-age adults, Luthra and Waldinger (2010) find intergenerational mobility for Mexicans in terms of pay and benefits, but fewer benefits compared to whites, although achieving parity in public sector jobs. Immigrant adults of Mexican origin tend to have lower incomes than other groups even after controlling for human capital (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Telles and Ortiz (2008) find that in terms of the type of jobs in which Mexican Americans are employed, there are occupational gains across generation with the biggest gains between the immigrant and second generation, but slowed improvement across later generations. However, they note that low levels of education have a large effect on occupational outcomes of Mexican Americans (see also Riemers 1985, Duncan, Hotz and Trejo 2006) calling education "the linchpin of slow assimilation" for Mexican Americans (Telles and Ortiz 2008, p. 274). Brown et al (2011) have found that parents' legal status has significant impacts on both educational and occupational outcomes for their children with the children of those who have legalized their status exhibiting better educational outcomes as well as greater occupational prestige and income.

2b. North African Migration and Second-Generation Maghrébins in France

The largest immigrant and second generation groups in France are the North Africans or Maghrébins, as they are called in French (Silberman and Fournier 2007). As members of a French colony, Algerians migrated to France to meet the French labour needs created by the Second World War. Their migration to France also occurred after World War II and continued through the Algerian war of independence, which lasted from 1954-1962

(Ibid.). The Harkis, "native Algerians who served in the French Armed Forces," were also resettled in France (Silberman and Fournier 2007, p. 225). Immigration from Morocco and Tunisia also occurred during and following their wars of independence, but is more recent, largely dating from the 1960's and 70's, with Moroccans arriving largely since the late 1970's (Simon 2003). Silberman et al. (2007) note that the Maghrébins population is made up of three different migration streams: 1) those who migrated prior to independence, 2) those who left their countries at the time of independence, and 3) migrants seeking jobs outside their newly independent states (p. 4). They further note that the contemporary second generation is mainly comprised of the children of the latter group. The children of North African immigrants have by now become a sizable population. By 1990, the North African second generation was larger than the immigrant population (Richard 1997).

Similar to the U.S., France has a policy of "jus soli" meaning that citizenship is granted to those born in France (Brubaker 1992, Silberman and Fournier 2007). Unlike the US, the current application of jus soli in France makes it a qualified system whereby citizenship is granted at birth to those with at least one French citizen parent (Silberman and Fournier 2007, Kirszbaum et al 2009). Furthermore, although all those born in France are entitled to French citizenship, it is not given at birth, but rather at the age of majority if the child was born in France and also resided in France during the teenage years (Kirszbaum et al 2009).[1]

There has been a good deal of democratization of the school system in France with the political goal of 80% of students receiving the baccalauréat, the secondary degree (Beaud 2002). The French educational system includes both academic and vocational tracks, with the baccalaureat général being the only diploma that opens the door to higher education. Brinbaum and Kieffer (2005) find that Maghrébin parents tend to aspire for their children to attend the baccalaureat général, or the academic track rather than the vocational one. Thus, although vocational tracks are associated with greater linkage to the labor market, North Africans tend to follow the academic track, which is the most prestigious and most favorably viewed in French society.

While educational credentials are important in predicting labor market outcomes in France, Simon (2003, p. 1111) notes that education may not eliminate the problem of unemployment for North Africans. He finds that Moroccans have difficulty in the transition from school to work with those who drop out or attend short-term vocational programs at greater risk for unemployment (p. 1114). Despite known difficulties in comparing national

unemployment rates, the French labor market arguably provides a more difficult transition from school to work for young people in general than is the case in the United States. In the year 2000, for example, the French youth unemployment rate was over twice that in the United States (United Nations Statistics Division 2013). Young people of North African origin are less likely to be employed than those of French origin (Frickey and Primon 2003; Brinbaum and Werquin 1997). Young people are particularly vulnerable in periods of crisis. Joseph et al (2008) also find that the employment situation has worsened for the second generation between the 1998 and 2004 Céreq surveys. Richard (1997) notes that a surplus of young people in the French labour market may result in discriminatory hiring practices whereby employers favour hiring members of the native majority group. Discrimination in the labour market may also apply to the second-generation Maghrébins despite the fact that many are French citizens. Silberman and Fournier (1999) have found that children of North African immigrants face penalties on the labor market compared to native French.

Brinbaum and Werquin (2004) note that labor market entry is more difficult for young people of Maghrébin origin, who experience higher unemployment spells. Simon (2003) concurs that Moroccans in France have "high levels of unemployment" particularly among women (p. 1096). Brinbaum and Guégnard (2013) find that second-generation North Africans are less likely to be hired than native French although the effect falls from significance for men (but not women) when socioeconomic status is included in the model. Richard (1997) finds that Algerian and Moroccan origin men and Algerian origin women are more likely to face unemployment than other groups. He likewise finds that national origin has real consequences in the French labor market, particularly for North Africans. One such consequence is that the Maghrébins are more likely to accept positions that are below their level of qualification (Richard 1997). Another consequence is that they are more often employed in part time positions and in more precarious jobs than the native born French (Dupray and Moullet 2004; Brinbaum and Guégnard 2013).

There is also a gendered dimension to unemployment in France, particularly for Maghrébins. Brinbaum and Werquin (1999, 2004) note that women are more numerous among the unemployed and spend longer periods of time in unemployment than men. Frickey and Primon (2003) find that for young women of Maghrébin origin the probability of unemployment is double that of Maghrébin men (p. 179). As a result they suggest that Maghrébin women face a "double handicap" in the labor market by virtue of their ethnicity and sex (p. 178).

With a more difficult employment context in France, there is reason to expect that second-generation North Africans may face greater barriers in the labor market than second-generation Mexicans. The higher youth unemployment rate may result in greater discrimination against North Africans in the hiring process and may result in more precarious jobs for North Africans (with part-time rather than full time positions) (Richard 1997, Dupray and Moullet 2004).

3. Data and Methods

Datasets from both the United States and France are used in the analysis. Every attempt is made to harmonize the data and variables so as to do the same analysis in both countries. The U.S. data used in this research are from the National Education Longitudinal Survey (NELS:88). NELS:88 is a longitudinal, nationally representative dataset that follows the academic trajectories of youth from their pre-high school years through their mid-twenties. It includes data on early labor market entry, as well as social, demographic, and education-related information. NELS:88 was administered in 1988 to 24,599 eighth graders and to their parents, teachers, and principals, and it provides individual, family, and school-level data. Surveys were again administered to the same students in 1990, 1992, 1994, and 2000. The research used a sample of students who remained in the study from 1988 to 2000. The French data used in this research are from Génération 98. This dataset is a survey of those who left school in 1998. This allows us to view a cohort of school leavers who benefited from the democratization of the school system. In the spring of 2001, 55,000 telephone surveys were conducted by the Céreq to learn about the school leavers' labor market experiences over the preceding 3 years. This means that although the data were collected from roughly the same time period, young people in the American dataset are somewhat older and therefore have somewhat more labor market exposure than those in the French dataset. Because children of immigrants without a university diploma are most at risk for downward assimilation, we focus on those with lower level credentials. In order to examine the labor market outcomes of those without a university diploma, we select only those students who have completed high school or below in the United States and baccalauréat and below in France.

3a. Variables

3a.1 Dependent Variables

Two dependent variables are used in these analyses: employment and full time work. Employment is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent is currently employed. Employment information is taken from the 2000 wave of the NELS:88 dataset in the American case. In the French case employment in 2001 is used. Employment analysis includes only those who are not inactive. Full-time work is based on the respondent's indication of whether he or she is engaged in full time versus part time work. While the number of hours qualifying as part-time work is different in the United States and France, we examine part-time work as an outcome given that in both countries it is associated with employment and economic instability relative to full-time work (See for example U.S. Department of Labor Statistics 2008).

3a.2 Independent Variables

Ethnicity/Generation

Ethnicity/Generation is measured by dummy variables constructed from questions on respondent and parent birthplaces: second generation (U.S. or French-born children with at least one foreign-born parent) versus native majority reference group which in the U.S. is third-and-later generation Non-Hispanic white and in France is native French. One difference between the definition of ethnicity between the French and American data is that in the United States ethnicity is based on self-identification whereas in France it is based on birthplace. In France, respondent and parent birthplaces are used to identify Maghrébins compared to native-born French. This is done because by law ethnic statistics are not collected in France. Unfortunately, it is not possible with this data to distinguish among Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians within the Maghrébins category. Included in the native French category are those who are foreign-born of French parentage. Using birthplace as ethnicity is not without problems especially because third-and-later generation Maghrébins cannot be identified and are necessarily included in the native French category.

Gender

Gender is measured by a dummy variable where 1 is male and 0 is female.

Socioeconomic background

Socioeconomic background refers to parental socioeconomic status. In the NELS:88 socioeconomic status is measured by a constructed variable comprised of parents education, occupation and income. It ranges from -2.519 to 2.560. Father's employment is used to measure socioeconomic background in France. It is measured by a series of dummy variables. High-skilled professional is the reference category.

Degree type

In NELS:88 a series of dummy variables distinguishes whether the respondent received a high school diploma, received a GED or certificate, or dropped out. France has a more complex secondary education system that the United States. School type is measured by a series of dummy variables. The academic track is the baccalauréat general. The CAP (Certificat d'aptitude professionelle) and BEP (Brevet d' etudes professionelles), and the baccalauréat professional/technical are different types of vocational tracks. Because receipt of the secondary degree requires that students pass the baccalauréat exam there is also a possibility that a student may complete the course of secondary education without receiving a degree. Therefore there are categories for those who have not received a diploma.

Urbanicity

In the United States, urbanicity is measured by a series of dummy variables indicating whether the individual resided in an urban, suburban, or rural area. The French data provide more specific information on residential location. Paris is the reference category. Large cities include those with 500,000 or more inhabitants. Medium cities are those with 100,000-500,000 inhabitants. Small cities are those with less than 100,000 inhabitants. For each size city, the surrounding urban periphery is also considered separately. In France, there is also an additional category called "multipolarisée". This is a rural area in the periphery of a city where 40 percent or more people work in the nearby city. In the French data a small number of cases, 18 in all, were excluded because the individual resided in an overseas department or elsewhere outside of France.

Means and standard deviations for all variables are in Appendix Tables 1 and 2. In the U.S. there is a higher percentage of those employed and employed in full-time work than in France. In the United States nearly 59% have a high-school diploma, while 16% have a GED or certificate and nearly 25% have no diploma. In France, 37% have the vocational CAP or BEP degree, while 34% have the baccalaureat professional/technical, and

27% have no diploma. Only 1% have the baccalaureat général. The French sample is more urban than the U.S. sample. In the U.S., 14% are urban, while 41% are suburban and 45% are rural. In France, nearly 10% live in Paris, 12% live in a large city center, 16% live in a medium city center and 15% live in a small city center. In terms of those living in the peripheries, nearly 3% live in the Paris periphery, nearly 4% live in a large city periphery, 7% live in a medium city periphery, and 4.5% live in a small city periphery. A little over 6% live in between two cities and 22% are rural. The socioeconomic status variable has a mean value for the U.S. sample of -.602. In the French sample, the most common occupations for fathers are skilled or unskilled non-manual worker (30.1%) and skilled or unskilled manual worker (28.6%).

4. Results

4a. Employment

Figure 1 shows the percent employed by ethnicity and generation in the U.S. and France. Employment is quite high among young people from both groups in the United States. Second-generation Mexicans stand out as having high levels of employment. One hundred percent of the second-generation Mexicans in the NELS:88 sample were employed while nearly 98% of third-and-later generation non-Hispanic whites were employed. In France, another picture emerges when we look at the Génération 1998 data. Among native French young people 87% are employed and among the Maghrébin second generation only 74% are employed.

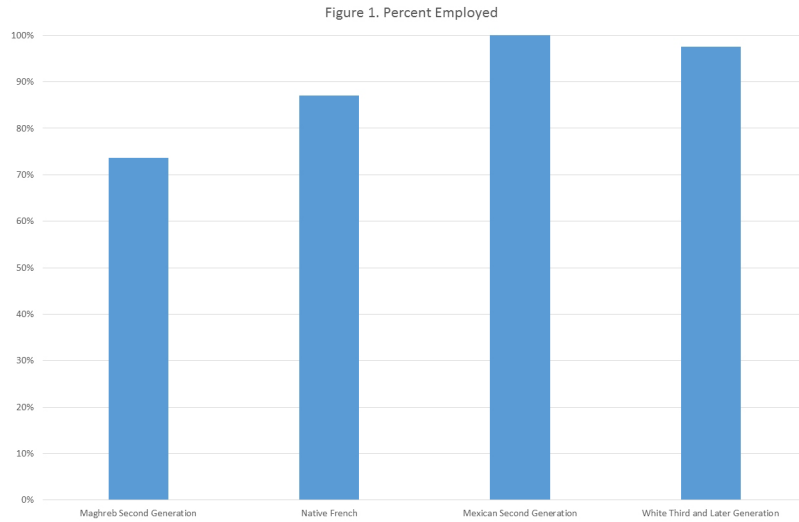

Figure 1 Percent Employed

Table 1 shows the results of logistic regression based on the American NELS:88 data. Compared to Non-Hispanic whites, the Mexican second generation experiences significantly higher levels of employment. Model 2 adds controls for gender, degree type and urbanicity to the equation. Model 2 shows that high school dropouts are less likely to be employed than those with a high school degree. Model 3 adds socioeconomic status to the regression model and it is not statistically significant. Net of socioeconomic status and the other variables, high school dropouts are still less likely to be employed than those with a high school degree.

Table 1. Logistic Regression: Employment versus Unemployment (N=1116, Source: NELS:88)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	Sig	B	Sig	B	Sig
Third-and-later-generation Non-Hispanic White (omitted)						
Second Generation Mexican	10,511	***	10,762	***	10,781	***
	(0.320)		(0.489)		(0.528)	
Male			-0,467		-0,469	
			(0.495)		(0.498)	
High School Degree (omitted)						
GED or certificate			-0,297		-0,277	
			(0.664)		(0.661)	
High-School Dropout			-1,017	*	-0,971	*
			(0.478)		(0.484)	
Urban (omitted)						
Suburban			0,110		0,120	
			(0.719)		(0.723)	
Rural			-0,142		-0,105	
			(0.692)		(0.704)	
Family Socioeconomic Status					0,092	
					(0.305)	
Constant	3,692	***	4,41	***	4,427	***
-2 Log Likelihood	-119,856		-116,254		-116,224	

Standard Errors in parentheses. *** p<0,001 ** p<0,01 *p<0,05

Table 2 shows the results of similar analysis using the French data. Second-generation Maghrébin youth experience a significant disadvantage in employment relative to the French-origin youth. Type of degree is also important in predicting employment. In Model 2 adds gender, type of degree, and urbanicity to the equation. Respondents with the CAP/BEP or no degrees are significantly less likely to be employed relative to those with the general baccalauréat with those with no degrees being the most vulnerable to unemployment. Place is also an important factor in employment. Those living in the large city center, large city periphery, medium city center, and small city center are significantly less likely to be employed than those living in Paris. Model 3 adds social class to the equation. Only those whose father is deceased or doesn't work are less likely than those with high-skilled professional fathers to be employed. When social class is included in the model the CAP/BEP degree type falls just short of significance and those who live in rural areas are now less likely to be employed.

Table 2. Employed versus unemployed (Source Génération 1998) N=21412

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	Sig	B	Sig	B	Sig
Ethnicity						
French (omitted)						
Maghreb Second Generation	-0,876	***	-0,654	***	-0,627	***
	(0.062)		(0.067)		(0.068)	
male			0,821	***	,811	***
			(0.042)		(0.042)	
Type of degree						
Baccalaureat général (omitted)						
No diploma academic track			-2,053	***	-2,022	***
			(0.258)		(0.259)	
No diploma vocational track			-1,201	***	-1,164	***
			(0.227)		(0.228)	
CAP BEP			-,467	*	-,434	
			(0.227)		(0.228)	
baccalaureat professional/technical			0,291		0,312	
			(0.229)		(0.229)	
Urbanicity						
Paris center (omitted)						
Paris periphery			-0,150		-0,190	
			(0.135)		(0.135)	
Large city center			-,243	**	-,249	**
			(0.084)		(0.085)	
Large city periphery			-,254	*	-0,29	*
			(0.125)		(0.125)	
Medium city center			-,266	***	-,274	***
			(0.081)		(0.081)	
Medium city periphery			-,150		-0,185	
			(0.103)		(0.104)	
Small city center			-0,217	**	-0,217	**
			(0.082)		(0.083)	
Small city periphery			-,065		-,093	
			(0.122)		(0.123)	
Multipolarisee/ between two cities			-,126		-,153	
			(0.107)		(0.107)	
Rural			-,118		-,147	*
			(0.079)		(0.080)	
Father's occupation						
High skilled professional (omitted)						
Farming					0,126	
					(0.132)	

Self employed					-,035	
					(0.097)	
Intermediate professional					0,016	
					(0.110)	
Non-manual worker					-,073	
					(0.080)	
Manual worker					-0.058	
					(0.080)	
Father deceased or doesn't work					-,471	***
					(0.084)	
Doesn't know					-,199	
					(0.121)	
Constant	1,906	***	2,155	***	2,237	***
-2 log liklihood	17088,975		15918,648		15865,967	

Standard Error in parentheses. ***p<0,001 **p<0,01 *p<0,05

4b. Full-time versus Part-time work

Figure 2 shows the percent of those employed full time among those who are employed by generation and ethnicity in the U.S. and France. Again both American groups have an advantage over their French counterparts. Among those employed, 93% of both second-generation Mexicans and third-and-later-generation Non-Hispanic whites are employed full time. In France, 81% of native French and only 76% of Maghrébin youth who are employed are working full time.

Table 3 shows the results of logistic regression equations on full-time versus part-time work among those who are employed using the NELS:88 data. Second generation Mexicans are not significantly different from third-and-later generation non-Hispanic whites in their likelihood to work full time. Model 2 includes controls for gender, type of degree, and urbanicity. Males are more likely to be employed full time than females. Model 3 adds socioeconomic status to the model but it is not significant.

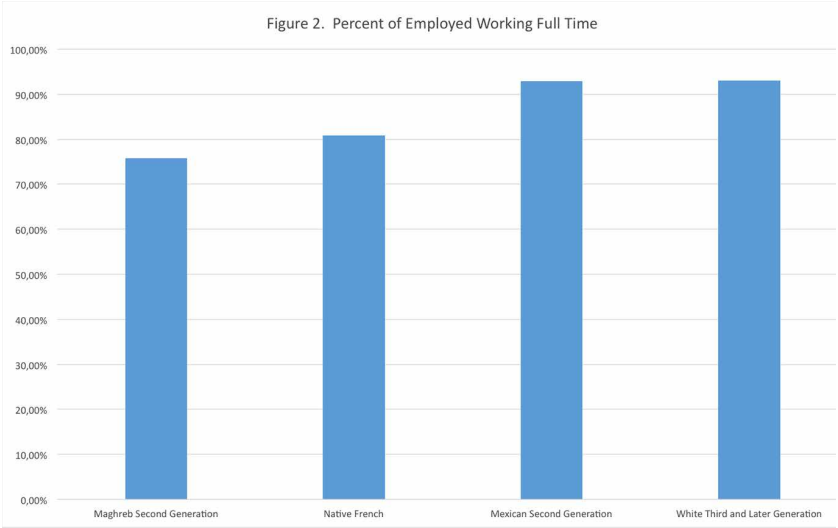

Figure 2

Table 3. Logistic Regression: Full Time versus Part Time (N=1089, Source:NELS:88)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	Sig	B	Sig	B	Sig
Third-and-later-generation Non-Hispanic White (omitted)						
Second Generation Mexican	-0,098		0,032		-0,275	
	(0.47)		(0.583)		(0.567)	
Male			2,351	***	2,38	***
			(0.351)		(0.347)	
High School Degree (omitted)						
GED or certificate			0,388		0,319	
			(0.403)		(0.402)	
High-School Dropout			-0,315		-0,486	
			(0.383)		(0.411)	
Urban (omitted)						
Suburban			0,365		0,316	
			(0.465)		(0.463)	
Rural			-0,103		-0,233	
			(0.451)		(0.446)	
Family Socioeconomic Status					-0,369	
					(0.232)	
Constant	2,586	***	1,633	***	1,561	***
-2 Log Likelihood	-277,417		-238,437		-236,971	

Standard Errors in parentheses. *** p<0,001 ** p<0,01 *p<0,05

One should interpret these findings with caution however, because the sample size of the second-generation Mexicans (63) may preclude finding a significant difference due to lack of statistical power. Therefore we use an additional analytical method, propensity score matching which "refers to the paring of treatment and control units with similar values of the propensity score, and possibly other covariates, and the discarding of all unmatched units," to see if we find a significant difference between the two groups in full-time employment (Rubin 2001, p.173). Propensity score matching has been used to re-evaluate logistic regression findings in the case of a small sample size (See Bennett and Lutz 2009). Propensity score matching permits us to compare second-generation Mexicans and third-and-later generation non-Hispanic whites "who are similar to one another across a host of background characteristics." (Bennett and Lutz 2009, p. 86). In this analysis second-generation Mexicans are considered to be the treated state and third-and-later generation non-Hispanic whites are the controls so the propensity score tells us the conditional probability of being a second-generation Mexican. First we must match cases from the treatment and control groups who are comparable on background characteristics. Ideally the matching process will yield a reduction in bias between the two groups on these background characteristics. We use propensity score matching with one-to-one Mahalanobis metric matching for our analysis (Rubin 2001). Following this approach a second-generation Mexican is matched with a third-and-later generation non-Hispanic white "with the smallest Mahalanobis distance on the basis of their propensity score and values on a number of key covariates" including gender, type of degree or not, urbanicity, and family socioeconomic status (Bennett and Lutz 2009, p. 86-87). Table 4 shows the means for the treated and control groups before and after the matching process as well as reduction in bias achieved through the matching process. The propensity score tells us the differences between the two groups across the covariates. Because the bias in the propensity score has been reduced by 98.6% through the matching process and there are no longer significant differences on any of the covariates we can say that the match is a successful one. Table 5 shows the proportion of second-generation Mexicans and non-Hispanic whites working full time in the matched sample. We find no significant differences in full-time work between second-generation Mexicans and third-and-later generation non-Hispanic whites. Thus, using two methods, logistic regression and propensity score matching, we find no significant differences between the two groups in full-time work.

Table 4. Differences between Second Generation Mexicans and Non-Hispanic Whites Before and After Propensity Score Matching

		Mean			
Variable	Unmatched/ Matched	Second Generation Mexicans (Treated)	Non-Hispanic Whites (Control)	p-value	% Reduction in Bias
male	U	0,52381	0,5809	0,374	100
	M	0,52459	0,52459	1,000	
GED or certificate	U	0,14286	0,13353	0,833	100
	M	0,14754	0,14754	1,000	
High-School Dropout	U	0,26984	0,14912	0,010	100
	M	0,2623	0,2623	1,000	
Suburban	U	0,49206	0,38402	0,088	100
	M	0,4918	0,4918	1,000	
Rural	U	0,12698	0,48246	0,000	100
	M	0,13115	0,13115	1,000	
Family Socioeconomic Status	U	-1,1289	-0,53492	0,000	99,8
	M	-1,0905	-1,0916	0,989	
Propensity Score	U	0,20609	0,0486	0,000	98,6
	M	0,19005	0,19233	0,926	

Table 5. Propensity Score Matching Analysis: Proportion of Second-Generation Mexicans and Non-Hispanic Whites working Full Time in the Matched Sample

Second-Generation Mexicans (Treated)	Non-Hispanic Whites (Controls)	Difference	SE	T-statistic
0,869	0,902	-0,033	0,059	-0,56

Table 6 shows the results of logistic regression equations on full time versus part time work among those employed based on the French Génération 1998 data. Second-generation Maghrébin youth are less likely to be employed full time than native French. Model 2 adds controls for gender, type of degree, and urbanicity. Those with no diploma on the academic or vocational track are less likely to be employed full time. Those living in cities or peripheries outside of Paris also are significantly less likely to be employed full time than those living within Paris as are those who live in rural areas. Model 3 adds socioeconomic status to the equation. Those whose fathers are farmers, self-employed, or deceased or not working are less likely to be employed full time than those whose fathers are high-skilled professionals. Net of socioeconomic status and the other controls the second-generation Maghrébin youth are still less likely to be employed full time than native French.

Table 6. Logistic Regression: Full Time versus Part Time (Source Generation 1998) N=18435

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	Sig	B	Sig	B	Sig
Ethnicity						
French (omitted)						
Maghreb Second Generation	-0,307	***	-0,283	***	-0,326	***
	(0.072)		(0.078)		(0.079)	
male			1,398	***	1,416	***
			(0.245)		(0.041)	
Type of degree						
Baccalaureat général (omitted)						
No diploma academic track			-1,391	***	-1,435	***
			(0.245)		(0.248)	
No diploma vocational track			-0,434	*	-0,479	**
			(0.181)		(0.183)	
CAP BEP			-0,159		-0,195	
			(0.179)		(0.181)	
baccalaureat professional/technical			0,052		0,035	
			(0.179)		(0.181)	
Urbanicity						
Paris center (omitted)						
Paris periphery			0,351	**	0,343	**
			(0.147)		(0.148)	
Large city center			-0,323	***	-0,328	***
			(0.082)		(0.083)	
Large city periphery			-0,398	***	-0,381	***
			(0.117)		(0.118)	
Medium city center			-0,350	***	-0,359	***
			(0.078)		(0.079)	
Medium city periphery			-0,219	*	-0,218	*
			(0.098)		(0.098)	
Small city center			-,279	***	-,279	***
			(0.079)		(0.080)	
Small city periphery			-,303	**	-,239	*
			(0.111)		(0.112)	
Multipolarisee/ between two cities			-0,104		-0,084	
			(0.102)		(0.103)	
Rural			-0,307	***	-0,226	**
			(0.075)		(0.076)	

Father's occupation						
High skilled professional (omitted)						
Farming					-0,787	***
					(0.103)	
Self employed					-0,429	***
					(0.086)	
Intermediate professional					0,164	
					(0.103)	
Non-manual worker					-0,041	
					(0.075)	
Manual worker					0,0650	
					(0.076)	
Father deceased or doesn't work					-0,182	*
					(0.085)	
Doesn't know					-0,035	
					(0.125)	
Constant	1,445838		1,138		1,238	
-2 log liklihood	18112,644		16729,706		16589,375	

Standard Error in parentheses. ***p<0,001 **p<0,01 *p<0,05

5. Conclusion

This paper has compared the employment situation of Mexican and North African origin youth with low-level educational credentials relative to youth from native majority populations in the United States and France. The patterns of employment over generation play out differently in the two contexts. In the United States, second-generation Mexicans stand out as having a high degree of employment relative to the majority white population while in France second-generation North Africans experience ethnic penalties on the labor market.

In the French case, the Maghrébin second generation is at a distinct disadvantage in terms of employment and full time work with significant ethnic penalties. What this suggests is that the "Republican model" of assimilation is not functioning in the case of Maghrébin youth in France. At least in the labor market context, the second generation faces a severe lack of access to jobs, particularly full-time jobs. Place is also very important in terms of employment in France. In terms of employment and full time work, those who live in Paris experience an advantage over other workers. Socioeconomic status also matters in France more than in the United States.

In the United States, the Mexican second generation tends to do significantly better in employment. Given that this research focuses on those with relatively low educational credentials, our results indicate that the Mexican second generation likely experiences what Waldinger et al. (2007) refer to as "working-class incorporation," that is very high levels of employment in working-class jobs.

These results indicate that economic context matters for the integration of second-generation minority groups (Gans 1992, Richard 1997, Joseph, et al. 2008). In the United States, with relatively low youth unemployment, the Mexican second generation experiences exceptionally high levels of employment and is able to find full-time employment. In France, where youth unemployment is high, second-generation North Africans experience significant ethnic penalties on the labor market and when they do find work are more likely to work in part-time positions than are native French workers. These results lend credence to Richard's (1997) theory that the second-generation faces greater discrimination on the labor market when unemployment is high. North Africans thus face a more difficult integration implied by the segmented assimilation perspective.

There are some limitations of the comparisons made in this paper. Because employment data for the U.S. includes those who are slightly older than those in the French dataset, this may make the employment outcomes for children of Mexicans appear rosier than those of North Africans. That said, analysis of Génération 92 data from an earlier cohort indicates that North Africans do not fare much better with more time on the labor market. After five years on the labor market they are still at a disadvantage relative to their French-origin peers (Silberman and Fournier 2007).

Another limitation of this paper is that the French sample size is much larger than the American one. This may make it less likely to find statistically significant outcomes in the American case due to lack of statistical power. That the Mexican second-generation was significantly more likely to be employed even with the small sample size gives us confidence in that finding. That there was no significant difference in full time versus part-time work led us to turn to propensity score matching to double-check our findings that the Mexican second generation is not significantly different than similar third-and-later generation non-Hispanic whites. Finding the same results with two methods gives us confidence that this finding is real.

Future research is warranted on this topic. Of crucial import is an understanding of how the recession impacts employment opportunities for members of the second-generation who do not continue on to higher education. Additional research might also investigate the types of jobs that the children

and grandchildren of immigrants undertake when they are employed. The data used in this project do not permit an examination of the types of jobs undertaken by youth. If youth with low level qualifications are employed in working-class jobs as suggested by Waldinger et al. (2007), the claim made by segmented assimilation theorists regarding lack of mobility in an hourglass economy may still hold even for second-generation Mexicans despite high levels of employment. Also warranted is an investigation of workers with greater education levels. Does education preclude ethnic penalties in the labor market for more educated workers? Such research might investigate whether access to the labor market is a source of disadvantage for more highly educated children and grandchildren of immigrants.

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Note

1. The majority of those identified as second generation in this analysis are French citizens by birth.

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Appendix Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Variables included in Analysis of NELS:88

	Mean	SD
Dependent Variables		
Employed	0,977	0,149
Employed Full Time	0,930	0,256
Independent Variables and Controls		
Non-Hispanic White	0,939	0,240
Second-generation Mexican	0,061	0,240
Male	0,610	0,488
Type of degree		
High-school graduate	0,587	0,493
GED or certificate	0,156	0,363
High-school dropout	0,249	0,432
Urbanicity		
Urban	,1432	0,350
Suburban	0,407	0,492
Rural	0,450	0,498
Family Socioeconomic Status	-0,602	0,626

Appendix Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Variables included in Analysis of Génération 1998

	Mean	SD
Dependent Variables		
Employed	0,861	0,346
Employed Full Time	0,804	0,397
Independent and Control Variables		
French	0,928	0,258
Maghreb Second Generation	0,072	0,258
male	0,586	0,493
Type of degree		
No diploma academic track	0,013	0,113
No diploma vocational track	0,260	0,439
CAP BEP	0,370	0,483
baccalaureat professional/technical	0,344	0,475
baccalaureat général	0,010	0,101
Urbanicity		
Paris center	0,097	0,297
Paris periphery	0,029	0,168
Large city center	0,120	0,325
Large city periphery	0,038	0,190
Medium city center	0,158	0,365

Medium city periphery	0,070	0,254
Small city center	0,150	0,357
Small city periphery	0,045	0,206
Multipolarisee/ between two cities	0,063	0,243
Rural	0,220	0,414
Father's occupation		
High-skilled professional	0,082	0,274
Farming	0,047	0,212
Self employed	0,105	0,307
Intermediate professional	0,072	0,258
Non-manual worker	0,301	0,459
Manual worker	0,286	0,452
Father deceased or doesn't work	0,091	0,288
Doesn't know	0,032	0,175

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