



**A qualitative exploration of the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of  
Algerian immigrants into French society**

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree  
Master of Social Science in Social Development

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August 2021  
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## **ABSTRACT**

Immigration to Europe from many parts of Africa and the Middle East has intensified over the past years. It highlights the need for these populations to integrate into new cultures and countries. This study explores the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society. The Northern suburbs of Marseille, an area where large communities of Algerians live, was selected as the study area. A sample of 14 individuals from different households who had been in France for at least a year were purposely selected to participate. The capabilities and social exclusion approaches were used to understand the experience of Algerian immigrants as a result of their being foreigners in a new country. The findings revealed that Algerian migrants experienced several deprivations related to money and finances, safety, social contact with other citizens, and jobs. This situation has a negative impact on their life choices and opportunities as well as their social integration. Effective provision of support and social assistance is needed, as well as a reflection about immigration in France to facilitate the integration of immigrants into French society.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Introduction

This study is a qualitative exploration of the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society. This chapter first outlines the statement of the problem, and then provides the background of this study and its context. This is followed by the rationale, significance and the aim of this study. The research topic, questions, main assumptions, clarification of concepts and the principal ethical considerations are explained. The research is guided by Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (1999), which is considered a "as a conceptual framework for a range of normative exercises, including most prominent the following: (1) the assessment of individual well-being; (2) the evaluation and assessment of social arrangements; and (3) the design of policies and proposals about social change in society" (Robeyns, 2016). The idea is that the economy should allow people to fully achieve what they want to do and who they want to be (Robeyns, 2016). In other words, people would be able to evaluate the liberty they enjoy, especially in making choices, accessing opportunities, and achieving a sense of self.

### 1.2. Statement of the problem

This study was conducted in a disadvantaged immigrant community in Marseille, France. Marseille is a city located in the South of France on the French Riviera, also known as Côte d'Azur. The place is known to be the home of immigrant communities where many social problems like a lack of safety, prostitution, drug dealing, and organized crime are prevalent (Dewhurst Lewis, 2002:68). Being a harbour, Marseille is a crossroads city that has seen many migrations over centuries, from Italian people to Northern-Africans especially from Algeria and Maghreb (Peraldi, Duport & Samson, 2015:3-8). This was due mainly to the economic growth encountered by France in the 1960s alongside the end of the Algerian war, that fostered the massive arrival of migrant workers and *Pied Noirs* – French people living in Algerian communities. Today, Muslims represent more than 25% of the population in Marseille (Taush, 2019:73).

According to the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE, 2020b), 6.7 million immigrants – foreign people born in a foreign country – aged 18 to 60 years old were living in France in 2019; representing about 10% of the French population. In 2019, 29,1% of them were born in Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) (INSEE, 2020b). In 2015, 7,3 million people who were born in France had at least one foreign parent, representing 11% of the population. Forty-five percent of them had a parent born in Europe, and 31% a parent born

in the Maghreb (Champion, Collin, Lesdos-Cauhapé, Quénechdu & Valdelièvre, 2017:1). The Trajectories and Origins Survey (TeO), which measured the diversity of the French population in a unique study in 2008, estimated that another 3,6 million people aged 18-50 years old were born in France from at least one foreign parent (Beauchemin, Hamel & Simon, 2015:35-39). Forty-eight percent of them had a parent born in Europe, and 39% a parent born in Africa, mainly the Maghreb (Ibid:41). This shows the importance of the colonial history in the French population development. It also proves that descendants of immigrants from a given origin are all the more numerous as the migratory wave is old and important (Beauchemin, Hamel & Simon, 2015:39-41). France continues to have one of the highest proportions of immigrants and their descendants, in Europe (Bouvier, 2012:11). This diversity remains complicated to measure, as there is legal impediment against the collection of ethnic data in the country's official statistical system (Safi, 2008:3; Simon, 2008:7-8; Escafré-Dublet, 2014:2). Social scientists are therefore frustrated by the lack of accurate data on ethnic discrimination and the efficacy of the policies targeted at addressing immigration (Escafré-Dublet, 2014:3). For instance, asking those in charge of implementing social assistance or educational success programmes to identify immigrants or populations with an immigrant background in their audiences is considered as equivalent to stigmatizing them (Escafré-Dublet, 2015:81). Therefore, it remains difficult to ask NGOs to contact their beneficiaries based on their ethnic origins as they generally do not gather these data, seen as potentially discriminating.

More than 50% of African immigrants from the Maghreb region are concentrated in Paris, Marseille and Lyon (Champion et al., 2016:3). This may be due in part to a lack of resources and a low level of social mobility (Escafré-Dublet, 2014:3). According to Bouvier (2012:11), immigrants and their descendants in France experience, on average, more disadvantaged living conditions, poor access to jobs and opportunities, and more academic difficulties than the general population. The difficulties of achieving integration result from the interactions between education, opportunities in the job market, and housing, which accentuate particularities or difficulties linked to the immigrants' origins. France has also been the centre of many riots composed of second-generation immigrant youths, with underlying issues linked to the social and economic exclusion of immigrants (Algan, Dustmann, Glitz, & Manning, 2009:2). Finally, the lack of tools to adequately measure integration, and to measure the dimensions of integration in a new society, remains the greatest challenge in terms of personal wellbeing and the development of capabilities.

This research explored the experiences of Algerian immigrants from Marseille in terms of their

integration and the development of their capabilities as French nationals in the above context. A study of this nature is important, as there is a lack of research and information about the question of integration and its links to deprivation on a subjective level in France (Stora, 2017:10-12), and in the Algerian community, specifically. This research will provide a better understanding of how being part of a foreign national community and experiencing deprivation affects people's capabilities. It will also provide data to inform public and integration policies that can support these communities.

### **1.3.Rationale and significance of the study**

There is abundant research about immigration in France whether is it about the history of migration, refugees, migration and development, gender and migration as well as the effects on (and of) the host society. However, according to Benjamin Stora (2017:7), up until the 1960's, the history of migration is limited to the history of immigration, based on assimilation. Thus, in France – first European country of immigration – it was only in the 1980's that the first theses on immigration were defended and published (Ibid:8).

Stora (2017:8) explains that, in the public space, migration have sparked lively debate still demonstrated in the present given the recent terrorist attacks committed by foreigners and refugees on the French national territory and triggered by migrant communities. The 2005 memorial laws about the Algerian war were also a hotly debated topic. Young historians such as Linda Amiri (2013) and Emmanuel Blanchard (2011) have highlighted the singularities of the Algerian immigration: The Algerian war led on French national territory, the inspection measures and the great violence of repression, as well as the long-lasting stigmatization of Algerian migrants and their children. However, according to Stora (2017:8), the thematic approach tends to trivialize the subject by studying questions based on the legal status, the housing, family or work.

Thus, a gap remains regarding accurate data about immigrants and their perceptions and experiences of integration and deprivation. By exploring this area of study, this research could provide a more holistic and in-depth understanding of what the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) or other organisations currently say about immigration, integration, and poverty. In addition, it will hopefully assist the government and governmental organisations such as the French Office for Immigration and Integration, to make informed decisions regarding immigrant communities and their needs. It could further facilitate the implementation policies that would be more responsive to people's personal experiences of deprivation and perceptions of integration and capabilities, due to an insider perspective given by the research participants themselves. Finally, this research could be used for future research

on immigration and integration, and how to improve people's capabilities in an economically and socially adverse context. The specific historical, religious and cultural context in which Algerian migrants currently live in France might echo the reality of other "visible minorities" in European countries.

#### **1.4. Aims of the study**

The aim of this study was to understand the experiences of Algerian immigrants living in an impoverished environment that affects their capabilities in making choices, accessing opportunities, and developing their sense of self. This study was based on the perspective of poor immigrant household members on social and economic issues in France. It could therefore contribute to research in the social sciences, more specifically, in social development.

#### **1.5. Title of the research topic**

A qualitative exploration of the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society.

#### **1.6. Main research questions**

- What are Algerian immigrants' experiences of integration into French society?
- How do Algerian immigrants cope with living in economically and socially disadvantaged areas?
- How do living in these areas and their immigrant background affect their choices in life?
- How do these conditions affect the self-perception and the identity formation of Algerian immigrants?
- How do these circumstances affect immigrants' opportunities in life and their integration into France?
- What kind of social priority needs are important for Algerian immigrants to improve their quality of life?

#### **1.7. Main assumptions**

The purpose of this study was to examine the significant ways in which immigration and deprivation affect the integration and capabilities of households from the perspectives of individual community members. It is assumed that Algerian immigrants living in disadvantaged areas struggle to integrate themselves into French society and cannot fulfil their various capabilities. Indeed, according to Duroy (2011:311), individuals of North African heritage living in France "face a situation of capability deprivation which reduces the set of capabilities from which these individuals can choose functionings". It is assumed that this situation is due to

several factors including:

- The religious dimension: the practice of their religion, which is mainly Islam, and seen or experienced as being in contradiction or incompatible with the Judeo-Christian history and culture of France (Kastoryano, 1989:15; Baillet, 2001:184,188; Duroy, 2011:317).
- The political dimension: the conflictual history between France and Algeria – notably through colonisation and the Algerian war – that has “left a permanent scar in French collective memory”; (Duroy, 2011:315) and created a lack of trust in France between the Algerians and the French.
- The community dimension: the feeling and experience of social injustice, discrimination, racism, and rejection due to the poor conditions of living in which Algerian immigrants are subjected to (Baillet, 2001:192-193; Safi, 2008:28; Duroy, 2011:317; Cohen, 2017:29).
- The ideological dimension: the rejection of French universalism inherited from the Enlightenment period and of French integration policies, perceived as assimilation. They would claim for either a multicultural State based on the Dutch or Canadian model; or for the collective integration of populations, organised as ethnic groups within the public sphere, such as in the United States of America (Kastoryano, 1989: 13; Baillet, 2001:186-187).

### **1.8. Research objectives**

The main objectives of this study are to:

- Understand Algerian immigrants’ experiences of integration into French society;
- determine how Algerian immigrants cope with living in economically and socially disadvantaged areas;
- understand how the disadvantages of living in these areas affect their choices in life;
- understand how their immigrant background affects their choices in life;
- ascertain the ways in which these conditions affect the self-perception and the identity-formation of Algerian immigrants;
- determine the ways in which these disadvantages affect immigrants’ opportunities in life and their integration into France; and
- ascertain the kind of social priorities needed for Algerian immigrants to live the type of life they would value.

### **1.9. Clarification of concepts**

**Deprivation:** Deprivation is defined as “the damaging lack of material benefits considered to be basic necessities in a society” (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). In Sen’s view, deprivation is another word for poverty and is considered a state of being in which people are kept from

possessing, enjoying or using something material (money, shelter, furniture, etc.), or something non-material. such as an access to education, opportunities, dignity, etc, and capabilities – the effective freedom of people to choose between different ways of living (Sen, 1999:87-88).

**Capabilities:** According to Sen (1992:39), capabilities refer to the set of valuable functionings “being and doing” such as “being well-nourished” – to which a person has affective access. Capabilities therefore represents the effective liberty of an individual to choose between different ways of living that he or she has reason to value (Sen, 1999:87). This theory highlights already identified aspects of deprivation by focussing on the access to basic needs required to have a decent life instead of simply surviving. Indeed, while individual income could be a means to expand freedoms and therefore capabilities, there are also other determinants. Social and economic arrangements, as well as political and civil rights are also to be taken into account (Sen, 1999:3).

**Immigrant Community:** Community refers to “a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings” (Green & Mercer, 2001:1929). The immigrants are people who were born in a foreign country with a foreign citizenship and have moved from one place to another in order to find work or better living conditions (Bouvier, 2012:15). In our study, second generation immigrants are those who were born in France and have at least one parent who is an immigrant according to Bouvier’s definition (2012:18).

**Integration:** Tiberj (2014) defines the term “integration” as the process by which the individual merges into a society and by which he or she socializes. This process means learning the norms and values that govern the social body. It is usually done through the family, the school or through peer groups. Portes (1995:248-251; Portes & Rivas, 2011:224-225) have developed a new theory of integration based on its multidimensional characteristics. This theory, known as *segmented assimilation*, introduces integration as a concept that may refer to economic, social, cultural or socio-psychological dimensions, among others (Ibid). In France, the state tradition, inherited from the monarchy, alongside the French Revolution, has claimed to be universalist, egalitarian, rationalist, individualist, and secular in nature (*laïque*) (Kastoryano, 1989:16). Therefore, political integration in France also implies cultural integration until the “assimilation” of people has been completed. Indeed, the doctrine of the French Republican Model is that immigrants and their children would “gradually lose their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness as they progress on the path to citizenship” (Simon, 2008:7). Social integration is therefore based

on the renunciation of one's cultural specificities to fully embrace the Republican Model of French identity (Duroy, 2011:316).

### **1.10. Ethical considerations**

#### **Avoidance of Harm:**

It is important to give consideration to the different ways that research may be harmful, especially when the researcher and the participant are confronted with sensitive issues, such as family relationships, health, poverty, and personal history. In order to avoid any harm, I chose a safe space, which was a closed room in a safe house provided by an NGO in Marseille. If the participant became emotional, I did not try to probe. Furthermore, the interviewee was made aware before the interview that they had the choice of whether or not to answer the questions I asked and could withdraw at any stage. If necessary, I was ready to refer a participant to services such as the Local Social Service Centre, other NGOs, or provide them with counselling hotline numbers. Finally, most participants knew the specific member of whichever particular organisation that had introduced me to them, which created trust and confidence between the interviewer and the interviewees (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2005:58).

#### **Informed Consent and Voluntary Participation:**

Any research study requires participants' informed consent to proceed (Hakim, 2000:143). I therefore had to give participants adequate information about the project, and state what role they will play in it (De Vos et al., 2005:59). A letter of informed consent was drafted for participants to sign (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2002:169-171; De Vos et al., 2005:170; Hesse-Biber, 2017:65-66;) and is to be found at this end of this paper (Appendix 2). The informed consent letter was detailed so that participants were informed about the specific nature of the project, including any potential risks, and the letter outlined how participation would contribute to the project's goals. Participants were made aware before the interview that they would be able to follow up with any questions or concerns they may have had about the research. My details were provided, as well as details on how the data would be used. The consent form stipulated that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw during the interview process.

#### **Violations of Privacy, Anonymity and Confidentiality:**

In order to protect participants' privacy, all the interviews were conducted in a private room provided by the NGO, unless the participant asked to host the interview at his or her home. In order to protect their anonymity, I transcribed their names as 'Participant no.' according to the interview's number and changed their names in the data analysis. Confidentiality means avoiding the attribution of comments in reports or presentations that might identify an individual (De Vos et al., 2005:61; Hesse-Biber, 2017:64). I made every effort to avoid any personal details in the report that would identify any individual, upholding the privacy of the participants and ensuring

their confidential participation.

### **Deception of Subjects or Participants:**

Researchers may not be dishonest about who they are or what they are doing, and thus must not use incorrect information to ensure participation of subjects who would have otherwise possibly refused it (De Vos et al., 2005:60). Sometimes, deception may be more subtle and unintentional on the researcher's part, such as getting personally involved with the research that it left him/her open to the possibility of undue power, influence or authority over some participants (Hesse-Biber, 2017:74-75). The researcher therefore has to explain the real purpose of any research study. In order to do so, I explained before the interview what its purpose would be, asked whether the participants had any questions about it, and at the end of the interview, asked whether the participant had any more questions.

### **Release, Publication of Findings:**

I made every effort to write a clear, objective, holistic, and unambiguous report. I included verbatim anonymous transcripts of the interviews, and used the best of my ability to be objective while analysing the data through a process of verification of potential bias, as suggested by Creswell (2014:8, 206). I therefore made sure that the empirical and critical investigation of this social phenomenon was guided by theory and hypothesis about this specific phenomenon, as suggested by De Vos et al. (2005:41). Participants were informed that the study was for research purpose only, that any publication would be anonymous, and that they would not be identified through the written text.

## **1.11. Summary**

This chapter introduced the proposed research by stating the context of the problem of migration, integration and their link to deprivation in France. This chapter also covered the purpose of the study, which was to provide current information on the experiences of deprivation amongst immigrant communities and the attainment of their capabilities in France, especially in the city of Marseille. The main concepts were defined as: Deprivation, immigrant community, integration, and capability. The main ethical considerations that are required were explained and I received ethical clearance from my supervisor (cf Appendix 7). The next chapter introduces the literature review.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents a literature review that establishes the context of immigration and the integration of immigrants in France. It outlines the theoretical framework that guides the study, namely the Capability Approach and the Social Exclusion Approach, as well as the policy and legislation that pertain to the subject. Relevant themes on the focus of the research are included.

### **2.2. Review of Literature**

#### **2.2.1. The context of the Algerian Immigration in France**

Recent highly charged debates and controversial literature about immigration and integration in France (Kepel, 2015; Aubouin, 2019; Fourquet, 2019; Stefanini, 2020; Rougier, 2021) have emphasised the fact that France is a country of immigration. Therefore, all reflection about France's identity should take the history of foreigner's assimilation into consideration (Noiriél, 2006:II-III). These debates reveal how the national identity is being questioned, given the diverse communities that exist across the country (Kastoryano, 1989:16; Safi, 2008:17; Duroy, 2011:327; Shepard, 2013:448).

The Algerian community is often at the centre of these debates as the Algerian immigration itself has been one of the most decisive and extensive of its kind in France (Sayad, 2002:63; Cohen, 2017:29). According to Cohen (2017:29), this specific immigration is remarkable as it has been generally uninterrupted since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It also remains an immigration pattern that is seen as "problematic" in public representations and which, in practice, experiences specific difficulties (Ibid). Zehraoui (1996:237) explains the particularity of the Algerian immigration as being an "object of passions, interests, and conflicts" as it is the "last memory of a past that some would like to forget; immigrants and their children appear as the embarrassing witnesses to the collective unconscious and imagination of the two peoples," referring to the French-Algerian war that ended French colonisation in Algeria in 1962 (Ibid).

While the Algerian immigrant population counted about 5,000 individuals in France in 1912 (Zehraoui, 1996:237), it then increased during World War I to about 300,000 people as France largely called soldiers and workers from its colonies to assist with reconstruction (Meynier, P. & Meynier, G., 2011:221). National statistics for Algerian immigrants were only fully recorded after World War II, representing 1,3% of the general immigrant population (Zehraoui, 1996:237) namely about 150,000 people in 1952 (Bouvier, 2012:13). Indeed, France needed labour to work in the construction industry and help with post-World War II reconstruction (Meynier, P. & Meynier, G., 2011:221). The advent of Algerian independence in 1962

subsequently triggered an influx of almost one million refugees into France within a year (Algan, Dustmann, Glitz & Manning, 2009:4). The total immigrant population represented 17.2% of the foreign nationals in 1990 (Zehraoui, 1996:237). While this population was mainly composed of men more than 50 years of age who emigrated for work, it progressively transformed into family-type immigration (Zehraoui, 1996:237; Lamri, 2003:2; Sayad, 2004:69-73). Indeed, new immigration policies only allowed people who were applying for the right of asylum and family reunification to come settle in France (Noiriel, 2008). Today, Algerians are the biggest immigrant community in France, representing 12,6% of the total immigrant population, which totalled more than 850,000 people in 2019 (INSEE, 2020b).

According to Meynier, P. and Meynier, G., (2011:221-223), Algerian immigration to France has occurred due to several aspects that include demographic, economic, and psychological factors. It was demographic in the way that France had a decreasing population and was recruiting workers, while Algeria was a poor country facing an increasing population. The economy also played a role, as agriculture was more modern and developed in France than in Algeria, and most land in Algeria had been confiscated by the colonial power (Ibid:223). In the eyes of contemporary authors such as Despois (1952:78), the appeal of France was the principal driver of this immigration, where the salaries were higher, and they had access to social advantages. Despois (Ibid:78) also highlighted the psychological aspect of this immigration, namely that France was, for numerous men – who had been soldiers and worked in cities – a country of freedom, where they could escape from the village's social control and the conservative influence of the family.

However, the context of their settlement in France had not been an easy process. Algerians living in France also have to face the challenges of immigration “in terms of their psychosocial equilibrium, self-identification, cognitive dissonance, and social and material dislocation or being caught between ‘two worlds’” (Loyal, 2009 :416). During the Algerian War, North African workers in France were also the targets of illegal paramilitary actions from the *Organisation de l'armée secrète* opposed to Algerian independence (De Laforcade, 2006:219). While they were at first housed in shanty towns, they were offered more permanent accommodation for themselves and their families due to housing projects in the 1960's (Duroy, 2011:317). These housing projects were mostly located in urban areas called *banlieues* at the fringes of big cities (Ibid) that soon became the birthplace of violent riots in 2005 (De Laforcade, 2006:217).

Algerian immigration to France has a specific political significance as well (Zehraoui,

1996:238; De Laforcade, 2006:219). The commitment of Algerians from France to the Algerian national movement and to the Algerian Liberation war, as well as the trauma for both countries caused by decolonisation, had a historical impact on the relations between the two peoples (Zehraoui, 1996:238; De Laforcade, 2006:220). It also has a religious dimension, which has given rise to important debates, especially since the “Islamic headscarf affair” in 1989, and the discovery of the appeal of fundamentalist Muslim movements for young people from suburban cities (Zehraoui, 1996:238, Lamri, 2003:2). This situation is closely binding the future of Algerian immigration to that of Islam, which is the second largest religion in France (Kepel, 2015:349). According to Kastoryano (1989:15) and Lamri (2003:2), the immigrant’s religion plays an important part in Europe, where the native population is mostly Christian. They both highlight the fact that the French and the Germans emphasise the cultural distance<sup>1</sup> that exists between natives and migrants (Kastoryano 1989:15; Lamri, 2003:2), and the link between religion and politics in Islam, including the different conceptions about private law<sup>2</sup> (Kastoryano, 1989:15; Papi, 2014:691). In addition, according to Islamic Law, it is impossible to apply either a scientific or *laïc* approach, upon which the judicial systems in the West are based (Bleuchot, 2000:22).

This paragraph reveals the complexity of the context that surrounds the Algerian immigration to France. This complexity is all the more important considering that various capabilities are affected during the integration process, as the next section will explain.

### **2.2.2. Access to Opportunities**

The capabilities should be understood as people’s real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value (Sen, 1999:87). These opportunities depend on both their personal and social circumstances (Sen, 1999:17). The integration of Maghrebin people in France is usually

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<sup>1</sup> The Berber-Arab-Muslim culture for Algerians, specific to the crossroads of East and West. The traditional family organization in the Maghreb bears the mark of this mixed culture turned towards the Mediterranean (Lamri, 2003:1). This culture is different from the more individualistic and secular Caucasian-Judeo-Christian culture of European people. The theory of cultural distance would assume that Algerian immigrants *do not want* (by maintaining identity and emotional ties with the country of origin and remaining faithful to an Arab-Muslim culture) and *cannot* (by the concrete social integration difficulties they face and the crimes and violence due to those) assimilate to France as Islam would introduce a “fundamental distance from the host culture” (Lamri, 2003:2).

<sup>2</sup> Muslim law is most often studied as a legal corpus of private law. It would thus primarily concern civil law and family law (Rambaud, 2012:854). For a long time, the problems resulting from the reception of the Islamic norm in French law used to concern above all private international law (Papi, 2014:691). That is to say, the reception of norms resulting from foreign laws, marked by Muslim law, such as for example polygamy as well as repudiation, or even *kafâla* (the legal collection) and its relationship with adoption (Ibid). These measures, forbidden by French law, tend to oppose Islamic private law and French law in antagonist postures (Ibid:692). In addition, French Republican universalism rejects any legal particularism that could contribute to communitarianism (Ibid:705). There are therefore still many points of friction with certain Islamic norms, particularly those of clothing, being the subject of massive rejection in French law (Ibid:705).

accompanied by socio-economic difficulties, as well as discrimination and deprivation (Noiriel, 2006:X; Beauchemin, Hamel, Lesné & Simon, 2010:2). As they do not have access to the same opportunities as French native citizens in terms of jobs, housing and education, their capacity to reach their full potential is therefore affected. According to Algan, Dustmann, Glitz and Manning (2009:2), successful immigrants in the labour market could contribute positively to the host economy. However, “poor economic success may contribute to the social and economic exclusion of immigrants and their descendants, which can consequently lead to social unrest, with riots and terrorism as extreme manifestations” (Ibid). Indeed, Vallet and Caille (1996:143) demonstrated that being a migrant or migrant’s descendant does not necessarily affect academic performance, however their “objective life conditions” do: Given they are over-represented in communities with poor social capital and economic resources, they are at a higher risk of encountering academic difficulties that affect life opportunities (Safi, 2006:6-7).

Coates, Anand, and Norris (2013:163) studied access to opportunities linked to the place of living by using the Capabilities Approach to welfare economics<sup>3</sup>. They examined how issues of housing and neighbourhood conditions influence quality of life and opportunities for migrants in Western Europe. The study was based on data from the 2008 European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS) to explore variation in life and housing satisfaction between migrants and natives in Western Europe. The results show that “while diverse, inner-city neighbourhoods can increase opportunities for labour market access, social services and integration, the tendency towards clustered settlement by migrants, can also compound housing inequality” (Coates, Anand & Norris, 2013:163). The study notably highlighted the fact that negative housing experiences of many ethnic minorities, including migrant households, were associated with racism and xenophobia (Ibid:165). Furthermore, low resources of North African communities in France, discrimination in access to the job market, and weakly organised relational networks can undermine access to good quality housing for immigrants, and lead to deprivation (Safi, 2008:28).

From these studies, it is evident that being an immigrant or an immigrant’s descendant from North-Africa, raises the risk of experiencing deprivation in various forms and affects their opportunities in life as well as their ability to fulfil their capabilities (Duroy, 2011:328; Coates,

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<sup>3</sup> As introduced by Amartya Sen (1992). The Capability Approach offers a more holistic evaluation of situations than traditional welfare economics as this later tends to focus solely on measures of material well-being. This approach includes measures such as education, employment and health (Coates, Anand & Norris, 2013:164)

Anand & Norris, 2013:208; Lendaro & Matthews: 2013:XXIII; Pan Ké Shon, Verdugo & Jacobs, 2014:203).

### **2.2.3. The experience of choice-making**

The focus of capabilities is on choice and freedom, rather than achievement (Sen, 1999:17). Findings from several studies have cited how people's capabilities and choices are affected by various factors: such as the socio-economic environment of the individual (Lendaro & Matthews, 2013:6), education, employment, health, security (De Haas, 2009:21) housing (Coastes, Anand & Norris, 2013:164) and other constraints such as disability, discrimination and geographical isolation (Hick, 2012:296).

Safi (2009:521) tried to make an empirical assessment of the issue of immigrants' segregation in France by examining the links between immigrants' integration and their spatial distribution. The study was based on previous research, such as that of Desplanques and Tabard (1991:51), who studied the localisation of foreign populations in France, and found that the concentration of foreigners was higher in cities with poor demographic dynamism and in economic decline. Safi (2009:521) used a correlational quantitative research method based on five public successive census data (1968, 1975, 1982, 1990 and 1999) and concluded that immigrants from Africa and Turkey were characterised by high segregation levels that were hardly understandable through the prism of spatial assimilation. However, Safi (2009:547) underlined that, in order to adequately measure segregation, the research method needed to reveal individual strategies in terms of residential choices, collective grouping strategies for ethnic minorities, and the city's public policies regarding housing discrimination.

In addition, in France, the labour market performance of most immigrant groups, as well as their descendants is, on average, worse than that of the native population. This claim was supported by Safi (2008:26), who found Algerians, Moroccans and Sub-Saharan Africans to be those who experienced the most socio-economic difficulties in France, in terms of integration. Safi (2008:28) based her argument on other studies to highlight the fact that cultural choices and assimilation indicators were emerging for Sub-Saharan Africans and North-Africans where intermarriage was among the highest within the migrant population representing 37% of marriages (INSEE, 2017); naturalisation applications were numerous (Belbah & Chattou, 2001:3; Fougère & Safi, 2005:170); civic and associative commitment were strong (Baillet, 2001:184-185; Quiminal & Timera, 2002:27); and French proficiency was higher than for Turks and Asians (Safi, 2008:28). However, other indicators such as income, employment situation, socio-occupational category and indicators on housing type and condition

demonstrate a low socio-economic integration for North African immigrants (Ibid). They are more likely to experience a high rate of unemployment, lack of job and housing security, and academic difficulties for their children (Ibid). Safi (Ibid) explained this situation as being due to poor resources, the lack of relational networks, and discrimination towards these communities.

According to the French High Council for Integration (Haut Conseil à l'Intégration, 2011:29-30), "The desire to be French expressed when applying for naturalization, and the objective conditions required (residence, five-year stay, mastery of the French language, income excluding social benefits, and absence of conviction) are also a good indicator of integration". However, when it comes to the choice of naturalisation, while the national identity of migrants ought not to prevent them from being naturalised, it may remain for the immigrant worker more of an economic choice than a cultural one (Kastoryano,1989:16; Fougère & Safi, 2005:169). Thus, being naturalised would allow immigrants to access occupations that were previously closed such as civil service jobs, and furthermore, it removes certain discriminatory obstacles during the recruitment process (Fougère & Safi, 2005:164). For instance, in the case of Algerian immigrants, Fougère and Safi (2008: 170) noticed they are less often naturalized. Analysis of this low rate shows that it is probably linked to the history of the colonization and decolonization of Algeria. One hypothesis could be that the probability of naturalization decreases as the relative size of the community of origin increases (Ibid:174). When the community is large enough, it can offer the newcomer an important network of relationships, allowing them easier access to housing and employment (Ibid). Under these conditions, the acquisition of nationality would be of less interest to them, highlighting the instrumental character of naturalization (Ibid). As a consequence, the different migrant groups might maintain a relationship that is mostly instrumental with the political community of their host-country. Kastoryano (1989:16) concludes that this situation might threaten the founding principles of citizenry, nationality and normative character of France as a nation-state.

Nevertheless, Fougère and Safi (2008:176) underline the fact that the probability of naturalization also highly depends on the country of origin, as well as the socio-professional category and the level of education. In addition, France is one of the European countries that has made naturalisation conditional to a certain degree of linguistic and cultural assimilation (Ersanilli & Koopmans: 2010:788). This specificity makes it one of the countries where "the positive relationship between naturalisation and socio-cultural integration is [one of the] strongest" (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010:787).

The paragraphs above show that the integration of Maghrebin immigrants into France remains a

challenge. The discrimination and segregation they face, as well as their relationship to the host country and the conditions to obtain French citizenship are all factors that can affect their personal choices and capabilities.

#### **2.2.4. Experiencing a sense of self**

According to Ylvisaker, Hibbard & Feeney (2006), one's sense of self includes the roles, attributes, behaviours, and associations that one considers most important about oneself. Individuals can, for instance, develop who they are through occupation, social and familial relationships, affiliations, abilities, skills and spirituality. Self-perception and identities therefore largely depend on environmental and cultural heritage (Ibid). It is notably the case for perceptions of integration, deprivation, and identity amongst migrant communities that may differ from what is measured by traditional tools (Belbah & Chattou, 2001:4,7; Silberman & Fournier, 2008:71; Portes & Rivas, 2011:230; Pan Ké Shon, Verdugo & Jacobs, 2014:201; Gosselin et al., 2018:855). Acknowledging how people understand their own situation and how they evaluate their needs may help governments to adjust their policies (De Haas, 2009:4; Venkatapuram, 2013:7). Venkatapuram (2013:7) explains that subjective well-being could be understood as one's evaluation of one's own environment, and the opportunities one has to choose a certain type of life in the community in which one lives. In other words, subjective well-being can be considered as a personal and concrete comprehension of capabilities from the perspective of people who are actually deprived.

Findings from several studies have indicated how people perceive their own integration and deprivation (Silberman & Fournier, 2008; Withol de Wenden, 2011; Bouvier, 2012; Ciorbagiu, Stoica & Mihaila, 2020). For instance, according to Bouvier (2012:24), integration cannot only be apprehended through the amount of naturalisation every year as it also depends on one's experiences of discrimination, trust in the institutions, and feelings of belonging. It therefore implies describing how foreign people understand the host society and their own involvement in integrating in it. Thus, Bouvier (2012:25) has underlined that there is, amongst the immigrants, an adherence to both France and the country of origin, which is confirmed by a high incidence of dual citizenship amongst immigrant communities.

It is, however, important to qualify this statement. Jayet (2016:113), in a study based on the 2008 Trajectories and Origins Survey, investigated the relation between the feeling of being French and the feeling of being considered as French. As far as immigrants from Africa are concerned, the results highlight the gap between the feeling of belonging and the feeling of acceptance. These populations thus always feel more French than they feel they are seen as

being French. This difference persists with the acquisition of nationality as well as among the second generation of immigrants (Ibid:113). The study revealed that among the foreigners who arrived in France most recently (after 1998), those from North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa were the most likely to feel French with 22.4% of them agreeing to having had a strong feeling of belonging (Ibid:119). However, in comparison to European immigrants, the feeling of acceptance did not evolve much over time; while it jumped from 10,6% to 39,4% after 25 years in France for European immigrants, this probability jumped from 12,6% to 14,6% among North African immigrants (Ibid:120). Maghrebin immigrants who acquired French nationality nevertheless, were those who developed the highest percentage of belonging, with 57% of them stating they felt French (Ibid:124). However, the feeling of acceptance is barely experienced for the majority of natives of non-European origin, with only 51.9% of Maghrebin reported as being perceived as French persons in French society (Ibid:126).

Furthermore, according to Wihtol de Wenden (2011:21), equality is a French Republican value of which French young people with an immigrant background are very attached, though hardly experience it themselves. In his paper, Wihtol de Wenden (2011) based his argument on the results of the field studies led by the *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration* (HCI) about the challenges of integration at school (HCI, 2010). On one hand, young people with an immigrant background who attend public republican schools feel essentially French, even though they might have dual citizenships, but do not feel like they experience the same values as native French persons (Wihtol de Wenden, 2011:21). On the other hand, it appears that the transmission of elements of French republican, democratic and secular culture is considered a problem by some students and parents who do not identify with certain values, or even publicly reject them (HCI, 2010:2). The cultural dimension of integration is therefore questioned as “some proudly display their support for “values” contrary to those embodied by the Republic, often invoking their belief in a transcendent truth that does not suffer any criticism” (Ibid). Furthermore, along with their aspirations and expectations, the self-identities and self-esteem of children of immigrants are key to their assimilation (Portes & Rivas, 2011: 228). However, “repeated incidents of discrimination by the receiving society lower self-esteem and trigger a reactive ethnicity among migrant youths” (Ibid: 229).

Kanouté, Vatz Laaroussi, Rachédi, & Tchimou Doffouchi (2008:266) also explain that the impact of immigration depends on several factors. The study highlights that living in, and belonging to a community facing discrimination in their host country prevents a family’s fulfilment and academic success of the children (Ibid:271). Therefore, immigrant students experiencing rejection in school are more likely to withdraw into their ethnic group and are less disposed to relate to the culture of the host country (Ibid:270).

Furthermore, the second generation of immigrants report a greater experience of discrimination than the immigrants themselves (Beauchemin, Hamel, Lesné & Simon, 2010:2). This is especially true for the children of immigrants, notably from Algeria (Ibid). According to Duprez (1997:80), they feel excluded from the job market, and are therefore dis-affiliated. As far as the youth with a Maghrebin immigrant background are concerned, their ethnic origin, the poor reputation of their suburbs, and failure at school are obstacles to their entry into active life (Ibid:78). Therefore, “taking refuge in the religious Islamic community or living from undeclared work or illicit activities such as drug dealing is the only way for them to reach the lifestyle promised by the public-school system” (Ibid). This situation threatens the Republic, whereby a widening phenomenon of “negative citizenship” is created by the feeling of being excluded from both the job market and the national community (Ibid).

In addition, Coates, Anand and Norris (2013:163) drew on the Capabilities Approach to welfare economics to examine how issues of housing and neighbourhood conditions influence the quality of life for migrants in Western Europe. They used a quantitative method to analyse data from the 2009 European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS), to explore variations in life and housing satisfaction between migrants and non-migrants in Western Europe. The aim was to assess whether being a migrant and living in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood contributed to lower life satisfaction (Coates, Anand & Norris, 2013:163). The study concluded that migrants were more likely to experience lower levels of life and housing satisfaction and that living in a diverse neighbourhood was negatively associated with life and housing satisfaction (Ibid: 206). However, the results do not suggest that being a migrant is a significant predictor of lower subjective well-being (Ibid). Indeed, immigration could have a net positive impact on subjective well-being as well as life satisfaction in regard to different areas: “The freedom to decide how to live, the efforts made to have a better life or individuals’ own optimism” but it is also dependent on the migrants’ privilege level (Ciorbagiu, Stoica & Mihaila, 2020:105).

The paragraph above shows that self-perception as well as the perceptions of the host society are important to understand the multidimensional aspects of integration. The feeling of belonging and acceptance, as well as being discriminated against and housing/life dissatisfaction illustrate the needs of the Maghrebin populations in France, as well as the importance of developing new social policies.

## **2.3. Theoretical Framework**

### **2.3.1. The Capability Approach**

Amartya Sen's (1999) Capabilities Approach identified aspects of deprivation by basing his work on the access to basic needs required to have a decent life in terms of being successful, instead of simply surviving. The Capability Approach is an economic theory born during the 1980s that supports the idea that the economy should allow people to fully achieve their potential (Robeyns, 2005:94). In other words, people should be able to evaluate the liberty they enjoy and make choices according to this freedom. Inspired by the liberal school of thought in political philosophy, the Capabilities Approach is based on the philosophical tradition of individual freedom. Thus, development, well-being and justice are part of a comprehensive approach, where material, mental and social well-being are fully integrated (Robeyns, 2005:96). The Capabilities Approach was developed as an alternative to welfare economics and is considered a "broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society" (Robeyns, 2005:93).

Sen (1999) offers an alternative to the income measurement of welfare and poverty by focusing on what people are able to do and to be. Indeed, even though financial resources may be essential for the realisation of some capabilities, others such as civic participation or religious exercise might require a change in political practices and institutions (Ibid:5). Therefore, Sen (Ibid) defines poverty as the inability to achieve a minimal level of functioning capability (being healthy, well-fed, clothed, etc.). Instead of focusing on the money or expenditures, Sen (Ibid:19) pays attention to people's achievements. In addition, only outcomes have real value in Sen's (Ibid:18) view, while freedoms constitute the instrumental means to reach this objective. The "capabilities" can be understood as the freedom or valuable opportunities made available for people, while the "functionings" are considered to be the "beings and doings," or what can be realised or achieved (Robeyns, 2016). According to Duroy (2011:309), this approach provides a useful analytical lens to examine the link between social identity formation and the situation of capability deprivation faced by many individuals notably of Maghrebi origin. In the context of this study, this approach would consequently enable one to assess whether Algerian immigrants, given their life conditions and personal history, are able to reach their full potential as individuals and have a decent life in a country that is not theirs originally.

### **2.3.2. The Social Exclusion Approach**

The concept of social exclusion is contested and encompasses multiple meanings (Hick, 2012:297). However, there is some consensus about what social exclusion as a concept is:

- Multidimensional, as it covers social, political, cultural and economic aspects (Mathieson,

Popay, Enoch, Escorel, Hernandez, Johnston & Rispel, 2008: 21);

- Dynamic because it is impacting people in different ways and at different levels over time: for instance, experience and consequences of “stigmatising conditions such as HIV/AIDS differ profoundly between South Africa and the USA and between ethnic groups in the USA” (Ibid);
- Relational, in the sense that it results both from a breakdown in relationships between people and society (resulting in a lack of social participation, social protection, social integration and power) and from unequal social relationships characterised by differential power (Ibid).

Ward (2009:239) developed a broader approach that treats social exclusion as a process influenced by both material factors, such as income, housing, goods, services, etc., and discursive factors such as discrimination, relationships, and identity. It is therefore necessary to look at the intersections between these two factors to analyse the processes that lead to exclusion (Ibid:240). Social exclusion is also a label that can stigmatise those seen as the socially excluded, and who are often assumed to be poor, which is not always the case, notably due to discursive factors (Ibid:241). Ward (Ibid:240) also denounces social exclusion policies that are centred on the individual, but do not question the societal structures that perpetuate exclusion. Ward (Ibid:244) highlights the relationship between identity and exclusionary processes. While stigmatised people are excluded by society, they also exclude themselves from spaces that are stigmatising (Ibid). Thus, Ward (Ibid :238) makes a connection between discourse, social identity and marginalisation and suggests that social exclusion needs to be understood as a process, rather than a condition.

Furthermore, Bellani and D’Ambrosio (2011:68) underline that the social exclusion approach also regards poverty and deprivation as a multidimensional issue. Bellani and D’Ambrosio (Ibid) define deprivation as “a condition in which a person is deprived of the essentials for reaching a minimum standard of well-being and life”. Therefore, social exclusion can be understood as the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social activities of the society in which he or she lives due to persistence in the state of deprivation (Ibid).

Ward’s (2009) and Bellani & D’Ambrosio’s (2011) conceptualisation of social exclusion provides the basis for analysis and an understanding of social exclusion in this study. Since this study examines the factors that affect people’s integration and capabilities from the perspective of an Algerian migrant community, the Capabilities Approach and Social Exclusion Approach

are appropriate to draw from. They both are sound theoretical modes to qualitatively understand people's hopes, motivations, and decisions in the context of deprivation.

#### **2.4. Policy and Legislation**

According to Algan, Dustmann, Glitz, and Manning (2009:4), the current situation of immigrants and their descendants in France is the result of immigration and integration policies. For instance, France has a strong *ius soli* tradition of citizenship which entails second-generation immigrants to automatically become French citizens (Ersanilli & Koopsman, 2010 :779; Escafré-Dublet, 2014:3). For first-generation immigrants, naturalisation is possible once they proved their language ability and sufficient assimilation, i.e. according to the 1945 French nationality law (Ibid). While in the 1950s “sufficient assimilation mainly meant sufficient language knowledge, in the 1970s, when the number of non-European applicants for naturalisation increased, sufficient assimilation also meant accepting French values” (Ibid). Therefore, wearing a headscarf, for example, was sometimes considered to be a sign of insufficient assimilation (Ibid). Furthermore, the closing of French borders in 1974 marked the beginning of immigration policies aimed at limiting the flow of immigrants coming to work (Gosselin et al., 2018 :851). New laws were voted in, in order to restrict the conditions for entry into France, as well as enforcing the expulsion of illegal immigrants in the 1980s (Ibid). Last but not least, while French citizens are treated equally under the Republican law, there has been significant reluctance to acknowledge any ethnic division (Algan, Dustmann, Glitz & Manning, 2009:6; Escafré-Dublet, 2014:3). As explained above in this paper, the concepts of ethnicity, diversity or minority are associated with a form of “visibility” of difference, which does not correspond with respect for equality, regardless of origin, religion or race, as defined in the French Constitution of 1958 (Escafré-Dublet, 2015:81).

According to Escafré-Dublet (2014:1), the main institution in charge of integration is the Interior Ministry Office for Integration, Reception, and Citizenship (*Direction de l'accueil, de l'intégration, et de la citoyenneté*, or DAIC). The DAIC's programmes are, however, limited to the immigrant's first five years in France. After this period, immigrant integration is addressed by general policies, such as “area-based policies that target disadvantaged neighbourhoods with a high proportion of foreign born [immigrants]” (Escafré-Dublet, 2014:1). Since 2006, immigrant integration is also addressed by the National Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunities (*Agence Nationale pour la Cohésion Sociale et l'Égalité des Chances*, or ACSE). ACSE was created to offer integration assistance (French language classes, assistance with job and housing searches, etc) to immigrants and works in tandem with city ministries in charge of

implementing the ‘City Policy’ (Duroy, 2011:325; Escafré-Dublet, 2014:1). The ‘City Policy’ consists of allocating greater means to disadvantaged areas through the public funding of projects which aim at improving social cohesion (Escafré-Dublet, 2014:1). For instance, the city of Marseille, within the framework of ‘City Policies’, employs a conflict-resolution approach through notably the Marseille Esperance (Ibid :5). This informal group of community leaders addresses conflicts between various religious communities, and fights criminality and drug trafficking in the northern neighbourhoods of the city (Ibid).

Since 1986, there have been 21 immigration laws voted upon in France regarding refugees, legal, and illegal immigration (Skorpis, 2019). Most integration policies have consisted of an emergency welcoming policy of manual workers thought to be temporary, the reception policy (legal and social), housing (collective housing for foreign workers, and the transformation of townships during the seventies into social housing); and literacy (Wihtol de Wenden, 2011:19). The different policies targeted at immigrants’ integration are mostly contained in the Entry and Sojourn of Foreigners and Right of Asylum Code (*Ordonnance relative à la partie législative du code de l'entrée et du séjour des étrangers et du droit d'asile, No. 1248 of 2004, 2004: chap 12*). However, inclusion laws are targeted at many forms of discrimination not specifically related to immigration, but from which immigrants can benefit:

- **Reception and residence policy:**

The main objective of the Immigration Control, Residence of Foreigners, and Nationality Act is to control migratory flows and to fight illegal immigration. This includes restrictions on family reunification; control of mixed marriages; restrictions on residence visas in order to fight abuses such as polygamous marriages, marriages in name only, short-term visa abuse, etc. (*Loi relative à la maîtrise de l'immigration, au séjour des étrangers en France et à la nationalité, No. 1119 of 2003, 2003: chap 1*). This Immigration and Integration Act, however, allows people who need medical help, those who can contribute to the French economy by their specific skills, and those who are threatened in their home country to have facilitated access to a visa (*Loi relative à l'immigration et à l'intégration, No. 911 of 2006, 2006: chap 1*).

- **Housing:**

Some transitional council estates were created. They were initially intended to help immigrant workers settle into France but ended up being less suited to their needs than for those of the marginalised and poorly housed people (Kastoryano, 1989:12). The Rental Relationship Improvement Act was voted on in 2014 to fight housing discrimination and to

help provide access to affordable and decent accommodation for everyone (*Loi tendant à améliorer les rapports locatifs, No. 462 of 1989, as amended, 2014: chap 1*). According to the Solidarity and Urban Renewal Act, decent accommodation is understood as housing with a minimum surface; which does not constitute a safety or health risk for the tenant; is pest-free; which respects a minimum energy performance criterion; and includes some basic equipment (*Loi relative à la solidarité et au renouvellement urbain, No. 1208 of 2000, Regulations as amended, 2019:2090*).

- **Employment**

Policymakers have implemented incentive tools, such as the Diversity Label, created in 2008, to combat discrimination in the workplace. This tool provides an organisation (public or private) with an audit of its human resource practices, in order to grant the label or to make recommendations (Escafré-Dublet, 2014:1). The Various Adaptation Provisions to Community Law Regarding the Fight Against Discrimination Act condemns any form of employment discrimination related to 23 listed characteristics, including ethnicity, origins, economic resources, name, place of residence, capacity to speak in another language other than French, religion, etc. (*Loi portant diverses dispositions d'adaptation au droit communautaire dans le domaine de la lutte contre les discriminations, No. 496 of 2008, 2008: chap 1*).

- **Education:**

There is no specific school and academic teaching for the children of immigrants born in France (Kastoryano, 1989:12; Escafré-Dublet, 2014:8). Ethnicity-based social policies and stigmatisation are the main reasons given for the absence of proactive policies targeting immigrant youth (Escafré-Dublet, 2014:9). The City Ministry has, however, implemented Education Achievement Programmes in disadvantaged areas to help pupils with educational difficulties and reduce social inequality (Ibid). Furthermore, the Orientation and Programming for the Overhaul of the Republican School Act stipulates that the public education service contributes to equal opportunities, and to fighting social and territorial inequalities in terms of education and schooling success (*Loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la refondation de l'école de la République, No. 595 of 2013, 2013: chap 1*). Nevertheless, it remains difficult to assess whether the Ministry of Education's geography-based approach is effective as there is no data issued on achievement by nationality or immigrant background (Escafré-Dublet, 2014:9).

- **City Policy:**

The City Policy is a policy of urban cohesion and solidarity, both national and local, targeting disadvantaged neighbourhoods and their inhabitants (Escafré-Dublet, 2015:79). It is implemented by both the Ministry of Territorial Cohesion and the General Commissionership for Territorial Equality. The City Planning and Urban Cohesion Act was voted in in 2014, with its main purposes being the continuation of urban renewal, to refocus the city's policy credits on a limited number of territories, and to fight discrimination (*Loi de programmation pour la ville et la cohésion urbaine, No. 173 of 2014*, 2014: chap 2). However, according to the 2019 Report from the National Observatory of City Policy (Observatoire National de la Politique de la Ville, 2019:9), residents of the city policy's priority neighbourhood still judge their living environment as devalued by delinquency, noise, and the neglected environment (Ibid). The report also describes discriminatory behaviours, more precarious employment conditions, social invisibility and a poorer self-perception of health status in these neighbourhoods (Ibid:26).

## **2.5. Conclusion**

This literature review clarifies the context of this study about Algerian immigration in France and how the immigrants' capabilities are affected in many ways in a context of deprivation. This chapter has demonstrated that integration is a multidimensional issue that cannot be embraced in its full complexity by one type of measure alone. In order to conduct this study, it was decided to use the Capabilities Approach (Sen, 1999) and the Social Exclusion Approach (Ward, 2009; Bellani & D'Ambrosio, 2011). Both of these concepts give appropriate perspective to analysing the testimonies of respondents about their experience of integration in a qualitative manner. This literature review provides a sense of the overall scope of integration within Maghrebin communities in France, how to measure such integration, and how to get as close as possible to the reality of what people live through. The following chapter introduces the methodology used to conduct this study.

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter will introduce the methodology that was used to conduct the study by first stipulating the research design, as well as the population and sampling needed for this research. The discussion then focuses on the data collection by explaining the approach, the research instrument, the recording, the analysis and the verification of the data. Finally, the chapter will outline the limitations of this study as well as the reflexivity of its author before concluding.

### **3.2. Research Design**

The study was conducted using an exploratory qualitative research design, focusing on obtaining an insight into the views and experiences of Algerian immigrant communities and becoming more familiar with the subject of their integration in French society. According to Creswell (2014:234), with this research design, the researcher is an instrument of data collection who collects words, interprets them inductively, places emphasis on the meaning of respondents, and presents an eloquent and convincing procedure. This exploratory research design is often conducted when there is a lack of earlier studies on the subject in question, or for various reasons previous studies cannot be fully relied upon (Ibid:152). This exploratory research presents a flexible approach and is useful for gaining background information on the topic (Streb, 2010:372). It also assists with generating formal hypotheses, and for developing more precise research problems, while clarifying existing concepts (Ibid). A qualitative research design enabled me to establish research priorities about immigration, integration, deprivation, and people's capabilities in an immigrant community, for which limited information existed.

### **3.3. Population and Sampling**

#### **3.3.1. Research population**

I had to identify the research population as the group of people I wanted to draw a conclusion about once the research study was finished. The research population shares the same characteristics such as age, sex, same community characteristics or health problems (Patino & Ferreira, 2018:84). Identifying the research population requires specifying the criteria that determines which individuals are included and which individuals are not included. In other words, the characteristics of an individual must have to be included in the research population (Ibid). As Algerian immigration is mostly linked to work, the population studied was part of the working population, aged 18-64 (Meynier, P. & Meynier, G., 2011:221-223). While the working population in France is considered as being between the ages 15-64, (INSEE,

2020a:9), the 15-18 years old range was excluded in the study as it would have entailed parental authorization before interviewing. It was difficult to obtain specific numbers of Algerians living in the northern suburbs, known for being an area of deprivation and the home of many immigrants (Chevalier, 2015). These neighbourhoods, concentrated with half of Marseille's social housing are up to 50% unemployed (Ibid). However, about 300,000 Algerians are estimated to be living in Marseille, which is one third of its population (Dor, 2017). As a conclusion, the research population in this study was of Algerian immigrants, male or female, aged 18-64, who had been living in France for at least one year, and who stayed in a deprived community of Marseille, located in the northern suburbs of the city.

### **3.3.2. Sampling**

The process of selecting participants is called sampling (Babbie, 2016: 183). Sampling in qualitative research refers to the process of getting participants to engage in research. A sample is a study unit of individuals, or a group taken from the research population (Gravetter & Forzano, 2003: 465). Probability sampling is naturally used to generalize from a sample to a larger population. However, this method can be impossible or inappropriate for many research studies (Ibid:186). In qualitative studies, non-probability purposive sampling is the most common sample selection strategy as it allows one to gather in-depth data on research phenomena that are being studied (De Vos et al., 2005:328). In purposive sampling, the aim is to discover, gain insight and understand, so samples are selected based on the most that can be learnt from what is being studied (Ibid). A non-probability sampling technique was therefore used to select the participants in this study. The intention of the technique is not to produce a statistically representative sample but rather to examine a real-life phenomenon (Taherdoost, 2016:22). Subjects in a non-probability sample are usually selected on the basis of their accessibility or by the purposive personal judgment of the researcher, and their relevance to the research focus (Babbie, 2016:186). In this case, a purposive sampling method was used to select the sample in accordance with the knowledge of the population, the elements of the population, and the nature of the research aims (Ibid:187).

In order to negotiate entry into the field and access participants, I contacted "La Maison des Familles de Marseille," a charity that deals with providing support to families from a migrant background in disadvantaged areas in France. First contact was made via email with the charity in October 2018 through my personal network, to ask permission to interview some of the people the charity helps daily. After sending the literature review and the methodology research to the charity's director, a phone call was organized to arrange my coming, discuss my expectations and the selection of participants. I also had to sign a volunteering agreement.

Volunteers at the charity acted as key informants, to indicate and help select participants who matched the selection criteria. A meeting was scheduled for January 2019 to enter the community, approach potential participants and to request their participation. Selection criteria included Algerian immigrants, both males and females, over the age of 18, who had been living in France for at least one year, who stayed in an inner city of Marseille, located in the northern suburbs of the city, and who were able to give insight into the experiences of integrating into French society. Twenty participants meeting these criteria were selected.

### **3.4. Data Collection Approach**

#### **3.4.1. Method**

In-depth individual interviews were used to collect data. An interview can have a flexible structure and the researcher may frame the interview based on the participant's previous answers (Babbie, 2010:320). This allows for the discussion to cover multiple areas in detail, without preconceived plans or expectations about how the interviews will deal with the topic (Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2009). It also allows the participants to describe their experiences and the meaning of events taking place in their lives. In-depth interviews enable the interviewees to speak for themselves, rather than providing them with a set of predetermined questions (Babbie, 2010:256). Furthermore, verbatim quotes capture the language and meaning expressed by participants (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006:16). This type of interview can provide a greater breadth than others in terms of revealing aspects of social life that were not evident at the outset of the project (Babbie, 2010:115). The aim was to obtain each participant's opinion on a certain subject which was used to understand their complex behaviour without imposing prior categorisation. This type of interviewing enabled me to drive the interview while the participants did most of the talking. It was a planned conversation with a pre-established purpose and structure.

#### **3.4.2. Research Instrument**

For this study, a semi-structured interview schedule was used to guide the interviews of participants. This type of interview provides reliable, comparable qualitative data through open-ended questions prepared ahead of time (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Semi-structured interviews also allow participants to express their opinion by using their own words (Ibid). This approach gives an insider view about the topic (Ibid). However, in this study, I remained the main facilitator of the data-collection process. The data was recorded to allow me to concentrate and listen to participants during the interview, rather than taking notes. Taking notes could have distracted both the interviewer and interviewee and increased the risk of subjectivity as the

researcher might be tempted to use interpretations, paraphrases, and an abridged version of the interview (Babbie, 2010:282). All the data was transcribed verbatim. Recording the interview also gave a more holistic picture of the situation and participants may have felt less observed and freer to talk. In addition, it allowed the me to go back over the material once the interview was done in order to analyse the data (Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2009).

### **3.5. Data Analysis**

The intent of data analysis is to make sense out of text and/or image data (Creswell, 2014:194). To do so, I used *coding* which is the interpretive activity that makes the link between data collection and explaining the meaning of the data (Charmaz, 2006:46). The data was analysed according to the eight steps of Tesch (1992:142-145). Tesch (Ibid) developed a method to build an organising system for unstructured or semi-structured qualitative data. The eight steps are as follows:

1. The researcher reads all the transcriptions to get a sense of the whole (what the participants were saying overall) (Ibid). In order to do so, I wrote short summaries of the important aspects of each participant's testimony.
2. The researcher picks one of the interview's and rereads it while reflecting on what the interview is about and the deeper meaning of the data before writing down any ideas about the interview in the margin (Ibid). I went back over each interview and I noted key words, meanings, and questions in the margin. I also always had a spare page at hand to list all the interpretations that entered my mind about what the participants had said but also what they meant. I also noted questions and underlying themes that could be transversal whilst being covered differently by the participants.
3. The researcher makes a list of all the topics and group topics which are similar, and these topics are then organised into a table under the headings "Major Topics", "Unique Topics" and "Leftovers" (Ibid). In order to do so, I listed all the topics and ideas and worked out how many times they would reoccur in interviews.
4. The researcher abbreviates the list of topics as codes to be used in the transcriptions; the codes can be written next to the relevant text (Ibid). I used colours to identify themes and highlighted relevant sections of the interviews accordingly.
5. The researcher chooses words which best describe the topics which are then grouped into "Themes," "Categories" and "Sub-categories," so as to reduce the overall number of topics (Ibid). I grouped the topics accordingly.
6. The researcher makes the last decision on the abbreviations for each category and lists these codes alphabetically (Ibid). I wrote a redaction plan of my analysis accordingly.

7. The researcher assembles the data material belonging to each category into one place and performs the analysis (Ibid). I wrote down all the quotations related to the specific sub-categories, kept the most significant and performed the analysis.
8. Lastly, the researcher recodes the data as required (Ibid). I went through the interviews again and recoded the data as needed.

In the case of this study, I decided to hand-code the data by going through transcriptions and assigning codes. I based my analysis on what I had recorded and transcribed but also on fields notes and behaviours I remembered from interviews. For an example, please refer to Appendix 3 and 4.

### **3.6. Data Verification**

Data verification refers to the process of checking that the coded data corresponds to the primary source in order to find out the accuracy of the data (Creswell, 2014:201). Lincoln & Guba (1985:301-317) note that qualitative data may be certified as trustworthy according to the credibility (confidence in the “truth” of the findings); transferability (showing that the findings have applicability in other contexts); dependability (showing that the findings are consistent and can be repeated); and confirmability of its components (the degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings are shaped by the participants and are not researcher-biased).

Different methods may be used that include: triangulation of sources for credibility by comparing people with different points of view, for instance; thick descriptions for transferability by describing the phenomenon and the field experience in enough detail so that somebody else can use it as a pattern to test the same findings about settings, situations, and people (Creswell, 2014:118); and an external audit may be conducted by another researcher not involved in the research process to guarantee the dependability by checking that the whole study is supported by the data (Ibid: 201-203). Finally, in order to certify the confirmability of the study, an audit trail may be conducted in which research steps from the beginning are reported and analysed including the raw data, the analysis, and the process notes (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:319).

To ensure the trustworthiness of the data, the following were required:

- Transferability: I took notes on the field and described my experience in the reflexivity part of this research. I also gave specific details about my contact in the field and how the participants were selected so that other researchers can use it as a pattern.
- Credibility: I recorded the interviews and compared people’s points of view in the findings’ part of this paper.

- Dependability: I transcribed the data verbatim, and shared data and analysis with my supervisor to ensure the trustworthiness of the data.
- Confirmability: I stored all the raw data, analysis and process notes for a potential audit trail.

### **3.7. Limitations of this research**

This research was limited by several aspects. Firstly, gathering the twenty participants proved to be a virtually impossible task, i.e. from participants cancelling appointments at the last minute to people who categorically did not want to participate. I was able to gather 14 participants out of the 20 expected with the help of the organisation I was working with.

Secondly, the sampling occurred through an NGO specialized in accompanying families with young children, which could have entailed a certain selection bias, as women generally tend to have more contact with these types of services. It was, in fact, hard to find male participants especially belonging to the first generation. It was either due to their absence as some of them still live in Algeria, while their wives live in France; or their non-willingness to talk to the female researcher because of gender roles, where religious and cultural values affect how males and females interact with one another. It notably seemed impossible to spend time alone with a man in a room for the interview, or to shake hands with the husbands I met. This would seem to fit with the finding by Alexander & Welzel (2011:20), who reported that both Muslims in Muslim societies and Muslims in non-Muslim societies hold more “patriarchal” values than do non-Muslims. Furthermore, according to King, Dalipaj & Mai (2006:428-429), traditional gender roles are often maintained throughout the migration journey, and transformations of patriarchal power structures are more likely to be generational. Adida, Laitin & Valfort (2014) also investigated whether Muslim immigrants in France behaved differently toward women than did Christian immigrants. They identified “a religious foundation for differential behavior toward women in France, with Muslims acting less generously toward women” (Ibid:93). While I did not experience any antipathy from anyone I met, all my requests to meet with men (husbands, brothers, acquaintances) were denied or dismissed resulting in only one man taking part to this research. Male participants were therefore reluctant to openly engage with a female researcher. Thus, 13 out of 14 of the participants, namely 93%, were female.

Finally, while most of the respondents were able to speak French, some were not fluent enough to elaborate on questions and mostly answered yes or no, which did not allow me to go in-depth during these specific interviews. While this issue prevented me from getting substantial quotes from these specific people, the short answers still confirmed the tendencies raised by most of the key questions of the questionnaire. Despite the sample size and the limitations of the

research process, the research provided rich insight into the lives and experiences of the participants, and it was therefore possible to obtain a deep understanding of their lived experiences to inform the topic of the research.

### **3.8. Reflexivity**

Reflexivity is the awareness that “all knowledge is affected by the social conditions under which it is produced; it is grounded in both the social location and the social biography of the observer and the observed” (Mann & Kelley, 1997: 392). I wanted to conduct this study because I was born in France from two foreign parents, lived in a relatively disadvantaged suburb of Paris for a period of time, and mixed with other immigrants’ descendants’ children during my schooling. However, the reality of my life today, which I consider as being privileged, and the reality of my identity, which I consider as being French, is far from the reality of many immigrants’ descendants in France. I therefore wanted to understand what it was that happened that made them choose or take a different path than mine. I also wanted to explore what were the ties, the loyalties, or the social issues that prevented them from feeling French and integrated in the society in which they had chosen to live. Lastly, I wanted to determine the concrete solutions or requirements they identified as priorities to making this integration possible.

Going to the northern suburbs of Marseille was a trying experience, one in which you felt as if you were a foreigner in your own country, where people were speaking many different languages and stared at you because of your western dress-style. Visiting immigrants’ homes and listening to the issues many of these illegal immigrants faced every day was challenging. However, it definitely added more depth to the interviews, and allowed me to show more empathy to the participants. As a researcher, I definitely had to deal with the emotional aspect of the research; this study aimed to understand individual experiences of immigration, and as a result, there were many painful stories told. It was important to me to share what I experienced through discussions with people involved in helping immigrants and their relatives. Self-disclosure conferred me supportive communication and helped me put words on what I had personally experienced in the field. It also helped me to better understand the social context I was in, through explanations and shared experiences from social workers and volunteers.

Researcher bias was very likely to be, given I could only compare the participants’ story to my own family’s story. However, being deliberately aware of my own values and vision, I strictly adhered to established techniques for data collection and analysis. I also started a job in the field of innovative education targeted at immigrant’ children which enabled me to keep in contact with professionals in the field throughout the whole process of analysis. For additional

protection, I made sure my work was reviewed by my supervisor.

### **3.9. Conclusion**

This chapter highlighted the different steps of the research methodology that were used to conduct this study including, the research population, the sampling procedure, the data-collection method as well as the instrument used. In addition, the potential limitations of this research have been discussed as well as the credibility of the research method. The next chapter will present the findings.

## CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

### 4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the research methodology was discussed. The current chapter discusses the findings from in-depth interviews conducted with 14 individual Algerian immigrants on their experiences, and perceptions of the factors affecting their capabilities and integration into French society. The chapter introduces the community profile and the demographic profile of the participants, the framework of analysis, as well as an in-depth presentation and analysis of the major findings of the research. What's more, the data presentation is discussed, followed by the literature control and then, chapter 4 concludes with a critical discussion of the findings.

#### *Community profile*

According to the numbers of the 2018 annual census applicable on the 1<sup>st</sup> January 2021, 28,4% of people living in Marseille are located in the northern suburbs of the city (INSEE, 2020c). The area of the 15<sup>th</sup> neighbourhood (*arrondissement*), where the study was conducted is 16,90 km<sup>2</sup> and, in 2018, 76 610 people were living there (4 533 per km<sup>2</sup>) (Ibid). In this neighbourhood, according to the INSEE (2019), unemployment rates are high, representing 42,3%. In addition, 67% of the workers have low-skilled jobs whether they are employees or factory workers. The neighbourhood is also marked by low levels of education with almost 50% of the population not holding any school certificate, degree nor diploma and only 14,5% holding a university degree or certificate/diploma.

Besides education, 18,2% of the households are single-headed households and 28,1% of the families are single-parent families. Furthermore, about 20% of the families are considered as large families having three children or more. Thus, the 15th arrondissement of Marseille has high levels of poverty, with 45% of the population considered to be poor. The northern districts of Marseille are among the poorest in the country (Charbonnier, 2019). Since the proliferation of collective housing in the 1980s, they have gradually been abandoned, leaving the population with far from basic public services (Ibid).

In these neighbourhoods, cohabitation between residents and immigrants often appears tense (Emonet, 2018). The northern districts are a place where multiple problems arise: some immigrants divert water to live, waste piles up in neighbourhoods, and the problem of drug traffickers in front of stairwells is omnipresent (Ibid). Safety issues are also very common in an environment where poverty is at its highest (Ibid).

## 4.2. Profile of the Participants

Table 1: Demographic characteristics

Pseudonyms are used to designate the participants in order to protect their privacy.

Participants	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Education	Occupation	Status in France	Year of arrival
Habiba Participant (1)	F	36	Arabic	Master	Unemployed	French naturalisation through marriage	2004
Djamel Participant (2)	M	40	Arabic	Bachelor	District nurse	French ( <i>jus sanguinis</i> ) <sup>4</sup>	1979
Leila Participant (3)	F	44	Arabic	Grade 12	Unemployed	Illegal immigrant	2017
Kenza Participant (4)	F	47	Arabic	Grade 7	Works illicitly as a housemaid	Illegal immigrant	1972-1997 then since 2014
Nabila Participant (5)	F	57	Arabic	Vocational qualification	Unemployed	French ( <i>jus soli</i> ) <sup>5</sup>	1962
Nour Participant (6)	F	55	Arabic (Kabyle) <sup>6</sup>	Matric	Unemployed	French naturalisation through marriage	2003
Salima Participant (7)	F	40	Arabic	Grade 12	Unemployed	Illegal immigrant	2017

<sup>4</sup> “a rule that a child's citizenship is determined by its parents' citizenship” (“Jus sanguinis”, 2021). At least one of this respondent’s parents had acquire French citizenship before his/her birth.

<sup>5</sup> “a rule that the citizenship of a child is determined by the place of its birth” (“Jus soli”, 2021). A child born in France to foreign parents born abroad acquires French nationality automatically and as of right upon reaching majority (Vink & De Groot, 2010:26)

<sup>6</sup> “a member of a Berber people living in the mountainous coastal area east of Algiers” (“Kabyle”, 2021)

Yasmine <b>Participant (8)</b>	F	52	Arabic	Diploma	Unemployed	Illegal immigrant	
Zohra <b>Participant (9)</b>	F	35	Arabic (Berber) <sup>7</sup>	Bachelor	Unemployed	Residence permit	2009
Dahlia <b>Participant (10)</b>	F	40	Arabic	Diploma	Unemployed	N/A	2013
Chérifa <b>Participant (11)</b>	F	33	Arabic	Vocational diploma	Unemployed	French ( <i>jus soli</i> )	1986
Nesrine <b>Participant (12)</b>	F	45	Arabic	Master	Works illicitly as a cashier in a Bakery	Illegal immigrant	2018
Nadjia <b>Participant (13)</b>	F	38	Arabic	Bachelor	Unemployed	Illegal immigrant	2016
Josiane <b>Participant (14)</b>	F	62	White (pied noir)	Grade 3	Unemployed	French by birth	1963

Because this study focuses on the settlement process, it was decided that focus be on those persons who arrived in France after 18 years of age, and who had spent at least 1 year in France at the time of the survey. The final sample consisted of 14 people: 13 females and 1 male.

Table 1 provides biographic details and a demographic profile of the population according to gender, age, education, occupation, status in France and year of arrival. Our study population is predominantly middle aged with a few older participants (median age 40 years for men and 45 for women), and 100% of men and 85% of women reached at least a secondary level of education. It is noticeable that 36% of the respondents have university degrees. **Josiane**, however, could not go on with her studies, as she was left with trauma after the war in Algeria. In terms of unemployment, 79% of the participants did not have a job. In addition, **Nesrine** and **Kenza** do not have job contracts and do not declare their work for tax purposes. All the participants are Algerians immigrants or – as for **Djamel** – descendants of immigrants, living in the Northern districts of Marseille. The respondents arrived between 1962 and 2018. The median duration of stay in France was 18 years for both men and women. This research uses pseudonyms throughout for the purposes of anonymity. Each participant was allocated a code number.

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<sup>7</sup> “A name given by the Arabs to the aboriginal people west and south of Egypt; applied by modern ethnologists to any member of the great North African stock to which belong the aboriginal races of Barbary and the Tuwariks of the Sahara” (“Berber”, 2021)

### 4.3. Discussion of Findings

Table 2: Framework of analysis

THEMES	CATEGORIES	SUB-CATEGORIES
A - Experience of integration	A1 - Reasons for immigration	A1a - Social and health services
		A1b - Employment & Work opportunities
		A1c – Freedom
	A2 - Practical experience of immigration	A2a - Positive feelings about integration
		A2b - Facing discrimination
	A3 - Experience of living in France	A3a – Difficulties
A3b – Admiration		
A3c – Disillusion		
B - Functioning within social and economically disadvantaged communities	B1- Socioeconomic circumstances	B1a - Poor housing conditions
		B1b - Financial problems
	B2 - Intra-community relations	B2a - Limited social contact
		B2b - Safety and violence
		B2c - Racism within the Algerian community
C - Effects of circumstances on life choices and opportunities	C1 - Poor prospects	C1a - Legal status and work visa
		C2 - Family life
		C2a – Challenges of single-mother family life
	C2b - Women’s status	
D- Effects of immigration on identity formation	D1 - Self-perception	D1a - Conflicting feelings about citizenship
		D1b - Resilience
		D1c - Religious practices and values
	D2 – Aspirations	D2a - Children’s education and success
	E- Community needs	E1 – Immigration
E1b - Providing work permits		
E2 – Youth		E2a – Educational programmes

Data saturation relates to the degree to which new data repeat what was expressed in previous data (Saunders, Sim, Kingstone, Baker, Waterfield, Bartlam, Burroughs & Jinks, 2018: 1896). Once I started hearing similar comments repeatedly during interviews, I concluded that data saturation was being reached. This redundancy signalled that no additional data was being found whereby I could have developed new categories. It was then time to stop collecting information and to start analysing what had been collected.

Table 2 presents the major findings in the form of the major themes derived from the analysis of the qualitative interviews with the participants, namely: the experience of integration; the

functioning within an economical and socially adverse context; the effects of circumstances on life choices, on identity formation process, and on opportunities in life; as well as the main social priority needs identified by the participants. These themes are discussed further, where extensive narrative quotes from the participants are included reflecting the rich data collected through the interviews.

## **4.3.2. Experience of Integration**

### **4.3.2.1 Reasons for immigration**

#### *Social and Health services*

When asked about what they appreciated about France, the participants highlighted the quality of the health sector as an important factor in their decision-making.

*Oh yes, that's what I really liked here, it's the health sector, it has nothing to do [with Algeria]. I mean in Algeria, it's zero, and here it's 100 percent. We cannot compare the two of them, it's unrivalled. [...] I lived one week, 10 days in hell, that's all I can say, we were in a room like this, three beds with cockroaches, there was no doctor, there was nothing. [...] As soon as I arrived on French soil, I wanted to kiss the ground. I knew that in France, even if somebody dies, they die with dignity. [...] I will never forget how they helped me at the hospital. They let my mom and I slept in my son's room. It's human, actually. (Participant 9, Zohra, 35, Female)*

*If I was in Algeria, I would have died. France, France she... you should have seen: when I'm at the hospital, I am well treated, I am cared for, I went to the convalescent home, everything was taken care of. Nurses and doctors come to visit me at my house. In Algeria, I wouldn't have gotten a hundredth of what I got here in France. (Participant 4, Nour, 55, Female)*

*At the Northern hospital, they are all helpful there, the nurses, the doctors. I've delivered three babies in Algeria, it was a blunder. Here they've welcomed me like a baby. [...]*  
*The first time, the hospital surprised me. It's different back home, here it's clean, there are beds for every woman, back home no, two women in the same bed. (Participant 13, Nadjia, 38, Female)*

*I could never thank France enough, never, never, never. Personally, when I arrived, I got the State Medical Aid three months later that helped me so much! You can have your eyes, teeth, everything be treated for free. And that is... That's huge.* (Participant 7, Kenza, 47, Female).

*I was treated in the most extraordinary manner at the hospital. I stayed shocked, I really swear, you feel a humanity that you can't feel back home. The nurses who had a gesture to me on the day I went to the surgical unit: I was in pain, they gave me morphine, and when they entered my room to give me the serum, they didn't turn on the light that, so they wouldn't disturb me. They would use their phones' torch; can you believe it? Who does that? That's humanity, and we don't have that in Algeria, it isn't done and still it is a Muslim country.* (Participant 8, Yasmine, 52, Female)

*I had to stay for the health system, because in Algeria I had to assist my cousin. [...] I saw the ordeal it was there. Since then, I took the decision [to leave]. Oh yes! It really was an ordeal, experiences like this... They [the doctors] were doing approximate diagnosis. It was... I was like a crazy woman there for three days. I said "no, I can't stay, I can't stay here, it's impossible".* (Participant 12, Nesrine, 45, Female)

From the narratives above one can see that the health sector in France is deeply admired and appreciated by immigrants. Algerians feel both thankful and moved by the quality of the medical service, and the display of humanity by the nurses and doctors. In the context of criticism of the health sector in France, protests from the nurses and budget cuts, it is worth noting that France remains admired for its social security and medical services (Béguin, Tonnelier & Pietralunga 2019). The emotion with which the participants talk about the hospital in France is a good example of how being healthy is a certain a form of wealth (Sen, 1999:5). According to Sen (Ibid), being healthy and having access to healthcare or health facilities are part of achieving one's potential and contribute directly to people's capabilities. Many of these migrants would have suffered bad health conditions in their home country due to the poverty of the health system. The health system in Algeria is known to suffer from corruption, lack of means, and inequalities, and, in addition, the Algerian hospitals lack equipment and medication (Nazir, 2019). In France, the State Medical Aid (*Aide Médicale d'Etat* or *AME*) is a social benefit mainly intended to cover the medical expenses of foreigners in an irregular situation on

French territory (Régnard, 2006:31). This benefit is based on the French political understanding of France being “the country of Human Rights”, and therefore it should display a generous social model, protective of people’s dignity wherever they come from (Gabarro, 2017:98). Most of the respondents were benefiting from AME providing them with free access to these services. According to Despois (1952:78), the attraction for France is the principal driver of this immigration, where the immigrants have access to social advantages. According to the Capability Approach, free access to health services directly contributes to the capability of living to a mature age, without succumbing to premature mortality (Sen, 1999:96).

### ***Employment and Work opportunities***

When asked about what pushed them to come over to France, the participants answered they were seeking employment.

*When I arrived, I wanted to work in education, even a small job. I’ve always worked in that field, but I had to face the facts, I’ve accepted them: they haven’t recognised my diploma, my professional career. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*What was I hoping? I was hoping to see my children grow up, have a job here, have a good situation. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*My dad, there was the war that had just finished between France and Algeria, and it was hard to find a job. So he went to France. Then it took him one or two years to bring my mom, and then, as they couldn’t get a child, they brought me from Algeria. [...] [Algerians moved to France because] It was hard to find a job, it’s complicated, life was tough. We try to get through as much as we can. (Participant 11, Chérifa)*

*My stepfather is also deceased. And my husband, he came here to France, [...] he explained to a lawyer that he wanted to come to France to take over, to work in his father's business. She said to him "Yes sir. You are absolutely right; it is your right. You can come at any time to take over [your family business], to work. " [...] He returned to Algeria. He said to me "Yasmine, what do you think?". I tell him, "Yes yes yes, this is my dream!". (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*Work, a job at least to live comfortably, to feed myself, at least for the rent, to feed my children and buy them clothes and everything. (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

*When I arrived in France, I wanted to continue my studies, and then in fact I was at university, and they explained to me that the Algerian baccalaureate is recognised but you have to start from scratch. That is to say, it's as if I didn't study there at all. And in fact, I wanted to start all over again but, you know, I had a lot of pressure from my ex-husband and my family-in-law who, in their opinion, believe that when I go to school, I'm going to leave their son. [...] I didn't know France. In fact, that's true. I know it's a developed country. Algeria is really, it's a poor country and... I know that! But in fact, I relied on myself because I said to myself, I'm going to work even if I have to pay. I'm going to do my best because I've got a diploma and I've done another baccalaureate to become a psychologist. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

From the narratives above, one can see that these immigrants came to France mostly to work. As Bouvier (2012:18) and Meynier, P. & Meynier G. (2011:221-223) explain, migrants move from one place to another due, among other reasons, to economic factors in order to find work or better living conditions. Indeed, the participants seem to indicate that life in Algeria is hard, with poverty spread across the country. Opportunities for themselves and their children are uncertain, and there seems to be a greater chance of finding a job out of Algeria, to provide a brighter future to their children. According to Sen (1999:94), having a job is part of the capabilities necessary for a person to lead what they consider, a valuable life. It is therefore a major process in getting out of unemployment and the cycle of poverty. Unemployment may affect people individually, on a psychological level, as they could lose self-esteem and feel purposeless (Álvaro, Garrido, Perreira, Torres, Barros, 2018 :1). It also affects all the immigrants' relatives, as well as those who are depending on them, as the immigrants do not earn any money. As a basic economic resource, employment may determine people's innate ability to do what they want to achieve. Unemployment has a "scarring effect," and may therefore result in a lack of capability or the ability to make free choices (Egdell & Beck, 2020:937). However, it is evident that some of participants in this study at hand, had to face the non-recognition of their diplomas, which meant they were not permitted to practise their careers. The necessity to do ones studies all over again can be a major impediment as it is complicated to work and study at the same time, especially if one is responsible for a family too.

## **Freedom**

When asked whether they felt free to make choices or not in France, most participants answered that they felt free, and even freer than before in terms of their choices since being in France.

*That's what is good here. In France, I feel free. I feel free in the literal sense.*

(Participant 9, Zohra)

*There are some choices where I am free, and other choices not. It depends on the circumstances, the situation... Well, when I was in Algeria, it was different. I wasn't free to do whatever I wanted to do, because you know, in Algeria, we don't act like here in France. Girls depend on their brothers, on their father. Brothers and fathers decide, not girls. Girls do not get to decide anything, but it has started to change a little bit those last years... Here in France, we are free to do what we want. A girl for example here in France, at a certain age, even the youngest, she can choose what she wants to do. When she's 18, she's over the age of majority, she can choose the field she wants to study, she chooses her path, she chooses the life she wants; but in Algeria, no! (Participant 4, Nour)*

*The feeling that I exist. I have the right to make suggestions, I have the right to say things, those are things we've lost in our country. The right to reclaim, we can't find that anymore back home. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*[France] allows me to be this person because here in France, it is total freedom, and you have the choice to choose what you want. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*France it's like two doors. There's one door you enter, you decide to be depressed, alone, harassed, poor and go round in circles. There's another door where you say, "I have little means but I need to get through and even if I meet someone who discriminating me, maybe I'll find another one who is going to help me and listen to me". I mean, she's giving to you. France is how you want to have it: if you want to get through, you will. If you want to stay in that cycle of crying and blame the others, you can too. And I want to say, France is giving you a chance, I can't say the contrary and my son personally, I mean, the doctors, the nurses, the specialists, they helped me a lot, and I will never forget, and even if I could give them all the*

*money in the world, I wouldn't be able to return them the favour.* (Participant 9, Zohra)

From the narratives above, one can see that one of the most French Republican values, “liberty” is actually experienced by Algerian immigrants. Venkatapuram (2013:7) explains that subjective well-being could be understood as one’s evaluation of their own environment, and the opportunities they have to choose a certain type of life in the community in which they live. In other words, subjective well-being can be considered as a personal and concrete comprehension of capabilities from the perspective of people who are actually deprived. Here, the participants have the feeling of being able to choose what they want, to have a voice, to have the right to say what they think, and to share their opinion. Indeed, as Despois (1952:78) highlighted, there is a psychological aspect to immigration, in the sense that France is a country of freedom, where Algerian immigrants can escape from the village’s social control and the conservative influence of the family. Coates, Anand & Norris (2013:206) underlined that their study did not suggest that being a migrant was a significant predictor of lower subjective well-being (Ibid). Immigration could actually have a net positive impact on subjective well-being as well as life satisfaction in regard to different areas: “the freedom to decide how to live, the efforts made to have a better life or individuals’ own optimism” (Ciorbagiu, Stoica & Mihaila, 2020:105). This capability refers directly to Amartya Sen (1999:18), where Sen explains freedom to be the ultimate goal of development. As Robeyns (2005:94) explained, people would be able to evaluate the liberty they enjoy and make choices according to this freedom. Therefore, the sense of the respondents’ freedom is also the sense of their capabilities to seize opportunities they might not have had in their previous life. It is particularly crucial in the case of women, as will be explained below in this paper.

#### **4.3.2.2. Practical Experience of Integration**

##### ***Positive feelings of integration***

When asked about their feeling of being integrated into French society, most participants (i.e. Leila, Nour, Yasmine, Zohra, Habiba, Nesrine, Dahlia, and Chérifa) answered that they felt integrated in France. The participants expressed their views in different ways to indicate that they felt a sense of belonging, despite being immigrants in France and living within a predominantly ethnic community. The following responses confirm this sentiment:

*This is it, I know I have acknowledged that this is my country. I am here, I am French [...] I have my life here, I have to be French. If I have a job, I work for*

*France. [...] So I am ready to fully live here in France. It's like I don't feel like a foreigner anymore; I have the feeling I am home. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*Yes, I'm starting to settle, my kids also, I can see how my children are doing good here. (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

*Yes, I feel quite integrated because I respect the values, I don't hurt anyone, and I love France, I have no issue. [...]*

*Because my mom was born here, as I told you, and she lived here. I mean, she raised us with values from here, and so, even in Algeria, we felt quite not, I mean a little... not much. But then, when I came here, I told my mom it actually depends on people. It's not like everyone is perfect, whether it is here or there, but I want to say, er, when I talk to people who are, I mean, educated people who are cultivated, I find the same values my mother passed me down. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*I respect it. You know, I don't have this mentality where they say "no, racists!", no that's not racist! You're the one who chose to come to France, you have to respect laws. Yourself, you went to South Africa, you had to respect South African laws. You can't say "no, I'm French, I'll follow French law". No! You have to respect [your host country]. [...] My father put it in my head: he told me, "Habiba, today you're going to France", because he visited France before, "France is like this, this, and that, would you be able to live this way?" "Yes dad, I can." "If you cannot, you stay in your country and stick to your country's law, that's it. But if you live in France, you have to obey French law." (Participant 1, Habiba)*

*I told you, France is my country. As soon as I arrived... it was incredible, even my family couldn't believe it, as soon as I arrived, I was taking the underground train by myself. I was going everywhere by myself, for the papers, to apply for my daughter's school and stuff. I had to go to the regional education authority, and I didn't ask anything to anyone. (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*My dad had some education, thanks to school, he obtained some diplomas, he had a job and no issue with the police, because he cared about being integrated. To care about being integrated was important, because there was something inside them*

*telling them daily “we’re not home so we have to find our niche here” and they would achieve this goal through work. (Participant 2, Djamel)*

From the narratives above, one can see the different ways that participants understand integration. From work, values, respect, and the feeling of belonging, the participants see themselves as integrated because they have the feeling they have adapted to France in many ways. This illustrates what Portes & Rivas (2011:224-225) say about integration as a multidimensional concept, namely that it could refer to economic, social, cultural or socio-psychological dimensions. However, it is worth noting that only **Nour** underlined cultural assimilation, as Kastoryano (1989:16) and Simon (2008:7) explained it to be, which is the historical French understanding of integration. **Nour**'s statement corroborates what Jayet (2016:113) says about integration: among the foreigners who arrived in France most recently (after 1998), those from North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa are the most likely to feel French. In addition, Bouvier (2012:24) highlighted that integration cannot only be apprehended through the amount of naturalisation every year, but also depends on feelings of belonging, as explained above. While most of the narratives above are from people who are legal immigrants in France, they underlined the fact that they made the choice to be integrated, which confirms what Bouvier (2012:24) explains about immigrants participating in their own integration within society.

### ***Facing discrimination***

Despite their feeling of integration into French society, when the participants were asked whether they have experienced discrimination since they have been in France, most participants (Josiane, Nabila, Salima, Zohra, Habiba, Nesrine, Chérifa) answered affirmatively. The participants' experiences depicted the harsh reality where immigrants were identified as outsiders; but discrimination also occurred within the community where participants faced prejudice from family, friends, or acquaintances based on their immigration status, as the following excerpts indicate:

*Well, my brother's name was Frederic, but I am the only one of the family that has [a Muslim name] except my sister who left for Corsica, she's Nadia but Nadia is more Spanish than Arabic. I was the only one... there was lots of racism! Yes. Racism. Yes... from my friends even. They used to laugh [at me], they weren't thinking bad, but the older children, they were mean. (Participant 5, Nabila)*

*I swore I would never make cakes again, never ever ever ever. I've seen the people, they're mean, I'm not talking about the French, I'm talking about the Arabs, the Algerians. I don't know why they are like that; I didn't expect it. They are crooks. They're... they're... they're liars, they're profiteers and they don't think about others. They only think about themselves, they're hypocrites. It's a good thing I don't hang out with them. Also, when I came to La Maison des Familles. It's the only place where that... I don't know where to go. I come, I talk with Jeane [the director]. I talk, I cry. Often, my husband would come with me. We stay with Jeane, we talk, talk, talk, talk, talk. Afterwards, we go home, we have nowhere to go. And life goes on... (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*Yes, sometimes because there are people who always see me... I like to be dressed up properly, to be clean, some people are asking me, why am I dressed like this while my husband is away. But I like it, it's my goal to be dressed up properly, to be clean. They are saying "maybe she has a visa, she's lying, she can afford these clothes..." It's my dad who bought me these clothes, and my mom also, and my husband sends me money so I can buy clothes. There are people who are saying things I don't like. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*Discriminated? Er... Sometimes we get this feeling, yes. Sometimes, the look people have, I am a sensitive person... Er, sometimes from people who are from Algeria. This is what I find strange. That's it. And so, er, even my ex-husband used to tell me I was a "blédard"<sup>8</sup>. [...] It was about him, it all started with him and his family. He used to always tell me "you, you come from Algeria" and then yes, I come from Algeria, I never said I was born in France... I never said... Yet, him and I are from the same family actually, we were in contact, he came here first... Furthermore, people who were born here er maybe there were born here I think, they feel better than others who came from Algeria, because they were born here. (Participant 9, Zohra).*

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<sup>8</sup> French colloquialism based on the Arabic word "blad" which means "country" ("Bled", 2021). In French, "bled" is a very informal word to designate either a remote and generally unattractive area or village; or the place where one lives or was born (Ibid). The term "blédard" is used to designate people coming originally from Northern Africa, or with a Maghrebin immigrant background ("Blédard", 2021). Can be used as an insult amongst French Algerians to refer to immigrant whose different customs and culture are still visible due to lack of integration (Ibid).

*About the headscarf, sometimes at the beach. If we're going to the beach, I want to stay normal and natural and everyone should do whatever they want, why judging? Why judging? "No, with the headscarf, you can't get in the ocean, you shouldn't do that". An officer came once and told me it was forbidden. I said "Yes, I obey the law, I know I have to wear suitable clothes to go to the beach and get in the ocean. I know that! But my daughter got too far into the water, I need to go check on her." This is how he understood, and told me "yes you're right". (Participant 1, Habiba)*

*Yes, my family told me I was disabled and was just a useless thing. Yes, my adoptive family. And then, another time, I remember being on the bus with my dad, we were speaking Arabic and a man told us to get out and go back to our country. (Participant 11, Chérifa)*

*I brought my savings. And now... there's nothing left. So I had to find a job. I found one, that's true, it's hellish. At the Tunisian's, it's true, he talks to me like a slave. When I was doing business, I used to have employees, but never have I ever treated them this way... And despite he goes on, I need money, so I need to work, so that's it. (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

*I would like them [immigrants] to be listened to and not be treated as terrorists. Not only Algerians, but that's a fact for many French people. That's enough, we are not the ones who destroyed the towers in America. All Algerians are not terrorists. And most people who see us take us for terrorists. For example, Algerians are terrorists, Tunisians are liars, and Moroccans are drug addicts [...] Because that's what I heard. [...] My parents used to tell me that, they used to say "we are terrorists" because at that time, after, when there were the Twin Towers in America, the Algerians were called terrorists, the Moroccans were called drug addicts, and the Tunisians were called thieves, liars, thieves, and things like that. (Participant 11, Chérifa)*

From the narratives above, one can see that discrimination proves to be multifaceted, and while some report xenophobia, others report discrimination at work regarding religion, or culture, either from French people or from people within Arab immigrant communities. It is also worth exploring the stories behind such discrimination. **Salima** and **Zohra** feel discrimination coming

from the Algerian communities, because both of them were born in Algeria, and are new immigrants to France. They feel as if gossip and insults are widespread amongst this community. As far as **Yasmine** is concerned, she is surprised and deceived to see that, within her own community, people do not share the same values. She considers that many of them are unreliable and untrustworthy. In the case of **Nesrine**, her illegal status in France does not give her much power to confront her employer who is mistreating her.

Regarding **Habiba**, she relates the polemic that emerged in 2016 in France about the “burkini”, Islamic modesty swimsuit for women at the beach. Indeed, at that time, the far-right elected representative of Marseille complained about a “burkini day” organised in an aquatic park of the city. It was prominently covered in the media and led by about 30 mayors of cities along the French Riviera, to forbid burkinis at the beach (Les Décodeurs, 2016). While some of these decrees were considered invalid by the State Council, other decrees stipulating the necessity to protect social order and to respect *laïcité* (secularism) were considered valid and forbade any outfits with religious connotations at the beach (Rof, 2016).

From these narratives, and according to Ward (2009:239), social exclusion is a process influenced by both material (income, housing, goods, services, etc.) and discursive (discriminations, relationships, identity) factors. Here, the participants underlined the discursive factors that could perpetuate exclusion. This highlights what Ward (2009:244) says about the relationship between identity and exclusionary processes, where he explains that while stigmatised people are excluded by society, they also exclude themselves from spaces that are stigmatising. Being discriminated against because of their origins, their culture, religion, their status in France, or their infirmity could lead Algerian immigrants to actually believe they are not welcome in their new country. The second consequence would be for Algerian immigrants to avoid people, places and social contact, as they have had negative experiences of such in the past. This could lead to isolation, but also to anger and resentment, and pass down a feeling of injustice to the next generation (De Laforcade, 2006:218).

#### **4.3.2.3. Experience of living in France**

##### ***Difficulties***

When asked about their experience of France when they first arrived, most of the participants underlined the difficulties they had to face and that they had not been expecting.

*Yes, when I arrived, I wasn't expecting to face all these difficulties. I was struggling, especially since my husband didn't have a job, neither did I. I couldn't work, I was*

*looking for a job everywhere, but I couldn't get one without any degree, without anything. This is only after I got my vocational certificates, I started to work a bit everywhere. However, before that, we lived a very hard time. He didn't work and neither did I. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*I think they are asking for way too many documents. You guys are great at asking papers! [...] Well, it's a bit complicated, I find it was fine at a time, but now it's not cheap. [...] There are things that are really expensive. [...] For example, I don't know, If I want to buy fresh fish, it's impossible, it's too expensive. (Participant 11, Chérifa)*

*I told an old French lady, a friend of mine, I see her quite often, I told her I don't ask for anything, I just want to work, take care of kids, be a housemaid, cook for a family. I said, "my God, how are these people doing?" They found a job, my husband had a job as a welder but everywhere he goes they are asking for his visa. Anywhere he goes he's told "welders are in demand, but Sir, you need a working visa". However, there are people working illegally but, my husband and I, we couldn't get an undeclared work because they only employ people they know. (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*Oh yes! Social assistance. I cannot manage to see them, because I went several times to see them at the start of the school year for my kids, there's one there, she told me, "You are not entitled to anything, you are not eligible for anything even for the kids." I asked for help, for the scholarship and everything, she refused. I wrote a letter to her and the school headmaster, she refused it, she said "we'll see". Since the beginning of the year up until now, I haven't received anything. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*No, it's very complicated [because I don't have a visa]. I have a 15-year-old daughter who doesn't have any scholarship, I don't find it normal: she's amongst the best students in her school. I think they should support her still. A 15-year-old child needs a lot of things and not having a school grant, not being encouraged... [...] She's wondering, "why them and not me?" (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*It's about documents, about our rights, about getting some money when we are in difficulty. Er, yes, sometimes to fill out the forms, to do this and that, if we ask for help, we don't get any, because supposedly we are above the financial limit by 10€. Yes, and others have nice salaries, and their husbands even work off the books! So, they earn almost 5,000 or 6,000€ per month while we have only 900€ per month. Oh yes, they [the immigrants] earn far more than you would expect. They work illicitly and still get government support. (Participant 14, Josiane)*

From the narratives above, one can understand the different difficulties people are facing once they are in France. Even for those who are legal immigrants, such as **Josiane** who is French, **Nour** who married a French naturalised person, or **Chérifa** who grew up in France, and has French citizenship. The narratives above also underline the complicated situations in which illegal immigrants find themselves once in France: the impossibility to find a declared job, to get help from social assistance or to get government and school grants for the children. Illegal immigrants are tolerated and not sent back to their country straight away (Les Décodeurs, 2019). They have free access to medical care, entitled to emergency shelter, and depending on the regions they even have access to public transportation for free or with a discount (Ibid). The immigrants are however not entitled to government grants and child allowances (Ibid). This also puts what **Josiane** says into perspective: While it is possible that some people abuse the system, most of the illegal immigrants interviewed do not seem to lead very comfortable lives. **Josiane** expresses a feeling of injustice as a French citizen who can barely survive in her mother country, and who struggles to find help. It is also worth noting for later that **Chérifa**, who grew up in France, continues to use “you” when talking about France and its people despite having grown up there; it is as though she is just a visitor there. From Sen's (1999:5) perspective, these difficulties have an evident impact on people's capabilities and functionings. not having a job, not being able to eat healthy food, not getting the recognition for their work, not getting help when they are seeking it; all these things may lead to a deprived life, discouragement, and a lack of a sense of well-being. The people might not be able to reach their full potential, occupying a low life status that will not allow them to contribute to society at large. As noted above, people's capabilities – or the freedom to achieve well-being – ought to be understood as their real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value (Sen, 1999:87). The integration of the Maghrebin people in France is, however, usually paired with socio-economic difficulties, as well as discrimination and deprivation, such as not having access to the same opportunities as French native citizens, and therefore the capacity to reach their full potential (Noiriel, 2006:X; Beauchemin, Hamel, Lesné & Simon, 2010:2).

### **Admiration**

Despite their difficulties, when asked about their feelings towards France, the participants expressed admiration of the country.

*I'm speaking for myself but I'm sure everybody is happy to leave their country behind, it. [Algeria] is a very poor country compared to France. As people say, France is the El Dorado... for them it is because it has nothing to do with Algeria, so I know people are very happy to be here. (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*I'm gonna tell you: in Algeria, France has the reputation to be an El Dorado. You see what I mean? So, coming to France, it's, it's something magnificent, something good for people. Everybody wants to come to France, everyone! [...] I found everything I needed here in France, for real. I find, er, I'm sincere, I find it to be a very welcoming country. People are very nice, I had no issue when I arrived: administrative tasks and stuff, I had no problem. [...] Thank God! I really found my path here in France. I can't, I have no regrets coming here to France. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*From Grade 1, [French] was our second mother tongue after the Arabic language, and then English. But I have always loved the French language because my mum was speaking French and I always found... she was always listening to French songs, Dalida. Well, I was born in this French 'swing of things'. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*There's nothing better than French culture! France is about respect... Freedom... It's sharing, everything I've known with all my parents' neighbours. My mom used to cook meals for 50 people from a bar my big brother used to go to. We were all cultures mixed: Armenian, Italian, ... (Participant 5, Nabila)*

*I'm telling myself everything is alright, the country is magnificent, it's superior, people here... My life is here, my family is here, it pleases me and I'm not saying I'm doing this because I'm a Muslim woman! It's not true, I lead a normal life as everyone, and I'm proud of it. (Participant 10, Dahlia)*

*I have my cousins [in Algeria], [...] they have the impression that this is the El Dorado here [...]. This image comes from...It's not complicated: at the moment, people live in certain council estates with the fruits of their labour. So, they save, they save, they save, they save the fruit of their labour, and they go to Algeria and they buy a house because the exchange rate is currently 1 for 20. [...] As a result, those who are over there wonder "but he comes with a four-wheel drive, he buys a house, he has a cleaning lady at home but what the hell is he doing in France? Whereas, in France, what is he? He's a worker! Who has saved up, who has maybe received 2000€ per month, who has put his money aside year after year, and who has said to himself, "well, I'm going to prepare my retirement, I'm going to build a modern house", but instead of doing it in Les Deux-Alpes, he's going to do it in Algeria. [...] And so, it's like Arabic telephone<sup>9</sup>: you have to go to France, you have to go, you have to go... (Participant 2, Djamel)*

From the narratives above, one can understand better what motivated people to come to France, but also a general feeling about what France has to offer despite the difficulties people encounter there. The notion of “El Dorado”<sup>10</sup> was raised several times, and while the immigrants later realised that this was an idealised version of the country, most of them still chose this over Algeria. The participants narrated how Algerians saw France in a positive light. According to **Djamel**, and due to the currency, the participants were able to acquire material goods; even while doing, for instance, manual labour back in France. **Djamel** explains that this situation created an idealised image of France, and the desire amongst Algerians to try their luck there. It is also worth noting the language and cultural aspect; some of these immigrants like **Zohra** had parents who had been to and worked in France before, prior to going back to Algeria. For instance, **Zohra** relates how she grew up with a hint of French culture in her home. **Nabila**, who was there during the first wave of immigration after the war, saw the mixing of cultures amongst the different immigrant communities. **Djamel** grew up in the poor suburbs and went on to get a degree in nursing. **He** explained that, whilst people tend to think France gives out a lot of grants, it was actually people who worked hard and then returned to Algeria who nurtured this idea of a so-called *El Dorado*. As Despois (1952:78) explained, the attraction of France, where salaries and social advantages were higher, was the principal driver of this immigration. Despois (Ibid) also highlighted the psychological aspect of this immigration: France remained

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<sup>9</sup> French equivalent to « Chinese whispers ». It is a colloquial term for the rapid transmission of news by word of mouth, where the news is distorted or amplified (“Téléphone arabe”, 2021).

<sup>10</sup> “A place of fabulous wealth or opportunity” (“El Dorado”, 2021)

a country of freedom for a people who could escape from the village's social control and the conservative influence of family in Algeria. For first-generation immigrants especially, there seems to be a deep admiration for France that can only be understood by comparing the hard conditions of living in Algeria to the some of the facilities they have access to in France. The weight of colonialism may also play a part in this: While France brought some infrastructure and development to Algeria during colonisation, it also induced an inferior status that was imposed on the nation by the deleterious process of colonisation (Tarraud, 2018: 77) (Kouidri, 2014:160). Parallel to that, the war and the new independent government have not yet brought the promises of development for all (Bouhou, 2009: 323). This could feed the feeling of inferiority towards the ex-colonisers as well as marginalisation to “a process which is not objective and neutral, but rather which involves a degree of judgement about the superiority and inferiority of different identities and lifestyles” (Ward, 2009: 243).

### ***Disillusion***

Positive feelings towards France contrasted with the disillusionment many participants felt accompanying their lived experiences as immigrants in French society. While the participants lived in France, they were also isolated from native French people, and sometimes scorned by them. Most participants expressed a sense of disillusion about a country they had idealised and where they did not get to meet and live with native French people.

*What do I not like? I'm telling you the truth... here, there is no mixing. France is normally a blending [of people] ... There are, let's say, the Algerians, the Tunisians, there are many populations. Here, it's like, "you're Algerian, you're African, you are being placed here." Like this, you guys stay amongst each other, and somehow you sort things out with each other, because that's it. And us, French people we are going to live further away from you." I understand them, I think they are a thousand times right, because it is hard to live with foreigners' characters, but they shouldn't mix all of us together because we are not all the same. We don't like each other. [...] It's like sorting tomatoes out, those that aren't mature yet are put aside, those that are about to rot are being put to the other side, because they are going to decay and infect others. And that's how I feel it is here and that makes me uncomfortable. But then, because we are poor, we don't have a choice either, it's financial, everything is linked. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*My cousins told me "Please find me a wife". Great, I asked them why, "so that I can get a visa to come to France". I said, "What do you want to do in a country where there are six million people unemployed, poverty, violence? You are talking about Marseille, but you have never set a foot there! You know Marseille through TV shows and you think you are going to meet a woman who would be willing to sign the papers for you, and that the notion of love has no value to you, and that France is about living off government's grants?!" Because France is giving out money. I said, "you have a problem, you are not up to date at all, because it is way harder than that life in France is expensive, life in France is tough, there are lots of people struggling". But they have the impression that the El Dorado is here.* (Participant 2, Djamel)

*There are more Arabs here than French so... Very often, I forget I am in France, I'm not going to lie to you, it is like I'm in Algeria. I would need to leave St Louis and go the Prado, around Castellane area, to realise "Ha! I'm in France".* (Participant 4, Kenza)

*It bothers me, yes. I wouldn't like to stay in Marseille. I would like to go to another country because it feels like we're in Algeria here.* (Participant 7, Salima)

*No, I wasn't expecting people to be sleeping in the underground, on the streets, I wasn't expecting to see that in France... Because there are means to live in Algeria, this is not better than France, but it is hard to succeed [here]. Especially for those who don't have the right to permits and who don't have family over here, they have nothing. It's tough... I think especially for the youth. I would like them to stay home, to work at home rather than coming here, it's too hard for them.* (Participant 7, Salima)

*Now when you enter a supermarket, you can hear "salam aleykoum", before people used to say "Hello madam" ... We are in France hey... Of course, you can see those things! Are we in France? Is that France? You go to Algeria; you see the same things!* (Participant 5, Nabila)

*I personally don't feel like I'm in France, it's only when I go to the city, that's where I feel... actually as I told you earlier, I would leave if I could because here it feels like the countryside, this isn't the France I've been dreaming of. [...]*

*I don't know, France picked all the Arabs, gypsies, Romanians, and put them in the same neighbourhood. You can find French people but it's rare.[...] When you go to school, you see Arabs only who are coming from everywhere, it's rare you would find French people in the schools. (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*There was a woman, she came from Algiers, a nun. She said "I thought I was in Bab el Oued" [laughing]. I burst out laughing. You see? Because I know Bab El Oued, I used to live there. It means, there are too many Arabs... This is a neighbourhood where there is a lot of extremism. (Participant 14, Josiane)*

From the narratives above, one can see that disillusion about France rests upon two aspects: The segregation of Northern African people in poor neighbourhoods, and the surprise of poverty in a country considered as an El Dorado.

As explained by **Zohra** in the narratives, the financial part may play a role in this housing attribution of immigrants. The location of the migrants in France is part of a vicious cycle, where people do not have enough money to live in the city centre, and also do not have many relatives, where those they know already live in the sink estates. It illustrates what Coates, Anand, and Norris (2013:163) explained: "While diverse, inner-city neighbourhoods can increase opportunities for labour market access, social services and integration, the tendency towards clustered settlement by migrants can also compound housing inequality". Furthermore, discrimination in access to the job market, for instance, can undermine access to good quality housing for migrants and lead to deprivation (Safi, 2008:28). In addition, as explained by Kastoryano (1989:15) and Lamri (2003:2), the French and the Germans place an emphasis on the cultural distance that exists between the native peoples and the migrants. This would perhaps explain why native French people tend to avoid the areas where the majority is now represented by immigrants who, according to **Zohra**, have difficult tempers. It also illustrates what Coates, Anand & Norris (2013:206) say about immigrants being more likely to experience lower levels of life and housing satisfaction, and that living in a diverse neighbourhood is negatively associated with life and housing satisfaction.

**Djamel** also explains that the vision of a golden France is tricking Algerians into coming to France while there might not even be a future for them over there. As far as **Yasmine** is

concerned, there is a lack of social mixing, especially at schools. While schools should be the places where children would spend time and socialise with other children from different backgrounds, they appear to not meet any French children at school but mostly other immigrants, predominantly from an Arabic background.

**Kenza, Salima, Josiane, Yasmine, and Nabila** all expressed their dismay about how many Algerians and foreigners were living in their neighbourhood in Marseille. They explained that this situation was not changing and that they had obviously not expected it would be like that when they first moved to France. **Josiane and Nabila** especially, who have been living in France for a long time, are the most vocal on the subject. They have seen the neighbourhood change from a Mediterranean mix of cultures (Spanish, Italian, Algerian, French) to a predominantly Arabic settlement, and feel it is not France anymore. It is worth noting that these narratives highlight the fact that the participants did not immigrate to France to live with other people from their communities. It appears the participants wanted to meet and live surrounded by native French people. However, their illegal status may play a part in this segregation as Ersanili & Koopmans (2010:786) have highlighted: Naturalised French have higher levels of social contacts with the host country ethnic than the non-naturalised.

Whilst the Algerians were at first housed in shanty towns, they were offered more permanent accommodation for themselves and their families in the 1960s as a result of a number of housing projects (Duroy, 2011:317). These housing projects were mostly located in urban areas called *banlieues* at the fringes of big cities (Ibid), of which the northern districts of Marseille are a perfect example. Safi (2009:521) also underlined the fact that immigrants from Africa and Turkey were characterised by high segregation levels that are hardly understandable through the prism of spatial assimilation. Some participants like **Salima** had no idea so many people were living on the streets and living off government grants. Others like **Djamel** were also surprised by how demanding people were when they had come over to France to find a job and live off their salaries. These narratives also seem to refer to the idea of the participants' dissociation from their own country. There seems to be some disappointment regarding finding a society in which to start anew. While the participants had thought they were leaving Algeria and entering a more privileged country, they ended up in an isolated Algerian community, living in poor and violent suburbs of France. This sense of rejection is reinforced by the feeling of lost dreams about France.

### **4.3.3. Functioning within economically and socially disadvantaged communities**

#### **4.3.3.1. Socio-economic circumstances**

##### ***Poor Housing Conditions***

When asked about their housing conditions, most participants stated that they were not happy with their current accommodation:

*It's called Skydome, and I am on the last floor, and it was blown away by the wind, I called them a billion times, there was water infiltrating the furniture, it was dangerous. And I had to remove this water, because I was afraid my son would slip and fall or another person. [...] The doors when I entered in weren't closing properly and now they are literally torn off. The window got out of its..., I can't remember what's called. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*Electricity yes, because those are old accommodations and the owner, she doesn't want to fix the electricity problem. They are telling us "since you live there, you should take care of it". So yes, I have electricity problems. The plugs in the bathroom, in the bedroom and for the light in my daughters' room do not work. Even the heaters don't work. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*No, it's not big enough, it's narrow. In the entrance, there a little hall, we call that the living-room but it's not. I put a small TV. There's my parents' bedroom. There's the kitchen, the bathroom, a small room where the four of us sleep in, my kids and I. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*I am a woman who lives without a refrigerator, without a stove, without a washing-machine... I don't have any of this, that's also why I'm so cold in a big flat, where there is no furniture anymore. But I have my cat to keep me warm [laughs]. Voila. I eat outside, it's not easy, because I need to buy food! Since I can't cook, I can't stock food. So I eat day by day. (Participant 5, Nabila)*

*It's small, and it is very cold, yes very cold, there's humidity. (Participant 3, Leila)*

*My housing? I find my accommodation not nice at all, it's miserable, and not adapted at all to... We have a kitchen, it's not a kitchen it is whatever... It's cold in the house, we don't have a heater, it's old, this apartment was built in 1958-59 and*

*it's very old, there's nothing. We literally abandoned any repairs we wanted to make.* (Participant 14, Josiane)

From the narratives above, one can understand the true conditions of housing in the northern suburbs of Marseille. While some of the participants were assigned accommodation according to social criteria, others had to find themselves somewhere to live as they were illegal immigrants. Most of the participants live in high-rise blocks of council flats, built during the great wave of immigration in the 1950s. The research in the field of the study at hand, involved visiting the families of the participants. This is how I was able to personally observe the conditions of living. The high-rise blocks felt very unsafe, were dirty, without lights, and no proper insulation. spouses could be heard screaming at each other from outside their flat, and in one of the blocks the elevator was not working even though the building had 12 floors. The one flat interior felt very small for a six-person family, and miserable as underlined in the narratives. As explained above by Kastoryano (1989:12), some transitional council estates were created that were initially supposed to help immigrant workers to settle in France but ended up being less appropriate for their needs than for those of the marginalised and poorly housed people. This tendency towards clustered settlement by migrants as highlighted by Coates, Anand, and Norris (2013:163) can also compound housing inequality. The respondents also underlined the fact that negative housing experiences of many ethnic minorities including migrant households have been associated with racism and xenophobia. It illustrates what Safi (2008:28) says about housing insecurity being a result of poor resources, the lack of relational networks, and discrimination towards these communities. While none of the participants spoke specifically about racism and xenophobia in regard to their acquired accommodation, they nevertheless expressed how they felt they had been placed in these blocks because of their Northern-African immigrant status. Furthermore, discrimination in access to the job market, for instance, can undermine access to good quality housing for migrants and lead to deprivation, which also tends to explain their incapacity to change housing (Safi, 2008:28). In terms of freedoms and capabilities, the poor household conditions are one of the factors that affect people's functionings. In Sen's approach to capabilities, housing can be perceived as a means to guarantee valued functionings, such as "bodily health" and "integrity" (Sen,1999:5). It is an elemental right as basic human functions depend on adequate housing conditions.

### ***Financial problems***

When asked about their financial well-being, most participants narrated their limited income as a major problem:

*Difficulties for sure, about money so that I can buy stuff for my kids. I would like them to be dressed like the others are at school. Because my eldest is 15 years old, he sees his friends how they are well dressed. They are wearing nice trainers and stuff. I'd like him to dress like them, to feel good like them. My little son, he told me, "Mom, I'd like to have my own bedroom with my toys", I'd like that too.*  
(Participant 7, Salima)

*About money, some money, not a lot of money. Especially with four kids, it's quite hard, you're asking your parents... I'm ashamed my father and my mother are giving me money every day. I'd like to have my own money, for the kids.* (Participant 7, Salima)

*[Two high schools] fought to keep my kids because of their good level. I said, "I don't have the means to give them 8€ per day for the bus, either you decide to send them to North High School or you pay for the bus card". The National High School told me they don't have the budget for it. They could pay for the bus once a term, it was hell, a month per term. Sometimes I have the 4€, sometimes my children have to lie to the bus driver. [...] I said my kids won't eat at the canteen anymore. I don't have the means, and the bursary's money better go to a backpack or trainers. Every time my 20 years old son ask me for 1€, sometimes I don't even have that. Luckily, he doesn't smoke. When he asks me for it, I want to... It's too hard, it's so hard.*  
(Participant 8, Yasmine)

*It's about documents, about our rights, about getting some money when we are in difficulty. Er, yes, sometimes to fill out the forms, to do this and that, if we ask for help, we don't get any, because supposedly we are above the financial limit by 10€. Yes, and others have nice salaries, and their husbands even work off the books! So, they earn almost 5,000 or 6,000€ per month while we have only 900€ per month. Oh yes, they [the immigrants] earn far more than you would expect. They work illicitly and still get government support.* (Participant 14, Josiane)

From the narratives above, one can see the financial difficulties the participants are facing. It is especially the case for those participants who are single mothers raising their kids on their own. They have left their countries, yet some of these ladies' husbands are still in Algeria trying to earn

money. However, it seems one never has enough financially to live in France, which is so much more expensive than back in Algeria. It is interesting to see how this may affect access to schooling and the well-being of immigrant children. As Algan, Dustmann, Glitz and Manning (2009:2) explains, successful immigrants could contribute positively to the host economy. However, poor economic success may contribute to social and economic exclusion of immigrants and their descendants. Thus, as demonstrated by Vallet and Caille (1996: 143), being a migrant or migrant's descendant does not necessarily affect academic performance, however their "objective life conditions" do. In other words, because they are over-represented in communities, with poor social capital and economic resources, they are at a higher risk of encountering academic difficulties that affect life opportunities (Safi, 2006:6-7). According to Sen (1999:5), the capability of providing for one's needs is one of the basic capabilities. However, while money is not seen as an end in itself in the prism of the Capabilities Approach, it is sometimes considered as a means to expand capabilities (Sen, 1999:90). Indeed, the respondents stated that they needed money to sustain their families. Without money, they cannot live the type of lives they value nor offer such to their children. They are thus living in a vicious circle that does not allow them or their children to break the cycle of poverty. As a consequence, while money stops the participants from acquiring access to opportunities (i.e. a safer neighbourhood, better schools, clothes, etc) for themselves or their children that would serve them, the lack of capability improvement also leads to a less important earning power (Sen, 1999:90).

#### **4.3.3.2. Intra-community relations**

##### ***Limited Social Contact***

When asked about their social contacts and friends, the participants answered that they were trying to avoid spending time with people outside their families. Given that a number of the participants underlined the crime-ridden high-risk community, their choice to keep to themselves is far from surprising. This choice was made by the female participants living in a community where violence is mainly perpetrated by male groups.

*I'm not lying to you, I don't have direct contact with, er, even with the neighbours, the entourage, nothing, I mean, I'm a little wary. Maybe because we have different principles, the way of life also that I find different. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*I'm not disturbing anyone, I live my life, I live for my kids, no one is going to touch me. That's the principle, that's the law here. But if I try to understand, I really would be the first one to be shot. There are still burnt-out cars, there's still someone*

*who is lost. There are still children's kidnappings, there are still guns, there's still "bang bang" at night. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*I'm not really spending time with anyone... It's true that's a heated neighbourhood. First of all, there are the drug addicts down the block, they're always in the building, there are always the dealers who come to buy and sell and so on. So, it's true that afterwards, um, it's the neighbours' children, so I prefer not to associate with the neighbours and to do my own thing. So, I don't have any affinity [with anyone]. (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*There are so many things happening in the neighbourhood, bad things, you shouldn't hang out with people, bad company leads to bad things, to problems. I personally don't spend time with anyone, at 6pm I close my door. We stay at home; we don't go out at night until we start the procedure to leave this neighbourhood. It's quite hard especially for teenagers, it's harder for my 15 years old son, but I'm scared. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*I don't like raising my girl, my children in this neighbourhood, I am very much scared of the lack of education [...]. I don't like this district at all. [...] No, I don't hang out much. Unless at "La Maison des Familles," and I meet people from here and that's it. And I won't go... I won't hang around; I try to avoid hanging around as much as possible. (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

From the narratives above, one can see that most of these women are scared because the area they live in is well known for violence. It is worth noting the untold rule of the suburb as noticed by **Nadjia**, that is, to not ask anyone questions if one does not want to get into any trouble. In a suburb where armed gangs rule, fear also prevents people from socialising and making friends. As explained by **Salima**. Marseille is known as a place of migrants; people come from many different countries: gypsies, Turks, Moroccans, Tunisians, people from the Comoros, etc (Agence d'urbanisme de l'agglomération marseillaise, 2015 :11). Being new to France, immigrants such as **Zohra** are highly suspicious about people, especially given that the participants feel they've been placed in an area with people they consider being unlike themselves.

Some participants like **Nesrine** are also scared for their children who they fear might be someday attracted to the lucrative drug-dealing business, as will be later elaborated upon. Their lack of social contact is also exacerbated by a lack of social networks that contribute to the cycle of

poverty, as Safi (2008:28) explains. Organisations such as La Maison des Familles, where this research was conducted, are trying to recreate social contact by organising activities for the immigrant families to meet, exchange good ideas, make friends, and provide a trusting atmosphere. For many people from these suburbs, such organisations offer the only places they are able to have conversations with friends, as underlined by **Nesrine** in her narrative. The lack of social contact can also lead to social exclusion, deprivation and impact negatively on people's well-being and capabilities (Bellani, 2011: 72-73). Sen (1999) also sees in social networks a way to achieve one's potential by developing the capability to act, for instance by learning about life opportunities from others and gaining the help that is needed (Lollo, 2013:15). Being part of a social network or a friends' network is one of the basic immaterial functionings as it contributes to personal agency through network of friends or acquaintances (Salais, 2003:9). However, when this network is disrupted and the functioning broken, the capability is also affected.

### ***Safety and Violence***

When asked about safety in the neighbourhood, most respondents underlined the high level of danger in the suburb they lived in, in homes which some might have said they felt safe but in reality remained very unsafe in terms of the area. Most respondents underlined the perpetual violence due to drug-dealing and gangs' networks. In addition to a lack of safety, most participants underlined the perpetual violence they suffered due to drug-dealing and gangs' networks.

*I think there isn't enough safety in France. [...] We don't find the police very often; people are free to do whatever they want in the streets. [...] Times are changing, this is not the France from before, and those are not previous French people who used to respect the law. There is no respect and on top of that, at midnight and until 3am, young people go out with guns and shoot each other... A 16-year-old boy, 11 years old, he has a gun, what's that? Especially here in Marseille, it's serious, it's serious. Sometimes I tell myself "I'm not going to live here; I'm not going to continue my life here in France with all this situation". I'm afraid, I've got boys, maybe the girl, yes, I can manage her, but the boys... (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*It's not safe at all, there are delinquents, drug trafficking, and we hear gunshots several times at night. (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*In this neighbourhood, there are people dealing drugs, lots of policemen all the time, sometimes you can hear shootings at night. You see, it's hard, yes, I can hear them yes. There are lots of fights. There's a woman she said she was walking with her daughter and she got shot in the back. That's her, she became paralysed. It's dangerous. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*Everybody is being suspicious... At the time, we weren't afraid of anything, we would go out at night, nobody would have... You wouldn't have seen scary people like this. (Participant 5, Nabila)*

*Now I'm used to it. At the beginning I was always closing my doors. Now I'm used to it. But there are people, but I'm not pointing out their nationality, there's a lot of voyeurism. This is a dangerous neighbourhood. (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

*I am afraid of this delinquency that is appearing, I'm scared, I'm scared for my daughter. You cannot imagine [...]*

*I'm also scared of drugs. There are dealers, lookouts, "choufs" as they say. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*I can see the reaction of some kids, of some teenagers, that's because they're saying, "they don't like us". They have the tendency to say that, to think that and to see in French eyes that they don't like them. So they feel rejected by Algeria and France. Our kids are lost. I see them and that's the problem, that's why they avenge, their behaviour, the drugs. And there are people here who cannot find a job, they may well send their CVs, but they don't get anything back. So, to earn money, they become dealers. They like to dress up, to smoke, but where are they going to find the money? So they get into drugs. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*Violence is something that is latent [in] the Northern neighbourhoods and even a little bit in the South now. Depending on the sink estates, violence is latent, it is highly charged, they don't need much to draw a gun. So, we always have to be... moderate, generations have changed, it is even more violent than before. At the time, there were still those we called the "big brothers". That means there were things we couldn't do, because the big brothers would have been on our backs. There isn't this barrier anymore, now 12-13 year- old young people are already*

*violent, and they have no limits because of the accentuation of drugs consumption like cannabis, a lot of cocaine. (Participant 2, Djamel)*

*Networks war, families are at war here because the nephew was killed by Mr. So-and-so and every time there's one getting out of prison, he's trying to avenge his uncle or his cousin. [...] Because there's a lot of money. Money in the suburbs flows like water because if they weren't consumers, there would not be dealers. These days, La Castellane works 40k-50k€ per day. This money is making lots of envious people, hence a brutal war. (Participant 2, Djamel)*

*What I don't like, I'm going to tell you, is women's aggressiveness, especially those who are taking their kids to school. There are plenty of them who are aggressive, plenty! Not only men, plenty of women are fighting each other, insulting each other. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*There are still burnt-out cars, there's still someone who is lost. There are still children's kidnappings, there are still guns, there's still "bang bang" at night. We hear all of this. We got used to it. It's like we live in a terrorist neighbourhood. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

From the narratives above, one can sense the unsafety of the suburb known for its delinquents, trafficking, and gun shots. The northern districts are known to be a place where many social problems such as a lack of safety, sex work and drug dealing are prevalent (Dewhurst Lewis, 2002:68; Emonet, 2018). While none of the participants talked about prostitution being an issue, many of the participants underlined the danger of the suburb, even for people not involved in the violence, (see where **Salima** reports about the disabled woman). Changing times is also highlighted by **Nabila**, who, having always lived in Marseille, remembers when she could go out at night as a teenager without being scared. **Nabila**'s narrative corroborates with what **Nadjia** says about people abiding to the law less frequently. While **Nesrine** does not want to stipulate any nationality, it seems implicit that this fear would be linked to some immigrant communities and not to French people specifically, who tend not to live in these areas, as explained earlier by other participants.

From the narratives above, it is clear that the violence spoken about is mostly due to drugs and cartels, which are recruiting very young people and feeding them off easy money and access to cannabis from an early age (Bertrand, 2013). According to Duprez (1997:78), "living from

undeclared work or illicit activities such as drug dealing is the only way for them to reach the lifestyle” they value. In addition, Duprez (1997:78) underlined that as far as the youth with a Maghrebin immigrant background are concerned, their ethnic origins, the poor reputation of their suburbs, failure at school, are all obstacles to their entry into active life. Other indicators such as income, employment situation, and socio-occupational category demonstrate a low socio-economic integration for North African immigrants (Safi, 2008:28). They are more exposed to experiencing a high rate of unemployment, lack of job and housing security, and academic difficulties for their children (Ibid). This illustrates what **Nour** underlined about the reasons of youth recruitment in the gangs: a feeling of rejection towards France and what the country has to offer; the impossibility to find a job because of their lack of experience and their location; and the desire to be trendy and be able to buy themselves things their parents cannot afford. **Nour** further suggested that working for the gangs might be the only way for some women to get an income and pay for food and rent. I was informed by Claire, one of the volunteers, that every time there is a police raid, many of the people living there are unable to pay rent afterwards. This shows how important this parallel illicit economy is in the Northern neighbourhoods, where many people rely on an illegal income (Joahny, 2012). In this sense, gangsterism is fed by poverty in that the gangs are provided with desperate young people to influence and to draw into their circles (Ibid). Gangs also consider the neighbourhood as their territory, and would fight for it (Saint-Gilles, 2019). This is where the peace of the neighbourhood is impacted.

The feeling of safety is part of Sen’s (1992:113) broader understanding of capabilities and functionings, as being safe is the condition to reach well-being and reach one’s potential in a society that allows one to go on the streets without being scared. Living in a peaceful environment is, according to Sen (1992:113), also one of the basic capabilities and is crucially important for well-being. This basic capability also has a broader impact on a fundamental capability, that is living in a safe area. Thus, it affects the whole neighbourhood when children cannot go out and must be locked in because of the shootings happening in the streets. It is important to notice that these shootings are unexpected, which emphasises the feeling of insecurity and fear within the community. People’s capabilities are immediately affected, as their freedom of movement is reduced, and their life is endangered by violence.

### ***Racism within the Algerian community***

When asked about intra-community relations and relationships with other people from the Algerian community, participants such as Zohra, Nour, Nadjia, Nabila, Yasmine, Habiba – who belong to the first generation – answered that they felt racism and discrimination coming from

the older generations of Algerians living in France.

*In this neighbourhood, a little bit. Because when I was in the 14<sup>th</sup> neighbourhood, I was in a residence where I could wear dresses. But here in the 15<sup>th</sup>, I can't. They are wearing the headscarf and then they would look at me... They are the reflection of the population I was part of before... [laughs]. Actually, they embarrass me with their look. The way they look at me, it's like I'm judged and raped at the same time! Yes, men's look... They always tell me, "We can see you're a Berber," because Berbers a long time ago used to be Christians. And actually, that's a community that does not mix with the Arabs, because originally, we aren't Arabs. Because it's complicated Algeria, that's true, we are all Algerians but there are Kabils, Berbers, ... (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*I am very sorry that some Algerians are tarnishing our reputation. I don't like their behaviour, for example when I take the bus, there are Algerians that have a very unpleasant behaviour. I don't like it. Some French literally say "Oh dear, I rather prefer waiting for another bus, I won't take this one because they jostle and talk nonsense" and I'm quite ashamed of that. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*Those who are stressing me are the Algerian immigrants, they are profiteers, their mindset has changed. It's different, it doesn't feel like they are Algerians. They are people who have been here for long, already 10 or 12 years they are here, but we face many difficulties to adapt ourselves to them. I think real racism is between Algerians. Algerians are the ones who do not accept others who are coming to France. [...] They have government's grants, they have everything. They don't want others to come. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*The Tunisian woman is too free in her country and she's bringing her total freedom over here. And even the Moroccan women, there's too much racism within the Maghrebins. Even if the State is asking us to live together but we can't, there are too many cultures, too many different mentalities. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*These bearded men, they won't accept us. Why are you coming to France then if you won't accept us? They are racist to me for example, people like me who are from an Algerian background and have always been living in France, who have had*

*a French upbringing. They say, “this isn’t normal”. How come this isn’t normal? Are you coming here to criticise us? Go back to your country! [...] Oh yes, you should see the way they look at me hey! Why? Because the lady is Arab and she smokes... If you want, I can even eat pork in front of you. And if you’re not happy, you can go back home. I do whatever I want, this is my home here. (Participant 5, Nabila)*

*They don’t want us to stay here in France, it feels like France belongs to them. This is happening between Arabs and Arabs [...]. Yes, they don’t accept us. Frankly, we are racists amongst us, either it is between Algerians or between Arabs. In Algeria it is between people who live in the city and those who live in the mountains. We used to say to them, “We are living in the capital city, you guys have left the countryside, you are annoying us!” (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*People who were born here don’t have the same mindset as those who just arrived from Algeria. It feels like they think they are better than us. Better culturally, the way they dress, the way they speak a mix of French and broken Arabic. I don’t like that. I always tell my sisters-in-law: “You know, you guys were born in France, either speak normal French or normal Arabic, stop mixing up and breaking the languages.” They trying to convince you that you don’t speak Arabic, yes I do speak Arabic but apparently it is a shame here. (Participant 1, Habiba)*

From the narratives above, one can see the behaviour of French Algerians, such as **Nabila**, who see newcomers, especially those considered as fundamentalist Muslims, as a threat and first generation immigrants who are embarrassed and shocked by French Algerians. Most of them state that the racism they feel is coming firstly from people from their own community, either based on the race i.e. **Zohra** (who is a Berber), or on their status as new immigrants who they fear would take the government’s money from them as **Nadjia** testifies. Another reason given for being treated as threatening new immigrants is simply because they do not yet know how to behave as expected nor do they know the used language – i.e. “broken-Arabic” – that they speak in France as **Habiba** underlines. **Nadjia and Nour** are ashamed of what they see, namely young French Algerians misbehaving, profiteers, and different mindsets. This illustrates what Algan, Dustmann, Glitz, & Manning (2009:2) have said about France, that it has also been the theatre of many riots composed of second-generation immigrant youths, with underlying issues linked to the social and economic exclusion of immigrants. The participants do not recognise

themselves as belonging to the Algerian community they are supposed to be a part of in France, but which the values are so different from what they know back home in Algeria. Even those who face this discrimination, such as **Nadjia**, themselves make stereotypic comments about Tunisians, Moroccans, or people from the Algerian countryside. They themselves noticed that racism was prevalent amongst Maghrebin countries, and confirmed by Maghrebin journalists such as Belkaïd (2019), who explained it as “victims becoming tormenters.” While one might have thought that racism would come mostly from native French people, it is interesting to realise that in areas where they do not get to meet native French people, they would actually face discrimination coming from within their communities. This situation can affect the participants’ capabilities as racism may be premised upon the negative discursive constructions of some communities; constructions which could have an impact on health and prosperity (Ward, 2009 :239).

#### **4.3.4. Effects of circumstances on life choices and opportunities**

##### **4.3.4.1. Poor prospects**

###### *Legal status and lack of permits/papers*

When asked about what prevent them from getting a job, the participants highlighted their illegal status which entails the impossibility of obtaining a work visa.

*When I was married to my ex-husband, he was [naturalized] French and I was entitled to ask [for the French nationality] after four years of marriage. [...] It was a very tough period, at that time there was violence with my ex-husband, lots of problems... I didn't think of asking for the citizenship. It was a terrible period. So I didn't ask for the nationality and when I finally asked for it, they told me my ex-husband and I separated so it wasn't possible. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*I am going to tell you something: without papers, you will never be out of trouble. You feel it's like... How can I tell you that? You are the one who is not accepted. You can always feel it. The least problem you face; you feel like it is against you. Even though it is normal for them, they got used to it, even if they've got their papers, they face the same difficulties. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*No it's complicated, I'm an immigrant, they can't give you the paper from one day to the next, that's for sure but I could have gotten them! My mom lives here, but she got remarried, she started a new life. When I arrived, I took a lawyer with me, she*

*told the lawyer she would give me the papers and then as soon as we left the office, she turned her back on me. (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*I don't have a choice, as long as I don't have the papers, I don't have a choice. If I ever get the permits, as I love cooking and baking... I said I would start a course. I'll learn patisserie. (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*Even if I had government grants, I wouldn't count on it, I like working. The possibility to contribute, especially since they [the immigrants] are here, they are in France, so why not giving them the possibility to work? (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

From the narratives above, one can see that these immigrants came to France to work and not to simply live off government's grants. Bouvier (2012:18) said migrants move from one place to another in order to find work or better living conditions. However, because the immigrants need to be employed by a company that would give them the appropriate visa, they cannot get jobs (Direction de l'information légale et administrative, 2021). Working off the books is also a challenge, as you need to have a social network and be ready to face many risks such as, not to have any social security and complicated recourse if they face a problem with their employer, or difficulties in asserting their rights for a working accident (Schmidiger, 2015). This is notably the case for **Nesrine**, who works illegally in a bakery where her employer mistreats her, but with no visa and no money, she has no other choice than to do this job. The participants would like to see more working visas granted, especially for those who really want to work, which would imply sorting immigrants out when they arrived on the European soil. Unemployment may affect people individually, on a psychological level, as it can cause a lack of self-esteem and a sense of purposelessness (Álvaro, Garrido, Perreira, Torres, Barros, 2018 :1). It also affects all their relatives and those depending on them as they do not earn any money. Any of these may result in a lack of capability or the ability to make appropriate choices (Egdell & Beck, 2020:937).

#### **4.3.4.2. Family life**

##### ***Challenges of single-mother family life***

When asked about their families, most participants indicated being single mothers, or considered as such in France, whether or not they had a husband or partner in their life for various reasons (divorce, separation, etc.), or their husband had stayed back home in Algeria for work and sent money to the family in France. According to the participants, this situation seemed to bring social difficulties.

*When I got married with my ex-husband, I never thought we would get divorced one day. And at the same time, marriage was huge to me. That's because my mom is already divorced from my dad. I didn't want to imitate the same thing and, at the same time, I didn't want to live as she lived, in violence and everything that goes with it. We were witnesses, we were numerous, we were in poverty. I told myself we have to stop, that's it. And after that moment I realised my son was also mentally ill. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*There is the economic and social fact: poverty, difficulties, single-parent families, the absence of the father, ... it's a lot. [...] That's what needs to be done: helping the parents, helping the parents, helping the parents. Stop oppressing them: a mother who lives alone with a 14-year-old boy who is already 1,85m tall, she struggles, she struggles... And the kid beats her. It's not easy, it's not easy. (Participant 2, Djamel)*

*I'm not spending time with anyone. My life is so full. I don't have a husband, I'm the one who is taking care of the kids, who is buying the groceries, who must pay the rent. I don't have time to rub shoulders with the neighbours or to make friends. (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*I asked my husband, he said "yes, it doesn't matter." He comes from time to time. He has a tourist visa. He comes, he stays a month and a half with the kids and then he goes back home because he works there. He can't stay here. Until I get the papers, then we'll stay together. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*There's so much loneliness. Tremendously. The first year, I didn't have my family, I felt... torn apart. And separation is already a bit hard... No, it's not a bit hard, it's very, very hard. We leave our family behind and especially for me, I am close to my mom, my brothers, all of them, my family. And yet I didn't want to go to the airport, I totally didn't want to get married. He [her husband to be] came to Algeria, I liked him physically. But we cannot know the temper, it's like a surprise actually. [...] Luckily, I got divorced in France because in Algeria it's complicated. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*Before, I was disturbed, maybe the 1<sup>st</sup> year, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> year was quite hard. Because back home, I was part of a big family with many acquaintances, and here I was left alone. It's tough. Alone because there's no family... I know a few people only. I don't have many contacts. (Participant 10, Dahlia)*

*I was crying, I was like a mad woman. "But you've got two children, shake it off, you've got to think, you've got to think about your children. Then, all of a sudden, I said "Yes, that's the way life is." [...] Far from your family, far from everyone, with your children, there's no one. It's a bit hard. Frankly, it's a bit hard but fortunately I'm a bit brave. (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

From the narratives above, one can see that, among the female participants, those who are single mothers experience difficulties whether it is about being away from their husbands, or being a single-parent family. One of the structural factors to applying to immigrant single-mother families has to do with the immigration process itself: “Mothers may enter the destination country while the father stays behind, and married fathers may not be living with the family because of prolonged periods of employment in the origin country” (Dronkers & Kalmijn, 2013 :2). Being a single mother may cause psychological distress, such as in the case of **Zohra**, who felt like she was reproducing her mother’s life, one that remained a traumatic event to her (Zohra) who is now alone to raise her disabled son. Others such as **Kenza and Nesrine** experience the hardships of raising their kids alone. **Djamel** underlined the difficulties for mothers who have to face children with violent behaviour and have no husband to support them. As explained by **Kenza**, single mothers like herself also have to work, manage their house and children on their own, which does not leave them time to socialise. The shock is understandable given they come from a culture where extended families live together and raise children together, to the more individualistic French culture, where “many mothers are employed, more than half are unmarried and an increasing number are not cohabiting with the father of their children” (Social Issues Research Centre, 2012: 5). Mothers are expected to do many things on their own. Not having the support of their families and leaving everything behind to go to a new country is a challenging experience (Loyal, 2009 :416). As underlined by Milewski, Struffolino & Bernardi, (2018:158), “compared to non-migrant women, who can rely on help with childcare from their own parents or their partner, migrant women, who often lack a supportive social network in the country of destination, may face additional challenges in returning to work, especially if they are not in a couple”. Single mothers also present a higher risk of poverty as

fathers tend to have a higher socio-economic position than mothers (Dronkers & Kalmijn, 2013 :8; Milewski, Struffolino & Bernardi, 2018: 141). It raises the questions of capabilities, as according to Sen (1999), single parenthood also presents higher risks of poverty and a lack of opportunities. It could also lead to social exclusion and loneliness. Loneliness is closely related to a lack of social contact, and according to Sen (1999), being part of a social network or a friends' network would help people to become who they are and do what they want to do. However, when this network is disrupted and the functioning broken, the capability is also affected. Furthermore, single parenthood can have a negative effect on the children's academic performance as migrant pupils from single-mother families score lower on math test than migrant pupils who live with both parents (Dronkers & Kalmijn, 2013 :1) and therefore affect the second generation's opportunities in life (Milewski, Struffolino & Bernardi, 2018: 141).

### ***Women's status***

When asked about their opportunities in France, participants highlighted the fact that they were women and that women's status in their country of origin was different to that in France.

*It's not like in France where you live with someone and after... you get married. But in Algeria, we don't have the right to live [together] because if we live with someone, it means we are... A woman who, who... who lives with someone, well... everybody is going to talk about her, about her reputation, about her, her family, Her brothers... up until her death and even after her death they're going to talk. Oh yes, it's everybody actually, not only one person, everyone. Even for the divorce, if you get a divorce... Luckily, I got divorced in France because in Algeria... It's complicated because everyone is going to say "yeah, we knew she was an easy lay". [...]. I know there are laws for women here, I know there are values, I know it's not like over there. We are almost... we don't live well in Algeria; women live badly in Algeria. Yes, the women's conditions actually, first, outside the family she has to wear a headscarf. I remember when I was at school, boys would touch us, touch my breasts, because I didn't want to wear the headscarf. I just wanted to wear these clothes you know. Everybody was calling me a slut. And once, there was my boyfriend, we were leaving school, they took me in a corner, they annoyed me and one of them tried to rape me. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*As soon as you grow up in Algeria, you realise you are a woman. In the society first, you know you are different from your brother, you know you are very, very different.*

*Your brother is allowed to go wherever he wants, do whatever he wants to do. But you, no! They have instilled this in us. In our families, in our culture in Algeria, the girl doesn't have the right to do what she wants. She's there, depending on her parents and brothers, they decide in her place. So, we already know, from an early age, that the girl is like this, she's submissive. We know there's some sort of frustration, we are frustrated, and we know it. And we don't accept it, but we don't have any choice. [...] We were accepting our fate. We were accepting it because we were like this: Our country is like this, our religion is like this, our culture is like this, we were raised this way and we were accepting things the way they were. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*Timidity first, and because we live in a country that doesn't give opportunity to everyone, especially women who live in the mountains. You're a woman, you should stay home. You do your duties as a woman and you stay here, no right to move. Even [Algerian] men who are here in France, they haven't changed their mindset: you stay home, you do the cleaning, you take care of the kids, you stay there, you have no right to go take a walk, or go for a drive, nobody can see you. Even the clothes aren't normal! Even sometimes we don't see the eyes! This is another culture, this is Iraqi's culture, this is not the true Islam! (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*Because in the Algerian community, you are not allowed to... how can I say? It's a bit hard because in our country we are a bit severe. There are some husbands a bit severe like my husband, and - he's not like this but – there are other husbands who are very severe. The woman doesn't have the right to go buy groceries, or to go out ever. But here it's a bit more freedom but there are limits.[...] Yes, I'd like to be free, but it is quite hard for women who want to be free. This is not like Saudi Arabia, but this is still severe, within limits. (Participant 7, Salima)*

From the narratives cited above, one can see that women's status in Algeria were preventing women from having access to opportunities or leading the life they wanted. Tradition and religion seem to play a large role in this situation (Brac de la Perrière, 2005; Hamitouche, 2020: 155). While in theory, Algerian women have the same social and cultural rights as men, they actually do not have equal access to or ability to exercise these rights (Ibid; Bouagache, 2021). As Brac de la Perrière (2005) explains, "restrictions on women's social and cultural rights are partly due to women's inferior legal status under the Algerian family code, which places women

under the guardianship of men, and partly due to the social influence of the country's religious extremist movements.”

It is worth noting that men who are immigrating to France where values are different, do not however change their behaviour towards their wives, who are expected to fill the same role as in Algeria. It illustrates what Alexander & Welzel (2011:20) says about Muslims in Muslim societies and Muslims in non-Muslim societies holding more “patriarchal” values than do non-Muslims. Furthermore, according to King, Dalipaj & Mai (2006:428-429), traditional gender roles are often maintained throughout the migration journey, and transformations of patriarchal power structures are more likely to be generational. The question of gender equality is being raised by these narratives, especially about having the same rights and receiving the same respect regardless of their choices (Bouagache, 2021). These limitations prevent women from entering the job market and taking their full place as citizens in their new country (Brac de la Perrière, 2005). The weight of tradition might not allow women to go out and learn the language, adapt themselves to the new culture they have chosen and become empowered by women's independence as supported by French laws. This situation was recently and sadly illustrated in the media by the “Mérignac immolation” on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, 2021: Chahinez B., a young Algerian woman, was shot and then burnt alive in the streets by her abusive Algerian husband who was naturalised French (D'Adhémar, 2021). The sources explained that “she wanted to live in France as a French woman, but her husband did not share that opinion, he wanted an Algerian woman like in Algeria. She did not have much freedom, she wanted to go out and wear jeans, but he did not want that” (Ibid). As Despois (1952:78) highlighted, there is a psychological aspect to this immigration, where France is a country of freedom in which the immigrants can escape from the village's social control and the conservative influence of the family. This capability refers directly to Amartya Sen's, that explains freedom to be not only the primary object of development but also its principal means as an instrument that the different types of freedoms (political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, etc) serve to complement one another. The participants' sense of their freedom is also the sense of their capabilities to seize opportunities they might not have had in their previous life. This relates to the extent of relative deprivation of women to the existing inequalities in opportunities, such as not having access to the same opportunities as men (Sen, 1999:109).

#### **4.3.5. Effects of immigration on identity formation**

##### **4.3.5.1. Self-Perception**

###### ***Conflicting feeling about citizenship***

When asked whether they would like to be considered a French person in France, most

participants answered that their identity was torn between two countries, two cultures, and two citizenships, namely Algerian and French.

*Actually, it's like I have two persons within me: one that persists between her culture, her origins, everything she is in the inside; and another one that is a woman but I don't feel like a woman, I'm lost and feel useless sometimes. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*I have heard Algerians who live here in France, who were born here, who are saying "we don't find our place, we don't have our place neither in Algeria – in Algeria we are immigrants who were born in France - nor in France where it's not our home... It's not our country, for example they always tell us to go back home, we don't have our place neither in Algeria nor in France" so they feel lost! [...] My husband's family, my husband, his sisters, his brothers, they are decent people, really! They succeed because they feel at home! They feel at home! However, the new generation is a lost generation. They are lost, they cannot find themselves. [...] I've always lived in Algeria but currently I live in France, so I feel French with an Algerian background. I have to adapt, I need to put in my head that I am here in France, I live in France, so I am French, I have to work on my French. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*When I go to the stadium, I'm raising the French flag. I'm originally from Algeria, but I have two countries. And I would even say, I'm a child of the Earth, I'm not French, nor Algerian, I am human. (Participant 2, Djamel)*

*France is the country of my heart [...]. I acknowledge I'm Algerian. I'm Algerian, I've lived there for 25 years, it is a beautiful country, but it wasn't my country. It was like I was just a guest there. (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*No, it doesn't bother me to be either Algerian or French. It doesn't bother me, it's like to each his religion, each his... Personally, I'd like to be Algerian-Algerian, and for the French to be French. To live as an Algerian in France, I'd like that, I'm proud. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*I don't leave Algeria because it is my country. I love Algeria, I love France because now it is my new country, the country of my children. [...] It's Algeria my country, it will always be my country, France is my second country. (Participant 10, Dahlia)*

*There's a woman, she asked us if we were feeling more French or Algerian? I told her, "Listen, I'm 100% Algerian and proud of it." She told me, "But you have the French citizenship ID." I told her "Yes, this is only a paper. That's just because I have a paper that tells I'm allowed to stay on the French territory, it doesn't represent my personality". I am Algerian and 100% proud as I repeat every time, I'm happy like this. [...] Every time I say I can't wait to go home and when I say "home," I'm talking about Algeria. (Participant 11, Chérifa)*

*On the one hand, I grew up in France and that's why I'm close to France and on the other hand I still have some Algerian culture in me, I have things that still belong to Algeria. (Participant 11, Chérifa).*

*Between France and Algeria, I'm saying I'm feeling good here and Algeria is my country. (Participant 1, Habiba)*

From the narratives above, one can see the identity struggle that comes with dual citizenship. This division is particularly present in the younger generations who were born in France, as **Nour** explains. The feeling of not belonging to any country seems dominant amongst this population in search of their identity. It illustrates how socially and economically excluded the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation of immigrants feel (Algan, Dustmann, Glitz, & Manning, 2009:2). Most participants were 1<sup>st</sup> generation: People who were born in Algeria and then came to France. As far as the participants underlined the need to feel French in France, their new country, it was impossible for the immigrants to forget where they came from. The fact that they chose France over Algeria, did not cause them to deny their Algerian identity, even though some of the participants' answers highlighted the difficulties of such a position. **Chérifa**, who was born in France and spent her whole life there, personalises this rejection from France, as she considers Algeria to be home even though she has never lived there. This is where "integration," according to the French approach, would seem to fail. It is expected that people who grew up going to French Republican schools, received free medical care and shared French values their whole lives, would feel French and considered as such since, "young migrants who grew up

and were educated in the destination societies [...] tend to be better assimilated” (Sand & Gruber, 2018:89). **Chérifa, Nour** and **Djamel** testified that this is more complicated than that. **Dahlia** and **Salima** for instance, might have grown up in France and never felt French, maybe because their parents struggled with this dual identity and culture. According to Kastoryano (1989:16) and Simon (2008:7), political integration in France also implies cultural integration until the “assimilation” of people is complete. However, while the national identity of the migrants ought not prevent them from being naturalised, it remains for the immigrant worker, mostly an economic choice, rather than a cultural one as **Chérifa** seems to demonstrate. Therefore, the different migrant groups maintain a relationship that is mostly instrumental with the political community<sup>11</sup> of their host-country (Fougère and Safi, 2008: 170). According to Kastoryano (1989:16), this situation might threaten the founding principles of citizenry, nationality, and normative character of the nation-state<sup>12</sup> as some participants seem to struggle to identify with the shared history and culture of France.

### ***Resilience***

When asked about what they liked about themselves, most participants showed self-confidence and talked about their resilience despite the difficulties:

*What I like about myself and I don't regret it is my kindness. If I had to it all over again, I wouldn't change a bit. If there's something that should remain within myself, that I shouldn't change, it's my kindness. I prefer, I'm happy this way, and I will continue to be like this. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*I have a strong personality; I take charge of my life. I can handle my family, I'm confident and I have dreams and I'm not going to stop there. And on top of that where I'm going, I'm proving myself. [...] Here yes, I can maybe [be myself]. More than in Algeria. More, more, more, more, more, more! Here I've been given an occasion to live as I want. Either good or bad. Especially for the good part, they are here for us. And I've noticed that. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*I am a fighter. I've always been one since my childhood, I'm the one who helped my family. And now I'm helping my small family too. (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

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<sup>11</sup> “A group of people living together, whose relations with one another are intense and who have developed common habits and rules” (Hoffman, 2013: 1)

<sup>12</sup> “An independent country, especially when thought of as consisting of a single large group of people all sharing the same language, traditions, and history” (“Nation-state”, 2021)

*It made me a more mature person, it opened my eyes, it helped me to fight. Because otherwise I would have fallen into depression. At first, I was letting myself down, then I started to fight, and I had children and I said, I need to fight for them, for myself, for the future. That's it. That's the most important thing. (Participant 14, Josiane)*

*I have chosen everything, never has anyone chosen in my place. Even now when I come back to Algeria, my friends and students are telling me "Habiba, you are still Habiba, you haven't changed at all! You went to France, you could have come back fancy with blue eyes or else" because there are plenty of people who went to France and changed their mentality there, changed their culture, their religion. But they told me "Habiba, you're Habiba, you speak the same". (Participant 1, Habiba)*

*Before in Algeria, I didn't do my shopping, now I've become independent. That's a very important point. I'm not afraid, even if I was under the influence [of her husband], I was able to get out of it, with the help of God and the help of my therapist who really helped me to see things differently. Because, in my head, it was normal for me to be hit by my ex, that he insulted me, that he made me suffer all that... (Participant 9, Zohra)*

From the narratives above, one learns that the experience immigration participants had in France, helped them discover themselves, showing strength and resilience. In the context of immigration, poverty and deprivation, where people are forced by circumstances to survive with very little, self-esteem and self-worth are crucial to recognition (Strahele, 2019:306). Inequality and social deprivation can undermine people's fundamental moral capacity of self-respect and self-realization (Kollar & Santoro, 2012:80; Strahele, 2019:306). However, as the narrative above illustrates, the participants' condition seems to have strengthened their perceptions of self-worth and self-esteem. This result is significant for the participants' integration as, along with their aspirations and expectations, the self-identities and self-esteem of immigrants are key to their assimilation (Portes & Rivas, 2011: 228). **Nour** is proud of her main quality, kindness, and **Nadjia** can finally feel that she is being herself in the place in which she finds herself. **Josiane and Nesrine** showed incredible resilience fighting against depression, or for their families. **Zohra** is proud that she became an autonomous woman, away from the violence and abuse from her ex-husband. In terms of capabilities, freedom is related

to the self, to autonomy, and to independence (Sen, 1992:31). Freedom can be understood in terms of self-choice or self-determination, but also as a condition for self-esteem, for dignity and for pride (Ibid).

### ***Religious practices and values***

When asked about the influence of religion on their identity, most respondents answered they were Muslims. They depicted religion and religious obligations (clothing, prayers, etc) as a topic of passion and sometimes conflict between what they considered French culture versus Muslim culture.

*I have a religion but I... don't really practise. Well, a little bit. I mean, er, like the headscarf, I don't wear the headscarf, but in Algeria I used to wear it. It's compulsory actually, but then, I told myself I wanted to work. It is useless to wear a headscarf if I want to be integrated and not stigmatised regarding my headscarf, or anything else. [...]*

*My religion is telling me I should always wear the headscarf; I have the feeling I don't have... I'm not up to it. For example, I love music, I would like to attend a concert (laughs), but I'm scared as I have my brothers who are still in Algeria and my sister who's here in France. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*Me with the headscarf, if I'm going South where there are French people, I won't live normally, I won't be relaxed. Here, in the 15<sup>th</sup> neighbourhood, there I choose this neighbourhood, but I have the freedom to go live in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> neighbourhood, but I can't for real. Us, with the headscarf we can't really live with real French people. (Participant 1, Habiba)*

*It's deteriorating, I'm going to tell you why; because it is not as it used to be in the past. For example, the word "Islam" scares people. So knowing that someone is Muslim is scary. Even if we don't know whether this person is dangerous or not, there's a misunderstanding... I understand the French people! My husband is telling "I understand the Europeans to be afraid, they are right to be scared." But there are two trends. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*Especialy because France is a secular country, we don't have any difficulty, no obstacles. Everything is clear, everything is permitted, no constraints. It's not a*

*country where you have to hide, hide who you are, whatever you're doing, no. Everything is free, you understand? It's a laïque [secular] country, we are free. By the way, having mosques everywhere... That's true, my husband keeps telling me: "In France, there are a lot of mosques, they have allowed Muslims to have their mosques, they can say their prayers, they practise their religion. Would Algerians accept to build a church in Algeria? No!" He told me: "You see the difference? So France is more tolerant!" It has nothing to with Algeria not being tolerant, no, but they are a bit more conservative... I don't know how to explain that. But here, in France, it is an open-minded country. (Participant 4, Nour)*

*The covered ones, those who wear this dress, djilbeb. Even if they are Muslims, they don't practise... They don't even say their prayers, that's just for the look. [...] We can't even talk to them; they are too severe. (Participant 13, Nadjia)*

*My mom... she never worn a headscarf of her whole life. My mother would still be alive today, she would have seen it... she would have cried. The first time, before she left, she saw a woman with the headscarf, she said "Oh dear! There's nothing like it at home." It wasn't existing... I left my home, I saw covered women over there, I couldn't believe it. Even in Algeria, there wasn't... I found on the internet a picture of young female students in Kabul with short skirts and thigh boots, there was no headscarf in the '70s... [...] I can't explain but all I can say is that every time I see a woman wearing a burka or a long-bearded man, I have stomach pain. (Participant 5, Nabila)*

From the narratives above, one can see how deeply felt the topic of religion and especially Islam is for the respondents. I have not met any participant that would be considered a fundamentalist Muslim,<sup>13</sup> based on her/his outfit. In fact, participants such as **Zohra**, **Nabila** and **Nadjia**, even though they are Muslims, are progressive, notably about the dress code, and do not understand the tendency present amongst French Muslims to dress in a more conservative way. **Nabila**, who grew up in France and does not wear the hijab, is particularly shocked by what she considers to be a big change in the neighbourhood. According to her, there is a bigger Muslim population

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<sup>13</sup> The belief or advocating of a conservative adherence to literal or traditional interpretations of the Qu'ran and the Sunnah ("Islamic fundamentalism", 2021). However, there is no universally agreed upon definition for the term "Islamic fundamentalism." In general, the phrase is applied to "Muslims who are thought to adhere strictly to ancient doctrines, to literal readings of the Koran, and are determined to resist modernity and modernization" (Watt, 2008).

that differs markedly from the '70s, when she was born. At that time and from what **Nabila** says, the Western culture had influenced Muslim populations from the colonies – such as Algeria – in many ways, including women's outfits (André, 2016).

It is worth noting that, while France is a secular country, religion is still considered a strong cultural mark (Shepard, 2013:449). Thus, **Habiba** does not compare the French to Algerians, but compares the French to Muslims, just as someone who is Muslim and who practices their religion would never be at ease with a French person who would be referred to as Christian. As Lamri (2003:2) explains, immigration has a religious dimension, which has given rise to important debates especially since the “Islamic headscarf affair” of 1989, and the recent discovery of the pull of fundamentalist Muslim movements on young people from suburban cities (Kepel, 2015; Rougier, 2021) (Lamri, 2003:2). As Kepel (2015:349) explains, this situation is closely binding the future of Algerian immigration to that of Islam, which is the second largest religion in France. The impossibility highlighted by **Habiba** to live with “real French people” illustrates what Lamri (2003:2) says about immigrants' religion playing an important part in Europe where the native population is mostly Christian. Kastoryano (1989:15) and Lamri (2003:2) both highlighted the fact that the French and the Germans place emphasis on the cultural distance that exists between the natives and the migrants. This also includes the link between religion and politics in Islam, including the different conceptions about private law as explained in the literature review (Papi, 2014:691).

#### **4.3.5.2. Aspirations**

##### ***Children's education and success***

When asked about their dreams, most participants answered that they wanted their children to have a good education and succeed in life.

*My priority is to raise my son so that he can be autonomous, even if he has difficulties, he could live with them. (Participant 9, Zohra)*

*I went to the regional education authority, I got received like a queen! That's true, really... In Algeria, the citizen isn't considered like in France. When I applied for my daughter to get in secondary school, there's something that really moved me: The headmaster invited to come visit the school, he introduced me to all the teachers. They were all in line and everybody was telling me “Hello Madam! I'm the Maths*

*teacher, I am the Physics teacher. I was moved... They made me feel important you know? It was... it was impressive. [...] My dream? That my children would succeed in life. That's it. So that I haven't brought them here for nothing. (Participant 4, Kenza)*

*I'd like to stay here surrounded by my family and have my kids doing their studies here in France. It is better than in Algeria because the condition of education in Algeria is not good. I would like them to do that, and even more than my kids' studies, it's everything else that pushed me to come here in France, I did it for the kids and my parents. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*My dream is for my kids to succeed, so that they got a good job. (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*What holds me back here are the studies, the teachers. My daughter in Algeria, she didn't like her teachers, but here she loves them. When she's on holidays, she says "Mom, I miss my teachers," so my kids are happy about their studies. Yes, I'm happy. (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

*For my kids, I would like my son to realise his dream, because he loves maths, he wants to become an architect and we'll do anything in our power to support him. And I would like my other son to manage to read and write properly. (Participant 1, Habiba)*

From the narratives above, one can see that children's education is the participants' priority in life. Despite the difficulties of living in France and integrating into a new country, participants such as **Kenza**, **Salima** and **Nesrine** salute the high quality of education and the opportunities offered to their children to succeed and get decent jobs. However, the context of poverty, discrimination or marginalisation in which these children live due to their immigrant background might deeply affect their chances to succeed at school (Duprez, 1997:78; Kanouté, Vatz Laaroussi, Rachédi, & Tchimou Doffouchi, 2008:266). Vallet and Caille (1996:143) demonstrated that being a migrant or migrant's descendent does not necessarily affect academic performance, however their "objective life conditions" do: Because they are over-represented in communities with poor social capital and economic resources, they are at a higher risk of encountering academic difficulties that affect life opportunities (Safi, 2006:6-7). Nevertheless, **Habiba**, **Zohra** and the other participants

still strongly hope and believe that their children will have better chances to realize their dreams and become autonomous in France than in Algeria. According to Sen (1992:55), the capability to be educated plays a substantial role in the expansion of other capabilities as well as future ones. It is thus foundational and fundamental to different capabilities and inherent to the possibility of leading a good life. Furthermore, it is crucial to people's well-being as the lack of education would harm and disadvantage the individual (Ibid:41). When children are deprived of education, they are led to make the wrong choices because of the lack of opportunities offered to them and the lack of judgement.

#### **4.3.6. Community needs**

##### **4.3.6.1 Immigration**

###### *Selection of immigrants*

When asked about what would help improve immigrants' conditions in France, most participants answered that it was impossible to accept everyone wanting to emigrate to France and that a careful selection of immigrants should be conducted by the French government, based on different criteria from merit, an ability to speak French, to those who really wanted to work.

*I think France has changed since I've arrived, I mean it's like they are tired of immigrants. Maybe France is tired of immigrants, that's the feeling I have, maybe they would accept people like me who don't have a choice because my son is French. [...] I mean, it's like when I came, I wanted to work but maybe there are others they see they can stay in France, have business in their country of origin and still earn money here. They are cheating and maybe France is tired of this system.*  
(Participant 9, Zohra)

*Regarding the increase of newcomers, there are already women who have been here for 10-12 years, 15 years and who cannot speak French... [...] I don't understand why the residence permit is delivered to people we don't even know if they are going to adapt, if the person is going to learn French or not. There are way too many problems between all these cultures in France.* (Participant 13, Nadjia)

*I knew there were lots of Arabs, but I didn't know there were so many Arabs who didn't deserve to be in France! That's the truth... There are people who can't even say a word of French! That's a pity here because in Algeria, we can speak French properly, even people who didn't go to school. There are even Arabic*

*words, we say them in French. But here, I don't know, they are out of control then they say, "I can't speak French," their level is way too low. (Participant 7, Salima)*

*Immigrants, everywhere, everywhere... There are a lot of them, from many races, but too many of them! Before, there weren't so many people... I don't know, their country might be empty! Personally, I say we should help them, help them in their country of origin, help the country that doesn't go too well. Because if we host everyone... we are going to enter a war for sure! (Participant 5, Nabila)*

*There are people who do not deserve to get the permit, some people don't deserve it. [...] Believe me, there are a lot of illegal immigrants who would show me their passports, others show me their residence permits, some give me their French ID. That's when I want to cry over these two extremes. They have the French citizenship, and they can't even speak French? You've been here for years and years and you don't even know how to speak French? No relation, no respect for me, only their spitefulness. I say "But why? I'm better than them! A thousand times! My God, my God". It makes me sick. (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*I'm wondering why they are coming. I don't understand. To have so many deaths... Too many soldiers died [in the war] ... And then they are coming to France... I don't understand. I am disgusted. I'm ashamed to be French because of the governments that are letting this to happen. [...]*

*We should sort them out because there are people who do not need help. Some of them come, they don't have a job. We need to pay for them... We don't have money for that. They haven't worked in their lives, we can't pay. We stop everything. We should stop the accommodation grant. If you don't work, you don't get the grants. That's what I want. But France isn't capable of doing so. (Participant 14, Josiane)*

From the narratives above, one can see that even if the participants feel they deserve to be in France, they also feel that many others like them do not. On the one hand, according to the participants, factors such as their proficiency in French and their willingness to integrate the country by working, not causing any trouble, and having a child born on French soil entitled them to ask for a work or residence permit. These criteria correspond to some of those highlighted by the Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (2011:29-30) in order to deliver French citizenship to immigrants. On the other hand, they acknowledge the enormous number of immigrants in

France and also criticise the fact that so many of them can see themselves granted a French ID through marriage or other means, but will not speak a word of French even after they have spent years in the country.

Participants such as **Yasmine** and **Josiane** felt cheated and envious towards recent immigrants while they are still struggling to live a decent life. French proficiency also plays a big part in people's integration as this is in most cases the only language used at work. As **Nadjia** testifies, those who cannot speak French cannot easily access their rights either. In that sense, people's capabilities are restrained by their lack of language proficiency. Finally, **Josiane** underlined the possible negative consequences of France's government grants, such as the accommodation grant but also the State Medical Aid as underlined by Régnard (2006:31), that might not entice people to look for a job. Furthermore, there are participants like **Yasmine, Salima and Nadjia** who want to work and integrate themselves, but do not receive the necessary papers. Not being eligible for a visa also prevents them from reaching their full potential in France and using their capabilities adequately.

### ***Providing work permits***

When asked about what would help improve immigrants' conditions in France, most participants had a second answer following the one above. The participants underlined that both being selected as immigrant and being granted the right to work were also crucial.

*Even if I had government grants, I wouldn't count on it, I like working. The possibility to contribute, especially since they [the immigrants] are here, they are in France, so why not giving them the possibility to work? (Participant 12, Nesrine)*

*I told an old French lady, a friend of mine, I see her quite often, I told her I don't ask for anything, I just want to work, take care of kids, be a housemaid, cook for a family. I said, "my God, how are these people doing?" They found a job, my husband had a job as a welder but everywhere he goes they are asking for his visa. Anywhere he goes he's told, "welders are in demand, but Sir, you need a working visa." However, there are people working illegally but my husband and I, we couldn't get an undeclared work because they only employ people they know. (Participant 8, Yasmine)*

*What shocks me is work, because there isn't work even for those who have a permit. It is hard to live without a job, especially when you have children. [...]*

*He [her husband] doesn't have any craftsmanship, and you need to be a craftsman to work illicitly and because he is not, that's why... we have difficulties! If we had the papers, he could have worked as a security agent. (Participant 3, Leila)*

From the narratives above, one can see that the main request from participants is to receive the papers to permit them to work and stay in France. It is of course complicated, as the delivery of work permits depends on laws and favours citizens of the Schengen Area (Schengen Visa Info, 2018). However, according to the participants, the work permit is the most important thing to them. As Noiriel (2006:X) and Beauchemin, Hamel, Lesné & Simon (2010:2) explain, the integration of Maghrebin people in France is usually accompanied by socio-economic difficulties, as well as discrimination and deprivation. Because the immigrants do not have access to the same opportunities as French native citizens in terms of jobs, housing, education, their capacity to reach their full potential is therefore affected. Furthermore, low resources of North African communities in France, discrimination in access to the job market, and weakly organised relational networks can lead to deprivation (Safi, 2008:28). According to Sen (1999:94), “unemployment has many far-reaching effects other than loss of income, including psychological harm, loss of work motivation, skill and self-confidence, an increase in ailments and morbidity (and even mortality rates), disruption of family relations and social life, hardening of social exclusion and accentuation of racial tensions and gender asymmetries.” As work gives not only money, but also dignity and possibility to access new opportunities and improve life conditions, it is inherent to the capabilities approach for people to reach their full potential and contribute positively to the society (Sen, 1999:5).

#### **4.3.6.2. Youth**

##### ***Educational programmes***

When asked about what was needed in the community, the participants answered that youth was at risk and needed special attention.

*I have noticed there are kids who were born here, from Algerian ascendance, who were born here in France, some of them – not all of them– some have a behaviour that leave a lot to be desired. It's not about the parents, I have tried to understand whether it is the parents or the education, or the surroundings or maybe it is some kind of rebellion, or I don't know. It is like some revenge. I told myself maybe they think French people have negative prejudice about Algerians. Not all of them, but*

*for some, the fact that French people see them this way, they revolt. They become mean, they become aggressive. (Participant 6, Nour)*

*They are young people who haven't learned to think much, they aren't very cultivated intellectually, but also in their reason. They don't learn from their mistakes. According to some of them, they need to be the big shot of the neighbourhood. For others, it's lost anyway for them so why should they change? This is this feeling of failure they have. I talk to some of them "why do you still steal things?" "Well I don't wanna work for 1,500€ per month." It's a common answer for them, it's normal. "But you don't have any degree, any diploma. 1,500€ is well-paid for someone who hasn't done anything." But no, they want that amount of money per day! They stand by it, so here are the alternative solutions: stealing, drugs. (Participant 2, Djamel)*

*This generation is screwed; we can't fix it. What we really need to help them: Experienced teachers at school, homework assistance compulsory for everyone. [...] I wouldn't even let them have the choice, why? Because this is about the starting point, that's what makes the difference. (Participant 2, Djamel)*

*Because young people in my area, they spend all day long outside, they have groups and stuff. If there were mediators, community centres that would allow them to... I don't know, offer them to play table football table... or mediators that would take them in hand, they wouldn't be like this, outside. For example, telling them they are wasting their lives, they should resume their studies, do some internships... (Participant 4, Kenza)*

From the narratives above, one can see the possible struggle for children with an immigrant background. According to **Nour**, even though these children are already the second generation of immigrants in France, most of them born and bred in France exclusively, their identity might still be torn between their parents' culture and origins and France. This illustrates what Jayet (2016:113) says about the gap between the feeling of belonging and the feeling of acceptance amongst immigrants from Africa who seem to always feel more French than they feel being seen as French. This difference persists with the acquisition of nationality as well as among the second generation of immigrants (Ibid). Furthermore, the difficulties of achieving integration result from the interactions between education, opportunities in the job market, and housing,

which accentuate particularities or difficulties linked to the immigrants' origins (Bouvier, 2012:11). France has also been the theatre of many riots composed of second-generation immigrant youths, with underlying issues linked to the social and economic exclusion of immigrants (Algan, Dustmann, Glitz, & Manning, 2009:2).

According to **Djamel**, the youth does not get to experience life entirely from the closed space of their sink estate, and especially refers to the value of work. Wihtol de Wenden (2011:21) also underlines that equality is the French Republican value to which, according to survey and fields studies, French young people from an immigrant background are strongly attached. These young people who attend the public republican schools feel essentially French, even though they might have two citizenships, but do not feel like they have equal access to the same values (Ibid). According to Duprez (1997:78), Maghrebin youth in France feel excluded from the job market, and are therefore *dis-affiliated*. As far as these young people are concerned, their ethnic origins, the poor reputation of their suburbs, or failure at school are obstacles to their entry into active life (Ibid). Thus, “living from undeclared work or illicit activities such as drug dealing is the only way for them to reach the lifestyle promised by the public-school system” (Ibid).

As **Djamel** also explained, they were never taught the value of work or money, and inherited the worst schools, young inexperienced teachers, and lacked role models. This situation threatens the Republic because of the creation of a widening phenomenon of *negative citizenship*, created by the feeling of being excluded from both the job market and the national community (Duprez, 1997:78). As suggested by participants, including **Djamel and Kenza**, holistic educational programmes could help them to find their path and reach their potential as active citizens in their country, France. This would include support for homework, internships, first jobs, innovative schools with experienced teachers and – above all – programmes that would help develop a feeling of belonging to the national community. Therefore, they could start to really feel that the country they live in is also their country; a place they have a say in, can contribute to and they should deploy their talents to serve the community. That support could have a positive impact on their capabilities as it would empower them to make informed choices regarding their opportunities and choices in life (Robeyns, 2005:94).

#### **4.4. Critical discussion and conclusion**

Our study brings to light not only new empirical elements on the settlement process and its correlates, but also on the interdependency of different dimensions: legal status, employment, housing issues, self-esteem, autonomy, discrimination, and access to services are deeply connected in individual trajectories of integration (Gosselin et al, 2018:869). As Zehraoui (1996:238) and De Laforcade (2006:220) explain, France and Algeria have a distinct

relationship based on war and colonialism that has deeply affected the development of Algeria. This has been a major factor in Algerians moving to France to seek a better life, as noted by Algan, Dustmann, Glitz, & Manning (2009:4). However, the circumstances in France are far from being ideal: unemployment, sink estates, poverty, etc. According to the participants' testimonies, immigrants suffer many problems and face disadvantages. They live in poor communities with a high incidence of violence and risks to safety, as underscored by Safi (2008:28). The participants explained how single-mother family life, intra-community racism and limited social contact have impacted their well-being. These conditions affect their capabilities and lead to social exclusion as per the theories of Sen (1999) and Ward (2009). Despite these circumstances, and the challenges they face, the participants saw positive aspects to living in France: access to medical care and quality hospitals, as well as education, were highly valued. It seems therefore important for the government to support the immigrants and their families, in order to improve their quality of life. In doing so, their capabilities would be enhanced which would assist them in achieving their potential and contributing positively to their communities and the host economy.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

This chapter introduced the experiences of integration of Algerian immigrants in the city of Marseille from their point of view. This chapter introduced the participants as well as the discussion of findings according to the research questions and themes derived from the data analysis. The next chapter will introduce the conclusion of this work and provide recommendations to policy maker for future research.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents the main conclusions emanating from findings linked to the objectives discussed, and recommendations to policy makers and for future research.

### **5.2. Summary of the Major Findings**

#### **5.2.1 To understand Algerian immigrants' experiences of integration into French society**

The findings have demonstrated that as much as the participants feel discriminated against, whether because of their religion, handicap, or culture, most of the participants still see themselves integrated into French society. The participants acknowledged the fact that they had an idealised vision of France prior to their coming and integration. Whilst they are facing difficulties on a daily basis that they were not expecting; they still have a deep feeling of admiration for the country in which they have chosen to live, and a desire to succeed. Participants have, however, shown resentment and disillusionment about their settling in France. While the participants thought they would live amongst French natives and experience their culture, they actually ended up in poor, deprived, as well as cosmopolitan neighbourhoods. These districts are home to many immigrants from African countries, which the participants reportedly struggle to live with. This paradoxical experience of disillusionment and admiration for France can be explained by the over idealised version the participants heard about France back in Algeria, and the westernised image they imagine about France being the country of luxury and comfortable lifestyles.

#### **5.2.2. To determine how Algerian immigrants cope with living in economically and socially disadvantaged areas**

The findings have demonstrated the difficulties for Algerian immigrants to adequately function within their neighbourhood. The participants experience deprivation in terms of financial well-being, and housing conditions characterised by small and unsafe accommodation. The participants also have large families and face a lack of financial means. Furthermore, the interrelations within the neighbourhood are impacted by the issue of safety – mainly drug dealing and gangs that affect the peace of the neighbourhood – and the disruptions within families and friends. The point that stands out most is the prevalence of racism amongst the Algerian community. The participants were surprised to see that most discrimination came from people who were originally from their country, but who had lived in France for a while already.

### **5.2.3. To understand how the disadvantages of living in these areas affect their choices in life**

The findings have demonstrated that poverty, deprivation and immigration status have an impact on the participants' unemployment and families. While the reasons that pushed the participants to leave Algeria are mostly health- and work-related, they still struggle to find work because of their illegal status. Not having a work permit holds them in deprived situations that result in single-mother families most of the time, due to divorce, or because the husbands stay back in Algeria for work. The feeling of loneliness is prevalent amongst the women interviewed. However, the participants pay tribute to France for their free access to high-quality healthcare, including access to hospitals. Mainly because of that, the participants do not regret their choice to come to France. The findings have demonstrated that the circumstances have had varied levels of impact on the participants' opportunities. While most women interviewed highlighted their new sense of freedom since they had moved to France, they tended to regret that their freer way of being was not followed by Algerian men too, who tended to reproduce the same conservative traditions from their former countries. Women have underlined their capacity to make choices and have compared women's status in Algeria and women's status in France, even though the weight of culture might still be heavy on some of them. However, these circumstances also brought about hardship, such as struggling to find support to get a job, which seems impossible because of the participants' illegal status.

### **5.2.4. To ascertain the ways in which these conditions affect the self-perception and the identity formation of Algerian immigrants**

The findings have also demonstrated that the circumstances of living have an influence on self-perception and aspirations. The participants' immigration did not lead them to denying their origins. While they feel integrated in France, they however do not see themselves as being French. Just because immigrants may have acquired dual citizenship, does not mean they automatically choose France over Algeria. The majority of participants still pictured Algerian citizenship as being their first identity. Furthermore, it is worth noting that cultural identity and religious identity are very much intertwined for the participants. While they do not see it as an issue living as Muslims in France, the participants do tend to oppose the French and Muslims both on cultural and religious levels, even though the French State is secular. The experience of immigration also greatly affected them, and most of the participants see themselves as brave and kind. Lastly, they all prioritise their families: their children's schooling and success are seen as the main aspirations that result from the choice they made to leave their country.

### **5.2.5. To ascertain how these circumstances affect immigrants' opportunities in life and their integration into France**

The findings have demonstrated that the participants see their life opportunities and integration in France quite paradoxically. On the one hand, their illegal status prevents them from having access to job opportunities and from living as French persons in France. On the other hand, free healthcare access and free access to education for their children might bring about other opportunities, and most of them already define themselves as being part of two countries, France and Algeria, which are interesting signs of an emerging adherence to French culture. As the participants underline, a big part of life opportunities and integration lies in the everyday choices they make about the kind of life they want to live in France, and their resilience in this context of multiple deprivation.

### **5.2.6. To ascertain the kind of social priorities needed for Algerian immigrants to live the type of life they would value**

The findings have demonstrated that changes in immigration procedures and educational programmes for the youth are pointed out as being social priority needs by the participants. The majority of the participants have asked for a better selection of immigrants, based on merit and adaptation to France than on legal avenues, such as marriage. Furthermore, the participants have recommended easier ways for those who really want to work to get a work permit to be able to stay in France and earn money legally. In addition, they regret the lack of educational programmes, activities and support for the youth with an immigrant background living in their neighbourhood. The attraction of gangs and drugs, as well as the resentment the youth might feel towards France, do not help them to continue their studies, find jobs and become active citizens in their new country.

## **5.3. Recommendations**

Based on this study and its findings overall, the following recommendations are proposed:

- Policy makers need to effectively manage immigration to support immigrants who want to live up to French values and try to be integrated in their new country.
- The State needs to support policymakers in facilitating the integration of immigrants into French society so they can access their rights and know their duties as citizens. This could include cultural awareness classes for newcomers, activities and projects between immigrants and French natives, as well as having facilitated access to the French culture,

museums, history, etc.

- Support should be given to immigrants to explore possibilities and solutions for them to lead the life they value in France.
- Breaking down the real or psychological barriers of the sink estates are essential to a two-way settlement process where not only immigrants get to have social contact with French natives, but also where French citizens go into the sink estates to contribute socially and economically.
- The reasons and consequences of immigration ought to be studied in France with the view to supporting policies' adjustments in regard to immigrant communities.
- Focus should be placed on the youth as they are the next generation who will provide for their families and their communities. From an early age, the youth could have access to high-quality education, educational support, cultural activities and holiday programmes. Such policies would help them to escape the deprivation of their sink estates to discover France as a country that is theirs as much as native French people's. These educational programmes need to include support for the acquisition of the French language, tutors, role models, as well as partnerships between public and private entities (companies, businesses, etc.).
- Increasing police presence will not resolve the problem of drugs, as the gangs are the main owners of the economy within the neighbourhood by their bringing in money. However, by ensuring that young people do not join the gangs through giving them knowledge about opportunities in terms of education and schooling, one provides, perhaps, the best way to stop crime-related activities and improve the overall conditions of living in the neighbourhood.
- Adult education should not be forgotten: night-classes for adults who would like to obtain their French diplomas or learn French should be made available and affordable for everyone, as well as basic teaching about parental skills, drug prevention, health services.
- Above all, government should provide more support to spaces such as *La Maison des Familles* to expand in the mentioned immigrant neighbourhood to create safe places where people and families meet, fight loneliness and isolation, create social networks, support and help each other while integrating into French society. The government could also provide support to school networks such as *Espérance banlieues* that are creating schools for immigrant children that focus on high-quality education, interpersonal skills and cultural knowledge, citizenry courses, as well as parental support and guidance to help entire families navigate their new life in France and

prevent school dropouts.

#### **5.4. Recommendations for future research**

- Investigations into social problems and violence in the Maghrebin communities of northern neighbourhoods in Marseille are needed to address issues like drugs and gangsterism.
- Investigations into the schools, interviews of teachers and other service suppliers in the area are needed to understand the situation of the youth in terms of education and their opportunities and how to adequately support immigrant children and teenagers.
- Investigation amongst young people born in France with an immigrant background ought to take into account the dynamics of resentment, rejection towards France, identity, and life aspirations, as well as what could help youth personal development and positive citizenry.
- A comparative study between new Algerian immigrants settling in, and older Algerian generations settled in France about racism within their community.
- A mixed-method study on the experiences of Algerian immigrants in France to understand their lived realities in greater depth.

#### **5.5. Conclusion**

This dissertation explored the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society. This research was conducted due to the lack of research on the question of North-African immigration on a subjective level in general, and in the Algerian community, specifically. This research study aimed to provide a better understanding of immigration and how conditions of living can affect people's capabilities and integration into a community. This research also reported the kind of policies that should be implemented according to individuals' views and experiences of shortage. This paper explained that Algerian immigrants in the northern neighbourhood of Marseille experienced deprivation in terms of money, safety, social contact, and jobs. This paper notably underlined a paradoxical experience of disillusionment and admiration for France. Parallel to that, the participants reported a sense of inferiority when it came to comparing themselves to French people, or to comparing France to Algeria. While surprising, this inferiority can be linked to the weight of colonialism and the global vision of France. Furthermore, the participants seem to have left a violent and poor society to join a new violent and insecure environment in the sink estates of France. While the participants still have dreams for their future, they have, however, lost hope regarding the communities they live in, especially given the discrimination and racism they face within them.

This situation has a negative impact on the participants' life choices and opportunities, as well as integration. Thus, the participants feel ambivalent about their citizenship, and this ambivalence seems to be experienced from one generation to the next, with increasing resentment growing towards France, but also a sense of rejection from Algeria. Despite policies and legislation in favour of improving their conditions, better implementation of these policies is needed. Such policies would assist in meeting the needs of Algerian immigrants living in the northern suburbs of Marseille, where educational programmes for the youth, as well as support to get a job are identified as priorities. Integration and people's capabilities are not only understood in terms of opportunities in life and life choices but also in terms of an identity-formation process. The paradox revealed by this paper is the feeling the participants have of being integrated into French society, yet the impossibility of their identifying themselves as French, and the contradictions they observe between their religion and their new country. The existence of racism within the Algerian community should be more deeply researched in order to understand the dynamics and relationships between older generations and new generations living in France. In all, this dissertation has provided unique insights into the experiences of Algerians in France at different levels, and in so doing has made an important contribution to the literature in this field.

## **Appendix 1: Editing certificate**

Frances Aron  
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8/8/2021

This serves to confirm that the document entitled:

**‘A qualitative exploration of the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French Society’**

by

**Student: Albane Thiollet**

**THLALB001**

has been edited professionally on behalf of its author.

## Appendix 2: Consent form

# UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



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**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**  
*FACULTÉ D'HUMANITÉS*  
*DÉPARTEMENT DE DÉVELOPPEMENT SOCIAL*

**REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATION & CONSENT FORM**  
*DEMANDE DE PARTICIPATION & FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT*

**Date:**

**Name of Researcher / *Nom du chercheur*:** Albane Thiollet

**Student number / *N° étudiant*:** THLALB001

This research forms part of the qualification for a Master's in Social Science degree in the Department of Social Development at the University of Cape Town

*Cette recherche entre dans le cadre de la qualification pour une Maîtrise en Sciences Sociales au sein du Département de Développement Social de l'Université du Cap.*

**Title of Study / *Titre de la recherche*:**

A qualitative exploration of factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society.

*Une exploration qualitative des facteurs affectant les capacités et l'intégration des immigrants algériens au sein de la société française.*

**Objectives of the Study / *Objectifs de l'étude*:**

- To determine how Algerian immigrants cope with living in economically and socially disadvantaged areas / *Déterminer comment les Algériens font face dans des quartiers économiquement et socialement défavorables*
- To understand how do these disadvantages affect their choices in life / *Comprendre comment cette position désavantageuse affecte les choix qu'ils posent au cours de leur vie*
- To understand how their immigrant background affect their choices in life / *Comprendre comment leur histoire d'immigrés affectent leur choix*

- To ascertain the ways in which these conditions affect the self-perception and the identity formation of Algerian immigrants / *Établir les différentes manières dont ces conditions affectent la perception personnelle et la formation identitaire des immigrants algériens*
- To determine the ways in which these disadvantages affect immigrants' opportunities in life and their integration in France / *Déterminer les différentes manières dont ces inconvénients affectent les opportunités et l'intégration des immigrants en France*
- To ascertain the kind of social priorities needed for Algerian immigrants to live the type of life they would value / *Établir le type de priorités sociales dont les immigrants algériens ont besoin pour vivre la vie qu'ils souhaiteraient*

Please read the following and sign if you agree to participate in this study.  
*Merci de lire le paragraphe suivant et de signer si vous acceptez de participer à cette recherche.*

**Research Procedures:** I understand that I will be participating in an interview process to explore factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society. The interview will last approximately one hour and will be recorded with your permission using a digital recorder. The recording will be transcribed and the notes, the recorded information and the transcripts will be kept in a secure place. Once the research has been completed, this material will only be used for academic purposes and the transcripts will be destroyed.

*Procédure: Je comprends que je participe à une procédure d'entretien afin d'explorer les facteurs affectant les capacités et l'intégration des immigrants algériens au sein de la société française. L'entretien durera à peu près une heure et sera enregistrée électroniquement avec votre permission. L'enregistrement sera ensuite transcrit et les notes, les informations enregistrées et les transcriptions gardées dans un endroit sûr. Une fois la recherche complétée, ce matériel sera uniquement utilisé pour des fins académiques et les transcriptions seront détruites.*

**Risks and Harm:** There are no foreseen risks or harm in participating in this research. However, in the event of any emotional distress of a participant, the researcher will make a referral for appropriate assistance.

*Risques et Préjudices: Il n'y a aucun risque ou préjudice prévu à la participation à cette recherche. Cependant, en cas de détresse émotionnelle de la part du participant, le chercheur le ou la dirigera vers les services d'assistance appropriés.*

**Benefits/Incentives:** I understand that this research will not benefit me directly and that I will not be paid for agreeing to do this interview. However, through my participation, the information gathered will provide important information on the experience of integration and deprivation by Algerian immigrants in France.

*Bénéfices / Avantages : Je comprends que cette recherche ne me profitera pas directement et que je ne serai pas payé(e) pour avoir accepté de participer à cet entretien. Cependant, à travers ma participation, les informations rassemblées vont fournir d'importantes informations sur l'expérience des immigrants algériens à propos de l'intégration et de la précarité en France*

**Participant's Rights:** I understand that I am free to withdraw from participating in this study at any time, without giving any reason and that there are no consequences should I decide not to participate at any stage.

*Droits du Participant : Je comprends que je suis libre d'annuler ma participation à cette étude à tout moment, sans donner d'explications et qu'il n'y aura aucune conséquence si je décide d'arrêter de participer à n'importe quelle étape.*

**Confidentiality:** I understand that the interview process will be kept strictly confidential and that information will be available to the researcher and the supervisor. Extracts from the interviews will be included in the final research report without anyone being able to link my quotes to my identity. The final report will be examined by an external examiner and the findings will be made available to participating agencies. Under no circumstances will my name be revealed in the report or any other publications related to this research.

*Confidentialité : Je comprends que cette procédure d'entretien sera gardée strictement confidentielle et que les informations seront rendues accessibles au chercheur et à son responsable académique. Des extraits de l'entretien seront inclus au rapport final de recherche sans que personne ne puisse lier ma citation à mon identité. Le rapport final sera examiné par un examinateur extérieur and les conclusions seront rendues accessibles aux agences participantes. Mon nom ne sera révélé sous aucune circonstance dans le rapport ou toute autre publication en lien avec cette recherche.*

I understand that if at any time I would like any additional information about this research, I can contact the research supervisor, Dr. Somaya Abdullah telephonically at 021 650-4219 or by email at [somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za](mailto:somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za)

*Je comprends que – si je souhaite une quelconque information supplémentaire à propos de cette recherche – je peux contacter le responsable académique de la recherche, Dr. Somaya Abdullah, via téléphone au +27 021 650 4219 ou par email à [somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za](mailto:somaya.abdullah@uct.ac.za)*

**I confirm that I have read this consent form or researcher has read it to me and that the study has been explained to me. I voluntarily participate in this study**

*Je confirme avoir lu ce formulaire de consentement ou que le chercheur me l'a lu et que la recherche m'a été expliquée. Je participe volontairement à cette étude.*

---

**Signature of Participant**  
*Signature du participant*

---

Date (dd/mm/yyyy)  
*Date (jj/mm/aaaa)*

---

**Signature of Researcher**  
*Signature du chercheur*

---

Date (dd/mm/yyyy)  
*Date (jj/mm/aaaa)*

### Appendix 3: Coding table

THEMES	CATEGORIES	SUB-CATEGORIES
A - Experience of integration	A1 - Reasons for immigration	A1a - Social and health services
		A1b - Employment & Work opportunities
		A1c - Freedom
	A2 - Practical experience of immigration	A2a - Positive feelings about integration
		A2b - Facing discrimination
	A3 - Experience of living in France	A3a - Difficulties
		A3b - Admiration
		A3c - Disillusion
	B - Functioning within social and economically disadvantaged communities	B1- Socio-economic circumstances
B1b - Financial problems		
B2 - Intra-community relations		B2a - Limited social contact
		B2b - Safety and violence
		B2c - Racism within the Algerian community
C - Effects of circumstances on life choices and opportunities	C1 - Poor prospects	C1a - Legal status and work visa
	C2 - Family life	C2a - Challenges of single-mother family life
		C2b - Women's status
D- Effects of immigration on identity formation	D1 - Self-perception	D1a - Conflicting feelings about citizenship
		D1b - Resilience
		D1c - Religious practices and values
	D2 - Aspirations	D2a - Children's education and success
E- Community needs	E1 - Immigration	E1a - Selection of immigrants
		E1b - Providing work permits
	E2 - Youth	E2a - Educational programmes

**Appendix 4: Interview example translated from French to English: Participant 2 – Djamel (Male, 40 y.o.). 36'35.**

Interviewer: Good evening, my name is Albane Thiollet, I am a student at the University of Cape Town and I am conducting research on the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society. I just wanted to remind you that your participation is voluntary, that it is anonymous, confidential, that the interviews are audio-recorded, but that you have the possibility to stop at any time... and uh even after. Erm... there are no right or wrong answers, the idea is really to have your opinion on your personal experience here in France. I... so I just need some demographic information. Uh, what's your name?

Respondent: *Djamel*.

Interviewer: All right, how old are you?

Respondent: Almost 40.

Interviewer: Your gender?

Respondent: Male.

Interviewer: Your marital status?

Respondent: Married.

Interviewer: Uh, your family composition?

Respondent: With two children.

Interviewer: All four of you live in the same house?

Respondent: In the same house.

Interviewer: Very well. What is your level of education? The last diploma you have obtained?

Respondent: Bachelor.

Interviewer: 3 years of higher education. Uh, do you have a job?

Respondent: Yes, private nurse.

Interviewer: Private nurse. Where were you born?

Respondent: Marseille.

Interviewer: Marseille. And uh... but of Algerian parents?

Respondent: Er

Interviewer: Of Algerian parents?

Respondent: Algerian parents: my father was born abroad; my mother was born in France but also of Algerian origin.

Interviewer: All right, when did... do you know when did your family arrive in France?

Respondent: My grandfather on my father's side arrived before the events of 1962, he must have arrived in the 1950s. And uh my grandmother I think in the 70s on my mother's side.

Interviewer: OK so after the... after the war.

Respondent: After Algeria's independence.

Interviewer: After the independence of Algeria. Um, so have you... how long have you lived in this neighbourhood?

Respondent: I lived in the neighbourhood from 0 to 21 years old.

Interviewer: mmh mmh

Respondent: Erm after I got married, I left, I went to live in Gardanne, a town not very far from Marseille. I came back to Marseille in the northern sector, and I stayed there until I was 37, it's been three years since I moved... Two years since I moved.

Interviewer: OK, um you've told me about your job... Now, do you have a religion?

Respondent: yes, Muslim and practising

D1c

Interviewer: practising Muslim, very good. Erm what did you... what did you hope for when you came back here to the uh to the northern districts?

Respondent: what I hoped for, not much, let's say that I thought that in relation to my professional activity that the... that Marseille being cut in two, I really thought that the situation where people needed help the most was in the so-called poor areas, and you have to know that the 3rd *arrondissement* of Marseille is one of the poorest neighbourhoods in Europe. So, I was very concerned about this, and having grown up in the northern districts, I knew that there were many people experiencing difficulty and therefore a lot of potential work for me as a liberal nurse. And that's what called me to work in the northern sector of Marseille. Now in relation to my activity I would say that I do all of Marseille, north and south.

A3

Interviewer: Okay.

Respondent: Because I'm a specialist nurse.

Interviewer: Mmh mmh. Do you know the reasons that pushed your parents or your family to come to France at the time?

Respondent: uh economic I think, uh my grandfather uh was the father of almost I think 16 or 17 children and so there's... they all stayed in Algeria with my grandmother. He had come alone to immigrate, to work and to send his children a snack. One day, he got a place to live and then they arrived, he repatriated his family. So, my aunts and uncles and my grandmother arrived. He worked at Haribo until the end, he was working at the candy factory. He worked until he retired and, um, he brought up all his children so, um, I think that on my father's side it was economic. On my mother's side, it was also economic but, um, I think that my grandmother... because my grandfather on my mother's side went back to live in Algeria, so my grandmother was the only one who stayed afterwards on my mother's side. She remarried and started her life again.

A1b

Interviewer: ok, are there things you like here in the neighbourhood?

Respondent: what I like is the people

Interviewer: mmh

Respondent: and the people because they don't have anything, and what they have they share with you. So, I have patients in relation to my activity in the southern sector, which is rather posh, very

well off. But they have everything, but they have no humanity. In other words, they don't share anything with you, they hardly discuss anything with you, you're only there for the care and they make you feel it right away. The difference in the northern sector is that we come to provide care, but we also take part in family life, we can help with homework as well as with money. There are patients who don't have any money, so we go shopping for them because the fridge is empty and taking care of a patient is more than just care, it's also about seeing what's wrong with them on a psychological, social and economic level. So, it's clear that in this sector we are much more fulfilled because there are many more requests, and the southern sector is different.

Interviewer: OK, what don't you like about these areas here?

Respondent: the violence

Interviewer: mmh

Respondent: the violence is... it's something that's latent

B2b

Interviewer: mmh

Respondent: Marseille, the northern sector and even a little in the southern sector. So you always have to... be measured. That the generations have changed, it's even more violent than before. At the time, there were still big brothers, those we called "big brothers", meaning that there were things that were not done because the big brothers were on our backs. There's no longer this, um, this barrier... Now young people aged 12-13 are already violent and, um, they have no limits with the increase in drug use, such as cannabis and a lot of cocaine. Cocaine, the price of cocaine has fallen sharply, so it's more accessible, and in relation to society, how they want to represent themselves: they use it to "be fashionable".

B2b

Interviewer: Right. Even among the very young?

Respondent: Even among the very young. And what is frightening in these neighbourhoods is that, as they don't have all their faculties, both intellectual and physical, due to drug consumption, they can quickly go off the deep end, which is why all these accounts' settlements, all these problems in the Marseille housing estates, are also due to drugs.

B2b

Interviewer: mmh

B1b

Respondent: there's, there's the economic and social fact: poverty, difficulties, single-parent families, the absence of the father is a big part of it, there's the fashion effect, the influence of the "and why him and why not me?". And then there are the drugs that accentuate all that. So, um, that's what's dangerous, even if you're in Marseille, because you know that at any moment it can quickly go away.

B2b

C2a

Interviewer: mmh.

Respondent: So you have to stay calm, you have to stay zen and always defuse, always defuse, never raise your voice higher than the others because it doesn't stop. These are people who have not learned to think much, they are not very well educated both intellectually and in reason. They don't learn from their mistakes; they constantly reproduce them.

B2b

Interviewer: and that's... do you have any idea what it's due to or...?

Respondent: I think it's... according to some people, I would say in the housing estates, you have to be the big shot, you are better seen when you are a gang leader. And according to other people, um anyway "it's done for us, so it won't change, why should we change? It's this feeling of failure that they have, they say to themselves... so I spoke with young people, simple examples, "why do you continue to steal? "I don't want to work for 1500€ a month". These are classic answers, for them it's normal. "But you don't have any degree, you don't have a diploma, 1500€ is still a good salary for someone who hasn't done anything". No, no, they want it per day! It's certain that to earn 1500€ per day with the low level of education they have, it's going to be difficult. And that, for them, is not an option, so alternative solution: theft, drugs.

E2

Interviewer: Only easy money.

Respondent: Easy money, so there are several types of trafficking going on in Marseille. In Marseille it's well known, there is bank card trafficking because for them it's used as a theft which, for them, is not violent, so for them they steal the bank, they don't even feel like stealing from someone because for them they steal the bank. One day a friend of mine said to me, "I don't care, I didn't hurt her because I took her card, it's not her. I'm not doing anything to her because she's been reimbursed. They even know the procedures: "but in less than a month she will be reimbursed on her account" so they don't even feel guilty anymore! And this notion is said but finally as there are no more limits and they never feel guilty, it can go very far.

B2b

Interviewer: Do you feel other tensions in the neighbourhoods here?

Respondent: Tensions uh? family tensions.

Interviewer: mmh.

Respondent: The network war, the families are at war here. There are families - I won't say the names - but there are families that are at war because the nephew was killed by so-and-so and it's every time there's one that gets out of prison it's to avenge his uncle his cousin. So there are whole families at war, gypsy families with North Africans, Comorian families with North Africans, North Africans with French. Everything is mixed up there!

B2b

Interviewer: Mmh.

Respondent: Everything is mixed up because there is a lot of money. The money in the estates is flowing freely because if there weren't consumers, there wouldn't be any sellers. You have to know that La Castellane is currently turning over between 40 and 50,000€ per day. That kind of money makes a lot of people envious, hence the merciless war. And whoever loses his place is replaced the next day by someone else, and when he leaves, he wants his place back. It's never-ending.

B2b

Interviewer: Mmh.

Respondent: Never-ending. And as no one is setting an example - including the police - with the stories of the BAC's wiretapping, it's passed, it's currently at the Palais de Justice, everyone is involved, and the lawyers are very happy. So all this means that, in the end, when you look at the system from above, you say that they're going to have trouble getting out of it.

Interviewer: Mmh, do you feel that there is also a difference between first-generation Algerians and those who have been here for several generations?

Respondent: Yes, yes. Uh, let's take my grandfather for example, who came, who worked very hard to feed his family, never said a word, was never convicted, never ... doesn't even know what the police station is, it's been work-home all his life. My father, a little more education, thanks to school and so he passed his diplomas, he does homework, likewise no problems with the justice system because of the concern to be integrated. The concern to integrate was important, because they had something in them that told them on a daily basis "we're not at home, so we have to take our place" and to do this it was through work. And when I see all my patients - Algerian or otherwise - every time it was the notion of work "ah but we never complained. Ah, but we worked". So the third generation is already starting to say "ah well, we're not going to do what grandpa and grandma did, we're not going to work like dogs, because we're not dogs, we were born here and we're French and we want the same as...". The discourse has changed because they want the same rights as the others, which is normal because they were born here and their language... There are some who haven't spoken Arabic for a long time, they don't even know their mother tongue anymore, for them their mother tongue is French and, er, this country is theirs. But sometimes there are real barriers, you have to get over them. Now when I see my son, another generation above us, we worked the same way, to try to rise socially and when I see my son having his interviews with his teacher and all that, I see that it's evolving, that it's evolving for the best, it's evolving when you get to work. It's always the same, it's possible, there's a great many people from the Algerian community, because we talk about them, who succeed: who are doctors, who are physiotherapists, who are nurses, who are lawyers, we don't talk about them much. That's what's sad, it's that as soon as you turn on the TV and talk about Marseille, and the northern sector of Marseille, it's always about drugs, settling of scores and the housing estates. Whereas I'm a child of the housing estate, and all my friends have a diploma, they all work, they have restaurants, and we're going to talk about the 2% who are causing trouble in the housing estate, that's what's sad, and we have to turn things around, i.e. we mustn't be afraid to go and look for talent, just as we were when we had Hamada Jambay, a player from the housing estate, who was in the city, who played for OM<sup>14</sup>, but there I mean, the cameras are pointed there, we have to see them when

A2a

A2b

D2a

A3c

<sup>14</sup> Olympic of Marseille football club

there is, when there is someone who does that activity I told you about earlier but... I don't know if you heard, sport-elec, it's a training thing, it was awarded a prize and we go from one room to another. I did my first session this morning and that's it, he's a talent from the cities but he's passionate about bodybuilding, passionate about sports, he's set up a machine, it's working well, so much the better, we should talk about it.

Interviewer: mmh mmh, so for you, what would have to be ... that's it, what could be changed to allow this 2%, um, who are making a mess of things, to succeed, to get out of it?

Respondent: um 2%, we need to disconnect them, that is to say, and it's multifactorial, we have a problem at school at the base. Uh, how did I see it? I saw that when I was at school, the teachers were much more severe and intransigent, and the follow-up with the parents was very present, we didn't get by. Today's teachers, because they were older, that's also a factor, only in the ZEP<sup>15</sup> zones or I don't know how, free zone or urbanisation zone... *zone d'éducation prioritaire*, they put young teachers, it's not adapted because it's little kids who have a lot of problems at home, and so when you put inexperienced teachers, they're not ready to face this public, you have to, you have to put everything already into the school, you have to put everything into the housing estates. That is to say, at the time, why didn't we do too many stupid things? Because we did a bit... why didn't we do too much? Because we were never in the city. I'll explain why, there were the social centres and the social centres - it's true that there was public money which was perhaps a bit wasted, it was at the time of Mitterand<sup>16</sup> - then we had activities every holiday: mountain biking, climbing, windsurfing, ... When we went mountain biking in the Alps, we went to the Camargue, so, apart from the weekend, during the week we were at school, and during the holidays we were outside the city. In the end, we didn't suffer from the city, those who were stupid, well in fact it was those who never moved! but those who were given the chance to move, who signed up like me thanks to the CAF<sup>17</sup> vouchers, the CAF gave us, with that we paid less for outings. But in the end, we didn't grow up in the city because every holiday we had an outing planned. "Have you signed up for the next camp?" "Oh yeah, we're going! We're going!" Finally it allowed us to dream. When we went skiing, well today I take lessons at the ESF<sup>18</sup> for my son, it costs a fortune. But for us at the time, it was unthinkable, it was just take your skis, go down the mountain as best you can! That's it, we couldn't afford it, because it's expensive! But on the other hand it got us out, it made us dream, we saw other young people who went to the ESF and who were very comfortable, wasn't it the clip of Gad Elmaleh<sup>19</sup> there with the blond guy<sup>20</sup>! And so I said "but me too when I grow up, I might have a chalet in the mountains, I might have my son who will be a blond! And then, it's true, we started to dream in fact... These young people don't dream anymore. They dream of things that are in front of them, but they haven't dreamed like we have. To say to themselves, "Well, we want to work, we want a flat, a car, we want to get married, we want to make a life for ourselves. And I think my colleagues all got out of it because in fact we had these, these breaks where in the city we couldn't be picked on by the bad guys, we couldn't. I remember one day he was in the city and he said to me, "I'm going to go to work". I remember one day a dealer told me to "go to the mailbox and fetch" and I went to fetch a piece of cannabis resin, it was a big piece of 2 or 3 kilos, so if the cops would catch us with it, we would have been fine. And we were naive, we were being used because... with hindsight I say to myself that he risked nothing because it was the kid who

E2a

E2a

B2b

<sup>15</sup> Priority Education Areas

<sup>16</sup> President of the French Republic from 1981 to 1995.

<sup>17</sup> Benefits / Welfare Office

<sup>18</sup> French Ski School

<sup>19</sup> Canadian-Moroccan humorist very famous in France

<sup>20</sup> The « blond guy » from Gad Elmaleh's comic show is this one person that everyone might know, who looks perfect and does everything so perfectly that you envy him just as much as you despise him.

went to get the package. That's what we have to avoid, that the kids get involved in it from early childhood! Because they get them at 10-11 years old!

Interviewer: mmh, yes it's young.

Respondent: That's quickly done! 150€ for a spotter, he works 10 days, that's 1500€, he earns more than his father! He's twelve years old, at 12 years old, he earns 1500€, more than his daddy, what for? To sit and shout a big "hara"<sup>21</sup>. Just for that, he earns 1500€, don't mess around, he has the scooter and the sandwich at lunchtime... but what authority will his dad have after? he has more... So we're breaking these young people, and these generations are screwed, we can't catch up with them. What we really need to help these children, so I talked about I told you about the school, experienced teachers, everything. Homework help, we talked about that. It's them... It's not even "are you going?", the whole ZEP zone, obligation to go and attend tutoring, OBLIGATION! I won't even give them the choice. Why not? Because the start is what makes us different. I'll give you the example of my son X, so I was in the 15th arrondissement and we're of several nationalities: Comorian, Turkish, Kurdish, etc. And I was getting ready, he was about to enter the 6th grade. I said, we'll put him in the fifth grade, I placed him into a private Catholic school on the other side of Marseille, a more upmarket area, and I saw his level. And I was stunned. The difference in level... but it's enormous!

E2a

A3c

Interviewer: between the private high school, the private school and...

Respondent: so private and public school, but it was huge! My son who was top of the class with a lot of respect, but he was a... a nobody! But the teacher she called me in every week. And I looked at his classmates, they're the same age, how come in fifth grade they have so much difference?! It's not possible! It's that over there, in the 15th *arrondissement*, there are 15 nationalities, the teacher spends two hours saying "sit down", so they haven't learned anything. And on the other side, generally it's the most well-off, so they all speak French, it's their mother tongue, and sometimes there are bilinguals, they speak English fluently. I can see that in my son's class, he's having trouble! Because there are some who are bilingual or even trilingual and he's there, he's at a loss... So in fact, he starts from downstairs but more than downstairs, he starts from the basement! It's hard to catch up afterwards! Fortunately, we had the time, and we had the sense to say "wait, we'll fight". Now he's at school, he's starting to catch up with the train, but the TGV is already well underway!

A3c

Interviewer: Mmh mmh.

Respondent: He's always running behind, one day or another he'll catch up. But I know that for the second one, I didn't take the risk.

D2a

Interviewer: You put her in a private school straight away?

D2a

<sup>21</sup> Safe word used to notify the gang about the police

Respondent: I put her straight away. Why did I do that? So that she would catch the car straight away, the others go quickly... So in the housing estates we put in TERs<sup>22</sup>, great... then we wait for what? For them to do what? And in the others, we put them on TGVs<sup>23</sup>. Oh, sure, they go faster! They'll go higher. The problem is the opposite: they have abilities. You have to put the TGV in the northern district and the TER in the southern district because they have a lot of catching up to do. And I'll even say that the number of teachers should be doubled, because when you have a class of Comorians, Ghanaians, Kurds, Turks, Algerians, Moroccans, and there's the whole immigrant condensation zone ... ah great, ah great the public in front of the teacher! I can imagine how the teacher does it, she must be tearing her hair out! Because the children are turbulent, you have to spend your time we have a lot, we have a lot of Kurds who have come for...

E2a

A3c

Interviewer: who came for?

Respondent: The construction sites!

Interviewer: Oh yes.

Respondent: At the moment, it's the cheapest labour, so they came with their families, the problem is that they don't speak French! And there it's, and there it's hard. So we have these young teachers, we launch them, we tell them "yes, in a ZEP you'll be paid a bit more". But it's not money they need, it's colleagues. They shouldn't be alone in the classroom; there should be two of them.

A1b

E2

Interviewer: Colleagues and experience?

Respondent: and experience! So concretely to find a solution, it's the school, it's the social centres like there you have *La Maison des Familles* but they need dozens of *Maisons des Familles*.

E2

Interviewer: mmh mmh. Yeah

Respondent: That's it, you have to catch one little boy at a time. You have to catch "what are you doing, what are you doing in prison, you've done your sh\*t, you've paid your debt, how long are you going to keep doing it? Because there are some when they came back but they are multi-recidivists. For them, prison is currently a walk in the park because they're going back. When they come back there, there's the TV, the Playstation, the friends have already done the shopping, the fridge is full, it's no longer a prison. There's not even the punishment part, in fact.

B2b

Interviewer: Mmh.

Respondent: Almost, you have to go there so that the others respect you!

<sup>22</sup> Regional trains reputed to be slow.

<sup>23</sup> National high-speed trains.

Interviewer: Mmh.

Respondent: There's a big problem, and this is the basis of our society. If we carry on like this, we close our eyes, we close our eyes, sooner or later people will be assaulted, robbed, burgled and sometimes home jacked... it's normal, we let them grow! So sooner or later, it will come to our door, it's not complicated. I see them in the housing estate where I am, they have plenty of cameras, but I told them "you can put the cameras... they are hungry, they are starving! You can put in 200 cameras! It's no use, they'll come anyway, because for them, the money is us.

B2b

Interviewer: Ok yes, the money is actually the people they can rob or ...

Respondent: That's it! They see us as money! In the house where I am, every time I tell them, I say - it's only old people - I tell them "but it's useless, it's useless, for them you're rich! But we just worked, we have nothing, we are not rich, we are not the rich! We're just hard-working people", but they don't see it that way. In their heads it's written "ah well we have to go and steal from them eh, we have to do something stupid".

B2b

Interviewer: Mmh for ...

Respondent: "Since the State doesn't want to give us money, we'll just go and get it".

Interviewer: So in fact the work ethic is something to be found for them, for ... ?

Respondent: Completely. Values, basics, respecting the elderly... A lot of things that have been lost, a lot of things! If I had free time, I would take a group of young people, because I am passionate about football and I would like to follow young people from a football team all year round, to give them values in addition to football.

E2a

Interviewer: Yes, because there is respect for the referee...

Respondent: Respect, respect for the referee and that's not all! "Will you come to the game on Sunday? I'll call your mother, have you done your homework? Show me, show me the report card. Oh, have your grades slipped? You won't play on Sunday." And now the kid is crying. Pressure tactics! They are passionate about football; they all want to be Zidane<sup>24</sup>! But here is the pressure tactic! "Do you like football? You come to training but you don't do your homework? You don't come to training anymore".

E2a

Interviewer: Yes, you have to find out what they actually like to work on...

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<sup>24</sup> Zinédine Zidane, famous French-Algerian football player.

Respondent: Exactly! You have to go to what they like, in their field and tell them "ah well you want to continue, there is no problem, your grades report! I remember when I was little, I had a very important match, I had not worked well. My father called the coach, he said "he's not coming", I cried my eyes out... I understood that if I didn't raise my grades, it was over. So I did the right thing. That's what you have to do: help the parents, help the parents, help the parents. Stop blaming them: a mother who lives alone with a 14-year-old boy who is 6 feet tall, she has a hard time, she has a hard time... And the kid hits her. It's not easy, it's not easy.

E2a

C2a

Interviewer: It's...complex.

Respondent: It's very complex, and we haven't even talked about the "nannies" and all the rest of it because in a family that keeps the cannabis at home because they can't pay the rent. It's not complicated, the dealers know it, they knock on the door "you keep this for me, I'll pay the rent".

B1b

Interviewer: Mmh.

Respondent: And they get into a spiral. [silence] It's multifactorial.

Interviewer: Really, that's it.

Respondent: It's multifactorial.

Interviewer: Because even the families eventually live off it?

Respondent: Families live off it, everyone is in it, everyone knows it, but everyone pretends that... it's unfortunate like when I see the trucks of CRS<sup>25</sup> now... But they know it! Everyone knows who is doing what. They stay parked, we wait, we stay parked for 12 hours, we stop the business. They leave, it starts again, and we come back the next day. It's really an inadequate response to the problem.

B1b

B2b

Interviewer: The police you say?

Respondent: The police is inappropriate. You want to break the traffic?

Interviewer: Make them want to do something else?

Respondent: Make them want to do something and stop. It's the consumers!

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<sup>25</sup> Riot police.

Interviewer: Yeah, so who are the consumers? Is it people from here or from Marseille?

Respondent: You've got people from here, from outside Marseille, uh from the southern sector, the posher people. They consume everything.

Interviewer: Mmh

Respondent: They consume everything and uh if there were no buyers, there would be no sellers, quite simply. It always comes back to that. After... trade in Marseille, when we go back to 2005, when it exploded in the housing estates, it didn't explode much in Marseille.

Interviewer: Mmh ?

Respondent: You know why? Money. The only thing that keeps us going is that. The big tycoons said "hop hop hop! Young people, don't move, because there is a lot of money at stake, I don't want to hear anyone moving".

Interviewer: And the big tycoons are from France itself or since...?

Respondent: Oh no, the big bosses are... it's all the Corsican mafia and everything, because everyone is involved in the mafia. It's a very good place to be. Marseille is the Corsican branch, it's a Corsican branch, they're pulling our strings here, between the prostitution networks of Eastern countries... Marseille is a... Marseille is sometimes like an Italian city, it's a bit like Naples. So everyone knows, in Marseille you mustn't talk because if you do, you can quickly get one bullet in the head.

B2b

Interviewer: mmh.

Respondent: Everyone knows! Everyone knows who says, everyone knows who does what, but you mustn't say anything. Because that's how it is, if you attack, you touch everyone because there is money. Where there's money, there's an economy, everyone wants a piece of the pie.

B2b

Interviewer: What do you think about all these new immigrants who don't expect that when they arrive in France?

Respondent: They think that France... So I have my cousins, I was there last summer, we were talking, they say "pff, find me a wife". So great, I tell them "what for?" "So that I can get the papers done, so that I can come". I said "but you don't understand, Algeria has oil, it has gas, it has gold... I don't understand, there is everything to do here! What do you want to do in a country where there are 6 million unemployed people, misery, violence? You're talking about Marseille,

A3b  
& c

you've never been there! You know Marseille through TF1<sup>26</sup>, Antenne 2 and France 2, that is to say TV, and you think you're going to meet a girl who's going to give you papers, and that the notion of love no longer has any value for you, and that France means living on RSA<sup>27</sup>! Because France gives money. I said "well, you really have a problem, I think you're not up to date at all, because it's much harder than that: life in France is expensive, life in France is hard, there are a lot of people who are struggling. But for them, they have the impression that here is the Eldorado.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: It's a disaster.

Interviewer: What built that image?

Respondent: The image comes from... It's not complicated, at the moment people live in certain cities with the fruit of their labour. So they save, they save, they save, they save the fruit of their labour and they go to Algeria and they buy a house because the exchange rate is currently 1 for 20. That is to say that for 1000€ we have the equivalent of 20 million Algerians... 20 million Algerians knowing that the median salary in Algeria is 3 million. 20 million is a lot of money. So when they arrive there, well, it's a bit of a breeze because 1000€ is normal for them, except that over there it's very, very rich. So what do they do there? They have a house, they take the wife, i.e. the housekeeper, to do the housework and all that, and they lead a golden life! So, those who are over there, they say to themselves "but he comes with the 4x4, he buys a house, he has the cleaning lady at home but what the hell is he doing in France? Whereas in France, what is he? He's a worker!"

A3b  
& c

Interviewer: Oh yes?

Respondent: Who has saved up, who has perhaps received his 2000€ per month, who has put his money aside year after year, and who has said to himself, well, here I am, I'm going to prepare for my retirement, I'm going to build a modern house, but instead of doing it in Les Deux-Alpes, he's going to do it in Algeria. Except that the exchange rate is more interesting in Algeria.

A3b  
& c

Interviewer: Mmh.

Respondent: 1 for 20 is enormous!

Interviewer: In fact, this is the image that Algerian expatriates have in Algeria?

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<sup>26</sup> TV channels.

<sup>27</sup> « Active Solidarity income » (government grant) equivalent to about 900€/month for French people who do not have any job.

Respondent: Exactly! Exactly. And so, it's like an Arabic telephone: you have to go there, you have to go there, you have to go there... That's all they have, at my mother-in-law's son's, my mother-in-law's nephew's, he arrived last month, he crossed from Algiers to Al Jezeeras, that is to say the Moroccan border plus the Spanish border, by boat! He told me "I prayed all the way because there are many who drowned".

Interviewer: Oh yes?

Respondent: Arrived down there, so it's been almost a month to go up the whole of Spain, he arrived in Toulouse at one of his cousins', he stayed a month at one of his cousins', and then he arrived at another of his cousins' in Marseille. The kid is 20 years old. He crossed on foot.

Interviewer: Yes, and then he realised that in fact...?

Respondent: He realises that it's hard, he sees that there's no RSA at the snap of his fingers, there are no papers, there's no Florence who's pre-destined for you, with whom you're going to get married, who's waiting for you with a big smile, who's waiting for you with papers in her hand...

A3c

Interviewer: Moreover, culturally I imagine it's different in Algeria, there are still a lot of marriages that are done rather quickly perhaps?

Respondent: Absolutely.

Interviewer: Whereas in France, well I imagine that for many descendants of immigrants today ....

Respondent: Well, there are new laws in France, you can't do that anymore! Marriage in name only, "grey" in quotes before... You can't go before the mayor and pretend to love each other, it's not possible. So there you have it, there are lots of things... They have, they have a shock! But for them, it's better than over there. So when you think that nearly 40% of the Algerian population is under 25, that's a lot of people.

A1b

Interviewer: Yet it's a huge potential for Algeria.

Respondent: I have an associate and friend who came with me to Algeria, I'll tell you an anecdote, it's striking. He saw the behaviour over there, he saw the violence, he saw uh what else he saw, and he saw all these schemes, all this trafficking... And I said, "So Pierre, did you expect this in Algeria?" He said, "They scare me. I said "because they live from trafficking, for them the only thing that counts in their life is to go to France, so here they don't appreciate their life, they uh they survive. And so they do everything and anything". And at the end he answers me, he says "You know Djamel, it's a good thing that Marine Le Pen<sup>28</sup> isn't doing a report here because I swear

A1

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<sup>28</sup> Far-right French politician.

it would scare them so much in France that they would all start voting National Front<sup>29</sup>". I said, "You see, Pierre, it's good because you're frank, you're French, I'm like you, French, but you're from French origin, father and mother and all the rest" And then I said, "You see, we're identified to them. The amalgam is quickly made, whereas we have nothing to do with them". That is to say that in the stadiums those who put the flag of Algeria on fire and everything, it's these savages. Because there is no instruction, there is no education, for them there are no more values, we don't say to ourselves but... Because when I go to the stadium, the flag I raise is the French one. I am also of Algerian origin, but I have two countries. And I'll say it better, I think I'm a child of the Earth, I'm neither French nor Algerian, I'm human. Otherwise, I eat sushi all day, I'm not Japanese! Do you understand the nuance?

A2b

D1a

Interviewer: mmh. Yes.

Respondent: I think we are what we want to be, that's all. If I wake up tomorrow with a Japanese girl, I'm not going to be Japanese, but if I like Japanese girls? That's it. And uh you have to give the young people... Try to make them see bigger, higher, and different. They look too much down, too much down. So they lack role models. They need role models. But the models are like Algeria: Algeria is in a mess, why? Because all the elites have fled! When there were the attacks of 1990<sup>30</sup>, the 10 black years, well, all the elites... the journalists all left! Because they were threatened with death! So when I was in New York, there were more... I've never seen so many Algerians in New York! Why? Because the intellectuals fled, they were afraid to die.

E2

Interviewer: mmh.

Respondent: But that's it. In our cities, what we need are intellectuals. It's people who succeed and stay there, and who pull everyone up. Because you take 3-4 trainees in your car, you tell them "oh you did this this morning, today you're going to do that. And tomorrow you'll earn money honestly and you'll have houses etc etc".

E2

Interviewer: Mmh. *Djamel*, I'm not going to keep you any longer because I know you're in a hurry. But thank you very much, thank you for all that, in fact it's ultra... I mean, it sheds a lot of light on things.

Respondent: I don't know if it did.

Interviewer: It did because it's an experience that is...

Respondent: That's my experience.

Interviewer: It's a 40 year-long experience actually. So uh, you know what I mean? You've been there.

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<sup>29</sup> Far-right party, known to be opposed to immigration.

<sup>30</sup> Civil war in Algeria between the Algerian government and Islamic fundamentalist movements.

Respondent: I've kept it very, very short (laughing).

Interviewer: Yes, but you see, you said to me, "Well, I lived there, I grew up on the estate and I got out of it", so you have this hindsight on the situation which is still...

Respondent: yes yes

Interviewer: which is really enriching.

Respondent: absolutely.

Interviewer: Thank you for everything *Djamel!*

Respondent: It's a pleasure!

**Appendix 5: Exchanges with the host organization (translated from French to English, from most recent to oldest).**

From: Albane Thlt <[albane.thiollet@gmail.com](mailto:albane.thiollet@gmail.com)>  
Subject: Rep. : Research paper  
Date: January 15, 2019 at 13:36:37 UTC + 1  
To: Jeane Dufour <[jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr](mailto:jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr)>

Ok, thanks again for everything! So I am looking forward to meeting your entire team tomorrow and yourself on Thursday.  
Thank you for your dedication and for organizing this schedule and my arrival. The questionnaire was finalized with the help of my research director, so everything will be ready for the 21st.

I can't wait to discover this beautiful project of the Maison des Familles Les Buissonnets!

See you soon,

Albane

On Jan 14, 2019 at 11:19, Jeane Dufour <[jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr](mailto:jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr)> wrote:

Dear Albane,

Welcome to Marseille!

I have noted your days of arrival and departure.

We are expecting you on Wednesday January 16 at 10 a.m. at La Maison Des Familles - Les Buissonnets at 60 rue René Mariani, Saint Louis district (13 015). You will be greeted by a few members of the team including Alix and Gloria.

For my part, I will be traveling on that date and I will meet you on Thursday January 17th at 10am.

First of all, I suggest that you observe and let yourself be driven to start your interview from the 21st. We will present you the program in steps.

Yours truly,

Jeane



Jeane DUFOUR  
Responsable  
Tél : 07 60 50 58 31

Maison des Familles  
60 rue René Mariani  
13 015 Marseille



née du partenariat



From: Albane Thlt [mailto: [albane.thiollet@gmail.com](mailto:albane.thiollet@gmail.com) ]  
Sent: Wednesday, January 9, 2019 03:34  
To: Jeane Dufour <[jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr](mailto:jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr)>

Subject: Re: Research thesis

Dear Madam,

I am coming back to you at the beginning of this year to send you and la Maison des Familles my best wishes for 2019 . As promised, here are some news about my dissertation. The University of Cape Town ethics committee has approved my research proposal, which I am sending to you herewith (written in English).

I also sent the interview questionnaire to my academic supervisor for her to validate. I know that I am touching on a sensitive subject when talking about integration in France, which is why, if you wish to read the questions in order to get an idea or to give recommendations, do not hesitate to tell me so that I can send you the questionnaire. The main topics of the interview for the moment are as follows:

Demographic information (basic information)

Community / neighbourhood information (choice of this neighbourhood, safety, etc.)

Information about the household (mainly the number of people living under one roof, the head of the family, the role of the interviewee, etc.)

Experience and perception of unemployment (their job, the causes of their unemployment if this is the case)

Experiences and perception of poverty (financial difficulties, basic goods, housing conditions, durable goods, health, social contact)

Experience and perception of integration (proximity to the culture of origin, to France, feeling of being French, discrimination linked to origins, etc.)

Aspirations, perception of identity and life balance (their joys, their aspirations, their opinion of themselves)

Participants will of course have the right to not answer questions of their choice or to withdraw from the research at any time. This information will also remain anonymous during the drafting and publication of the thesis. While I am still awaiting validation of the questionnaire, some topics may disappear or be changed by next week.

I also bought my train tickets for an arrival in the evening of January 15 in Marseille so that I could be present at Les Buissonnets on the morning of the 16th and will be leaving early in the afternoon on January 30.

I look forward to meeting you and discovering all the activities of La Maison des Familles Les Buissonnets,

Have a nice day,

Albane

On Nov 6, 2018 at 11:06, Jeane Dufour <[jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr](mailto:jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr)> wrote:



Jeane DUFOUR  
Responsable  
Tél : 07 60 50 58 31

Maison des Familles  
60 rue René Mariani  
13 015 Marseille

Hello Albane,

Here is the 2017 activity report of Maison Des Familles - Les Buissonnets.

You can also visit the site [www.maisondesfamilles.fr](http://www.maisondesfamilles.fr) to have a broader vision of the 14 Houses which form a community of knowledge and practices.

Yours truly,

Jeane

On Nov 1, 2018 at 8:58 am, Albane Thlt <[albane.thiollet@gmail.com](mailto:albane.thiollet@gmail.com)> wrote:

Dear Madam,

Thank you very much for your message. I will have a telephone interview on November 5<sup>th</sup> with great pleasure. Would 11 am suit you? I can call you free of charge from South Africa so you do not have to pay any fees.

My phone number in case of need: 06 33 36 35 98.

Yours truly,

Albane

On Oct 31, 2018 at 22:22, Jeane Dufour <[jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr](mailto:jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr)> wrote:

Hello Albane,



Jeane DUFOUR  
Responsable  
Tél : 07 60 50 58 31

Maison des Familles  
60 rue René Mariani  
13 015 Marseille

Your research topic holds my full attention.

I agree with the idea that the Maison Des Familles - les Buissonnets could be a field of research. However, I need to talk to you face to face on some terms. When could we have an exchange by phone during the day on November 5th?

Yours truly,

Jeane Dufour

----- Original message -----

From: Albane Thlt [mailto:[albane.thiollet@gmail.com](mailto:albane.thiollet@gmail.com)]

Sent: Wednesday 31 October 2018 10:20  
To: Jeane Dufour <[jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr](mailto:jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr)>  
Subject: Re: Research thesis

Dear Madam,

I allow myself to come back to you following my email of October 17th. I suspect you must be very busy, that is why above all I want to know if you have received my previous email? I will probably be able to send you my research file (in English) around mid-November if you wish and if you are interested in my project.

Thank you for everything and I wish you a very nice day,

Yours truly,

Albane Thiollet

On Oct. 17, 2018 at 2:48 p.m., Albane Thlt <[albane.thiollet@gmail.com](mailto:albane.thiollet@gmail.com)> wrote:

Dear Madam,

I am Albane Thiollet, a friend of Thérèse B. who contacted you about a month ago concerning my master's thesis. I wanted to thank you for sending me your contact details via Thérèse and I wanted to apologize for the delay in contacting you. I have been very busy with an internship in an NGO while writing my literature review for my thesis.

I take the opportunity to contact you today to tell you a little about my project. It seems to me that Thérèse forwarded to you the long email I had sent her to give you an idea of the scientific method used. So I'm just going to make a little technical summary of my research.

I am particularly interested in the way Algerians and their descendants analyse their own integration into French society from the point of view of their "capabilities". In other words, how being a foreigner or descendant of a foreigner in France affects their opportunities and their ability to lead the life they wish to have.

The project is therefore to interview 20 adult participants, Algerian immigrants of the first or second generation, men and women, who wish to answer questions on their quality of life and their experience as foreigners and descendants of foreigners in France. It is about giving them a voice in order to enrich research and offer recommendations to lawmakers.

These interviews must be individual, audio-recorded and will be confidential and anonymous. A form stipulating these elements as well as their right to withdraw from the research at any time will be submitted to their signature at the beginning of the interview with my contact details to reach me. The university requests that the social organization (La Maison des Familles - Les Buisonnets in this case) provide the researcher with the data of 20 to 30 volunteers corresponding to the following criteria:

- from an Algerian community
- having lived for at least 10 years in France

- over 18 years old
- ideally, gender parity in the number of volunteers

And in which the researcher can select 20 people to answer a semi-structured questionnaire (very broad questions).

This research can also be beneficial for the organization staying within the community in order to obtain the general context - but articulated around specific themes - of the experiences, expectations, conflicts of individuals from the same community. The capability prism also helps to find new ways to improve their living conditions and allows the organization to engage the legislator by using the results of scientific research.

I am confident that your organization will allow me to carry out this research, not only because I am close to the values of Le Rocher and the Apprentis d'Auteuil as a Christian, but also because I know that your organization has created a bond of trust with families from these communities. This link is essential to help me to be in contact with them and will allow - I am sure - the Maison des Familles to raise the interest of people so that they become volunteers.

If my project seems attracting to you, I will be happy to talk more about it by phone (I can call you from South Africa) and I can also send you my "proposal" (method and literature review of my thesis, approximately 18 pages in English) as soon as it has been ratified by the University's ethics committee at the end of November. The University of Cape Town is ranked 3rd in the world in Development Studies and therefore takes scientific research in social development very seriously.

I would like to discover with great pleasure the work provided by La Maison des Familles - Les Buissonnets within the communities of underprivileged neighborhoods of Marseille, and offer my contribution to your work through my research.

waiting for your response, I wish you a nice end of the day

Albane Thiollet

Student in Master of Social Development at the University of Cape Town,  
South Africa [albane.thiollet@gmail.com](mailto:albane.thiollet@gmail.com)

06 33 36 35 98

## Appendix 6: Volunteer agreement between the researcher and the organisation (in French)



# CONVENTION DE BENEVOLAT

### Entre les soussignées :

la Maison Des Familles – les Buissonnets, dont le siège social est situé 60 rue René Mariani à Marseille (13015), représentée par **Madame Jeane DUFOR** agissant en qualité de Responsable de la Maison des Familles - les Buissonnets

Ci-après dénommée « la Maison Des Familles »,

d'une part,

et **Madame Albane THIOULET**  
demeurant au 15 rue de Nézières  
75006 PARIS

d'autre part,

### PREAMBULE

Madame Albane THIOULET déclare expressément avoir pris connaissance :

- de la mission la Maison Des Familles, qui, dans la fidélité à l'Evangile, est de soutenir les familles fragilisées dans leur responsabilité d'éducation,
- ainsi que de la culture qui s'y rattache.

En effet, la Maison Des Familles se caractérise par :

- son inspiration catholique,
- son cadre de référence, dont Madame Albane THIOULET a reçu un exemplaire.

Madame Albane THIOULET confirme que, dans le cadre de sa convention de bénévolat, elle respectera les dispositions précitées, leur esprit et les buts poursuivis par la Maison Des Familles.

Madame Albane THIOULET reconnaît que, compte tenu de la vocation de la Maison Des Familles, toute remise en cause de sa finalité ne pourrait permettre le maintien des relations conventionnelles.

En tant que bénévole, Madame Albane THIOULET s'engage à se laisser guider par les principes d'action de la Charte de Bénévolat dont un exemplaire lui a été remis.

Les salariés et les volontaires sont liés à la Maison Des Familles – les Buissonnets par un contrat. Pour les bénévoles, tout lien juridique est exclu. La présente convention de bénévolat a pour unique objet, dans une optique non contractuelle, de donner du sens à la mission confiée au bénévole.

### 1/ Mission

La Maison Des Familles s'engage à confier à Madame Albane THIOULET la mission suivante :

- Rencontrer et interviewer des adultes dans le cadre de l'écriture d'un travail de recherche

universitaire  
- Participer à la vie quotidienne de la Maison Des Familles – Les Buissonnets

appartenant à la thématique :

- Animation d'ateliers construits pour et avec les familles
- Rencontre et visites des familles dans la rue et à leur domicile
- Efficience collective
- Comptabilité Gestion
- Notoriété et Ressources

La mission débutera le 16 janvier 2019 et prendra fin le 30 janvier 2019.

Madame Albane THIOULET s'engage à ne percevoir aucune rémunération pour son activité de bénévolat.

Madame Albane THIOULET s'engage à ne pas porter atteinte à l'image de la Maison Des Familles et de son projet.

#### 2/ Coordonnées du bénévole

Adresse : 15 rue de Nézières, 75006 PARIS

Tel : 06 33 36 35 98      Mail : albane.thiollet@gmail.com

Personne à contacter en cas de problème et coordonnées :

M. Jean-Pierre THIOULET + 1 (240) 760 - 8340 (père)

#### 3/ Disponibilités

Dans le cadre de la mission précitée, Madame Albane THIOULET a proposé à la Maison Des Familles de se rendre disponible du 16 au 30 janvier 2019, tous les jours à l'exclusion du dimanche.

Les horaires de présence pourront faire l'objet d'une synthèse au travers d'une feuille de présence pour permettre à la Maison Des Familles de valoriser l'action des bénévoles auprès des partenaires et des financeurs.

Les disponibilités pourront être modifiées, à la demande écrite du bénévole et sous réserve de préserver l'organisation de l'association.

#### 4/ Mise en œuvre de la mission

Le bénévole dans le cadre de sa mission reconnaît avoir pris connaissance des dispositions du Règlement Intérieur applicable, notamment en matière de sécurité et de confidentialité.

Dans le cadre de sa mission, Madame Albane THIOULET s'engage expressément à :

- Ne percevoir aucune rémunération pour son activité lors de son temps de présence.
- Informer le responsable de la Maison Des Familles de toute difficulté éventuelle rencontrée pendant sa mission.
- Coopérer avec les différents partenaires de cette association
- Ne pas porter atteinte à l'image de la Maison Des Familles et de son projet.

La Maison Des Familles s'engage de son côté :

- Souscrire une assurance en responsabilité civile pour les activités des bénévoles mobilisés.
- Accompagner la bénévole dans sa mission à travers la désignation d'un référent.
- A mettre à disposition toute information et supports nécessaires à la réalisation de la mission

#### 5/ Absences

S'il advenait que Madame Albane THIOULET pour quelque motif que ce soit, ne puisse assurer sa mission, Madame Albane THIOULET s'engage à le faire savoir aussitôt au responsable de la Maison Des Familles surtout pour les missions ayant un contact avec les familles dans un souci de maintien de la qualité d'accompagnement des familles.

#### 6/ Confidentialité

Compte tenu de la mission qui lui est confiée, Madame Albane THIOULET s'engage expressément à ne divulguer aucune information de quelque nature que ce soit, par quelque moyen que ce soit, concernant la Maison Des Familles, les personnes qui y sont accueillies et les personnes travaillant ou collaborant au sein de la Maison Des Familles.

De plus, Madame Albane THIOULET veillera dans l'utilisation qu'elle peut faire des réseaux sociaux, ou des blogs, tant à titre personnel que dans le cadre de sa mission de bénévole à une stricte réserve permettant de ne pas nuire à l'image de la Maison Des Familles, aux personnes qui y travaillent et aux familles qui y sont accueillies.

Tout manquement à cette obligation de confidentialité pourrait entraîner l'arrêt immédiat de la mission, que ce manquement intervienne pendant la présence au sein de la Maison Des Familles ou non.

Toutefois, si l'objet de cette obligation de confidentialité est de préserver l'intimité des personnes accueillies, d'assurer le respect de leur vie privée et familiale et de sauvegarder les intérêts de la Maison Des Familles, elle doit s'exercer dans le cadre fixé par le code pénal et le code de l'action sociale et des familles.

Il en résulte que cette obligation de confidentialité ne peut en aucun cas exonérer Madame Albane THIOULET des obligations qui lui incombent en vertu des dispositions du code pénal et du code de l'action sociale et des familles, notamment, de celles qui lui imposent de signaler tout agissement fautif, dont Madame Albane THIOULET serait le témoin ou dont Madame Albane THIOULET aurait eu connaissance, commis à l'encontre d'une personne accueillie et susceptibles d'entraîner la responsabilité pénale et civile de son auteur et de la Maison Des Familles.

Par conséquent, si Madame Albane THIOULET doit faire preuve d'une discrétion absolue concernant les informations dont elle a connaissance du fait de sa mission, afin de protéger au mieux les personnes accueillies, Madame Albane THIOULET ne peut, en aucun cas arguer de cette obligation pour taire des agissements fautifs commis à l'encontre d'une personne accueillie par la Maison Des Familles, par quelque personne que ce soit et peu important les conditions dans lesquelles Madame Albane THIOULET en a été informé.

Cet engagement perdure au-delà de la mission, pour quelque motif que ce soit.

#### 7/ Droit à l'image

Madame Albane THIOULET  autorise  n'autorise pas

la Maison Des Familles et toute entité qui lui est affiliée

- A me photographier et me filmer, dans le cadre de la mission dûment citée par la présente convention.

- A reproduire, diffuser et publier mon image, et mes propos, sur tous supports et formats actuels et à venir notamment, sans que cette liste soit limitative : papier, film, supports audio, vidéo, analogique ou numérique et télédiffusion, services de communication en ligne, sur tous les réseaux de représentation et de diffusion, y compris Intranet. Ceci dans le cadre de la présentation et de la promotion de la Maison Des Familles auprès de tout public.
- Cette autorisation est consentie à titre gratuit, pour le monde entier et pour la durée de l'exploitation des images enregistrées par la Maison Des Familles ou ses partenaires.

**8/ Frais de bénévolat**

Les frais professionnels engagés par Madame Albane THIOULET à la demande de la Direction, pour l'accomplissement de sa mission et dans le cadre des instructions qui lui seront données, seront pris en charge par la Maison Des Familles, sur justification.

Il est expressément convenu que si Madame Albane THIOULET est amenée à faire usage de son véhicule personnel dans le cadre de sa mission, elle doit préalablement, et sous sa seule responsabilité, s'assurer que pareille utilisation de son véhicule est conforme aux exigences de sa police d'assurance, et que le véhicule, ainsi que Madame Albane THIOULET répondent à toutes les exigences imposées par la loi et la réglementation pour circuler en conformité avec celles-ci.

Fait à Marseille en 2 exemplaires

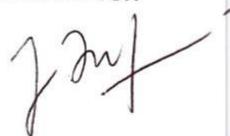
le 18 janvier 2019

La bénévoles,

Pour la Maison Des Familles,

Madame Albane THIOULET

Madame Jeane DUFOUR



60 rue René Mariani  
13015 MARSEILLE

Tel : 07 60 50 58 31

jeane.dufour@maisondesfamilles.fr  
SIRET 808 994 339 00014

## Appendix 7: Ethics Approval



### DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN ETHCS REVIEW FORM

#### ETHICS REVIEW FORM: JOINT STATEMENT BY STUDENT & SUPERVISOR

This form is filled in jointly by the student and the supervisor

#### PROCESS:

- Student and Supervisor need to read the UCT/FACULTY ETHICS GUIDELINES on the WEBSITE.
- The ethics pertaining to the profession of Social Work also needs to be taken cognisance of in relation to social work students/candidates carrying out research with human participants.
- Once this ethics review form has been completed it is submitted to the Departments' Post Graduate Committee which according to the Guidelines laid down should consist of all academics who will do the reviewing.
- Once the Department approves the proposal/ethics then only is it sent through to faculty.
- **This form should be completed by the research student and then co-signed by student and supervisor: Tick the YES or NO box, and write in details where appropriate. Please read the UCT Ethics Guidelines involving Human Subjects before completing the form. Ask your supervisor for clarification and help if needed.**

**Student researcher name:** Alban Thiollet

**Student number:** THLALB001

**Title of research project:** A qualitative exploration of the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society.

**Course Code:** SWK7469: Minor Dissertation

**Degree:** MSocSc in Social Development

**Supervisor:** Dr. Somaya Abdullah

1. Have you read the UCT Guidelines for Research involving Human Subjects? (available from supervisor or at the UCT web-site - go to Research/ go to Standards and Procedures)	YES	X	NO	
2. Is your research making use of human subjects as sources of data?	YES	X	NO	
3. Title of the Research Project: <i>A qualitative exploration of the factors affecting the capabilities and integration of Algerian immigrants into French society.</i>				
4. Specify the Main Objectives of the Study? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To determine how Algerian immigrants cope with living in economically and socially disadvantaged areas</li> <li>• To understand how do these disadvantages affect their choices in life</li> <li>• To understand how their immigrant background affect their choices in life</li> <li>• To ascertain the ways in which these conditions affect the self-perception and their identity formation of Algerian immigrants</li> <li>• To determine the ways in which these disadvantages affect immigrants' opportunities in life and their integration in France</li> <li>• To ascertain the kind of social priorities needed for Algerian immigrants to live the type of life they would value</li> </ul>				
<b>5. METHODOLOGY</b>				
<b>5.1. Research Design</b> The study will be conducted using an exploratory qualitative research design focussing on obtaining an insight into the views and experience of Algerian migrant communities and becoming more familiar with the subject of their integration in French society.				
<b>5.2. Population and Sampling</b>				
<b>5.2.1. Sampling Technique</b> A non-probability sampling technique will be used to select the participants.				
<b>5.2.2. Sample Characteristics</b> Twenty individuals who are Algerian immigrants in Marseille will be selected to participate in the research. They have to live in an inner-city of Marseille. Selection criteria will include both males and females over the age of 18 years old, who have been living in France for at least a year, and who would be able to give an insight to the experiences of integrating the French society.				
<b>5.2.3. Sampling Procedure[process involved in obtaining the sample]</b> In order to negotiate entry in the field and access participants, the researcher will contact "La Maison des Familles de Marseille", a charity that deals with providing support to families from a migrant background in disadvantaged areas in France. A meeting has been scheduled for January 2019 to enter the community and approach potential participants and request their participation.				

6. INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOUT RESEARCHER AND RESEARCH TO BE UNDERTAKEN				
6.1. Will participants (research subjects) in the research have reasonable and sufficient knowledge about you, your background and location, and your research intentions?	YES	X	NO	
6.2. Describe briefly how such information will be given to them. If there is any reason for withholding any information from participants about your identity and your research purpose, explain this in detail below.				
Any research study requires participants' informed consent to proceed. It lets respondents know about the project and what role they will play in it. A letter of informed consent will be drafted for participants to sign. An informed consent letter should be detailed enough so that a participant is informed about the specific nature of the project, including any potential risks, and the letter should outline how participation will make a contribution to the project's goals. Participants can follow up with any questions or concerns they may have about the project. Details of the researcher will be provided as well as details on how the data will be used. The consent form will stipulate that their participation is voluntary and that they may withdraw at any stage				

7. HOW PERMISSION WILL BE SOUGHT				
7.1. Will Participants will be fully informed when permission is sought from them to participate in the study?	YES	X	NO	
7.2. Describe the process of how this will be done [letter seeking permission & details of study purpose/objectives, will initial contacting take place?]				
It will be explained to the interviewee at the beginning of the interview the purpose of the study, who is the researcher, how data will be used and what participation will be required from them. They will have to sign a consent form which stipulate that their participation is voluntary and that they may withdraw at any stage. This consent form will be given to the researcher's supervisor.				

8. CONSENT				
8.1. Will you secure the informed written consent of all participants in the research?	YES	X	NO	
8.2. If your answer is yes, Describe how you will do this below				
A copy of the written consent forms will be given to the supervisor and the originals will be kept in a secure place at the researcher's home				
8.3. If your answer is NO, give reasons below.				
[Type here]				
8.4. Do the respondents have the right to withdraw? Yes				


8.5. If yes, explain how this would be obtained? My contact details will be given to them so that they can reach me and let me know at any stage of the research process if they want to withdraw. They can also withdraw at any stage during the interview process.				
8.6. Will respondents be informed of the use of data post-data collection? Yes				
8.7. If yes, how: If they want to have access to the report, they may contact the researcher via her contact details and obtain a copy of it.				
<b>9. RESEARCH INVOLVING CHILDREN</b>				
9.1. In the case of research involving children, will you have the consent of their guardians, parents /caretakers?	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	X
9.2. If your answer is YES, briefly describe how this consent will be secured? [Type here]				
9.3. If your answer is NO, give reasons below				
The research will not be involving children.				
9.4. In the case of research involving children, will you have the consent of the children as much as that is possible?	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	X
9.5. If your answer is YES, describe briefly how this consent will be got from the children [Type here]				
9.6. If your answer is NO, give reasons below.				
The research will not be involving children.				
<b>10. CONFIDENTIALITY, PRIVACY AND ANONYMITY</b>				
10. 1. Are you able to offer Confidentiality, Privacy & Anonymity to participants?	YES	X	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.2. If you answer YES then give details below as to what steps you will take to ensure participants' confidentiality. If there are any aspects of your research where there might be difficulties or problems with regard to protecting the confidentiality and rights of participants and honouring their trust, explain this in detail below				
10.2.1. How will Confidentiality be ensured?				
Confidentiality means avoiding the attribution of comments in reports or presentations that might identify an individual. The researcher will make every effort best to avoid any personal details in the report that would identify any individual, hereby upholding the privacy of the participants and ensuring their confidential participation.				

<b>10.2.2. How will Privacy be ensured?</b>				
In order to protect respondents' privacy most of the interviews will be conducted in a private room, unless the respondent asked to host the interview at his or her home.				
<b>10.2.3 How will Anonymity be ensured?</b>				
In order to protect their anonymity, the researcher will transcribe their names as "Respondent n <sup>o</sup> " according to the interview's number and will change their names in the data analysis.				
<b>11.POTENTIAL HARM TO RESPONDENTS</b>				
<b>11.1. Are there any foreseeable risks of physical, psychological or social harm to participants that might result from or occur in the course of the research?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>NO</b>	
<b>11.2. If your answer is YES, outline below what these risks might be and what preventative steps you plan to take to prevent such harm from being suffered.</b>				
it is important to give consideration to the different ways the research may be harmful especially when the researcher and the respondent have to deal with sensitive issues such as family relationships, health, poverty and personal history. In order to avoid any harm, the researcher will choose a safe space which should be a closed room in a safe house provided by a NGO in Marseille. If the respondent gets emotional, the researcher will not try to probe. Furthermore, the interviewee will be made aware before the interview that he or she had the choice to answer or not the questions asked by the researcher and can withdraw at any stage. If they need help, the researcher will refer to adequate services. Finally, most respondents should know the organisation's member who will introduce the researcher to them which should create trust and confidence between the interviewer and the interviewees.				

12. POTENTIAL FOR HARM TO UCT OR OTHER INSTITUTIONS				
12.1. Are there any foreseeable risks of harm to UCT or to other institutions that might result from or occur in the course of the research? e.g., legal action resulting from the research, the image of the university being affected by association with the research project, or a school being compromised in the eyes of the Education Ministry.	YES		NO	X
12.2. If your answer is YES, give details and state below why you think the research is nonetheless worthwhile.				
[Type here]				
13. Are there any other ethical issues that you think might arise during the course of the research? (e.g., with regard to conflicts of interests amongst participants and/or institutions)	YES		NO	X
13.1. If your answer is YES, give details and say what you plan to do about it.				
[Type here]				


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**SUPERVISOR:** I have carefully considered all the ethical issues pertaining to this study as reflected in the proposal and at this stage cannot see any ethical obstacles

Supervisor Signature: 

**STUDENT:** I have discussed the ethical issues with my supervisor and am forwarding this review form to the department's ethics committee for further consideration

Student Signature: 

<b>DSD ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE MEMBERS (to sign)</b>	<b>Individually reviewed Time spent on review</b>	<b>Combined review meeting: Time spent</b>	<b>Date of completion of review</b>
Chair: Dr Chance Chagunda 	30 minutes	2 hours	29 November 2018

Departmentally approved (YES/NO) **Yes**

If yes, then passed on to Faculty [Date] **21 January 2019**

If NO then returned to supervisor [Date] \_\_\_\_\_

OR sent to Faculty Ethics Committee for further assessment. [Date] \_\_\_\_\_

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