Does the Apple Fall far from the Grafted Tree?

Educational and labor market outcomes of immigrant children born to mixed couples in France

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There is an abundant literature in sociology on mixed couples and their formation. Since Gordon, 1964, mixity in couple is considered as an indicator of the integration of immigrant populations. Much research has be done on the determinants of the formation of mixed couples (Kalminj, 1998). What emerges in the determinants of mixed marriages are the rarity of partners of the same origin, which leads to the search for partners in the majority group; a declining role of religious affiliation and a growing role of education in the choice of spouse.

In the economic literature, intermarried immigrants are more successful in the labor market than no-intermarried immigrants couples after correcting for the selection effect (Gregory & Meng , 2005; Furtado, 2012 ; Meng & Meurs, 2009). The reasons for this advantage are linked to a "language" effect, with a better knowledge of the country's language, an effect of familiarization with the implicit codes of society, and a network effect, the immigrant in the couple being able to benefit from the networks of his or her spouse.

Are these advantages being replicated in the next generation? Are the descendants of mixed couples in a better position in education and the labour market due to the presence of a parent from the majority group compared to those from an immigrant couple?

Our case study is France, a country of immigration for a long time. The proportion of mixed of couples is high (20 to 25% of immigrants in couples are married to natives), with strong variations according to immigrant origin (rare among Turkish immigrants, high among immigrants from Algeria, very high among Italian descendants). We are interested in the descendants of immigrants and their educational success and integration into the labor market. To do this, we use the 2005 to 2017 Labor force surveys, which provide us with information on the immigrant origin of parents, their social category, their educational and labor market outcomes.

We construct 5 groups: natives (born in France of parents with no migratory origin), descendants of two Maghrebian (Algeria, Tunisia, Marocco) parents, descendants of a native father or mother and a father or mother from the Maghreb, descendants of two parents from Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal), descendants of a native father or mother and a father or mother from Southern Europe.

We have a total sample of 343 538 individuals between 18 and 50 years of age, having completed their initial training. 3.5% are descendants of Maghrebian parents and 5.1% are descendants of Southern parents. The descendants of mixed couples from Southern Europe

represent around half of the Southern descendants, those from Maghrebian parent one third of Maghrebian descendants (table 1).

Our variables of interest are the degree of education (5 categories, from primary school to upper education), and the position on the labour market, in three categories (employed, unemployed or inactive).

We first estimate an ordered logit model for education. We present here two specifications: the first one is basic and controls only for year, sex and age. The second adds the socio-professional category of the parents and whether or not the mother was active when the individual was 15 years old. Marginal effects by origin are reported in Figures 1a and 1b.

We then estimate a multinomial logit model for the labour market position. We present two specifications: the first is basic and controls only for year, sex and age. The second adds education, being in a couple, having children, living in a priority area and the local unemployment rate the socio-professional category of the parents and whether the mother was active or not when the individual was 15 years old. Marginal effects by origin are reported in Figures 2a, 2b and 2c.

The main results are as follows:

For education, the raw results indicate that the descendants of Maghreb parents reach significantly less the higher levels of education than the other groups, while the descendants of mixed parents have slightly higher performances (figure 1.a). This result is reversed when the social origins of the parents are taken into account. The descendants of Maghreb immigrants are no longer different from the natives, while the descendants of mixed parents of Maghreb origin are those whose probability of pursuing higher education is the lowest (figure 1.b).

These results are different for the labor market (figure 2). Even after taking into account their education and the social characteristics of the parents, Maghrebi descendants of non-mixed parents have the highest probability of being unemployed and the lowest probability of being employed. The descendants of mixed couples are disadvantaged compared to other groups, but their disadvantage is quite limited compared to Maghrebi descendants.

The group of descendants from Southern Europe (mixed and non mixed) do not differ significantly from the natives once all the characteristics are taken into account.

These results suggest that being born into a mixed couple may not be an advantage for success in the school system, perhaps because of educational dissonances. On the other hand, it is an advantage for integration into the labour market, either through the use of more efficient networks or through less discrimination in hiring.

**Table 1 – Structure of the sample according to the origin of parents**

	Natives	301977	91,3
North Afr	non mixed	10223	2,6
	Mixed	3571	0,9
	mix, father imm	*2862*	*0,7*
	mix, mother imm	*709*	*0,2*
South Eur	non mixed	7622	2,6
	Mixed	8287	2,5
	mix, father imm	*5275*	*1,7*
	mix, mother imm	*3012*	*0,9*
	Total	343538	1

(weight=extri1)

Sample: People between 18 and 50 years, education completed, 2005 to 2017 pooled

Source: Employment Surveys, Insee
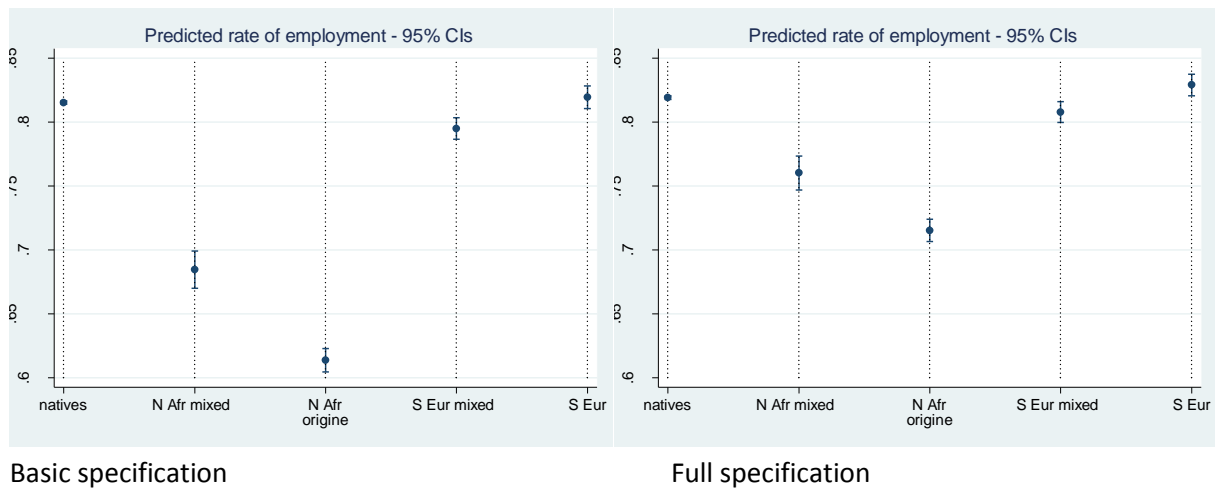
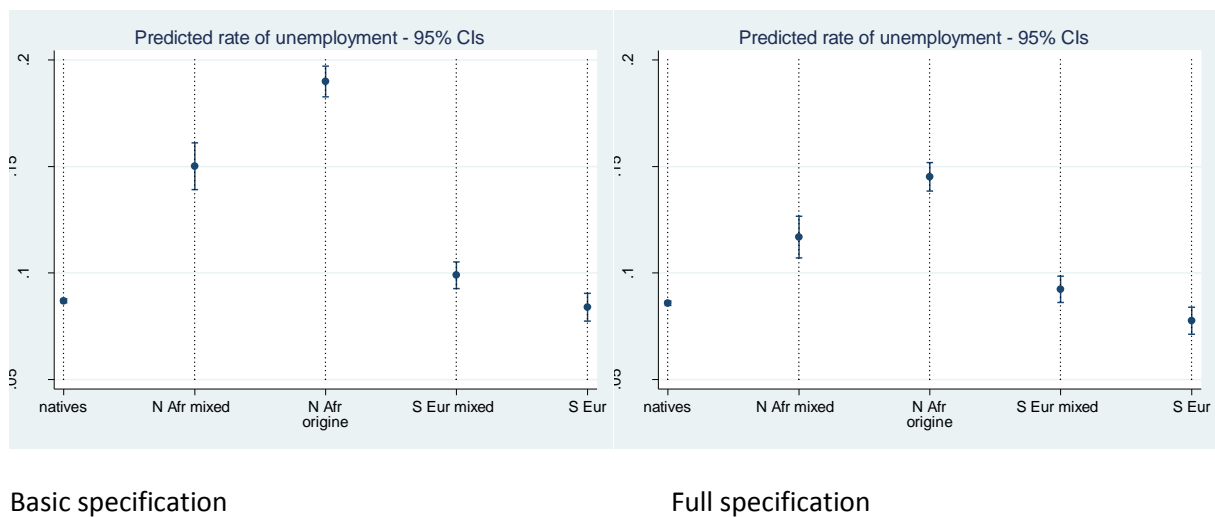## Figure 1. Education and mixed origins
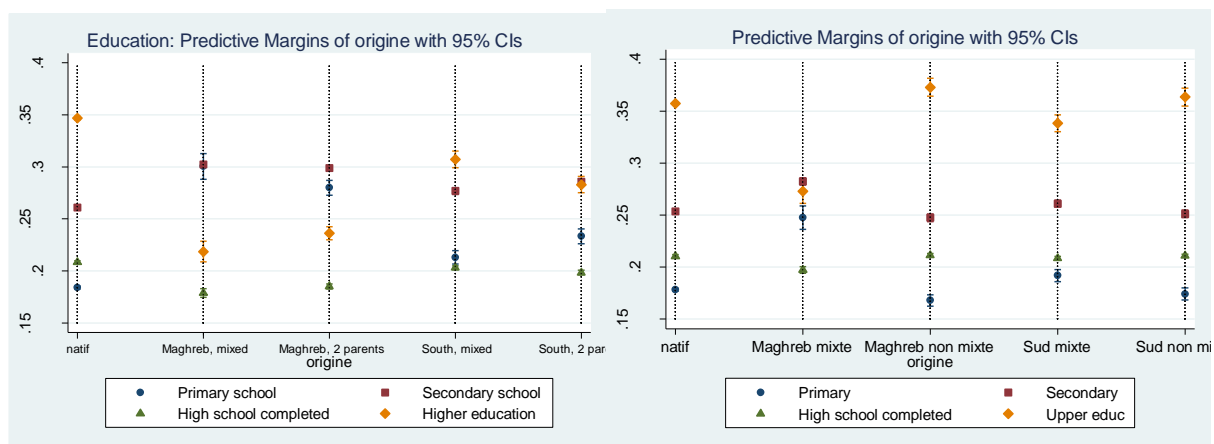
Basic specification   Full specification

Figure 2. Labor market and origin

2.a Predicted employment

Basic specification   Full specification

2.b Predicted unemployment

Basic specification   Full specification

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