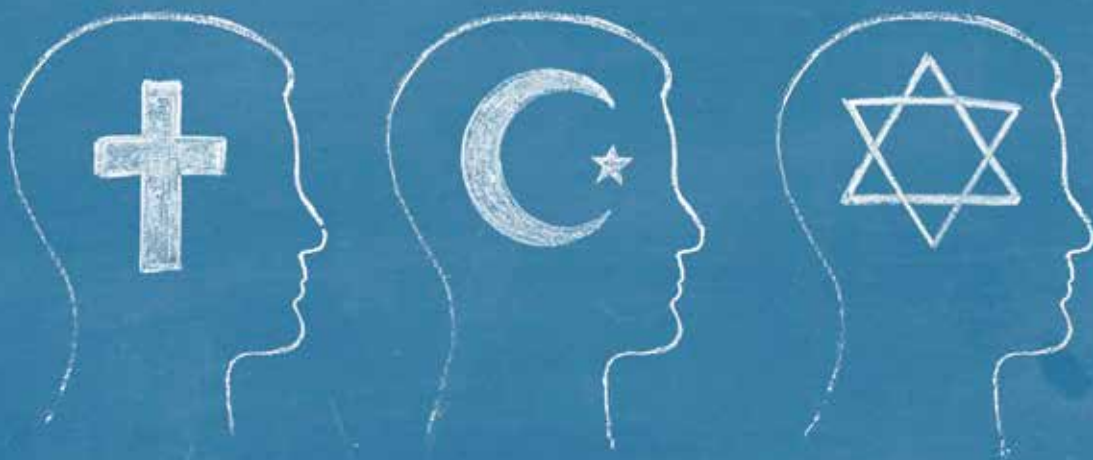


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Religious discrimination in access to employment: a reality

Marie-Anne Valfort



POLICY PAPER OCTOBER 2015

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than the desire for knowledge*

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Religious discrimination in access to employment: a reality

Antisemitism and Islamophobia on the French labour market

Marie-Anne Valfort

Remark

"Antisemitism" and "Islamophobia" are used in their conventional senses: "antisemitism" means hostility toward Jews, and "Islamophobia" means hostility toward Muslims (Larousse dictionary). As the 2014 report of the CNCDDH (Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme) states, these terms are semantically improper: "the word 'antisemitism,' for example, a derivative of the root 'semitic,' ought strictly speaking to refer to discrimination generally against Jews and Arabs, not Jewish persons exclusively." Likewise, from an etymological point of view, the suffix "phobia" in the word 'Islamophobia' designates paranoid fear of a kind that strips the phobic person of moral responsibility, but many "Islamophobic" acts are perpetrated with full lucidity. Worse, the prefix "Islam" does not refer exclusively to hostility manifested against persons who belong, or are thought to belong, to the Muslim religion; it is used to discredit any criticism of Islam. So it can be exploited, which is problematic, by radical Islam. Still, the term "antisemitism" is in general use to designate animus against Jewish people, and everyone understands what it means. Hence the CNCDDH recommends adopting it. It also recommends use of the term "Islamophobia" to describe discrimination against Muslims. The fact is, the alternative terminology is not satisfactory. The term "antimuslim racism" is erroneous because it blurs the distinction between religious discrimination and ethnic discrimination. "Muslimophobia" is not in general use, and is spoiled in the same way by the improper suffix "phobia." Finally, none of these alternatives is any more resistant to being twisted and exploited by Muslim extremists.

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PREFACE

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION IN ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT: A REALITY

Citizens, politicians, business executives, the federations representing capital and labor, civil society actors... all of us in France today are faced with increasingly intense clashes involving religious and ethnic identities. For more than a decade, a certain number of official reports and research papers have stressed the urgency of dealing, effectively and enduringly, with the kind of discriminatory behavior that helps to feed this tension, or may even result from it.

Cases where this applies include access to top-tier university education, access to the world of politics, and access to the labor market. Since its foundation in 2000 the Institut Montaigne has spoken up often to present this point of view, and tried to hammer out some concrete answers.¹ Quite recently there appeared the report *Dix ans de politiques de diversité: quel bilan?* [Assessing the payoff of ten years of diversity policies], in autumn 2014.

The study we publish today reveals that the situation is extremely worrying. It is the fruit of the remarkable work of Marie-Anne Valfort, an economist at the Paris School of Economics and Paris 1 University (Panthéon Sorbonne) as well as an acknowledged expert in this area, and it relies on a CV-based trial² that breaks new ground:

- its breadth is unparalleled, for 6,231 CVs were submitted throughout mainland France;
- its duration, from September 2013 to September 2014, ensures the robustness of the results;
- its coverage is wide, since discrimination is tested with respect to all three major forms of monotheism present on French soil.

¹ As early as 2004, the report *Les oubliés de l'égalité des chances* [Those missing out on equality of opportunity] pointed to the shortcomings in the French model of integration. It was in response to this finding that the "Charte de la diversité" [Diversity charter] was launched that year by several forward-thinking large firms. Since then, the Institut Montaigne has continued to make the point that discriminatory behavior and an absence of equal opportunity do persist in our education system, our labor market, and our political process.

² A CV-based trial works like this: CVs are prepared for fictive individuals, alike in all respects except one — in this case, religious attachment — and submitted to real world job offers, to test the reaction of recruiters.

The board of management of the Institut Montaigne wanted this trial to yield a diagnosis of the greatest possible rigor and precision.³ And indeed, as readers will see, it is incontrovertible, for the levels of discrimination met at the portals of the labor market by job applicants of Muslim faith especially, but also by their Jewish counterparts, are particularly high. These results, and the author's carefully pondered reflections on the drivers of discrimination that accompany them, bring us up against a thorny problem: how is laicity to be managed at the point of entry into the labor market, and in the world of work?

These compelling results constitute a challenge for our model of integration and for social cohesion in our country. It is worth noting that the period spanned by this trial preceded the dramatic events of January 2015, and the various attacks that have punctuated the rest of the year.

A diagnosis of this kind presses us to think hard, and challenges us to formulate proposals targeted at those who do the hiring in firms, and at policymakers. Over the past 15 years our think tank has produced a substantial body of work dealing with discrimination in higher education, labor market recruitment, and access to elected office.

Here we may note that one of the most salient proposals put forward by the Institut Montaigne for combating discrimination was the creation of instruments capable of measuring it. It is imperative to put existing realities into words and quantified data, rendering them objective and visible to the mass of the population. In fact, while much remains to be done, it is well known that in both education and employment, strides have been made in reducing discrimination where the driving factors were gender, age, or handicap. This progress was achieved with the help of data tallied by such instruments. Ethnic and national origins are obviously important drivers of discrimination, yet are probably the ones we know least about; and in the absence of carefully measured data, policies that favor ethnic minorities will make little headway in France. That is why the Institut Montaigne has been suggesting for some time now that firms and public bodies should be prompted to collect and process information relating to the ethnic origin of their

³ The same aspiration has led the Institut Montaigne to try to shed light on the deep causes of the mounting tide of *communautarisme* in the French Republic since 2010, through a series of investigations of the marginalized areas within its boundaries, conducted on the ground by Gilles Kepel. This long-range (and ongoing) research project is presented in several works: *Banlieue de la République* in 2012, *Passion française* in 2013, and before long a third book, set to appear early in 2016.

employees, using self-declaration forms specifying their own birth nationality and that of their parents.

The dramatic levels of discrimination observed in the labor market are just one facet of the discriminatory behavior present in society as a whole. Since it generally takes root in early childhood, the Institut Montaigne recommends that, with respect to education, steps be taken as early as primary school to reinforce equality of opportunity, and that early childhood professionals be taught ways to reduce rates of pupil failure. Such efforts must be complemented by aggressive action at the higher levels of the education system to audit regularly the policies in place for combating discrimination. Finally, the widening gap between the political élites in this country and its citizens will only be reduced by a more diverse political class that better represents society. Setting term limits on elected and appointed offices in the political arena is, past all doubt, the most promising way forward if we want to promote greater circulation within our political élites, and give persons of diverse ethnic background a better chance of holding elected office.

Marie-Anne Valfort for her part has rounded out her report on the CV-based trial she conducted with the concrete proposals that figure in chapter 4. While we do not endorse them, and indeed oppose some, we do willingly offer them to the public as fodder for discussion. But they engage the responsibility of their author alone.

We are well aware that a photograph of French society as stark as this one may generate a difficult debate. Many will prefer to draw a discreet veil over these results; others may try to exploit them. But such debate is essential for the health of democracy nevertheless, and it is the role of think tanks to make knowledge of this kind public, in an effort to mend certain fissures that are harming our social model, and ultimately our country itself.

Laurent Bigorgne

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Marie-Anne Valfort

INTRODUCTION

Dov, Michel, and Mohammed grew up in the same neighborhood in Beirut. Dov is Jewish, Michel is Catholic, and Mohammed is Muslim. After junior high school, they convinced their parents to send them to France to attend senior high school and launch their careers. They chose the same career path: a high school diploma (*baccalauréat*, or “*bac*”) and a certificate (*BTS, brevet de technicien supérieur*) that qualified them to become bookkeepers. Their career paths are flawless: all three completed high school with an honorable mention, have proved their mastery of four different kinds of software highly valued by recruiters for bookkeeping, payroll and/or management functions, and speak fluent English. Dov, Michel, and Mohammed became naturalized French citizens five years after arriving — the legal minimum period of required residency. Today, at age 25, all three are still on the job market, having bounced from one fixed term contract to another for more than four years. But Dov and Mohammed are beginning to realize despondently that their efforts to build exemplary records in school and at work are not always paying off. It is enough for Michel to submit four job applications to be invited to a hiring interview. Dov on the other hand has to submit six... and Mohammed 20. Mohammed is starting to feel discouraged and increasingly resentful. He never thought he would experience twinges of rancor of that kind, after striving so hard to win acceptance in France.

According to articles 225-1 and 225-2 of the French penal code, **discrimination in hiring on account of religion occurs when job applicants endowed with equivalent records of study and employment, but perceived by the recruiter as belonging to a different religious confession, are not dealt with in the same way.**⁴

⁴ Article 225-1 of the Penal Code (Modified by law 2014-173, dated 21 February 2014, art. 15) sets out 20 criteria of discrimination (including religion): “Discrimination comprises any distinction applied between natural persons by reason of their origin, sex, family situation, pregnancy, physical appearance or patronymic, place of residence, state of health, handicap, genetic characteristics, morals, sexual orientation or identity, age, political opinions, union activities, or their membership or non-membership, true or supposed, of a given ethnic group, nation, race or religion. Discrimination also comprises any distinction applied between legal persons by reason of the origin, sex, family situation, pregnancy, physical appearance or patronymic, place of residence, state of health, handicap, genetic characteristics, morals, sexual orientation or identity, age, political opinions, union activities, membership or non-membership, true or supposed, of a given ethnic group, nation, race or religion of one or more members of these legal persons.” On 10 June 2015, the legislation committee of the French Senate adopted a bill put forward by Yannick Vaugrenard, an MP from the Loire-Atlantique region, that aimed to combat discrimination based on social precariousness. In fact, this bill adds a 21st criterion to the list of criteria of discrimination enumerated in article 225-1 of the penal code: “the particular vulnerability resulting from their economic situation, apparent or known to [the] author [of the discrimination].”

Article 225-2 of the penal code specifies the situations, including access to employment, in which reprehensible discrimination occurs: “Discrimination defined by article 225-1, committed against a natural or legal person, is punished by three years’ imprisonment and a fine of €45,000 where it consists. . . of the refusal to hire... a person.”

In 2008 a CV-based trial conducted internally by the Casino group of companies showed that French citizens with origins outside Europe (in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, or the Maghreb — the north African littoral comprising Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco) do suffer systematic discrimination as compared to native French persons (Feroni (2008)). But it is those with north African origins who suffer it the most. The fact that they are likely to be Muslim appears to saddle them with an added handicap. A survey carried out in April 2013 does indeed show that the Muslim religion attracts little sympathy from the French population (Harris Interactive (2013a)). Only 26% of those interviewed held a very good, or quite good, image of Islam, compared to 69% for Catholicism.

A CV-based trial: what is that exactly?

A CV-based trial (un testing sur CV) consists of sending out, in response to real job offers, CVs and letters of motivation (letters, that is, in which applicants “pitch” themselves to employers) created for fictive applicants who are equivalent in all respects except for one criterion of discrimination (place of origin, gender, family situation, other). If the rates at which they receive a callback in the form of a voicemail or an email inviting them to a hiring interview differ, then discriminatory hiring on account of that criterion has been pinpointed. The law on equal opportunity of 18 January 2006 legalized “the practice of unannounced audits, also called testings, as a method of proving eventual discrimination.” Since 3 April 2006, this authorization figures in article 225-3-1 of the penal code.

The CV-based trial was introduced in the United Kingdom in 1970 by Jowell and Prescott-Clarke. In France, the first such trial was carried out in the Paris region in 1979 by the Centre de Recherche et d’Etudes des Dysfonctions de l’Adaptation (CREDA) of the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS). It consisted of comparing the callback rates of French persons with origins in the Caribbean and those of French persons with origins in mainland France. The next trial was carried out in 2004 by Jean-François Amadiou, in partnership with Adia. Six criteria of discrimination were tested: gender, national origin, place of residence, physical appearance, age, and physical handicap.

Do Muslims in France suffer discrimination on account of their religion? If we are to do anything about discrimination against individuals from Muslim majority countries, it is essential to answer this question. And something does have to be

done: of France's total population of non-European immigrants, incomers from Muslim-majority countries and their children make up the largest share. But finding a slot in the workforce is particularly hard for them.⁵ To marginalize people in that way is unworthy of the country of human rights. Moreover, by nourishing resentment which Muslim rigorist (and potentially jihadist) movements may exploit, it wreaks harm on social cohesion.⁶ Lastly, the high unemployment rate of these discriminated populations is a drain on the public purse,⁷ and may also generate negative externalities such as criminality⁸ that are costly to society.

But Islam is not the only minority religion in France whose members may encounter discrimination. The antisemitism that associates Jews with power and wealth is not going away: 63% of the French queried in 2014 think that Jews have “a special relationship to money” — a result three points higher than the comparable result from 2013. As for the stereotypical belief⁹ that “Jews have too much power in France” it was upheld by 37% of those interviewed. This figure has been rising since 2008, when “only” 20% of those participating in the survey upheld this point of view (CNCDH (2015)). Against this backdrop, it is possible that persons are suffering discrimination simply because of their supposed adherence to Judaism.

To investigate the whole question of discrimination against the minority religions, I have joined forces with the Institut Montaigne to carry out a CV-based trial of unprecedented breadth. It consisted of replying to 6,231 job offers posted by employers of all types between September 2013 and September 2014 throughout the whole of mainland France. This trial compares the rates at which fictive male and female applicants are called back and invited to a hiring interview when their applications are identical in all respects except their putative religion. In particular, so as to be able to attribute eventual differences in these callback rates *exclusively* to differences in religious affiliation, the applicants all come

⁵ See Cusset et al. (2015). The battle against social marginalization is one of the top priorities of the Montaigne Institute. It features in three prominent publications: *Les oubliés de l'égalité des chances* (2004), *Banlieue de la République* edited by Gilles Kepel (2011) and *Dix ans de politique de diversité: quel bilan?* (2014).

⁶ According to journalist Elise Vincent, “salafist preachers often win popularity in impoverished neighborhoods by citing discrimination linked to ethnic origin, head covering by women, and police controls au faciès” [“by physical appearance,” an euphemism that means they stop people who belong to visible minorities]. (“Le salafisme gagne du terrain chez les musulmans,” *Le Monde*, 1st April 2015.)

⁷ Cahuc et al. (2014) show that the movement of one individual from unemployment to a full time job generates a saving of 700 euros per month for the public purse.

⁸ Using French data, Fougère et al. (2009) show that an increase in youth unemployment increases the number of “economic crimes” (break-ins, car theft, assault with a weapon, pickpocketing, drug trafficking, etc.).

⁹ In social psychology, a stereotype is “the set of attributes that subjects agree on as typical of the group [in question]” (Judd and Park (2013)).

from the same place: they are French citizens of Lebanese origin, born in 1988.¹⁰

They arrived in France after finishing junior high school (*collège*) and completed their secondary education there (*lycée*+*BTS comptabilité*, senior high school plus a certificate in bookkeeping). When they apply for jobs as bookkeepers or assistant/secretary bookkeepers, they have each had around four years of work experience.

The results reveal the existence of strong discrimination on account of religion, notably against Muslims. The probability that practicing Catholics will get a callback from a recruiter to invite them to a hiring interview is 30% higher than that for practicing Jews.¹¹ And it is twice as high as the callback rate for practicing Muslims. But this last result conceals a strong disparity based on sex. Whereas the callback rate for practicing female Catholic applicants is “only” 40% higher than that for practicing Muslim women, the callback rate for practicing Catholic men is close to four times higher than that of practicing Muslim men.

The Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial doesn't just set benchmarks for the measurement of discrimination on account of religion and stop there. It also sheds light on the drivers of discrimination. Thus, to try to offset certain negative stereotypes associated with minority applicants (especially Muslims), **Dov the practicing Jew, Michel the practicing Catholic, and Mohammed the practicing Muslim are shadowed by secularized (*laïc*) versions of themselves** — and so are their female counterparts, Esther, Nathalie, and Samira. **We also present recruiters with “outstanding” applications** that signal the exceptional quality of the applicant in every area of their CVs, **along with “ordinary” applications.**

We observe that ordinary Muslim men do better when they send a message that they are secular rather than practicing, to the point of receiving callbacks at rates equivalent to those of ordinary practicing Catholic men. Hence **it is enough for ordinary Muslim males to present themselves as secular to escape discrimination.**

¹⁰ The question arises whether the results presented in this study might not be dependent on the country of origin chosen (Lebanon). Comparison of the results of previous CV-based trials (see below) suggests that this is not the case. The discrimination undergone by Muslim applicants with respect to their Catholic counterparts is perceptibly the same, whether they come from Lebanon or Senegal. But it is true that points of comparison are still too few. One cannot say, for example, whether the conclusions of this study would remain valid with a European country of origin such as Bosnia-Herzegovina. Further research is needed to decide this question.

¹¹ It is important to stress that the discrimination against Jews revealed by this study concerns ones from the Middle East, generically called Sephardi. Further research is needed to determine whether Ashkenazi Jews are equally subject to discrimination on the French labor market.

Remark: according to the *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, “the appellation ‘Ashkenazi’ applies to the Jews of western, central, and eastern Europe who are Germanic by origin and language,” while “‘Sephardi’ applies to Jews whose ancestors lived in medieval Spain, and more generally to members of non-Ashkenazi Jewish communities.”

Recruiters seem to associate those whom they take to be ordinary practicing Muslims with transgressive religious practices, and to be disinclined to take the next step toward hiring them.

There is more: **displaying an outstanding profile rather than an ordinary one cancels out the discrimination that Jewish and Muslim women encounter, but conversely exacerbates that from which their male counterparts suffer:** male minority applicants benefit much less than their Catholic counterparts from presenting themselves as outstanding. **Notably, Muslim men are the only applicants who gain *nothing* from displaying an outstanding rather than an ordinary profile, and indeed the discrimination they suffer is never more potent than when they appear to be exceptional.** Under that circumstance, the callback rate for Muslim men is five times lower than that for Catholic men with an equally outstanding profile.

This study unfolds in four phases. Chapter 1 presents the experimental protocol; chapter 2 measures discrimination on account of religion; and chapter 3 analyzes some of its drivers. Finally, chapter 4 sets out nine approaches to policy that might reduce discrimination based on religion and visible-minority status in our country. It concludes with a single proposal for setting up citizen panels to (1) determine which approaches to favor; (2) define ways of putting them into operation; and (3) propose whatever further steps may be needed.

CHAPTER I

THE EXPERIMENTAL PROTOCOL

In 2006, Duguet et al. (2010) carried out a CV-based trial in the bookkeeping sector. Their design was to compare the rates at which two French males received callbacks inviting them to a hiring interview when their CVs were equivalent except for their national origin: the given and family names of the first one suggested French origins (Clément Meunier), while that of the second suggested Moroccan origins (Yassine Mokraoui). The results of this trial indicated that **the French citizen of Moroccan origin was four times less likely than the French citizen of French origin to receive a callback from the recruiter inviting him to a hiring interview.**

Yet the experimental protocol of their trial does not make it possible to shed light on the reasons for the disparity: **the difference in the rates at which Clément and Yassine were called back might just as well be attributable to their different national origins** (French for Clément, Moroccan for Yassine) **as to the different religious tradition to which they are assumed to belong** (Christianity for Clément, Islam for Yassine).

In order to attribute the difference in callback rates between Clément and Yassine *purely* to their religious affiliation, they would have to have had the same national origin. **That is why the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial compares the callback rates of fictive applicants who come from the same place and differ *only* in the religion imputed to them.**

1.1. THE APPLICANTS

The fictive applicants are all French citizens of Lebanese origin born in 1988. They were born Lebanese in Beirut, arrived in France at the start of senior high school (*lycée*) in 2003, and acquired French nationality in 2008. The applications they send out contain a brief cover letter, a CV, and a lengthier letter of motivation in which they “pitch” themselves to recruiters.

The religious tradition of the applicants is signaled by three pieces of information.

First their given names: Dov and Esther for the Jews, Michel and Nathalie for the Catholics, and Mohammed and Samira for the Muslims. **Second, their mother tongue, and the confessional identity of the junior high school (*collège*) from which they graduated in Beirut:** Dov and Esther are distinguished by having Hebrew as a mother tongue (but all six candidates have Arabic as a mother tongue too). As for the Catholic and Muslim applicants (Michel, Mohammed, Nathalie and Samira), the *collèges* from which they graduated were confessional: the “private bilingual French-Arab Catholic college Notre Dame de Nazareth (Beirut)”¹² for Michel and Nathalie, and the “private bilingual French-Arab Muslim college Amilieh (Beirut)”¹³ for Mohammed and Samira.¹⁴ **The third signal** of the religious affiliation of the applicants is **the branch of the scouting movement in which they worked with young people** (this information appears under the heading “outside interests” in their CVs). Dov and Esther, the recruiter learns, were active in “training young people in the Jewish scouting association Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France,” while Michel and Nathalie were involved in “training young people in the Catholic scouting association Scouts and Guides of France,” and Mohammed and Samira in “training young people in the Muslim scouting association Muslim Scouts of France.”

The other characteristics of the applicants are identical. In particular:

- They all have the same last name, “Haddad,” which signifies “blacksmith” and is as common in Lebanon as the surname “Smith” is in the English-speaking world: it may be borne indifferently by a Catholic, a Muslim, or a Jew.
- Their job category is the same, “bookkeeping,” but it is subdivided into three grades: full bookkeeper, assistant bookkeeper, and secretary bookkeeper. This field of employment was chosen because it has low sensitivity to short-term swings in the economy — an important condition, for otherwise, given the current period of

¹² See the website of this junior high school: <http://www.ndn.edu.lb/>

¹³ See the website of this junior high school: <http://www.amilieh.org/>

¹⁴ Note that Dov and Esther likewise obtained their junior high school certificates in a “private bilingual French-Arab college.” With this setup, eventual differences in callback rates between the Catholic applicants and the others cannot arise from a belief on the part of recruiters that the Catholic applicants are likely to have better French because of their schooling in confessional Catholic establishments in Lebanon, where French was more likely to be used for teaching purposes, and because of their frequentation, in France, of Catholic places of worship where French is more likely to be the language of prayer than it is in Jewish or Muslim places of worship. Such a belief might be legitimate in the absence of any signal that *all* the applicants had mastery of French. Note that this mastery is emphasized not only in the CVs of all the applicants, but also in their letters of motivation, where recruiters read: “I wish to stress that although I was born Lebanese of Lebanese parents, I command French perfectly, having been schooled in Lebanon up until the time I arrived in France (at the start of senior high school) in establishments that were bilingual in French and Arabic.”

economic difficulty, the callback rates might not have risen much above zero for any of the applicants.¹⁵

- They obtained their senior high school diploma (*Baccalauréat* or simply “*bac*”) in the field of management science and technology (*STG, Sciences et Technologies de la Gestion*) from the Lycée Emile Dubois¹⁶ in the 14th arrondissement of Paris. As well, the bookkeepers and assistant bookkeepers earned a technical certificate (*BTS, Brevet de technicien supérieur*) in bookkeeping and organizational management (*CGO, Comptabilité et gestion des organisations*), while the secretary-bookkeepers earned a certificate qualifying them for the post of “managerial assistant in small and medium-sized business and industry” (*Assistant(e) de gestion PME/PMI*).
- The applicants have each had about four years of work experience, which they got in Paris and the surrounding region (the Île de France) by working on successive fixed-term contracts varying in length from six to 18 months.¹⁷

The aim of the Valfort-Institut Montaigne study is not just to measure discrimination on account of religion, but also to shed light on what drives it.

The experimental protocol thus includes applications from “secularized” job seekers as well as the applications from the “practicing” Jews, Muslims, and Christians described above. The applications from the secular job seekers are identical to those from the practicing applicants, except for the branch of scouting in which they did youth work. In the secularized CVs, the recruiter reads this signal: they “trained young people in the laic scouting association Girl and Boy Scouts of France.”

The protocol likewise includes CVs of “outstanding” quality along with “ordinary” ones, for both practicing and secularized applicants. Compared to the ordinary CVs, the outstanding ones signal the excellence of the applicants under every heading.

¹⁵ “Against a gloomy economic backdrop and rising unemployment, the auditing, bookkeeping, and finance sector is experiencing stable recruitment. A small rise in intentions to hire, 4%, was even observed for 2013. Supply remains steady, and applicants do not have trouble finding jobs.” Source: “Audit, compta, finance: des métiers qui ne connaissent pas la crise,” site *regionsjob.com* updated 17 May 2013. See also Vincent Bouquet, “La finance et la comptabilité d’entreprise recrutent toujours,” *Les Echos*, 16 October 2014: “Every business has to keep track of its accounts, control its costs, and steer its financial performance,” notes the recruiting firm [Robert Half] to explain the resilience of the labor market in finance and business bookkeeping.”

¹⁶ See the website of this lycée: http://www.ac-paris.fr/serail/jcms/s2_271306/ee-lg-emile-dubois-portail

¹⁷ The maximum duration for a fixed-term contract (*CDD, contrat à durée déterminée*) is 18 months, which may be extended if the employee will definitely be leaving at the end of it (up to 24 months), if it concerns a manager who has been recruited for a precise task (up to 36 months), or if the person concerned is a senior (up to 36 months). Source: “Quelle peut être la durée maximale d’un CDD?”, site *vosdroits.service-public.fr* updated on 30 October 2014.

- They made the honors list when they graduated from high school, whereas the ordinary young men and women received no special mention.
- They are also endowed with more work experience of higher quality, having completed one internship and four successive short-term contracts (as opposed to just three for the ordinary profiles), one of which was in an accounting firm (an experience highly esteemed by recruiters). The career path to date of these exceptional applicants amounts to accumulated job experience of 4.5 years (54 months). The amount of their job experience exceeds that of the ordinary applicants by one year, meaning that the time they spent between jobs was on average much less than that of the ordinary applicants. The outstanding applicants needed less than two months on average to find a new job, as against almost six months for the ordinary profiles.
- They proffer a *confirmed* level of mastery of four different bookkeeping/payroll/management software systems valued by recruiters, whereas the ordinary profiles signal an *intermediate* level of mastery of just one of them.
- Their level of English is “fluent (reading + + +, writing + + +, spoken + + +)” as opposed to “beginner (reading +, writing +, spoken +).”
- The outstanding applicants practice one of their extra-curricular activities, Sudoku, at competition level. In their CVs the recruiter reads “Sudoku (qualified in 2011, 2012, and 2013 to participate in the French Sudoku Championship),” whereas in the CVs of the ordinary applicants he finds the bare mention “Sudoku.”

The variations in the applications reviewed thus yield 24 types of applicant:

(3 religions) x (2 genders) x (2 religious profiles) x (2 qualities).¹⁸

To these 24 applicant types are added six types for “audit” purposes, which aim to ensure that any eventual discrimination directed at Dov, Mohammed, or Samira is not simply the result of their “exotic” given names. **The audit applications are identical to the outstanding applications of the job seekers who practice their religions, except for the fact that all the audit applicants bear the same given name, whatever their religion.** This name is one that could equally well be borne by a Catholic, a Jew, or a Muslim, hence one that recruiters would likely perceive as more familiar than “Dov,” “Mohammed,” or “Samira.” For the men it is “Adam,” for the women it is “Myriam.”

¹⁸ The expression “religious profile” designates the alternative between “practicing” and “secular” (*laïc*) individuals. The term “quality” designates the alternative between the “ordinary” and the “outstanding” individuals.

In total, for each job grade tested (full bookkeeper, assistant bookkeeper, secretary bookkeeper), the present CV-based trial comprises 30 types of application. These applications are spread out across the departments (the basic territorial-administrative units) of France, meaning that the postal addresses appearing on the CVs and letters of motivation differ from one department to another. The applicants reside in the downtown quarter of whatever city serves as the administrative capital (*préfecture*) of the department in which they are applying for a job.¹⁹ The « type » CVs and letters of motivation used in the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial are presented in Appendix 1.

1.2. SENDING OUT APPLICATIONS AND GATHERING RESPONSES FROM RECRUITERS

The CV-based trial unfolded over a period of one year. The first applications were sent out on Monday 23 September 2013, and the last ones on Friday 19 September 2014. The tally of the responses of recruiters was completed on Monday 1 December 2014.²⁰

The standard procedure for this CV-based trial was to respond to offers for bookkeeping jobs that were posted on the website of Pôle Emploi, the national employment agency, in mainland France (excluding the overseas territories). Two special precautions were taken:

- **Only job offers that allowed the application to be sent directly to the firm posting a vacancy were treated.** The experimental protocol thus excludes job offers posted by such intermediaries as temporary employment agencies, recruitment consultancies, or counselors at Pôle Emploi. The fact is that the recruiting behavior of such employment intermediaries will not necessarily reflect that of the firms looking to hire, and it is the latter who have the last word about whom they choose to employ.
- In order to keep recruiters from detecting the presence of a trial, **the experimental protocol also bars us from responding to more than one job offer posted by the same firm,** even if these offers concern branches in different localities.

¹⁹ Naturally recruiters located outside the national capital region (the Île de France) might find it odd to receive applications from persons who, albeit now domiciled locally, completed their secondary schooling and earned their certificates in Paris and began their careers in the Paris region. So for all the applicants domiciled in the provinces, a recent change of address is signalled by the note “new address from 1 September 2013” to their street address, 1 September 2013 being prior to the date the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial was launched.

²⁰ The last recruiters to whom applications were sent thus had six weeks to respond. That far exceeds the average response time (17 days) measured for the sample of employers throughout the whole period of the trial.

1.2.1. Sending out the applications

For each job offer, in each department, one of the 30 types of application is selected at random and sent to the recruiter by email.²¹ The cover letter reads as follows²² :

Sir or Madam,

Please find enclosed my CV and my letter of motivation in response to offer number [to be filled in] which appeared today at the website of Pôle Emploi.

I trust you will find everything in order.

[Given name] Haddad

List of enclosures: Curriculum Vitae.pdf and Letter of motivation.pdf

The randomized selection of applications guarantees that their content will be independent of whatever characteristics of the job and the firm (permanent versus fixed term, area of activity) might influence the callback rates. **Any differences in the callback rates among the types of application can thus be attributed solely to differences in their content.**

On top of that, in order to exclude the possibility, should it arise, that differences in callback rates among applicants are simply the result of chance, each type of CV was sent to a large number of job offers (a little over 200).²³ **The conclusions reached by the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial thus rely on the treatment of 6,231 job offers — an unprecedented volume of applications.**

²¹ All the applicants have an email address of this kind: [forename].haddad1988@gmail.com.

²² The subject line of the email is "Application (job offer number [to be completed])."

²³ According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), it is necessary to send each application (that of the minority applicant and that of the majority applicant) to at least 175 job offers, in order to be able to reject, with a less than 5% chance of error, the possibility that a "threshold" difference in the callback rate between the applicants has arisen at random. This "threshold" difference is the minimum of the differences in callback rates between the minority applicant and the majority applicant, calculated on the basis of CV-based trials carried out in different countries (see Bovenkerk (1992)).

1.2.2. Gathering responses from recruiters

Recruiters may call applicants back in two ways: by leaving a voicemail or sending an email.²⁴ The email and voicemail inboxes of all the applicants were checked daily.

Out of respect for the recruiters who did issue an invitation to any applicant, we took care to send them the following email on the day after they contacted the applicant:

Sir or Madam,

I am very grateful for the interest you have taken in my application. Unfortunately, I am unable to follow it up, as I have just accepted an offer of employment on an open-ended contract.

Please accept, Sir or Madam, my best regards.

[Given name] Haddad

1.3. ADVANCES OVER PRIOR CV-BASED TRIALS

Two CV-based trials have previously attempted to isolate the effect of the putative religion of job applicants on the rates at which they receive callbacks: that staged in 2009 by Adida, Laitin and Valfort, and that carried out in 2011 by Pierné. In both cases the CVs sent out were of ordinary quality.

Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010) compare the rates at which two Frenchwomen of Senegalese origin, one of them Muslim and the other Catholic, were called back about a job in the bookkeeping category. The Muslim woman, “Khadija Diouf,” had worked with “Secours islamique” (an Islamic relief agency), and had volunteered with the “Muslim Scouts of France.” The Catholic woman, “Marie Diouf,” had worked with “Secours catholique,” and had volunteered with the “Scouts and Guides of France.”

²⁴ A cellphone number was created for each “given name” used in the trial (Adam, Dov, Esther, Michel, Myriam, Mohammed, Nathalie, Samira). The greeting for each voicemail inbox consists of the applicant stating his or her given and family names. The same male voice recorded the greetings for the voicemail of Adam, Dov, Michel, and Mohammed, and the same female voice recorded the greetings for the voicemail of Esther, Myriam, Nathalie, and Samira. These voices betray no foreign accent.

Pierné (2013) for his part compares the rates at which two Frenchmen of North African origin, one of them Muslim and the other Catholic, were called back about a job in the real estate sector. The Muslim, “Mohammed Abdelkrim,” was a member of the “Young Muslim Association of Reims.” The Catholic, “Farid Bouras,” was a member of the group “Roads to Compostella” (Compostella being a pilgrimage destination for Catholics).

These CV-based trials pinpoint strong discrimination on account of religion.

Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010) show that an applicant has 2.5 times less chance of being invited to a hiring interview when she is perceived as being Muslim rather than Catholic. And Pierné (2013) finds a ratio of 1.6:1 between the callback rates of the Catholic applicant and the Muslim applicant.

These prior CV-based trials, however, concentrate on just one minority religion,

Islam. Judaism is left out of account, and for that matter has never been the object of a full CV-based trial, either in France or abroad. They also have at least three other shortcomings:

- **They focus on either one gender or the other:** women in the case of Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010), men in the case of Pierné (2013).
- **Their experimental protocol was confined to measuring the extent of religion-based discrimination, without studying the mechanisms that drive it.**
- **The signal of religious orientation may be judged too strong for the Muslim woman in Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010), and too weak for the Catholic man in Pierné (2013).** Recruiters could easily have confused the term “islamique” in “Secours islamique” with the loaded term “islamiste” (i.e. “Islamist”).²⁵ As for Pierné’s Catholic man, he bears a typically Arab first name, “Farid,” which most French people would no doubt spontaneously associate with the Muslim religion. It is thus possible that Farid’s application was rejected by many recruiters on account of his first name alone, before they had even read far enough to find out, from his extra-curricular activities, that Farid was actually Catholic and not Muslim. These shortcomings in their experimental protocols might have caused Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010) to overestimate discrimination against Muslims, and Pierné (2013) to underestimate it, something the results of the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial confirm. This trial is distinguished from the previous ones by employing less emphatic signals of religious belonging. The signals are neither too

²⁵ If it exists, such a tendency on the part of recruiters to conflate different aspects of the Muslim religion would be no less problematic, for it would in itself constitute a source of discrimination.

strong (the term “Islamic” is never used) nor too weak (the Catholic applicants do not have Muslim-sounding first names).²⁶

²⁶ One further shortcoming of these prior CV-based trials may be noted. Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010) reply to a relatively small number of job offers for each of the two types of CV tested: Khadija Diouf’s application was sent to 133 job offers, and Marie Diouf’s to 138. This is significantly below the threshold of 200 job offers per type of applicant established for the present trial. As for the experimental protocol followed by Pierné (2013), it consisted of sending the CVs of both Farid and Mohammed to the same recruiter (300 job offers were treated). This approach entails a high risk of detection by the recruiter, and thus of bias in the way she deals with the applicants. Such bias might lead the recruiter either to respond more favorably to the Muslim applicant than she otherwise would, since she might fear getting sued (hence genuine discrimination against the Muslim would be underestimated), or else to reject the Muslim applicant at a higher rate than she otherwise would, out of irritation at being made the target of a CV-based trial (hence genuine discrimination against the Muslim would be overestimated).

CHAPTER II

IS THERE DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGION IN FRANCE?

Do French recruiters react more positively when a job application arrives from Michel or Nathalie than they do when it comes from Dov, Esther, Mohammed, or Samira? What factors may aggravate religion-based discrimination in France?

2.1. COMPARISON OF THE CALLBACK RATES OF APPLICANTS PRACTICING A RELIGION

Figure 1 presents the callback rates for male and female applicants practicing the Catholic, Jewish, or Muslim religions, meaning the proportion of job offers for which each of these six profiles is contacted by a recruiter and invited to a hiring interview.

CV-based trials probably lead us to underestimate discrimination in hiring

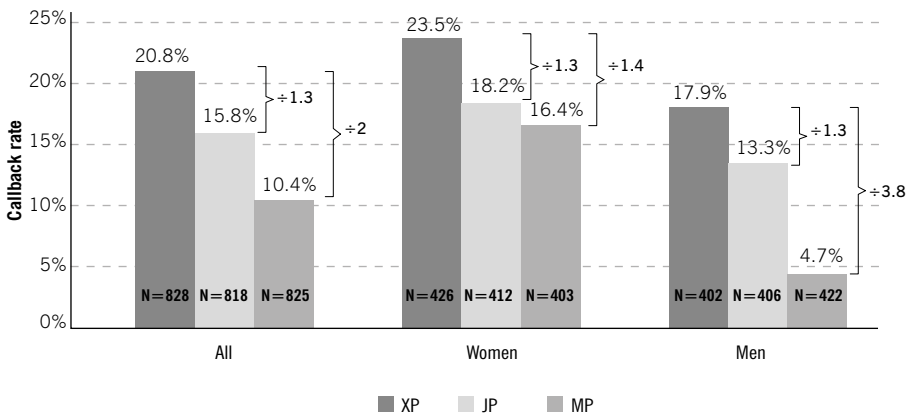
A CV-based trial consists of comparing the callback rates of different fictive applicants. By definition, therefore, it does not enable us to measure eventual differences in the rates at which people get hired. To detect those, it would be necessary to prolong the test (and the fiction) by sending fake applicants to the interviews.

If we just send CVs to recruiters rather than sending actors to interviews, do we risk overestimating the amount of discrimination that takes place in real world hiring, or underestimating it? We risk overshooting if, once recruiters have drawn up their short lists, the “minority” applicants among that subset are being treated more favorably at interview than the “majority” applicants. In the contrary case, we risk undershooting.

Cédiey and Forni (2008) are the only researchers in France to have carried out a test combining CVs and hiring interviews. These authors show that **“minority” applicants** (French persons with origins in either sub-Saharan Africa or north

Africa) are subjected to discrimination throughout the recruitment process in comparison to “majority” applicants (French persons with no recent migration in their family background). The probability that recruiters will invite them to a hiring interview is slimmer, and once the interviews have taken place, the probability that recruiters will offer them the job is likewise slimmer than it is for the majority applicant. **These results suggest that the estimates obtained from CV-based trials like ours are conservative: they risk underestimating discrimination, not overestimating it.**

Figure 1: Callback rates for practicing Catholics, Jews, and Muslims, unseparated by gender and broken down by gender.



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers to which the type of application corresponding to that bar was sent. For example, applications on behalf of male and female practicing Catholics were sent to 828 job postings (426 and 402 job postings were treated for female and male applications respectively). A bracket signals a statistically significant difference.²⁷ XP: practicing Catholic. JP: practicing Jew. MP: practicing Muslim.

²⁷ The expression “statistically significant” means that this difference is large and/or systematic enough (in other words, it is founded on a great many observations) that it cannot have arisen at random.

2.1.1. Female applicants are favored over male ones

Before comparing differences in callback rates among applicants practicing different religions, let us note one striking result: **whatever their religion, women are called back at significantly higher rates than men.** This result is in line with the stereotypes about gender which IMS-Entreprendre pour la Cité highlights in its 2012 report: “our results show that the professional competences associated with men and women tend to form a contrasting pair — the manager and the assistant, with the male manager pondering and choosing strategy, and the female assisting him, attentive and diplomatic, doing the planning and organizing.” In other words, while women are thought best at *fonctions d’assistanat*, “ancillary functions” (a category into which the jobs of secretary bookkeeper, assistant bookkeeper, even full bookkeeper all fall) men are perceived as natural leaders and are thought less easy to supervise when performing such functions. And indeed, the job category of bookkeeping is 85% female according to a 2013 survey by DARES, a government department that produces and analyzes statistics concerning the French labor market.

2.1.2. Strong discrimination against Jews and above all Muslims

Practicing Muslims suffer more discrimination than practicing Jews, who themselves suffer discrimination in comparison to practicing Catholics. More precisely, we observe that the probability for practicing Catholics to be contacted by recruiters and invited to a hiring interview is higher:

- **by 30% than it is for practicing Jews;**
- **by 100% than it is for practicing Muslims — twice as high in other words.**

We may compare the degrees of discrimination we find to the degree of discrimination encountered by blacks with respect to whites in the United States. The discrimination encountered in France by practicing Jews with respect to practicing Catholics lies below that transatlantic threshold — but French discrimination against practicing Muslims with respect to practicing Catholics lies well above it. A CV-based trial performed in the US by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) in the secretarial and sales sectors shows that an applicant has a 50% better chance of getting a callback to a hiring interview when her or his forename and surname signal that this person is white (“Emily Walsh” or “Greg Baker”) rather than African-American (“Lakisha Washington” or “Jamal Jones”).

But discrimination against practicing Muslims, measured on the overall population of applicants (male and female), masks a strong gender-based disparity. Whereas the callback rate for female Catholic applicants is “only” 40% higher than that for female Muslim applicants, the callback rate for Catholic men is almost four times higher than that for Muslim men.

This factor of four converges on the conclusions of the CV-based trial carried out, likewise in the bookkeeping sector, by Duguet et al. (2010) on applications from males who also varied in quality.²⁸ The fact that **Mohammed Haddad suffers just as much discrimination in comparison to Michel Haddad as Yassine Mokraoui does in comparison to Clément Meunier** suggests that **Yassine Mokraoui is being penalized not so much because of his non-European origins as because of his putative religion.** In a report assessing the stereotypes held by about 1,500 managers based in France concerning employees from outside the core area of the European Union (that is, sub-Saharan Africans, Asians, east Europeans, and north Africans), the organization IMS-Entreprendre pour la Cité presents results that also cohere with this interpretation. **It turns out that people from north Africa are the only group to whose religion managers allude, thus revealing, according to the authors of the report, an improper amalgam they have made in their minds between two distinct things: “north African” and “Muslim.”**

The report from IMS-Entreprendre pour la Cité concerning stereotypes about national origin alerts us to this amalgam or conflation, and also helps to explain the better outcomes that Muslim women experience in dealing with recruiters compared to Muslim men. **Once again north African Muslims stand out: they are the only group assessed by the managers for whom the stereotypes vary by gender. Muslim women from north Africa get the benefit of stereotypes much more positive than those clinging to their male counterparts.** Muslim men from north Africa are essentially perceived as “hard to manage,” characterized by “a complicated relationship to authority” and for that matter by “male chauvinism.” Conversely, Muslim women from north Africa are characterized as “hard-working” and “courageous.”

²⁸ It is possible that the discrimination against Mohammed Haddad would be even stronger for occupations just as qualified as jobs in bookkeeping, but that entail more extensive interaction with customers. Thus Amadiou (2004) shows that the likelihood of a French person of north African origin being invited to a hiring interview is 5.4 times lower than that of a French person of French origin when they both apply for jobs as salespersons with a qualification of BTS (*Brevet de technicien supérieur*).

2.1.3. An intensity of discrimination observable in other economic sectors and for other levels of qualification

The discrimination pinpointed against Muslims reaches magnitudes close to those identified for discrimination against French persons of north African origin in sectors other than bookkeeping. The finding that Catholics (both genders combined) are twice as likely as Muslims to get a callback corresponds to the factor of 2:1 (or close to 2:1) measured by the Casino group of companies in 2008 when they did an internal trial of their own on jobs in retailing (cashier, salesperson, forklift truck operator), and by Cédiey and Foroni (2008) on jobs in food service and sales. Likewise, a factor in the vicinity of 4:1 has been found for male applicants seeking a job as a cashier in the retail sector (Berson (2012)). **Thus discrimination against Muslims appears not to be specific to the bookkeeping sector. It is also detectable at similar intensities in other sectors and for less qualified professional profiles.**

Dare one hope at any rate that the intensity of discrimination falls off when the job on offer is a highly qualified one? Petit et al. (2013) shed light on this question. Using a CV-based trial, these authors study the rates at which recruiters called applicants back to invite them to interview for jobs as IT developers at level “bac+5” (Master’s degree). They measure an average ratio between callback rates for French persons of French origin and callback rates for French persons of Moroccan origin of 1.6:1. That certainly looks better than the ratio of 2:1 in Figure 1. But we cannot draw the general conclusion from their result that hiring discrimination against Muslims falls off as the qualifications demanded rise. The fact is that, unlike the occupations reviewed above, individuals who have reached the grade of “IT developer bac+5” are sought after on the French labor market, and it is no secret that recruitment challenges like that will reduce discriminatory behavior on the part of employers (Baert et al. (2015)).

Let us scrutinize the data of the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial a little more closely: they actually point to the possibility that the intensity of discrimination against Muslims is *independent* of the level of qualification demanded. Muslim applicants (men and women) meet just as much discrimination when they apply for jobs as full bookkeepers as they do when they apply for jobs as assistant or secretary bookkeepers, though the level of competence needed to apply for the first is certainly higher.

But this result masks a strong gender-based variation: Samira suffers more discrimination with respect to Nathalie, whereas Mohammed suffers less with respect to Michel, when they are applying for jobs as full bookkeepers rather than for ones as assistant or

secretary bookkeepers.²⁹ This contrasting pattern, depending as it does on the gender of the applicant, corresponds to the findings of Petit et al. (2013) about the pattern of hiring for the position “IT developer bac+5.” The ratio between the callback rates of the French woman of French origin and the French woman of north African origin reached 2.2:1, whereas it came to only 1.3:1 for their male counterparts. These differences suggest that female Muslim applicants are seen by recruiters as likely to do better in less highly qualified positions of an ancillary kind than they are in more highly qualified positions of an autonomous kind. But when recruiters are faced with a male Muslim applicant, that expectation is reversed.

In sum, therefore, it appears that **a rise in the level of the qualifications demanded does not reduce discrimination against Muslim applicants overall (both genders). But its impact does vary as a function of the gender of the applicant: such a rise boosts discrimination against Muslim women, but acts to reduce it against Muslim men.**³⁰

2.1.4. France, a leader in discrimination on account of national origin and religion.

Appendix 2 presents a comparative table of the results of CV-based trials carried out in France and elsewhere, allowing us to compare the callback rates of citizens without recent migration in their family background to the callback rates of citizens who come from Muslim majority countries. **Out of 14 countries (11 of them in Europe),³¹ France is the one where discrimination against persons originating from north Africa, the Middle East, and Turkey is the strongest.** Sweden follows close behind. Germany lies at the other end of the spectrum: the callback rate for Germans of German origin is only 10% higher than that for Germans of Turkish origin.

These results corroborate the 2012 survey by the Eurobarometer on the perceptions of

²⁹ The ratio between the callback rates of Nathalie and Samira is close to 1:1 for positions as assistant and secretary bookkeepers, but it rises to 1.9:1 for positions as full bookkeeper. Conversely, the ratio between the callback rates of Michel and Mohammed is higher for the first type of job, where it rises to 5.1:1, than for the second type (where it reaches 2.9:1).

³⁰ By way of comparison, the intensity of discrimination against Jewish applicants (both genders) is not influenced by the type of job (assistant/secretary bookkeeper versus full bookkeeper) for which they apply. And this absence of effect does not mask any variation by gender. In other words, employers seem not to attribute different qualities to Jewish men and Jewish women.

³¹ These 14 countries are Germany, the United Kingdom, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Spain, the United States, France, Greece, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland.

discrimination within the 27-member European Union. **France is the country with the highest proportion of persons who believe that discrimination on account of national origins and religion is “widespread”: 76% and 66%** respectively. Sweden holds second and third place respectively (behind Belgium), and Germany comes off a lot better (“only” 51% and 34% of Germans believe that discrimination on account of national origins and religion is prevalent in their country).

2.1.5. And if the fictive applicants had included a French person of French origin signaling no religious attachment?

The trial previously mentioned, carried out by Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010) on the same occupational category, bookkeeping, sheds some light on this question. To this point we have mentioned only the applications prepared by these authors for Khadija Diouf and Marie Diouf. In fact, for each pair of similar job postings they sent the applications of Marie Diouf and Aurélie Ménard to the first job in the pair, and the applications of Khadija Diouf and Aurélie Ménard to the second job in the pair. Aurélie Ménard is a reference applicant — a French person of French origin endowed with a CV equivalent to those of Khadija and Marie, except for the signal of religious attachment: she doesn't appear to have any. **The callback rate for Aurélie Ménard was 26%, which is very close to that for the practicing Catholic Nathalie Haddad (23.5%)³²** in the subsequent Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial. Hence Nathalie is not penalized with respect to Aurélie, though she does display her religious attachment. This result would seem to compromise the sincerity of the French when they maintain, as a large majority of them do, that all French citizens ought to keep their religious engagements discreet: 82% of them take the view that “religion is a private matter [and that] signs of religious attachment ought to be kept discreet in public” (Sociovision (2014)). **We see here that this imperative of religious discretion really only applies to the minority religions**, an assessment reinforced by the analysis (presented below) of the impact on the applicants of signaling that they are secular rather than practicing. **It would seem, then, that a display of attachment to the majority religion (Catholicism) allows French citizens with origins outside Europe to neutralize the discrimination to which they are ordinarily subject when they do not mention religion at all.** This result was already present in Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010), who find that the callback

³² This callback rate is the same whether Nathalie Haddad presents an ordinary profile or an outstanding one (see below for more detail).

rates of the practicing Catholic French woman of Senegalese origin Marie Diouf are not statistically different from those of the reference applicant Aurélie Ménard.

2.1.6. Results specific to the mode of recruitment tested?

The question may arise whether the intensity of discrimination against minority applicants would have been different if they had delivered their applications by hand, or if they had been targeted *via Facebook* or *LinkedIn*. Submitting a CV for a posted job offer certainly remains the classic mode of recruitment: 82% of employers utilize job offer sites on the internet, 58% turn to Pôle Emploi, and 37% to recruiting agencies (RegionsJob (2013)). But 68% of them also hire from unsolicited applications (which are sometimes hand-delivered by the applicant), and 49% also recruit on social media.

Do minority applicants increase their chances when they deliver their applications in person? The results of Pager et al. (2009) suggest not. This sociologist measures much stronger discrimination against male African-American applicants who do their job hunting in person than that identified by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004): the callback rate for white applicants in that case is twice as high as that of their African-American counterparts (it is “only” 50% higher when the applicants deliver their applications by post, fax, or email.)³³

There is no reason to think that recruitment via social media would make it possible to limit discrimination against minority applicants either: these media generally convey fuller information than that presented in a CV with letter of motivation, and are thus **more likely to reveal one’s membership in a minority group.** Recruiters exploit this extra information. Manant et al. (2014) show that the fictive applicant Thomas Marvaux, whose application matches that of Stéphane Marcueil word for word, gets called back at a rate 40% higher than Stéphane does. This gap is explained by differences in the information presented on the Facebook page of these applicants, where the reader learns that Thomas was born at Brive-la-Gaillarde and speaks Italian, while Stéphane was born at Marrakech and speaks Arabic.

³³ The male applicants of Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) and those of Pager et al. (2009) are seeking jobs in similar sectors: sales in the first case, and sales and food service in the second.

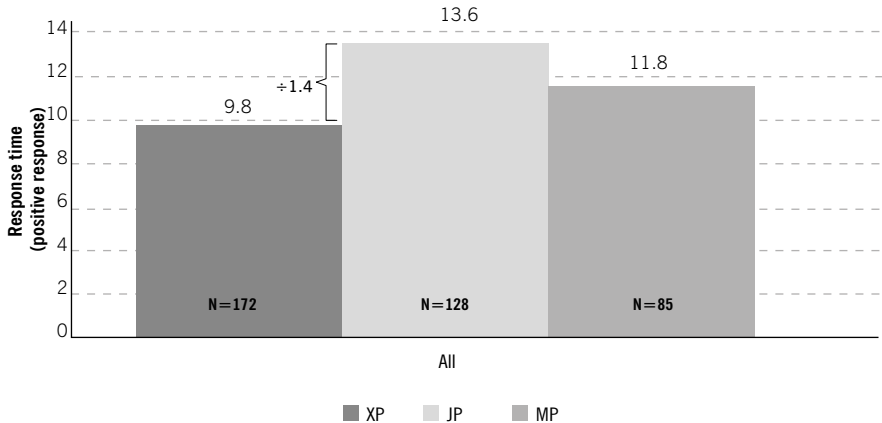
2.2. OTHER INDICATORS OF DISCRIMINATION

On equivalent applications, Jews and Muslims are less likely than Catholics to get a positive response in the form of an invitation to a hiring interview. Are they also treated less well in cases where the recruiter does issue them an invitation — or indeed when he rejects them?

2.2.1. Behavior of recruiters who do call applicants back

When recruiters do call back with an invitation to an interview, it takes them 3.8 days longer to call the Jewish applicant back, and two days longer to call the Muslim applicant back, than it does for them to call the Catholic applicant back (*cf.* Figure 2).³⁴

Figure 2: Response time, in days, of recruiters who do call back (both genders)



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers for which the type of application corresponding to that bar received a positive callback from the recruiter. A bracket signals a statistically significant difference. XP: practicing Catholic. JP: practicing Jew. MP: practicing Muslim.

But on account of the low number of job offers for which the Muslim applicant does get invited to a hiring interview (N = 85), only the difference between the lag in responding to the Catholic and Jewish applicants is statistically significant. These

³⁴ Figures 2, 3 and 4 focus on the applicants as a group, with no distinction of gender. Making the analysis conditional on whether the recruiter responded positively (with a callback) or negatively (with a rejection) shrinks the number of observations per bar of the histogram to the point where no statistically reliable conclusion can be drawn from a breakdown by gender.

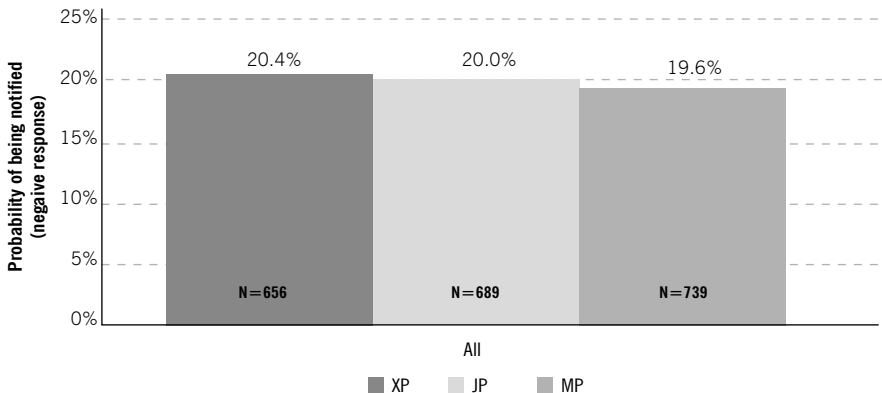
results suggest that **Jewish and Muslim applicants are not necessarily the first choice of employers, even when recruiters do eventually follow up on their applications.**

2.2.2. Behavior of recruiters toward applicants whom they decide not to interview

Figures 3 and 4 compare the behavior of recruiters with respect to different religions when their response is the negative one of deciding not to invite the applicant to a hiring interview.

Figure 3 focuses on the probability of the recruiter letting applicants know of this rejection, as opposed to not letting them know one way or the other. Figure 3 indicates **no difference in the way applicants of different religions are treated. They all have the same likelihood (around 20%) of the recruiter letting them know that their application has been discarded.**

Figure 3: Probability of being notified when the response is negative (both genders)



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers for which the type of application corresponding to that bar did not receive a positive response in the form of a callback from the recruiter. XP: practicing Catholic. JP: practicing Jew. MP: practicing Muslim.

Figure 4 analyzes the tone of the emails of rejection that are sent by recruiters.³⁵ This tone is measured by the sum of seven binary variables:

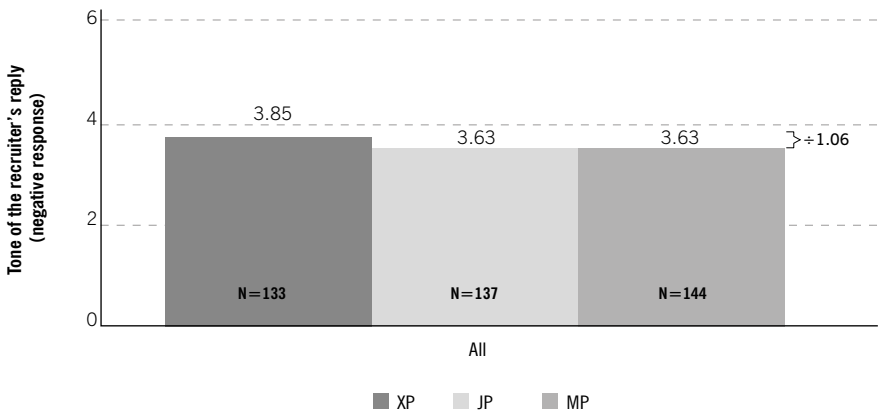
- the “personalization” variable: = 1 if the email of refusal is personalized (for example “Bonjour Monsieur/Madame Haddad”), = 0 if not

³⁵ In 99.4% of the cases in which recruiters do inform applicants of a rejection, they resort to email, using voicemail in only six cases out of 1006, or 0.6%.

- the “thank you” variable = 1 if the recruiter thanks the applicant for applying, = 0 if not
- the “explanation” variable = 1 if the recruiter gives a reason for the rejection (job already filled, inadequacy of the profile submitted, etc.), = 0 if not
- the “reassurance” variable = 1 if the recruiter assures the applicant that the refusal does not reflect negatively on the quality of his or her profile, = 0 if not
- the “encouragement” variable = 1 if the recruiter encourages the applicant to keep on hunting for a job, = 0 if not
- the “retention” variable = 1 if the recruiter states that he or she will keep the applicant’s CV on file in case there is another opening, = 0 if not
- the “politeness in closing” variable = 1 if the recruiter employs polite expressions in closing, = 0 if not

The tone of the email of rejection sent by the recruiter may thus range from 0 to 7. Figure 4 shows that the tone of the emails of rejection **is less affable for Jews and Muslims than for Catholics**. On a scale of 0 to 7, the “average” tone is 3.85 for Catholics and 3.63 for both Jews and Muslims. The difference between these two values is slight, no doubt because replies to applicants are generated automatically in a great many firms. It is, however, statistically significant.

Figure 4: Tone of the recruiter’s reply when informing applicants of a rejection (both genders)



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers for which the type of application corresponding to that bar received an email of rejection from the recruiter. XP: practicing Catholic. JP: practicing Jew. MP: practicing Muslim.

2.3. AGGRAVATING FACTORS IN DISCRIMINATION

A range of factors may influence discrimination against minority job seekers. They can be grouped into three categories:

- the characteristics of the job: limited-term (CDD, *contrat à durée déterminée*) versus open-ended (CDI, *contrat à durée indéterminée*).³⁶ It is possible that recruiters are ready to take more risks, and so discriminate less, when the hire is for a limited term as opposed to permanent;³⁷
- the characteristics of the firm seeking to hire: number of employees, sector of activity (primary, secondary, or tertiary), and status (non-profit, private, or public);
- the characteristics of the employment zone in which the firm is located: proportion of immigrants,³⁸ and proportion within that group of persons of non-European origin, unemployment rate in 2013, and median fiscal income. This third category also comprises the electoral score of the Front National in the first round of the 2012 French presidential election in the municipality (*commune*) in which the firm is located.

Unfortunately, **only the impact of the characteristics of the job and the locality where the firm is located can be analyzed with precision.** The impact of the size of the firm, the sector of activity, and the status of the firm are, conversely, hard to pin down. In effect, **the essential part of the sample is composed of very small firms (TPE) and small to medium size firms (PME).**³⁹ So it is not possible to rigorously compare the recruiting behavior of these firms with that of intermediate size firms (ETI) and very large firms (TGE), for the latter supply too few observations.⁴⁰ **Likewise, more than 90% of the sample is composed of firms in**

³⁶ Open-ended labor contracts (CDI) represent 56% of the job postings to which the fictive applicants responded; fixed term contracts (CDD) thus amount to 44% of the sum of job postings.

³⁷ Employers may take the view that the consequences of a disappointing hire are less burdensome in the case of a CDD, for by definition such a labor contract will “naturally” expire within a horizon that, in the setting of the present trial, does not exceed 5.5 months on average.

³⁸ According to the definition adopted by the High Council on Integration (*Haut Conseil à l'Intégration*), an immigrant is a person residing in France who was born abroad and was non-French at birth.

³⁹ A TPE (*Très Petite Entreprise*) employs less than 20 wage earners, a PME (*Petite et Moyenne Entreprise*) employs between 20 and 249 of them, an ETI (*Entreprise de Taille Intermédiaire*) between 250 and 4,999, and a TGE (*Très Grande Entreprise*) 5,000 or more.

⁴⁰ Information about the size of the firm is available for 5,443 of the 6,231 firms, or 87% of the sample. TPE and PME make up 56% (N=3,056) and 37% (N=1,992) respectively of these firms. The remaining 7% is made up of ETI and TGE (N=395). While ETI and TGE represent less than 1% of all firms in France (source: INSEE), they contribute about half of job creation (source: OECD). Their under-representation in this study flows from the imperative to respond to no more than one job offer per firm, so as to avoid any risk that the present trial might be detected. It is worth noting that the intensity of discrimination on account of religion is the same within the TPE and PME respectively.

the tertiary sector, and less than 15% of the firms in the sample belong in the public or non-profit sector.⁴¹

The results show that the intensity of discrimination on account of religion is the same, whether the labor contract offered is for a fixed term or not. It is, however, sensitive to these two local factors:

- **the electoral score of the Front National in the commune where the firm is located ;**
- **the proportion, among recent immigrants in that employment zone, of persons of non-European origin.**

These two variables constitute aggravating factors in discrimination against minority applicants, *whether they are Jews or Muslims*.⁴²

The positive correlation between the score of the Front National and discrimination against Jews and Muslims is not surprising. True, since being elected president of her party on 16 January 2011, Marine Le Pen has distanced herself from the antisemitic statements, some verging on Holocaust denial, that have helped to forge the image of her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen. Yet at elections that have been held at various levels since 2011, antisemitism has continued to surface in the utterances of many Front National candidates without them suffering any systematic sanction from party bosses.⁴³ When it comes to Islam, however, Marine Le Pen's stance is less ambiguous. In her speech upon becoming leader, she "let it be understood that Europe and France were at risk of turning into 'caliphates,' in other words territories subject to the spiritual and temporal power of Islam... The Front National now perceives immigration primarily through the filter of religious radicalization." (Perrineau (2014), p 98).

⁴¹ It would have been equally interesting to include another factor: whether or not the firm in question had signed on to the "Charter for diversity" launched in 2004, or received the label of approval for diversity awarded by AFNOR (*Association française de normalisation*, an organization promoting standardization) since 2008. Regrettably, these qualifications apply to no more than 151 of the 6,231 firms to which applications were sent, a number too small to allow us to study the impact of a firm's commitment to promote and respect workforce diversity on its recruiting behavior.

⁴² Let us suppose that each of these variables is augmented by a standard deviation, in this case 6 percentage points for the first variable and 14 percentage points for the second. Every such augmentation widens the gap between the callback rates of majority applicants and minority applicants by 3 percentage points. These results were obtained with the impact of all the other factors on the callback rates of the applicants neutralized.

Remark: the standard deviation measures the dispersion of a variable around its average. In this CV-based trial, the average of the first variable over all the municipalities is 18.3%, while the average of the second variable over all the employment zones is 50.6%.

⁴³ See especially Thomas Guénolé, "Au FN, l'antisémitisme continue," Marianne, 23 February 2015.

As for the second factor, **immigrants of non-European origin represent, on average, half (50%) of the overall immigrant population in the employment zones covered by this study:** 62% come from north Africa and Turkey, 18% from sub-Saharan Africa, and 20% from other non-European countries. **There are however strong disparities from one employment zone to another,** and this proportion ranges from 18% to 78%. The data show that, **the higher this proportion, the greater the discrimination against Jews and Muslims,** independently of the region of origin of these persons (sub-Saharan Africa, north Africa, Turkey, or “other”).

According to the theory of “menace” proposed by the sociologist Hubert Blalock in 1967, an increase in the proportion of persons belonging to the “exogroup” (the group to which an individual does not belong), arouses in her a feeling of facing menace, real or imagined, which leads her to display hostility toward members of the exogroup. In the sample, on the basis of the first and last names of the person to whom the applicants must send their applications, **95% of recruiters are of French or European origin.** If we make the assumption that, for these recruiters, individuals of non-European origin constitute an exogroup with whom they do not share an obvious common bedrock of culture (such as the Christian religious tradition), then **the results reported here cohere with the theory of menace.**⁴⁴ This theory has also been validated by Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2015) with respect to the attitude of French society toward the Muslim immigrants it receives. Using behavioral games, these authors show that French persons with no recent family history of immigration become less cooperative in their dealings with Muslim immigrants from Senegal when they have to deal with a higher proportion of them. On the other hand, an increase in the proportion of Catholic Senegalese immigrants does not affect the manner in which they are dealt with by the same French persons. Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2015) call this the “Hortefeux effect,” in reference to the words uttered on 5 September 2009 by the Interior Minister Brice Hortefeux at the summer gathering of the UMP (the main center-right political formation): “When there’s one, that’s OK; it’s when there’s a lot of them that there are problems.”⁴⁵ According to the findings of Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2015), all it takes to worsen the attitude of French

⁴⁴ Another explanation is possible. The proportion, within all immigrants in the employment zone, of persons of non-European origin, may reflect the quality of the integration of non-European immigrants at the local level: the higher that proportion is, the harder it might be for them to internalize the norms of the host country. If that were the case, such difficulty in integrating would nourish negative stereotyping and thus discrimination against them.

⁴⁵ The context of these remarks was an encounter between Brice Hortefeux and Hamid, a young UMP activist of north African origin. “He doesn’t match the prototype at all,” commented the Interior Minister about the young man, “who eats pork and drinks beer” according to other party members. Then Brice Hortefeux added: “You always need one. When there’s one, that’s OK; it’s when there’s a lot of them that there are problems.”

persons toward Senegalese Muslims is to shift from an environment including one Senegalese Muslim to an environment that includes two of them.

Of these two findings about the impact of local factors, only the first, the linkage to voter support for the Front National, seems to have been anticipated by experts in discrimination. The great majority of CV-based trials aimed at detecting discrimination on account of national origin have focused on the Île-de-France, in other words the national capital region. According to their authors, zooming in on the Île-de-France should guarantee a conservative estimate (an undershoot rather than an overshoot) of the intensity of such discrimination nationally, for the Île-de-France is the region where the Front National did worst in the first round of the 2012 presidential election. The Île-de-France, however, is also the region in which the proportion of persons with non-European origins among the overall immigrant population is greatest. This may explain why, **contrary to conventional wisdom, the Île-de-France is *not* the region of France with the least amount of discrimination.** The data from the present study show that it falls rather into the top half on an ascending scale of regions where the French discriminate the most against minority religions.⁴⁶ So in the Île-de-France the second local factor, non-European immigrant density, might be an offset to the first, electoral support for the Front National.

It might seem odd that the unemployment rate within a given employment zone does not influence the gap between the callback rate for Catholic applicants and the callback rate for Jewish and Muslim ones. Nor do we obtain a result if we focus on the impact of the degree to which it is simply difficult to recruit workers into the bookkeeping job category.⁴⁷ Intuition might suggest that greater difficulty in hiring ought to force employers to discriminate less. But again, the unemployment rate would have to be sufficiently low, and/or the difficulty of hiring sufficiently great, to really constrain recruiters. Such does not appear to be the case in the current context of economic crisis: the average unemployment rate in the employment zones we cover is relatively high (amounting to 10%), and the dispersion of the data around this average is modest. Likewise, the difficulty of recruiting is relatively weak on average (amounting to 30%), and greater than 80% in only 10% of the employment basins.

⁴⁶ One must add a note of caution about this ascending scale: the rank assigned to some regions rests on the treatment of a very restricted number of job postings.

⁴⁷ Difficulty in hiring is measured by Pôle Emploi in a 2014 survey, "Besoin en main d'œuvre." This survey makes it possible to estimate, by trade and employment basin, the proportion of planned hirings for which employers have difficulty in finding the right person for the job. Source: <http://bmo.pole-emploi.org/>.

In conclusion, it is important to bear in mind the impact of firm size, the industrial sector, and the status of the firms to which the applications were sent. The low number of observations available for “large” firms (ETI and TGE), for firms in the primary and secondary sectors, and for firms in the public and non-profit sectors, bars us from concluding that, for these entities, the differences observed between the callback rates of the various applicants are statistically significant. We cannot exclude that they arise purely out of the operations of chance.

There is one exception though, concerning discrimination against practicing Muslim men. They have callback rates statistically inferior to those of their Catholic counterparts for every kind of firm reviewed above, so this is one difference that seems not to arise out of the operations of chance. It reveals that **the discrimination undergone by practicing Muslim men, far from being specific to one kind of firm in particular, is in fact very general.** That this conclusion applies equally to “large” firms may appear surprising: despite having more financial and organizational resources for combating discrimination, they do not display recruiting practices that are any more virtuous, at least when it comes to their attitude to “Mohammed” (the practicing Muslim applicant).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ It is possible that very large firms constitute an exception. There are, however, too few of them in the sample in order to study their recruiting behavior independently of that of the intermediate size firms (ETI).

CHAPTER III

WHAT ARE THE DRIVERS OF DISCRIMINATION?

The content of an applicant's CV does not allow the recruiter to be perfectly informed about his productivity. The employer thus has an incentive to fill out the picture by resorting to her own beliefs about the average values of the unobserved productive characteristics (for example, the capacity for teamwork) of the group to which the applicant belongs.⁴⁹

The present study is not confined to benchmarking discrimination on account of religion. It also helps to shed light on what drives it by testing whether the principal stereotypes associated with the minority religions contribute to discrimination against them on the labor market. Yet while surveys on the image of Islam in France are fairly numerous, the perception of Judaism is not well documented.⁵⁰ Hence the part of our experimental protocol that attempts to explain certain mechanisms of religion-based discrimination in France was constructed with the goal of accounting primarily for discrimination against Muslims. This does not mean that our protocol is inoperative when it comes to understanding a part of the discrimination against Jews. Certain stereotypes with which they are burdened may in fact coincide with stereotypes that likewise burden Muslims.

⁴⁹ Here we make the hypothesis that only differences in the beliefs recruiters hold about the average values of the unobserved productive characteristics of the groups to which the applicants belong can explain the differences in the rates at which they (the recruiters) decide to call them (the applicants) back. However, as Heckman and Siegelman (1993) point out, differing callback rates could equally be explained by differences in the beliefs recruiters may hold not about the average values but about the variation (or variance) in the unobserved productive characteristics of the applicants. In that case, if the average quality of CVs is situated below the threshold above which the recruiter will call back and invite the applicant to a hiring interview, then the recruiter will favor applicants belonging to the group with the widest range of variation — for the probability that the productive characteristics of the applicant will lie above the threshold is stronger within the group displaying the widest variation. Conversely, if the average quality of the CVs exceeds the threshold above which the recruiter will call back and invite the applicant to a hiring interview, then the recruiter will favor applicants belonging to the group with the narrowest range of variation — for the probability that the productive characteristics of the applicant will lie above the threshold is stronger within the group displaying the narrowest variation. Neumark (2012) develops a procedure that makes it possible to test whether the beliefs of recruiters concerning variation in unobserved productive characteristics do differ from one group of applicants to the other. The application of this procedure to the data of the present study shows that recruiters do not attribute differing degrees of variation to majority and minority applicants. In other words, it is pertinent within the framework of the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial to explain differing callback rates exclusively through differences in the beliefs recruiters hold about the average values of the unobserved productive characteristics of the applicants.

⁵⁰ The measurements of antisemitism presented in the introduction above are an exception. But they do not allow us to comprehend in detail the stereotypes that cling to adherents or perceived adherents of Judaism.

3.1. NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES ABOUT MUSLIMS

When French people are asked to state the words and impressions that come spontaneously to mind when they think of the Muslim religion, two bundles of stereotypes, both negative,⁵¹ emerge into view (Harris Interactive (2013a)).

The first bundle of stereotypes concerns **extremism in religion**: “fundamentalism” (*intégrisme*), “intolerance,” “fanaticism.” The second bundle of stereotypes clusters around the covering by Muslim women of their heads with “the veil” (*le voile*, tighter and more concealing, like that of a nun) or “the headscarf” (*le foulard*, looser and less concealing). This bundle of stereotypes suggests that **the French tend to think of Islam as a religion that does not treat men and women as equals.**

3.1.1. Fear of transgressive religious practices in the workplace?

Although Muslims represented no more than 7.5% of the French population in 2010 (Pew (2011)), **95%⁵² of the claims/demands/requests of a religious nature** with which human resources managers and staff say they have to deal **emanate from Muslim employees.**

There is nothing illegal about these claims. The principle of laicity imposes religious neutrality only on employees of the French state. **In firms, or ones in the private sector at any rate, the only legal barriers to the expression of religious convictions are what the anti-discrimination authority⁵³ calls “the protection of individuals,” and “the proper functioning of the firm.”⁵⁴**

⁵¹ A third cluster of purely descriptive terms is also visible in this survey. They consist, for the persons interviewed, of supplying the name of the Muslim religion (“Islam”), as well as its places of worship (“mosque”), its religious obligations (“Ramadan”) and the texts (“the Koran”) specific to it.

⁵² This information was gathered on 12 November 2013 in the course of a discussion with Lionel Honoré, co-author in 2013, 2014, and 2015 of the OFRE/Randstad survey on religious issues in the workplace. We note that 12% of the persons interviewed for this survey are faced regularly (daily, weekly, monthly) with requests or claims of a religious nature, 32% occasionally (a few times per trimester, or per year), and 56% rarely (less than once a year, or never). The figures are for 2014.

⁵³ The HALDE (*Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations et pour l'Égalité*, High authority of struggle against discrimination and for equality) was created in 2005 and dissolved in 2011, its functions absorbed by the Défenseur des Droits (Defender of rights) charged with defending the rights of citizens against administrative bodies, private and public.

⁵⁴ See the délibérations of the HALDE n°2008-32, dated 3 March 2008 and n°2009-117 dated 6 April 2009.

Thus the protection of individuals dictates that the practice of one's religion cannot extend to proselytizing at work,⁵⁵ or get in the way of safety requirements⁵⁶ and the requirements of hygiene⁵⁷ in the workplace.

The proper functioning of the firm dictates as well that religious practice (i) does not negatively affect one's ability to perform one's assigned tasks;⁵⁸ (ii) does not create organizational problems that hamper teamwork⁵⁹; (iii) does not undermine the firm's commercial prospects.⁶⁰

But it is precisely the capacity of Muslim employees to modify their religious practice so as to comply with “the protection of individuals,” and “the proper functioning of the firm” that is at issue. The OFRE/Randstad survey (2014) reveals that, with the exception of requests to “miss work for religious festivals” (16% of demands of a religious kind), for an “adaptation of the work schedule” (12.5%), to “wear an ostentatious religious symbol” (10%), “to perform prayers during breaks” (7%), and for “collective prayers” (0.5%), claims of a religious kind are clearly transgressive. If they are summed up, transgressive religious demands represent around half of all claims addressed to human resources personnel in connection with religion: “prayers during working hours” (12.5%), “refusal to work with a female” (8%), “request to work only with co-religionists” (8%), “proselytism” (7%), “stigmatization of someone else on account of their beliefs” (6%), “refusal to perform tasks for religious reasons” (5%), “refusal to work under the supervision of a female” (4.5%), “refusal to work with a co-worker for religious reasons” (3%).

⁵⁵ An example of proselytizing behavior would be an employee who fasts during the month of Ramadan, and makes repeated disobliging comments about his co-religionists who are not keeping the fast.

⁵⁶ For example, it can be dangerous for a woman to wear a headscarf on a production line.

⁵⁷ For example, the refusal of a cook to trim his beard may contravene hygienic norms required in the food service business.

⁵⁸ For example, a wage earner's ability to perform her tasks would be negatively affected if she refused to handle alcoholic drinks although her assigned task was to stock supplies of beer, wine and spirits in a restaurant.

⁵⁹ For example, an organizational problem would arise if a wage earner were to refuse to submit to the authority of his direct superior because she was a woman.

⁶⁰ For example, in deliberation n°2009-117 dated 6 April 2009, the HALDE wrote: “On 9 September 1997 the appeal court of Saint Denis de la Réunion (97/703306) permitted the termination, for real and serious cause, of a Muslim employee who refused to dress in a manner conforming to the ‘brand image’ of the firm. To be precise, the appeal court stressed that her dress covered the employee from head to foot, and that she was not clothed in this manner when she was hired. She was engaged in selling articles of women's fashion, but adopted clothing that did not reflect the image conveyed by the fashion boutique in which she was employed, and to the atmosphere of which she had to conform by reason of her role in advising the clientèle. The court held that her dismissal did not constitute discrimination on account of religion, but rather was grounded in an objective cause related, on account of commercial imperatives arising out of the interests of the firm, to the alignment between the fashionable tone of the signage and the attire of the personnel charged with greeting and advising clients, and selling articles of women's fashion.”

Nevertheless, while many of the religiously-motivated requests do have a transgressive dimension, the OFRE/Randstad survey (2014) goes on to state that less than 3% of them result in “a stalemate or a conflict.”⁶¹ So although the public is often alerted to the religious practices of Muslims in the workplace,⁶² **only a tiny minority of these claims seem to ultimately create problems for firms.**

3.1.2. Fear of a male chauvinist culture?

According to a 2013 TNS-Sofres survey, **Islam is criticized by French men and women “from the perspective of the place that this religion is thought to reserve for women, a place that people find degrading and contrary to the values and the evolution of French society” (CNCDH (2013)). This negative outlook on the gender norms associated with the Muslim religion is confirmed in the workplace.** According to the IMS-Entreprendre pour la Cité survey regarding ethnic stereotypes (2014), north African Muslim men are the only group to which managers spontaneously apply the term “male chauvinist” (*machiste*). So, if we go by the Larousse dictionary definition of machisme, north African Muslim men are perceived as holding an “ideology grounded in the idea that the male dominates the female socially, and that on that basis he is entitled to the privileges of a master.”

How may the persuasion that Islam is a male chauvinist religion nourish discrimination against Muslims on the labor market? First, it leads the French to regard the covering of a woman’s head as a symbol of the oppression of women. As the TNS-Sofres survey (2013) puts it, “the wearing of the veil... serves to focus criticism” of the Muslim religion “out of concern for the place of women.” This outlook on head covering could explain the profound aversion the French feel for it. A majority (63%) are opposed “to the wearing of the veil or the headscarf for Muslim women who wish to do so in the street.” Yet, although it is a public space, the street is not subject to an imperative of religious neutrality (IFOP (2012a)).

Covered women enjoy no better image in the workplace, as Dounia and Lylia Bouzar show in their book *Allah a-t-il sa place dans l'entreprise?* (Is there room for Allah in the workplace?) (2009). On the basis of 350 interviews with human

⁶¹ This number was also very low in 2013, amounting to 6%. Unfortunately, the strictly equivalent statistic is not available in the OFRE/Randstad report (2015).

⁶² See especially Cécilia Gabizon, “L’entreprise face à la pratique de l’islam,” *Le Figaro*, 3 April 2008, and, by the same author, “Les entreprises confrontées à la montée de l’islam,” *Le Figaro*, 5 November 2009.

resources managers, team managers, and employees, the authors confirm that “it is primarily through this representation of ‘covered woman as automatically oppressed’ “ that covered women are viewed. The sight of a covered woman is experienced as “intolerable, for it conveys a sort of anachronism with respect to the struggle for women’s rights and arouses fear of a backlash against gains that have recently been made.” One interviewee states: “When I think of the struggles of women who suffered so much to win their rights... it is a veritable treason... And even here [in France]... the equality of men and women is very recent, and it wasn’t a gift from heaven!” (p. 94). One of the persons interviewed by Bouzar and Bouzar even goes so far as to compare a covered woman to a “nightmare”: “A young woman wearing a head covering at a pre-hiring interview is a recruiter’s nightmare, it’s a nightmare for all of us... You find yourself embarrassed, you don’t know what to say, you don’t even dare to gaze at her for fear that your expression will give you away, so you fall back on false pretexts like ‘you live too far away.’ And you move on to the next applicant...” (p. 60).

This antipathy to head covering could explain a part of the discrimination against Muslim women. Even when they do benefit from positive stereotypes, recruiters might prefer to discard their applications rather than run the risk of having to deal with a covered woman at the hiring interview, or the risk that she might start covering her head once she has been hired.

But the association between “Islam” and “male chauvinism” evidently has the potential to penalize Muslim men too. Sexist behavior (such as refusing to shake a woman’s hand) that runs counter to the principle of gender equality is perceived as highly injurious to team cohesion: “I have a team member who refuses to shake hands with women... It creates enormous tension in the relationship. Shaking hands is common politeness. It’s a social norm” (Bouzar and Bouzar (2009), p. 122). As well, since recruiters imagine Muslim men acting within a culture that grants more rights to them than to women, they may think that **a sense of honor makes Muslim men thin-skinned, and more refractory to authority.** We have seen that managers queried by IMS-Entreprendre pour la Cité do indeed regard north African Muslim men as “hard to manage” and characterized by “a complicated relationship to authority.”

3.2. REASSURING RECRUITERS

Does discrimination on account of religion persist when the CVs of applicants contain signals of a kind that might reassure recruiters?

3.2.1. Reducing the fear of transgressive religious practices

To try to pinpoint the part played in discrimination against Muslim men by fear of transgressive religious practices in the workplace, the experimental protocol includes secular applicants (*candidats laïcs*). They are identical to practicing applicants except for the branch of the scout movement in which they did youth work. In the secularized CVs, recruiters read that they “did youth work in the laic scouting association Girl and Boy Scouts of France.”

An inclination to secularism (*laïcité*) is a virtual guarantee that, if the applicant does express religious convictions in the workplace, it will not create problems for co-workers. The framers of the basic law of 1905 viewed laicity as a recognition of freedom of conscience, in other words the freedom to believe or not believe, as long as this freedom does not obstruct the freedom of anyone else to believe or not believe.⁶³ And that is how the majority of French men and women do conceive laicity. A majority (56%) define it first and foremost as “the possibility left to every citizen to practice his or her religion” (IFOP (2008)).⁶⁴

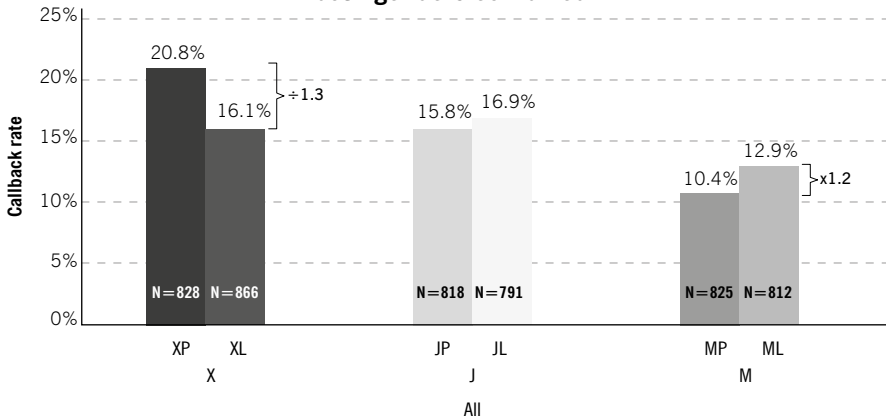
Does this signal of secularism make it possible to reduce discrimination against Muslim applicants? Figure 5 shows that it does in fact improve their chances, and that Muslims

⁶³ CREDOC (*Centre de Recherche pour l'Étude et l'Observation des Conditions de Vie*, Research center for the study and observation of living conditions) is a French social observatory. In a report dated 2014, CREDOC reminds readers of the meaning of laicity: “Laicity in France rests on several juridical foundations, the principles of which are contained in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1789: ‘Men are born and remain free and equal in rights... No one may be disturbed for his opinions, even religious ones, provided that their manifestation does not trouble the public order established by the law.’ These principles are reaffirmed and rounded out subsequently in the preamble to the Constitution of 27 October 1946, and that of 4 October 1958, and by the law of 9 December 1905 concerning the separation of church and state: ‘The Republic ensures freedom of conscience. It guarantees the free exercise of religion subject to the sole restrictions enacted hereafter in the interest of public order’ (article 1). Several principles follow: the neutrality of the State vis-à-vis all religions, religious freedom as one of the pillars of freedom of conscience, and pluralism, meaning the absence of any distinction among the cults (while the State recognizes no religion, it ought not to misjudge or misunderstand [*méconnaître*] any religion either, and it recognizes the fact of religion).”

⁶⁴ Only 26% of the French define laicity as, first and foremost, “a prohibition on manifesting one’s religious belonging in the public services,” only 12% define it mainly as “the absence of any State participation in the construction of places of worship,” and only 8% define it as, first and foremost, “the refusal of any form of *communautarisme*.” [*Communautarisme* is an untranslatable term meaning the attitude of someone who gives primary allegiance to his or her own minority or ethnic group. It is not the same as philosophical communitarianism in the English-speaking world, but it probably corresponds to what many people have in mind when they use the word “multiculturalism” pejoratively.]

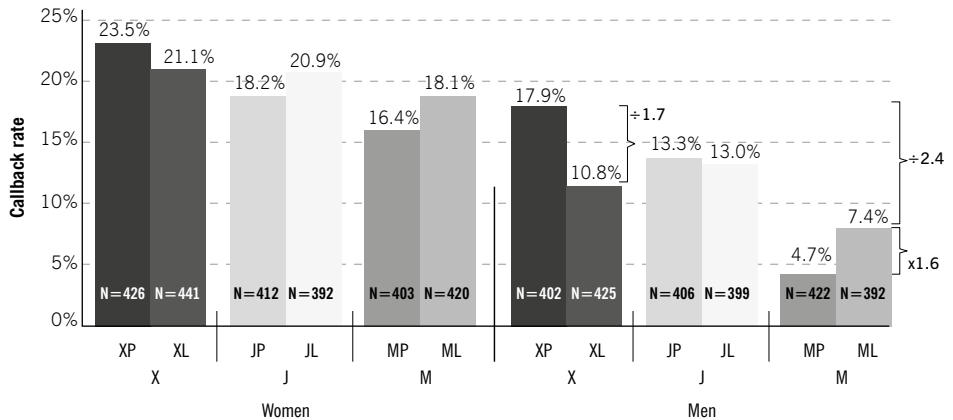
are the only group to benefit from sending such a signal. The corresponding improvement in the callback rate for Jewish applicants is not statistically significant. (The surprising impact of attachment to secularism for Catholic applicants is discussed below).

Figure 5: Impact of appearing as secular rather than practicing, both genders combined



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers to which the type of application corresponding to that bar was sent. A bracket signals a statistically significant difference. X: Catholic. XP: practicing Catholic. XL: laïc Catholic. J: Jew. JP: practicing Jew. JL: laïc Jew. M: Muslim. MP: practicing Muslim. ML: laïc Muslim.

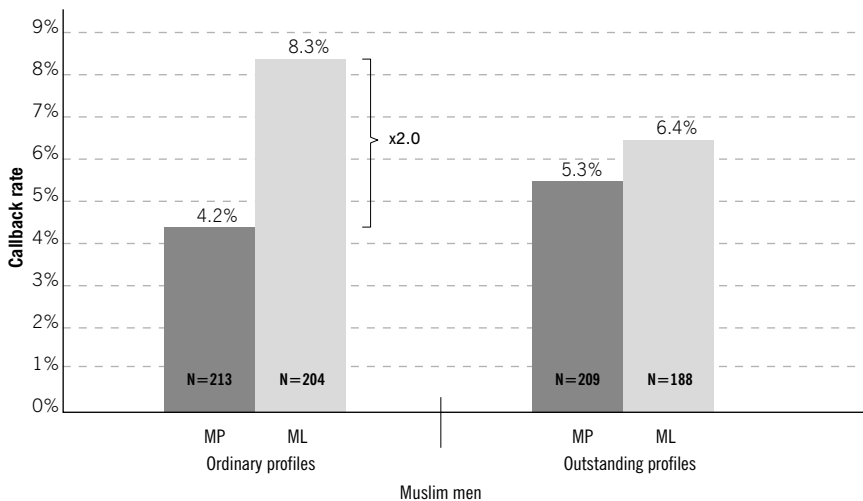
Figure 6: : Impact of appearing as secular rather than practicing, separated by gender



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers to which the type of application corresponding to that bar was sent. A bracket signals a statistically significant difference. X: Catholic. XP: practicing Catholic. XL: laïc Catholic. J: Jew. JP: practicing Jew. JL: laïc Jew. M: Muslim. MP: practicing Muslim. ML: laïc Muslim.

Figure 6 tells us that **it is in fact Muslim men and not Muslim women who benefit from signaling their orientation to secularism**. As for Figure 7, it supplies further detail: **only Muslim men with an ordinary profile benefit from signaling that they are secular rather than practicing**. This result suggests that recruiters do indeed perceive the outstanding profiles as exemplary. Thus an attachment to secularism has no impact on the callback rate of Muslim men who present this profile, as though it went without saying that their religious practice was most unlikely to be transgressive.

Figure 7: Impact for Muslim men of appearing as secular rather than practicing, according to whether their profile was ordinary or outstanding.



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers to which the type of application corresponding to that bar was sent. A bracket signals a statistically significant difference. MP: practicing Muslim. ML: laïc Muslim.

More precisely, the callback rate of ordinary Muslim men rises from 4.2% when they are practicing to 8.3% when they are secular (cf. Figure 7). This callback rate is not statistically different from the callback rate of ordinary practicing Catholic men presented in the next section. **So it suffices for ordinary male Muslim applicants to appear as secular in order to escape discrimination. Recruiters therefore seem to associate ordinary Muslim men with transgressive religious practices, and to be dissuaded from hiring them.** In other words, ordinary Muslim men are sanctioned for their membership in a group of which a radicalized male minority spreads terror, abroad and in France. From this perspective, there is reason to fear that the

assassination and decapitation of his employer by Yassin Salhi, which occurred in France on 26 June 2015,⁶⁵ may reinforce this tendency of recruiters to blur the distinction between “ordinary Muslim men” and “jihadists.”

It is striking to observe that Catholics actually lose ground if they signal that they are secular rather than practicing (see Figure 5). This result tends to confirm the notion, already supported by the similarity between the callback rates of Aurélie Ménard and Nathalie Haddad, that the imperative to be discreet about one’s religion, upheld by a large majority of the French, really only applies to the minority religions.

While Catholic women and men both see their callback rates fall when they send a signal of secularism, Figure 6 reveals that this effect is statistically significant only for the men. How to account for this peculiarity? According to the survey *Valeurs des Français* (the values of the French), carried out every 9 years since 1981 by social science researchers, Catholics are distinguished by their high degree of respect for authority (Galland et al. (2003)). The French population does seem to accept that this is a Catholic trait, so recruiters potentially do so as well. According to a recent poll, parents inclined to contemplate sending their children to a Catholic school (49% of those interviewed, a figure equal to the percentage of persons for whom Catholic schooling would not be an option) are most likely to cite “respect for discipline and authority” as the motive for their inclination (Harris Interactive (2013b)). **It is thus probable that the attachment of men to Catholicism is perceived by recruiters as a valued token of discipline in those discharging ancillary functions, an area where men are typically regarded as more difficult to manage than women.**

3.2.2. Reducing the fear of a male chauvinist culture

The experimental protocol includes outstanding CVs along with the ordinary ones, for both religious and secular applicants. Compared to the ordinary CVs, the outstanding ones signal the excellence of the applicant under every heading. They are thus likely to appear to recruiters as a guarantee of irreproachable conduct on the part of the applicant, something which Figure 7 confirms.

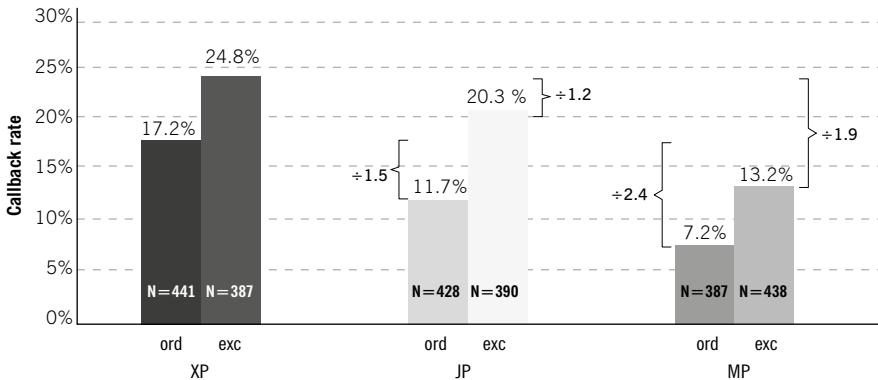
In particular, it is probable that recruiters rule out the possibility that the outstanding female Muslim applicant would choose to alienate her professional environment by

⁶⁵ See Soren Seelow, “Attaque dans l’Isère: les motivations troubles de Yassin Salhi,” *Le Monde*, 29 June 2015.

donning a headscarf or veil. A priori we may likewise doubt that recruiters would expect insubordination and sexist behavior on the part of outstanding male Muslim applicants.

Does religion-based discrimination vanish when applicants are presented as outstanding, albeit practicing? Figure 8 tells us that **the presentation of an outstanding profile makes it possible to reduce such discrimination, not to suppress it altogether.** The callback rate for Catholic applicants is 50% higher than that of their Jewish counterparts when they submit ordinary profiles, but “only” 20% higher when their profiles are outstanding. Similarly, the ratio of the callback rate for Catholic applicants to that for Muslim applicants is 2.4:1 for ordinary profiles, falling to 1.9:1 for outstanding profiles.

Figure 8: Impact for practicing applicants of presenting an outstanding rather than an ordinary profile, both genders combined



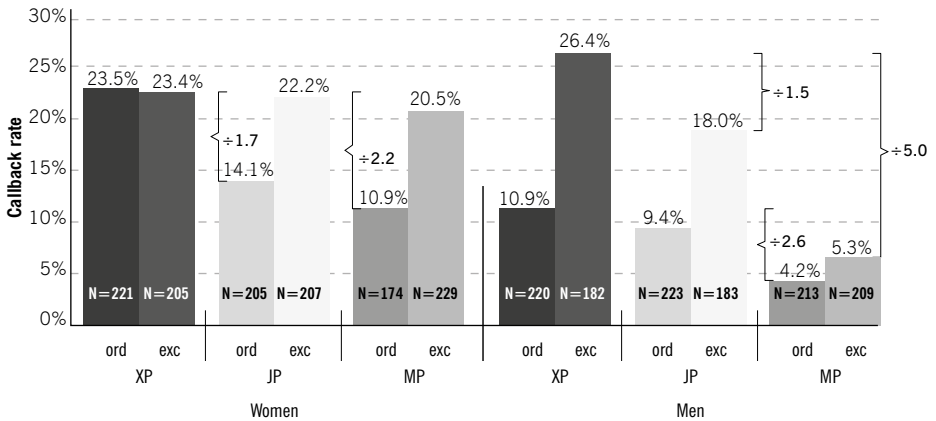
Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers to which the type of application corresponding to that bar was sent. A bracket signals a statistically significant difference. XP: practicing Catholic. JP: practicing Jew. MP: practicing Muslim. “ord.”: ordinary. “exc.”: outstanding.

However, the impact on practicing applicants of displaying an outstanding profile rather than an ordinary one varies strongly as a function of the gender of the applicant (see Figure 9). **Submitting an outstanding profile rather than an ordinary one cancels out the discrimination from which Jewish and Muslim women otherwise suffer, but conversely exacerbates that to which their masculine counterparts are subjected:** minority male candidates benefit much less than their Catholic counterparts from presenting themselves as exceptional. Notably, **Muslim men are the only applicants suffering discrimination who gain *nothing* by displaying an**

outstanding profile rather than an ordinary one, such that the discrimination directed at them is never stronger than when they appear to be outstanding. In that case, the callback rate for Muslim men is 5 times lower than that for their Catholic counterparts.⁶⁶

A more thorough analysis of Figure 9 shows that female Jewish and Muslim applicants are called back at rates respectively 1.7 times and 2.2 times lower than their female Catholic counterparts when their profiles are of the ordinary kind. On the other hand their callback rates are not statistically different from that of Catholic applicants when the profiles they present are outstanding.

Figure 9: Impact for practicing applicants of presenting an outstanding rather than an ordinary profile, separated by gender



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers to which the type of application corresponding to that bar was sent. A bracket signals a statistically significant difference. XP: practicing Catholic. JP: practicing Jew. MP: practicing Muslim. “ord.”: ordinary. “exc.”: outstanding.

The fact that discrimination, not just against Muslim women applicants but also against Jewish women applicants, disappears when their profiles are outstanding suggests that such profiles do more than just reassure recruiters about the attitude of the Muslim woman toward head covering. They also appear to curb other

⁶⁶ These results are in line with the conclusions of Arai et al. (2015). After staging a CV-based trial in Sweden for low and medium-skilled jobs (including bookkeeping), the authors compare the callback rates of applicants without migration in their recent family history to those of applicants of Arab origin. Endowing the female minority applicants with two extra years of experience in comparison to female majority applicants suffices to annul the discrimination they undergo. Conversely, discrimination against male applicants of Arab origin (in comparison to male applicants of Swedish origin) increases when the former have more work experience than the latter.

negative stereotypes associated with both Jewish and Muslim female applicants. For example, it is possible that recruiters foresee a greater risk on average that their new Jewish or Muslim hire might get pregnant not long after starting work than a Catholic woman might.⁶⁷ If beliefs of that kind are in play, then they ought to lead recruiters to discriminate against Jewish and Muslim women,⁶⁸ especially when they have ordinary profiles. The evident strength of aspiration of the outstanding women might hint to recruiters that they will assign priority to their careers rather than to family life, at least in the medium term.

Among men, ordinary Jewish applicants do not suffer discrimination in comparison to their Catholic counterparts. This result suggests that Jewish men are not burdened with any particular negative stereotype when they are not outstanding. Moreover, as noted already, it is enough for ordinary Muslim male applicants to signal their secularism for their callback rate to rise from 4.2% to 8.3% (Figure 7) and thus enter a zone where it is not statistically different from the callback rate (10.9%) of ordinary Catholic men (Figure 9).

Discrimination against male Jewish and Muslim applicants intensifies, however, when they submit outstanding profiles. In that case, the Catholic male has a callback rate 50% higher than that of the Jewish male, and his probability of being invited to a hiring interview is five times greater than that of the Muslim male. This last result is linked in part to the fact that the Muslim male is the only minority applicant who gains nothing by submitting an outstanding profile as opposed to an ordinary one. **How can we explain that?**

When we distinguish between the grade of full bookkeeper and the grades of assistant and secretary bookkeeper, the **male Muslim applicants** are isolated once again. They **are the only applicants for whom the impact of submitting an outstanding profile rather than an ordinary profile is not systematically positive as a function of the grade in question:** it is positive for the grade of full bookkeeper, but negative for the grades of assistant and secretary bookkeeper. In the first case,

⁶⁷ The applicants are between 25 and 26 years old at the time of this CV-based trial, which is close to 28, the average age at which women have their first child in mainland France. Source: INSEE.

⁶⁸ This is suggested at any rate by the study of Petit (2007). Employing a CV-based trial, she compares the rates at which unmarried and childless male and female applicants are called back and invited to a hiring interview for a job in the banking and commercial sector. She finds that women are discriminated against in comparison to men when they are of prime childbearing age (25), especially if they are applying for a position as a manager on an open-ended contract. Conversely, they are no longer discriminated against when they reach an age, 37, where the likelihood of a pregnancy in the near future, and thus the need for maternity leave, is low.

the callback rate for male Muslim applicants escalates from 2.9% to 8.8%, whereas in the second case it declines from 5.5% to 1.9%. In contrast, the callback rate for male Catholic applicants escalates systematically, going from 9.2% to 25.5% for the grade of bookkeeper, and from 12.6% to 27.4% for the grades of assistant and secretary bookkeepers. **The ratio between the callback rate for the outstanding male Catholic applicant and the outstanding male Muslim applicant is thus 2.9:1 (that is, 25.2/8.8) for the grade of full bookkeeper, but 14.4:1 (that is, 27.4/1.9) for the grades of assistant and secretary bookkeeper.** By way of comparison, this ratio is 3.2:1 (9.2/3.9) and 2.3:1 (12.6/5.5) respectively for the ordinary profiles.

This contrasting pattern suggests, counter-intuitively, that **the risk of unwillingness to take direction which recruiters associate with male Muslim applicants increases in their minds when the latter are outstanding.** When they apply for positions that are more ancillary, in which the employee will need to take more direction from those in charge (the grades of assistant and secretary bookkeeper), male Muslim applicants suffer much more discrimination than their Catholic counterparts if they present themselves as outstanding rather than ordinary. They are, on the other hand, *slightly* less disfavored when the grade in question is that of full bookkeeper, which confers more autonomy. In other words, **excellence penalizes male Muslim applicants when they apply for ancillary positions.**

But this mechanism does not explain all of the discrimination against minority applicants when they are outstanding. For male Jewish applicants in particular, the impact of displaying an outstanding profile rather than an ordinary one does not vary as a function of the grade at which they are competing. So it is not a perception on the part of recruiters of greater risk of insubordination that can explain the discrimination of which they are victims. As for male Muslim applicants, they are strongly discriminated against in comparison to their Catholic counterparts, including when they apply for jobs as full bookkeepers, not just when they apply for the subordinate grades.

One can always attempt to find an ex post explanation for the whole range of discriminatory behavior by recruiters. Nonetheless, it would seem impossible, within the framework of this trial, to rationalize such behavior totally: the excellence of the profiles of the male minority applicants is hard to reconcile with the exacerbation of the discrimination against them.

This tension suggests that **it is not exclusively outstanding male minority applicants who pose problems. The motivations of recruiters are equally suspect. When they**

are above average, Dov and Mohammed may be encountering discrimination for irrational reasons, such as the fear of recruiters at seeing these members of the exogroup, both male and outstanding, acquire power in the workplace.

A few remarks in conclusion: the first concerns **the impact of the signal of outstanding quality on the callback rates of Catholic applicants**. Figure 9 tells us that this impact is null for Catholic women. This result suggests that **outstanding women suffer discrimination in France in comparison to ordinary women**, within the bookkeeping profession at any rate: their excellence is not fully rewarded by recruiters. Catholic men, in contrast, gain significant ground by signaling that they are of outstanding quality: they are no longer discriminated against in comparison to their female counterparts under that setting. **The signal of outstanding quality thus suffices to fully reassure recruiters when it is sent by male Catholic applicants** — the opposite of what we observe for male Jewish and Muslim applicants.

The second remark flows from **the comparison of the results from Figure 9 with the ones from previous CV-based trials** that tried to isolate the effect of the putative religion of applicants on their callback rates. Those trials brought ordinary applicants to the notice of recruiters.

- Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010) show that a female applicant has 2.5 times less chance of being invited to a hiring interview when she is perceived as Muslim rather than Catholic.
- Pierné (2013) finds that the ratio of the callback rate of the male Catholic applicant to that of the male Muslim applicant is 1.6:1.

Shortcomings in their experimental protocols may nevertheless have led Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010) to overestimate discrimination against the Muslim religion, and Pierné (2013) to underestimate it. Figure 9 is coherent with this interpretation. The ratio between the callback rates of the ordinary female Catholic applicant and that of her Muslim counterpart is 2.2:1, which lies slightly below the ratio of 2.5 measured by Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2010). As for the ratio between the callback rates of the ordinary male Catholic applicant and that of his Muslim counterpart, it comes to 2.6:1, which exceeds the ratio of 1.6:1 measured by Pierné (2013).

3.3. MIGHT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JEWS AND MUSLIMS FLOW SIMPLY FROM THEIR EXOTIC-SOUNDING FIRST NAMES?

Edo and Jacquemet (2013a, 2013b) compare the callback rates of French citizens endowed with the same CV:

- a French person whose perceived origin is French (“Pascal Leclerc,” “Sandrine Dufour”);
- a French person whose perceived origin is north African (“Rachid Benbalit,” “Samira Benouni”);
- a French person whose origin is perceived as being foreign but indeterminate, since his or her name suggests no identifiable place of origin (“Jatrix Aldegi,” “Yuna Razel”).

Their results show that French citizens of foreign origin are indeed discriminated against in comparison to those of native French origin, but that the intensity of this discrimination is the same whether the subject is a French person of north African background or a French citizen of indeterminate foreign background. The authors conclude: **“the question of discrimination is configured much more in terms of opposition between the majority, ‘autochthonous’ group and the ensemble of persons with an immigrant background, than in terms of specific difficulties proper to certain groups.”** In other words, an applicant bearing foreign first and last names suffers discrimination in comparison to an applicant bearing first and last names native to France because those foreign-sounding names cause recruiters to perceive a cultural distance, *quite apart from* the type of culture the applicant issues from.⁶⁹

Could the Jewish and Muslim applicants in the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial be encountering discrimination simply because their first names bear an exotic ring? The answer appears to be negative. Esther Haddad indeed suffers discrimination in comparison to Nathalie Haddad even though she is the only minority applicant who doesn’t have an exotic first name.

Still, in order to discount the possibility that Dov, Mohammed and Samira are being penalized solely on account of the aura of cultural difference that may cling to their

⁶⁹ We note that this interpretation does not cohere with the results of the internal assessment carried out in 2008 by the Casino group and presented in the introduction above. These results indeed reveal that the intensity of the discrimination encountered by French citizens of non-European origin (sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, north Africa) is highly dependent on the region from which they come.

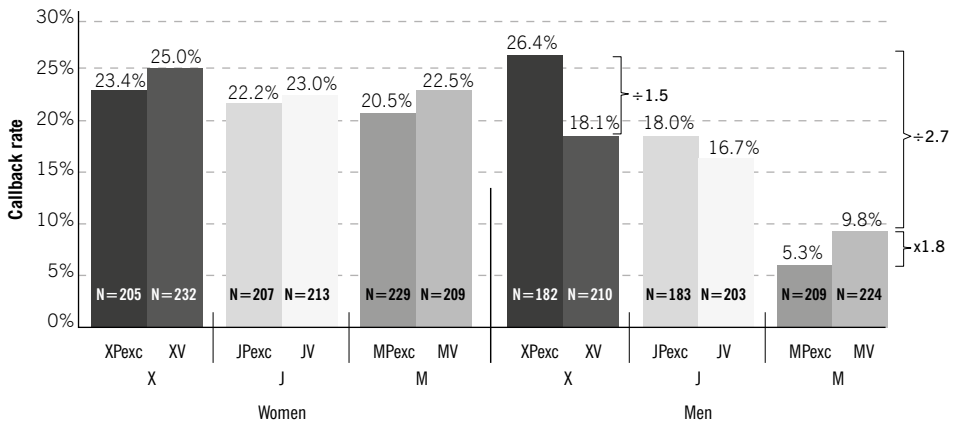
first names, **the experimental protocol introduces so-called “audit” applicants.** Their applications are identical to the outstanding applications from practicing applicants, except for the fact that **all the audit applicants bear the same first name, whatever their religion. The names they are given — “Adam” for the men and “Myriam” for the women —** could be borne indifferently by Catholics, Jews, or Muslims, and so are likely to be perceived by recruiters as more familiar than “Dov,” “Mohammed,” or “Samira.”

Figure 10 compares the callback rates of the outstanding applicants who are practicing and the “audit” applicants (who are likewise outstanding). Unsurprisingly, Esther gains nothing when she is called Myriam. But adopting a more familiar first name brings no benefit to Dov or Samira either, though theirs are more exotic. This result confirms that **minority applicants are not simply being targeted for discrimination on account of their exotic-sounding first names.** If that were the case, when they are given more familiar first names their callback rates ought to converge systematically to those of Michel Haddad for the men, and to those of Nathalie Haddad for the women. From this perspective, the results of Edo and Jacquemet suggest not so much undifferentiated discrimination directed at every person perceived as having foreign roots, but rather the following reality: **to be perceived as Muslim because one is called Rachid Benbalit or Samira Benouni imposes just as much of a penalty as being perceived as utterly foreign yet enigmatic,** someone whose origins are impossible even to guess (the case with “Jatrix Aldegi” and “Yuna Razel”).

It is important to stress that **only Mohammed, the victim of more discrimination than any other minority applicant, gains ground by calling himself “Adam.”** This result suggests that **any strategy that helps to blur his affiliation to the Muslim religion will benefit him on the labor market** (a result already suggested by the hike in his callback rate when he presented himself as secular). His likelihood of being invited to a hiring interview is almost twice as high when he calls himself “Adam.”⁷⁰ This magnitude is close to that pinpointed by Duguet et al. (2010), who find that the callback rate for a French male of north African origin is 1.6 times greater when he adopts a French first name while retaining his north African family name (“Philippe Sahraoui” rather than “Yassine Mokraoui”).

⁷⁰ This factor of two masks a disparity arising out of the type of job studied. The benefit for Mohammed of adopting the given name “Adam” is slight for jobs as full bookkeeper, but large for positions as assistant and secretary bookkeeper. His callback rate goes from 8.8% to 10.8% for the former, but rises from 1.9% to 9.2% for the latter. This result is coherent with the intuition already advanced, to the effect that employers need to feel reassured about the capacity of male Muslim applicants to fit in when the job in question is of a relatively more ancillary kind.

Figure 10: Difference in callback rates between outstanding practicing applicants and “audit” applicants, by gender



Note: the values in the lower portion of each bar of the histogram specify the total number of job offers to which the type of application corresponding to that bar was sent. A bracket signals a statistically significant difference. X : Catholic. XPexc: outstanding practicing Catholic. XV: “audit” Catholic. J: Jew. JPexc: outstanding practicing Jew. JV: “audit” Jew. M: Muslim. MPexc: outstanding practicing Muslim. MV: “audit” Muslim.

Let us conclude by noting that Michel loses ground by calling himself Adam, whereas the callback rate of the female Catholic applicant remains unchanged, whether she is called Myriam or Nathalie. How to explain this result? It turns out that the first name “Myriam” is very similar to the first name “Nathalie” in terms of their prevalence in the French population. Women named Myriam are 41 years old on average, as against 45 for women named Nathalie.⁷¹ Conversely, the forename “Adam” is much less traditional than “Michel” — the average age of those named Adam is 13, as against 65 for those named Michel.⁷² The 50% drop in the callback rate of the Catholic candidate when he is called Adam instead of Michel confirms a conclusion already sketched above when considering the impact of presenting oneself as secular rather than practicing. **For jobs of a basically subordinate kind like those in the bookkeeping category, the male Catholic candidate is penalized**

⁷¹ These data on given names come from the *Répertoire National d'Identification des Personnes Physiques* (RNIPP), which is managed by INSEE (*Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques*, National institute of statistics and economic studies). This repertoire contains data on the civil status of all persons born in mainland France and in the overseas territories from 1881 to 1946 who were still alive in 1970, and of all those born since 1946, living or not.

⁷² By way of comparison, the bearers in France of the other given names utilized in the present study have average ages between 25 and 35: 26 for Dov, 34 for Esther, 29 for Mohammed, and 32 for Samira.

when he no longer presents a strong mark of his attachment to the majority religious tradition in our country.⁷³

⁷³ In particular, the penalty for Michel of adopting the given name "Adam" is greater when he applies for a job as an assistant or secretary bookkeeper, than for a job as full bookkeeper. His callback rate drops from 27.4% to 14.9% in the first case, but from 25.5% to 21.1% in the second.

CHAPTER IV

HOW TO COMBAT DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGION (AND AGAINST VISIBLE MINORITIES)?

Discrimination against the two main minority religions in France is not specific to the labor market. It is a more general scourge, which the whole nation owes it to itself to deal with. Recall that in 2014, 37% of those queried in France think that Jews have too much power (CNCDDH (2015)). And in 2012 43% of them regarded the “presence of a Muslim community” as a “threat to the identity of our country” (while just 17% perceive it, conversely, as a “factor of cultural enrichment”) (IFOP (2012a)).

This fourth and final chapter is dedicated to formulating some approaches that might reduce discrimination based on religion. It is composed of two parts. The first focuses on actions that might lead to a rise in national awareness. The second part takes aim at the labor market, with a view to reducing the discriminatory behavior of *all* employers: the large scale ones and the small scale ones, those in the public sector and those in the private sector. For Mohammed is being strongly discriminated against, whatever the characteristics of the recruiter.

To concentrate on religious discrimination alone might appear restrictive. There exist many criteria of discrimination, and origin (ethnic, national, racial) is the one that generates the most discrimination in France. In 2014, origin was the top reason in cases taken by the Défenseur des droits (23.7% of the total number of complaints).⁷⁴ These figures are coherent with the experience of discrimination reported by those taking part in the survey *Trajectoires et Origines* (TeO) carried out in 2008/2009 by INSEE and INED. In the latter, immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and north Africa have a significantly higher probability than others (French persons without a recent migratory background, and immigrants from elsewhere in Europe) to have suffered discrimination over the course of the last five years (30% as against 10%). This population states that origin and skin color are the main reasons for the discrimination against them, far ahead of gender or age. As Beauchemin et al. (2010) note, discrimination in France is principally “a question of visible minorities.”

⁷⁴ Origin “represents 65% of the cases accepted on public service matters, and remains the criterion most frequently cited in the area of access to essential goods such as private housing, bank accounts, and private sector employment, where it amounts to 22.6%” (Défenseur des Droits (2014a)).

Discrimination on account of religion certainly overlaps to some degree with discrimination based on origin: the results of the previous sections show that persons who come from Muslim majority countries encounter discrimination by reason of their putative religion. Now with the exception of Albania, these countries are all situated outside Europe. Yet, battling against religious discrimination doesn't mean we are neutralizing the discrimination undergone by other persons of non-European origin, such as those who come from countries in sub-Saharan Africa or Asia with non-Muslim majorities. **Hence this chapter formulates approaches that also make it possible to combat discrimination against visible minorities, meaning those persons of non-European origin (from sub-Saharan Africa, north Africa, and Asia) who constitute a subset of the French population objectively undergoing discrimination, as revealed by the results of the trials carried out by the Casino group and by Petit et al. (2013).**

4.1. FEASIBLE APPROACHES TO RAISING NATIONAL AWARENESS

Within French opinion, antisemitism is gaining ground while the perception of Islam is deteriorating. To halt this trend, a campaign of publicity at the national level is needed.

4.1.1. Make the results of trials better known

In 2002 two American economists, Joseph Price and Justin Wolfers, published a study demonstrating the existence of racial discrimination during National Basketball Association games: black players were more likely to be penalized for errors when the referee was white, and vice versa (Price and Wolfers (2010)). In 2007, these results received wide media coverage (front page of the *New York Times*, radio and television commentary by American basketball stars, etc.). The upshot was the complete disappearance of racial discrimination during games: while such discrimination did persist until 2007, researchers have been unable to detect it since then (Pope et al. (2014)).

This outcome suggests that **publicizing scientific results which establish the existence of a particular kind of discrimination causes the public to acknowledge it. This gives an incentive to those involved to discipline themselves.**

Approach 1: Encourage the Défenseur des Droits to host an “Observatory of CV-based trials” at its internet site. This would facilitate access by the general public to the results of all the trials carried out to measure discrimination in access to employment, housing, goods and services (public and private), social care and services, education, and training. The reliability of the trials referenced would be guaranteed by independent experts.

It would be especially important to emphasize **discrimination against Jewish applicants, which seems to have gone unsuspected hitherto: no previous study, in France or abroad, has actually tested its existence.** To stress this form of discrimination in hiring appears all the more urgent because **the possibility of it is denied, even by persons strongly committed to the struggle against antisemitism.** Michel Wieviorka for example, in his book *L'antisémitisme expliqué aux jeunes* (Antisemitism explained to young people), writes: “we do not measure discrimination against Jews in France for the simple reason that it practically doesn't exist, or not any more. Being Jewish doesn't make it any harder than it is for anyone else... to get a job” (p. 111).⁷⁵

Approach 2: Stress the existence of hiring discrimination against Jewish applicants, something hitherto unsuspected (and even denied).

Publicizing the results of CV-based trials (including this one) ought to make it possible as well for the populations suffering discrimination to identify certain strategies available to them to reduce this discrimination. Notably, Figure 10 reveals that Mohammed doubles his chances of being invited to a hiring interview when his first name appears more familiar to recruiters. Muslim parents ought to be informed of this, so that they will choose first names for their children in full knowledge of the probable impact on their economic integration.⁷⁶ As for job applicants whose given names unambiguously signal their belonging to Muslim culture, the bureaucratic path should be cleared for them if they wish to take another, more neutral, given name. For one thing, only those who have just completed the process of acquiring French nationality are currently allowed to “Gallicize” their first names: “the postulant must submit his request at the same time that he completes the formalities of acquiring

⁷⁵ In order to consolidate these results, it would be important to complete the part of this study measuring discrimination against Jews with other trials that do not concentrate exclusively on Sephardic Jewish applicants.

⁷⁶ Many of these parents already give neutral first names to their children. Using the Enquête Emploi (French Labor Force Survey), which provides the first name of all members of households, Algan et al. (2013) show that almost half (49%) of parents who bear an Arab first name have given their children a first name that is not exclusively Arab (for example, “Adam” and “Yanis” for boys, and “Inès” and “Sarah” for girls).

French nationality. He may also submit a request for Gallicization within a year after acquiring French nationality, or reassuming it.”⁷⁷ It would appear indispensable to extend this right to persons who acquired French nationality at birth, or gained it more than one year ago.

Approach 3: Extend the opportunity to adopt a French given name to persons who acquired French nationality at birth, or gained it more than one year ago.

4.1.2. Launch an operation to combat stereotypes

The responsibility of the media

Islam has a bad image in France. According to the Harris Interactive poll of 2013 cited above, only 26% of persons interviewed had a very good image, or quite good image of Islam, compared to 64% for Judaism and 69% for Catholicism. According to the same survey, the French spontaneously associate Islam with religious fanaticism and the oppression of women. Now, this negative outlook on Islam is also conveyed by the French media — something both logical, and worrying. Logical, because the media have to sell, and so they have an incentive to adopt a discourse that echoes what potential readers, TV viewers, and listeners find appealing. Worrying, because this tendency legitimizes negative stereotypes about Islam, and thus helps to anchor them solidly in French public opinion.

Let us take the example of the three largest independent weeklies with a general readership (that are not supplements to a daily): *L’Obs* (formerly *Le Nouvel Observateur*), *L’Express* and *Le Point*.⁷⁸ These three weeklies adopt a moderate stance near the political center: center-left for *L’Obs*; center for *L’Express* whose editorial director, Christophe Barbier, states that he is neither right nor left, but “above the fray”;⁷⁹ and center-right for *Le Point*.⁸⁰ Yet **their treatment of Islam is much more negative, not just than their reporting on Christianity and Judaism, but also more negative than their reporting on the extreme right.**

⁷⁷ Source: “Changement de prénom,” at the website vosdroits.service-public.fr, updated on 11 April 2013.

⁷⁸ According to the survey Audipresse One (2015) on the readership of print media in France, *L’Obs* stands first among these magazines when it comes to the number of weekly readers (2.469 million), followed by *L’Express* (1.998 million) and *Le Point* (1.993 million).

⁷⁹ See Christophe Barbier, “Présidentielle: *L’Express* a choisi le camp des lecteurs,” *L’Express*, 22 March 2012.

⁸⁰ The place these weeklies occupy on the political spectrum fairly closely matches the political color of their readership. According to IFOP (2012b), 71% of the readers of *L’Obs* are leftwing voters, while 66% and 73% respectively of the readers of *L’Express* and *Le Point* are rightwing voters.

Number and tone of cover stories about Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and the extreme right in *L'Obs*, *L'Express* and *Le Point*, between 2013 and 2015

	Number of cover stories	%
Christianity	5	
<i>of which</i>		
positive	2	40.00
neutral	3	60.00
negative	0	
Islam	15	
<i>of which</i>		
positive	0	
neutral	2	13.33
negative	13	86.67
Judaism	3	
<i>of which</i>		
positive	0	
neutral	3	100.00
negative	0	
Extreme right	17	
<i>of which</i>		
positive	0	
neutral	8	47.06
negative	9	52.94

Let us ponder this table. It analyzes the number of stories on each of these four topics that made the cover of these weeklies between 2013, the year the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial was launched, and the date of writing (4 June 2015). It also reports the tone of these cover stories: positive, neutral, or negative (Appendix 3 supplies the details of the information, including the visual kind, summarized in the table, by weekly magazine).

Among the topics selected, the extreme right and Islam are the ones most often featured. The number of cover stories dedicated to them is 17 and 15 respectively, as against five for Christianity and three for Judaism. Christianity is treated more positively than Judaism, and Judaism is treated more positively than Islam. Thus Christianity is the only form of monotheism that the covers of these weeklies sometimes approach in explicitly positive fashion (the rest of the time, the tone is

neutral). Judaism is always treated neutrally. As for Islam, it is a mirror image of the extreme right, treated either neutrally or negatively. But it is treated negatively more often than the extreme right.

The higher number of cover stories dedicated to the extreme right and to Islam may be justified in part by concrete events: the worrying rise of the Front National, particularly as revealed by the municipal and European elections in 2014; the disquieting advance of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) in the Middle East; the horror of the mass murders perpetrated in Paris in January 2015.

But is there justification for devoting 11 cover stories to the Front National, of which five (almost half) are neutral (see Appendix 3)? These figures make the party not only more visible, but also more of a normal everyday phenomenon. Let us not forget that the illustrated covers of the weeklies studied enjoy high visibility in the public space.

As for Islam, out of 15 cover stories in which it features, 10 are about jihadism and Islamist terrorism. That risks nudging public opinion towards a conflation between Islam and fanaticism, a risk heightened by the contents of the five remaining cover stories. While they are not directly about violent Islam, the majority (3/5) do reflect a negative image of Islam: (i) “Meat: the new war of religion... The black file on halal” (Le Point, 10 January 2013); (ii) “Islam: the communautariste danger” (L’Express, 9 October 2013), with a visual of 11 dolls wearing hijab; (iii) “Secularism, integration, education. The Republic versus Islam” (L’Express, 4 February 2015), with the title and the visual both nudging the reader to think that these two entities are incompatible.⁸¹

The French media bear some responsibility for spreading negative stereotypes about Islam. It is essential that they come to realize this, so as to ensure more balanced treatment.

Approach 4: Invite the CNCDH (Commission nationale consultative des droits de l’homme) and the Défenseur des Droits to publish an assessment in their annual report of the eventual responsibility of the French media for spreading antisemitic, Islamophobic, and xenophobic stereotypes.

⁸¹ Such negative treatment is not a fresh development. French readers will recall the cover photo of Le Point for 31 October 2012 depicting a woman wearing niqab (only her eyes are visible) and addressing a policewoman with what looks like vehemence. The title blares: “Cet islam sans gêne” (“This impudent Islam”) (see Appendix 3).

Naturally the goal of the fourth approach is not to initiate lawsuits or empower the Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel (CSA) to engage in coercion. It merely appeals to the media to be more careful.

On the need to combat stereotypes

Negative stereotypes about Islam in France must be fought. They are a deformation of reality. Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2016) study the paths toward integration of two immigrant populations in France. These populations, originally from Senegal, are endowed with the same initial characteristics upon arriving in France, except for their religion: one group is Catholic, the other Muslim. Survey data reveal that **Muslim immigrants are more religious than their Catholic counterparts.** On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 signifies that the deity has no place in the life of the interviewee, and 10 that the deity holds a paramount place, their score is 9 (as against 7.6 for the Catholic Senegalese immigrants, and 3.1 for French people without a recent migratory background). **But this greater religiosity is not synonymous with a rejection of laicity, which the Muslims are just as likely to defend as the Catholics.** The survey data also show that **the Muslims are more inclined to give priority to males when jobs are scarce.** The Catholics, on the other hand, are more likely to support equal treatment of men and women in that case. **Still, the Muslims display the same level of disagreement as their Catholic counterparts with the assertion that “woman is made for having children and raising them.” And they aspire as much as their Catholic counterparts to see their daughters do well in school.** In other words, **the stronger religiosity of Muslims living in France does not mean they wish to substitute a theocracy ruled by sharia law for our democracy. Nor does the priority they are prepared to grant to men when jobs are scarce betray a will to oppress women.**

The negative stereotypes about Muslim populations living in France are muddles, erroneous by definition. But that is not the only reason it is urgent to combat them: **stereotypes have the potential to be self-fulfilling. The discrimination they nourish locks Muslims in our country into a logic of separation.** Adida, Laitin et Valfort (2016) do indeed show that Muslims perceive more hostility against them from the French population than their Catholic counterparts do. And that perception does nothing to motivate them to suppress the cultural differences that distinguish them from the ambient society. The importance that Muslim immigrants give to the deity increases from one generation of immigrants to the next, whereas it drops off among the Catholic immigrants. The same thing happens with the priority that Muslims and Catholics are prepared (or not) to grant to males when jobs are scarce.

In other words, **France and the Muslims who reside there are prisoners of a vicious circle:** negative stereotypes about Islam feed into discrimination against Muslims; this discrimination does not encourage them to assimilate to ambient society, and that reinforces the negative stereotypes about them. **This logic of separation has certainly not yet gained so much momentum that it cannot be reversed.** Nonna Mayer and Vincent Tiberj (*Le Monde* for 20 May 2015) present the conclusions of a poll carried out by the CNCDH following the mass demonstrations of 10 and 11 January 2015. They point out that “the probability of having taken part in this mobilization is greater for persons originating from north Africa or sub-Saharan Africa than for persons without a foreign background, or whose parents and grandparents come from another European country.” **But it is urgent to react.** The shootings of 7 and 9 January 2015 have been followed by numerous acts of Islamophobia, which were as frequent over the single period from 7 to 20 January 2015 as they were for the whole of 2014.⁸² Such acts have the capacity to push Muslims further into withdrawal, as Gould and Klor (2015) show. These authors analyze the impact of the upsurge of Islamophobic acts in the wake of “9/11” (11 September 2001) on the integration of Muslims in the United States. Their results show that, ten years later, Muslims living in states where this upsurge was felt most strongly are behaving in ways closer to the norms of their countries of origin (such a trend was not observed before the attacks): the rates of endogamy and fertility are higher, while the participation of women in the labor market and mastery of English are weaker there.

To combat antisemitism is also a priority. For it is not going away. According to the report of the CNCDH (2015) already cited, the proportion of French persons who think that “Jews have too much power in France” has been rising since 2008 (it reached 37% in 2014). Moreover, as Reynié (2014) stresses, the number of antisemitic acts has never fallen below the figure of 400 per year since the start of the 2000s. Notably, the year 2014 saw an increase in such acts of more than 90%. “From January to July 2014, compared to the same period in 2013, 527 antisemitic acts were recorded versus 276. Half of all racist acts are perpetrated against Jews, who probably represent less than 1% of the population.”

⁸² The Odoxa poll carried out on 18 and 19 June 2015 for *Le Parisien* and *Aujourd'hui en France* confirms that the killings of January 2015 have worsened the perception of Islam by those interviewed: while 63% affirm that their image of French Muslims “has remained unchanged” after “[these] killings... and the reactions they aroused,” 34% affirm that it “has grown worse” (and for 2%, “it has grown better”).

In recent years, various studies have drawn attention to the attraction of antisemitic discourse for immigrants from Muslim cultures and their descendants.⁸³ Brouard and Tiberj (2005) use two surveys. One was carried out on a sample of the French population originating from Africa and Turkey, the other on a sample representing the French population overall, the “mirror survey.” They find that the first sample shows a higher level of antisemitism than the second: “the gaps vary between +19 [percentage] points on the question of the power of Jews in France, +15 on questions about responsibility for the Israel-Palestine conflict and on ‘too much talk about the extermination of the Jews,’ and +7 on the question of whether ‘for French Jews, Israel counts more than France’.” Reynié (2014) follows a similar procedure. He compares the gaps between the responses given by persons who declare that they were “born in a family of Muslim background,” and those from a representative sample of the French population. The proportion of individuals in agreement with the following opinions is around 2.5 times greater in the sample “of Muslim background” (and three times greater if we focus on believing and practicing Muslims within this sample): “Jews have too much power in the economy and finance”; “Jews have too much power in the media”; “Jews have too much power in politics.”

But this Muslim antisemitism, which the killings perpetrated by the Islamist terrorists Mohammed Merah and Amedy Coulibaly highlighted, should not make us forget that other and more traditional embers of antisemitism persist. They are incarnated by the electoral supporters of Marine Le Pen and Jean-Luc Mélenchon (Reynié (2014)), who amounted to almost 30% of the voters in the first round of the presidential elections in 2012. So we must not forget (and this is an argument to combat it), that **antisemitic stereotyping is not just characteristic of a Muslim minority. It also characterizes a fraction, too large to be dismissed as flimsy, of the French population with no recent immigration history.** As well, the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial brings to light a reality of which even persons strongly committed to denouncing racism and antisemitism are not necessarily aware. **Antisemitic stereotypes do not just drive what are classed as “antisemitic acts,”** meaning deeds (attempted murder, violence, starting fires) and threats (utterances, gestures,

⁸³ According to Wieviorka (2014), two rationales can explain the antisemitism of certain members of this group. “The first is identification with the Palestinians: these offspring of immigrants are largely excluded, discriminated against, subjected to police checks because of their appearance, and kept in poverty. They draw an analogy with the Palestinians, parked in certain territories, held at bay by a hated army, humiliated, subjected to controls for those who can enter Israel, or who live there. The second is the seductive sway that radical Islamism may exert within Muslim populations, some of whom are attracted by the notion that Islam and the West, under North American hegemony, are locked in deadly struggle. And in this combat, the Jews are seen as playing a decisive part on behalf of the United States and Israel, which is depicted as the avant-garde, in the Middle East, of the hated West” (pp. 94-95).

writings) about which the police receive a formal complaint or at least a notification. **They also drive behaviors less openly hostile, but that have the potential nevertheless to affect the daily life of many Jews:** for the same qualifications, the callback rates for an ordinary female Jewish applicant and an outstanding male Jewish applicant are respectively 1.7 and 1.5 lower than the callback rates for their Catholic counterparts.⁸⁴ **Discriminatory hiring practices against applicants perceived as Jewish are real world facts. And their authors are not recruiters “of Muslim background,” since 95% of the persons to whom job seekers had to address their applications in the present trial have first and last names that betray French or European origins.**

Be wary of counterproductive campaigns against stereotypes!

Hence **a national struggle against antisemitic and Islamophobic stereotyping**, and against the stereotypes that cling to visible minorities, **is needed.**⁸⁵ **But it has to be calibrated with minute care, because certain public relations strategies actually turn out to be counterproductive:** they wind up reinforcing rather than undermining stereotypes.

According to Kahneman (2011), our thought process is made up of two systems. System 1 corresponds to common sense thinking, instinctive and so imprecise, but demanding little effort. System 2 corresponds to scientific thought, reflective and so more accurate, but it uses up more energy. System 1 allows us to apprehend the unknown individuals all around us at lower cost by categorizing them (are they white/non-white, Christian/non-Christian, etc.?) and attributing to them, as a function of that category, a certain number of characteristics called “stereotypes.” By definition, **stereotypes are a simplification, hence a deformation, of reality.** But this deformation is more likely to be negative when it concerns individuals who belong to the exogroup, meaning a category different from the one to which the person making the assessment belongs. System 1 easily slides, through misunderstanding the exogroup, into what social psychologists call “intra-categorical homogeneity” and “inter-categorical accentuation” (Tajfel (1969)). The first cognitive bias overestimates

⁸⁴ Let us remind readers that the callback rate for Catholic applicants (both ordinary and outstanding) is 30% higher than that of their Jewish counterparts, but this result masks a variation depending on the quality of the profile and the gender of the applicant: (i) outstanding Jewish women do not suffer discrimination, but ordinary Jewish women do, at a rate of 70%; (ii) ordinary Jewish men do not suffer discrimination, but outstanding Jewish men do, at a rate of 50%.

⁸⁵ This necessity is stressed in proposal 4 of the Sciberras report (2015), the details of which are presented in section 4.2: “To organize a national campaign of information and sensitization in order to deconstruct the stereotypes held by the public at large and in firms.”

the degree of resemblance between the members of the exogroup (“they’re all alike”), whereas the second overestimates the degree of difference between the members of the exogroup and the members of the endogroup⁸⁶ (“we’re very different from them,” and by implication, better). From this perspective, every individual is inclined to feel aversion for the exogroup (with respect to the endogroup), including when these groups are the result of arbitrary categorization that does not reflect any real disparity (Tajfel (1970)⁸⁷). So **we are instinctively driven to discriminate against members of the exogroup**, in other words to treat them more negatively than members of the endogroup, though they may otherwise have the same characteristics.

In order to curb negative stereotypes and thus discrimination against the exogroup, it would therefore seem promising to stress:

- **that members of the exogroup are really very diverse** (pushing back against intra-categorical homogeneity);
- **that they are just as diverse as members of the endogroup** (pushing back against inter-categorical accentuation).

This was precisely the idea of Er-rafy et Brauer (2013). These social psychologists created a poster aiming to combat stereotypes. It shows 12 photos of men and women from north Africa (cf. below). A text is linked to two thirds of these photos, specifying the persons’s name, age, and one characteristic, whether positive, negative, or neutral, for example: “Ilham, age 18, tops at checkers,” “Samir, age 34, chatterbox,” “Aïcha, age 30, tight-fisted,” “Saïd, age 42, excellent handyman,” “Abdel, age 28, wants to be an actor.” These photos make it possible to improve the perception of diversity within the exogroup, or what the authors call its “perceived variability.” At the bottom of the poster is a slogan: “Our point in common: diversity.” This is a way of insisting on the similarities between the exogroup and the endogroup rather than the differences.

⁸⁶ The “endogroup” is the group to which the individual making the evaluation belongs.

⁸⁷ In the 1970s, Henri Tajfel showed that merely to divide a group of individuals arbitrarily into two subgroups is enough to generate discriminatory behavior. In his experiment he presents pairs of paintings to participants, one by Klee and the other by Kandinsky. Tajfel then asks each participant to specify, for each of these pairs, the painting she prefers. Then he divides the participants into two subgroups: the Klee subgroup is composed of individuals who preferred the painting by Klee in the majority of cases, while the Kandinsky subgroup is composed of individuals who preferred the painting by Kandinsky in the majority of cases. Finally, he asked certain individuals from the Klee subgroup and the Kandinsky subgroup to share an amount of money between a member of their group and a member of the other group. It turned out that each participant favored her own endogroup to the detriment of the exogroup.

The “Er-rafyi/Brauer” poster: pushing back against intra-categorical homogeneity and inter-categorical accentuation



As well as countering the tendency of individuals to engage in intra-categorical homogeneity and inter-categorical accentuation, **the poster created by Abdelatif Er-rafyi and Markus Brauer steers clear of two shoals identified by researchers in social psychology:**

- **humorous emphasis on the negative stereotype one wishes to deconstruct is a losing strategy:** it reinforces the stereotype rather than deflating it (Vrij et al. (2003));
- **exhorting the public not to discriminate is equally counterproductive** (Legault et al. (2011)).

Their poster features none of the negative stereotypes associated with populations of north African origin, and enjoins no particular line of conduct. In this it departs from many other campaigns against stereotyping. One recalls the campaign conducted in 2003 and 2004 by Adia, a temporary work agency that now operates under the brand Adecco. In one visual, for example, we were shown a young African man in profile, wearing a hoodie. A text in large boldface type at his chest level stated: “This youth is a breaker [*casseur*, i.e. hooligan].” The text continues in smaller type: “of received ideas. You see a dimwit, but he is building up hours of training. You think he doesn’t know how to do anything, but with Adia he is learning to do a range of things. You imagine him forcing entry into a car, but from his employers he forces nothing but respect.” This text concluded with an injunction in capital letters: “Don’t

trust appearances, trust abilities.” The warning slogan “Hands off my pal” promoted by SOS Racisme in 1985⁸⁸ likewise comes to mind.

Er-rafiy and Brauer (2013) confirm, with an experiment conducted on 486 students of the University of Clermont-Ferrand, that **their poster is effective in fighting stereotypes**, and that it is more so than strategies emphasizing the stereotypes that one wants to deconstruct, or indicating to the public what is expected of them. Compared to the students in the control group (exposed to a poster proclaiming the benefits of eating fruits and vegetables), the students exposed to their poster:

- perceive wider variability within the population of north African origin ;
- score lower on the scale of modern racism proposed by McConahay (1986)⁸⁹;
- less readily associate the north African population with negative stereotypes ;
- are more willing to do volunteer work with an association promoting intercultural dialogue between French and north Africans.

Conversely, students exposed to the injunction “Discrimination... STOP!” or to a poster created in the same spirit as those from the Adia advertising campaign are indistinguishable from the control group.

The work of Er-rafiy and Brauer is an excellent starting point for outlining a national campaign to combat antisemitic and Islamophobic stereotyping, and stereotypes that cling to visible minorities. But it would need to be supplemented with experiments making it possible to calibrate the content of the campaign, so that the effect on the French public will be as strong as possible.

Approach 5: Specify, through randomized experiments, the content of a national campaign to counter antisemitic and Islamophobic stereotypes and those clinging to visible minorities, so that it will have maximum impact on French public opinion.

⁸⁸ National campaigns against stereotypes that run aground on one or the other of these perils are not specific to France. In the UK, for example, the campaign “Racism – condemn or condone: there’s no in between,” launched in 1999, was composed of different posters in the same spirit as the one from the Adia campaign. One showed viewers a closeup of a black man, asked them in red capital letters whether they were “Scared?”, and then informed them in small white typeface “You should be. He’s a dentist.” There are also plenty of campaigns that exhort the public not to stereotype others.

⁸⁹ This scale, translated and adapted to the French case by Dambrun and Guimond (2001), is constructed around a list of affirmations with respect to which the interviewee must indicate the degree to which he agrees, or disagrees (for example, “If the unemployment rate is high in France, it’s because the north Africans take work away from French people,” and so on).

Note that any such campaign is expected to indirectly influence the behavior of employers. Recruiters do indeed discriminate against certain minorities because they anticipate hostility from their customers. Any attempt on a national scale to nullify stereotypes ought to give recruiters more reason for optimism about the degree of openness to diversity of their customers, and so motivate a reduction in discriminatory hiring.⁹⁰

And at school?

Suppressing stereotyping is easier when individuals are targeted at the earliest possible age. Hence it is desirable to **complete the operation to combat stereotyping described above with a program aimed at the French educational system**. It should strive to make pupils realize:

- that **defaulting to stereotypes is a reflex common to everybody**;
- that **it has to be resisted, because stereotypes are self-fulfilling**. Therefore, **many of the differences observed between groups are really no more than social constructs: stereotypes drive an artificial wedge into society**.⁹¹

To help this awareness dawn, teachers could have their pupils participate in experiments developed by social psychologists (see for example the one by Tajfel (1969) described above). It is easy to transpose them into a classroom context. As well, they generate particularly edifying outcomes, of a kind likely to leave a lasting imprint.

Approach 6: Seek to nullify stereotypes of all kinds as early as primary school.

4.2. APPROACHES FEASIBLE ON THE LABOR MARKET

The second part of this chapter concentrates on **reducing discrimination in the hiring of applicants whose first and/or last names suggest they belong to the**

⁹⁰ Using French data, Combes et al. (2015) confirm that anticipation by recruiters of discriminatory behavior on the part of their customers explains in part the under-representation of immigrants of African origin in jobs that bring the employee into direct contact with customers.

⁹¹ Let us take the example of a classic stereotype, the notion that men are naturally endowed with the spirit of competition. Gneezy et al. (2009) show that the correlation effectively observed in societies with patriarchal traditions between “having a competitive spirit” and “being male” is really a social construct. The correlation is actually reversed in societies with matriarchal traditions, where women are thought to be naturally endowed with a spirit of competition superior to that of men.

Muslim or Jewish religions, or to a visible minority. Aeberhardt et al. (2010) suggest that the discrimination these minority applicants encounter when it comes to getting hired does dwindle somewhat at any rate over the course of their careers. They show that French persons with at least one parent who immigrated from north Africa have rates of employment 18 percentage points lower, and wages 13% less, than those of French persons whose parents were both French by birth. While the totality of the wage differentials between these two populations is explained by differences in individual characteristics,⁹² those differences explain no more than four of the 18 percentage points that separate the employment rate of persons with north African roots from the employment rate of persons without a recent immigrant background.

4.2.1. The limits of individual lawsuits, or even class actions

An individual who believes she has been a victim of discrimination in hiring can bring a case against the employer in either criminal⁹³ or civil court.⁹⁴ Under the criminal statute, it falls to the claimant to supply proof that discrimination occurred, because the accused enjoys the presumption of innocence. But in civil law, under the pressure of European Union norms meant to put the two parties on an “equal footing,” the claimant enjoys a lighter burden of proof since around 2000. She first has to assemble material evidence that points to the existence of discrimination. It then falls to the employer to prove that the decision not to hire the claimant was made on the basis of objective factors untainted by discrimination. The judge delivers a verdict after having ordered (or not) all the investigative measures he deems necessary.

Despite the lightened burden of proof in the case of a civil suit, it is still not easy to assemble documentary evidence pointing to hiring discrimination. The

⁹² Persons with north African origins are notably younger and have less schooling.

⁹³ This is the *tribunal correctionnel* (court of summary jurisdiction or felony court), which can be seized directly or by bringing a complaint before the state prosecutor, the police, or the gendarmerie. The victim can bring a complaint within a timeframe of 3 years, and can be assisted by a trade union, an association, or the Défenseur des Droits. If hiring discrimination is proved, the culprits risk up to 3 years in prison and a fine of 45,000 euros. If they were acting as public officials or were in charge of a location open to the public, the penalty can increase up to 5 years in prison and 75,000 euros.

⁹⁴ This is an industrial tribunal (*conseil de prud'hommes*) if the employer is a private operator, or an administrative tribunal if the employer is a public sector operator. The victim can bring a complaint within a timeframe of 5 years, and can be assisted by a trade union, an association, or the Défenseur des Droits. If hiring discrimination is proved, the court proceeds to annul the decisions taken on the basis of forbidden discriminatory criteria, and/or to indemnify the injured party.

most propitious circumstance under which to bring a case is the one where the claimant, because she has contacts inside the firm for example, can compare her own profile to that of the individuals who were chosen over her.⁹⁵ But that doesn't happen very often, and if it is not possible, the only option left for an applicant seeking some evidence to back up her claim of discrimination is to stage a CV-based trial.⁹⁶ But that is a complex operation, even if the claimant seeks the help, as she is authorized to do, of trade unions, associations active in combating discrimination, or even the *Défenseur des Droits*.⁹⁷ Associations like SOS Racisme surveyed for the report of Benbassa and Lecerf (2014) emphasize “the complexity of proving discrimination despite the lightened burden established in the legislation and the jurisprudence ...” (p. 41). Given that, it is likely that those bringing cases against perceived discriminatory hiring represent no more than a tiny minority of all those who believe that they have suffered it.

Proving discriminatory hiring is even harder in criminal court, where the burden of proof rests entirely on the claimant. We learn from the deliberations of the HALDE and decisions by the Défenseur des Droits that trials where the verdict did go against the employer were particularly easy cases to plead: the employer engaged in open discrimination. In 2010 a criminal court at Versailles fined the owner of a company engaged in public works 8,000 euros. He had received an anonymized CV from an employment agency and called the applicant back, but then at interview stated to the applicant that he “didn't take Arabs or blacks.”⁹⁸ Again, in 2013 the criminal court at Bobigny fined the owner of a small publishing company 5,000 euros. He had stated to a counsellor from Pôle Emploi who had sent him files

⁹⁵ This situation can arise when an employer recruits into a permanent job (CDI) someone other than the plaintiff who was already doing it on a temporary basis or on a fixed-term contract. In 2007, Froul Louzai, a Frenchman of north African origin, brought a case before the industrial tribunal against Airbus France for “racial discrimination in hiring.” He had completed two contracts on assignment with Airbus France between 2000 and 2001, and two more between January 2005 and September 2006 as a computer technician (*opérateur régleur sur commandes numériques*). When he applied for a permanent job, two other less experienced persons were chosen instead. In 2010 the social chamber of the appeal court of Toulouse sentenced Airbus to pay 10,000 euros in damages and interest to Froul Louzai (Cour d'Appel de Toulouse (2010)).

⁹⁶ The Pécaut-Rivolier report (2013) states that “recourse to CV-based trials can prove to be extremely valuable for detecting discrimination in hiring. Often it is the only way to see whether discrimination of this kind is being practiced, consciously or not, by the person in charge of recruitment.... In civil law, the burden on the claimant is not to supply certain proof, but rather ‘elements’ that point to discrimination. A CV-based trial may constitute such an element within the meaning of social jurisprudence” (see pp. 65-66 of the report).

⁹⁷ As the Pécaut-Rivolier report (2013) notes, “a CV-based trial will only be taken into consideration by the civil judge if he takes the view that the conditions under which it was conducted present a certain number of guarantees of seriousness and reliability. That is why in some cases trials adduced as elements of proof by certain associations have not been accepted into evidence by the courts” (see p. 66 of the report).

⁹⁸ See *Le Moniteur*, “Un patron d'une société de travaux publics condamné à 8,000 euros pour discrimination raciale à l'embauche,” 8 March 2010.

from two applicants for jobs as cleaners that he wasn't going to follow up on them because "he didn't want to assume responsibility for hiring an Arab" (Défenseur des Droits (2014b)). In 2015, SOS Racisme brought a case for discriminatory hiring after a job offer was published on the internet for someone to do computer graphics, "not Jewish if possible."⁹⁹

But such flagrant instances of discrimination are rare. Employers discriminate subtly, as the data from the present study show: they reject minority applicants more often than they do majority applicants, without any job offer being drafted or any justification being given for discriminatory rejections. Against that backdrop, **the threat of legal trouble supposedly hanging over employers who discriminate in hiring is not credible.**

Would a class action rather than an individual lawsuit make it more real? It would in the view of Manuel Valls, the prime minister, who in a speech of 6 March 2015 on "Equality, citizenship: the Republic *en actes*," asserts: "A specific class action will be created in order to shed light on workplace discrimination. It's a real step forward in an area where individual lawsuits almost always fail."¹⁰⁰ When a group of applicants who believe they have suffered the same kind of discrimination from an employer seek justice *en masse*, it no doubt constitutes a stronger index of discriminatory behavior on his part than a lone applicant bringing suit as an individual.

But **class actions are not a sovereign remedy against discrimination in hiring:**

- **they do not apply to small-scale firms** where the volume of hiring is not large enough to make them feasible ;
 - although the simple existence of a class action does not amount to proof that the employer discriminated, media coverage will probably turn his presumed innocence into presumed guilt before long, whatever the court's verdict.
- Stigmatizing employers** cannot be the solution in the fight against discriminatory discrimination.

So recourse to class actions should only be possible when the firm in question shows no willingness to engage in the fight against discrimination. This is exactly

⁹⁹ See *Le Monde*, "Plainte après une annonce pour un graphiste 'si possible pas juif'," 3 February 2015.

¹⁰⁰ This optimism also emanates from a bill put forward on 14 January 2014 in the National Assembly that, should it become law, would launch a class action in the area of discrimination and the struggle against inequality. It states that a class action "increases the rate of success in court by facilitating the proof of discriminatory acts (habitually very hard to document) on account of the large number of similar cases presented to the same judge."

the recommendation of the Sciberras report (2015), discussed in the following section: “the new path of collective recourse to the courts should only be available when there is an absence of social dialogue concerning the resolution of problems of discrimination in the firm in question.”

4.2.2. The Sciberras report: promising voluntary steps, but hard to generalize.

On 19 May 2015 the working group on the struggle against discrimination in the workplace headed by Jean-Christophe Sciberras, ex-president of the national association of human resources directors and himself director of social relations at the Solvay group of companies, submitted its 18 proposals¹⁰¹ to the minister of Justice, Christiane Taubira, the minister of labor François Rebsamen, and the minister for cities, youth, and sport, Patrick Kanner. The Sciberras report **does not confine itself to evoking the threat of legal action.**¹⁰² It also emphasizes soft law, “unilateral undertakings by the employer, not compulsory and not accompanied by sanctions... when they are not kept” (Garner and Recoules (2014), p 6).

The first of these voluntary undertakings is **to conduct an internal CV-based trial** like the ones staged by the Casino group since 2008 (proposal 8). **They make it possible to identify eventual discrimination in hiring and so assess the extent of the discriminatory behavior to be corrected.** Once that diagnosis has been made, firms are invited to **modify these behaviors** in two ways:

- **by training and sensitizing their employees not to discriminate** (proposals 4, 5 and 7);
- **by adopting recruitment procedures that may curb discrimination** (proposals 12 and 13).

Training in non-discrimination should allow participants to become aware of the stereotypes they hold and convince them to resist them.¹⁰³ **Why should firms commit themselves actively to the struggle against stereotyping? Because stereotyping is hurting their economic performance.** Preventing applications from persons of

¹⁰¹ This report concentrates on firms covered by the Labor Code. But its first proposal insists on the need to “put in place, in firms in the public sector and in the three divisions of the public service, a procedure analogous to that carried out by the working group to combat discrimination.”

¹⁰² See proposals 6, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.

¹⁰³ For an analysis of the sources and impact of stereotyping, especially in the workplace, see the publications of Patrick Scharnitzky (2006 and 2015).

diverse ethno-religious background from being rejected purely because of their first or last names makes it possible for employers to reduce the risk of losing talent. As well, in combating stereotyping the labor market endows itself with the means to include diversity. Inclusive diversity means not just that minority groups will be recruited, but that they will be integrated into teams in place that are open to this diversity. While introducing diversity into a team hostile to it is very certainly a factor that will lead to underperformance, doing so in a team whose members have been sensitized/trained is probably a factor that boosts performance, as van Praag and Hoogendoorn (2012) show. These authors followed 550 students at a commercial school in Amsterdam who were accustomed to function in an international environment: only 45% were of Netherlandish origin, and 1/3 were from Muslim majority countries. As part of their training, these students had to set up and manage real firms for a year, in groups of 10 to 12. The researchers themselves determined the composition of these groups and compared their performance, according to whether their ethno-religious diversity was low or high. Their results show that volume of business and profitability rise with ethno-religious diversity. Diversity makes possible the sharing of a richer array of competence and experience that, when the team is open to diversity, is not offset by greater difficulty of communication or greater likelihood of conflict. Lastly, by fighting stereotyping, the firm advertises itself as socially responsible, and that is a helpful image to have. Firms concerned about their societal impact are likely to attract, as well as “traditional” customers, investors, and suppliers, ones seeking to do business “ethically” in addition. They should also attract applicants who are themselves socially responsible, whose team spirit contributes to their economic performance (Nyborg (2014)).¹⁰⁴

Sensitization and training in non-discrimination is not the only way to limit stereotyping in firms. Certain recruiting procedures can prevent it from rearing its head when CVs are being sorted, or when hiring interviews take place. One is the creation of a “registry of applications” (proposal 12 of the Sciberras report). This would make it possible to register all applications classed by job offer, and also to select, through computerized analysis, *all* those that correspond to the objective criteria figuring in the job offer.¹⁰⁵ The utilization of an objective filter to sort through the CVs would help to block recruiters from unconsciously reverting to stereotypical

¹⁰⁴ Proposals 9, 10 and 11 of the Sciberras report aim to increase the payoff for firms when they commit to the struggle against discrimination.

¹⁰⁵ See <http://beetween.fr/> for an example of software to be used in recruitment, and in managing applications.

thinking.¹⁰⁶ Other modes of recruitment can be envisaged (proposal 13), such as the method of recruitment through simulation (MRS) developed by Pôle Emploi.¹⁰⁷ MRS consists of making a list of all the skills necessary to perform a job by analyzing the positions in the firm, and then constructing exercises that make it possible to evaluate the degree to which applicants possess them. In that setting, the applicants' access to a hiring interview is no longer dependent on her CV (the evaluation of which is often polluted by unconscious stereotypes), but by an objective measure of her performance. A comparison of the trials carried out internally by the Casino group in 2008 and 2012 revealed a reduction in discriminatory hiring. According to the director of human resources Yves Desjacques, MRS helped to achieve this progress.¹⁰⁸ It is also possible to imagine procedures that could keep stereotyping in check at hiring interviews. Scharnitzky (2015) insists that it is important to hold them in the morning, when recruiters are functioning "at 100%" of their capacity and so are better able to keep their own system 1 in check than they are in the afternoon (p. 214). He also recommends following a homogeneous protocol: "keep to a certain sequence in the questions asked... for [otherwise] we can picture one recruiter with a positive predisposition starting the interview with the strong points of the CV, and another with a negative predisposition doing the opposite"; "take notes on a prepared grid listing only the competences expected," and so on. "In sum, everything that can be done to guarantee a form of 'comparability' among the applicants will be a relative barrier against the risk of a default to stereotyping" (p. 178).

All of these steps are promising in the struggle against hiring discrimination. But they are hard to generalize. First, many are not well suited to small and medium size firms. That is the case for an internal CV-based trials, which can only be conducted if the employer posts a sufficiently large volume of job offers. Secondly, **to impose the steps recommended by the Sciberras report on unwilling employers would be counterproductive, since it would not be possible to verify that they were actually or correctly being carried out.** After all, one could obtain a very good result from an internal CV-based trial by letting the recruiting department know about it in advance. One could also manipulate the registry of applications by scrubbing all the CVs and letters of application sent by minority applicants. And

¹⁰⁶ When CVs are sorted in the classic way, it is probable that system 1 as defined by Kahneman (2011) is doing most of the work (readers are reminded that system 1 refers to "common sense" thought processes, instinctive and thus fuzzy). Indeed, according to the RegionsJob survey for 2013 on the recruitment practices of French firms, 69% of recruiters declare that they spend less than a minute on each CV.

¹⁰⁷ Source: "La Méthode de Recrutement par Simulation" site <http://www.pole-emploi.fr/> updated 23 September 2011.

¹⁰⁸ See Magali Picard, "Casino fait le bilan de sa politique en matière de non discrimination," *LSA*, 12 July 2012.

so on. This fear of manipulation explains why the Sciberras report is unfavorable to the idea of anonymizing CVs¹⁰⁹ (on top of the high cost such an obligation would impose on employers). It is easy for firms to anonymize CVs only partially, so that the applicant's gender, and even his national origin and religious culture, remain identifiable.¹¹⁰ They could retain the grammatical form of the adjectives used by the applicants to refer to themselves, which to users of the French language reveal a person's gender; they could retain information about the languages he speaks (Arab, Hebrew). Moreover, to get around anonymized CVs, firms can easily shift their emphasis to alternative modes of recruitment, such as unsolicited applications or social media.¹¹¹ Ultimately, within firms that are not spontaneously committed to promoting diversity, anonymized CVs do no more than postpone to the hiring interview the discrimination that would otherwise have operated when the CVs were being sorted.¹¹²

To favor the adoption of voluntary measures by more firms, they have to be convinced of the economic benefit of doing so. In its third proposal, the Sciberras report insists on the need to “carry out studies to evaluate the economic payoff from combating discrimination in the firm.” But that kind of evaluation takes time. And even positive results will not necessarily convert the doubters. **How can we induce all French employers to discriminate less in hiring?**

¹⁰⁹ The equal opportunity law of 31 March 2006 makes it obligatory to use anonymized CVs for firms with more than 50 employees. Anonymized CVs are ones from which the applicant's photograph, family name, given name, postal address, gender, age/date of birth and nationality have been stripped. The decree putting this law into effect has never been published, despite a summons to the government to obey from the Council of State in summer 2014.

¹¹⁰ We note that, even if the anonymization is complete, the age of the applicant can easily be determined by the recruiter from the dates at which she obtained her diplomas and her work experience.

¹¹¹ According to the 2013 RegionsJob survey, 68% of recruiters are already turning to unsolicited applications for their hiring, while 49% turn to social media (by way of comparison, 82% utilize job offer sites on the internet, 58% turn to Pôle Emploi, and 37% use the services of recruitment agencies).

¹¹² We note that the anonymized CV may have perverse effects, even when employers are anxious to reduce their own discriminatory practices. An experiment carried out by CREST and Pôle Emploi, in which firms volunteered to take part, seems to indicate that anonymized CVs penalize minority applicants: since he cannot identify them, the employer places extra weight on every spelling mistake and unexplained career gap that appears in their CVs. Minority applicants thus have 1 chance in 22 of getting to an interview with anonymized CVs (as against 1 chance in 6 for the other applicants), whereas they have 1 chance in 10 (as against 1 chance in 8) with CVs that fully identify the applicants (see Behagel et al. (2015) and Anne Rodier, “La fin du CV anonyme,” *Le Monde*, 19 May 2015).

4.2.3. Helping all employers to manage religious issues in the workplace

More and more firms offering their employees sensitization and training in non-discrimination are including modules on how to manage religious issues in the workplace. Their value is this: if French secularism (*laïcité*) is being interpreted either too strictly or too loosely by human resources personnel and managers, adjustments can be made. Employees are reminded that ***laïcité***:

- **does not require complete religious neutrality in private companies** (that requirement only applies to the civil service) ;
- **does permit the imposition of bounds on the expression of individual beliefs when they hinder the protection of individuals and the proper functioning of the firm** (see section 3.1.1 for more detail).

Specifying these facts can limit discrimination based on religion. For example, we know that recruiters look askance at headscarves or veils on women. This aversion may explain part of the discrimination met by the ordinary female Muslim applicant in the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial. Her callback rate converges to that of her Catholic counterpart when she appears to be outstanding, therefore particularly concerned about her academic and professional success, and hence unlikely to alienate her co-workers by wearing the scarf or the veil. Training in how to manage religious issues in the workplace should help to de-dramatize this religious symbol when it is worn, by emphasizing that the simple fact of wearing it does not in itself amount to proselytism, and is therefore irreprehensible.

The results of the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial also tell us that when ordinary Muslim men show that they are secular rather than simply practicing, discrimination against them practically vanishes. This result suggests that fear of transgressive religious practices lies at the core of the discrimination against Muslim men by recruiters. One way of countering this negative propensity would be to remind recruiters that they are authorized to limit the expression of individual beliefs when the latter cause problems in the workplace. One might also insist on the proportion of religion-based claims in the workplace that lead to stalemates: it is a small proportion, not exceeding 6% over the period 2013-2014 (OFRE/Randstad survey).

To limit discrimination on account of religion, it thus appears essential to help all employers to better manage religious issues in the workplace. This help could take the form of distributing guides. There already exist a certain number, drafted by

public authorities,¹¹³ associations,¹¹⁴ and large public and private establishments,¹¹⁵ but not as yet widely known. Given that, it would be a good idea to make it easier for small organizations that do not have the wherewithal to publish their own handbooks to obtain access to the most instructive ones already in print.

Approach 7: Send out instructional guides on the management of religious issues in the workplace to all employers, and emphasize that the proportion of claims of a religious kind in the workplace that do end in stalemate is very small.

4.2.4. Ensure that minority applicants do not conform to the stereotypes clinging to them

Negative notions about the religious culture of minority applicants are not the only stereotypes hurting their chances of getting hired. So it is indispensable to neutralize all of them. Campaigns of sensitization on a national scale are certainly needed, but they must be reinforced by specific mechanisms on the labor market that will make it possible to **convince employers of the quality of the minority applicants whose CVs they receive, in terms of cognitive competences (training) but also non-cognitive ones (perseverance, capacity for teamwork, self-control, etc.). One might envisage the deployment, across the whole of France, of employment intermediaries like Mozaïk RH¹¹⁶ or NQT (*Nos quartiers ont des talents, Our neighborhoods have talent*).¹¹⁷ These organizations identify populations encountering discrimination,**

¹¹³ The attention of readers is drawn, for example, to the report of the CESE (*Conseil économique social et environnemental*) on “Le fait religieux dans l’entreprise” (The presence of religion in the workplace) (2013). One may also highlight the publications of the *Observatoire de la laïcité* (a “watchdog” office on issues of laicity, attached to the Prime Minister’s office) concerning “La gestion du fait religieux dans l’entreprise privée,” (2013a), “Laïcité et collectivités locales,” (2013b) and “Laïcité et gestion du fait religieux dans les structures socio-éducatives” (2014). Lastly, l’ORSE (*Observatoire sur la responsabilité sociétale des entreprises*) published a set of short notes (*fiches*) under the title *Prévention des discriminations et promotion de la diversité dans les entreprises*. One of them, *fiche 18*, deals with “Les convictions religieuses.”

¹¹⁴ For example, the AFMD (*Association française des managers de la diversité*) published a collective work in 2013 entitled *Entreprises et diversité religieuse. Un management par le dialogue. IMS-Entreprendre pour la Cité* likewise published a practical guide in 2009 “Gérer la diversité religieuse en entreprise.”

¹¹⁵ Readers are referred to the handbooks of *Accenture* (“Diversité des convictions religieuses. Guide de bonnes pratiques,” 2013), *Crédit Agricole* (“Le fait religieux en entreprise. Les réponses du Groupe Crédit Agricole SA,” 2015), the Casino group (“Gérer la diversité religieuse en entreprise,” 2010), EDF (“Repères sur le fait religieux dans l’entreprise à l’usage des managers et des responsables RH,” 2009) and the Post Office (*La Poste*) (“Fait religieux et vie au travail. Quelques repères,” 2010).

¹¹⁶ Mozaïk RH was created in 2007 by Saïd Hammouche: <http://www.mozaikrh.com/>. “RH” is the acronym for “Human Resources” (*Ressources Humaines*).

¹¹⁷ NQT was created in 2005 in Seine-Saint-Denis by Yazid Chir and Reynald Rimbault: <http://www.nqt.fr/>

teach them the social codes they need to override the negative stereotypes that are hurting them on the labor market (help in putting together a CV, pre-interview preparation, coaching by mentors who are themselves in management positions, and put them in touch with employers. Of course, these intermediaries cannot just focus on those with good qualifications,¹¹⁸ they also have to help applicants with little or no schooling.¹¹⁹

To prevent any manipulation, the eligibility of an applicant for such special attention must rely on a controllable criterion. A person's religion certainly doesn't meet that standard. But his nationality at birth and those of his parents do constitute information validated by official documents. **So this special attention could be restricted to applicants whose nationality at birth and/or the nationality at birth of one of their parents is that of a Muslim-majority country, or more generally that of a country of sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, or north Africa.**¹²⁰ Such applicants are highly likely to bear a given name and/or a family name, or to be endowed with physical characteristics, that recruiters will associate with Muslim culture¹²¹ or a visible minority. **We note that the nationality of an individual, her address, her language, and her place of birth, are not regarded by the CNIL as "sensitive" data** within the meaning of article 8 of the law of 6 January 1978.¹²² Hence it ought to be possible for actors in the field of employment to access this information.¹²³

Unfortunately this criterion of eligibility only partially treats the discrimination against applicants perceived as Jewish. Jews born in a Muslim-majority (or non-

¹¹⁸ This is the case with Mozaïk RH and NQT, which target applicants who have at least bac+2 and bac+3 respectively.

¹¹⁹ Such intermediaries exist in other countries as well; an example is Year Up in the USA: <http://www.yearup.org/>

¹²⁰ To limit the set to first and second generation immigrants may appear restrictive. But there are obstacles to treating data about the national origin of grandparents. How many grandparents whose birth nationality was that of a targeted country does a third-generation immigrant need in order to be considered "from there" too? More generally, starting with what generation does an individual cease to be perceived as an "immigrant"? Restricted it may be, but the proposed boundary of eligibility ought to propel a virtuous circle beneficial not only to those who arrive first and their children, but also to the generations that follow.

¹²¹ It is important to bear in mind that it is not so much the actual religion of the applicant as the religion imputed to him that is the source of discrimination. A French person with north African first and last names will encounter hiring discrimination on account of his putative religion (Islam) even if he is an atheist (assuming he doesn't reveal that that is what he is). Conversely, a French person with French first and last names who has converted to Islam will not. The recruiter will assume by default that his religion, or at least his background, is Christian (unless of course the applicant explicitly foregrounds his affiliation to the Muslim religion in his CV or at the hiring interview).

¹²² According to this article, sensitive data are ones "of a personal character that make evident, directly or indirectly, the racial or ethnic origins, the political, philosophical, or religious opinions, or the trade union membership of persons, or that relate to their health or sexual lives."

¹²³ By way of illustration, information on the nationality of the person interviewed and his or her parents has been gathered by INSEE (*Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques*) for the purposes of the Enquête Emploi (French Labor Force Survey) since 2005.

European) country and their children could benefit from this special treatment. But not, for example, Jews born in Europe and their offspring. The present study is limited to testing discrimination against the former, who are mostly Sephardic Jews. But it is not out of the question that the latter, generally Ashkenazi, are also meeting discrimination on the French labor market, although the stereotypes clinging to them are more positive, within Israeli society at any rate.¹²⁴ Now if that discrimination is substantiated, we will not be able to define a controllable criterion of eligibility that would allow us to target this Ashkenazi population. Nor can we counter the eventual discrimination met by the grand-children or great-grand-children of Sephardic Jews born outside Europe. **So discrimination against Jews has to be fought by means other than simple recourse to employment intermediaries specializing in the placement of visible minorities. It is especially important that when personnel in firms are sensitized and given training in non-discrimination by their employers, their attention should be drawn to antisemitism. Discrimination against Jews should also be stressed, as Approach 2 notes, in the framework of a national publicity campaign.**

Approach 8: Encourage the development throughout the country of employment intermediaries who will (i) identify applicants meeting discrimination who belong to visible minorities (defined by criteria of nationality), (ii) teach them the social codes they need to override the negative stereotypes that are hurting them on the labor market, and (iii) put them in touch with employers.

4.2.5. Incentivize *all* employers to use the services of employment intermediaries specializing in the placement of applicants from visible minorities

Even supposing that employers do trust such employment intermediaries to send them applicants who don't conform to stereotype, not all of them will want to use their services. The results of the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial suggest that discrimination against visible minorities is not purely rational. **So Approach 8 needs to be complemented by a mechanism that incentivizes them.**

¹²⁴ Using behavioral games conducted in Israel, Fershtman and Gneezy (2001) show that Ashkenazi Jews, and for that matter even Sephardi Jews, put more trust in the Ashkenazi than they do in the Sephardi.

Hiring subsidies: an effective tool for getting populations in difficulty into work

In France and many other OECD countries, mechanisms intended to facilitate the hiring of populations vulnerable on the labor market already exist. For example, **quotas** for handicapped persons are in place.¹²⁵ They must amount to 6% of the workforce in private and public entities with at least 20 employees, though employers can discharge this obligation by paying an annual contribution for each handicapped person they should have hired.¹²⁶ Employers can also benefit from **hiring subsidies** (partial relief from payroll taxes, one-time payments). This is the case with the labor contract known as CUI (*contrat unique d'insertion*), intended for unemployed persons who are facing social or professional challenges.¹²⁷ Finally, **jobs can be created in the public sector.** For example, the “future jobs” (*emplois d'avenir*) launched in October 2012 have facilitated access to a job contract (generally fixed-term) for unemployed young people with few or no qualifications aged between 16 and 25.¹²⁸

Such job creation programs in the non-profit sector are known to generate inactivity traps. Recruiters see them as generating cut-rate jobs and they stigmatize their beneficiaries (Card et al. (2010)).

Hiring subsidies, in contrast, appear to be effective in terms of getting people into work and keeping them there after the subsidy runs out. In other words, this mechanism helps the beneficiaries to make up the productivity gap that separates them from individuals with more straightforward career paths.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ In the aftermath of the World War I, the obligation to employ handicapped persons was imposed as a national duty toward mutilated combatants and their families in many combatant countries.

¹²⁶ This contribution is paid to the AGEFIPH (*Association de gestion du fonds pour l'insertion professionnelle des personnes handicapées*) by employers in the private sector, and to the FIPHFP (*Fonds pour l'insertion des personnes handicapées dans la fonction publique*) by employers in the public sector. Source: “L'obligation d'emploi en faveur des travailleurs handicapés,” site <http://travail-emploi.gouv.fr/> updated on 23 February 2015.

¹²⁷ It takes the form of the Contrat Initiative Emploi (CUI-CIE) for the market sector, and the Contrat d'Accompagnement dans l'Emploi (CUI-CAE) for the non-profit sector. Source: “Le Contrat Unique d'Insertion - CUI,” site <http://www.pole-emploi.fr/>.

¹²⁸ Source: “Les emplois d'avenir” site <http://travail-emploi.gouv.fr/> updated on 17 April 2015. Young handicapped persons could benefit from this mechanism up to the age of 30. In November 2012 and September 2014, 141,000 youth were recruited, and 14,000 had their one-year contract renewed, bringing to 155,000 the total number of entries into future jobs. The initial goal of 150,000 future jobs to be created before the end of 2014 has thus been met: Source: “Emplois d'avenir: bilan à deux ans,” site <http://www.vie-publique.fr/> updated 4 November 2014.

¹²⁹ See for example Butschek and Walter (2014) for a summary of the impact of hiring subsidies on vulnerable populations in seven OECD countries: Germany, Denmark, Finland, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The impact on both applicants and employers of a quota system is less clear. Quotas are hard to set up. At a minimum, one needs to know the size of the targeted population of working age. But it is also necessary to gauge the objective “absorption capacity” of employers. Now this capacity depends on a number of factors: level(s) of qualification at which the employer recruits (to be compared to the qualification levels of the targeted persons of working age), proportion of such persons in the employment zone where the employer carries on business, and so on. The fact is, it is impossible to measure such factors in precise and exhaustive fashion. Never mind the fact that the population of employers (and their characteristics) evolves rapidly. For lack of adequate information, the quota is often a single number: one size fits all.¹³⁰ In other words, firms where the absorption capacity exceeds the quota do not hire as many targeted applicants as they could have done with a hiring subsidy (and *a fortiori*, a quota made to measure). So the applicants lose out. Moreover, firms where the absorption capacity is less than the quota suffer a penalty in comparison to the case where they receive a hiring subsidy (or a quota made to measure).¹³¹

Hiring subsidies thus appear to be the most promising mechanism for facilitating the employment of vulnerable populations, from the point of view of both applicants and recruiters. It is therefore surprising that they are only used in France to offset social inequality, not to offset discrimination against visible minorities — all the more in that such programs of employment aid exist in other countries. In the province of Quebec, for example, the “Employment Integration Program for Immigrants and Visible Minorities” (PRIIME in French) consists of paying a subsidy to the employer for the hire of anyone who has held permanent residency for less than five years or belongs to a visible minority¹³² (born in Canada or the US). And

¹³⁰ For example, the rate of 6% for handicapped persons was fixed by the Séguin law of 1987 (and reprised in the handicap law of 2005, which aims to involve the whole nation and not just the labor market). Essentially it appeared to be a more realistic figure than the rate of 10% specified in a law of 1924: “In 1987 the quota of 10% yielded an expected obligation of 830,000 jobs, whereas the real amount of employment was 500,000 persons, which was a real rate of 6%” (Officiel du handicap (2014)).

¹³¹ Hence there exist two categories of employers: those whose payroll meets the proportional quota of targeted persons, and those whose payroll falls short of that quota (employers who exceed the quota are few). In other words, there is little likelihood that the quota will be met nationwide. This intuition is confirmed in the case of the 6% quota for handicapped persons. According to the Campion and Debré report (2012), their rate of employment is 2.7% in the private sector and 4.2% in the public sector.

¹³² Visible minorities in Canada are defined as “persons who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour, and who do not report being Aboriginal.” Statistics Canada recognizes the following subcategories: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, and the miscellaneous “n.i.e.” set (“not included elsewhere”). Source: “Classification of visible minority,” <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/concepts/definitions/minority01a#a1>, updated on 22 April 2015.

these programs have proven to be effective. In the US, “positive discrimination”¹³³ has led to a rise in the employment rate of ethnic minorities in sectors where it applies (government, public institutions, and government contractors) in comparison to their rates of employment in other sectors (Holzer and Neumark (2000)).

Of course it is necessary to help those with the least schooling, who are more likely to come from underprivileged backgrounds. But is there not a comparable injustice when, for equal levels of competence, one person suffers impairment with respect to another simply because her national origin and/or her putative religion put the recruiter off? Some may take the view that having a low educational level and having a minority national origin or religious tradition are two characteristics that often go together, so the hiring subsidies already in place are already treating the problem of discrimination. The correlation certainly exists. For example, Aeberhardt et al. (2010) show that 28% of French people with at least one parent who held the nationality of a north African country at birth left school without a diploma. This proportion is only 19% for French people whose parents were both French nationals at birth. But the correlation is far from perfect. Not everyone of north African origin in France failed to finish school. Again according to Aeberhardt et al. (2010), 21% of them have an educational level at least equivalent to “bac+2” (completion of community college, postsecondary technical training or college), just like the fictive applicants in the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial. (The corresponding rate for persons who are not the direct offspring of migrants is 28%.) **So setting up a hiring subsidy targeted specifically at the visible minorities in our country could make it possible to reduce the discrimination from which they suffer.**¹³⁴

¹³³ As Maguain (2006) notes, “positive discrimination was born from the movement for universal civil rights in the United States in the mid-1960s (...). It was the Democratic president John. F. Kennedy who first used the expression ‘affirmative action’ in 1961, in a decree stipulating that federal government departments and agencies had to ensure that firms bidding for public contracts were treated equally with respect to ‘race, color, religion, gender, or national origin.’ The Democrat Lyndon Johnson and then the Republican Richard Nixon extended and specified by decree the voluntary preferential policy the federal government ought to follow concerning the hiring of civil servants as well as the letting of public contracts and the provision of subsidies. That led in 1972 to a law on ‘affirmative action’ making it mandatory for government agencies, public institutions, and service providers working for the government, to put in place preferential programs for ethnic minorities. The modalities for achieving greater equality of opportunity were specified in the form of goals to attain in terms of the participation of minorities in relation to their relative demographic availability.”

¹³⁴ This observation certainly partially motivated the “free jobs” (*emplois francs*). Launched in 2013, they consist of a lump-sum aid to the hiring of young people under 30, *whether they are qualified or not, and who live in a quarter situated in ZUS (Zone Urbaine Sensible)* (Source: “Les emplois francs,” site <http://www.pole-emploi.fr/>). However, to reside in a ZUS seems too imperfectly linked to the fact of belonging to a visible minority. **We note that none of the minority candidates in the Valfort-Institut Montaigne trial resides in a ZUS. They suffer strong discrimination all the same.**

It is important to note that, **while the measure has never been adopted in France, a subsidy for hires made on the basis of nationality is not illegal here.** According to the guide *Mesurer pour progresser vers l'égalité des chances* (Benchmarking in order to progress toward equality of opportunity), published in 2012 by the CNIL (*Commission nationale de l'informatique et des libertés*) and the Défenseur des Droits, only “a policy that granted an unconditional and automatic compensatory advantage would in principle be forbidden in France.” This signifies that **“the priority granted to persons from the disadvantaged group cannot have the effect of preventing the recruitment of a person from a non-disadvantaged group if, after an objective assessment, the latter appears better suited to the job advertised”** (Marshall decision of the European Court of Justice (CJCE 11/11/1997 n° C-409/95)). A hiring subsidy on criteria of nationality does not contradict this principle, unlike gender parity in politics and on the boards of directors and surveillance committees of companies listed on the stock exchange, which did require a constitutional amendment before it could be implemented.

Approach 9: Set up a hiring subsidy targeting visible minorities who are objectively encountering discrimination (defined by criteria of nationality).

Combining a hiring subsidy based on nationality with special help for applicants from visible minorities and a national public relations campaign: a way to limit eventual undesired side effects

Positive discrimination is often criticized on the grounds that it does not, in itself, do anything to counter the negative stereotypes clinging to the beneficiary populations. So it might perpetuate them, since certain stereotypes are self-fulfilling. In a workplace setting that remains hostile to them, those targeted by this mechanism may lose confidence in themselves and perform less well. This phenomenon will not occur, however, if the environment is favorable to them, as numerous studies have demonstrated. By way of illustration, Word et al. (1974) organized hiring interviews in which the recruiter put the same questions in the same order to the applicants, but adopted non-verbal attitudes that were more or less welcoming by varying things like the physical distance between them, the frequency of eye contact, and the degree to which he leaned forward. The applicants were divided *at random* among the “hostile” and the “welcoming” recruiters, which meant that the intrinsic quality of both groups was the same. The conversations between the recruiters and the applicants were recorded by the researchers, and later played back for outsiders ignorant of the experimental protocol, who were

asked to judge the performance of the applicants. **The ones assigned to the “hostile” recruiter were assessed much more negatively than those who drew the “welcoming” recruiter: their answers seemed less pertinent and forthcoming. In other words, the non-verbal attitudes of recruiters alone are enough to influence applicants during hiring interviews.**

But negative stereotypes can fulfill themselves in even more subtle ways. Glover et al. (2015) conducted an experiment in a large French firm between 2011 and 2012. Their goal was to measure the impact of the negative stereotypes¹³⁵ held by managers about persons of African origin (northern or sub-Saharan) on the performance of the male and female cashiers of African origin whom they supervise. They compared the productivity of cashiers, according to whether they were of French or African origin, and according to whether or not their manager was “biased,” meaning that he displayed negative stereotyping about the minority group. The results are instructive. Being assigned to a “biased” rather than unbiased manager reduces the productivity of the cashiers of African origin (measured by the number of articles scanned per minute). The stereotypes of the managers about the minority group, conversely, are without effect on the cashiers of French origin, as we might expect. The combination of these results leads to an unexpected conclusion. **In the presence of an unbiased manager, the minority employees outperform the majority employees: they scan almost an article more per minute. This productivity advantage disappears when they are supervised by a biased manager.** A supplementary survey of the cashiers revealed that **the negative impact of the biased managers on the productivity of the employees of the minority group did not flow from any open hostility of the former toward the latter, but simply from a lack of supervision: biased managers limit their contact with cashiers of African origin.**

¹³⁵ These stereotypes are measured with the Implicit Association Test (IAT), introduced in 1998 by a group of American social psychologists (see Greenwald et al. (1998)). For example, to measure stereotypes about persons of north African origin, the IAT consists of successively displaying given names and adjectives on participants' computer screens. The given names are either French (e.g. Michel) or north African (e.g. Mohammed) in origin. The adjectives are ones associated with good employees (e.g. “industrious”) or bad ones (e.g. “lazy”). In a first IAT session, the participants must group the French given names and the negative adjectives on one side of the screen, and the north African given names and the positive adjectives on the other side. In a second IAT session, it is the reverse: the French given names have to be grouped with the positive adjectives, and the north African given names with the negative adjectives. The IAT relies on the following hypothesis: persons holding negative stereotypes about persons of north African origin ought to be more rapid in the second session (where it is a question of grouping them with the negative adjectives) than in the first session. Stereotypes about French persons of north African origin are thus measured on the basis of the difference between the time it takes participants to group the French given names with the negative adjectives, and the north African given names with the negative adjectives.

Not only does positive discrimination not have the power to counter the perpetuation of negative stereotypes against minority applicants, it may even aggravate them. Its beneficiaries are met with suspicion from colleagues and managers: it can easily appear to be the case that their hiring and career advancement depend solely on their status as minorities, not on their competence. As an illustration, Heilman et al. (1997) present to managers a description of the work done by various employees unknown to the participants. They then ask them to evaluate the performance of these employees. The results show **a stigmatization of persons described as beneficiaries of positive discrimination: for a given level of objective competence, their performance is judged inferior to that of employees whose recruitment is presented as untainted by positive discrimination.** Now we know that stigmatization of this kind is self-fulfilling: it reduces the productivity of its victims by undermining their self-esteem.

To limit such eventual perverse side effects, it is therefore indispensable to accompany the hiring subsidy based on nationality with mechanisms making it possible to obviate the negative stereotypes about these beneficiaries, whether they existed prior to the subsidy or are potentially exacerbated by its arrival. In other words, **Approach 9 is not feasible without the national publicity campaign described in section 4.1. Nor should it be adopted independently of Approach 8:** the recruitment of beneficiaries bearing a “label” from the specialized intermediaries will more easily be perceived by their co-workers as justified by their competence rather than their status as “minority applicants.”

How to finance this mechanism?

Approaches 8 and 9 entail financing employment intermediaries specialized in the placement of discriminated populations, and doing so through incentives. To ensure the quality of their service, these intermediaries could be remunerated as a function of the number and/or proportion of persons benefiting from hiring subsidies based on nationality whom they help to keep in employment past the end of the subsidy period. Approaches 8 and 9 likewise require financing a hiring subsidy based on nationality.

The financing of approaches 8 and 9 ought to involve both the French state and employers. The fact is that the national community as a whole is responsible for the discrimination suffered by minority applicants in our country. So an initial source of financing could consist of a tax on employer payrolls. The adoption of a tax would

be incentivizing. Virtuous employers (who do recruit persons from visible minorities) would actually gain relief from such heightened fiscal pressure, thanks to the subsidy and also thanks to the guarantee of high-quality applicants through Approach 8. The other employers, conversely, would be net contributors to this mechanism. As well as being incentivizing, this system would also be equitable. It seems just that employers who continue to discriminate, despite a series of measures intended to dissuade them, should be sanctioned. But care must be taken to ensure that the tax imposed on employers is not too high, so as not to penalize those who receive only a limited number of applications from minorities (because of their rarity in the employer's employment zone, or their failure to match the profiles he seeks).

The rest of the financing would come from the state. It ought to be largely offset by savings generated through the integration into the labor market of hitherto marginalized applicants. Let us remind readers that unemployment caused by discriminatory hiring is a serious drain on the public finances (Cahuc et al. (2014)). Furthermore, it generates negative externalities such as criminality that also impose a considerable cost on the country (Fougère et al. (2009)).

Many interlocutors have counseled me to omit Approaches 8 and 9 from chapter 4, on the grounds that they entail positive discrimination of a kind judged intolerable by a large majority of the French. True, **more than two thirds of the French (67%) reject the principle of positive discrimination for persons of immigrant background** (BVA (2014)). **But that result is not surprising. The term "positive discrimination,"** a maladroitness translation of the well-known Americanism "affirmative action," **fails to capture the thing it designates.** According to the Larousse dictionary, positive discrimination consists of "favoring certain groups of persons who are victims of systematic discrimination (linked to ethnic or social origin, religious and cultural criteria, etc.)," so **it would be more judicious to refer to what I propose as "action for equality."** Indeed it is possible that the BVA survey would have yielded an exactly opposite result if that term had been used instead, especially **since the definition of the term "positive discrimination" adopted in the BVA survey is inexact:** "prioritizing the allotment of a certain number of places in universities, businesses, the civil service and political institutions to persons of immigrant background." As Approaches 8 and 9 show, **"positive discrimination" does not necessarily consist of according unconditional priority to minority applicants (which would be quite contrary to the French constitution).** The nationality-based hiring subsidy would

incentivize the employer to hire the minority applicant rather than the majority applicant if their CVs were equivalent, but the employer would remain free to take the carrot or not. Thus **Approaches 8 and 9 aim only to re-establish an equality of treatment, for equal levels of competence, between minority and majority applicants — an equality that is being flouted in the gravest manner at this time.**

More generally, chapter 4 refuses to judge in advance what the French people are really capable of taking on board. All it does is set forth an array of approaches, as exhaustive as possible, that have a chance of reducing discrimination based on religion and against visible minorities. It is up to French citizens to decide, on that basis, how they want to escape from the vicious circle in which France is trapped. Hence chapter 4 concludes with a single proposal:

PROPOSAL: Submit the nine approaches in this study to panels of citizens so they may (i) decide which ones to adopt; (ii) define ways of putting them into operation; (iii) propose whatever additional steps may be required.

After these panels of citizens have spoken, it will be **crucial to test the approaches chosen *via* randomized experiments.** This will make it possible, if necessary, to calibrate the adjustments needed to guarantee the full effectiveness of these policies for combating discrimination.

CONCLUSION

In France, religion is an important factor in discriminatory hiring. Through a CV-based trial of unprecedented breadth, this study reveals that, **for equivalent CVs, practicing Jewish and Muslim applicants are disfavored in comparison to their Catholic counterparts:** the likelihood of Catholics being called back by recruiters and invited to a hiring interview is 30% higher than for Jews and twice as high as it is for Muslims. **Male Muslim applicants suffer the most discrimination:** compared to their Catholic counterparts, they have to send out four times as many CVs to get one callback.

What are the drivers of this discrimination? In order to try to neutralize certain negative stereotypes that cling to minority applicants (notably Muslims), the experimental protocol includes secular applicants in addition to practicing ones. The trial also puts on stage “outstanding” applications that signal the excellence of the applicant under every heading of his or her CV, alongside “ordinary” applications.

When **ordinary Muslim men** are presented as secular, they no longer suffer discrimination. So **it appears that recruiters associate Muslim men in general with transgressive religious practices, and that acts as a deterrent to hiring.** As well, **displaying an outstanding profile obviates the discrimination suffered by practicing Jewish and Muslim women. Vice versa, the signal of outstanding quality exacerbates that which their male counterparts suffer.** Notably, Muslim men gain *nothing* by signalling that they are outstanding, such that they are never more discriminated against than when they appear to be exceptional.

This study sets out **nine approaches that could reduce discrimination based on religion and against visible minorities. They are divided into two parts. The first focuses on feasible actions to increase national awareness. The second part targets the labor market, with a view to reducing the discriminatory behavior of all employers:** large scale and small scale, public sector and private sector. For Mohammed, the Muslim applicant, is encountering strong discrimination, whatever the characteristics of the recruiter. **These reflections conclude with a single proposal, leaving the responsibility for adopting these approaches, amending them, and enriching them, to the citizenry of France.**

This civic engagement is urgent: France is caught in a vicious circle in which discrimination against minorities is reinforcing their sense that they stand apart which in turn exacerbates the discrimination from which they suffer. **“Letting things happen at their own pace” is guaranteed to make the situation worse. If we want to maintain our common way of life, we have to act now.**

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¹³⁶ For details of the statistical analysis on which this article relies, see the "Débat" section of the personal webpage of Vincent Tiberj: <http://www.cee.sciences-po.fr/fr/le-centre/equipe-de-recherche/66-vincent-tiberj.html>

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: THE "TYPE" APPLICATIONS

I. "Type" CV for the outstanding practicing applicants

A. Bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad
[Numéro de rue]
[Code postal et ville]
Né[e] le 21/03/1988 à Beyrouth (Liban)
Nationalité : Française (acquise en 2008)
Célibataire

Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
[prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com

Permis B

COMPTABLE

Compétences professionnelles

Comptabilité unique:

Enregistrement des opérations courantes, suivi et prévision de trésorerie, production des situations comptables mensuelles et trimestrielles, réalisation des opérations de clôture et établissement de la liasse fiscale.

Comptabilité clients:

Facturation du client, enregistrement des règlements, traitement de la TVA, relance des clients, préparation des dossiers contentieux en cas d'échec du recouvrement amiable, reporting vers la comptabilité générale.

Comptabilité fournisseurs:

Enregistrement des opérations d'achat, paiement des fournisseurs, suivi des litiges, traitement de la TVA.

Collaborateur[rice] en cabinet d'expertise comptable:

Suivi comptable (clôture de comptes), fiscal (calcul et déclaration de la TVA et de l'impôt) et social (gestion de la paie et déclarations sociales usuelles DUCS, DADS-U, DPAE) d'un portefeuille de 30 clients.

Expériences professionnelles

03/12 - 06/13 (CDD, 16 mois): Collaborateur[trice] en cabinet - RSM Paris (75, Paris) - 250 salariés
07/10 - 12/11 (CDD, 18 mois): Comptable unique - Reor (94, Cachan) - 22 salariés
01/09 - 12/09 (CDD, 12 mois): Comptable clients - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3600 salariés
07/08 - 12/08 (CDD, 6 mois): Comptable fournisseurs - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2800 salariés
Stage de BTS (8 semaines): Cabinet d'expertise comptable Afigec (92, Levallois Perret) - 140 salariés

Formation

2008: BTS CGO (Comptabilité et Gestion des Organisations), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
2006: Baccalauréat STG (Science et Technologies de la Gestion), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris), Mention BIEN
2003: Diplôme du Brevet, collège privé ["catholique" pour les cathos et "musulman" pour les musulmans] bilingue français-arabe ["Notre Dame de Nazareth" pour les cathos et "Amilieh" pour les musulmans] (Beyrouth)

Informatique

Pack Microsoft Office: Word, Excel, Powerpoint
Logiciels de comptabilité, paie et gestion (niveau confirmé): SAGE, CEGID, EBP et CIEL

Langues étrangères

Anglais: courant (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)
[pour les cathos et les musulmans:] Arabe: langue maternelle (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)
[pour les juifs:] Hébreu et Arabe: langues maternelles (Hébreu: parlé +++; Arabe: lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

Centres d'intérêt

Encadrement de jeunes à l'association ["catholique de scoutisme "Scouts et Guides de France" " pour les cathos; "juive de scoutisme "Eclaireres éclairers israélites de France" " pour les juifs; "musulmane de scoutisme "Scouts musulmans de France"" pour les musulmans]
Sudoku (qualifié[e] en 2011, 2012 et 2013 pour participer au Championnat de France de Sudoku)

English translation of the French version of the “type” CV for the outstanding practicing bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad

[Street number]

[Postal code and city]

Born 21 March 1988 at Beirut (Lebanon)

Nationality: French (acquired in 2008)

Bachelor

Telephone: [telephone number]

[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

Driver's Licence B

Bookkeeper

Professional Competence

Sole bookkeeping

Registration of current operations, follow up and forecast of treasury, production of monthly and quarterly bookkeeping situations, realization of closing operations, and closing and establishment of the fiscal statement.

Client bookkeeping

Billing of clients, registration of payments, treatment of VAT, followup of clients, preparation of contentious dossiers in case of failure of friendly recovery, reporting to general bookkeeping.

Supplier bookkeeping

Registration of purchasing operations, payment of suppliers, followup of claims, treatment of VAT.

Collaborator in an accounting firm

Bookkeeping followup (closure of accounts), fiscal followup (calculation and declaration of VAT and tax), and social followup (payroll management and usual social declarations - DUCS, DADS-U, DPAE) of a portfolio of 30 clients.

Professional Experience

- March 2012 - June 2013 (CDD, 16 months): Collaborator in an accounting firm - RSM Paris (75, Paris) - 250 employees
- July 2010 - December 2011 (CDD, 18 months): Sole bookkeeper - Reor (94 Cachan) - 22 employees
- January 2009 - December 2009 (CDD, 12 months): Client bookkeeper - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3,600 employees
- July 2008 - December 2008 (CDD, 6 months): Supplier bookkeeper - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2,800 employees
- BTS internship (8 weeks): Accounting firm Afigec (92, Levallois Perret) - 140 employees

Schooling

- 2008: BTS CGO (Bookkeeping and organizational management), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2006: Baccalauréat STG (Management science and technology), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris). Honors list
- 2003: Diploma of certificate, private bilingual French-Arab [« Catholic » for the Catholics and « Muslim » for the Muslims] college [“Notre Dame de Nazareth” for the Catholics and “Amilieh” for the Muslims] (Beirut)

Information Technology

Microsoft Office Pack: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Software for accounting, payroll, and management (confirmed level): SAGE, CEGID, EBP and CIEL

Foreign Languages

English: fluent (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Catholics and Muslims:] Arabic: mother tongue (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Jews:] Hebrew and Arabic: mother tongues (Hebrew: spoken +++; Arabic : reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

Outside Interests

Training young people in the [« Catholic scouting association “Scouts and Guides of France” » for the Catholics; « Jewish scouting association “Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France” » for the Jews; « Muslim scouting association “Muslim Scouts of France” » for the Muslims]
Sudoku (qualified in 2011, 2012, and 2013 to participate in the French Sudoku Championship)

B. Assistant bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
 [Numéro de rue] [prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com
 [Code postal et ville]
 Né(e) le 21/03/1988 à Beyrouth (Liban) Permis B
 Nationalité : Française (acquise en 2008)
 Célibataire

ASSISTANT(E) COMPTABLE

Compétences professionnelles

Comptabilité générale

Lettre et rapprochement bancaire, classement et archivage des pièces comptables.

Aide aux clôtures comptables mensuelles, trimestrielles et annuelles, aux déclarations fiscales (calcul et déclaration de la TVA et de l'impôt) et sociales (gestion de la paie et déclarations sociales usuelles DUCS, DADS-U, DPAE).

Comptabilité clients:

Enregistrement des règlements, traitement de la TVA, relance des clients, aide à la préparation des dossiers contentieux en cas d'échec du recouvrement amiable.

Comptabilité fournisseurs:

Enregistrement des opérations d'achat, traitement de la TVA.

Expériences professionnelles

03/12 - 06/13 (CDD, 16 mois): Comptabilité générale en cabinet - RSM Paris (75, Paris) - 250 salariés

07/10 - 12/11 (CDD, 18 mois): Comptabilité générale - Reor (94, Cachan) - 22 salariés

01/09 - 12/09 (CDD, 12 mois): Comptabilité clients - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3600 salariés

07/08 - 12/08 (CDD, 6 mois): Comptabilité fournisseurs - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2800 salariés

Stage de BTS (8 semaines): Cabinet d'expertise comptable Afigec (92, Levallois Perret) - 140 salariés

Formation

2008: BTS CGO (Comptabilité et Gestion des Organisations), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)

2006: Baccalauréat STG (Science et Technologies de la Gestion), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris), Mention BIEN

2003: Diplôme du Brevet, collège privé ["catholique" pour les cathos et "musulman" pour les musulmans] bilingue français-arabe ["Notre Dame de Nazareth" pour les cathos et "Amilieh" pour les musulmans] (Beyrouth)

Informatique

Pack Microsoft Office: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Logiciels de comptabilité, paie et gestion (niveau confirmé): SAGE, CEGID, EBP et CIEL

Langues étrangères

Anglais: courant (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

[pour les cathos et les musulmans:] Arabe: langue maternelle (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

[pour les juifs:] Hébreu et Arabe: langues maternelles (Hébreu: parlé +++; Arabe: lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

Centres d'intérêt

Encadrement de jeunes à l'association ["catholique de scoutisme "Scouts et Guides de France" " pour les cathos; "juive de scoutisme "Eclaireuses éclaireurs israélites de France" " pour les juifs; "musulmane de scoutisme "Scouts musulmans de France" " pour les musulmans]

Sudoku (qualifié) en 2011, 2012 et 2013 pour participer au Championnat de France de Sudoku)

English translation of the French version of the “type” CV for the outstanding practicing assistant bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad

[Street number]

[Postal code and city]

Born 21 March 1988 at Beirut (Lebanon)

Nationality: French (acquired in 2008)

Bachelor

Telephone: [telephone number]

[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

Driver's Licence B

Assistant Bookkeeper

Professional Competence

General bookkeeping

Bank reconciliation, classification and filing of bookkeeping items.

Help with monthly, quarterly, and annual accounting closures as well as with fiscal (calculation and declaration of VAT and tax) and social (payroll management and usual social declarations - DUCS, DADS-U, DPAAE) declarations.

Client bookkeeping

Registration of payments, treatment of VAT, followup of clients, preparation of contentious dossiers in case of failure of friendly recovery.

Supplier bookkeeping

Registration of purchasing operations, treatment of VAT.

Professional Experience

- March 2012 - June 2013 (CDD, 16 months): General bookkeeper in an accounting firm - RSM Paris (75, Paris) - 250 employees
- July 2010 - December 2011 (CDD, 18 months): General bookkeeper - Reor (94 Cachan) - 22 employees
- January 2009 - December 2009 (CDD, 12 months): Client bookkeeper - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3,600 employees
- July 2008 - December 2008 (CDD, 6 months): Supplier bookkeeper - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2,800 employees
- BTS internship (8 weeks): Accounting firm Afigec (92, Levallois Perret) - 140 employees

Schooling

- 2008: BTS CGO (Bookkeeping and organizational management), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2006: Baccalauréat STG (Management science and technology), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris). Honors list
- 2003: Diploma of certificate, private bilingual French-Arab [« Catholic » for the Catholics and « Muslim » for the Muslims] college [“Notre Dame de Nazareth” for the Catholics and “Amilieh” for the Muslims] (Beirut)

Information Technology

Microsoft Office Pack: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Software for accounting, payroll, and management (confirmed level): SAGE, CEGID, EBP and CIEL

Foreign Languages

English: fluent (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Catholics and Muslims:] Arabic: mother tongue (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Jews:] Hebrew and Arabic: mother tongues (Hebrew: spoken +++; Arabic : reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

Outside Interests

Training young people in the [« Catholic scouting association “Scouts and Guides of France” » for the Catholics; « Jewish scouting association “Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France” » for the Jews; « Muslim scouting association “Muslim Scouts of France” » for the Muslims]

Sudoku (qualified in 2011, 2012, and 2013 to participate in the French Sudoku Championship)

C. Secretary bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
 [Numéro de rue] [prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com
 [Code postal et ville]
 Né(e) le 21/03/1988 à Beyrouth (Liban) Permis B
 Nationalité : Française (acquise en 2008)
 Célibataire

SECRETAIRE COMPTABLE

Compétences professionnelles

Secrétariat:

Gestion du courrier, accueil téléphonique, accueil des clients et des collaborateurs de l'entreprise, organisation des plannings, compte-rendu de réunions.

Comptabilité générale:

Lettrage et rapprochement bancaire, classement et archivage des pièces comptables.

Aide aux clôtures comptables mensuelles, trimestrielles et annuelles, aux déclarations fiscales (calcul et déclaration de la TVA et de l'impôt) et sociales (gestion de la paie et déclarations sociales usuelles DUCS, DADS-U, DPAE).

Comptabilité clients:

Enregistrement des règlements, traitement de la TVA.

Comptabilité fournisseurs:

Enregistrement des opérations d'achat, traitement de la TVA.

Expériences professionnelles

03/12 - 06/13 (CDD, 16 mois): Secrétariat/comptabilité générale en cabinet - RSM Paris (75, Paris) - 250 salariés
 07/10 - 12/11 (CDD, 18 mois): Secrétariat/comptabilité générale - Reor (94, Cachan) - 22 salariés
 01/09 - 12/09 (CDD, 12 mois): Secrétariat/comptabilité clients - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3600 salariés
 07/08 - 12/08 (CDD, 6 mois): Secrétariat/comptabilité fournisseurs - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2800 salariés
 Stage de BTS (12 semaines): Cabinet d'expertise comptable Afigec (92, Levallois Perret) - 140 salariés

Formation

2008: BTS Assistant(e) de gestion PME/PMI, Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
 2006: Baccalauréat STG (Science et Technologies de la Gestion), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris), Mention BIEN
 2003: Diplôme du Brevet, collège privé ["catholique" pour les cathos et "musulman" pour les musulmans] bilingue français-arabe ["Notre Dame de Nazareth" pour les cathos et "Amilieh" pour les musulmans] (Beyrouth)

Informatique

Pack Microsoft Office: Word, Excel, Powerpoint
 Logiciels de comptabilité, paie et gestion (niveau confirmé): SAGE, CEGID, EBP et CIEL

Langues étrangères

Anglais: courant (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)
 [pour les cathos et les musulmans:] Arabe: langue maternelle (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)
 [pour les juifs:] Hébreu et Arabe: langues maternelles (Hébreu: parlé +++; Arabe: lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

Centres d'intérêt

Encadrement de jeunes à l'association ["catholique de scoutisme "Scouts et Guides de France" " pour les cathos; "juive de scoutisme "Eclaireuses éclaireurs israélites de France" " pour les juifs; "musulmane de scoutisme "Scouts musulmans de France" " pour les musulmans]
 Sudoku (qualifié) en 2011, 2012 et 2013 pour participer au Championnat de France de Sudoku

English translation of the French version of the “type” CV for the outstanding practicing secretary bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad

[Street number]

[Postal code and city]

Born 21 March 1988 at Beirut (Lebanon)

Nationality: French (acquired in 2008)

Bachelor

Telephone: [telephone number]

[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

Driver's Licence B

Secretary Bookkeeper

Professional Competence

Secretarial

Management of correspondence, telephone greeting, greeting customers and collaborators of the firm, organization of plannings, minutes of meetings.

General bookkeeping

Bank reconciliation, classification and filing of bookkeeping items.

Help with monthly, quarterly, and annual accounting closures as well as with fiscal (calculation and declaration of VAT and tax) and social (payroll management and usual social declarations - DUCS, DADS-U, DPAE) declarations.

Client bookkeeping

Registration of payments, treatment of VAT.

Supplier bookkeeping

Registration of purchasing operations, treatment of VAT.

Professional Experience

- March 2012 - June 2013 (CDD, 16 months): Secretarial and general bookkeeping in an accounting firm - RSM Paris (75, Paris) - 250 employees
- July 2010 - December 2011 (CDD, 18 months): Secretarial and general bookkeeping - Reor (94 Cachan) - 22 employees
- January 2009 - December 2009 (CDD, 12 months): Secretarial and client bookkeeping - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3,600 employees
- July 2008 - December 2008 (CDD, 6 months): Secretarial and supplier bookkeeping - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2,800 employees
- BTS internship (12 weeks): Accounting firm Afigec (92, Levallois Perret) - 140 employees

Schooling

- 2008: BTS Managerial assistant PME/PMI, Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2006: Baccalauréat STG (Management science and technology), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris). Honors List
- 2003: Diploma of certificate, private bilingual French-Arab [« Catholic » for the Catholics and « Muslim » for the Muslims] college [“Notre Dame de Nazareth” for the Catholics and “Amilieh” for the Muslims] (Beirut)

Information Technology

Microsoft Office Pack: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Software for accounting, payroll, and management (confirmed level): SAGE, CEGID, EBP and CIEL

Foreign Languages

English: fluent (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Catholics and Muslims:] Arabic: mother tongue (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Jews:] Hebrew and Arabic: mother tongues (Hebrew: spoken +++; Arabic : reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

Outside Interests

Training young people in the [« Catholic scouting association “Scouts and Guides of France” » for the Catholics; « Jewish scouting association “Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France” » for the Jews; « Muslim scouting association “Muslim Scouts of France” » for the Muslims]

Sudoku (qualified in 2011, 2012, and 2013 to participate in the French Sudoku Championship)

II. "Type" CV for the ordinary practicing applicants

A. Bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
 [Numéro de rue] [prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com
 [Code postal et ville]
 Né(e) le 21/03/1988 à Beyrouth (Liban) Permis B
 Nationalité : Française (acquise en 2008)
 Célibataire

COMPTABLE

Compétences professionnelles

Comptabilité unique:

Enregistrement des opérations courantes, suivi et prévision de trésorerie, production des situations comptables mensuelles et trimestrielles, réalisation des opérations de clôture et établissement de la liasse fiscale.

Comptabilité clients:

Facturation du client, enregistrement des règlements, traitement de la TVA, relance des clients, préparation des dossiers contentieux en cas d'échec du recouvrement amiable, reporting vers la comptabilité générale.

Comptabilité fournisseurs:

Enregistrement des opérations d'achat, paiement des fournisseurs, suivi des litiges, traitement de la TVA.

Expériences professionnelles

01/12 - 03/13 (CDD, 15 mois): Comptable unique - Reor (94, Cachan) - 22 salariés

07/10 - 06/11 (CDD, 12 mois): Comptable clients - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3600 salariés

09/08 - 12/09 (CDD, 16 mois): Comptable fournisseurs - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2800 salariés

Formation

2008: BTS CGO (Comptabilité et Gestion des Organisations), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)

2006: Baccalauréat STG (Science et Technologies de la Gestion), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)

2003: Diplôme du Brevet, collège privé ["catholique" pour les cathos et "musulman" pour les musulmans] bilingue français-arabe ["Notre Dame de Nazareth" pour les cathos et "Amilieh" pour les musulmans] (Beyrouth)

Informatique

Pack Microsoft Office: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Logiciel de comptabilité, paie et gestion (niveau intermédiaire): SAGE

Langues étrangères

Anglais: débutant[e] (lu + ; écrit + ; parlé +)

[pour les cathos et les musulmans:] Arabe: langue maternelle (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

[pour les juifs:] Hébreu et Arabe: langues maternelles (Hébreu: parlé +++; Arabe: lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

Centres d'intérêt

Encadrement de jeunes à l'association ["catholique de scoutisme "Scouts et Guides de France" " pour les cathos; "juive de scoutisme "Eclaireuses éclaireurs israélites de France" " pour les juifs; "musulmane de scoutisme "Scouts musulmans de France" " pour les musulmans]

Sudoku

English translation of the French version of the “type” CV for the ordinary practicing bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad

[Street number]

[Postal code and city]

Born 21 March 1988 at Beirut (Lebanon)

Nationality: French (acquired in 2008)

Bachelor

Telephone: [telephone number]

[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

Driver's Licence B

Bookkeeper

Professional Competence

Sole bookkeeping

Registration of current operations, follow up and forecast of treasury, production of monthly and quarterly bookkeeping situations, realization of closing operations, and closing and establishment of the fiscal statement.

Client bookkeeping

Billing of clients, registration of payments, treatment of VAT, followup of clients, preparation of contentious dossiers in case of failure of friendly recovery, reporting to general bookkeeping.

Supplier bookkeeping

Registration of purchasing operations, payment of suppliers, followup of claims, treatment of VAT.

Professional Experience

- January 2012 - March 2013 (CDD, 15 months): Sole bookkeeper - Reor (94 Cachan) - 22 employees
- July 2010 - June 2011 (CDD, 12 months): Client bookkeeper - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3,600 employees
- September 2008 - December 2009 (CDD, 16 months): Supplier bookkeeper - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2,800 employees

Schooling

- 2008: BTS CGO (Bookkeeping and organizational management), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2006: Baccalauréat STG (Management science and technology), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2003: Diploma of certificate, private bilingual French-Arab [« Catholic » for the Catholics and « Muslim » for the Muslims] college [“Notre Dame de Nazareth” for the Catholics and “Amilieh” for the Muslims] (Beirut)

Information Technology

Microsoft Office Pack: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Software for accounting, payroll, and management (intermediate level): SAGE

Foreign Languages

English: beginner (reading +, written +, spoken, +)

[for the Catholics and Muslims:] Arabic: mother tongue (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Jews:] Hebrew and Arabic: mother tongues (Hebrew: spoken +++; Arabic : reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

Outside Interests

Training young people in the [« Catholic scouting association “Scouts and Guides of France” » for the Catholics; « Jewish scouting association “Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France” » for the Jews; « Muslim scouting association “Muslim Scouts of France” » for the Muslims]
Sudoku

B. Assistant bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
 [Numéro de rue] [prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com
 [Code postal et ville]
 Né[e] le 21/03/1988 à Beyrouth (Liban) Permis B
 Nationalité : Française (acquise en 2008)
 Célibataire

ASSISTANT/E/ COMPTABLE

Compétences professionnelles

Comptabilité générale

Lettrage et rapprochement bancaire, classement et archivage des pièces comptables.

Aide aux clôtures comptables mensuelles, trimestrielles et annuelles, aux déclarations fiscales (calcul et déclaration de la TVA et de l'impôt) et sociales (gestion de la paie et déclarations sociales usuelles DUCS, DADS-U, DPAAE).

Comptabilité clients

Enregistrement des règlements, traitement de la TVA, relance des clients, aide à la préparation des dossiers contentieux en cas d'échec du recouvrement amiable.

Comptabilité fournisseurs

Enregistrement des opérations d'achat, traitement de la TVA.

Expériences professionnelles

01/12 - 03/13 (CDD, 15 mois): Comptabilité générale - Reor (94, Cachan) - 22 salariés

07/10 - 06/11 (CDD, 12 mois): Comptabilité clients - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3600 salariés

09/08 - 12/09 (CDD, 16 mois): Comptabilité fournisseurs - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2800 salariés

Formation

2008: BTS CGO (Comptabilité et Gestion des Organisations), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)

2006: Baccalauréat STG (Science et Technologies de la Gestion), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)

2003: Diplôme du Brevet, collège privé ["catholique" pour les cathos et "musulman" pour les musulmans] bilingue français-arabe ["Notre Dame de Nazareth" pour les cathos et "Amilieh" pour les musulmans] (Beyrouth)

Informatique

Pack Microsoft Office: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Logiciel de comptabilité, paie et gestion (niveau intermédiaire): SAGE

Langues étrangères

Anglais: débutant[e] (lu + ; écrit + ; parlé +)

[pour les cathos et les musulmans:] Arabe: langue maternelle (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

[pour les juifs:] Hébreu et Arabe: langues maternelles (Hébreu: parlé +++; Arabe: lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

Centres d'intérêt

Encadrement de jeunes à l'association ["catholique de scoutisme "Scouts et Guides de France" " pour les cathos; "juive de scoutisme "Eclaireuses éclaireurs israéliites de France" " pour les juifs; "musulmane de scoutisme "Scouts musulmans de France" " pour les musulmans]

Sudoku

English translation of the French version of the “type” CV for the ordinary practicing assistant bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad

[Street number]

[Postal code and city]

Born 21 March 1988 at Beirut (Lebanon)

Nationality: French (acquired in 2008)

Bachelor

Telephone: [telephone number]

[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

Driver's Licence B

Assistant Bookkeeper

Professional Competence

General bookkeeping

Bank reconciliation, classification and filing of bookkeeping items.

Help with monthly, quarterly, and annual accounting closures as well as with fiscal (calculation and declaration of VAT and tax) and social (payroll management and usual social declarations - DUCS, DADS-U, DPAAE) declarations.

Client bookkeeping

Registration of payments, treatment of VAT, followup of clients, preparation of contentious dossiers in case of failure of friendly recovery.

Supplier bookkeeping

Registration of purchasing operations, treatment of VAT.

Professional Experience

- January 2012 - March 2013 (CDD, 15 months): General bookkeeping - Reor (94 Cachan) - 22 employees
- July 2010 - June 2011 (CDD, 12 months): Client bookkeeping - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3,600 employees
- September 2008 - December 2009 (CDD, 16 months): Supplier bookkeeping - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2,800 employees

Schooling

- 2008: BTS CGO (Bookkeeping and organizational management), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2006: Baccalauréat STG (Management science and technology), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2003: Diploma of certificate, private bilingual French-Arab [« Catholic » for the Catholics and « Muslim » for the Muslims] college [“Notre Dame de Nazareth” for the Catholics and “Amilieh” for the Muslims] (Beirut)

Information Technology

Microsoft Office Pack: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Software for accounting, payroll, and management (intermediate level): SAGE

Foreign Languages

English: beginner (reading +, written +, spoken, +)

[for the Catholics and Muslims:] Arabic: mother tongue (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Jews:] Hebrew and Arabic: mother tongues (Hebrew: spoken +++; Arabic: reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

Outside Interests

Training young people in the [« Catholic scouting association “Scouts and Guides of France” » for the Catholics; « Jewish scouting association “Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France” » for the Jews; « Muslim scouting association “Muslim Scouts of France” » for the Muslims]

Sudoku

C. Secretary bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
 [Numéro de rue] [prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com
 [Code postal et ville]
 Né(e) le 21/03/1988 à Beyrouth (Liban) Permis B
 Nationalité : Française (acquise en 2008)
 Célibataire

SECRETAIRE COMPTABLE

Compétences professionnelles

Secrétariat:

Gestion du courrier, accueil téléphonique, accueil des clients et des collaborateurs de l'entreprise, organisation des plannings, compte-rendu de réunions.

Comptabilité générale

Letrage et rapprochement bancaire, classement et archivage des pièces comptables.

Aide aux clôtures comptables mensuelles, trimestrielles et annuelles, aux déclarations fiscales (calcul et déclaration de la TVA et de l'impôt) et sociales (gestion de la paie et déclarations sociales usuelles DUCS, DADS-U, DPAE).

Comptabilité clients:

Enregistrement des règlements, traitement de la TVA.

Comptabilité fournisseurs:

Enregistrement des opérations d'achat, traitement de la TVA.

Expériences professionnelles

01/12 - 03/13 (CDD, 15 mois): Secrétariat/comptabilité générale - Reor (94, Cachan) - 22 salariés

07/10 - 06/11 (CDD, 12 mois): Secrétariat/comptabilité clients - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3600 salariés

09/08 - 12/09 (CDD, 16 mois): Secrétariat/comptabilité fournisseurs - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2800 salariés

Formation

2008: BTS Assistant(e) de gestion PME/PMI, Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)

2006: Baccalauréat STG (Science et Technologies de la Gestion), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)

2003: Diplôme du Brevet, collège privé ["catholique" pour les cathos et "musulman" pour les musulmans] bilingue français-arabe ["Notre Dame de Nazareth" pour les cathos et "Amilieh" pour les musulmans] (Beyrouth)

Informatique

Pack Microsoft Office: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Logiciel de comptabilité, paie et gestion (niveau intermédiaire): SAGE

Langues étrangères

Anglais: débutant[e] (lu + ; écrit + ; parlé +)

[pour les cathos et les musulmans:] Arabe: langue maternelle (lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

[pour les juifs:] Hébreu et Arabe: langues maternelles (Hébreu: parlé +++; Arabe: lu +++ ; écrit +++ ; parlé +++)

Centres d'intérêt

Encadrement de jeunes à l'association ["catholique de scoutisme "Scouts et Guides de France" " pour les cathos; "juive de scoutisme "Eclaireuses éclaireurs israélites de France" " pour les juifs; "musulmane de scoutisme "Scouts musulmans de France" " pour les musulmans]

Sudoku

English translation of the French version of the “type” CV for the ordinary practicing secretary bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad

[Street number]

[Postal code and city]

Born 21 March 1988 at Beirut (Lebanon)

Nationality: French (acquired in 2008)

Bachelor

Telephone: [telephone number]

[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

Driver's Licence B

Secretary Bookkeeper

Professional Competence

Secretarial

Management of correspondence, telephone greeting, greeting customers and collaborators of the firm, organization of plannings, minutes of meetings.

General bookkeeping

Bank reconciliation, classification and filing of bookkeeping items.

Help with monthly, quarterly, and annual accounting closures as well as with fiscal (calculation and declaration of VAT and tax) and social (payroll management and usual social declarations - DUCS, DADS-U, DPAE) declarations.

Client bookkeeping

Registration of payments, treatment of VAT.

Supplier bookkeeping

Registration of purchasing operations, treatment of VAT.

Professional Experience

- January 2012 - March 2013 (CDD, 15 months): Secretarial and general bookkeeping - Reor (94 Cachan) - 22 employees
- July 2010 - June 2011 (CDD, 12 months): Secretarial and client bookkeeping - Marchal Technologies (78, Plaisir) - 3,600 employees
- September 2008 - December 2009 (CDD, 16 months): Secretarial and supplier bookkeeping - Paris Habitat OPH (75, Paris) - 2,800 employees

Schooling

- 2008: BTS Managerial assistant PME/PMI, Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2006: Baccalauréat STG (Management science and technology), Lycée Emile Dubois (Paris)
- 2003: Diploma of certificate, private bilingual French-Arab [« Catholic » for the Catholics and « Muslim » for the Muslims] college [“Notre Dame de Nazareth” for the Catholics and “Amilieh” for the Muslims] (Beirut)

Information Technology

Microsoft Office Pack: Word, Excel, Powerpoint

Software for accounting, payroll, and management (intermediate level): SAGE

Foreign Languages

English: beginner (reading +, written +, spoken, +)

[for the Catholics and Muslims:] Arabic: mother tongue (reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

[for the Jews:] Hebrew and Arabic: mother tongues (Hebrew: spoken +++; Arabic : reading +++, written +++, spoken, +++)

Outside Interests

Training young people in the [« Catholic scouting association “Scouts and Guides of France” » for the Catholics; « Jewish scouting association “Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France” » for the Jews; « Muslim scouting association “Muslim Scouts of France” » for the Muslims]
Sudoku

III. “Type” CV for the outstanding secular applicants

The “type” CV for outstanding secular applicants is identical to the “type” CV for the practicing ones, except for the following note, found under the heading “Outside Interests” in the CV:

“Training young people in the [“Catholic scouting association ‘Scouts and Guides of France’” for the Catholics; “Jewish scouting association ‘Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France’” for the Jews; “Muslim scouting association ‘Muslim Scouts of France’” for the Muslims]”

is replaced by:

“Training young people in the laic scouting association ‘Girl and Boy Scouts of France’”.

IV. “Type” CV for the ordinary secular applicants

The “type” CV for ordinary secular applicants is identical to the “type” CV for the ordinary practicing ones, except for the following note, found under the heading “Outside Interests” in the CV:

“Training young people in the [“Catholic scouting association ‘Scouts and Guides of France’” for the Catholics; “Jewish scouting association ‘Israelite Girl and Boy Scouts of France’” for the Jews; “Muslim scouting association ‘Muslim Scouts of France’” for the Muslims]”

is replaced by:

“Training young people in the laic scouting association ‘Girl and Boy Scouts of France’”.

V. “Type” letter of motivation for the outstanding profiles

A. The bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad
[Numéro de rue]
[Code Postal et ville]
Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
[prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com

[Ville], [la date du jour]

Madame, Monsieur,

Votre offre n° XXX parue ce jour sur le site de Pôle Emploi a retenu toute mon attention.

Titulaire d'un BTS Comptabilité et Gestion des Organisations, j'ai développé, au cours de mes cinq années d'expérience, de solides compétences dans les différentes spécialités du métier de comptable : comptabilité unique, comptabilité clients, comptabilité fournisseurs, et comptabilité en cabinet d'expertise comptable.

En plus de la rigueur et de la maîtrise technique, ce parcours professionnel m'a permis d'acquérir d'excellentes capacités de communication avec les clients mais aussi avec les différents services des entreprises dans lesquelles j'ai évolué.

Je tiens ici à préciser que, bien que je sois né[e] Libanais[e] de parents libanais, je maîtrise parfaitement le français, ayant suivi ma scolarité au Liban jusqu'à mon arrivée en France (au début du lycée) dans des établissements bilingues français-arabe. Je dispose par ailleurs de la nationalité française depuis 2008.

Je souhaite mettre mes compétences au service de votre entreprise et me tiens à votre disposition pour un entretien.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Madame, Monsieur, l'expression de mes salutations distinguées.

[Prénom] Haddad

English translation of the French version of the “type” letter of motivation for the outstanding bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad
[Street number]
[Postal code and city]
Telephone: [telephone number]
[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

[City and date]

Sir or Madam,

Your job offer no. XXX, which was posted today at the website of Pôle Emploi, caught my attention.

Holder of a BTS [certificate] in bookkeeping and organizational management, I have developed, over the course of my five years' experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of bookkeeper: sole bookkeeping, client bookkeeping, supplier bookkeeping and bookkeeping in an accounting firm.

As well as a rigorous technical mastery, this professional trajectory has allowed me to acquire an excellent capacity to communicate with customers, and also with the different departments of the firms in which I worked.

I wish to stress that although I was born Lebanese of Lebanese parents, I command French perfectly, having been schooled in Lebanon up until the time I arrived in France (at the start of senior high school) in establishments that were bilingual in French and Arabic. Moreover, I have had French nationality since 2008.

I would be pleased to put my competence at the service of your company, and I am available for an interview.

Please accept, Sir or Madam, my best wishes.

[Given name] Haddad

B. The assistant bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad
[Numéro de rue]
[Code Postal et ville]
Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
[prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com

[Ville], [la date du jour]

Madame, Monsieur,

Votre offre n° XXX parue ce jour sur le site de Pôle Emploi a retenu toute mon attention.

Titulaire d'un BTS Comptabilité et Gestion des Organisations, j'ai développé, au cours de mes cinq années d'expérience, de solides compétences dans les différentes spécialités du métier d'assistant comptable : comptabilité générale (notamment en cabinet d'expertise comptable), comptabilité clients et comptabilité fournisseurs.

En plus de la rigueur et de la maîtrise technique, ce parcours professionnel m'a appris à gérer la pression associée aux périodes fiscales. Quel que soit le contexte, j'exécute mes tâches comptables et administratives avec méthode et rapidité, dans un respect total des procédures établies par mes supérieurs.

Je tiens à préciser que, bien que je sois né[e] Libanais[e] de parents libanais, je maîtrise parfaitement le français, ayant suivi ma scolarité au Liban jusqu'à mon arrivée en France (au début du lycée) dans des établissements bilingues français-arabe. Je dispose par ailleurs de la nationalité française depuis 2008.

Je souhaite mettre mes compétences au service de votre entreprise et me tiens à votre disposition pour un entretien.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Madame, Monsieur, l'expression de mes salutations distinguées.

[Prénom] Haddad

English translation of the French version of the “type” letter of motivation for the outstanding assistant bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad
[Street number]
[Postal code and city]
Telephone: [telephone number]
[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

[City and date]

Sir or Madam,

Your job offer no. XXX, which was posted today at the website of Pôle Emploi, caught my attention.

Holder of a BTS [certificate] in bookkeeping and organizational management, I have developed, over the course of my five years' experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of assistant bookkeeper: general bookkeeping (especially in an accounting firm), client bookkeeping, and supplier bookkeeping.

As well as a rigorous technical mastery, this professional trajectory has taught me to cope with increased pressure at tax filing time. Whatever the context, I carry out my bookkeeping and administrative tasks methodically and rapidly, adhering completely to the procedures established by those in charge.

I wish to stress that although I was born Lebanese of Lebanese parents, I command French perfectly, having been schooled in Lebanon up until the time I arrived in France (at the start of senior high school) in establishments that were bilingual in French and Arabic. Moreover, I have had French nationality since 2008.

I would be pleased to put my competence at the service of your company, and I am available for an interview.

Please accept, Sir or Madam, my best wishes.

[Given name] Haddad

C. The secretary bookkeepers

[Prénom] Haddad
[Numéro de rue]
[Code Postal et ville]
Tél : [numéro de téléphone]
[prénom].haddad1988@gmail.com

[Ville], [la date du jour]

Madame, Monsieur,

Votre offre n° XXX parue ce jour sur le site de Pôle Emploi a retenu toute mon attention.

Titulaire d'un BTS Assistant(e) de gestion PME/PMI, j'ai développé, au cours de mes cinq années d'expérience, de solides compétences dans les différentes spécialités du métier de secrétaire comptable : secrétariat courant, comptabilité générale (notamment en cabinet d'expertise comptable), comptabilité clients et comptabilité fournisseurs.

En plus de la rigueur et de la maîtrise technique, ce parcours professionnel m'a appris à jongler entre la nécessaire concentration associée à la réalisation de mes tâches administratives et comptables et l'obligation de disponibilité à l'égard des différents clients et collaborateurs des entreprises dans lesquelles j'ai évolué. Mon professionnalisme doublé d'un sens des relations développé a toujours été salué par mes supérieurs.

Je tiens à préciser que, bien que je sois né[e] Libanais[e] de parents libanais, je maîtrise parfaitement le français, ayant suivi ma scolarité au Liban jusqu'à mon arrivée en France (au début du lycée) dans des établissements bilingues français-arabe. Je dispose par ailleurs de la nationalité française depuis 2008.

Je souhaite mettre mes compétences au service de votre entreprise et me tiens à votre disposition pour un entretien.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Madame, Monsieur, l'expression de mes salutations distinguées.

[Prénom] Haddad

English translation of the French version of the “type” letter of motivation for the outstanding secretary bookkeepers:

[Given name] Haddad
[Street number]
[Postal code and city]
Telephone: [telephone number]
[Given name].haddad1988@gmail.com

[City and date]

Sir or Madam,

Your job offer no. XXX, which was posted today at the website of Pôle Emploi, caught my attention.

Holder of a BTS Assistant [certificate] in the management of small and medium-sized businesses, I have developed, over the course of my five years' experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of secretary bookkeeper: secretarial work, general bookkeeping (especially in an accounting firm), client bookkeeping, and supplier bookkeeping.

As well as a rigorous technical mastery, this professional trajectory has taught me to balance the concentration necessary for me to carry out my administrative and bookkeeping tasks against the need to be welcoming to different customers and collaborators of the firms in which I have worked. My professionalism, backed up by a developed sense of relations, has always received compliments from those in charge.

I wish to stress that although I was born Lebanese of Lebanese parents, I command French perfectly, having been schooled in Lebanon up until the time I arrived in France (at the start of senior high school) in establishments that were bilingual in French and Arabic. Moreover, I have had French nationality since 2008.

I would be pleased to put my competence at the service of your company, and I am available for an interview.

Please accept, Sir or Madam, my best wishes.

[Given name] Haddad

VI. “Type” letter of motivation for the ordinary profiles

A. The bookkeepers

The “type” letter of motivation for the ordinary profiles is identical to the the “type” letter of motivation for the outstanding profiles, except that the following note:

“Holder of a BTS [certificate] in bookkeeping and organizational management, I have developed, over the course of my five years’ experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of bookkeeper: sole bookkeeping, client bookkeeping, supplier bookkeeping and bookkeeping in an accounting firm”

is replaced by:

“Holder of a BTS [certificate] in bookkeeping and organizational management, I have developed, over the course of my experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of bookkeeper: sole bookkeeping, client bookkeeping and supplier bookkeeping”.

B. The assistant bookkeepers

The “type” letter of motivation for the ordinary profiles is identical to the the “type” letter of motivation for the outstanding profiles, except that the following note:

“Holder of a BTS [certificate] in bookkeeping and organizational management, I have developed, over the course of my five years’ experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of assistant bookkeeper: general bookkeeping (especially in an accounting firm), client bookkeeping, and supplier bookkeeping”

is replaced by:

“Holder of a BTS [certificate] in bookkeeping and organizational management, I have developed, over the course of my experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of assistant bookkeeper: general bookkeeping, client bookkeeping, and supplier bookkeeping”.

C. The secretary bookkeepers

The “type” letter of motivation for the ordinary profiles is identical to the the “type” letter of motivation for the outstanding profiles, except that the following note:

“Holder of a BTS Assistant [certificate] in the management of small and medium-sized businesses, I have developed, over the course of my five years’ experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of secretary bookkeeper: secretarial work, general bookkeeping (especially in an accounting firm), client bookkeeping, and supplier bookkeeping”.

is replaced by:

“Holder of a BTS Assistant [certificate] in the management of small and medium-sized businesses, I have developed, over the course of my experience, solid competence in the different areas of the métier of secretary bookkeeper: secretarial work, general bookkeeping, client bookkeeping, and supplier bookkeeping”.

Appendix 2: Comparative table of the results of CV-based trials conducted in France and abroad.

Remark: these results are presented as ratios between the callback rates of majority applicants (citizens with no recent family history of immigration) and those of minority applicants who are citizens, but from Muslim majority countries.¹³⁴

Country	Authors	Place of origin of the minority applicant	Gender	Ratio between the callback rate of the majority applicant and that of the minority applicant
FRANCE	Foroni (2008)	North Africa	F + H ^a	2
	Duguet et al. (2010)		H	4
AUSTRALIA	Booth et al. (2012)	North Africa/Middle East	F + H	1.6
	Pinkerton (2013)		H	1.6
BELGIUM	Arriijn et al. (1998) ^b	North Africa	F + H	1.6
	Baert et al. (2015)	Turkey (trial conducted in Flanders)	H	2.1
CANADA	Oreopoulos (2011)	Pakistan	F + H	1.4
	Eid (2012)	North Africa/Middle East		1.6
GERMANY	Goldberg et al. (1995)	Turkey	H	1.1
	Kaas and Manger (2012)			1.1
GREAT BRITAIN	Wood et al. (2009)	Bangladesh/Pakistan	F + H	1.5
GREECE	Drydakis and Vlassis (2010)	Albania	H	1.8
ITALY	Allasino et al. (2004) ^b	North Africa	H	1.4
NETHERLANDS	Bovenkerk et al. (1995) ^b	North Africa	H	1.3
	Andriessen et al. (2012)	North Africa	F + H	1.1
		Turkey		1.2
	Blommaert et al. (2013)	North Africa/Middle East		1.6
NORWAY	Midtboen (2014)	Pakistan	F + H	1.3







¹³⁴ This table constitutes an update of those established by Larja et al. (2012, p. 131) and by the OECD (2013, p 199).







Country	Authors	Place of origin of the minority applicant	Gender	Ratio between the callback rate of the majority applicant and that of the minority applicant
SPAIN	de Prada et al. (1996) ^b	North Africa	H	1.3
SWEDEN	Attstrom (2007) ^b	North Africa/Middle East	F + H	2.5
	Carlsson and Rooth (2007)		H	1.5
	Arai et al. (2015)		F + H	2.1
SWITZERLAND	Fibbi et al. (2003)	Albania (trial conducted in French-speaking Switzerland)	H	1.3
		Turkey (trial conducted in German-speaking Switzerland)		1.4
		Albania (trial conducted in German-speaking Switzerland)		2.5
UNITED STATES	Thanasombat and Trasvinat (2005)	North Africa/Middle East	F + H	1.2
	Widner and Chicoine (2011)		H	2.8

^a "F" signifies "Femme" (Woman) and "H" signifies "Homme" (Man).







^b It is possible that these CV-based trials underestimate discrimination against the minority applicant. Before the CV is sent, the applicant contacts the employer and reveals her identity, to make sure that the job for which she wants to apply is still open. It is probable that only those employers least hostile to applicants from Muslim majority countries will invite her to go ahead and submit her application.









Appendix 3: Tone of cover stories about Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and the extreme right in *L’Obs*, *L’Express* and *Le Point*, between 2013 and 2015.






L’Obs/Le Nouvel Observateur				
Year	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Extreme Right
2013	No cover stories	No cover stories	No cover stories	<p>“Marine-Marion. Duel in the Le Pen family” (20 June 2013): neutral cover</p>  <p>“24%. The scary polling numbers. In the lead for the European elections, the Front National threatens to become France’s leading party” (10 October 2013): negative cover</p> 
2014	<p>Who is after Pope Francis’s hide?” (11 December 2014): neutral cover</p> 	<p>“French and Jihadist. Investigation of the new fools of Allah” (20 February 2014): negative cover</p> 	<p>“These masterworks stolen from the Jews” (13 March 2014): neutral cover</p> 	<p>“Hatred. Antisemitism, racism... A trip through xenophobic France” (9 January 2014): negative cover</p> 







L'Obs/Le Nouvel Observateur				
Year	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Extreme Right
2014		<p>“The new masters of terror. Our special dossier on Islamic State” (18 September 2014): negative cover</p> 		<p>“Jeanne d’Arc ou Putin? The true nature of Marine Le Pen” (7 May 2014): negative cover</p> 
		<p>“ ‘They asked me to kill someone in France.’ The exclusive confession of Léa, age 15, recruited by the jihadists” (2 October 2014): negative cover</p> 		<p>“One vote in four for the Front National. This can't end well...” (29 May 2014): negative cover</p> 
2015		<p>“Fugitive. From Villiers sur Marne to Syria. The crazy swerve of Hayat Boumeddiene” (22 January 2015) : negative cover</p> 		<p>“Racism, antisemitism, homophobia... The Front National candidates unmasked” (12 March 2015): negative cover</p> 





RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION IN ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT: A REALITY

L'Obs/Le Nouvel Observateur				
Year	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Extreme Right
2015		<p>“What the Koran really says” (19 February 2015): neutral cover</p> 		<p>“The Klarsfelds’ cry of alarm: ‘If Marine Le Pen wins...’” (26 March 2015): negative cover</p> 
		<p>“Revelations. How they prepared the massacres” (26 February 2015): negative cover</p> 		
L'Express				
Year	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Extreme Right
2013	<p>“Benedict XVI. The secrets of a resignation” (13 February 2013): neutral cover</p> 	<p>“Islam. The communitariste danger” (9 October 2013): negative cover</p> 		<p>“And meanwhile... she is surging!” (24 April 2013) : neutral cover</p> 

L'Express				
Year	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Extreme Right
2013				<p>“Nazis. The last hunt” (6 November 2013): negative cover</p> 
2014	<p>“The unknown life of Jesus” (9 April 2014): neutral cover</p> 	<p>“Terrorism. These jihadists threatening France” (18 June 2014): negative cover</p>  <p>“Jihadism. France is ill protected” (1 October 2014): negative cover</p> 	<p>“French Jews. Are they right to be fearful?” (6 August 2014): neutral cover</p> 	<p>“The far Right’s secret plan. Its leaders, its targets” (5 March 2014): neutral cover</p>  <p>“Municipal elections. The Front National makes strides” (19 March 2014): neutral cover</p>  <p>“Madame President in 2017? Why the worst is possible” (5 November 2014): negative cover</p> 

L'Express				
Year	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Extreme Right
2015		<p>“The jihadist international” (21 January 2015): negative cover</p> 		<p>“70 years ago the liberation of the camps. Auschwitz” (28 January 2015): negative cover</p> 
		<p>«Secularism, integration, education. The Republic versus Islam” (4 February 2015): negative cover</p> 		<p>“Marion Maréchal-Le Pen. The nation's brassy chick” (18 March 2015): neutral cover</p> 
				<p>“The inside story of a backstabbing” (15 April 2015): neutral cover</p> 

Le Point				
Year	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Extreme Right
2013	<p>“A historic pope. He dared” (14 February 2013): positive cover</p> 	<p>“Meat. The new war of religion... The black file on halal” (10 January 2013): negative cover</p> 		<p>“Revelations about Hitler and the Third Reich” (4 April 2013): neutral cover</p> 
	<p>“The pope arriving from afar. The new pope-mania” (20 March 2013): positive cover</p> 	<p>“Mali. Our Islamist enemies” (24 January 2013): negative cover</p> 		
2014				<p>“Hitler. The final days” (27 November 2014): neutral cover</p> 

Le Point				
Year	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Extreme Right
2015		<p>“The real life of Mohamed” (8 January 2015): neutral cover</p> 	<p>“To be Jewish in France” (12 February 2015): neutral cover</p> 	
		<p>“Christians versus Islam. Investigation of a worldwide clash... Copts, Assyrians: who will save them from the Islamists?” (5 March 2015): negative cover</p> 		
<p>Remark: Cover story of <i>Le Point</i> for 31 October 2012: “This impudent Islam. Hospitals, canteens, swimming pools, skirts, school curricula... .”</p> 				

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THERE IS NO DESIRE MORE NATURAL THAN THE DESIRE FOR KNOWLEDGE

Religious discrimination in access to employment: a reality

Discrimination wreaks harm on the cohesion of a society, yet the degree to which it actually occurs in France is not yet well established.

Building on their previous work on the struggle against discrimination and the promotion of social cohesion, the Institut Montaigne and Marie-Anne Valfort have joined forces to carry out a CV-based trial of unprecedented breadth. Applications were sent to more than 6200 job offers posted across France between September 2013 and September 2014.

This trial presents for the first time a quantified appraisal of religious discrimination on the labor market. The results demonstrate that Jews and Muslims do encounter discrimination — a source of concern both for employers and for the nation as a body politic.

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