



Social protection and labour market policies for vulnerable groups from a social investment perspective

The case of Youth Employment Initiative in France

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Executive summary

This report was prepared in the framework of the Europe H2020 project 'Rebuilding an inclusive, value based Europe of solidarity and trust through social investments' (RE-InVEST). The project adopts a participative approach that lends a voice to vulnerable groups and civil society organisations. The theoretical framework applied in the Re-InVEST project builds on a human rights and capabilities approach.

In France, the team includes IRD (academic research) and GRDR (association); we chose to work with immigrant populations from West Africa living in the Paris region (in the Ile-de-France region and particularly in the department of Seine Saint-Denis) in the priority areas designated by urban policies, that is to say, neighbourhoods defined according to the level of poverty. In these neighbourhoods, the share of immigrants or descendants of non-European immigrants is high (mainly from North or West Africa).

We have considered, in this part of the project, the difficulties of integration into the labour market of the young immigrants or descendants of immigrants living in these neighbourhoods, aged between 16 and 25 years. These young people, that are from poor families and living in less-favoured areas, are often exposed to chaotic school routes and to difficulties of access to employment, because of a build-up of several difficulties: low level of training, discrimination linked to their origins, to their living space or their gender, the low mobility, the gap in the relational codes because of the low social mix of the neighbourhoods in which they live. The crisis strengthened disparities on the labour market, including within the youth, which is not at a homogeneous category.

Many devices have been set up to facilitate the insertion of young people in the labour market and these measures are regularly improved or renewed. The YEI (Youth Employment Initiative) is a search for innovation and diversification of actions, with the to reinforce the quality of the support offered to young people, the greatest security of the pathways of young who are defined as 'NEET' (Nor in education, in employment, or in training) .The system is more flexible, but without financial allocation . It is linked to the need to take into account, besides difficulties in accessing the labour market, social, educational, economic, psychological and somatic difficulties, through a highly individualised accompaniment and a diversity of modes of action: individual interviews, theatre workshop, digital workshop, etc.

The implementation of the YEI constitutes, for the GRDR, an opportunity to experiment an approach of accompaniment for the occupational integration of young NEET people from 16 to 25 years old living in Seine Saint-Denis. Our approach is comparative, comprehensive and operational, combining qualitative and quantitative methods. In this respect, participation in the Re-Invest study of the beneficiaries of the YEI scheme was sought, particularly through collective times. The aim was to make the interviewed people co-producers of the research. However, due to constraints related to the young people (mobility, etc.) and to the modalities of the inquiry (participation in the study, departure of the PhD student, ...), we then favoured the involvement of the team in charge of the technical implementation of the YEI system, that is to say the two mission managers in order to get them to analyse their accompanying practices, in relation to the situations of young people.

In a context of public policies promoting the principles of accountability, contractualisation (and conditionalities), the implementation of the YEI nevertheless enabled the GRDR to experiment with an approach and methods allowing the construction of paths of autonomy and professional projects. The results of the inquiry lead us to formulate the following conclusions, in form of recommendations:

- The imbrication of the needs of young people requires the design of support devices that take into account in an articulated manner the different variables affecting the integration pathways and the professional

plans: level of training, family situations, administrative situations and socio-economic conditions, social positioning, possible psychological difficulties, self-esteem and self-confidence. Acting only on the job search process is thus largely insufficient for many young people.

- As such, the issue coordination and accompaniment of actors is one of the other major stakes revealed by the study. The analysis of social situations and the review of young people touched by the IE trajectories, report successions of accompaniments without links between the professionals and frequent ruptures of administrative management. On the other hand, there is often a lack of consultation between the actors of the accompaniment on the procedures to be implemented and the definition of the courses.
- The training of professionals proves to be an already identified need, which is confirmed by the present study. It may be interesting, however, to integrate beneficiary participation in a renewed form of production of practices and accompanying knowledge.

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List of abbreviations

ALMP	Active Labour Market Policy
BIJ	Bureau information jeunesse / Office for information of youth
CHRS	Centre d'hébergement et de Réinsertion Sociale/ Accommodation and Social Rehabilitation Centre
CSO	Civil-Society Organisation
C.V.	Curriculum Vitae
ESF	European social fund
GRDR	NGO Migration citoyenneté développement
IRD	Institut de recherche pour le développement, French research institute for sustainable development
NEET	Not in education, employment or training
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
RSA	Revenu de solidarité active / Active solidarity income
YEI	Youth Employment Initiative

1. Introduction

1.1 Brief reference to Re-InVEST project, its content and methodology

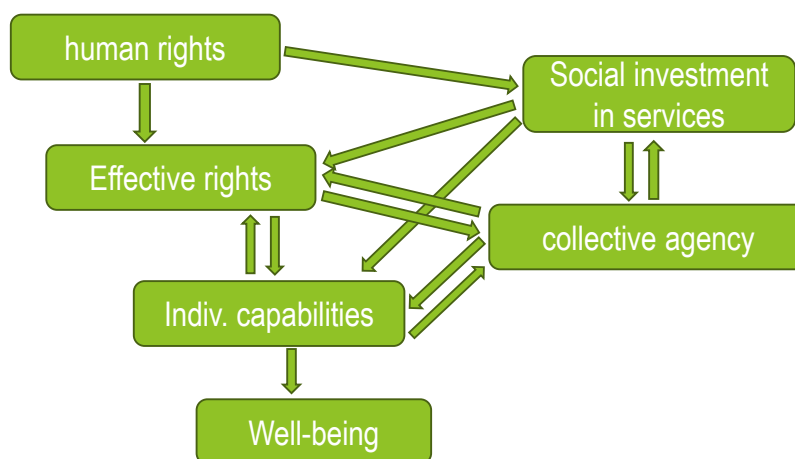
This report was prepared in the framework of the Europe H2020 project ‘Rebuilding an inclusive, value based Europe of solidarity and trust through social investments’ (RE-InVEST). The RE-InVEST project aims to contribute to more solidary and trustworthy Europe, through an inclusive, powerful and effective social investment strategy at the EU-level. Moreover, the project itself adopts a participative approach that lends a voice to vulnerable groups and civil society organisations. The RE-InVEST consortium consists of members of the informal network ‘the Alliances to fight Poverty’, a network of civil society organisations, trade unions, policy makers and academics coordinated by the Flemish Christian labour movement ‘beweging.net’, and committed to a more inclusive Europe. The consortium covers a broad range of European countries, both geographically (12 countries, 13 regions) and in terms of representation of different welfare and labour market traditions. The analyses are carried out by the local partners, who consist of NGOs and/or researchers.

In particular, this report is one of the seven national case studies that make up the qualitative research of the RE-InVEST work package ‘Investing in social protection and inclusive labour market policies’. The purpose of this work package can be summarised as follows:

- re-assessing the role of social protection and active labour market policies (ALMPs) from a social investment perspective. This means that our theoretical framework, which builds on the key notions of social investment, human rights and capabilities, will be used as the reference framework to evaluate the role of social protection and ALMPs in producing sustainable social inclusion;
- applying this framework to the evaluation of national/regional policies through participatory qualitative research into specific measures in the field of ALMPs and social protection, from the perspective of the most vulnerable groups. Special attention is being devoted to recent reforms and innovations (the EC’s Youth Employment Initiative, social activation, social enterprises, tax-benefit reforms, etc.). Mixed research teams have carried out this research in seven countries (England, Portugal, Switzerland, Latvia, Belgium, France and Austria) between September 2016 and June 2017;
- in addition to the national case studies, a statistical analysis is focusing on the distributional effects as well as the effectiveness of social protection systems and ALMPs based on the EU-SILC data, by means of multilevel hazard models;
- the combined findings will result in a synthesis report as well as recommendation papers for the Annual Growth Surveys.

The theoretical framework applied in the RE-InVEST project builds on a human rights and capabilities approach. The model is spelled out in Figure 1.1 below.

Figure 1.1 From human rights and capabilities to individual well-being



Formal human rights (e.g. right to work, right to social protection) are values, social norms which do not automatically result in a higher level of well-being. For the implementation of such rights (mainly in the economic, social and cultural rights field), different types of policy measures need to be adopted: legislation, organisation of (public) services, subsidies, social transfers, inspection, judicial enforcement... From a capabilities perspective, the welfare system surrounding vulnerable individuals can be seen as a set of conversion factors. Although some legal measures may establish effective rights (e.g. right to a guaranteed minimum income), most policies require additional ‘social investment’ in individual and collective capabilities through public or subsidised service provision (e.g. training provided by the employment agency) and the transfer of power and resources – either directly to individuals/households (e.g. social benefits), or to government agencies, companies and civil society organisations (e.g. employment or training subsidies). These ‘collectives’ in turn interact with individuals and may invest in their capabilities.¹ Collectives can enhance or restrain individual capabilities.

The well-being of vulnerable individuals is reflected in their actual levels of functioning in various dimensions of life (family life, social and cultural participation, work, housing, education etc.) but also in the full range of available alternative options in each dimension. Freedom of choice is therefore an essential quality characteristic of social investment policies. For example, ‘Work First’ programmes (prioritising the take-up of low-paid work over training and irrespective of any match with the job seekers’ competences or aspirations) may result in higher short-run employment effects; however, such measures may well constrain the beneficiaries’ freedom and future employability to such an extent that their capabilities and well-being are reduced. In the social protection field, income transfers can be seen as resource supplements that enable households or individuals to invest in their own education, housing, health, mobility - as well as in their children or other dependant household members. From this perspective, generous social protection schemes can foster the employability and social inclusion of vulnerable groups: this perspective predicts the opposite of the ‘making work pay’ paradigm, which advocates lower benefits – of limited duration - as an incentive to take up work.

RE-InVEST aims at giving vulnerable people a voice through participatory action research that can be used in policy recommendations and advocacy at local, national and EU-level. Participatory action research views participants as co-researchers who have special knowledge about their own situation. Rather than being just interviewed about their experiences or views, vulnerable people are enabled to take part in examining, interpreting, and reflecting on their own social world, shaping their sense of identity, and getting a voice in public deliberation (another key dimension of capabilities).

¹ Individuals in turn can invest in collective capabilities through contributions and/or voluntary action.

This necessitates an iterative process of knowledge generation that includes several steps of mutual trust building, knowledge production and sharing, empowerment, newly generated knowledge and action that builds upon this knowledge. The ‘merging’ or ‘crossing of knowledge’ is crucial for this kind of knowledge generation and comes from three parts: academic knowledge developed by researchers; experiential knowledge acquired by vulnerable people throughout their lives; and the knowledge of professionals and civil society organisations that work with them (Figure 1.2). Every research team at local level includes members from these three different backgrounds.

Figure 1.2 Merging of knowledge



1.2 Choice of ALMP measure and vulnerable group for the French report

This study is a follow-up to the work conducted within the framework of a previous study conducted by the Re-Invest team in France, by IRD and GRDR. During this first stage, we chose to work with immigrant populations from West Africa living in the Paris region (in the Ile-de-France region and particularly in the department of Seine Saint-Denis) in the priority areas designated by urban policies², that is to say, neighbourhoods defined according to the level of poverty. In these neighbourhoods, the share of immigrants or descendants of non-European immigrants³ is high (mainly from North or West Africa).

After studying the impact of the crisis on women from sub-Saharan Africa in a neighbourhood of the urban policies in Aubervilliers (department of Seine Saint-Denis), we have considered, in this part of the project, the difficulties of integration into the labour market of their children, namely the young immigrants or descendants of immigrants living in these neighbourhoods. These young people, that are from poor families and living in less-favoured areas, are often exposed to chaotic school routes and to difficulties of access to employment, because of a build-up of several difficulties: low

² Priority Areas: Since 2014, urban policies have set up a priority list of 1,296 areas within 700 communes. These areas are defined on the basis of income, i.e. more than half the population is under 60% of the median income tax. They are the subject of targeted interventions. This unique threshold replaces various devices, including the Sensitive Urban Zones (ZUS), which were characterised by large group of buildings, deprived housing neighbourhoods and imbalance between housing and employment. In practice, these 'priority areas' are defined using a grid method. It involves cutting the French metropolitan territory into several squares of 200 meters on each side and then referring to statistical information showing the concentration of poverty (data from the *Observatoire national de la politique de la ville*, 2016, p.14).

³ According to the Insee (National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies), 'an immigrant is a foreign person born abroad and living in France. A descendant of immigrant is a person born in France, of which at least one of the two parents is an immigrant. The origin of a descendant of immigrant is here the born country of the immigrant parent if he is not there that one (and that of the father if both are immigrants). 'France considers in 2015, 7.3 millions of people which are descendants of immigrants. Among them 42% are of African origin and 9 % of Asian origin: this part of the population is particularly young because they correspond to the currents of immigration the most recent. The 45% descendants of immigrants of European origin are rather older, corresponding to waves of immigration of the post-war years (First one Insee, n°1634)

level of training, discrimination linked to their origins, to their living space or their gender, the low mobility, the gap in the relational codes because of the low social mix of the neighbourhoods in which they live.

The GRDR participates in an innovative device⁴ for employability and professional integration of the young people in the priority areas of the urban policies in Ile-de-France region. This action is aimed at young people who are the most distant from employment and often outside the numerous existing devices. This measure is part of the ‘Active Labour Market Policy’ (ALMP) aimed at young people in difficulty and is part of a French plan for the implementation of guarantees for unemployed young people through a financial allocation from the European Commission between 2014 and 2020. These credits are mobilised by various national and regional devices as the ‘Guarantee Young People’, the ‘State-Aided Contracts’ and measures of support, as the ‘Youth Employment Initiative’ (YEI).

With regard to the measures analysed, namely the device YEI, which is implemented, concerning the Ile-de-France region, only in the department of Seine St Denis. We shall also focus on residential aspects, specifically the young inhabitants of priority areas. Actually the data presented here allow us to re-place the situations of these various categories:

- the youth unemployment issue in France and the case of low-skilled young people;
- situation of the young descendants of immigrants from Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa;
- residential problem for young people living in priority areas.

The methodological approach implemented by the GRDR and the IRD aims at making knowledge emerge by different actors in a process of crossing knowledge.

This method is based on:

- young people accompanied by the GRDR’s YEI device, through individual support or collective exchanges as theatre workshop. In the following part, we focus more specifically on the paths and aspirations of three young people;
- on the other hand, we also focus on the assistants themselves, who were involved and associated with the research work. These three young women developed and organised the materials resulting from the interviews in a reflective approach with the researchers. They more specifically worked on the analysis of four paths presented in the annex to this document.

We present in this study:

- the main lines of public policies and paradigms such as analysed by the scientific researches (academic knowledge produced by researchers);
- the practices and the positioning of the operators of support (knowledge of those who work with people in the places of social exclusion and poverty);
- the trajectories of young people and their perceptions of the devices that concern them (knowledge of the poor people and the outcasts since their immediate experience).

4 Device entering within the framework of the Youth Employment Initiative (YEI) and financed by the European Union and the European Social Fund.

2. Framework of the study and methodology

2.1 The context: youth unemployment and disparities

For these elements of context, we mobilise information on a national scale, but also on a regional one through the case of the Ile-de-France. We focus when it is possible on the department of Seine Saint Denis where the GRDR operates through diverse actions in the direction of immigrants or descendants of sub-Saharan Africa natives and immigrants coming from western Africa, Mali, Guinea, Senegal, but also from Maghreb.

2.1.1 The 2008 crisis and the youth unemployment increase

France knows since several decades a high structural unemployment rate, with strong disparities according to territories and individual's characteristics (level of training, social origin, gender, etc.). In 2016, the unemployment rate remained at 9.7% for the working-age people in metropolitan France and at 8.6% in Ile-de-France.⁵ With a rather steady population growth, there are more than 600,000 young people accessing the labour market every year. Not having included retiring people (who are leaving later because of the pension reform), the increase of the working population is 150,000 people a year (Boisson-Cohen, *et al.*, 2017).

In accordance with other European countries, the unemployment rate of the young people has strongly increased since the beginning of the 2008 crisis. The unemployment rate of the young working-age people⁶ amounted to 18.9% in 2015 and reached a fourfold increase in 40 years.

'Having clearly degraded further to the crisis of 2008, these indicators significantly varied from the beginning of 2013 to the end of 2015. The unemployment rate of the young working-age people lowered about half a point, but the part of the neither unemployed nor training young people increased accordingly. Over the same period, the employment rate of people aged 15 to 29 years stabilised.' (DARES, 2017: 1)

The crisis strengthened disparities on the labour market, including within the youth, which is not at a homogeneous category. We notably speak on this study of young people who moved away from school which illustrates the dynamics of a social reproduction and the intergenerational transmission of disparities.

2.1.2 The education level: the main cause of employment access disparities.

The overexposure to unemployment is linked, first of all, to the level of qualification. With the crisis, the transition of young people from academic studies to a stable job (in particular under permanent

5 Unless otherwise mentioned, figures mobilised in this part arise from the INSEE (National Institute for Statistics and economic Studies). 'In 2015, 53.3% of the young people from 15 to 29 years old are on the labor market in France: 43.2% occupy an employment and 10.1% are unemployed, that is a 18.9% unemployment rate. 14.7% of the young people are not either in employment, or in training (NEET)' Dares (2017).

6 Active young people: person from 20 to 24 years, exercising a paid professional activity or by looking for one. We are interested in this age range, because the young people before 20 years are mainly in studies and thus weakly active. On the other hand, there are not much accumulation employment studies in France contrary to other countries as Germany; in spite of a growth of the learning these last years.

contract) lengthened, with phases of precariousness linked to a low level of qualifications. It is translated by a succession of short contracts and of recurring and prolonged periods of unemployment. The diploma is far more decisive than before the crisis: the non-graduates unemployment rate is double that of the secondary education graduates rate, itself more important than the Higher education graduates rate. But the trajectories of entry to an active life also depend on differences between specialties of training, with an advantage of the technical and industrial sectors on the tertiary and general sectors, but also by the nature of the trainings, with an advantage for traditional school paths (Boisson-Cohen, *et al.* 2017).

2.1.3 Young people with African immigration background in the priority areas: an accumulation of difficulties

When compared with the so-called ‘majority’ population, gaps between situations can be observed. The socioeconomic insertion of immigrant descendants thus varies according to the origins of the parents (European or non-European). In 2014, immigrant descendants were more exposed to unemployment than French natives with no direct migratory ancestry (9.2%), but less than immigrant (21.2% in 2014 for immigrants with no European origin) (Agacinski *et al.*, 2015).

School and residential disparities

Being descendants of the most recent migratory waves, the descendants of immigrants of African origin (from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa) are young, with 45 % of them having between 18 and 24 years. They mainly live in big urban areas and especially outside Paris (in particular in Seine Saint Denis). Regarding employment, their situation is worrisome: in 2012, the unemployment rate of young assets of less than 25 years reached 42% for descendants of immigrants with African origin, which is near the double that of the rest of the population of the same age (22%). Coming from modest socioeconomic circles⁷ and from numerous sib ships⁸ with parents untrained in most cases, they often have difficult school life stories and a bad omen for their economic integration. They also are many more to withdraw from the education system without diploma or with a low typical qualification BEP or CAP (30%).⁹

In addition to the socioeconomic and cultural conditions of their family which influence their school career, it is necessary to add the underperformance of schools to reduce these disparities. It can be explained by the spatial distribution of descendants of immigrants with African origins, which is particularly distinct in priority districts of the urban affairs: these districts accumulate a high unemployment rate, a distance from employment areas, a dysfunctional transport network and scarce public services (including for safety). These poor cities of more than 20,000 inhabitants are for the most part in Paris region (14 on the poorest 20 cities); the rate of poverty¹⁰ in 2013 there varies from 33 to 45%, the poorest city being Grigny. In these districts, far from reducing the disparities, school amplifies them according to a report of the CNESCO (2016).

It is shown that ‘On three central dimensions for success at school (the time of learning, the educational practices and the work experience of the teachers), pupils from these disadvantaged areas do not benefit an equal treatment in their learning conditions when compared with pupils of the

7 A study of the Insee, National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (2016: 87) shows as well as ‘the success at school of the children of immigrants to the middle school (college) is more connected to the cultural capital of their family than in their migratory past; this cultural capital of the family corresponds at the level of diploma of the parents (relatives) and the environment of the paper to the house as the books.

8 It a surepresentation of single-parent families; 60% of the children downward children of immigrants of African origin belong to sibships of more than three children (Insee (National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies), on 2016).

9 With a gap between men and women to the detriment of the men (people) (39% against 29%).

10 In 2013, the rate of poverty in 60 % of the median income is 14,3% for the whole territory; it is 44.8% to Grigny and 41.9% to Aubervilliers. Within these municipalities, the poverty rate reaches 60-70% in some neighborhoods.

surrounding zones' (CNESCO, 2016: 26). The report describes the long chain of these disparities at school and also underlines the real disparities in terms of orientation when compared with pupils from more favoured zones. These disparities are amplified with an effect of self-censorship within families regarding the academic opportunities achievable by their children.

Inequalities in conjunction with social discrimination

According to the Monitoring centre (Observatory of the disparities, 2017): 'discrimination is a difference of treatment established on an illegitimate character (age, sex, handicap, skin colour, etc.). Discriminations combine with inequalities and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them. It is then necessary to measure other things being equal; the 'testing'¹¹ is a way to highlight these discriminations' (Bunel *et al.*, 2014). The main discriminations beared by immigrants and descendants of immigrants with African origin are linked to their origin on the one hand and to their living space on the other hand; those being mostly the Seine Saint Denis department and/or priority districts considered as 'difficult'. Since the inquiry: *Trajectories and origins*, (Beauchemin *et al.*, 2008), numerous works analyse the discriminations, conjugated to social inequalities (CNESCO, 2016, Cusset *et al.* 2015; Martin & Naves, 2015; DARES, 2014; Okba, 2009).

Specifically, it is reflected in the fact that, other things being equal (age, diploma, social origin or place of residence), immigrants or descendents of immigrants with African origin face a risk of unemployment 1,9 times higher than for the non-migratory population (Cusset *et al.*, 2015).

2.1.4 A heavy ideological context

The reform of the labour market crystallised numerous debates and challenges in France; this reform was achieved by the El Kohmri law (named after the secretary in charge of this law) and partly corresponds to the recommendations of the European half-year for France: flexibility is more important for companies thanks to a reversal of the hierarchy of standards between the company's agreement and the branch agreement for the negotiation of working hours and overtime hours remuneration. This measure is based on the hypothesis (admitted or rejected according to points of view) that the intra-company social dialog (associating labour unions) would work in a well-balanced way. It was the central axis of the contesting labour unions and triggered strong mobilisations (such as the 'Nuit Debout' movement or more traditional citizen mobilisations such as strikes and demonstrations). These components can rather be connected with a progressive liberalisation of the labour market and a more elaborate application of it; which in nearby countries such as Germany for example led to a stronger casualisation of the least qualified workers.

Other measures have been somewhat obscured in the debates, but they are nevertheless a matter of extending employees' rights. These measures are for example the personal account of activity that attaches social rights (such as training) to individuals and not to the statutes (this is what we call the portage of rights); the creation of an 'account of painfulness' and the extension of the guarantee (until then experimental) which is a device dedicated to the 16-25 years, neither in employment nor in training with an important income and a return assistance to work or trainings (see below p. 17). The latter measure, which is a multidimensional approach of the problems faced by young people, gets closer to social investment.

In the same period, in difficult context of attempts, there was an exacerbation of the stigmatisation of immigrants and migrants and refugees (who face very different problems) in the electoral context with the rise of the far right.

¹¹ Operation which consists in sending index cards of candidacy (housing), work) where only the origin or the place of residence of the candidate changes; we estimate the discrimination from the variations in the rates of answer.

2.2 Evolution of social welfare and of youth employment policies

2.2.1 The social welfare of young people: difficult transfers of the model

The French social protection system covers all the mechanisms of implementation which enable individuals to cope with situations such as illness, unemployment, maternity, accidents at work and old age. These social risks can result in reduced resources or increased spending. In France, the system is based on two pillars:

- an access to social services at reduced prices, even at no cost;
- an articulation of social security benefits based on three logics:
 1. insurance: it is the contributions that give rise to a right (as unemployment benefits);
 2. assistance to the most vulnerable in terms of age and resources (as ‘Active Solidarity Income’);
 3. universal protection by public money (unconditional preliminary contribution or resources) such as well-being.

This system was conceived in 1945 at a time of strong growth, in a context of full employment and related logics to insurance and family. The model was based on the ‘head of the family’ who, through stable employment, was a provider of resources and a direct beneficiary of social protection, with his wife and children being legal successors. The massive entry of women into the labour market has not challenged this system, on the other hand, the precariousness of employment since the 1970s (unemployment, judicial contracts, interruptions in working life) and the modification of models family (separation, family reorganisation) has shown its limitations in the face of social and societal developments.

For young people, the French system of benefits is based on two complementary approaches: coverage by family affiliation, which allows social coverage during childhood and which is then replaced by a social protection linked to professional activity. This structuring of social protection is based on the idea that employment is the essential factor of social inclusion but also on an assumption that a stable way of life allows the passage from a family dependence to an autonomous position in a fluid and barrier-free way.

‘This type of access to social citizenship does not cause a specific problem when the young people can be supported by their family, they quickly move from a family coverage to a professional autonomy and from an unstable work to a stable work. Otherwise, the young people are exposed to inadequate protection in the face of poverty and a lower acquisition of social rights.’ (Boisson-Cohen et al., in 2017: 42).

Yet, the current state of the labour market questions continuity in the individual paths and the young people (from 16 to 29 years) who are at a turning point between family dependence and a will of autonomy. The least qualified young people, who are the first concerned with difficulties to reach a stable insertion on the labour market (temporary jobs, internships unemployment being the more recurring), are the ones who are the most directly concerned with difficulties of adaptation to the social welfare system. The duration of contributions to benefit from an opening of rights is either insufficient, or slow because of the passage of an employer and from a status to the other one; for lack of personal cover, young people stay in situations of dependence towards their families (when these families can or want to support them), which thwarts their aspiration independent adults (IGAS, 2015).

Many devices have been set up to facilitate the insertion of young people in the labour market and these measures are regularly improved or renewed. Those measures of activation (AML¹²),¹²

¹² France is one of the European countries that spends the most (in relation to GDP per capita) on employment activation measures (especially for young people). See Appendix 1 for the evolution and comparison between countries.

directed to young people, are based at the same time on a help for employers through a reduction or abolition of the contributions (as the jobs with growth opportunities, the help to the hiring of a young person of less than 26 years under permanent contract), associating of the training of the young people (as the contract initiative employment starter for the young people of less than 30 years, apprenticeship contracts, etc.), or still the contracts of insertion in social life (CIVIS). The ‘Young Guarantee’, which is in a process of extension on the whole territory through local missions for employment, proposes a contractual relation between a young person and a local mission and a guarantee of resources (€492/month for the renewable year). A recent evaluation (Loison-Lerouste, 2016) shows that work logics within the ‘Young Guarantee’ are the same as for the ‘RSA’: the ‘activation’ of the young people and the logic of the ‘workfirst’: access to the labour market is perceived as a first stage necessary for a social and economic integration. But this access is conditioned by the ‘mobilisation’ of the young person and its ‘will’ to work. Thus

‘The bet of the device consists in considering that an allowance, a specific support and training to real-life professional situation (by means of internships, trainings and helped employment) establish necessary and sufficient levers for the social and professional integration of these young people in trouble.’ (Loison-Lerouste et al., 2016: 12).

Age segmentation generates high complexity and a frequent non-recourse to the rights:

‘The young people have the civil majority at 18 years but are minor socially until 25, and more often taken into account as assignee (beneficiary) than as subjects of rights’ (Vérot & Dulin, 2017: 4).

They are eligible in certain devices until 21 years (young adult contract), but basic welfare benefits¹³ as the Active Solidarity Revenue (RSA) are not available for the young people of less than 25 years, except in very specific conditions. This age division applied by the System also leads to destabilising situations, linked to breaks in care: for instance the particularly vulnerable young people, who are involved in child welfare and judicial protection mechanisms - where they are financially and affectively strongly supported by the public authorities - are excluded soon as they are 18 years old. This lack of transition is undoubtedly one of the explanations for their over-representation in the homeless population rates (Vérot & Dulin, 2017).

Several reports (Boisson-Cohen *et al.*, 2017, Vérot & Dulin, 2017) call into question the effectiveness and relevance of youth employment activation schemes: non-recourse to the offer of social and occupational integration is raised, especially for less qualified young people. There are several reasons for this gap: the fact that some social actors (guidance counsellor, advisor, liaison officer, etc.) do not know, ask or propose these offers. Local missions, which set up personalised monitoring for the social and professional integration of young people aged 16 to 25, are also often poorly known.

‘The notion of social rights is not meaningful for young people, who have imperfect knowledge or may lose courage in certain stages. A lack of information on local missions is underlined (...) support, by aspiration to independence and because they give priority to the employment, but also by incomprehension of the delays of the implementation or the distance in the training after a failure at school.’ (Boisson-Cohen et al., 2017: 69)

But, in spite of these difficulties, all the social policies were used as shock absorber to the crisis of 2008 and the deterioration in the standard of living of the most precarious, including those in employment, if it is very real, did not affect the nearby countries of France¹⁴.

13 This is part of the policy of ‘making work pay’ with the fear that the RSA is disincentive to training or employment for young people under 25 years.

14 According to Eurostat, the percentage of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion in 2015 in France is 17.7%, with a European average (euro area) of 23%, with significant differences between countries. Germany is at 20%, Greece at 35.7%, Finland 16.8%.

2.2.2 The Youth Employment Initiative: to reach young people the most distant from employment

Following the increase of the unemployment youth and their insecure situation in Europe because of the crisis, the European Commission adopted in 2010, a new category to indicate young people of a specific age section who are neither in employment, nor in training - whether the latter is initial or not, formal or not - and who take the risk of knowing professional and more widely social exclusion. This category is referred to by the acronym NEET (*Neither in employment nor in education and training*), embraces ‘a great diversity of situations of vulnerability: young graduates people, young unemployed people, young people with immigration backgrounds, young people raising a child, young handicapped persons, young people with mental health problems, young people assuming the coverage of a close friend or a parent and requires many diversified answers’ (Labadie, 2012). The large age range (15-29 years at the level of the EU) recovers very diverse situations, most of the young people of less than 20 years being in studies. In face of the scale of youth unemployment, the European Commission and the member states mobilised from 2010 proposed in December, 2012 an initiative: the ‘European Guarantee for the Youth’. This one became a reality in particular in a programme of dedicated support, the Youth Employment Initiative (YEI). France is committed to it since 2014. This device is strengthened by the European social Fund (ESF). France has a €620 million endowment between 2014 and 2018.

The main objectives such as they are described by the ESF, are the following ones: a rapid and massive action, a search for innovation and diversification of actions, a desire to reinforce the quality of the support offered to young people, the greatest security of the pathways of young NEET (European Social Fund, 2016).

The YEI is complementary to the Youth Guarantee. The system is more flexible, but without financial allocation (thus Youth Guarantee provides the equivalent of RSA for 1 year). It is linked to the need to take into account, besides difficulties in accessing the labour market, social, educational, economic, psychological and somatic difficulties, through a highly individualised accompaniment and a diversity of modes of action: individual interviews, theatre workshop, digital workshop, etc.

The objectives of the YEI are:

- to locate the young people NEET who went out of traditional networks of support or never entered them;
- to provide them reinforced support in order to find an internship, a job or a formation;
- to make professional facilitation through training;
- to reconcile them with school or the labour market;
- to help young people NEET to build a professional or educational project as fast as possible.

The programme allows:

1. to experiment the phases of dumping in a company during which the young person discovers the world of the work;
2. to define a professional project and to reach a job;
3. to benefit from trainings leading or pre-leading to a qualification;
4. or to allow a return in a more flexible educational environment.

The YEI is established in 13 regions of metropolitan France and in 3 French overseas departments. The project leaders bring an 8% financing, the staying 92% are supplied by the YEI or the ESF.

2.3 Methodological approach

The study was conducted by the IRD in partnership with the GRDR. It has mobilised four GRDR part-time staff (one doctoral student, two project managers and one project manager) and one trainee student from the university Paris 8, as well as two IRD staff: a team of seven. It should be noted that

the doctoral student's departure was mobilised on the project during the month of March, which weighed on the progress of the study, both in terms of deadlines and the number of students, interviews that could ultimately be carried out and exploited.

Our approach is, at the same time, comparative, comprehensive and operational, combining qualitative and quantitative methods. In this respect, participation in the study of the beneficiaries of the YEI scheme was sought, particularly through collective times. The aim was to make the interviewed people co-producers of the research. However, due to constraints related to the public (difficult mobilisation, volatility of participation, nature of expectations and needs, ...) and to the modalities of the inquiry (participation in the study, departure of the PhD student, ...), we then favoured the involvement of the team in charge of the technical implementation of the YEI system, that is to say the two mission managers in order to get them to analyse their accompanying practices, in relation to the situations of young people. In practical terms, they have helped to produce and analyse the statistical data on the public. They also produced a briefing note on the social situation and support provided for the four interviewees. A fruitful 'dialogue' could be set up between the content of the interviews and the synthesis notes, leading to a renewed understanding of the needs, the expectations of the young people and the accompanying practices to be implemented.

2.3.1 Changing from a quantitative sociology to a qualitative approach

The choice of a method for collecting materials that can be analysed depends first of all on the purpose of the inquiry, on the relationship with the public and on whether exchanges with the public are envisaged (which is the case in a research-action), finally of the stakes of the study, i.e. the information that wishes to have the sponsor of the study.

In this research, the quantitative approach answers the question: how many people are affected and who are they? Qualitative analysis answers the question: why and how? In view of our aim to grasp the process leading to the professional integration of the target population, it seems that the relevant choice is that of a biographical approach, a sensitive and comprehensive approach that is not constrained by the requirement representativeness.

The universe of inquiry: the young NEET of Seine St Denis

We investigated a population of young people with sub-Saharan and Maghrebian origins, aged between 16 and 25 years. This lengthening of the youth period is linked to the extension of career and education paths in a context marked by a high unemployment rate of young people and employment instability. Consequently NEET is a fluctuant population and this becomes a targeting problem.

In France, we count 14.7% of NEET (15-29 years) in 2015 (Dares, 2017); the segmentation by age range illustrates the difference of situations within youth: the rate reaches 6.3% for 15-19 years, 15.6% for 20-24 years and 19% for 25-29 years.

In the Ile-de-France region, the situation of youth presents a large heterogeneity. Because of the economic dynamism of the region, the part of NEET is 9.6% in 2014, which is lower than the national average. Besides, their geographical distribution is uneven, the Seine Saint Denis department being overrepresented, and 19% of young people in precarious situation are from the region Ile-de-France. So, on 275,000 young people from 15 to 29 years old, about 72,000 are unemployed, inactive or staying at home (that is 22.1% of the young people in Seine-Saint-Denis, against 14.6% on average in Ile-de-France) which constitutes an important base of young people who could be integrated into the category of NEET.

The 'targeting' of NEET displays certain difficulties; the objective is to identify the present situation but it can concern young people in situation rather passing as those accumulating of great difficulties: difficulties of access to the labour market, but also social, family, or living space related diffi-

culties. For the only problem of employment, numerous devices were set up to address various profiles of young people according to their qualification, to their statuses or their geographical location (for the young people stemming from priority areas for instance).

2.3.2 Qualitative approach, itineraries and projects

The inquiry initially adopted a quantitative approach aimed at the statistical analysis of the public welcomed and accompanied within the framework of the EYI scheme implemented by the GRDR: age, sex, level of training. Moreover, this study mobilised qualitative data collected by individual interviews.

Identifying, through a biographical approach, the processes through which integration into the workforce is achieved has been our main objective in the collection of data. Interviews were carried out with four young people in the form of a 'life story', which allows one to take note of individual, representative or, conversely, original paths. These interviews also highlight the accompanying approaches to employment.

The 'ordinary' work of the professionals has also given rise to 'participatory observation' work during field activities, especially during collective workshops (theatre, coaching, etc.). The biographical approach allows an analysis of breaks, changes in orientation, emergence of individual and collective projects (Dumont & Schmitt, 2001) which facilitates the understanding of the different forms of 'insertion path' and their mechanisms (Ferrarotti, 1983).

The analysis of the interviews respects 'people's words' literally, but cares not to identify it immediately with reality. The production of reality requires a 'complex dialogical construction' (Demazière & Dubar, 2004). This means that those interviewed can become co-analysts of their own speeches. We shall see to what extent this ideal has been achieved in our investigative work. A literature review and a bibliography complete the inquiry.

3. 'Putting a plan in perspective, defining a route': an experiment for the professional and social integration of young people

The implementation of the YEI constitutes, for the GRDR, an opportunity to experiment an approach of accompaniment for the occupational integration of young NEET people from 16 to 25 years old living in Seine Saint-Denis. The programme has been operated over 24 months, from 1 January 2016 until 31 December 2017. It has for initial objective to support 100 young people in the territories of Aubervilliers and Montreuil (department of Seine St Denis). This initiative consisted in articulating three types of intervention: territorialised weekly offices, collective workshops (these two activities being realised within partners' premises, and a help to mobility (like driving licence).

3.1 Young people's profiles, needs and expectations

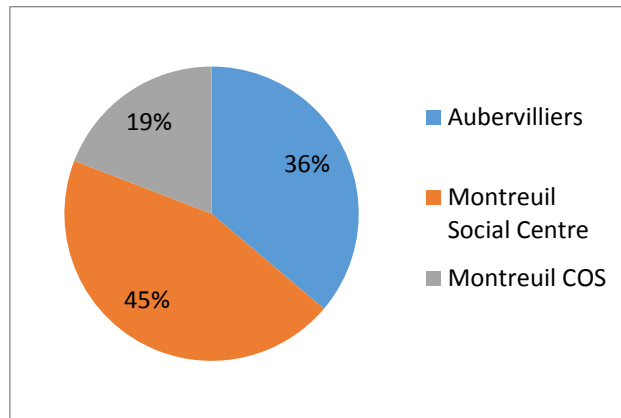
The YEI echoes with the objective of access to the labour market. The rights at stake are first and foremost socioeconomic rights and labour rights. However, accompanied young people's profiles, needs and identified expectations may affect a whole range of specific rights in the area of social, education, training, mobility, culture, health, ...

3.1.1 Profiles of the accompanied young people

On the date of the present report, the programme led by the GRDR concerned 47 NEETs on 100 planned. In reality, the device plan allowed to meet 71 young people, that is 24 except the criteria of eligibility defined by the YEI programme and the NEET category. It should be noted that difficulties of implementation were encountered in the second half-year of 2016 continuation from the project leader who has designed and begun to implement the programme. After a first recruitment in November, the device is completely operational in January, 2017.

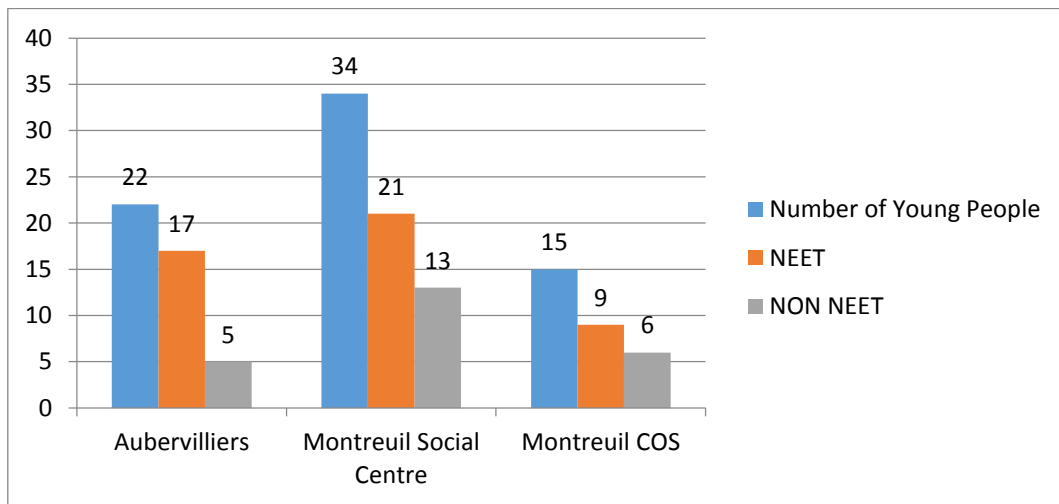
More than two-thirds of young people were impacted by the programme through the two offices in Montreuil.

Figure 3.1 Percentage of NEET young people welcomed in the three permanencies of the YEI programme



Source GRDR

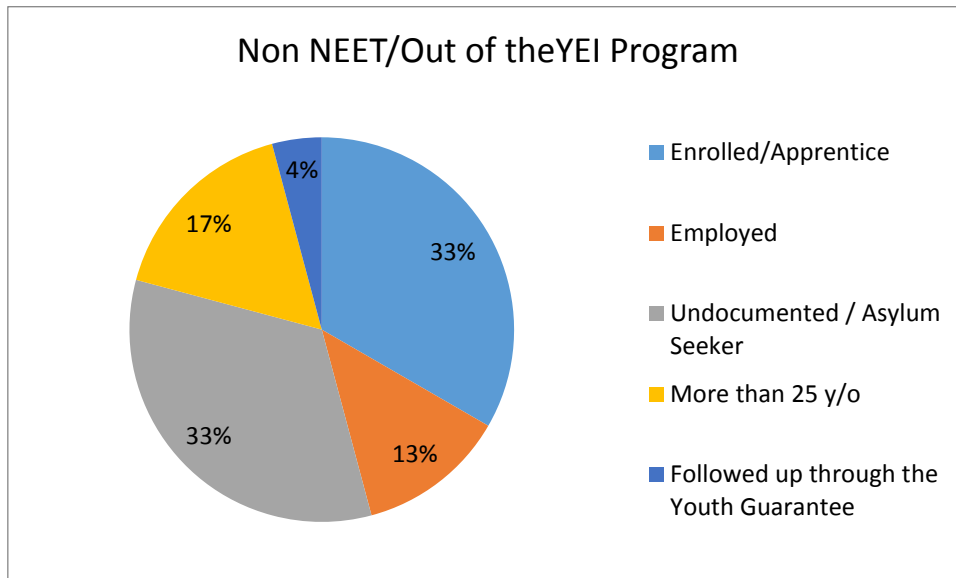
Figure 3.2 Number of young people welcomed in the three permanencies of the YEI



Source GRDR

It is interesting to observe the profiles of the young people which do not go into the NEET category or whose situation places them outside the criteria of eligibility of the YEI. On 24 except criteria, we note an important part of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers (1/3). We also note an important part of schooled or apprentice young people facing situations of fragility.

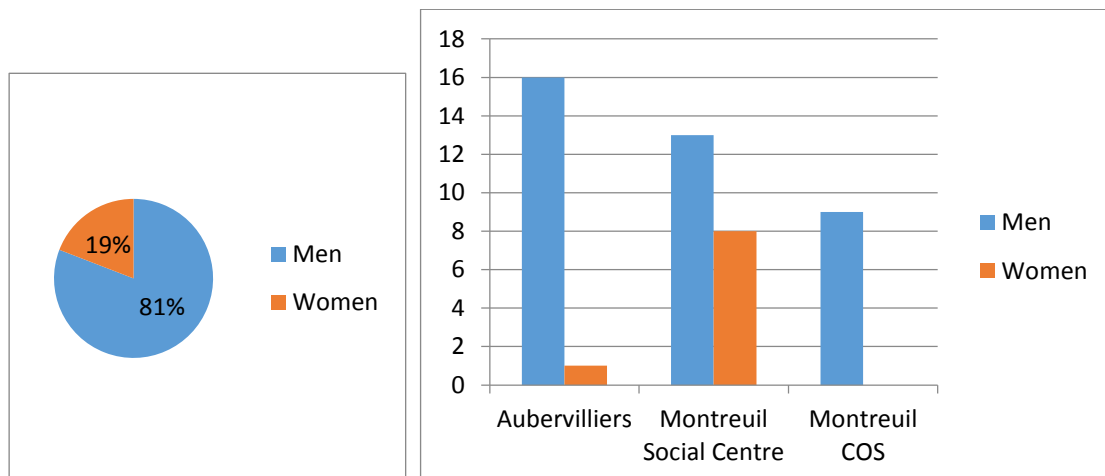
Figure 3.3 Situation of the Non NEET and out of the YEI Programme Young People



Source GRDR

Considering the profiles of the accompanied NEET young people, the programme globally affected the aimed category. However it concerned mainly young men. It depends, among others factors, on the nature of partnerships and the type of public welcomed in the structures where were located the offices.

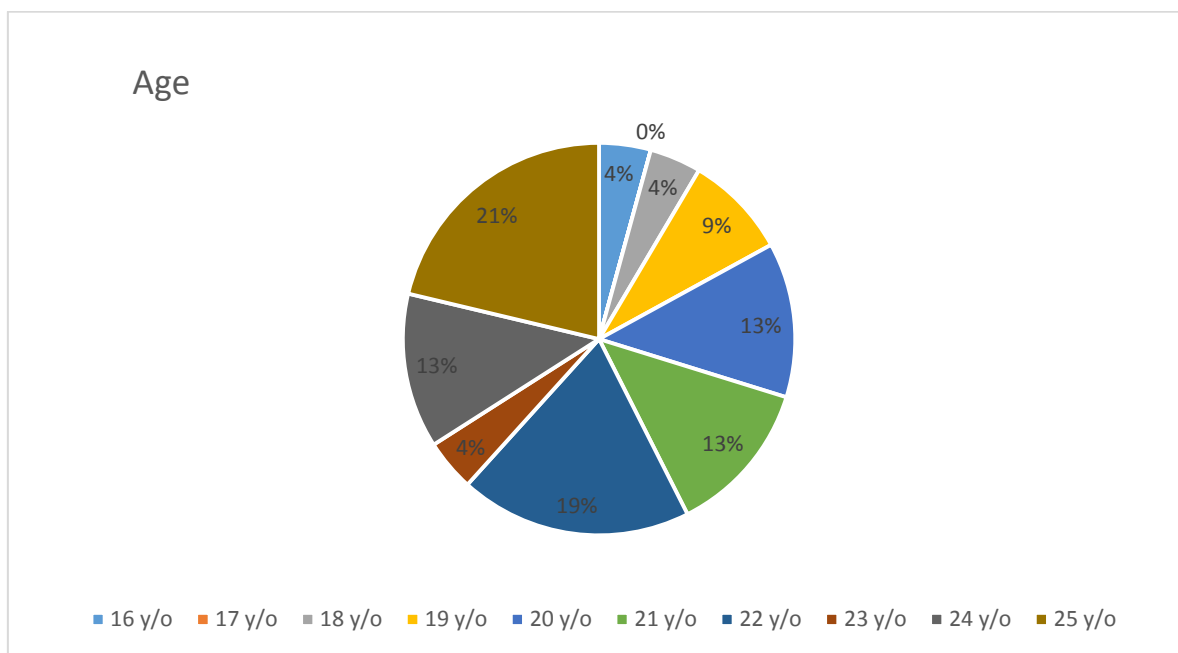
Figure 3.4 Number of young people concerned by the programme according to their gender



Source GRDR

Regarding the age, there is a high percentage of young people aged from 20 to 25, with more than 1/3 of young people aged from 24-25. This age level must be put into perspective in relation to the long-time observed between the school exit situation and the implementation of initial search for employment. It may take several years for people to take active steps.

Figure 3.5 Age of the young people concerned by the YEI Programme

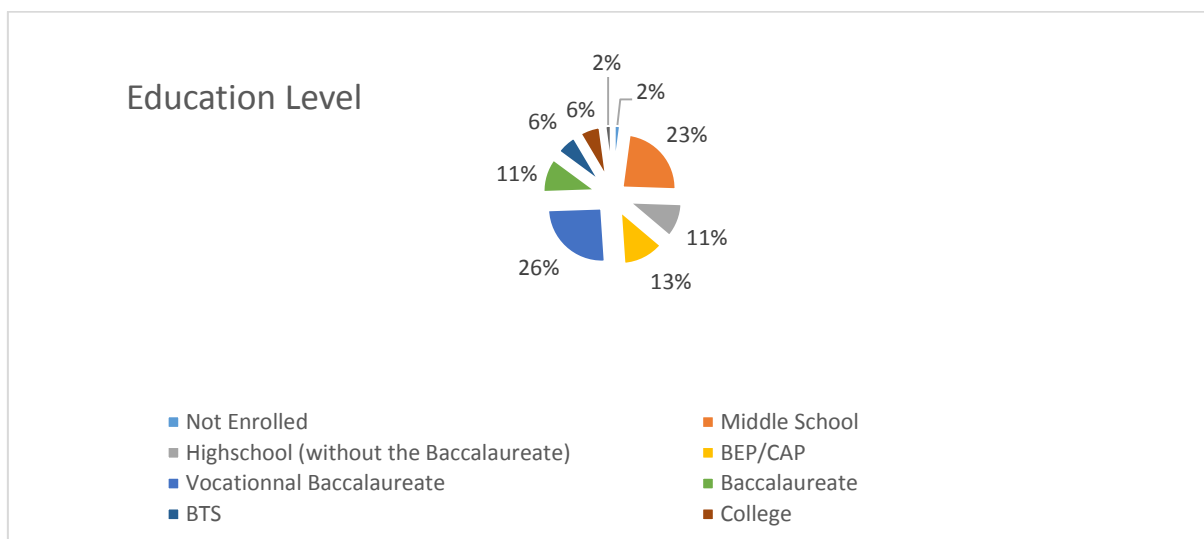


Source GRDR

There is a fairly low level of training and qualification, despite some heterogeneity. Almost 50% do not hold the Baccalaureate. 1/4 have a vocational baccalaureate. 11% have the Baccalaureate and 12% pursued post-graduate studies. These figures are in line with the trends observed in Seine Saint-Denis, concerning the rate of young outings without diplomas, or a low level of qualification. Regarding the highly qualified young people, as the ONZUS report (2015) notes, being a graduate do not constitute a sufficient protection for young people in sensitive urban areas¹⁵ after the 2008 crisis. The situations of discriminations that the young descendants of immigrants can meet also play as brakes, and also affect those who are graduates.

¹⁵ In our zone of study, these districts of the sensitive urban areas all became priority districts of the Urban Policy.

Figure 3.6 Education level of young people in the programme



Source GRDR

The tendency observed on the panel of accompanied young people, reflects figures at the regional level. During 2016, 44% of the young inhabitants of the Ile-de-France registered with the Employment Agency in category A, B and C and low qualified (Île-de-France Service Etudes, 2017). In view of the difficulties of access to employment for young people with immigrant backgrounds, one of the recurring questioning, watermarked, in the works led on their occupational integration, is to understand the source of these obstacles: are they bound to their educational level, to the functioning of the labour market, or to the social and cultural origins of their parents? (Brinbaum & Guégnard, 2012).

3.1.2 Identified needs and expectations: a multiplicity of crossed and interdependent stakes

From the analysis of the situations of four young people accompanied by the GRDR within the framework of the offices, we found various stakes which seem decisive in the professional paths of insertion. This concerns three young men and one a young woman named here by their initials. Three are downward of immigrant parents; the fourth is an immigrant, naturalised. Due to their trajectories and situations they are a matter of the NEET category.

- Abder (male), 24-year-old, single, childless, born in Paris, parents of foreign origin (French Senegalese, naturalised father, Italian mother). He was directed to the GRDR by his specialised educator to be supported in his job-searching, shortly after his exit of prison. He lives in a CHRS (Accommodation and Social Rehabilitation Centre) since in March 2017. He had several social and professional follow-ups. He has a vocational baccaulaureate level in car body work. He is low qualified.
- Sonia (female), is 19-year-old. Her parents are of Moroccan origins. She obtained a diploma in Sanitary and Social Technical Science in 2015. She was directed by a facilitator of the Municipal Service, Department of the Youth of Montreuil.
- Ronald (male) is 22-year-old; he is French and was born in Togo. He has a vocational high school diploma in Hotel Business and Catering. Ronald was directed to the GRDR by an association and the CHRS of Montreuil.
- Yacine (male), 25 years old. His father is of Tunisian origins. Yacine has a diploma from higher education (Second-year university level) and followed a preparatory class. He was directed to the GRDR by the Municipal Service Department of the Youth of Montreuil.

Job search, a need for stability and social integration

One of the first concerns expressed by the accompanied young people revolves around their socio-economic precarious situation. Access to employment is perceived at first as a way to stabilise and to fit socially, rarely as a project or a stake in self-realisation. Concerning Ronald and Abder, both are without income and are accommodated by the CHRS which is a free of charge centre and which grants service vouchers to eat:

'They have to pay for everything concerning public transport (...) The state pays the food, here we are, I have to find a work to have some pocket money.'

To the question *'What work represents for you'*, Abder speaks, first of all, of stability:

'First, stability, because may be if I had this work, I would not have made all this bullshit, I would not have gone to prison.'

For S.M the succession of *'casual jobs'*, not always declared (mostly child care), brings her to formulate the wish of a *'real work'* which represents to her *'stability, sustainability and a contract'*.

Besides, situations of socioeconomic precariousness often hinder the steps of occupational integration. Within the framework of the accompaniment of Ronald, the GRDR registered him on a training which he had already wanted to follow, but in which he had given up for lack of having been able to pay €70 to realise. Ronald had no money and waited to visit her sister so that she helps him. The financial difficulties of Ronald constituted drags in his occupational integration.

School routes, orientation and professional project

Trajectory study of the accompanied young people reveals at the same time, complicated school routes and low levels of qualification, undergone processes of orientation away from their aspirations and significant difficulties in defining a professional project.

Among the four young people whose routes and supports are analysed here, three have a vocational baccalaureate level and one have studied in higher education. On all the supports, the data presented above state 50 % of accompanied NEET young people who do not hold a vocational baccalaureate and 25 % who hold a vocational high school diploma. Speaking about his training and about his work experiences, Ronald states that he wants to change activity fields. Holder of a vocational high school diploma in hotel, business and restoration, he is training to become a facilitator:

'No, I shall not say that I found a job, because I did not look in sectors I had no interest in (...) As a result, bab! I looked to become a facilitator (...) I want people to respect me and in the catering sector I did not find this respect towards me, I think there is a big lack of respect in the catering sector (...) In fact I did not really work inside I just made internships.'

The accompaniment proposed by the GRDR led him to join the training.

After obtaining her baccalaureate, at the beginning of the school year, Sonia started a training in Services and Performances of the Sanitary and social Sectors. But she did not find internship which was compulsory to validate the year. She was not thus able to finalise her training and did not obtain the diploma. She made many child care jobs since a few years. In addition to that, she did two internships as a teacher assistant in a primary school and as a medical assistant in a hospital. She also worked as a home help with elderly people during a year. Her professional career is fragmented, rarely as high as her aspirations and reveals a professional project little or badly defined. So within the framework of the support led by the GRDR, S.M was recruited in a clothing store, but on the basis of a succession of small fixed-term contracts. She would like to find a *'little job'* but *'more stable'* than at Clothing shop where she is currently employed since December. She confided to the GRDR employees

that this work experience allowed her to buy herself her car but that she was, despite this, not satisfied with this work notably because she works intermittently and lacks of contact with her colleagues.

Young people with immigration backgrounds know diversified courses according to their social and cultural origins, with orientations more or less in agreement with their aspiration. How is a chosen or imposed orientation going to influence their school and university successes and later their entry in active life (Brinbaum & Guégnard, 2012)?

The school trajectory of Abder also reveals undergone orientations and badly defined professional project. The fact that he is coming out of prison makes his job searching essential to settle down and as a shape of constraint answering of advantage the orders of educational follow-ups that to a personal project:

'I have the Baccalaureate level. I have no high school diploma, because I have been arrested just before. On the other hand I have the CAP in auto body repair (...) I would have been able to go to general high school ..., I should not even go to the vocational high school (...) My foster parent is the one who influenced me to go to a vocational high school.'

Abder makes a reference here to his trajectory, during which he was placed in foster family, after a family breakdown. For Abder, the job searching constitutes a constraint and an obligation bound to a judicial measure and an educational follow-up, but also a necessity to consider the possibility to realise personal projects:

'I have obligation to find a job (...) The SPIP¹⁶ asks me about what I do and I have to report back to my referent.'

This situation creates a report in the approach of a little bit particular job searching, real-life experience as an obligation. However, having an employment also means for Abder, as for many young people, being able to implement projects:

'Frankly, today if I have a job, I am feeling well, I work the day, in evenings I come back home. The money that I receive, I am put it aside, to find a studio later and begin to set up projects, and now I cannot set up anything.'

He perceives the work as an essential stage in the construction of his projects. We find the stake of stability there:

'But at first, before finding a woman or I don't know what, it is necessary to find the job, the accommodation and to have a stable situation.'

In a previous study realised by the GRDR, on the associative commitment of the young descendants of immigrants, the links between work and projects were significant in the words of the young people, as we notice it in the following plan:

16 Penitentiary Integration and Probation Services Judge.

Well in fact I was undecided. I spoke there a little with people who did a Scientific Baccalaureate, it is better because you can bounce on everything, you can make literature, I liked the literature, I liked the science, I hesitated to gain widespread acceptance of medicine then later I became aware problem environmental and I redirected that on the engineering which. (...) When I was 18 years old (...) In fact it is in Tunisia, I had problems of water there, I discussed with my father (...).I made the link with all this, I said yours I would like to return to Tunisia one day to help the country economically by bringing to them techniques of irrigation of water.'

We see how the project of Yacine upholds links with the family context. His father is Tunisian and involved in the associative action and the social action:

'He works in the social sector, he is the manager of the association and takes care of old people (chibanis).'

The project of Yacine concerning the water businesses revealed the necessity of having a driving licence for his professional future. He had several refusals of training or internships because the obtaining of the licence was essential. Indeed, the water and environment business imposes a presence in the field most of the time and moves from sites to sites by means of a car. The GRDR suggested supporting financially the acquisition of the driving licence. He was advised to do voluntary work in environmental or development associations. Thanks to this support, he regained self-assurance and applied for several work-study licenses in the water and environment field. After some problems which complicated his path, he was finally taken at the University of Orsay. But he must find an alternation before September.

Mobilities

Numerous young people touched by the device of the GRDR meet difficulties relative to the mobility (driving licences, transport) and testify of a relationship with space (urban, public, institutional) sometimes problematic, sometimes requiring a physical accompaniment.

The case of Yacine is explicit concerning the driving licence, it is essential if he wants to work in the water business. In the case of S.M, she took advantage of her job at the clothing shop to buy to herself a car. For Abder the driving licence is essential for him to work as a coachbuilder:

'I have to take the driving test, I have the highway code but I still have to pass the conduct step (...) It is necessary every time to move by car and most of the bosses ask for the licence.'

If it is, in many cases, a professional necessity, the need for car can also be explained because of the distance between the place of residence and the workplace. Regarding one of his experiences in the catering sector, Ronald states 2 outward trips returns, Door of the Vilette/Aulnay, is between 4 and 6 o'clock of route every days:

'I lived at that time in Aulnay, I would go back home between two services. I would take public transport and then return, I don't know if you really see the distance from Parc de La Vilette to Aulnay? (...) Thus, in the morning I may take up an hour but in the evening, I take up way much more.'

The distance, the relationship with the space is one of factors which play on the paths of the professional insertion.

If the YEI programme does not contain social investment measures in its conception and purposes, the device does not exclude it. The programme implemented by the GRDR contains a subsidy (budget heading) allowing to partially finance the driving licence for close to fifteen young people, spending who are eligible in the financial criteria of the YEI programme.

Skills, initiatives of job and administrative search

Within the framework of the device implemented by the GRDR, all the young people work on their C.V, on strategies to find a job and on interview preparations. The observations and the conversations

highlight needs in skill strengthening, a better knowledge of the several steps in searching a job and of the different types of administrative procedures (registration, training, devices and allowances).

The interview of Abder shows the difficulties encountered:

I arrived in front of him, he read my C.V., he asked me two, three questions and, told me, I will you the answer later. (...) It was at the head of the garage. I came in front of him, I didn't fell well, I stuttered and it didn't go well. He asked me questions and I got nervous.'

Self-respect, self-confidence

Within the framework of the support of the GRDR, Sonia participated to two collective workshops. She often refers to problems of stress and lack of self-confidence as soon as she has to face recruiters. Nevertheless during the workshops, she was sociable and very involved. Besides, a regular individual accompaniment of Sonia didn't seem essential. She is autonomous and dynamic and the purposes of the appointments mostly were to give a support, informations and to help her gain self-confidence. In that sense, the collective workshops were clearly helpful to help her gain confidence and self-esteem.

Yacine expressed a period where he felt in a state of depreciation, of low self- esteem and affected by the job searching:

I am in a process of construction and appreciation of myself but, really, during two years I really felt like big shit, and was saying to myself 'how do you want to be chosen by an employer' (...) It is true there, at home we would say 'here you don't make anything, you live on the expenses of your father' (...) And next to that, I locked myself away with video games, being in a denial of reality, it was not cool'.

School, work, difficult paths, family breakdowns, experiences of racism and discriminations clearly have an influence on the construction of confidence and self- esteem among young people.

Experience of devices and attitude toward the accompaniment

Most of the accompanied young people express a negative experience with the accompaniments that were proposed to them within the framework of institutional devices.

About his experience with the Employment Agency, Ronald underlines the disappointing character of his relation with it:

You have the feeling that you have to clock in and out just like at work. It is a second job (the Employment Agency). All of this didn't exist before; it is like that since three years now. I am not complicated, I have never worked before. (...) I always want to try something but I never go through the bitter end because they propose me jobs I have no interest in. I already called them once and told them I wanted to work in the animation sector (hosting summer camps for example) but they answered me "Sir, we never heard this before".'

Ironically, Abder described his relation with the Employment Agency this way:

'And I cannot reach my referent, my councillor at the Employment Agency. I asked her for appointments, but she didn't schedule any (...) I have never seen her. I was told 'Eh you have Mrs so and so as a councillor!' I said 'ok! It is cool, give me an appointment' but she never scheduled any with me.'

His previous experiences were not better and created a feeling of mistrust:

'The local mission, I am no longer there because my referente came to see me once in prison, told me she would write to me but never did. She talked behind my back. She said I would never make it in my professional life.'

Attitude toward the digital, experience of internet

Regarding the steps he still has to go through, Abder underlines the difficulties he faces with Internet:

'I should go on the Internet, on the website of the Employment Agency to look for work but it is true that at the moment, I don't go there that much.'

Accommodated at the CHRS, he uses the equipment of the centre but it is not functional: *'there is a Wi-Fi network, it struggles a lot!'* Therefore, Abder has to go to the Employment Agency for each of his procedures.

We then notice a fracture in the access to information, related at the same time with the equipment and the control of the digital technology, already demonstrated by other studies. Regarding the NEET young people, they partially know how to use it; sometimes do not have the equipment or a connection to Internet. Some are confronted with the double difficulty of the use of the Internet and the access to equipment. For some of these young people, addressing physically to someone remains a priority, before the search on the Internet (Delasalle & Marquié, 2016).

3.2 The YEI, a social investment? Constraints and stakes of the device

The GRDR programme deeply tries to answer the stakes identified previously. The modes of intervention combine individual support, collective actions and financial supports. The selected approach aims to move towards the young people and to take into account their singular trajectories and multiple needs by proposing a support which allows them 'to put themselves in a project' and to define a 'route of autonomy'.

The offer of support of the GRDR is conditioned by a non contractualisation with the persons. The only condition is to be eligible within the YEI programme, to be a NEET, less than 26 years old and to live in Seine St Denis. In this perspective, the head teacher forced in the relation with the young people consists in asking them to produce moving in this direction certificates (certificate of residence/accommodation, certificate of registration to Employment agency ...) and make them sign a declaration ensuring that they really belong to the NEET category. These documents are not always easy to obtain and can create, in some cases, breaks in the creation of a reliable link between the professionals and the young people. They are required however by the authority of management of the ESF/YEI, in particular within the framework of the 'control of service fact' which has to give evidence of the hardness of the realised spending, so that the operator, which is the GRDR in this particular case, can actually benefit from the expected subsidy.

3.2.1 Description of the programme and activities

Within the framework of the actions financed by the YEI programme, the actions of location are not eligible. Actually, the young people accompanied by the GRDR were globally mobilised globally via the services of local actors: local missions, BIJ (office for information of youth), CIO (information and orientation centre), social centre, associations of prevention, CHRS). Such networking required an intensive communication and numerous partnership meetings. Besides, the associative networks of the GRDR was mobilised and sensitised about the project.

The first difficulty consisted in explaining (see to justify) the capital gain of the programme proposed by the GRDR, with regard to the actors said about 'common law' already occurring on territories in the direction of the young people. According to the contexts, 'competitive' logics must have been defused. Besides, the link between devices and the coordination of the measures of support of the actors establishes a major stake, as underline it the authors of the report put back to Prime Minister in March, 2017 entitled 'For a shock of simplification in favour of the youth': 'The unhooking

of these young people or their trends 'abdandonniques' are deteriorated by the breaks of administrative coverage. So, the coordination of the actors turns out to be a fundamental stake to hang up the young people and accompany them effectively in their trajectory of autonomy' (Dulin and Verot, 2017).

The implemented activities consist of weekly offices, collective workshops and support for the mobility, via a support to international voluntary service projects and a contribution to the financial coverage of the driving licence.

Offices territorialised, to facilitate the accessibility of the young people to the device

The permanencies take place on a weekly basis, within partners' premises, passing gradually from one to three. The approach consisted of 'moving towards' the young people and building partnerships with structures which welcome young people or which have authority to welcome them.

The first partnership operated in 2016 and concerned a prevention and educational association in Aubervilliers named 'Through the City' which welcomes young people followed by educators, some of them being released from prison, or under the hand of justice. For the educators, to benefit from an office on the employment in their own premise is complementary to their educational function (we must note that all the educators did not perceive the office in the same way). The office concerned only the young people followed by the association 'Through the City'.

The second partnership, operated at the beginning of 2017, concerned a community centre in Montreuil, the 'Lounès Matoub' Centre, with whom the GRDR already led previous actions. The question of youth employment found new orientations at the community centre, in particular thanks to the instigation of the City. The office was quickly identified by the local actors and numerous young people were directed by the BIJ, the municipal Youth Service or directly by the Community centre to this office. The profiles of the young people are more diversified and we notice a better parity between girls and boys in the accompaniments.

The third office was implemented, in the year 2017, within a social reception centre, the COS 'Les Sureaux' in Montreuil, a centre which welcomes numerous young immigrants, as well as young people in situation of family breakdown.

The offices can propose an individual accompaniment. The appointments are fixed with the young people and take into account their availability. A great flexibility is necessary to create a relation of accompaniment that could stand the test of time.

Several types of action are implemented. It can be a work on the definition of the professional project, exposing the trajectory, the experiences and the skills of the person, articulating it with a better knowledge of the professional circles and the jobs. It can also be a support during the several steps of the job searching (through strategies of research, tools and structure resources) and with the writing of the C.V, the motivation letter and the preparation of a professional interview. It is also about defining with the person a path and different steps for the realisation of his project and helping him to get in touch with the organisations that can be mobilised (trainings, internships, training courses, voluntary commitment, collective workshops), activation of rights or devices). The social needs are also taken into account with accompaniment for administrative procedures which are not only a matter of job research. The individual support is an approach by the rights (activation of social, economic rights, linked to the education and training and an approach by capabilities (strengthening of the skills and knowledge).

A diversity of workshops: stages in the implementation of a route of autonomy

'Coaching Workshops': Working on one's job searching

It is a cycle of five workshops livened up by a third-party consultant speaker in personal and professional coaching, mobilised as a person receiving benefits - with the presence of the employees of the GRDR in charge of the programme. Workshops were realised during five mornings from 9 am to

1 pm on April 2017. They took place at the community centre Lounès Matoub in Montreuil. The cycle of workshops gathered from six to ten young people according to themes, eight of them belonging to NEET category. The participation was random: three young people came five days, two came four days, two came three days and five came two days. The workshops number 2 and number 3 gathered most of the young people.

The general theme of the five days was 'to work on one's job searching: valuation of the skills, the self-confidence, the management of the stress, the preparation of the professional interview'. The specific themes of workshops were the following ones:

- *Workshop 1: 'focusing on my talents'* Objective: awareness of my skills, gaining confidence again.
- *Workshop 2: 'make with my defects a strength'* Theme on the 'binding' messages (Transactional analysis). Objective: updating your look.
- *Workshop 3: 'any various!'* The values are the fuel of our life, our values are personal. Are they in adequacy with the values of the company? Objective: choosing to candidate.
- *Workshop 4: 'learning to manage my anxiety'* Objective: managing your stress during a conversation or in your everyday life (exercises of relaxation therapy).
- *Workshop 5: 'I go there!'* Preparation of a professional interview. Objective: present yourself in 90 seconds.

Many professionals wanted to participate in the workshops. We associated a facilitator of one of the partner structures which participated in a workshop. One 'card with ideas' has been handed the first day and a coaching of 30 minutes by telephone was proposed for each in the stemming from studios (workshops), within 2 months.

Workshop Theatre

The workshop theatre took place in Aubervilliers, on Thursday, May 18th, 2017. It was organised by the GRDR and the association 'Through the City'. About ten young people participated in the animation. There were two employees and a trainee of the GRDR. The participants were mostly women; only two young men participated but didn't stay the whole day.

The participants are young people looking for a job, either since a long time or since recently. They came because they wished to know tricks and advices for their job searching. They mainly came to gain prac knowledges that is how well of making a C.V., how well of drafting a letter in support of application, how well of preparing and of making a success of a job interview. The given advice insisted on the image conveyed in front of the recruiter during the job interview (way of being held, of speaking), on the way of writing one's letter by using key terms finding known and mastered skills/techniques and the development of the past work experiences, by converting them in quality terms, etc. It was a question of understanding better the waits of the recruiters. The facilitator made several situation scenarios. She asked to the young people to write the working conditions which they wish and the values which should guide them in the professional frame. She questioned them about what seemed to them important to accept a post. They highlighted values in the work, how they would want to live their work and what they favour with regard to the work, etc. For instance, the facilitator asked to the young people to imagine a company in which they see each other in a function. From the imagined post, they have to translate the skills/techniques, social skills which it is necessary for this post. In parallel of these situation scenarios, the facilitator made do for the young people activities of relaxation, to have a practice during a public speaking (voicing of opinions) in particular during a job interview. She advised them on tricks to calm down, relax and control themselves, etc.



The stake in this animation was to teach to the young people to manage their feelings (stress, fears, etc.) for a successful job interview. So, it was a question of familiarising the young people with the world of the work by dealing with the working conditions, on the values of the work, on the relations of working team. In reality, this animation aimed at confronting the young people with the culture of the work and with all which relates to it (labour market, letter in support of application, C.V, way of behaving in the work, etc.)



The young people appreciated games of animation and they would have liked the day to be longer. They liked the collective format and the group work, each finding an opportunity to express oneself.

Digital workshop: The construction

A day of workshop on the digital skills was scheduled for Wednesday, July 12th; in partnership with the City of the Jobs of Paris (universcience) which makes available premises and material (space out autotraining). The aimed skills are the following ones: - build a profile and manage one's 'e-reputation'

- Online job search - Orientation - Knowledge of the trainings on jobs in digital technology - Writing of C.V. and LM - Office automation (use treatment text)
- Use of the social networks



Poster of the workshop

The young people NEET touched) by the programme of GRDR is a member of public concerned by the question of the digital divide. If they are many to use smartphones and to possess certain digital skills, the material is often unsuitable, just like the practices, which differ from those relative in search of employment (Delasalle & Marquié, 2016).

Workshops participate above all in a strengthening of capacities (approach by capacités). They also aim at the activation of rights (rights to education, in the training, in the employment). They allow to work on the confidence, the social and professional positioning and constitute spaces of socialisation, for young people sometimes in break and/or isolated.

Help to the mobility

The third sector of activities consists in bringing a help to the mobility. At first in the form of financial support allowing to take care of a part of the cost of the driving licence. A budget is assigned for 10 to 15 young people (10/12 % of the aimed beneficiaries). To limit the rest to load, partnerships were crossed with united driving schools (practising prices adapted to the capacities of the vulnerable public). Within the framework of the programme of GRDR, the only condition of granting of the financial support is that the licence is essential for the realisation of the professional project and/or of return to the employment requiring the licence, even a vehicle.

The help to the mobility also passes by physical accompaniments during the various administrative procedures. Certain young people meet difficulties with regard to the public space and the certain institutional places. First to find a way (orientation, knowledge of places, route) and to move (habits of life, relationship in the space, but also because of apprehensions linked to the 'look of other one'; in the relations with public services and institutions. In which case, at least, the employees of the

GRDR can accompany the young people when they move and their appointments with other professionals.

The programme of GRDR plans to accompany and to facilitate initiatives of voluntary service and international mobility, in the European frame. It is a question of using the experiences abroad as lever of insertion, of favouring the language learning and of valuing the experience and the capacity of adaptation of the young people. This axis was operated in a marginal way until now. Two or three young people began to develop projects of this type, but none was realised.

This sector of the programme of GRDR of help to the mobility borrows from the approach by the social investment. He occupies a little important part of the budget of the programme, but tries to answer crucial stakes for the youth employment, their mobility. He also involves the approach by the rights (the mobility, in the city) and by capabilities (relationship in the space, in the social, know how to drive).

3.2.2 YEI methodological lessons learned from experimentation

Restoring the activities operated within the framework of the programme, we notice that they can be read in the perspective, at the same time, of the approaches by ‘the rights’, ‘capacités’ and ‘social investment’. They find themselves moreover often combined, as so many levers to be activated so that the young person ‘puts in project’ to define and implement one’s route of occupational integration.

The programme of GRDR tries hard to organise complementary activities, methods and practices of diversified supports, to allow the construction of a more global, more coherent, less segmented route.

The availability and the flexibility for appointment setting on behalf of the employees of the GRDR (a bias for the accompaniment facilitated regular meetings and moved closer follow-up). It is a question of creating the conditions convenient to the definition and the implementation of the professional project.

This project is not predefined by the professionals of the accompaniment, but the result of a process where the young person develops his autonomy.

As regards the evaluation of the initiative Youth Employment, actions has been implemented (helped employment, civic services, increase of internship and training courses) at different levels (European Social Funds, 2016), but it is still difficult to measure its positive impact

The construction of the project of future of a young person depends on one hand on the implication of the family who participates in it, who, sometimes, obstruct it, often without knowing. On the other hand, it depends on the support and the attentive listening of the accompaniment professionals; if these conditions are gathered, it remains to accompany the young person so as to help him to identify his project, to communicate it and to find the ways to realise it. The project of the young person can be defined here like a process of empowerment which invests his whole personality and from which it anticipates his action: Understanding his aspirations the person becomes capable of mobilising his resources (knowledges, know-how), what allows to know what they are in reality) and to realise them.

It seems useful to differentiate the ‘project procedure’ of the ‘project process’. The project procedure is a standard, suggested project and in the limit imposed to a subject. He infers aspirations which are not authentically the ones of the person, which are outside of him. On the contrary, the ‘project process’ is in a coherent relation with the deep aspirations of the subject and the picture he has of himself. The implemented approach is presented in a simplistic way in the board below:

	Approaches	Types of action	Rights	Skills	Investments
Individual accompaniment	Human Rights + Capability approach	Social office Reception, orientation and counselling Support in job searching Support for C.V/LM Identification of the professional project Support for administrative procedures	Employment Training Socioeconomic And social rights	Techniques of job searching/administrative procedures Writing skills (C.V) Knowledge of professional fields and business culture Knowledge of the rights and social devices Management of time and priorities	None
Collective workshops	Human Rights + Capability approach	Cycle of 5 workshops 'coaching' (Half-days) 1 workshop theatre (whole day) 1 Digital workshop (whole day)	Employment Training	techniques of job-searching Writing skills Knowledge of trades Knowledge of the professional circles Management of the stress and Oral expression Self-confidence	None
Mobility	Social Investment + Capability approach + DH	Financial assistance for getting a driver licence Punctual financial support driving licence Limited financial support Accompaniment in the steps of international voluntary service	Mobility	Ability to drive a car Ability to be mobile and physically active Master in languages	Driving licence Registration trainings

MOVE TOWARD AUTONOMY

PROJECT



VOCATIONAL INTEGRATION

4. Conclusion

In a context of public policies promoting the principles of accountability, contractualisation (and conditionalities), the implementation of the YEI nevertheless enabled the GRDR to experiment with an approach and methods allowing the construction of paths of autonomy and professional projects. The results of the inquiry lead us to formulate the following conclusions, in form of recommendations:

- The imbrication of the needs of young people requires the design of support devices that take into account in an articulated manner the different variables affecting the integration pathways and the professional plans: level of training, family situations, administrative situations and socio-economic conditions, social positioning, possible psychological difficulties, self-esteem and self-confidence. Acting only on the job search process is thus largely insufficient for many young people.
- As such, the issue coordination and accompaniment of actors is one of the other major stakes revealed by the study. The analysis of social situations and the review of young people touched by the IE trajectories, report successions of accompaniments without links between the professionals and frequent ruptures of administrative management. On the other hand, there is often a lack of consultation between the actors of the accompaniment on the procedures to be implemented and the definition of the courses. These observations are in line with those made by Verot and Dulin, (2017) in their report 'Let us stop putting them in boxes'. The authors note:

'Considering the multiplicity of actors and the lack of effective co-ordination between them, the institutional journey of young people who are occasionally in demand for counselling or information, or need a more in-depth support - especially young people 'neither in employment nor in training' - proves to be random. The dropping out of these young people or their 'abandoned' tendencies are aggravated by the breaks in administrative care. Thus, the coordination of the actors proves to be a fundamental stake to hang up the young people and to accompany them effectively in their trajectory of autonomy.'

The same report stresses the importance of 'going towards ...' young people:

'The structures of accompanying young people are generally difficult to reach young people, due to lack of time, resources or adequate skills (...) one can imagine that a certain number of young people place themselves in a position of 'non-concerting' producing non-recourse. This situation is potentially generating long periods of inactivity or trial and error.'

The experience of the implementation of the YEI by the GRDR, as well as the interviews with young people, confirm this observation.

The training of professionals proves to be an already identified need, which is confirmed by the present study. It may be interesting, however, to integrate beneficiary participation in a renewed form of production of practices and accompanying knowledge. This approach is in line with the recommendations made by the Human Rights National Commission in its latest report. They call 'for the launching of information campaigns, the development of cultural actions and the organisation of reciprocal training between social service workers, social workers, elected officials and people in a situation of exclusion, in order to develop practices, representations and mutual knowledge'. (CNDH, 2017).

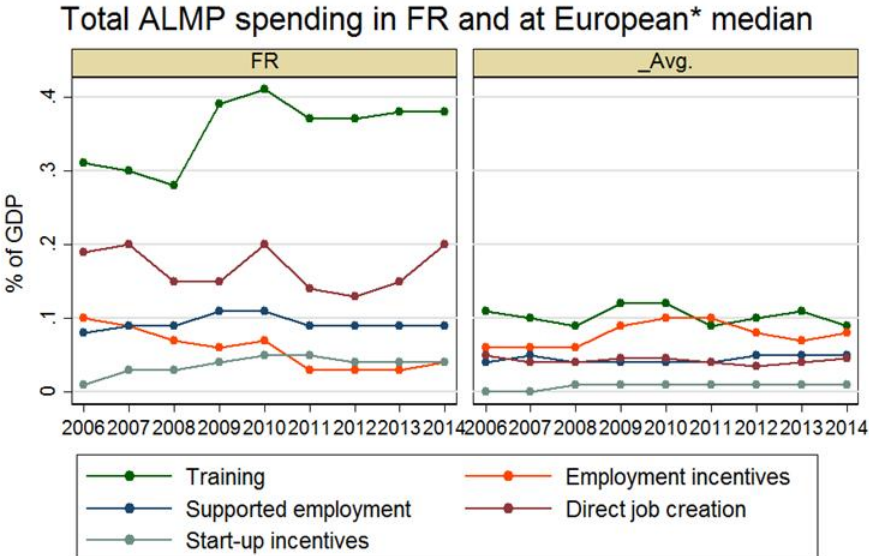
In order to give youth every chance, it appears that the role of associations in mediation and forms of dialogue between families, young people and professionals must be strengthened. Indeed, the voluntary sector is often a means of complementing the territory's offer of support schemes. The role of migrant associations in these processes is also an issue. The need to examine the modalities of collaboration between integration professionals and neighbourhood and/or migrant associations is shared by all the actors encountered.

The active expectation of families in relation to the institutions and the guidance and support arrangements are important factors for success of the young person's professional project. The first analyses show misunderstandings linked to representations and stereotypes about the nature and modalities of the young person's project. These facts are indicative of the gaps that may exist between the expectations of the various actors: the project and the aspirations of the young person, the project of the families for the child, and the expectations of the professionals of a 'typical' project. To enhance communication which is a factor of success and whose absence creates the conditions for failure, we propose to strengthen the mechanisms of intercultural mediation and to create them where they do not exist. The aim would be to multiply the situations in which young people, but also the parents, will have the opportunity to recognise the process and to use and even master the codes of vocational orientation and integration schemes.

appendix 1 Spending for measures of insertion on the labour market

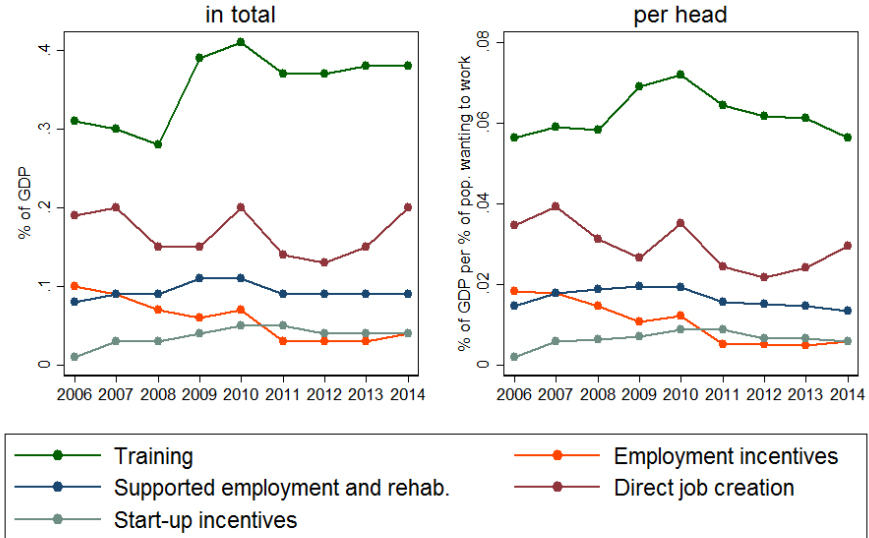
Data: Eurostat, analysis by René Lehweß-Litzmann (2017).

Activation measures are distinct from so-called passive measures or from anticipated retirements which are the ones of compensation of the unemployed persons



Source: Eurostat/DG EMPL, own calc. * Includes: AT BE BG CY CZ DE DK EE EL ES FI FR HU IE IT LT LU LV MT NL NO PL PT RO SE SI SK. Some values imputed.

Evolution of ALMP spending in FR



Source: Eurostat/DG EMPL, own calc.

appendix 2 Testimonies and interviewed collected by GRDR team within the framework of the Re-Invest research

Abder, male, 24 year old, born, in Paris, of parents of foreign origin

He is a released prisoner who was directed to us by his educator specialised to be supported in his job search. He is domiciled in the CHRS, City Myriam in Montreuil since 20/03/2017 (taken out of prison). He has several supervisions on social and professional plan.

Axel has a professional Bac level (car bodywork) and has done several internships and temporary work missions of coachbuilder's posts painter and repair coachbuilder (automobile and planes). He has been too fir seller. During his confinement, he has obtained a worker's professional title of horticultural and decorative production.

The object of the support: the first objective aims at creating advantageous conditions to a return in the employment of an isolated inactive young person who finds the outside world (the freedom) recently and who accumulates social difficulties of various sorts. 4 individual interviews done with A. allowed to confirm the existence of a need of support on the professional level and thus to justify the implementation of actions below. It comes, for a first time, to redrawing together his school, professional programme and his social situation, then of exchanging on his professional project to define the most relevant route for him.

Without going too much into details, Axel has lived a family problem. He did not find himself in a family frame where he had too much codes of conduct to be held and it is things which rebel him.

Leaving of this information, I felt the necessity of putting the frame of the support from the beginning but while being friendly towards him. Indeed, A. needs a space of listening to express himself. He is not in the denial and is not ashamed of speaking about his confinement. He recognises having made the errors but has not yet wanted to specify them.

The choice was not to question too much this domain and to leave the time him to speak about it as it will feel him. It is earlier a question of putting him in confidence. He is in demand and does not hesitate at the end of every conversation to ask for the date of the next appointment.

On the professional level, we revealed at first a need for strengthening of capacities through an appropriation work on the principles of the C.V. and for the letter in support of application because we decided not 'to do instead of', but to facilitate the empowerment of our public.

On the other hand, in view of his social situation (going out of prison), he is in the obligation to work quickly.

This is the way he projects himself on an active job search to justify his steps with his referent. He has postulated as a coachbuilder repair painter and he is waiting of an answer in addition to his candidacies for the green spaces. At the moment he is a person outgoing to every type of employment and does not miss his appointments.

On the basing of his social and occupational route, the insertion by the economic activity (IAE) seems to be adapted to his profile. In this context, we proceeded to 1 to establish a relationship with structures such as is 'Be Together' for the operator's stand BTP (building and civil engineering works) within the framework of the social clauses but also the intermediate associations for the cleaning.

We so diversified skills of job search going of the answer to offers to unsolicited applications. But leaving of the report that the job search lives generally alone and is more similar in it to a long route led solo and rarely linear, is later planned an orientation towards collective studios(workshops) to deal with this identified need. We saw the way to encourage the re-socialisation of Axel. Who stayed in prison for years?

In this direction the question of mobility is also to be worked because every time A. has to leave to the Employment Agency to take index cards of connection IAE or certificate of inscription, he complains to have to still move and to appear at Employment Agency.

He was asked the question to know what bothered him: the displacement or the presentation in a structure for employment. His answer was always 'I do not like going to Employment

Agency because it is tiring, there is too many people'. That raises many questionings and that must be clarified in the next conversations: the stay in prison made lose the mobility in A..? Is there a fear to go out, to move, or a fear for the structures of employment? Or he finds only constraints (centring, formalisation, obligations, duties, things he lived in family and which disturbed him.

If we analyse under another standpoint, our support for A., I tend to claim that the stake for him is not a self-realisation, but a constraint in the face of his social commitments. He is really motivated in all his steps or only a need to justify himself with the referents.

But it is premature to draw conclusions at the end of 4 conversations only. In every case, pedagogy, activity of group, mobility, got in touch are the levers in which we intend to resort to aspire to a long-lasting occupational integration for Axel.

Ronald, 22 years, Togolese

Last obtained diploma: professional bac (hotel business, catering)

Ronald was directed to us by the COS, 'Les Sureaux' association/CHRS of Montreuil.

We saw each other for the first time in the middle of March. Ronald wished to pass the exam to become a sports facilitator. He asked to Montreuil City Hall for financing his exam, but he returned his dossier too late. He also requested us for a help to obtain a driving licence.

After having exchanged about his career and his daily activities with him and with several of our partners (in Lounès Matoub community centre) we thought that Ronald had the skills to return directly in training sports instructor to become a sports facilitator without the BAFA.

Ronald is now registered in a driving school and we are going to finance him half of the price of his licence. His registration in training sports instructor is in progress. What was missing the last time was the 70-euro payment to realise a training upstream. Ronald did not have the money and waited to visit her sister so that she helps him. Indeed, the financial difficulties of Ronald seem to be an obstacle in his occupational integration. If he is accommodated by the COS free of charge and benefits from service voucher to feed, but he have no income to live.

Concerning his training course (hotel business restoration), Ronald had only very few experiences in the animation. We told him that he could realise voluntary works in cultural animation with children.

During our conversations in the centre Lounès Matoub, Ronald was able to know places and to speak about his project with the occupational integration coordinator. The Community Center calls him regularly as volunteer in his sports exits or other events with the young people.

During our meetings, R. was rather shy and seemed to wait that we do things together. He also participated in our collective workshop over a week in April and proved he had the ability and temperament to be a leader and the qualities required for the animation. But also, endowed with a strong personality, it would seem that R. sometimes needs to be in the centre of the attention and in the centre of acknowledgement

Department head of the COS spoke to us about R. there is a few weeks and of his very familiar attitude with the staff of the COS, his unsuitable words and his behaviour of wait that the others do everything on his own. Nevertheless, she also underlined me that he recognised his wrongs and needed reframing, certainly linked to his family story. With us, it never happened. R. always appeared at our appointments and was

always respectful because, from the first interview, I knew how to provide the framework for my accompaniment. This approach is justified because R., sometimes too self-confident, is someone who always needs reframing and explanations. The accompaniment for R. can be beneficial forward if he is able to manage to be a little more autonomous; it is the lever to be activated.

In the meantime, if he takes quickly his driving licence and if he can validate his inscription in the BPJEPS for the comeback, several obstacles are going to be able overcome for him. He even almost found an alternation for the next year. Until then, he looks for this summer, a job as facilitator.

Mrs S.M. 19 year old

Parents: Moroccan origin. Last obtained diploma: Bac Sanitary and social Technical Sciences in 2015

Sanaa has been directed to us by a moderator of the Youth of Montreuil municipal services After having obtained the Bac in the year 2015, S. had begun a BTS (two-year technical degree) Services and Performances) of the Sanitary and Social Sector (SP3S). But she did not find internship, compulsory to validate the year. She thus had to stop in the course of the year. Our first appointment took place in the beginning of November, 2016. It had for project to begin a psychology degree in September, 2017 and meanwhile to find a job, over the year, in the selling, the secretariat or as an operator.

She regularly had done many childcare since several years and wished to find a ‘real work’, according to her: a steady, long-lasting job and with a contract. In addition to that, she had realised two weekly training courses as a teacher assistant in a primary school and as medical assistant in a hospital. She also has done home for elderly during 1 year. From the beginning, she was very active and always appeared at our appointments. Our exchanges and meetings were always very fluid. I knew how to gain her confidence. And the fact of considering myself as equal to equal allowed to create a link very quickly. At the beginning, I especially gave her information: on which site postulate and on forums of the employment where she could go. I also helped her to write her C.V. and cover letters. At the beginning we essentially looked for an employment in the sanitary and social sector, which corresponded to the experiences she had already get. Then she went to an employment forum. Over there she met one of the store Clothing shop managers which told her to come back in the week for an interview.

We have prepared together this interview and she told me she become unnerved, stressed and ‘lose it’ during the professional conversations. We have been working during one hour on the questions of the conversations, the way for her to be self-assured and to feign the interview which she could have. She passed successfully the interview and since she works and works since in the company Clothing shop at intervals (small short and fixed-term contracts). We saw again each other later, several times, in particular during the collective workshops that we had organised and about which she was in high demand for it. She talked me again about her ‘problem’ of stress and self-confidence facing recruiters. Nevertheless during workshops she was a driving force and very involved.

During an individual meeting, her choices for the next year had not changed; she had made her requests of inscription for several faculties to study ‘psychology and sciences of the education’ and to prepare a diploma (two-year technical degree). In the meantime, she would like to find a ‘small job’ but ‘more stable’ than at Clothing shop where she is now in employment since December, but on several small contracts. She evoked me that this experience had allowed her to buy to herself her car but that it was not packed by this work. Disappointed to work at intervals and in lack of contact with his colleagues.

The regular individual accompaniment for Sanaa did not seem essential. She is autonomous and dynamic and our appointments were especially of the support advice, the information and the confidence building. In contrast, she seems to need more collective workshops to work the trust and the self-respect.

Nevertheless, I do not know if his professional project is well defined. Sanaa seems to me sometimes scattered. She informed me in particular that she had participated in an information meeting on the international voluntary services that I had sent to her. She seems to want and her project of resumption of studies in September must be more built. We shall work again on it together next time

4) Yacine, male, 25 years. Origin of the father: Tunisian Last diploma: university second-year level, preparatory school for entrance to 'Grandes Ecoles'.

Yacine youth facilitator was directed to us by the Municipal Service (Department) of the Youth of Montreal. I accompany him in the search of employment and training since the end of November, 2016. Without activity since 2015, Yacine had for professional project to find a formation in the field of the water and environment for the comeback 2017. In the meantime he wished to find a food work and take the driving test. From the beginning, the necessity of the driving licence in his professional future appeared. He had in particular several refusals of formation because obtaining the licence was very essential; the water business lines and the environment imposes an outside presence most of the time and a displacement from a sites to another one by means of car.

Yacine seemed convinced in the choice of his sector with regard to his professional future. Nevertheless his aspirations for the water business lines were imprecise. Furthermore, he had had past university disappointments added to financial and family difficulties. During our conversations, I noticed that Yacine was lacking self-confidence and was lost in his professional initiatives. Further to my advice, he appeared two mornings, last April, for our first collective workshop on self-confidence. The work realised with him is to value his route and his experiences in his professional future. On the other hand, Yacine has strong capabilities in computing and played regularly on-line games in particular. Repeatedly, I tried to see with him his wishes in this domain and to offer him collective informations on jobs in digital technology in particular coding. But he answered me that he preferred to stop using computers because his father had reprimanded him repeatedly.

Through a long-term work on the elaboration of his professional project, we progressed a lot together on his aspirations and his professional and university choices. I helped him to establish his academic experience and to write his C.V. and cover letters. Yacine is an autonomous person but who needs to be in a dynamic around him in order to mobilise himself in his initiatives. Further to this support, he won back self-confidence and postulated for several professional licenses (Bachelor's degrees) in alternation in the field of the water and of the environment. After some problems of files which stand in the way of his initiatives, he was finally taken at the University of Orsay. But he has to find an alternation today for September. His search for food job is not very organised without counting some refusals which he suffered for reasons of 'overqualified'. We worked again the techniques of job searches to overtake this blocking factor. Yacine found very recently a temporary mission in teaching hospital as hotel agent.

To allow him to be in activities and to have more experiences in the field of the water on his C.V., I recommended him to volunteer in this domain. He finally began a voluntary work, there is a few weeks, in an association that he found himself.

Besides, Yacine wanted to leave the Paris Region because he had located several universities who pleased him. Today he talks about that he would prefer to stay for family reasons.

Yacine needs a support within the framework of his professional projects. But he is also supervised by the Local Mission occasionally and he is requesting advices from professionals, he is maybe today in presence of several contradictory notices. I think that it is essential to create a space for sharing and exchanges on his accompaniment among various councillors. His family complex situation also seems to remind me that he would maybe need a psychological follow-up.

We are going to register him soon to the driving school so that he can benefit from our help to his driving licence and go at the end of his professional project.

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