Political Secularism and Muslim Integration in the West: Assessing the Effects of the French Headscarf Ban

Online Appendix

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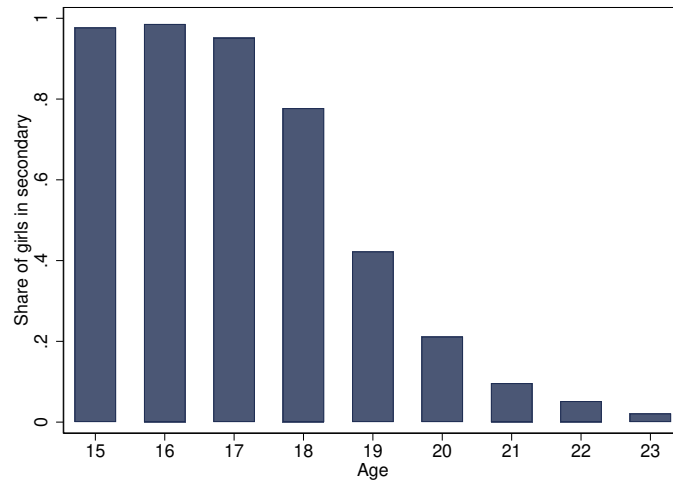
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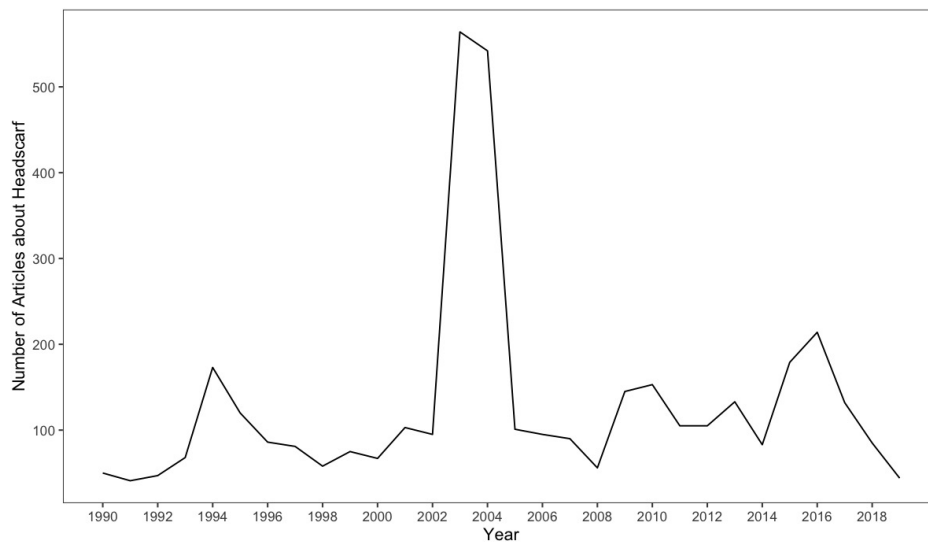
A   Additional Figures and Tables

Figure A.1. Share of girls enrolled in secondary education by age

Data is from the 2003 wave of the LFS. The sample consists of French-born women.

Figure A.2. Annual number of articles about the headscarf

The figure plots the annual number of articles containing any of the terms 'hijab', 'voile' or 'foulard' together with any of the terms 'musulman', 'musulmane' or 'islam' between 1990 and 2019 in the daily newspaper *Le Monde*. Source: LexisNexis.

Figure A.3. Rates of secondary education completion by birth cohort for French-born men
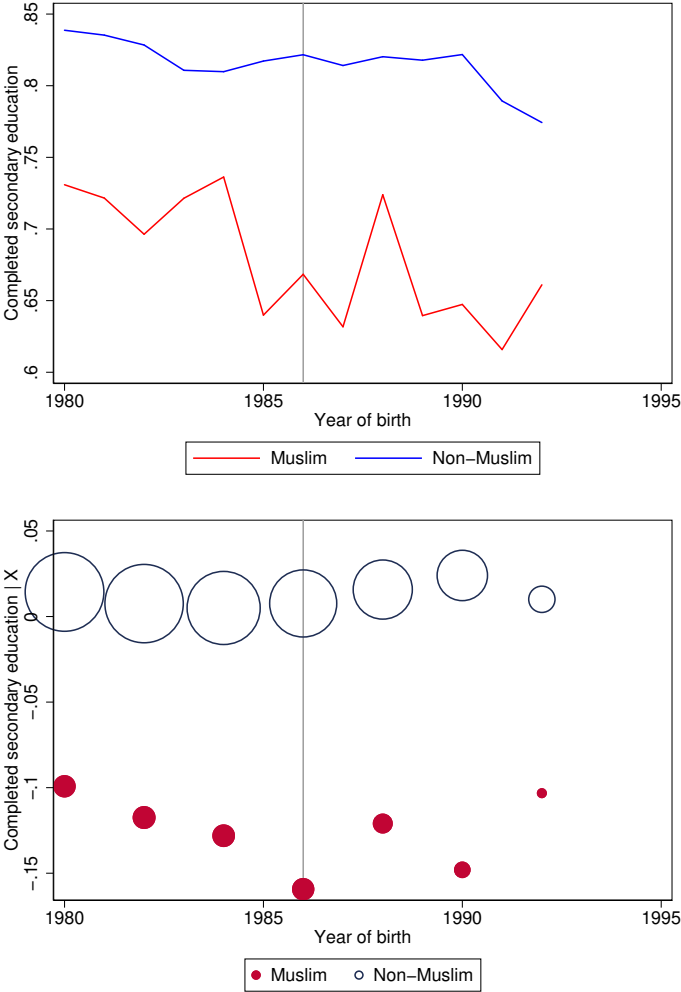
The upper panel plots the raw proportions of Muslim and non-Muslim men who completed secondary education for each birth cohort. The lower panel plots residuals, aggregated over two-year cohorts, from a regression of an indicator for completed secondary education on age and survey year fixed effects. The vertical line corresponds to 1986, the first birth cohort impacted by the ban. The sample consists of French-born men born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. Circle size is proportional to sample size.

Table A.1. Self-reported measures of identity

Dep. Variable	(1) Seen as French	(2) Feel at home in France	(3) Feel French	(4) Feel [father's nationality]	(5) Religiosity
Muslim × Born after 1985	-0.167	-0.0977	0.229*	0.709+	0.0735*
	(0.147)	(0.0727)	(0.0796)	(0.318)	(0.0319)
Observations	1407	1455	1454	200	2604
R-squared	0.0890	0.0401	0.0525	0.146	0.365

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later. Outcomes are standardized and estimated effects can be interpreted in terms of standard deviations. All regressions include birth year and religion fixed effects, as well as a linear Muslim-specific trend. Standard errors are clustered at the religion level. Significance levels: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.01, * p< 0.05, + p< 0.1.

Table A.2. Experiences in and views of French school

Dep. Variable	(1) Experienced racism	(2) Trust in French school
Muslim × Born after 1985	0.668***	-0.164+
	(0.0730)	(0.0811)
Observations	930	2594
R-squared	0.0486	0.0113

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later. Outcomes are standardized and estimated effects can be interpreted in terms of standard deviations. All regressions include birth year and religion fixed effects, as well as a linear Muslim-specific trend. Standard errors are clustered at the religion level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$.

Table A.3. Effects on health-related outcomes

	(1) Subjective health	(2) Health bad or very bad	(3) Health problem: life, school-age	(4) Health problem: existing condition	(5) Health problem: work
Muslim × Born after 1985	-0.0408	0.0250**	0.140***	-0.00840	0.107
	(0.0578)	(0.00616)	(0.0241)	(0.0354)	(0.0705)
Observations	2608	2608	598	595	596
R-squared	0.0199	0.00711	0.0530	0.0378	0.0663

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later. All regressions include birth year and religion fixed effects, as well as a linear Muslim-specific trend. Standard errors are clustered at the religion level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$.

Table A.4. Effect on secondary education completion rates, men

Dep. Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Completed secondary education			
Muslim × Born after 1985	-0.0257+	-0.0255+	0.0125	0.00528
	(0.0120)	(0.0123)	(0.0151)	(0.0219)
Observations	43986	43986	43984	43984
R-squared	0.0132	0.0145	0.0198	0.0198
Birth year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Father's birthplace FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Survey year FE		✓	✓	✓
Age × Father's birthplace FE			✓	✓
Muslim-specific linear trend				✓

Notes: The sample consists of French-born men born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. Standard errors are clustered at the father's birthplace level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$.

Table A.5. Change in student status between spring and fall quarter, men

Dep. Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
			Change in student status		
Muslim × 2004 or later	-0.00333	-0.00932	-0.00774	-0.0142	0.0315
	(0.0343)	(0.0329)	(0.0332)	(0.0471)	(0.0303)
Observations	8462	8462	8462	8462	1479
R-squared	0.00453	0.0943	0.0974	0.104	0.160
Survey year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Father's birthplace FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Age FE		✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year FE			✓	✓	✓
Age × Father's birthplace FE				✓	✓
Sample 2003-2004					✓

Notes: The dependent variable is student status in quarter 4, difference from quarter 2. The sample is restricted to French-born men older than 16, who were in secondary education 2 quarters before. Data is from the 2003–2012 LFS. Standard errors clustered at the parent's nationality level. Significance levels: *** $p< 0.001$, ** $p< 0.01$, * $p< 0.05$, + $p< 0.1$.

Table A.6. Heterogeneous effects, identity and religiosity

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		Feel French			Religiosity	
Muslim × Born after 1985	0.119	0.409*	-0.566	0.00743	0.214**	0.394*
	(0.0691)	(0.145)	(0.529)	(0.0612)	(0.0684)	(0.163)
Muslim × Born after 1985	-0.526***			0.154+		
× Predicted devoutness	(0.0940)			(0.0792)		
Muslim × Born after 1985		0.490*			-0.101	
× Predicted psychological assimilation		(0.218)			(0.0804)	
Muslim × Born after 1985			0.887			-0.442*
× Predicted language assimilation			(0.736)			(0.184)
Observations	1435	1424	1406	2563	2547	2528
R-squared	0.0628	0.0697	0.113	0.388	0.385	0.393

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later. Outcomes are standardized and estimated differences can be interpreted in terms of standard deviations. All regressions include birth year and religion fixed effects, as well as a linear Muslim-specific trend. Standard errors are clustered at the religion level. Significance levels: *** $p< 0.001$, ** $p< 0.01$, * $p< 0.05$, + $p< 0.1$.

B Robustness checks and additional analyses

B.1 Ruling out alternative explanations for effects on educational attainment

We perform a wide set of checks to verify the validity of the estimated effect of the ban on the likelihood of completing secondary school. Figure B.1 replicates the lower panel of Figure 2 for a set of different comparisons that constitute plausible placebo checks. If the estimated effect is resulting from a general increase in xenophobia, potentially targeting women more directly, we should observe a similar drop in the educational attainment of cohorts born 1986 or later for all immigrant groups. This is not what we find. In Figure B.1 we define as treated two groups of second-generation immigrant women that should not have been affected by the ban: Southern Europeans (the largest group of second generation immigrants in France after those from the Maghreb) and those born in Laos, Vietnam or Cambodia. Despite smaller sample sizes, there is no pattern that mirrors that for Muslim women and that would indicate that confounding factors are affecting the educational profiles of younger cohorts of second generation immigrants in general.

To address any concerns that the drop in completed secondary education for younger cohorts reflects discrimination spurred by 9/11, we run additional placebo regressions. Table B.1 reports the interaction coefficient of our preferred specification (the one reported in Column (3) of Table 1) when using each cohort in our sample as an alternative cutoff for treatment. Only 1986 corresponds to a large and significant negative effect on educational attainment. Importantly, almost all coefficients for cohorts born before 1986 are near zero, indicating that our findings are not merely the continuation of a trend that started in 2001.

Our difference-in-differences design does not require that Muslims and non-Muslims are balanced in terms of their characteristics in order to deliver estimates of causal

Table B.1. Effect on secondary education completion rates - Placebo cohorts

Dep. Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
						Completed secondary education						
Muslim × Born after 1981	-0.00903 (0.0226)											
Muslim × Born after 1982		0.0148 (0.0158)										
Muslim × Born after 1983			0.00183 (0.0174)									
Muslim × Born after 1984				-0.00303 (0.00667)								
Muslim × Born after 1985					0.00176 (0.00278)							
Muslim × Born after 1985						-0.0386*** (0.00343)						
Muslim × Born after 1987							-0.0198 (0.0104)					
Muslim × Born after 1988								-0.00262 (0.00527)				
Muslim × Born after 1989									0.0306*** (0.00303)			
Muslim × Born after 1990										0.0181* (0.00539)		
Muslim × Born after 1991											0.000504 (0.00225)	
Muslim × Born after 1992												0.00961 (0.0178)
Observations	45265	45265	45265	45265	45265	45265	45265	45265	45265	45265	45265	45265
R-squared	0.00972	0.00973	0.00972	0.00972	0.00972	0.00985	0.00975	0.00972	0.00978	0.00974	0.00972	0.00972

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. All regressions control for survey, cohort and age by father's region of origin fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the father's birthplace level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$.

Figure B.1. Placebo results for non-Muslim second generation immigrant women
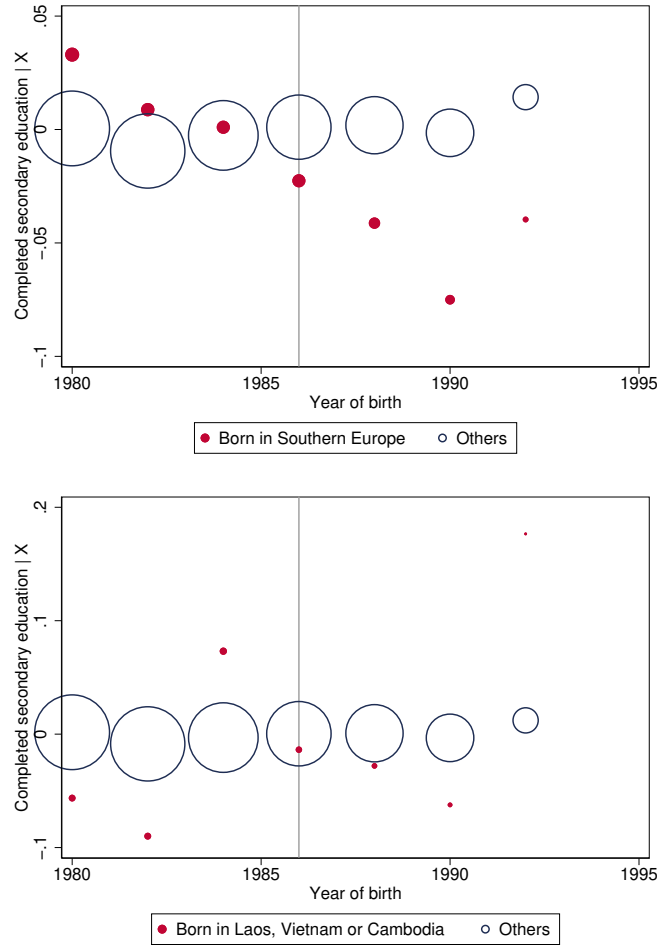
The figure plots residuals, aggregated over two-year cohorts, from a regression of an indicator for completed secondary education on age and survey year fixed effects. The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. Circle size is proportional to sample size.

effects. The validity of the design only requires that any difference between the two groups would have remained constant in the absence of the headscarf ban. Figure 2 and the robustness of our results to controlling for pre-trends and alternative cutoffs indicate the absence of differential pre-trends in secondary educational attainment between Muslims and non-Muslims. Nonetheless, to further ensure that any differential effect is not driven by a time-varying change in other characteristics of the sample, we combine difference-in-differences with a balancing exercise in the spirit of Ladd and Lenz (2009). We use entropy balancing (Hainmueller 2012) to balance Muslims and non-Muslims in terms of pre-treatment covariates. The method generates a set of weights, that, when

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applied to the original sample, balance selected moments of the treatment and control group. We match the means of the following pre-treatment characteristics available in the LFS: a full set of age indicators, a set of indicators for different categories of urbanization, and an indicator for individuals living in *sensitive urban zones* (Zones urbaines sensibles, ZUS), urban areas with high unemployment, a low percentage of high school graduates and a high percentage of public housing, which are specifically targets for state policy in France. Table B.2 presents characteristics of the balanced and unbalanced samples, and Table B.3 replicates our main results after applying entropy balance weights. Both the size and the significance of the coefficients remain largely unaffected.

Table B.2. Covariate balance before and after applying entropy balance weights

Variables	Muslim	Non-Muslim (unweighted)	Non-Muslim (weighted)
Age 21	0.102	0.120	0.102
Age 22	0.092	0.118	0.093
Age 23	0.098	0.112	0.098
Age 24	0.089	0.091	0.089
Age 25	0.097	0.076	0.097
Age 26	0.084	0.067	0.084
Age 27	0.075	0.058	0.075
Age 28	0.063	0.048	0.063
Age 29	0.047	0.040	0.047
Age 30	0.037	0.031	0.037
Age 31	0.023	0.022	0.023
Age 32	0.012	0.010	0.012
Rural	0.033	0.045	0.033
Less than 15,000 inhabitants	0.007	0.014	0.007
15,000 − 19,999 inhabitants	0.004	0.008	0.004
20,000 − 24,999 inhabitants	0.010	0.022	0.010
25,000 − 34,999 inhabitants	0.011	0.022	0.011
35,000 − 44,999 inhabitants	0.011	0.024	0.011
50,000 − 99,999 inhabitants	0.060	0.073	0.060
100,000 − 199,999 inhabitants	0.087	0.097	0.087
200,000 − 499,999 inhabitants	0.145	0.191	0.145
500,000 − 9,999,999 inhabitants	0.339	0.253	0.339
Paris	0.266	0.158	0.266
ZUS	0.225	0.061	0.225

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. "Muslim" refers to women whose father was born in the Maghreb or the Middle East.

Table B.3. Effect on secondary education completion rates, entropy balance weights

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dep. Variable	Completed secondary education			
Muslim × Born after 1985	-0.0276*	-0.0280*	-0.0429***	-0.0662**
	(0.00882)	(0.00832)	(0.00209)	(0.0111)
Observations	45255	45255	45255	45255
R-squared	0.0102	0.0115	0.0197	0.0199
Birth year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Father's birthplace FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Survey year FE		✓	✓	✓
Age × Father's birthplace FE			✓	✓
Muslim-specific linear trend				✓

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. Entropy balance weights applied, matching the mean of a set of age indicators, eleven indicators for levels of urbanization and an indicator for residence in ZUS areas. Standard errors are clustered at the father's birthplace level. Significance levels: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.01, * p< 0.05, + p< 0.1.

B.2 Effects on bac completion rates

Figure B.2 plots trends in the raw data for completion rates of a professional or general baccalaureat. There appears to be a dip for cohorts born 1986-1988, but it is neither as clear-cut nor as large as the one for completion rates of vocational secondary. Table B.4 replicates Table 1 using as dependent variable an indicator for having at least a professional or general bac degree and it confirms the pattern in the graph. Effects on bac completion rates are negative, but attenuated compared to vocational secondary completion rates.

Figure B.2. Probability of having a bac or higher degree by birth cohort for French-born women
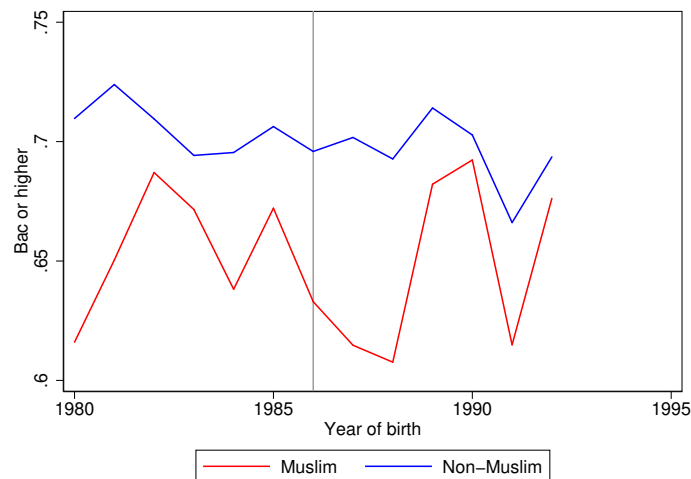
The graph plots the raw proportions of Muslim and non-Muslim women who obtained a professional or general bac for each birth cohort. The vertical line corresponds to 1986, the first birth cohort impacted by the ban. The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year.

These results suggest that the effects of the ban were particularly strong on the subset of Muslims who would not have continued to a longer cycle of professional or general secondary education. Since such students are likely less well integrated they may have felt more intensely the impact of the ban. This would be supported by our findings in Table 4 which suggest a more negative effect of the ban on less integrated women.

There are two additional likely explanations of these findings. First, some students

in vocational training were likely already working part-time and thus had an easier time dropping out of school and transitioning to the labor market. Second, it is less costly for students enrolled in vocational training to leave secondary education, than it is for those already invested in completing a longer technological or general cycle. These explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Taken together, they confirm our general conclusion that the law's impact was stronger among less integrated subpopulations of Muslim women.

Table B.4. Effect on the probability of having a bac or higher degree

|	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dep. Variable	Bac or higher			
Muslim × Born after 1985	0.00740	0.00786	-0.00649*	-0.0456***
	(0.00718)	(0.00705)	(0.00258)	(0.00205)
Observations	45265	45265	45265	45265
R-squared	0.00335	0.00430	0.00952	0.00960
Birth year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Father's birthplace FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Survey year FE		✓	✓	✓
Age × Father's birthplace FE			✓	✓
Muslim-specific linear trend				✓

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. Standard errors are clustered at the father's birthplace level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$.

B.3 Pathways for effects on educational outcomes

In this section we unpack several mechanisms that led cohorts affected by the ban to attain lower levels of secondary education.

Figure B.3 shows that Muslim women in affected cohorts are likely to require more time than their counterparts in the control group to complete secondary education. We plot the differential treatment effect of the ban, estimated from a flexible version of the specification in equation 1, which interacts Muslim origin with two-year birth cohort indicators. The dependent variable is the likelihood of being enrolled in secondary education, conditional on a full set of age by father's birthplace fixed effects. The pattern suggests that cohorts born after 1985 are more likely to be students in high school at any given age. Conditional on differential age trends, Muslim women are on average somewhat more likely to stay in secondary education longer than non-Muslims, but this gap widens for affected cohorts.

Figure B.3. Likelihood of being a student in secondary education, conditional on age
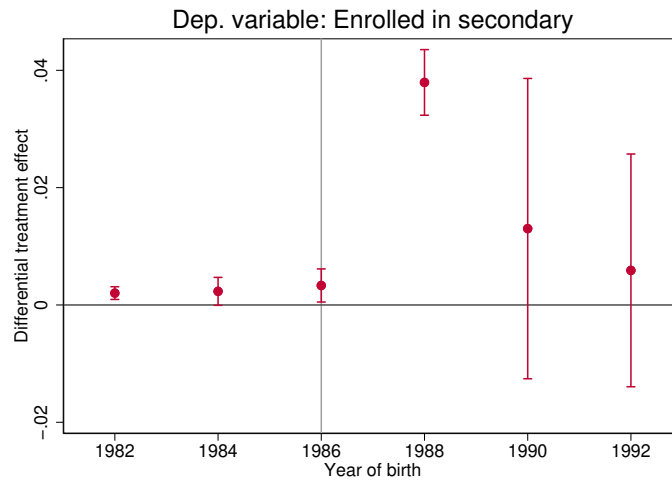
The figure plots estimates of the interaction coefficient between Muslim origin and 2-year birth cohorts from a regression of an indicator for being in secondary school, that additionally controls for survey year and father's birthplace by age fixed effects. Vertical lines denote 90% confidence intervals. The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at survey year.

The increase in enrollment rates in secondary education conditional on age is substantial in magnitude. Muslim women's enrollment rates increase by up to 4 percentage

points. Note that among 20 year old non-Muslims, only around 7.9% are still attending secondary education. For Muslims this share is 13.3% – a difference that is largely explained by the estimated effect of the veiling law.

Table B.5. Effects on educational outcomes, TeO

	(1) Completed secondary	(2) Repeated a class	(3) School choice due to parents' religion
Muslim × Born after 1985	-0.124***	0.0555	0.0104**
	(0.0161)	(0.0373)	(0.00283)
Observations	1983	2592	2608
R-squared	0.0394	0.0241	0.0268

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later. In Column 1, it is restricted to women aged 20 or older at survey time. All regressions include birth year and religion fixed effects, as well as a linear Muslim-specific trend. Standard errors are clustered at the religion level. Significance levels: *** $p< 0.001$, ** $p< 0.01$, * $p< 0.05$, + $p< 0.1$.

One reason for the drop in secondary educational attainment is that the ban led girls to repeat a class. This hypothesis – consistent with observations made in the official evaluations of the ban's effects – could be because of time lost during the mediation period, switches from public to private education, or simply the pernicious effects of discrimination at school on girls' effort and grades. To gain further insight, we complement our analysis with information from TeO. In column 1 of Table B.5 we first replicate our main finding in the TeO data. Conditional on birth year and religion fixed effects and a Muslim-specific linear trend, treated cohorts of Muslim women are approximately 12 pp. less likely to have completed secondary education, a point estimate close in magnitude to that estimate in the LFS. Given that we now rely on religion rather than country of origin to identify Muslim women, this finding lends validity to our main analysis with LFS data. We next turn to two variables: an indicator for having repeated a class in France, and an indicator for having chosen a school outside one's neighborhood because it better suited the religious beliefs of one's parents. Columns 2 and 3 of Table B.5 present the results. Treated women are 5 pp. more likely to have repeated a class and 1 pp. more likely to have had their school choice dictated by parents' religious beliefs. The estimate on class repetition misses significance for conventional levels of confidence (p-value= 0.161), but, combined, the results confirm anecdotal accounts of the main

negative effects that the law and mediation period had on girls' school performance.

Additionally, we find evidence that Muslim girls drop out of school in direct response to the law's implementation. The panel nature of the French LFS allows us to examine how the student status of Muslim women changed after 2004. We restrict attention to women enrolled in secondary school in the spring quarter of each school year and who were older than 16 (and thus could have legally dropped out of school if they wanted to). We then compute a proxy for dropping out of school, as the difference in student status between spring quarter and fall quarter of the next school year. This variable takes on the value -1 for individuals who were students in secondary education in the spring quarter, but are not students anymore (in any degree of education) in the fall of the same academic year.

We then compare the difference in student enrollment between fall and spring quarters of the same year for Muslims and non-Muslims before and after the ban.[1] We run a regression of the form:

$$\Delta Y_{isg} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 T_{sg} + g_g + s_s + \epsilon_{isg} \tag{1}$$

where i and g index individuals and groups, and s indexes survey years. T_{sg} is an indicator that equals one for Muslim individuals observed in a survey year when the law is already in place. The outcome of interest ΔY_{isg} is the change in student status (in secondary education) from the second to the fourth quarter of survey year s. We are interested in the coefficient β_2, the differential treatment effect on student enrollment for Muslim women.

The results are plotted in Figure B.4 for all survey years in our sample. While we only have information on one calendar year before 2004 (the change between spring

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[1]For years 2003-2004 we only have information on the nationality of the reference person of the household and not the father's birthplace. Throughout the panel analysis, we thus restrict attention to children of the reference person. Results are very similar when we impose the restriction that the reference person be male.

2003 and fall 2003), it is clear that this difference is zero and increases by around 6 percentage points in 2004–2005. With the exception of 2006 and 2009, all years after 2004 see an increased dropout rate for Muslim women compared to their non-Muslim counterparts.

Figure B.4. Change in student status between spring and fall quarter, difference Muslim women vs others
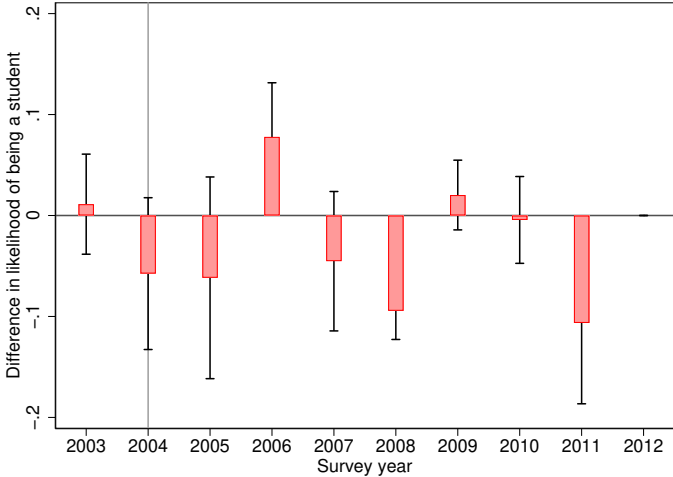
The figure plots estimates of the interaction coefficient between Muslim origin and survey year fixed effects from a regression of an indicator for changed student status between fall and spring quarter of the same school year, that also controls for survey year, birth cohort and parent's birthplace by age fixed effects. Vertical lines denote 90% confidence intervals. The sample consists of French-born women aged 17 or above at survey year, who were enrolled in secondary education in the spring quarter of the previous year. Data is from the 2003–2012 LFS.

Table B.6 demonstrates the robustness of this result to a number of specifications and successive inclusion of fixed effects. Once again, estimated magnitudes are large. The average rate of leaving secondary education in our data is 11.8 percent. Estimates in Table B.6 indicate an increase in dropout rates for Muslim women exposed to the law of up to 60 percent of this long run average, a sizable effect.

Table B.6. Change in student status between spring and fall quarter

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dep. Variable	Change in student status				
Muslim × 2004 or later	-0.0268	-0.0701$^+$	-0.0662*	-0.0542**	-0.0561**
	(0.0278)	(0.0365)	(0.0302)	(0.0163)	(0.0178)
Observations	8667	8667	8667	8667	1387
R-squared	0.00383	0.0984	0.100	0.107	0.136
Survey year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Father's birthplace FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Age FE		✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year FE			✓	✓	✓
Age × Father's birthplace FE				✓	✓
Sample 2003-2004					✓

 Notes: The dependent variable is student status in quarter 4, difference from quarter 2. The sample is restricted to French-born women older than 16, who were in secondary education 2 quarters before. Data is from the 2003–2012 LFS. Standard errors clustered at the parent's nationality level. Significance levels: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.01, * p< 0.05, $^+$ p< 0.1.

## B.4 Replicating LFS results using census microdata

To verify the robustness of the results in LFS, we use information from the 2011 1%
sample of the French census microdata, which is part of the International Integrated
Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS International), collected and distributed by the
University of Minnesota.[2] This dataset records parents' country of origin only for in-
dividuals whose parents are observed to live with them in the same household. While
this is an unrepresentative sample of all individuals in our age range of interest, dif-
ferences between this subsample and the broader population are not very large.[3] In
any case, our empirical estimates of the ban's effect remain internally valid within
this subsample. As in the LFS, we restrict our attention to the native born and code
as "Muslim" women whose father was born in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, or Turkey
and as "non-Muslim" those with fathers born in Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, or the
European Union. We drop from the sample those with fathers born in non-specified
parts of Europe, of Africa, or the rest of the world, which cannot be identified as pre-
dominantly Muslim. Figure B.5 shows the distribution of second-generation Muslim
women by father's country of origin (upper panel), and plots differences in key vari-
ables between Muslim and non-Muslim French-born women (lower panel) in the IPUMS
dataset. Second generation Muslim women are about 2 percentage points less likely to
have completed secondary education than other French-born women, and about 6 per-
centage points less likely to be employed. Our empirical analysis demonstrates that
these cross-sectional differences were amplified for cohorts affected by the 2004 ban.

Table B.7 replicates the specification in equation 1 in the IPUMS sample. Results are

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[2]The 2011 1% French IPUMS sample combines data from 2009 to 2013. The 2006 sample combines
data from 2004 to 2008. Since the precise year of data collection is not specified, we cannot identify
and exclude those observations that were collected before the passage of the 2004 ban (the first half
of 2004). We thus chose not to use the 2006 sample.

[3]Compared to the full sample of women aged 20–33 in 2011, those living with their parents were 2
percentage points less likely to have completed secondary education and 1 percentage point less likely
to be in the labor force.

Figure B.5. Second generation French women with father from Muslim-majority country
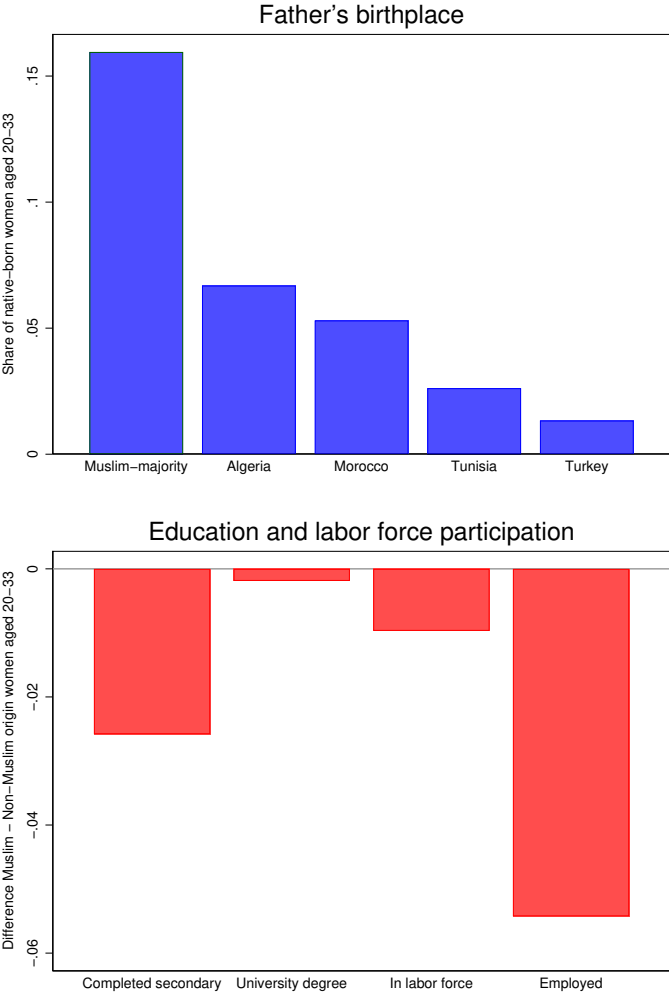
Source: 2011 IPUMS France. The sample consists of women aged 20–33 at census time. "Muslim" refers to women whose father was born in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia or Turkey. The upper panel shows the distribution of second-generation Muslim women by father's country of origin. The lower panel plots differences in key variables between Muslim and non-Muslim Frenhc-born women.

consistent with those from the LFS not just in direction, but also in magnitude. Column (1) replicates our main finding in the LFS on secondary educational attainment. The estimated (negative) impact of the law on secondary education completion for affected cohorts is 2.9 percentage points, essentially identical to that estimated in the LFS. Women are 0.5 p.p. more likely to be out of the labor force and 2.1 p.p. less likely to be employed. As before, we estimate near zero effects for the likelihood of marriage, but we do find a near-significant positive effect on the likelihood of marrying someone

from the same country of origin as the father for those women who are married. We estimate an identical increase in the likelihood of having children as in the LFS.

Table B.7. Effect on long-term outcomes in census microdata

Dep. Variable	(1) Completed secondary	(2) Out of labor force	(3) Employed	(4) Married	(5) Endogamous marriage	(6) Has children
Muslim × Born after 1985	-0.0287***	0.00500*	-0.0214*	0.00344	0.122	0.0284***
	(0.00358)	(0.00213)	(0.00678)	(0.00280)	(0.0910)	(0.00331)
Observations	203724	203724	203724	203724	872	203724
R-squared	0.00413	0.00281	0.0532	0.00775	0.288	0.0223

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and who were at least 20 years old at census year. Data is from the 2011 1% census microsample. "Muslim" refers to women whose father was born in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco or Turkey. *Endogamous marriage* takes on the value one if the spouse is born in the same country as the individual's father. The sample in column (6) is restricted to married women with a spouse present in the household. All regressions include birth year and religion fixed effects, as well as a linear Muslim-specific trend. Standard errors are clustered at the father's birthplace level. Significance levels: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.01, * p< 0.05, + p< 0.1.

B.5 Effects of the 1994 circular

In 1994, substantive media attention was focused on the issue of the headscarf, without national legislative action. The controversy began with a teacher strike in Nantua in protest of four girls' refusal to unveil during gym class. Before this incident, student veiling was governed by a 1989 decision of the Council of State – the highest court in France on issues related to public administration – ruling that religious symbols did not violate secularism, but that schools could punish students whose religious signs threatened the neutrality of the school, disturbed public order, or broke school rules (Conseil d'État Assemblée Générale 1989).

In September 1994, French education minister François Bayrou responded to the 1994 "Affaire Akouli" by issuing a circular on veiling. The circular stated: "The wearing by students of discreet signs, manifesting their personal attachment to convictions, religious among others, is allowed in the school. But ostentatious signs, that in themselves constitute elements of proselytism or discrimination, are forbidden. Also forbidden are provocative attitudes, non-compliance with requirements concerning attendance and security, behaviors liable to constitute pressure on other students, to disrupt the conduct of teaching activities or to disturb order in the school." (Bayrou 1994)

In general, this circular was perceived as a perpetuation of the status quo (Winter 2009). The circular was not legally binding (as a law is) and was open to interpretation. Moreover, decisions over veiling remained in the hands of principals and school administrators. In light of this ambiguity, the ultimate arbiter of headscarf cases remained the Council of State. It treated headscarf cases in the same way as before the 1994 circular, overturning expulsions where girls were expelled only due to the headscarf and sustaining expulsions where girls had broken school rules. Of the 49 cases that went before the Council of State between 1992 and 1999, 8 were upheld and the remainder overturned (Kaltenbach and Tribalat 2002).

Given the historical context, the 1994 headscarf affair seems a compelling instance of considerable public debate about the headscarf without national legislative action. We

verify the magnitude of the debate using data from French newspapers. Via LexisNexis, we ran a keyword search using the algorithm: ('hijab' OR 'voile' OR 'foulard') AND ('musulman' OR 'musulmane' OR 'islam'). We download all articles meeting these search criteria, remove repeat entries, and transform this dataset into annual counts of articles focused on veiling. We limit our focus to articles from *Le Monde*, one of the oldest and most widely distributed daily French newspapers, because its online archive dates back to the early 1990's.

Figure B.6 depicts the time series of annual article counts. Peaks in the series coincide with known periods of debate around veiling, such as the 1994 circular, the 2004 headscarf ban and the 2010 ban on face covering, known as "burqa ban". To identify breakpoints in the counts of articles focused on veiling, we used an algorithm to detect spikes in a time-series rising above a user-set number of standard deviation within a window of time. This algorithm (detect.spikes) from the pickPeack R package (Weber et al. 2014) was implemented with a set number of 3 standard deviations and a window of 3 years. Vertical lines in Figure B.6 indicate those breaks. The algorithm identifies (1) 1994, the year of a governmental circular about veiling, (2) 2003-2004, the period of the headscarf ban's conceptualization and implementation, (3) 2009-2010, the period of the burqa ban's conceptualization and implementation, and (4) 2015-2016, the period that coincides with the introduction and removal of a ban on women's full-body swimsuits, also known as 'burkinis'.

We replicate our baseline analysis, by changing our definition of treated cohorts to those who were 18 years old or younger in 1994 (born in 1976 or later), and thus at school during the debate surrounding the 1994 circular. Figure B.7 replicates Figure 2 by extending the data back to cohorts born 1970 or later. It reveals a temporary dip in rates of completed secondary education for cohorts born 1975-1978, followed by a recovery, before the next, larger, drop for cohorts treated by the 2004 law. Table B.8 replicates Table 1 and verifies what is visually apparent in Figure B.7: cohorts "treated" by the 1994 circular experience a negative, though insignificant, drop in secondary

Figure B.6. Annual count of articles about the headscarf with endogenous peaks
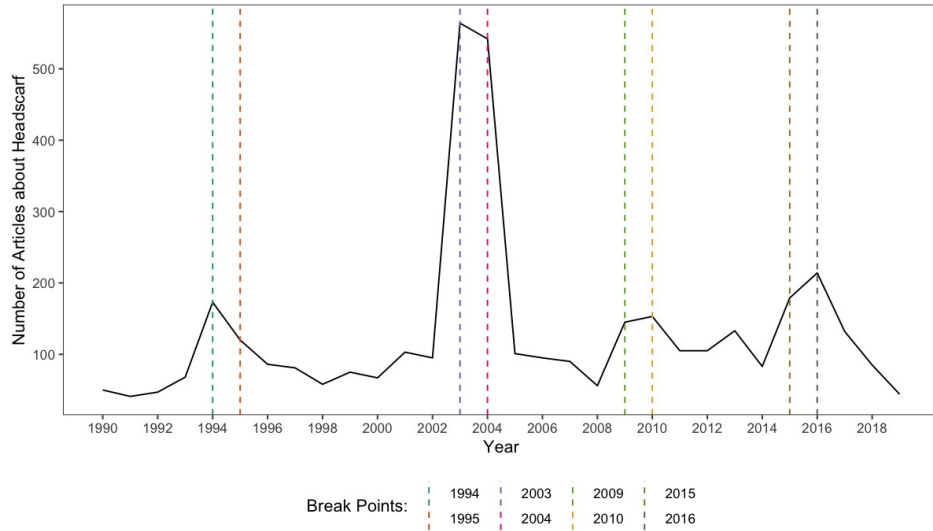
The figure plots the number of articles about the headscarf annually from 1990 to 2019. This figure counts articles from the daily newspaper *Le Monde*. The lines indicate years of peaks in coverage. Data is constructed using LexisNexis database.

completion rates that is about one third of the magnitude of the one estimated for cohorts treated by the 2004 ban.

Table B.8. Effects on secondary education completion rates, 1994 circular

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dep. Variable		Completed secondary education		
Muslim × Born after 1975	-0.0193	-0.0191	-0.0157$^+$	-0.0168
	(0.0111)	(0.0111)	(0.00671)	(0.0131)
Observations	41981	41981	41979	41979
R-squared	0.00884	0.00919	0.0127	0.0127
Birth year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Father's birthplace FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Survey year FE		✓	✓	✓
Age × Father's birthplace FE			✓	✓
Muslim-specific linear trend				✓

Notes: The sample consists of French-born women born between 1970 and 1980 and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. Standard errors are clustered at the father's birthplace level. Significance levels: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.01, * p< 0.05, $^+$ p< 0.1.

The counterfactual exercise is far from perfect. While the 1994 circular did not have the power of a law and did not make any de facto changes to the status quo, it

Figure B.7. Effects of the debate surrounding the 1994 circular
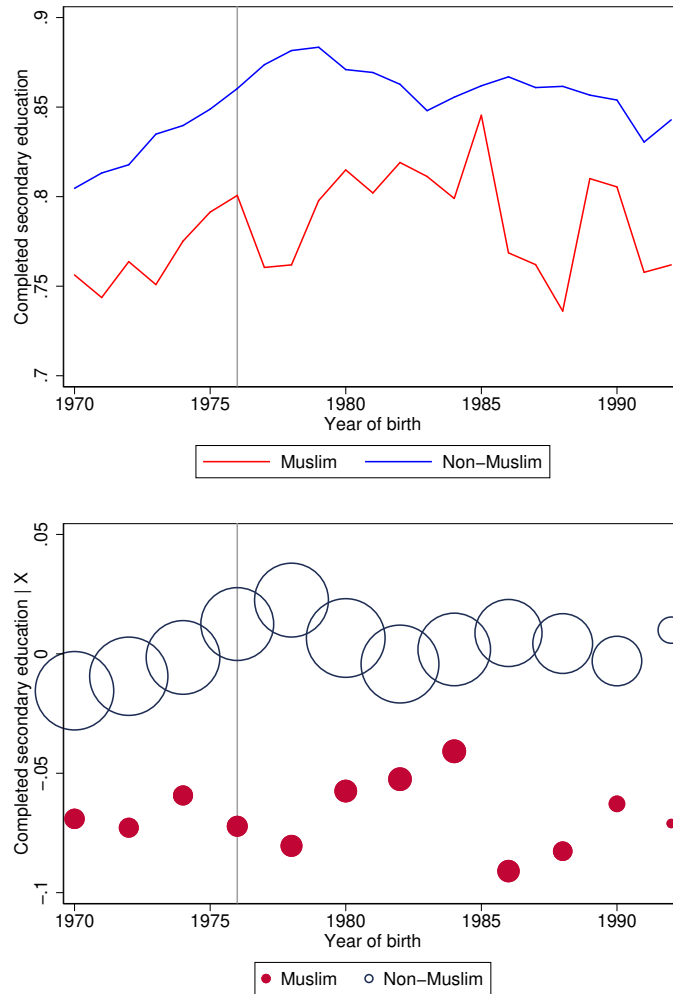
The upper panel plots the raw proportions of Muslim and non-Muslim women who completed secondary education for each birth cohort. The lower panel plots residuals, aggregated over two-year cohorts, from a regression of an indicator for completed secondary education on age and survey year fixed effects. The vertical line corresponds to 1976, the first birth cohort impacted by the 1994 ministerial circular. The sample consists of French-born women born after 1970 and who were at least 20 years old at survey year. Circle size is proportional to sample size.

was interpreted by many as an affirmation of schools' discretion to forbid veiling and expel students who did not comply. It thus likely changed behavior on the ground and hardened the stance of some educators.[4] The above results could thus also be interpreted as effects of the material changes that the 1994 circular effected in schools.

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[4]For example, veiling expulsion cases appearing in front of tribunals rose to about 100 after the 1994 directive (Winter 2009).

This limitation of the analysis, alongside the lack of significance in estimated effects, provides limited evidence that a generalized anti-veiling debate can explain our main estimated effects.

C Data Appendix

C.1 Variable description

Variable	Description
LFS	
Muslim	Indicator for father born in Maghreb or Middle East. Father's country of birth based on variable PAIPERC.
Completed secondary education	Indicator for having at least a professional secondary degree (CAP, BEP, or equivalent). Coded based on variable DIP11.
Enrolled in secondary	Indicator for currently enrolled in secondary professional (CAP, BEP) or general/technological secondary education. Coded based on variable FORNIV.
In university	Indicator for currently studying for Bachelor's degree or higher (including Grande École, Master's, PhD). Coded based on variable FORNIV.
Change in student status	Student status coded based on the variables ACTEU6 and FORNIV, taking on the value one for those who are currently students enrolled in secondary education. Change computed between quarter 4 (fall quarter) and quarter 2 (spring quarter of previous year), for individuals who were enrolled in secondary education in quarter 2.
Out of labor force	Indicator for individuals coded as "inactive", based on variable ACTEU.
Employed	Indicator for individuals coded as "actively employed", based on variable ACTEU.
Lives with parents	Indicator for individuals coded as "child of reference person" in the household, based on variable LPR.
Has children	Indicator for individuals with children present in the household, based on variable EM1.
Married	Indicator for married individuals, based on variable MATRI.

Variable	Description
IPUMS	
Completed secondary	Indicator based on variable EDATTAIN.
Out of labor force	Indicator for inactive, based on variable EMPSTATD.
Employed	Indicator based on variable EMPSTAT.
Married	Indicator based on variable MARST.
Endogamous marriage	Indicator for individuals whose spouse (present in the household) was born in the same country as their father.
Has children	Indicator based on variable NCHILD.
TeO	
Completed secondary	Indicator for having at least a professional secondary degree (CAP, BEP, or equivalent). Coded based on variable F_DIP.
Repeated a class	Indicator for having repeated a class in France. Coded based on variable F_REDOUB.
School choice due to parents' religion	Indicator for having chosen a school outside their neighborhood due to parents' religious convictions. Coded based on variable F_SECTPQ_D.
Experienced racism	Indicator for individuals who mentioned they experienced insults or racist attitudes at any of a number of contexts. Variables D_OURACI_A to D_OURACI_J.
Trust in French school	Trust of the respondent in the French school. Variable I_ECOLE. Coded on a 4-point Likert scale (1=Trust very much, 4=Do not trust at all), and recoded, so that higher values indicate more trust.
Seen as French	Opinion of respondent on the statement: "I am seen as French." Variable X_VUFRI. Coded on a 4-point Likert scale (1=Completely agree, 4=Completely disagree) and recoded, so that higher values indicate higher agreement.

Variable	Description
Feel at home in France	Opinion of respondent on the statement: "I feel at home in France." Variable X_MOIFR. Coded on a 4-point Likert scale (1=Completely agree, 4=Completely disagree) and recoded, so that higher values indicate higher agreement.
Feel French	Opinion of respondent on the statement: "I feel French." Variable X_APPARF. Coded on a 4-point Likert scale (1=Completely agree, 4=Completely disagree) and recoded, so that higher values indicate higher agreement.
Feel [father's nationality]	Opinion of respondent on the statement: "I feel [father's nationality]." Variable X_APPARP. Coded on a 4-point Likert scale (1=Completely agree, 4=Completely disagree) and recoded, so that higher values indicate higher agreement.
Religiosity	Average of the following (standardized) items: importance of religion in respondent?s life (R_IMPVIE), wears ostentatious religious symbol (R_OSTENT), respects religious dietary restrictions (R_MIAM), importance of religion in education received (R_IMPEDU), frequency of religious practice (R_CULTE).
Subjective health	Subjective state of health. Coded on a 5-point scale (1=Very good, 5=Very bad). Variable S_ETAT.
Health problem: life, school-age	Indicator for health problem related to conditions of life or difficulties in private life and having started during school age. Combination of variables S_AGEPB, S_PBLOG and S_PBPRIV.
Health problem: existing condition	Indicator for health problem related to complications of an existing condition or pregnancy. Variable S_PBFRAG.
Health problem: work	Indicator for health problem related to conditions at work. Variable S_PBTRAV.

C.2 Summary statistics

Table C.2. Summary statistics - Women

Variables	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max	N
LFS Repeated cross-section					
Age	23.72	3.225	20	32	52201
Muslim origin	0.080	0.271	0	1	52201
Completed secondary	0.855	0.352	0	1	52155
Out of labor force	0.374	0.484	0	1	52201
Employed	0.514	0.500	0	1	52201
Lives with parents	0.355	0.478	0	1	52201
Married	0.098	0.297	0	1	52198
Has children	0.195	0.396	0	1	52201
IPUMS					
Age	22.896	2.704	20	33	203724
Muslim origin	0.159	0.366	0	1	203724
Completed secondary	0.899	0.300	0	1	203724
Out of labor force	0.0398	0.195	0	1	203724
Employed	0.490	0.500	0	1	203724
Married	0.0167	0.128	0	1	203724
Endogamous marriage	0.720	0.449	0	1	872
Has children	0.0268	0.161	0	1	203724
TeO					
Age	22.376	3.181	17	29	2642
Muslim	0.332	0.471	0	1	2608
Completed secondary	0.829	0.376	0	1	2638
Experienced racism in school	0.589	0.492	0	1	942
Trust in French school	3.225	0.683	1	4	2626
Seen as French	3.0620	1.046	1	4	2566
Feel at home in France	3.630	0.650	1	4	2622
Feel French	3.559	0.743	1	4	2624
Feel [father's nationality]	2.40	1.136	1	4	664
Religiosity	-0.208	0.789	-1.334	1.682	2619
Subjective health	4.416	0.695	1	5	2642

Notes: Data consists of French-born women born 1980 or later and is further restricted to women who were aged 20 or older at survey year in the LFS and IPUMS data. The LFS data pools survey years 2005-2012. IPUMS data is from the 2011 1% French census microsample. "Muslim" refers to women whose father was born in the Maghreb or the Middle East (LFS), in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco or Turkey (IPUMS) and to religious identification (TeO).

Table C.3. Summary statistics - Men

Variables	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max	N
LFS					
Age	23.71	3.226	20	32	50852
Muslim origin	0.077	0.267	0	1	50852
Completed secondary	0.809	0.393	0	1	50768
Out of labor force	0.291	0.454	0	1	50852
Employed	0.587	0.492	0	1	50852
Lives with parents	0.475	0.499	0	1	50852
Married	0.0569	0.232	0	1	50851
Has children	0.098	0.297	0	1	50852
IPUMS					
Age	23.371	2.896	20	33	310370
Muslim origin	0.140	0.347	0	1	310370
Completed secondary	0.835	0.371	0	1	310370
Out of labor force	0.043	0.202	0	1	310370
Employed	0.557	0.497	0	1	310370
Married	0.0136	0.116	0	1	310370
Endogamous marriage	0.744	0.436	0	1	1878
Has children	0.00762	0.0869	0	1	310370
TeO					
Age	22.281	3.265	17	29	2597
Completed secondary	0.829	0.376	0	1	2638
Muslim	0.282	0.450	0	1	2556
Experienced racism in school	0.569	0.495	0	1	1076
Trust in French school	3.114	0.753	1	4	2579
Seen as French	3.064	1.056	1	4	2496
Feel at home in France	3.593	0.668	1	4	2564
Feel French	3.595	0.716	1	4	2567
Feel [father's nationality]	2.466	1.148	1	4	686
Religiosity	-0.229	0.784	-1.232	1.769	2570
Subjective health	4.528	0.625	1	5	2596

Notes: Data consists of French-born men born 1980 or later and is further restricted to men who were aged 20 or older at survey year in the LFS and IPUMS data. The LFS data pools survey years 2004-2012. IPUMS data is from the 2011 1% French census microsample. "Muslim" refers to men whose father was born in the Maghreb or the Middle East (LFS), in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco or Turkey (IPUMS) and to religious identification (TeO).

C.3 Predictors of religiosity and assimilation in TeO data

To identify predictors of religiosity and assimilation, we restrict attention to cohorts unaffected by the ban (those born before 1986) with a father from an identifiably Muslim-majority country, who were born in France. We focus attention to characteristics that are plausibly unaffected by the law, such as parents' religion, socioeconomic and educational background, as well as household and family characteristics from the respondent's childhood. Specifically, we use the following variables: an indicator for French mother, indicators for father from Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, the rest of Africa, the Middle East, or Turkey, an indicator for parents from the same country of origin, indicators for Muslim father and mother, 8 indicators for father and mother's education, 12 indicators for father's and mother's occupation, 4 indicators for father's and mother's employment status, indicators for R raised in single- or dual-parent households, number of siblings, age of father and mother at R's birth and at arrival to France, an indicator for family speaking French at home, an indicator for becoming French at birth, two indicators for money trouble while growing up and parents recounting their migration history to R.

We use LASSO (implemented by the algorithm lasso2 in Stata version 15) to identify predictors. For religiosity, LASSO identifies Muslim mother and French mother. For psychological assimilation, LASSO picks Muslim mother, French spoken at home, and father from Africa. For language assimilation, predictors identified are father has university degree, French mother, and French spoken at home.

We next regress each outcome (religiosity, psychological and language assimilation) on the relevant predictors identified by LASSO and compute fitted values. These fitted values constitute the predicted measures of religiosity and assimilation that we use for the estimation of heterogeneous effects.

D   Interview protocol

D.1   Objectives

The qualitative phase of this research took place in 2010-2011 in Paris, France. The interviews were initially conducted in service of a 2011 study entitled "Muslim Identity Construction: To what extent is it reactive to public opinion". The study sought to primarily understand the effects of the burqa ban, which went into effect in 2010, and the general Islamophobia the ban spurred on the religious identity and expression of French Muslim women. Additionally, the study sought to understand the effects of regulation of religious dress more generally.

To better understand the overall effect of state regulation of religion, the interviews touched on the 2004 law and its impacts. The expansiveness of the interviews also provides us with personal experiences and insights into the implementation of the 2004 law. We, therefore, draw on respondents' personal experiences with and general insights into the 2004 law to conceptualize the law's impact.

D.2   Sampling

Subjects were identified through snowball sampling. First, individuals were identified through visits and cold-emails to Muslim institutions (e.g. civic associations and religious classes) as well as introductions to female Muslims through the author's friend networks. Respondents identified in this manner then referred friends through snowball sampling. This sample consists of Muslim women who actively self-identify as Muslim and enact this identity through their public behavior. It does not include Muslim women who identify as cultural Muslims or practice their religious identity privately.

Because the 2004 law targeted Muslim women, and particularly those who express their religiosity through veiling in school, this sample of respondents who strongly identify as Muslim is useful to understanding the impact of government regulation of Islam in France. The respondents are particularly helpful in clarifying how devout

Muslim girls were affected by the headscarf law.

Table D.1. Interviewee characteristics

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Obs
Age	27.3	6.9	18	47	20
Born before 1986	0.52	0.51	0	1	19
Attained BA	0.65	0.51	0	1	20
Attained MA	0.35	0.48	0	1	20
Attained Bac	0.95	0.22	0	1	20
Sub-Saharan Africa origin	0.25	0.44	0	1	20
Maghreb origin	0.65	0.42	0	1	20
Turkey origin	0.05	0.22	0	1	20

D.3 Mode of data collection

Three different qualitative methods were employed: individual in-depth interviews, group interviews, and participant observation. Data from individual and group interviews are used in this study. The mode of data collection was semi-structured interviews, with prepared questions regarding several categories: background, religious practice, evolution of (religious) identity, effects of the headscarf ban, effects of the burqa ban, and Muslim experience in France. A list of questions that guided the interviews is provided below.

Interviews took place in cafes, restaurants, or homes of respondents, as per respondent preferences. Five interviews occurred with another person present, mostly a friend who also came to be interviewed and once a significant other. Interviews lasted between thirty minutes to two hours. Interviewee responses were always recorded through shorthand notes on interview forms. For interviewees who consented, interviews were also audio recorded and later transcribed. Interviews were primarily conducted in French with some use of English or Arabic as necessary.

D.4 Analyzing interviews

The interviews were exploratory to better understand the effects of the burqa ban, specifically, and regulation of religion in France, more broadly. For this study, we focus on responses pertaining to the effects of the headscarf ban and state regulation of Islam as well as demographic questions. To formulate hypotheses about the impact of the 2004 law, we did the following. First, we summarize each respondents' answers to questions pertaining to the headscarf ban. These responses included personal anecdotes as well as insights based on observations of members of their own communities. Then, we used these responses to formulate expectations about the effects of the ban and about mechanisms through which the ban likely operated. The responses across the board attested to a negative effect of the ban, either based on personal experiences or observations, so we did not have to adjudicate among divergent responses.

D.5 Interview questions

Demographics

---

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you study or work?
4. Where do you live?
5. What is the demographic of your neighborhood? What is the socioeconomic makeup?
6. Are you socially involved in the neighborhood? For example, do you have a lot of friends that live there? Is your family close to the neighbors?

Family background

---

1. Where did your parents grow up?
2. What occupations do your parents have?
3. What is their level of education? Where were they educated?
4. Describe your parent's religiosity? What is their religious identity? What are their religious habits/practices?
5. What habits/practices did you grow up with?
6. Is your mother veiled? Are your sisters?

Religious habits

1. Describe your religious identity

2. Is the type of Islam you practice different than that practiced by your family? By your friends? What are the points of distinction?

3. Where did you get your religious education? When and how were you first exposed to Islam? What did it signify to you? What practices did you see and how did you respond to them?

4. Do you veil? Why or why not?

5. Would you veil if you were in an Arab/Muslim country?

6. What does Islam mean to you personally? Is it important? Why?

7. Where does your religious knowledge come from?

8. Is there a distinction between the Islam practiced by young people and the Islam practiced by older people?

9. Do you think Islam is changing? Do you think the Muslim community is changing? Would you like there to be change? What kind?

Education

1. Where did you attend school? What was the socioeconomic and demographic background of the school? Was the school diverse? Where did the students end up? Did they go to university?

2. Did you have a close group of friends? (What did you guys have in common? Were you friends for a long time prior? Are you still friends?)

3. Were there any veiled students in your high school? Was there ever a problem with the veil or with other Muslims?

4. What were the opinions of students and teachers about Islam? Did you have similar ideas about religion?

5. How did your peers affect your religious identity? Where many of your peers of a different religion?

6. Did you ever feel like you did not fit in with your peers/colleagues?

7. Were there many examples of Islamophobia?

2004 Headscarf ban

1. What were the general consequences of the 2004 headscarf ban on the Muslim community?

2. What was the atmosphere as these laws were being discussed and finally when they were passed? Was there is a sense that both laws were targeting individuals?

3. What were the specific consequences of the 2004 law for your life, in terms of school, employment, housing, and personal interactions?

4. How do you think the 2004 law affected the religious practices of Muslim women?

2010 Burqa ban

1. What were the general consequences of the burqa ban on the Muslim community?

2. What was the atmosphere as these laws were being discussed and finally when they were passed? Was there is a sense that both laws were targeting individuals?

3. What were the specific consequences of the burqa ban for your life, in terms of school, employment, housing, and personal interactions?

4. How do you think the burqa ban affected the religious practices of Muslim women?

Islamophobia

1. What image of Islam exists in the public discourse? Where did this image come from?

2. Does it affect everyday life for you? For Muslims in general?

Employment

1. Have you been employed? Have you had internships? Describe them a little bit?

2. Have you ever had problems getting a job or an internship? Why do you think that is?

Muslims in France

1. Is there an overall Muslim community (overarching in Paris)? How is it divided/broken up?

2. Does anything exist that attempts to bring everyone together?

3. What role do associations play and on what level?

4. Which associations have you been a part of and why? At what age?

5. What motivated you to join these associations?

5. Do you think the Muslim community in the suburbs is different than the Muslim community in Paris? Why? How?

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