Béatríce Maurines,
Estelle Bonnet,
Beate Collet, and
Lionel Durand

Literature on Job Mobility in France

State-of-the-Art of Mobility Research, Chapter 4

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IV. Literature on Job Mobility in France

1. Job mobility and motility (incl. infrastructure)

1.1. Demands of high mobility of modern life

Exploring the literature on the theme should contribute to reconsidering the social inequalities implied by mobility. With a view to this, V. Kaufmann (2003, 2005) defines the concept of «*motility as the way an individual or group appropriates the realm of possibles concerning mobility and puts it to use*» (2005, p. 126). «Motility» is three-dimensional, and consists in «accessibility» (a set of economic and spatial-temporal conditions accompanying a mobility proposal); «competences», which depend on socialisation, and finally, «cognitive appropriation», i.e. the meaning that actors ascribe to the opportunities mobility offers. These dimensions «*occur simultaneously and cannot be dealt with separately*» (2005, p. 127). From that point of view, the literature examined reveals forms of social inequality in accessing mobility and informs us as to the sociological and psychosocial capacities it implies. No direct link is established between those dimensions, which are presented either singly or in contrast to one another.

1.2. Mobility potential or motility: the access to transport infrastructure

Eric Le Breton (2005) applies the notion of «transportation network» both to private automobile travel and to public transportation. Accessing transportation networks obeys a set of norms that sometimes turn out to be more or less costly, depending on individual economic situations. The cost of automobile transportation depends on obtaining a license, acquiring a vehicle, getting all the official papers authorizing it to be put in circulation (insurance, owner's certification, technical control[1]), upkeep (repairs, petrol), tolls, etc. Private automobiles are thus a means of transportation that poor populations cannot afford; public transportation is simpler for them and Le Breton stresses the fact that several surveys have «*established that using public transportation is more popular the lower one descends in the social hierarchy*» (p. 92). But though public transportation is doubtless an element of comfort, the poorest households live in areas where the time spent travelling is longest and requires the greatest number of transfers. Such constraints make getting anywhere a real problem. To that

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[1] Mandatory in France, the « contrôle technique » means all vehicles must be checked by an independent and certified mechanic every two years (Translator's note).

must be added the financial expenditure: modest populations cannot afford travel cards and prefer buying tickets one at a time.

In the review published by Bonnet and Desjeux (2000), some of the articles show that far from destroying the social link, the automobile can be a powerful vector of sociability. V. Mondou's work on the urban zoning of Rouen (2006) noted two types of reasons given by those who prefer the automobile to public transportation:

- «objective» reasons, connected to the mediocre quality of service (overly long travel or waiting time, irregular hours, insufficient service at certain hours, difficulty of connecting from suburb to suburb)

- «psychological» reasons (feelings of insecurity - unverified, since the survey was carried out among non-users - and identifying public transportation with schoolchildren and youths who do not own cars).

1.3. Mobility potential or motility: the competences

In his analysis of how poor people relate to mobility, Le Breton (2005) elucidated the basic psycho-social aptitudes. Their social and economic situation has altered those psychological motor faculties that several of the Associations studied by the author try to have them recover: they need to relearn laterality, cognitive reactivity, balance, body flexibility, physical synchronisation. Competences such as those are just as necessary to ride a bicycle as to drive a car. The persons concerned also suffer from what Le Breton calls «atopy» (a difficulty in «understanding the meaning of a place, in sketching a useable map» (p. 161). To that must be added the fact they are unable to organise their time, to recognise and accept norms (highway regulations; buying tickets, etc.) and that they have difficulty in being with others.

Chevrier and Sauvage (2006) confirm the importance of these capabilities in the case of mobile international managers, but note they are less indispensable in contexts where the individual is well cared for (trip organised by a secretary, the role of travel agencies, taxi companies…). A consequence of the standardisation of hotel rooms and travelling routines is that having to confront the other is cut down to a minimum. International managers travel as they were in a «dark room»; the expression reflects the distance international managers want to keep with respect to the territory, the foreigner and the tourist. Thus a different set of capacities must become operative in the case of mobility, aiming first of all at limiting the

cost of work in terms of fatigue and stress (knowing which seat to choose on the plane, how to cope with jetlag, etc.).

Learning to socialise with different others cannot be taken for granted, such is the message of research on the training of Euromanagers (Davoine, 2000) or on international executives' intercultural experiences (Pierre 2001). In the first case, gaining international and intercultural competence is the aim of a three-year training period during which French and German students were diversely confronted to otherness. Differences in the way Euromanagers integrate professionally were pointed out: German graduates are relatively immobile nationally speaking, while French graduates are relatively mobile, in particular prep school[2] alumni. Also of note is the very marked geographic mobility of students belonging to the national minorities in each country. The research carried out by Pierre (2001) on «the identity profiles of international mobility» aims to show on an individual level how being an international manager or executive is a specific way of having an intercultural experience. «*Cultures and identities can become useful resources in social action, can be worked into meanings that multinational companies need to acknowledge*» (p. 53).

Globally speaking, geographic mobility as a competence is most often associated with the managerial category. Cadin, Bender, and Saint Geniez (1999) created a typology made up of three sorts of "mobile" managers: the "itinerants," the "frontiers," and the "nomads." The "itinerants" are professionals who constantly change companies within the same branch of work they have frequently experienced short periods of unemployment. The "nomads" are typically on the lookout to start their own business, often after several radical conversions, long-term unemployment or long periods of inactivity. As to the "frontier" managers, they shuttle between salaried employment and independent work within the same field, either simultaneously or successively. The category of «nomad managers» was picked up by Guerrero (2001). At the outset of her study, she hypothesised that new patterns of behaviour appeared during the 1990s among managers, in connection with the spread of flexibility. Such behaviour is spotted less in the loyalty towards one's employer than in the desire for mobility. Her research results show that French managers have fairly traditional career strategies, giving internal mobility priority over other forms of evolution (p. 3). Whereas companies prefer functional and geographic mobility rather than vertical mobility for their managers, the latter are more individualistic where their own careers are concerned and consider

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[2] These schools prepare the entrance examinations to the « Grandes Ecoles », the elite establishments that dominate the French system of higher education (Translator's note).

international experience important to realise their professional ambitions. This is mainly true of young French managers. Among them, mobility is «*functional by definition, earning them more frequent and larger salary rises*» (p. 6). Overall, French managers adopt middle-of-the road patterns of behaviour, between the traditional and the nomadic career. Mobility is above all internal, taking place in the same company.

Spatial mobility for professional reasons is connected with the actors' desires rather than type of job. This form of employability belongs to «the new spirit of capitalism» (Boltanski, Chiapello, 1999). These authors described how nomad managers develop, working at various projects that end up by creating "employability" rather than careers, thus giving rise to the "project-oriented" paradigm. Typical jobs of the new era of capitalism correspond to managers, coaches, or other mediators.

For such individuals, work is valued because it allows a person to be flexible, and to become a member of networks (of people, of techniques…).

On this point, we may conclude with Bonnet and Desjeux (2000) that mobility is a plus and an opportunity for the more well-to-do, but it may turn into a prison for less privileged groups.

1.4. Mobility potential or motility: the appropriation, the culture of mobility

L. Gobillon's article (2001) is useful for studying old boys' networks: having acquaintances on a potential site may (when moving away) allow individuals to obtain information about the local labour market more easily and lower the cost of migration by taking advantage of existing facilities (research by Bauer, Epstein, Gang, 2000 quoted by Gobillon, 2001). Losing one's social network in the place one has left represents a high cost for individuals and may discourage them from moving. The cost is higher the farther away one must go since it becomes more difficult to continue seeing members of the network left behind. Degenne, Fournier, Marry, Mounier (1991) expose the way that unemployed people find new employment, by analyzing both the role of entrepreneurs and the social relations mobilised by the job-seeker. The authors lean on M. Granovetter's theory (*The strength of weak ties*, 1973) and validate the idea that weak ties are more efficient than strong ones when looking for work. They illustrate the importance of studying actors' logics to account for professional integration in the labour markets, which are the same for both employees and employers. They allow us to understand how, since all the actors use their networks to attain

their goals, a system of rules emerges. The various statistical surveys studied by the authors show that the nature of the connection when accessing employment varies according to social criteria. On the other hand, the Survey *Jeunes* (1986) shows that: it is «the strength of their strong ties that count in accessing a first job for the low-skilled young» (p. 82). The study carried out among engineers (FASFILD, 1987) elucidates the interest of a «theory that combines the strategies of both entrepreneurs and employees». The network effect is important but is different for both sexes, «less efficient for low-skilled young women, and professional networks are relatively inefficient where female engineers are concerned».

1.5. Mobility potential or motility: a resource

To sum up, one observes inequalities in mobility among different socio-professional categories. Among the poorer populations, who also have difficulty accessing and using transportation networks, competences expected for mobility are lacking or not up to par. Managers possess the competences and a socialisation that make it easier for them to access the communication infrastructures and they usually can choose the type of transportation they use. However, these capacities are as much a potential as a reality. Managers can, more easily than persons in other socio-professional milieus, leave for far-away places, become mobile and move, become nomads.

2. Family functioning, family structure, family development

2.1. Family structures

We know of no research that bears explicitly on the various forms of families and situations of geographic professional mobility. In their report for PUCA (2006 d), Bonnet, Collet and Maurines provide statistical evidence based on their analysis of the "Life Stories – building identities" survey (*Histoires de vie – construction des identities*, MIRE-DRESS, 2003). The question «Does your work involve travelling that obliges you to spend nights away from home?»[3], produced a four-part variable (never; yes, once a month; yes, more than once a month; yes, at least once a week). Persons declaring they were mobile for professional reasons represent 16,75 % of the working population, and quite obviously among these mobilities, the irregular ones are more frequent (7,27 %) than the regulars ones (4,00 %). Persons who live in couples are more liable to experience these mobilities than those living alone (17,8 % *vs* 13,76 %). The conclusion was that persons living alone are both younger

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[3] « Effectuez-vous des déplacements professionnels qui impliquent de dormir en dehors du domicile ? »

and older – it is true that the most mobile categories are to be found in the 30-39 and 40-49 age groups – and these persons in these age brackets who live alone are thus more likely to move closer to their place of work. The same report also gives figures for the number of children in the household and their age, but no significant correlation with professional mobility was noted.

Several French studies have been done on the question of non-cohabiting couples (living apart together), especially at the National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) where, since the 1990s a variety of surveys have been carried out on the subject (Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1997), but the phenomenon is considered to be the first phase in a young couple's life. Caradec (2003) noted that as a conjugal lifestyle, it seems to be gaining in popularity among couples forming at a later stage in life too. Generally, family sociologists look at the question preferably from the point of view of couples trying to reconcile private time and time spent together. But the question is not dealt with in connection with geographic professional mobility. A paper read at the symposium of the AISLF-CERLIS in May 2006 did however report on the first statistics available from the Study of family and intergenerational relations (*Etude des relations familiales et intergénérationnelles*, INED-INSEE 2005), and it is permitted to think that more explicit interpretations in that direction will be forthcoming. Over 10.000 individuals between the ages of 18 and 79 were interviewed: three out of ten declared they lived alone, six out of ten lived in couples and one out of ten declared their couple was stable even though they did not live together (Regnier-Loilier Arnaud, Beaujouan Eva, 2006). The authors concentrated on the third category. They proposed to interpret it by comparing voluntary and involuntary non-cohabitations. The first corresponded rather to older couples, divorcees who wanted to preserve a certain degree of independence. One frequently meets up with the second among younger people, often students; non-cohabitation in their case is the result of distant universities or first jobs. The authors ended their paper by saying that non-cohabitation is rarely a long-term arrangement, that it is followed either by separation or by setting up house together. Non-cohabitation imposed for professional reasons seems to be a specific form among some dual-career couples, although the present state of the research does not permit giving exact figures. But the survey should theoretically allow a more precise analysis of the phenomenon.

2.2. Family functioning

If we consider the ways couples cope between their family and their professional obligations, various sources show that being favourably disposed to mobility largely depends

on their conjugal philosophy or on the rules of reciprocity they set for themselves. We will first examine research on the importance of family networks in decision-making concerning mobility, and then look at studies dealing with how couples handle job and family when one of the partners is mobile.

Hélène Challiol's work (1998, 2002) falls into the domain of personnel management. Its interest lies in the fact she examines the connection between being open to geographic professional mobility (transfers) and the reciprocity rules couples follow. The author postulates that mobility produces conflict as the couples negotiate their professional and family roles. Their reciprocity rules are based on the manner professional and family investments have been apportioned between the partners. Results of a quantitative investigation carried out among 153 persons show that reciprocity rules play an important part in accepting geographic mobility. In dual-career couples, where both partners attach great value to their professions, mobility is accepted if the individual feels that their partner will be able to find a position that lives up to their expectations. For individuals whose reciprocity rules require the partner to cut down on their professional investment, acceptance of mobility is limited by the latter's degree of involvement in the life of the local community. Finally, if the couple's reciprocity rules are based on both partners' subordinating their professions to family living, acceptance of mobility depends on the possibilities of upholding the reciprocity rules elsewhere. It seems, however, that in this study, the author assumed that the mobility of one partner spurs the mobility of the other, thus setting the stage for an «initiator» and a «follower» in mobility.

In the research Cécile Vignal (2005 a) carried out by interviewing mostly industrial workers who in the year 2000 were faced with the shut-down of their factory and the prospect of moving 200 kms away, she also insisted on the importance of family logics when weighing the pros and cons of geographic mobility for professional reasons. Basing herself on the results of this survey, she produced a second publication (Vignal, 2005b) in which she developed a four-part typology. The first two types are dominated by family logics, which appear more important than professional ones. The «migration based on family compromise» thus attempts to preserve professional and at the same time domestic and family integration (workers accepting transfers but choosing a strategy of double residence). In the «family rooted» type, the relation to their job is not the all-important one. Workers choose to be laid off, giving precedence to their residential roots and family spaces. The other two types are marked by the dominance of professional logics when deciding between being transferred or

laid off. «The cost/benefits of the transfer seem obvious here, since family and professional logics are less antagonistic and do not call for any radical sacrifice». «Career migrations» are thus central to the professional arena. Transferring opens up possibilities of upward mobility and makes one's professional ambitions seem realistic. The family project adapts itself to this professional logic without too much trouble. In the "project rooted" model, workers choose to be laid off. This choice is marked by «the opinion that there is a professional and economic advantage to staying put». Several options are then available to them: changing profession, preserving the spouse's job considered stabler or more profitable, accepting the conditions of the local job market. Vignal followed through (2005c), and was even more outspoken in this third article about how family spaces develop and considerably influence economic decisions.

Research by Bonnet, Collet and Maurines (2006a), on the other hand, bears on the consequences of professional geographic mobility on the couple's life together. Their study is based on comprehensive interviews and explores the experience of couples in which one of the partners is away from home one or several nights a week for their job. In point of fact, the sample was mainly made up of executives, company directors, intellectual and intermediate professions, i.e. categories likely to be on the move. On the whole, the authors note that the sedentary partners adapt to the mobile partners' obligations and that they do so as much when the latter are away (child-care) as when they are home (socializing together). The mobile partners essentially account for the time given to their professional activity away from home, while the sedentary ones (mainly women) juggle between their professional investment and managing the domestic arena. Despite this, the women explain that they like to do their own thing while the partner is away (going out with girlfriends, reading). The survey clearly confirms that men's professional mobility reinforces the traditional and thus sexual division of domestic and educational roles. However, when it is the woman who is mobile, she continues to invest, more than the man, in the domestic sphere, particularly by preparing for the time she will be away (doing housework and shopping ahead).

Already in their first paper, these authors suggested accounting for the realities of couples confronted by geographic mobility for professional reasons in terms of "family careers." The concept implies considering the professional, social and family careers of each partner, not only individually but also as they interfere. In two other papers published the same year (2006 b, 2006 c), they refined the concept by pointedly taking into account the couples' tacit or explicit adjustments and negotiations. Deciding about mobility and the various ways to handle their own lives can only be understood in the light of the couple's

power struggle. The paper published in *Cahiers du Genre* (2006b) gave the authors the opportunity to present a preliminary typology of family careers in situations of geographic mobility for professional reasons. The first type bears the strong imprint of the mobile partner's professional realities on the couple's mode of functioning, both professionally and as a family. The partners markedly differentiate their roles following the traditionally gendered model. Since the man is the mobile one, the best arrangement is when the woman dedicates herself entirely to running the home when her man is away. The second type leaves relatively more room for the professional self-fulfilment of each partner, thus revealing more of the constraints attached to geographic mobility. The third type is one in which the mobility of one is clearly felt as an impediment for self-fulfilment ; their life as a couple and a family, socializing with family and friends, and participating in local activities seem to win out over individual professional satisfaction. In that case, then, couples generally quickly put an end to the situation of mobility.

In their research report to the PUCA (*Plan urbanisme construction architecture*, 2006d), Bonnet, Collet and Maurines continued to explore the articulation between professional and family logics in situations of mobility, by paying more attention to the question of socially gendered relations. Geographic mobility for professional reasons is not experienced in the same way by men and women. The men's profiles bear the stamp of their strong investment in the job, with which they personally identify. It is nevertheless necessary to distinguish those who place work above all else (a more traditional model, where roles are complementary and the way of imagining life together not very egalitarian) and those who in spite of everything try to reconcile the professional and the familial (a rather more egalitarian way of imagining life together). There are also two sorts of mobile women: one is the woman involved in her professional career as deeply as her partner; in that case, if mobility is a necessity, it becomes a family affair. These women are in relationships where the roles and division of domestic and educational labour are very egalitarian. On the opposite side, there are women who, having strongly invested in the family and accepted to put their career second to their husband's, assert themselves professionally once the children are grown up and they are freed from their educational duties.

In her book of 1998, Yvonne Guichard-Claudic clearly put herself in the women's shoes. Faced with the regular, long-term absences of their husbands embarked on the tuna fishing boats for months at a time, sailors' wives construct their personal identities between the family and the profession. All these women must adjust their ways of being wives,

mothers and workers to fit in with the obligations imposed by their husbands' absences. Y. Guichard-Claudic also proposed a typology for the forms of identity[4] of sailors' wives: First, there are the "assistants" who conceive of their identity as completing their husbands'. They put all their energy into supporting their husbands' professional identity, with an eye to the family group rather than to the individual. They participate actively in the life of the community, especially to maintain their men's presence while they are at sea. Then there are the "stay at homes" who fill the same complementary role as the "assistants" but without taking part in community activities. The next two types however break with the traditional models. The «negociators» value subjective rather than objective memberships. Work is an important part of their personal identity even though they experience periods of professional inaction, mainly during the family cycle when the children are small. As to the "rebels," they reject objective membership to such a point that they don't even want to reveal their husband's profession. They value their own professional identities and lead two separate lives, between the times the husbands are away and the times they are home.

This empirical research on the functioning of the family in connection with geographic mobility for professional reasons is echoed in the work by François de Singly, especially in his book *Libres ensembles* (2000). While postulating that conjugal and family socialisation demands regular, day-by-day co-habitating, he concentrated on the degree to which individualities are taken into account in how couples function, particularly around the question of place of residence. Couples who do not live together on a daily basis create a lifestyle that highlights the moments of interaction, differentiating between the time given to other relationships (oneself as a member of other groups), and the time dedicated to the conjugal relationship (oneself as part of a couple). François de Singly most clearly espoused the theory of reflexive modernity in his 2003 book. From then on, he has defined family ties as being freely consented: individualities fully express themselves in inter-personal relations, in freedom and mutual respect. The fact of not cohabiting, for whatever reason (one's profession, university studies, or conjugal philosophy), is interpreted as a sign of greater individual freedom of expression.

Yannick Sencébé (2006) studies more particularly the lifestyles of people who shuttle back and forth each day because they live on the periphery of towns and thus of their place of work. She refers to the phenomenon of peri-urbanisation as reflecting a lack of a better

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[4] following Claude Dubar's theoretical model (1992, « Formes identitaires et socialisation professionnelle », *Revue française de sociologie*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 505-529).

arrangement, typical of modest households (a detached house closer to their place of work would be infinitely more expensive). In such situations, people seem relatively closed into their family and home, which absorb the largest part of the family budget, their free time and their social activities.

There is no research bearing specifically on the connection between professional geographic mobility and the stress that it might cause in the way the family functions. We can only refer to work by psychologists (Robin et al. 2001, Le Floch et al., 2005) who study the perception of stress (subjective stress) and the reality of stress (objective stress) when reconciling professional and family roles. They underline the lesser perception of stress, namely thanks to the existence of a supportive family or a network of friends, and insist on the impact of couple dynamics in handling women's professional stress, especially thanks to the man's participation in the domestic and family arena and the fact he acknowledges his spouse's salaried employment. Le Floch et al. pursue the project, especially by showing that people in middle-ranking professions and managers are less prone to suffer from the stress due to the «family/work» interface than blue-collar workers and employees. These differences might be explained by the articulation of professional and family roles, the constraints of labour organisation and the strategies that individuals invent in order to offset the tension induced by stressful factors, such as professional mobility.

2.3. Family life cycle

Since Courgeau's pioneering study on the subject in 1985, it has become customary to think that certain periods in people's lives are more particularly favourable ones for mobility, e.g. the end of formal education and the beginning of working life, the unfolding of one's professional career which parallels the growth and evolution of the family, and retirement. C. Détang-Dessendre, V. Piguet and B. Schmitt (2002) studied the micro-economic determinations of urban-rural migrations according to the stage of the life cycle, paying particular attention to how professional and residential choices worked together. An analysis par logit models estimation of a set of data taken from INSEE's permanent demographic sample (Echantillon démographique permanent, EDP) in 1982 and 1990, allowed them to grasp the various motivations for migrating between the rural and urban for three age groups (15-24, 25-44 and 45-64). For the youngest group, it is clearly setting up house with a partner and the birth of the first child that increase the probability individuals will migrate, especially if they live in peri-urban and rural towns. But professional motives are also extremely important for this group: the younger people migrate to get training and because they have

had training. Those who became managers in 1990 are the most likely to have migrated since 1982 and within each social-professional category, the most highly skilled were the most mobile. On the other hand, for those aged 25-44, residential motivations overshadowed professional ones. They migrated for professional reasons far less than the younger individuals (15-24). But forming a couple and having children explain the migrations of this age group the same as for the younger group, and becoming a one-parent family or celibate once again quite significantly increase the likelihood of migrating towards an urban centre. As to the 45-64 year-olds, retirement obviously, but also the changes in the family structure motivate the various migrations. For all the age groups, the study noted that having migrated in the past increased the likelihood of migrating once again.

3. Job market

3.1. *Social mobility and spatial mobility*

Research on connections between social and spatial mobility shows that the relationship between the two forms of mobility is a strong one, but without significantly pointing to cause-and-effect. A recent INSEE publication (Baraton, 2006) shows that accessing the status of manager implies a change of company but also of department[5]. However, the meaning of the relationship between professional and spatial mobility is ambivalent. Is the change of department due to an opportunity for a promotion? Or, conversely, does a change in residence allow one to come closer to a region where there are more possibilities for being promoted? The question does not appear to receive any clear response, for professional and geographic mobility often go together. One can however hypothesise that the difficulty in accounting for why or how those forms of mobility are concomitant may be put down to the fact that these studies are based on econometric models. Their efficiency rests on their ability to convincingly show either correlations or that it is simply one variable among others. That is also the major drawback of econometric models, since interpretation is delicate, and often a matter of conjecture.

Aside from the link between the two sorts of mobility, authors have questioned what the financial gains of geographic mobility might be for men and women. Pailhé and Solaz (2001) show that women are more mobile geographically, and moreover have more to gain financially from it than men. However, such gains are small where professional mobility is

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[5] France is divided into 96 departments, an administrative division of the territory devised by Napoleon Bonaparte (Translator's note).

concerned. The authors acknowledge the fact that these results do not sufficiently account for the importance of conjugal life. Their study does show nevertheless that living as a couple promotes men's geographic mobility but penalises upward professional mobility for women.

3.2. *Spatial mobility choices according to opportunities and requirements of the job market*

Towards the end of 2005, the unemployment rate in France was 9.5 %. Certain regions had higher rates than others. Comparing the unemployment rate according to region with employees' opportunities for mobility is risky. One of the reasons for this is that unemployment is very different according to socio-professional categories which, besides, also spur different forms of mobility. For instance, in 2005, the unemployment rates for managers and middle-ranking occupations were respectively 4.9 % and 5.5 %, as against 12.5 % for workers in industry.

The most mobile persons geographically speaking are regularly to be found among managers and the upper intellectual professions (and to a lesser extent among workers and employees, Insee, 1999 Census). But there is little research directly addressing the relationship between mobility and the job market. This must be compared to the fact that decisions to migrate are usually taken under the combined influence of many factors: economic, professional, family, or yet again residential… The impact of the labour market on professional geographic mobility can be approached in particular through studies more broadly focused on residential mobility[6]. Thus Gobillon (2001) analyzed people's motivations to move[7]. He showed that though migrations are related to employment opportunities, the latter are not the only factor that must be taken into consideration, especially when the migration involves short distances. Reasons for short-distance residential mobility are mainly connected to housing, professional reasons being clearly associated with long-distance mobility. Age too must be taken into account: geographic migrations for professional reasons are less prevalent after age 45, more frequent among younger people aged 25 to 29. Besides, as the author also notes, the effect of unemployment remains ambiguous: the probability of migrating towards another town (mobility is here understood as taking place within a region or between regions …) is less among unemployed heads of household than among those who are employed. Educational levels also influence the likelihood of migration: college educated household heads (B.A. or over) are more likely to migrate than those with lower levels of

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[6] Cf. axis 1, motility
[7] from a study bearing on the European Households Panel (1994-1996)

education.

Debrand and Taffin (2005) also looked at residential mobility as a factor that might explain migration. That research allows us to deduce a few elements concerning the link between geographic mobility and the labour market. They used Insee's last five surveys on housing (*Logement*, 1984-2002) and aimed their analysis at two main points: the evolution of residential mobility over more than twenty years and the impact of structural changes in a household and changes in how they relate to the labour market on their residential mobility. Concerning the relationship to the labour market, several points were outstanding (of which several went in the same direction as Gobillon's analysis, 2001). First, one must note that over the last two decades, intra-departmental and intra-regional mobility has increased. Such mobility involving greater distances are associated with professional mobility whereas residential mobility over shorter distances are mainly explained by family reasons (the arrival of a new baby, for example) or by housing preferences. Long-distance mobility is also sensitive to factors such as educational level, age, revenue, number of persons in the household and dual-career couples. Being a dual-career couple thus affects long-distance mobility, in the sense that potential difficulties for an active partner to find a new job may often discourage mobility. That negative correlation between dual-career couples and long-distance mobility may well be compatible with the hypothesis that dual-career couples decide to shuttle but single-career couples decide to move. Pochic (2004) partly addressed that question in a study on managers' unemployment (and particularly female managers' careers). She observed that unemployed male managers living with a partner are sometimes made to give up the idea of geographic mobility when seeking employment, either because the partner is opposed to it or because the financial cost connected to her having to quit her job, if the family moves away, is too high. What is more, most female managers living in couples must sometimes give up the idea of moving, because their partner «does not want to sacrifice his career to hers». It is rare for unemployed male managers to follow their spouse's geographic displacement. Conversely, male managers' geographic mobility and professional investment are sometimes at the root of female managers' loss of activity (this is mostly observed among the more «traditional» couples). Studying geographic mobility can therefore hardly avoid analyzing gender relations at the same time.

The aforementioned works show how important economic and professional resources can be when working and non working employees negotiate their place of residence. In a study which also dealt with employees' residential preferences, Cécile Vignal (2005 a, 2005

b) showed the multidimensional nature of their choices, insisting on the importance of what they tell us of family logics. The author proposed a hypothesis according to which «negotiating residential mobility or non mobility does not only depend on professional and economic obligations, it includes family and residential logics that lend a meaning to the way individuals relate to a territory». The family is thus an active participant in the social changes it must undergo[8]. In her research she shows, that workers had to decide between being transferred or laid off. Finally, 2/3 were laid off, while a third accepted the transfer. Those refusing to transfer and move away were largely: «home owners or in the process of buying their home, members of a family with children, and over 40». Choosing to be laid off was also more frequent among the less skilled and whose partners also worked. The second lesson drawn from this study was, as the author pointed out: migration is made difficult by the unequal prospects of employees as to professional mobility. Moving is made easier for technicians, managers and certain skilled workers (all the more if they do not have small children and do not own their home). Third lesson: «the choice of staying put, migrating or shuttling between residences are in part connected to the way the family is attached to its home territory and to the type of residential arrangement (renting, owning…)». Deciding between being laid off and transferring is thus connected to the degree of attachment to the territory, the home, the kinship network. Sylvie Malsan (2001), in her study on the closing down of an Alcatel electronic factory in Cherbourg also found that most workers refused to transfer.

Vignal's results show the need to study the relationship to mobility and non mobility in a multidimensional perspective (residential, familial and professional), catching the interactions and tensions that preside over people's choices[9]. They also tend to show that as far as choice goes, a majority of employees prefer being laid off rather than transferring to keep a job, which exposes them to unemployment. The impact of unemployment on job-seekers remains uncertain and the research reviewed has not developed that theme to any real extent.

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[8] Cf. axis 2, family fonctioning.

[9] Cf axis 1, motility. Aside from the work by Vignal relative to the forms of delocalization of employment, Alain Tarrius (2000) describes a study carried out on the migration of 20000 steel workers from the Lorraine region who arrived in the region of Provence in 1973 when a steel works opened at Fos-sur-Mer. The relation between geographic and professional mobility was mainly studied through the way the migrants managed their territorial and identity (re)compositions. This approach was also applied to international professional elites, of whom a certain number were in an upwardly mobile career strategy. Others however considered that being mobile or sedentary « is the ordinary counterpart of doing one's job in one's main place of work ».

3.3. Localisation of jobs within each country, spatial distribution of various kinds of jobs

The employment site is important if one wishes to understand working people's geographic mobility, which appears more significant in certain parts of France than others. The poles of attraction correspond in fact to the two main basins of employment:

- The concentration of the service sector and so many company headquarters in *Ile de France* (and not only Paris - the urban zone extends to the surrounding departments), the strong presence of industry in the North of the country. The industrial sector is more dominant in the North and generates in point of fact a greater number of jobs. It is also well represented in the North-East.

- The development of the service sector in some of the large cities in the South of France, such as Lyons, Marseilles, Nice, Toulouse and Bordeaux, which is clearly the case given the large number of managers and middle-ranking professions there ; and of young people, since there are several large universities in those regions. The large regional capitals are highly attractive, as much from the point of view of employment as for their geographic locations (agreeable climate). Departments bordering the Mediterranean benefit from a considerable tourist trade. Geographically, they are much sought after (as are those on the Atlantic coast).

Parallel to those very attractive geographic areas, other large regions look practically deserted as the active population moves away towards other departments or regions. That is the case in several Southern departments, in the Centre and East of France. These areas correspond to rural parts of the country which are less densely populated and whose population is aging, among whom a relatively high proportion of farmers (Hilico and Poulos, 2004). This is particularly true of the departments in the Auvergne (*Massif Central*).

Léon and Godefroy (2006) confirm the low pull factor of some French regions (Center-East and North-East) whatever the age of the persons surveyed. These areas are in the process of industrial or rural decline. The migratory patterns noted among men and women are similar. The most decisive factors to explain their behaviour are age and place (only the three key ages in the life cycle are considered in the analysis: 16-20, 20-30 and 55-65). As one might expect, university-age girls and boys arrive en masse in the employment zones of Paris and the other large university towns in the provinces. Once they finish college, these students migrate towards other areas to look for work. The industrial zones in the suburbs

typically show a loss of population at the time of studies and a gain of young working householders (aged 25 to 40). The small urban centres, especially because they have few jobs to offer, show a gain of population towards retirement age …

Brutel et al., (2000) analyzed the relationship between professional and geographic mobility, taking into account the size of the urban area from which the persons left and that of their place of destination[10]. The authors showed that the connection between the two sorts of mobility exists whatever the size of the urban areas but that it tended to weaken between 1968 and 1990. Moving from region to region became the main vector of professional mobility (changing urban areas then loses some of its influence). Besides, the probability of obtaining a promotion is twice as high when going from a small to a large urban zone. Since 1975, mobility from a small urban zone towards Paris has increased the chances of promotion, especially among the middle-ranking occupations. Unskilled workers also saw their chances for a promotion increase as they left for larger urban areas.

Mobility between small urban zones of various sizes is also positive for professional advancement. This is particularly true for skilled workers and employees obtained more promotions than those who remained in the «large urban» zones. All these different trends however seem to diminish with time, a fact which the authors interpret as being due to the standardisation of the labour markets within the different urban areas.

3.4. Alternating Migrations in France

In 1999, 3 out of 5 active individuals were working outside of their residential community (Talbot, 2001). Alternating migrants are ever more numerous: from 46.1 % in 1982 to 60.9 % in 1999, and the distance they must cover to go to work ever greater, on the average 15.1 kms as the crow flies.

The increase in the number of alternating migrations concerns mainly those populations living outside the urban centres. They also vary according to the region, being more frequent in the North and North-East (*Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Lorraine, Alsace, Picardie, Haute-Normandie*) and less so in the Southern parts of the country (particularly *Corsica, Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur* and *Limousin* where the proportion of people working in their

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[10] The study only took into consideration salaried men and mobility between urban areas with fewer than 400.000 inhabitants. That choice may be explained by the fact that mobility towards urban areas of that size is more often associated with a promotion.

place of residence is the highest).

Ile de France with Paris and the Rhone Valley department are by far the most attractive from the point of view of employment. The Paris urban area contributes very significantly to the demographic growth of the department, but other large provincial cities are also strongly dynamic demographically. In 1999, Paris, Toulouse and Lyons were the three urban areas that had grown the most, followed in 4th place by Montpellier (Julien, 2001). There is a high concentration of population in the most dynamic cities. At the same time, these cities constantly expand and are thus marked by suburbanisation. Thus, though the labour force is mainly concentrated in the urban poles, people live further and further away from them. That is mainly true of the younger people and families in need of space.

Census data (Insee, 2004) show that 45 % only of those migrating between provincial regions cross one regional border (Baccaïni, 2005). Inter-regional exchanges seem to reveal a certain harmony or affinity between neighbouring regions.

3.5. The Centralisation of employment and career management

Though *Ile de France* constitutes one of the most attractive regions in terms of employment, it is also the most affected by the departure of working populations for other places in France. A study of the migratory balance (Baccaïni, 2005) over the entire territory shows that this region (as well as those in the North and North-East) sees more people moving out than moving in. It is mainly attractive for young adults (between 20 and 30 years of age) at the time of their studies or when looking for a first job. After 30, there are more departures than arrivals. Families with young children and retired folk leave, seeking a more agreeable lifestyle.

Population shifts concern employees in the private as well as the public sector. For the latter, *Ile de France* is the region most affected by the mobility of civil servants (Pauron, 2003). They are especially attracted by the Mediterranean and to a lesser degree the South-West. But *Ile de France* is also a pole of attraction for civil servants from the rest of France, particularly young people, men and managers. Paris and its region can be a first appointment, followed after a few years by a move to the provinces (towards a more attractive zone geographically or towards the region one came from). The chances to move, given the centralisation of so many services, are good and encourage the mobility of civil servants.

3.6. Mobility between France and abroad

As to French working populations abroad, Switzerland and Germany are undeniably the most attractive destinations in terms of salary and employment, compared to other border States such as Italy and Spain. Luxemburg and to a lesser degree, Belgium, also concentrate a large number of French workers. There too, salaries are very attractive.

The departments bordering on these countries are in fact those most affected by emigration, which often takes the form of daily shuttling between home and work. For many other departments not bordering France, one supposes the trips are more on a weekly than daily basis, though we have no precise data on that. It is the case e.g. of Paris and the Rhone Valley (Lyons) which are the two non-border departments with the highest rate of migrations towards the rest of Europe (PUCA, 2006).

4. Social integration, social capital

4.1. Social capital and mobility types

The themes known as «social capital, social support and social networks» are dealt with in sociology (of the family, of kinship relations, of social networks, and by socio-economy) as well as in economics, using the concepts of mutual assistance (family and/or relations), public solidarity, and intergenerational transfers. In this research, the link with mobility is rarely mentioned, except implicitly or as background information.

The employment problem and the problem of social protection that accompanies it have made sociological, socio-economic and economic research on family solidarity and exchanges outside the immediate family (with other kin) a totally contemporaneous preoccupation. Work on this began in France about thirty years ago with the research done by A. Pitrou (1978). C. Attias-Donfut (1996) shows that exchanges between generations can be very diversified and that they vary according to the life cycle and specific needs. But family solidarity also depends on resources and the norms proper to each social group.

4.2. Social support, social networks and social capital: Help through the financial support and the social security

J. H. Déchaux (1994) wonders what the effects of family solidarity on social inequalities might be. He concludes that the effects on the three sorts of exchanges examined (domestic, reticular and financial) are systematically unequal. Kin appears to be a «*factor that conserves and even amplifies social cleavages*» (p. 89). The question and answer were reset

and completed in 2004 by the author and N. Herpin, and do not uphold the optimistic French interpretation of mutual aid. According to them, statistical surveys indicate that, on the contrary, it takes place on a relatively modest scale and they note an «*absence of redistribution of wealth among social milieus*» (p. 3)[11].

Family mutual aid between households is studied under two angles. The first concerns services rendered (Attias Donfut 2000), the second concerns support in the form of money (gifts, financial assistance... that fall outside inheritance laws[12]). Whatever the social class, financial mutual aid is at its maximum when the children leave home (Paugam and Zoyem, 1997), especially if they are under 25 (20 % of them are helped by their family, sometimes their family-in-law, for over 40 % of their consumer's budget (Herpin, Déchaux, 2004, p. 12). However, these authors wonder if such an amount should still be considered mutual aid or if the beneficiaries should not be considered as dependents. Overall, the results of the survey covering all cases show that financial aid coming from the family does not significantly contribute to improving a household's standard of living «*when compared to the amounts granted by welfare*» (2004).

Mutual aid relations differ greatly according to social class. Among well-to-do families, mutual aid is more a part of sociability, with an eye to protecting the standard of living to which they are accustomed. The key issues of mutual aid are the children's education and help for setting up house when they leave the family nest (Paugam and Zoyem, 1997; Herpin, Déchaux, 2004). Nothing is said about where these children set up house. They do not become independent very quickly among the middle-ranking professions whereas among the well-to-do, helping out is «part of their sociability». The authors conclude therefore that «*rather than correcting social differences, family assistance accentuates them*» (Herpin, Déchaux, 2004, p. 3). Among poorer households, mutual aid concentrates more particularly on cohabiting within the «extended family», in the anthropological sense of «kinship». These milieus, which are the ones that mainly benefit from public assistance and social protection, are also those where such exchanges are the least frequent. «Family solidarity is visible more in the fact they cohabit and in the sorts of domestic organisation typical of 'extended

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[11] To account for this, they worked on three statistical surveys: « Budget famille » (Bdf, 2000-2001) bearing on the household's expenses and resources ; « Kin Networks and Mutual Assistance » (Réseau de parenté et entraide) to analyze sociability (Insee, 1997) ; and "Daily life relations and isolation" (Relations de la vie quotidienne et isolement, Insee 1997).
[12] Financial mutual aid remains a transfer, i.e. different from inheritance which is controlled by law. We could hypothesize that services rendered are more feasible within a spatial proximity than financial assistance, potentially further removed from the family geographically.

families'». The research carried out by Paugam and Zoyem is mainly concerned with the financial support that has currency in poorer milieus. It distinguishes the assistance that people may eventually be given (2/3 of the sample) and the assistance they actually receive (10 %). On the whole, the shorter the period of unemployment, the higher the amount of mutual aid: 25 % of the short-term unemployed (less than one year), 17 % of the long-term and 10 % whose jobs were of uncertain duration, were being helped. This is all the more true when the persons concerned are young. There is no major difference between men and women. The poorest of the poor are not those who receive the most help. Indeed, the «*persons receiving high amounts from welfare and those who do not get anything at all are those who receive the least financial assistance from their families. That does not allow us to verify the hypothesis (...) that private assistance replaces public funds. (...) The less well-off families also have the least possibility of receiving financial assistance from their kin. Reducing social inequalities thanks to family support, thus appears highly improbable*» (p. 194). After examining the situation of people receiving the RMI[13] (a State allowance), the authors report that it has not radically suspended family solidarity: 53 % of the persons helped by their families before being awarded the RMI are no longer being helped by them. Isolated RMI beneficiaries (bachelors, childless, living alone) are the persons least assisted by their families. Paugam and Zoyem stress the fact that the RMI «relieved a certain number of modest families, but hasn't altogether dissolved family solidarity» (p. 209).

4.3. The roles of the family and State in the transfers between generations

French research in the 2000s often approaches the question of transfers between generations by differentiating between family assistance and State aid, as well as by envisaging their potential displacements or articulations. The question of mobility is only a background feature here. C. Attias-Donfut (2000) thus deals with the question of "public and private transfers between generations, looking at who gives and who receives in a family by separating private help, i.e. what comes from the family, from public aid." It is a matter of seeing, on one hand, if there are interactions between the public transfers (welfare) and private ones (family assistance), and on the other hand, of measuring their impact on social protection and social inequalities. The survey carried out by the CNAV[14], indicates that public aid and private solidarity are complementary and effective in reducing social inequalities. All public policy must uphold the family in the important role it plays in redistributing resources

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[13] Revenu Minimum d'Insertion, created in France in 1989.
[14] Social Security agency in charge of retirement plans (Translator's Note)

among the generations, so that it can also be effective for employment, training and social protection.

From their study on «the impact of intergenerational transfers on real-estate options» Wolff and Attias-Donfut (2005) deduce that intergenerational transfers received from the parents (momentary assistance, donations, inheritance) have a significant influence on the beneficiaries' standard of living. The gift of money to the children usually translates as an investment in human relations; donations belong rather to the logics of patrimonial transmission. That is the perspective adopted by the authors to measure the consequences of transfers on young adults' residential choices. Transfers considerably increase the chances that at a given age they will become home-owners. Educational level, which reduces the length of time one can save up, has no particular effect on the children's residential choices.

4.4. Composition of networks

The collective volume due to Bonvalet, Gotman and Grafmeyer (1999) is important to mention here. It allows studying family spaces (familial and residential) along with the dynamics of preferential relations. The research started by an analysis of the «Close relatives» survey («*Proches parents*») and of 99 interviews. The notion of space has two sides to it: the space of the family and its organisation and that space in conjunction with residential trajectories and their symbolic connotations.

C. Bonvalet shows that a high degree of proximity between relatives exists: 1 person out of 5 inhabits the same town as their mother and one out of two the same department. Relations between primary relatives are the most central. Geographic mobility and urbanisation have thus not caused kinship groups to break up spatially. But, except for the mother-daughter connection, the closeness between relatives does not depend on geographic proximity but rather on how often they see each other.

In the same volume, C. Bonvalet and D. Maison[15] constructed a typology of «family-entourage» for which the main criteria were: declared affinity, seeing each other at least once a week and mutual assistance. According to that definition, 46.5 % of the persons interviewed belonged to a «family-entourage». The authors next introduced the idea of the «local family-entourage» for which they provided an operational definition: a type of family functioning marked by spatial and subjective proximity but also by the intensity of contacts and the

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[15] see article C. Bonvalet (2003).

existence of bonafide mutual assistance between members of the same family who do not live together. This «local family-entourage» (living in the same or a neighbouring town) covered 30 % of the persons interviewed. There was a sub-category, the «semi-cohabiting» local family-entourage (i.e. who are in daily touch, 15.1 %). The «dispersed family-entourage» pools persons who do not live very near each other (16.7 %). Thus 53.3 % live in different configurations, 7% among them do not mention any relatives among their close acquaintances. The «local family-entourage» is more common among the poorer households who are not very mobile geographically. Women more often than men organise their relatives along this pattern. Whereas cohabitation *stricto sensu* between generations has become quite marginal in France, living close by and keeping up regularly concerns 15 % of the persons interrogated in the "Close relatives" survey (…) Such a family life-style is likened to «cohabitating at a distance» (2003, p. 16).

The general review proposed by Bonvalet in 2003 aims to show that functioning as a «family-entourage» may mean repeating the previous generation's experience but that it is not always the case. The situation may have been decided and accepted by the individuals, or imposed for lack of an alternative. Also interesting in this research is the fact that family history and residential itineraries were used to explain the «family-entourages». Extended families exist in many forms that change over time: «*The way a family organises itself on a territory, by concentrating on one place or on the contrary, by spreading out, is one of the factors that reveal the ties between relatives and the strategies applied in order to tighten or loosen them*» (2003, p. 11).

In «Being put up by relatives or close acquaintances», Grafmeyer (1999) indicated that one-third of the people interviewed have at one time or another been put up by a relative. This concerned mainly persons living alone or without children, who when young had experienced a very stable family life in a permanent home and who have become very mobile geographically and professionally, obliged to move around between regions. This is most widespread among people working in industry and in agriculture, and in «local family-entourage» configurations. «*Being put up by a relative or a friend is one of the possible ways of responding quickly to an unforeseen and critical situation*» (p. 169). Also, «*it is perhaps a way of adjusting temporarily unsynchronised schedules*» (p. 170). Besides, geographic proximity encourages two-way mutual aid: parents helping their children and children helping their old parents (Herpin, Déchaux (2004).

4.5. Spatial distribution of personal networks

However, concerning the question of the greater or lesser mobility or non-mobility of these populations, there is no information forthcoming in the aforementioned research in terms of spatial distance, commuting time or the differences in geographic milieus («urbanity», «rurality») that might provide explicit indications as to the role of mutual assistance, solidarity or social networks. M. Grosetti (2006) gives us an opportunity to touch on these subjects thanks to a real case of urban space, the city of Toulouse. The author sums up his question in the following way: «are we (spatially) close to our (sentimental) relations? What are the effects of urban change on relational structures?» (p. 83). He replies that personal networks are spatially structured, since 83 % of the Toulouse interviewees' relations live less than one hour away. The levels of «neighbourhood (district)» (less than 5 minutes) are termed neighbourhood relations; «sector» (ten minutes) and «city» (less than one hour) result in relations based on weak ties (colleagues, friends, acquaintances). National and international levels typically represent strong ties (family, close friends). What is more, «it is as if the fact of living somewhere, even for only a few years, translated into local relations in various circles (job, associations), through the neighbourhood or by socializing (evenings out, etc…) Only strong relations (family, close friends) stand up to distance» (pp. 86-87). As far as relational networks go, managers have the largest number of relations and long-distance connections and therefore a window open on wider horizons. It is they too who use the TIC the most. All these factors go into producing more social affinities, thus more segregated relations. In the end, the author confirms the local character (on a city scale) of social relations. «Mobility has a real albeit limited impact on the spatial structure of networks: what most counts is not to have moved around more or less during one's lifetime, but the number of years spent in the city or rural town one is presently living in. (...) The weakening of spatial borders in no way prevents the reinforcing of social barriers» (p. 89).

Kinship networks and social acquaintances are important in accessing employment. They may also promote mobility where the upper categories are concerned. Not so among the lower ones. In the poorer circles, relational and social networks are less dense and contribute to local integration and thus a more non-mobile outlook.[16]

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[16] see axis 1, relational competences and socialization.

5. Quality of Life

Here again, it is not easy to find research on the connection between spatial mobility and life-styles. This is doubtless due to the polysemous nature of the concept (Beaufils, 2005). Yet, local studies carried out by INSEE foregrounded the search for better lifestyles, to explain the arrival of secondary residents in Auvergne for example, or the fact that working populations quit the inner city for the periphery in Lorraine (INSEE, 2005). Debrant and Taffin (op. cit. 2005) also show that the quality of life was one of the indicators determining the quality of housing helping to explain residential and professional mobility. The search for a better lifestyle might then explain geographic mobility and conversely, a satisfactory lifestyle might dampen the desire for mobility.

But as we are reminded by Debroux (2005), in her analysis of the migratory processes of certain «workers» towards a «rural and isolated» space, positing the quality of life as promoting mobility means that «implicitly, the departure and arrival spaces are spontaneously perceived as being structurally different, the qualities and good points of one balancing out the drawbacks of the other» (p. 15). As her analysis shows, the migratory process may begin with a loss of stability in the profession, the couple or the family. For the author, the attraction of the new place is in large part due to the migrants' personal and family history. The place of arrival is thus a «referential space» for migrants when it represents their ancestors and family's history. It is also perceived as a «founding space» «because [he] lived there as an adult, the important biographical events of his life (together with a partner, separation, birth of the children …)» (p. 22). It is quite often such a biographical link that explains the desire to leave. One may then wonder about the role of the quality of life in migratory itineraries. Josette Debroux's analysis gives the impression that she is exclusively concerned with the premises of mobility, contributing to launch the process when one's present situation begins to break down.

Sencebé's research (2004) on the Diois deals with the diversity of forms of membership and of the territorial dynamics produced by the fact that populations who live there for different reasons and do not share the same representations and were or were not previously involved in migratory processes, meet in the same space . To deal with this, the author devises «membership configurations» that help us understand the implicit or explicit relationship between mobile and non-mobile populations and the concept of quality of life. For certain populations, the question of the quality of life is not raised as such, while for others it is one of their expectations and thus an object of choice and strategy. Seen from this

angle, the figure of «immersion» is a relation to space defining a type of membership called attached, implying a non-reciprocal dependence on place and personal ties (the country person who rejects the neo-rurals). The figure of «distancing» is a form of belonging to a space called engaged, it involves persons in the process of migration who have chosen to live on this territory. That figure rests on the bridge between "here and elsewhere." The figure of «dissociation» constitutes a relationship with space that translates into a form of belonging as a tension between being engaged in social places (family and occupation) built up elsewhere and one's attachment to the place one was born. Finally, the author presents the figure of «exteriority» as being a relationship to space that carries with it a form of belonging that is unstable (all this is only an elsewhere in limbo) (pp. 24, 25, 28).

From a psychological perspective, Rascle's work (2001) can also contribute to thinking in terms of quality of life. Inspired by the transactional theory of stress, she shows that adjusting individually to professional change depends on various factors among which «social resources» (perceived social support) are all-important. With this, we are thrown back to elements presented earlier through the work of Robin on one hand and Lefloch on the other[17]. Though this analysis excludes persons having experienced geographic mobility, it underlines the need to take into account the various «individual resources» in order to grasp the meaning of quality of life.

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[17] See family functioning, family structure, family development