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Migrants in Modern France

Population Mobility in the Later Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

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4 *Recent conceptual advances in the study of migration in France*

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4.1 Introduction

The quantitative analysis of migration has really developed in France only over the last 15 years. In the past, the lack of interest in the subject on the part of statisticians was a reflection of the relative lack of published information on both internal and international migrations. The main source was provided by the replies to census questions on place of birth and nationality. In addition, estimates of net migration were published, comparing the results of successive censuses with those from the civil register of demographic events. The absence of population registers in France inevitably impeded the tracing of individual population movements across the national territory. Finally, there were few accepted methods of analysis for these data.

Although the census of 1962 contained a question about the place of residence on 1 January of the year of the previous census (in this case 1954), it was not really until the beginning of the 1970s that a more general research interest in migration took shape, although we should note the earlier work of Pourcher (1964, 1966). In this context, it is noteworthy that the detailed results on migration from the 1962 census were published more than ten years later (INSEE 1973). This renewed research interest was, moreover, from the beginning of the 1970s directed towards new interpretations of information already published, with new methodologies very much in evidence. This has allowed France to catch up fairly rapidly with other countries, for example Britain, the United States and Sweden, where migration had already been the subject of close scrutiny (Ravenstein 1885, 1889, Stouffer 1940, Hägerstrand 1957).

Thus, over a relatively short period, numerous works on migration in France have now appeared, drawn from most branches of

the human sciences. Demographic analysis of migration, both longitudinal and cross-sectional, is undertaken with data both from the census (Tugault 1973) and from various surveys (Courgeau 1973a). Spatial and geographical analysis (Courgeau 1970, 1973b, Cribier *et al.* 1973) shows that migration fields in France are very similar to those observed in other countries. Economic analysis of internal and international migration is undertaken (Girard 1974, Tapinos 1975) with the aid of models which seek to integrate economic, demographic and spatial variables. Historical demography, moreover, has begun to explore the mobility of populations in the past (for example, Garden 1970, Terrisse 1971, Henry & Courgeau 1971) using varied sources such as marriage registers or hospital death records, where the places of birth and residence of those concerned are recorded. Finally, sociologists have studied the complex ways in which migration events are stimulated, particularly in terms of the aims and strategies of individual migrants (Chevallier 1970, 1981).

This expansion of research and published work in such diverse fields led to a meeting of researchers in the human sciences at a colloquium in 1973 held in Caen (CNRS 1975). However, the variety of objectives and methods and the lack of a unitary theory of migration did not permit the emergence of a single and entirely coherent approach to such a complex phenomenon. Nevertheless, in subsequent years a certain number of works have attempted a partial synthesis of the approaches mentioned above (for example, Simon 1979, Ogden 1980, Poussou 1983, Collomb 1984). Wilbur Zelinsky (1971) proposed a theoretical approach which combined the work of demographers and geographers by placing the demographic transition alongside a parallel transition in the extent and types of geographical mobility. This theory has been tested against French data (Courgeau 1982b) and has not proved entirely conclusive. France seems to have followed a rather different path from other developed countries, with certain phases of both the 'demographic' and 'mobility' transitions being absent. Thus, where in the majority of European countries the time-lag between the lowering of mortality and the subsequent lowering of fertility brought population growth which partly explained high rates of international emigration in the nineteenth century, this was not the case in France. Slower population growth in the later part of the century was one of the factors leading to low rates of emigration. In addition, the theory of the mobility transition has not been a useful means of predicting recent changes that can be observed in France and in other developed countries: for example, changing flows between countryside and town or the general lowering of mobility rates. It is clear that the bases of the theory now need revision. In particular, the idea of a simple transition model, followed by all countries at different periods, is unlikely to survive for very long; and other aspects – political events, for example,

need to be included in such a theory. It is more and more apparent that migration can be studied and understood only by reference to the wider social environment. This leads us to a reconsideration of existing statistical sources and to an attempt to create new methods of analysis which will allow migration to be treated alongside a wide range of demographic and social phenomena. The Chaire Quételet, a conference held annually in Louvain, devoted its 1983 meeting to a discussion of progress in the study of migration since the Caen conference ten years earlier referred to above (Chaire Quételet 1985). It is in the context of material presented at the conference that we shall now outline new sources for the recording and measurement of migration, and new methods of analysis, which constitute the principal opportunities for further advance in research.

4.2 Sources: existing and new

The availability and type of sources vary very much according to the period studied (Courceau 1980). For the past, we must rely to a large extent upon the civil registers of demographic events which relate to the place at which the event happened (i.e. parish of birth, death or marriage) but which also, in certain cases, give places of origin of the individuals concerned. Other administrative documents such as registers of passports or army records have the disadvantage of covering only a portion of the total population and, therefore, their statistical utility is rather less. From 1791 onwards, census material becomes available, but the question on place of birth may be exploited fully only from the 1881 census onwards. From 1851, however, foreigners are listed separately within the total population, and classified according to nationality. The way in which data on place of birth have been aggregated varies from census to census; for example, there exist cross-tabulations of *département* of birth and *département* of residence, and also tables in which the population is classified according to whether individuals were born in their *département* of current residence, born in another *département* of France or born outside France, by sex and age. Finally, since 1962 each census has contained a question on the place of residence on 1 January of the year of the previous census, which has given rise to a very large number of published tables at a variety of geographical scales.

Until now these diverse materials have largely been used separately, but it is clear that linkage of sources would allow a fuller analysis of the inter-relationships between migration and other social phenomena. Three examples are presented below, prior to a discussion of the setting up of retrospective surveys which will provide clues to some or all of these phenomena.

4.2.1 Linkage of different sources

In historical demography, the research project on social and geographical mobility in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries being undertaken by Dupâquier (1981, 1986) provides a first example of the linkage of the information in the civil registers. Such an enquiry will allow a better understanding of the evolution of the French population over two centuries, highlighting in particular the processes of rural out-migration and social mobility about which many questions still remain unanswered.

The principle of Dupâquier's project is simple: a sample of 3000 couples formed at the time of the First Empire is traced through the male line up to the present, using all the registrations of birth, marriages and deaths which concern them. In order to be able to trace all the migrants, couples were selected from an alphabetical sample, where their family name began with the three letters TRA. Since we have, from the Revolution onwards, decennial totals of civil registration events, classified initially by the letters of the alphabet and then by full alphabetical order, it is possible to carry out a systematic search for all the individuals who have migrated.

During the first stage, therefore, a scrutiny of the tables for each decade and for all the French *communes* allowed the researchers to pick out all events referring to individuals with names beginning with TRA. The computerization of these results allowed them to locate the eventual marriage and death of all those for whom there was a record of birth. Once these tables had been processed, the marriage registers for the people concerned (about 48 000 between 1802 and 1902) were analysed in order to transform the alphabetical tables of spouses into tables indicating family relationships. This stage was necessary because of the difficulty of tracing the descendants of a couple when they had left the *commune* where the marriage had taken place. The remaining task, therefore, was to select a sample and to reconstruct patronymic genealogies using the death registers, locating the births of all the children of the couple and so on.

It is immediately apparent how interesting this enquiry will be once completed. It will be possible to follow the geographical mobility of the successive descendants of each couple in the initial sample and link it to their professional and occupational careers and their family history. Thus, we shall be able to analyse in detail the interactions between migration and other social phenomena over a period of almost two centuries.

A further source of great utility will be the 'demographic panel' which the Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques (INSEE) is in the process of establishing. Their sample is made up of people born on one of the first four days in the October of a

particular year. It represents a sample of around 1 in 100 of the total population and amounts at present to around 600 000 individuals. It has been constructed on the basis of the 1968 census, using data from successive censuses and from the civil registers for each year from 1968 to 1981. We shall thus have available the following data: first, from the censuses, the *commune* of birth and of residence in 1968, 1975 and 1982, the place of work (also by *commune*) and the type of occupation at the three dates; secondly, from the civil registers, the dates and places of marriage, of residence of the mother at the time of birth of successive children, and of death. A first listing based on the one in four sample of the 1982 census became available in 1986 and amounted to about 125 000 people.

This particular method will allow a more precise tracing of individuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries since material from the civil registers can be linked to data from the censuses. Given the generous size of the sample it will, of course, be especially useful in refining for the period after 1968 some of the earlier results. It is now possible to check the accuracy of the censuses, for example, by comparing the place of previous residence given in the 1975 census results with the actual place of residence at the time of the 1968 census. It has thus been possible to estimate (Courgeau 1988a) both the errors made by respondents in their replies to census questions and the inaccuracies associated with the use of the replies and their coding by the census authorities. For example, while 2.2% of individuals were recorded at the time of the 1975 census as not having declared an address in 1968, in 22% of these cases the difficulty lies with comprehension and coding by the authorities: such individuals had, in fact, given their previous address correctly. If we then look at those individuals who have replied to the question, we see that the proportion of those who gave a correct reply about previous *commune* of residence was 93% and this figure rises to almost 98% if we compare data at the departmental level. Overall, this allows us to place considerable reliability on replies to the question about previous place of residence, even when – as in the case of France – the time-period covered is more than five years. This augurs well for retrospective surveys which ask about all dates and places of residence during an individual's life cycle. Again, the most effective use of such surveys will be in analysing the relationships between geographical mobility and the other events in the individual's life cycle.

A third type of linkage has been attempted by Phillippe Collomb (1984), who related the results of the general census of population in 1954 to those of the general census of agriculture held in 1955 for almost all the rural *communes* of the former *arrondissement* of Castelnaudary. This approach made possible an evaluation of migration differentials based on the principal demographic and economic

characteristics of farm holdings. It thus provided the necessary linkage between economy and demography at the microscale.

In order to do this, Collomb used the individual forms or the nominative lists prepared at the time of the population census together with the anonymous questionnaires of the agricultural census. He thus linked households and units of production by using all the demographic data from both sources. Although not entering into all the details of the method, we should note here that it was made much easier by the precision with which occupations were recorded in the nominative lists. A first attempt allowed the linking of 41% of the farm holdings without any contradictions emerging between the two sources. If we include those cases with differences in household size between the different census dates, the matching of households covers 85% of the total number of holdings. Differences between the two sources were resolved by choosing the most likely option. A final stage which involved a further relaxation of the rules allowed a further 8% to be accounted for. The remaining holdings and farmers not linked were explained by the fact that the two censuses did not take place at the same date.

This method of linkage thus allowed a very detailed analysis of the connections between the economic characteristics of holdings and the demographic behaviour of farmers. The task is, however, far too time-consuming to allow the analysis to be extended to the national scale, although some linkage could be possible at the level of the 36 000 *communes* in France, in order to provide a demographic sketch of contemporary agricultural communities.

4.2.2 *Development of new sources*

Although the linkage of different sources considerably improves their usefulness, it unfortunately still does not allow us to analyse in full detail the life histories of individuals. In particular, we know only the places of residence and occupations of individuals at the time of the censuses, and not the full picture of changes taking place between the censuses. It follows that there might be great value in an approach which asks people directly about all the stages of their life history, including family formation and structure, occupation, migration and so on. The results of a study of this kind are presented below, and more detail may be found in Riandey (1985) and in Courgeau (1985a, 1985b).

This investigation represents the result of a series of enquiries undertaken by the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (INED) since 1961. The group studied is limited to adults aged 45 – 65 years and is based on a uniform sample from all households. The coincidence of this research with another project looking at family

life and professional life, which was directed at women having at least one child aged under 16 still in their care, improved the efficiency of the sample. Some 16 500 dwellings were selected by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques (INSEE) in those *communes* belonging to its 'master sample' and the full survey was carried out in the spring of 1981 with the help of interviewers from INSEE. Only 11% of the dwellings sampled yielded no information, and the remainder provided 4602 questionnaires which formed the basis for the project entitled 'A biographical approach to family, occupation and migration'.

The questionnaire used in the survey asked for the date and place of the different events in the life cycle of the individual: leaving the family home, marriage, birth of successive children and their departure from home, and eventual divorce or widowhood. The location of each place of residence, the dates of any moves and the type of tenure – living with parents, renting, in tied accommodation, or owner-occupier – were also recorded since they illustrate rather neatly the interlocking effects of family life and career.

Details of occupation were also well documented: level of education, including university or professional qualifications, entry into the labour force, the various stages of career including changes of employer and place of work, periods of unemployment or inactivity, and eventual retirement. In addition, certain 'political' events in the life of an individual were recorded, for example periods of military service and conscription during wartime.

This investigation thus permitted the identification of a tightly defined but quite diverse network of events in the life cycle which can be related one to the other. The information on the date at which each event took place and its location has proved particularly advantageous. There are, of course, possible sources of error, for example in the ability of people to remember accurately the dates and numbers of events and their relation to each other. It may prove necessary in due course to allow for the bias which such inaccuracies may introduce into the results.

Other projects along the same lines are being undertaken in a number of other countries, for example, Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, the UK, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Israel, the USA and Japan. Comparison of the results obtained in different cultures and societies will be of great interest.

4.3 Opportunities for future research

This creation of new research materials by the linkage of previously existing sources has proceeded alongside the development of

new analytical methods which are likely to modify profoundly the direction of future research. Such research is likely to be concerned principally with the relationships between migration and the diverse subsystems of social life, including the family, economics, politics, religion, education and formal and informal social groupings and associations. Indeed, neither geographical space nor time are in themselves of prime significance since they are given importance through social systems which vary from one society to another and with the passage of time.

In order to study the inter-relationships within these systems, we may now consider their expression in space and time by looking at certain 'events' within them. These 'events' may correspond to changes in one or more subsystems. Thus, the migration of an individual may involve a simultaneous change of employment. But, above all, by examining the timing of these 'events', we can discover the changing probability of their occurrence, based on the past experience of each individual. For example, the fact that someone marries will affect their future occupational and family circumstances. Thus, in calculating the probabilities of different events happening during the life cycle and the effects which follow from changes in lifestyle and circumstances, we shall be able to understand better the relationships between different parts of the social system. Migration is of importance either as a catalyst for changes in the probability of events happening – including further types of migration – or as a reflection of other events which have previously taken place. The examination of these inter-relationships between migration and other events may be undertaken using a variety of analytical techniques: non-parametric, parametric and semi-parametric.

The first technique, non-parametric analysis, represents the application of classic demographic techniques to more complex inter-relationships. It should be remembered that these methods allow us to treat the case where one of the phenomena inhibits the other from happening (for example, the effect of mortality on nuptiality) or, on the other hand, where one event facilitates the other (for example, the effect of nuptiality on legitimate fertility). Things become rather more complex, however, when we wish to study, for instance, the relationship between successive births and the migration of couples. Figure 4.1 might represent the path actually followed by a couple (solid line) compared to all other possible paths (dashed line). Given the large number of possible paths and the fact that for the most part only a limited number of moves are actually recorded, it is clearly necessary to devise hypotheses concerning likely routes and those hypotheses must be tested.

In this case, methods of estimation of the likelihood of certain routes are rather more complex than are classic demographic

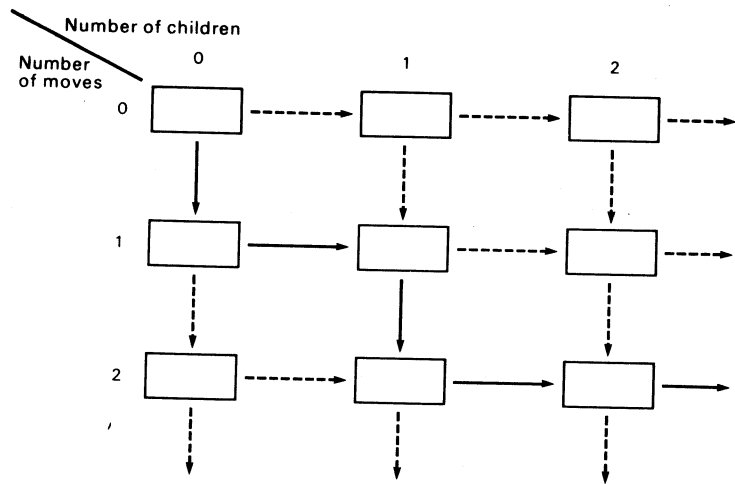


Figure 4.1 State-space diagram for the multivariate case.

approaches, not least because of the necessity of assessing the variance and covariance in such likelihood estimates in order to complete the estimation procedure. These methods are presently being developed for simple examples (Courgeau & Lelièvre 1986), but more complex cases are still a long way from being fully developed. The example presented in Figure 4.1 can be successively dealt with here using less and less restrictive hypotheses. In the first instance, we can state the simplest hypothesis that migration rates depend upon the length of time since marriage and upon the number of existing children but not upon the length of time since previous births; in a similar way, we can state the hypothesis that fertility rates depend upon the length of time since marriage and the number of previous migrations, but not upon the periods that have passed since previous migrations. That allows us to summarize the information in two series of rates dependent upon the number of previous births and the number of previous migrations (Courgeau 1985a, 1985b). This hypothesis is, however, too much of a simplification and an attempt must be made to introduce the time-periods since at least the previous event, that is of birth or migration. In order to achieve this we intend, at the second stage of the analysis, to estimate both the short- and long-term effects of, first, successive migrations on the likelihood of births and, second, successive births on the likelihood of migration. The long-term effect will be similar to that already discovered in the first-stage analysis, whereas the short-term effect will result from an earlier known event and lasts for a period of up to three to five years after that event before disappearing.

We are in the process of testing a model of this type and hope that it will provide results which are a little closer to reality.

The second method, parametric analysis, represents the extension of classic methods of regression analysis, used in economic and geographical approaches to migration, to the analysis of life histories. Such an approach aims to explain the observed duration of residence by reference to a number of parameters and variables. The parametric form of the model needs to be tested. If we wish to study migration events, where duration of residence may play an important rôle, a generalized Gompertz-type model seems to be suitable (Courgeau 1985a, 1985b). Such a model expresses the immediate migration quotient $h(t; z)$ where t represents the time-period since the previous migration and z is a vector of variables which influence the length of this time-period, in the following form:

$$h(t; z) = \exp(z\beta + \gamma t)$$

where β and λ are parameters to be estimated by, for example, maximum likelihood methods. Once subjected to the necessary statistical tests, these parameters indicate whether the effect of a variable is significant or not. Their magnitude indicates the importance of their effect.

By way of example, Figure 4.2 shows how we can go beyond the usual analysis of migration in terms of age differentials, by breaking down such a crude summary variable to reveal the deeper relationships which exist between geographical mobility and other events in

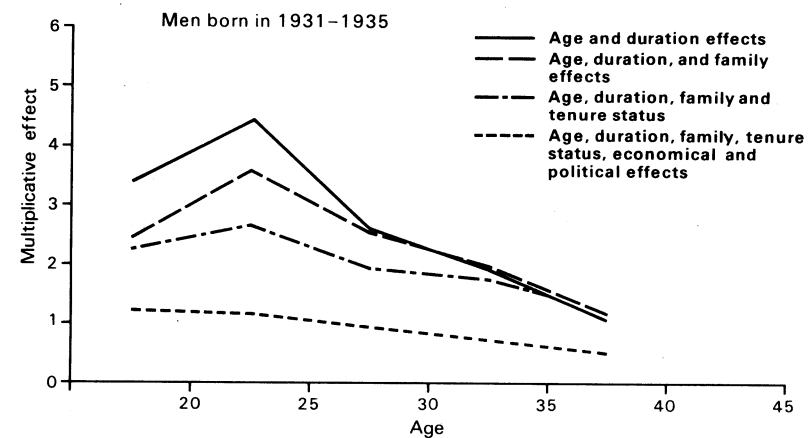


Figure 4.2 Multiplicative effect on mobility by age according to the set of variables considered: cohort born in 1931-5.

an individual's life. The effect of age is presented here by the multiplicative coefficient of the migration hazard rate for each quinquennial age-group from 15 to 39 years, standardized against the group aged 40 and over. We are working here with the male cohort born between 1931 and 1935. The top line on Figure 4.2 is that obtained by introducing only age and duration of residence. Here, we can see the usual effect of age, with maximum mobility in the age-group 20 to 25 years, gradually declining thereafter. Thus, the mobility of individuals aged 20 to 25 years is four and a half times greater than the mobility of the base group aged over 40. The second line is that obtained by introducing, in addition to the previous variables, various characteristics of family life: marital status, number of children born at the beginning of each stage, number of brothers and sisters, the mobility of parents during the childhood of the interviewee and so on. It is clear from Figure 4.2 that the introduction of these characteristics reduces the age effect on the 15 to 25 year-old group. Other important effects are revealed: thus, the fact of being married reduces the mobility of individuals by a third, and a high level of mobility experienced during childhood tends to be associated with increased mobility later in the individual's life cycle. Then, the influence of the type of housing tenure tends to reduce the effect of age for all groups considered. Thus, lower mobility is recorded when an individual lives in the parental home, rather higher mobility when he or she moves into rented accommodation, higher still when an employer provides housing, but falling to a very low level when the individual becomes an owner-occupier. The mobility of owner-occupiers is, indeed, eight times less than individuals in employer-owned accommodation.

Finally, the introduction of economic and political variables tends to remove the effect of age entirely. Certain of these variables have a significant effect only on those cohorts, like the one observed here, who entered the labour force after the war: the higher the level of general education and training, for example, the higher is the level of mobility. Those in agriculture are the least mobile whereas those in managerial jobs and the professions are the most. Amongst political factors, military service tends to produce short-term mobility, while the economic crisis of recent years tends to produce rather longer-term moves.

Thus, the variable 'age' allows us to summarize at the outset the effects of a number of familial, occupational and other characteristics. Once these are taken into account, they not only improve the quality of our model, but also in the end remove the effect of age on migration completely. Thus, the relevance of such an approach is clearly revealed.

A third approach – semi-parametric analysis – draws together the first two. This method allows us to make the parametric analysis more flexible by introducing a non-parametric element. Thus, the

proportional hazard model, for example, gives the migration hazard rate from the following equation:

$$h(t; z) = \lambda_0(t) \exp(z\beta)$$

Here, the function $\lambda_0(t)$ replaces, in a much more flexible way, the effect of time which was represented in the previous formula by $\exp(\delta t)$. This model can be made more interesting by introducing variables which depend on time. This is particularly useful in analysing the relationships between phenomena (Courgeau & Lelièvre 1988).

Thus, for example, we have used this model to analyse the relationships between family patterns and urbanization (Courgeau 1987). The aim was to try to discover whether, on the one hand, migration towards very urbanized *départements* had an effect on family structure and, on the other hand, whether family structure itself determined mobility towards these urban areas. We have also looked at migration from very urbanized zones towards the rest of France.

The most important effect of nuptiality is to reduce considerably the migration of individuals towards the large cities, although it has virtually no effect on migration in the other direction, towards rural areas. This effect remains significant even when the numerous characteristics which may influence migration, for example, father's occupation, the nature of the family of origin of the migrant, or the migrant's first job, are taken into account.

Whereas migrants towards the large cities are for the most part either unmarried or moving at the time of marriage, this mobility itself has relatively little effect on patterns of nuptiality. It does perhaps produce a slight delaying of marriage amongst women and a slightly higher nuptiality for male migrants, especially in the older age-groups. Several characteristics have opposing effects according to sex. Thus, a higher educational level increases nuptiality amongst men but reduces it for women. The same contradictory effects may be observed when we take account of the first job or father's occupation.

If we turn to births, the most notable effect is rather different: migration towards the large cities is accompanied by a sharp reduction in women's fertility whereas migration towards less urbanized areas increases fertility.

There seems to be a rapid adjustment, therefore, to the behaviour patterns at the place of destination, although this varies according to place of origin. Migration towards a very urbanized area may attract women whose fertility behaviour before migration was already close to that of the destination area; migration towards less urbanized areas, on the other hand, attracts women whose fertility was similar, before migration, to that of the large cities. Thus they take on the behavioural

characteristics of the destination area once migration has taken place. Although all the characteristics which we have taken into account in the analysis are of great importance in determining fertility, they do not explain this process of adaptation. Rather, we need to look towards other variables, for example, the size and cost of housing, women's employment and so on, if we are really to explain the overall relationship.

At the other end of the spectrum, the influence of births themselves on the migratory behaviour of women must also be of importance, although perhaps rather less strikingly. As is the case after marriage, there is always a reduction of mobility towards the large towns after each birth, but by contrast a slight increase in mobility in the other direction. The effect of the explanatory variables is very similar to that noted in the discussion of marriage. It is, indeed, marriage which creates a real discontinuity in migratory behaviour, rather more than the successive births of children.

A further important problem for future research is to link these micro-level studies of individual behaviour to macro-demographic and macro-economic studies of migration. The micro- and macro-scale approaches have until now been largely independent of each other, with macro-level studies being of much greater significance in terms of completed results. It is nevertheless vital that the approach to migration study through the individual's behaviour, developed more recently, should at the same time be linked to aggregate views of the process of mobility (Collomb 1985). For the migration of individuals is the result of macro-economic, social and political pressures which there is some risk of neglecting when the focus is largely on individual behaviour. The population of an area, perhaps too numerous or of the wrong age and sex structure in relation to the employment opportunities, may emigrate towards other complementary areas. But it is also the case that the migration events affecting such an area (immigration as well as emigration) will not necessarily be of the right sort to assure a strict readjustment of population and employment. Other factors may intervene which are not covered by the macro-economic approach and which only a micro-economic and micro-demographic view will elucidate. The two approaches must therefore, seek common ground, particularly in order to facilitate more realistic projections of trends.

Finally, it is important for future research to investigate simultaneously not only permanent migration but also the many forms of temporary mobility. In practice, the various centres of gravity of the family, economic or political life of individuals may be located at places very distant from each other. In certain cases, a permanent residential move may replace, for example, a journey to work that has become too irksome or temporary migrations that have become

too frequent. A knowledge of all moves is, therefore, essential if we are to interpret correctly permanent migrations.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has emphasized that the complexity of migration helps to explain why it attracted attention in the human sciences relatively late; and that migration may be understood only as the result of the operation of very different systems of family, economic and political organization. This brief review of recent work in France on migration and on new methods of analysis shows clearly that only an interdisciplinary approach will allow us to develop a clearer understanding. The first analyses carried out along the lines indicated here seem thus far to be very promising, despite the fact that the methodology necessarily adopted is rather elaborate. Such analyses lead us to the conclusion that migration should no longer be seen as independent of the other stages of the familial and economic life cycle. It must be seen in the context of much wider processes of social change. The research reported here has involved us in the study of many different types of mobility: moving house, migration from one *département* to another, migration towards very urban and less urbanized areas, departure from the countryside, international migration and so forth. These varied forms of mobility must be related to the various stages of the life cycle, not in a fixed but in a dynamic framework. The methods of analysing life histories which are currently being developed seem very appropriate for coming to grips with these inter-relationships. It is certainly the case that an approach emphasizing individual behaviour needs also to be placed quite firmly in a wider economic and demographic context. Finally, it must be emphasized that the migrations recorded in the usual statistical sources are merely the tip of an iceberg, the greatest part of which remains undocumented. We must increasingly rely on detailed surveys to reveal the very diverse forms of both permanent migration and temporary mobility.

Note

This chapter was translated from the French by P. E. Ogden.