# INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK ON INTERNAL MIGRATION

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# 7

# FRANCE

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To highlight the features of the French internal migration process it is necessary to link it to the simultaneous demographic transition experienced by this country. Fertility and mortality began to decline substantially at the end of the eighteenth century, more than one century before they did in other European countries. As a result, the country had minimal and occasionally a negative natural increase during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. Its population increased from 29 million at the beginning of the nineteenth century to around 40 million by 1881, where it remained until 1946. To maintain this population, the country had to attract large-scale international migration, while other European countries were sending significant numbers of migrants abroad to prevent excessive growth of their populations.

During the same time, urbanization and industrialization in France occurred at a slower pace than in some other European countries as the population pressure was lower. For example, in England the urban population exceeded the rural by the middle of the nineteenth century, while in France this did not occur until the 1930s. The process of urbanization centered mainly on Paris, while provincial centers had a slower growth rate. In 1982 the Paris metropolitan area had a population of more than 10 million, while the next largest urban area (Lyon) had only 1.5 million.

After World War II, a short-term fertility increase during the 1960s and significant immigration, both of foreigners and of French previously living in Algeria, raised the French population to 55 million in 1982. In this chapter we will show the changes that occurred in the internal migration process, as the country changed from an industrial to a postindustrial economy.

## DATA ON MIGRATION

### Definitions of Migration

Unlike other demographic events, migration may be defined in terms of space as well as time. We will now review the existing space and time classifications.

A first spatial classification was made at the time of the French Revolution and has remained nearly unchanged ever since. The communes (numbering around 37,000) are local town or village communities. These are grouped into larger administrative units called departments, of which there were originally ninety. In 1968, this figure was adjusted to ninety-five after partitioning the Paris area.

Another spatial classification distinguishes between rural and urban areas. Since 1954 the urban areas (*unites urbaines*) have been defined on the basis of a criterion of uninterrupted urbanization and classified according to their size. The rural areas are defined as nonurban ones, with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants. The final spatial classification consists of metropolitan areas (*Zones de Peuplement Industriel et Urbain*) defined with more functional criteria (such as the proportion of population working in industry or commuting to urban centers). They are classified according to the same size schedules.

The first temporal classification provided data on lifetime migrants; this originated with the 1861 census. One hundred years later the 1962 census contained, for the first time, a question on place of residence at the time of the previous census. These data on migrants are now available for four intercensal periods.

More recently, retrospective surveys have given the entire migration history of individuals, permitting one to follow the migration process in greater detail.

### Sources of Data

The main sources of data are censuses and retrospective surveys, since the country has no population register. Up to the 1962 census, data on place of birth were published with various details from one census to another. The most detailed tables are found at the beginning of this century.

Since the 1962 census, data on commune of residence at the time of the previous census have been classified according to sex, age, social class, and marital status. These data are also published for every geographical unit. Since 1975, there has been a complete record of residential mobility which allows international comparisons. However, as the time intervals between censuses have changed (1954–1962–1968–1975–1982), models have to be used to permit temporal comparison (Courgeau, 1983). The annual rates are estimates.

Specific surveys undertaken are more useful to ascertain the entire life history. The last one, undertaken by the Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques (INED) in 1981 provides the family, work, and migration history of 4,602 individuals born between 1911 and 1935. It allows complex analysis of interactions between these different histories.

### Quality of Data

We have some information on the quality of these different data sets. The census question on place of birth had a good response rate (99.6 percent) at the 1911 census. The census question on place of residence at the time of the previous census is less accurate: the nonresponse rate increases from one census to the next (2.1 percent in 1962, 2.3 percent in 1969, 2.7 percent in 1975). When comparing the place of residence in 1968 as reported in the 1975 census for a panel of individuals with known place of residence in 1968, 96.1 percent of respondents were correctly located. This attests to the quality of these answers (Courgeau, forthcoming).



To test the quality of the data obtained from the retrospective survey, a presurvey was undertaken in Belgium. Since this country has a population register, the accuracy of the collected data can be checked against the register. The first results show that, even though errors in dating migration are frequent (Duchene, 1985), the logical sequence of events is usually correct (Courgeau, 1985a). Thus, memory seems to be sufficiently reliable for purposes of analysis.

## PRINCIPAL POPULATION MOVEMENTS

We can observe these population movements on different spatial scales.

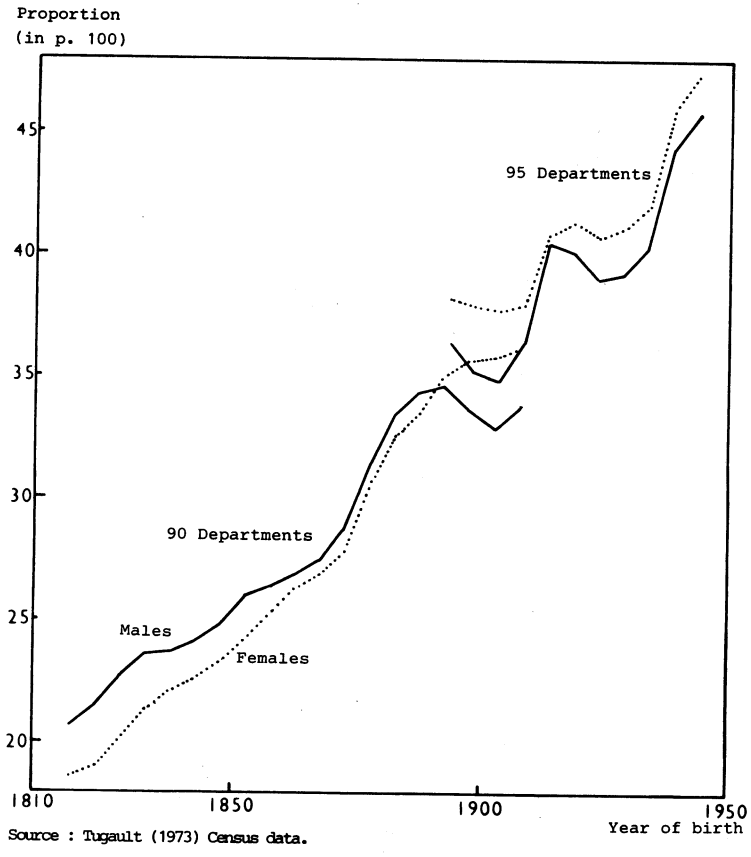
### The National Level

Let us first observe the volume of movement over time. Using place of birth data according to age, we are able to give the percentage of those aged 45 living outside their department of birth. Unfortunately, as a change occurred in department definition, we will have two different curves. The first one (ninety departments) consists of generations born from 1816 to 1926 (Tugault, 1973). The second one (ninety-five departments) comprises those born from 1887 to 1947. Nevertheless Figure 7.1 shows that these results are consistent. First, we observe an accelerated increase in this percentage, from 20 percent for cohorts born around 1820 to 25 percent for cohorts born around 1890 (ninety departments). This growth is related to the Industrial Revolution, which began in the middle of the nineteenth century. Afterward an irregular increase appears with some periods of decrease. The first is among the cohorts born from 1895 to 1905 who entered the labor force soon after World War I. Such persons could more easily remain in the agricultural sector as many farms were unoccupied because of war deaths. The second period of decrease concerns the cohorts born from 1920 to 1930, who entered the labor force around the time of World War II. Whatever the nature of these irregularities, we have an increase in the percentage of outmigrants from 38 percent for cohorts born around 1890 to 47 percent for cohorts born around 1940 (ninety-five departments).

We can also observe a reversal in the differences in migration behavior for males compared to females. Until the birth cohort of 1890, males had been more mobile; since then, females have been more mobile. However, the differences are small, and the two curves follow a similar pattern.

When using data from 1962 and later concerning the place of residence at the

**Figure 7.1**
**Percentage of Those Aged 45 Living Outside Their Department of Birth by Sex and Year of Birth**




Source : Tugault (1973) Census data.

time of the previous census, we observe growth of annual migration rates, with a reversal occurring in the 1975–82 period (see Table 7.1).

This reduction may also be observed in many other developed countries. It may be linked to the economic crisis beginning in 1974. However, such a reduction appeared in countries with population registers (such as Belgium and Netherlands) or regular population surveys (such as the United States) before the crisis. Thus, reduction may be linked to a more general change in developed countries leading to a postindustrial society.

The age and sex structure of migrants between 1975 and 1982 is given in Figure 7.2.

The age pattern of French migration is very similar to that observed in other countries. Until age 15 the rate of descent of the prelabor force population is similar to the rate of descent of the labor force population aged 25 to 45 (their



**Table 7.1**
**Mean Annual Migration Rates from 1954 to 1982 (persons per thousand)**

| Changes of | 1954-1962 | 1962-1968 | 1968-1975 | 1975-1982 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| residence | - | - | 103.7 | 101.0 |
| communes | 52.3 | 56.4 | 64.4 | 62.5 |
| departments | 21.4 * | 26.4 | 30.9 | 28.3 |
| regions | 14.2 | 15.9 | 19.0 | 17.6 |

*Changes of departments for the period 1954-1962 are not comparable to those for the following periods after partitioning the Paris area.

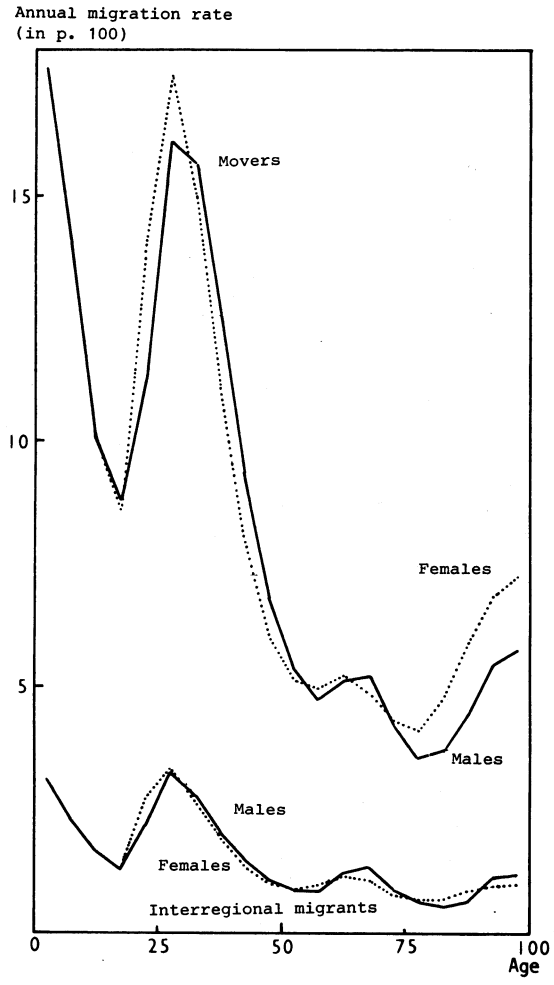
parents). Between the ages of 15 and 25, there is a significant increase in mobility owing to entry in the labor force and marriage. A retirement peak appears between 60 and 70 years, followed by a new increase in the mobility of the aged, especially women. There are also differences between sexes such as more significant mobility for women aged 20 to 30, explained by earlier marriage, and for women aged 55 to 65, explained by earlier retirement. During the entire life course we have an expectancy of 8.49 moves for men and 8.77 for women. For interregional migration, this expectancy declines to 1.53 moves for men and 1.52 for women.

## Interregional Migration

If we observe migration in the interregional context, Table 7.2 shows that important changes have occurred in net annual internal migration flows to these areas during the past two decades.

From 1954 to 1962, only four out of twenty-two regions had a positive net migration. These were the Paris, Rhône-Alpes, Provence-Côte d'Azur, and, to a lesser degree, Alsace regions. This evokes J. F. Gravier's (1947) title *Paris and the French Desert,* which adds Lyon (Rhône-Alpes) and Marseille (Mediterranean) to the capital, leaving behind a depopulating country. From 1975 to 1982 the map is greatly changed. Now fifteen out of twenty-two regions have a positive net migration. Even more interesting is the fact that Paris, the most attractive region in 1954–62, becomes the least so. In contrast, the Languedoc-Roussillon region, one of the less attractive areas in 1962, became the most attractive in 1982. However, this region is not very appealing from a purely economic point of view. Even if it has had an increase in employment, very high rates of unemployment and very low levels of gross domestic product per person persist. Therefore, other noneconomic factors are clearly attracting people to this region. Previously peripheral regions are also becoming very attractive. These include Brittany, Pays de la Loire, Poitou-Charentes, and Limousin among oth-

**Figure 7.2**
**Age and Sex Structure of Movers and Interregional Migrants, 1982 Census**




ers. The regions that are least attractive are the old northern industrial regions, which have yet to convert their economic base to tertiary activities.

### Migration in the Urban-Rural Context

Figure 7.3 shows that significant changes have occurred in the net migration flows for urban and rural areas.

During the 1954–62 period we observe a general increase of the net internal migration rates proportional to the number of inhabitants, with a slow decrease



**Table 7.2**
**Annual Net Internal Migration Rates for French Regions in 1954–62 and 1975–82 (persons per 10,000)**

| REGION | 1954 - 1962 | 1975-1982 |
|---|---|---|
| Région parisienne | 52 | - 64 |
| Champagne-Ardenne | - 24 | - 39 |
| Picardie | - 12 | 6 |
| Haute-Normandie | - 3 | - 2 |
| Centre | - 1 | 42 |
| Basse-Normandie | - 55 | - 7 |
| Bourgogne | - 13 | 8 |
| Nord-Pas-de-Calais | - 17 | - 45 |
| Lorraine | - 4 | - 52 |
| Alsace | 2 | 2 |
| Franche-Comté | - 2 | - 20 |
| Pays de la Loire | - 29 | 17 |
| Bretagne | - 49 | 31 |
| Poitou-Charentes | - 32 | 13 |
| Aquitaine | - 6 | 42 |
| Midi-Pyrénées | - 19 | 32 |
| Limousin | - 30 | 36 |
| Rhône-Alpes | 19 | 15 |
| Auvergne | - 20 | 5 |
| Languedoc-Roussillon | - 21 | 90 |
| Provence-Côte d'Azur | 43 | 73 |
| Corse | -110 | 82 |

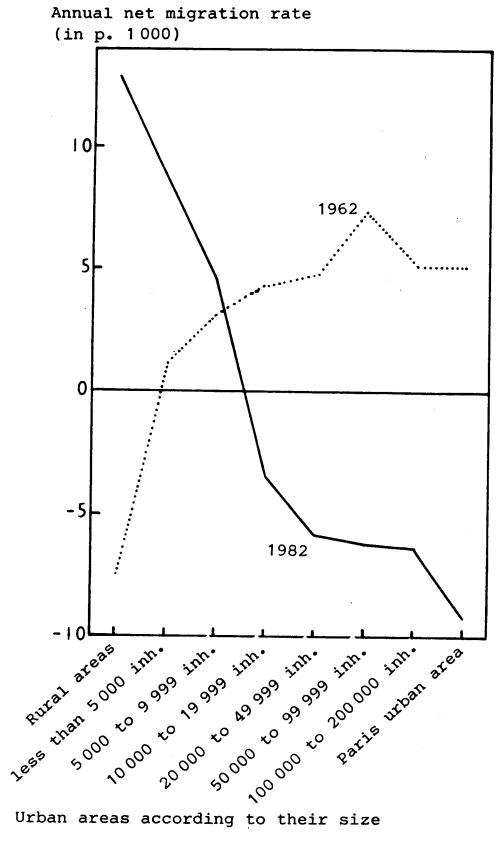
for areas of 100,000 inhabitants or more. Net migration for the Paris urban area represented around 28 percent of that of all urban areas. At the time it was the most attractive place in France. Rural areas experienced net out-migration.

Twenty years later, the situation was reversed, with rural areas becoming the most attractive and the urban area of Paris the least. Only urban areas of fewer than 20,000 inhabitants continued to attract migrants, on balance, but to a lesser extent than the rural areas.

Let us examine in more detail how age groups are affected by these changes. Figure 7.4 presents changes in age rates for the urban area of Paris, the medium-sized towns (50,000 to 99,999 inhabitants), and rural areas.

In the period from 1954 to 1962 the urban area of Paris had a positive net internal migration rate for all persons less than 50 years old, with the highest levels occurring at ages 20 to 29. At ages 50 and above, the rates became negative, reaching their lowest level around the retirement age. During the more recent periods only those aged 20 to 29 have positive net migration, although the

**Figure 7.3**
**Annual Net Internal Migration Rates for Rural and Urban Areas, 1962 and 1982 Census**

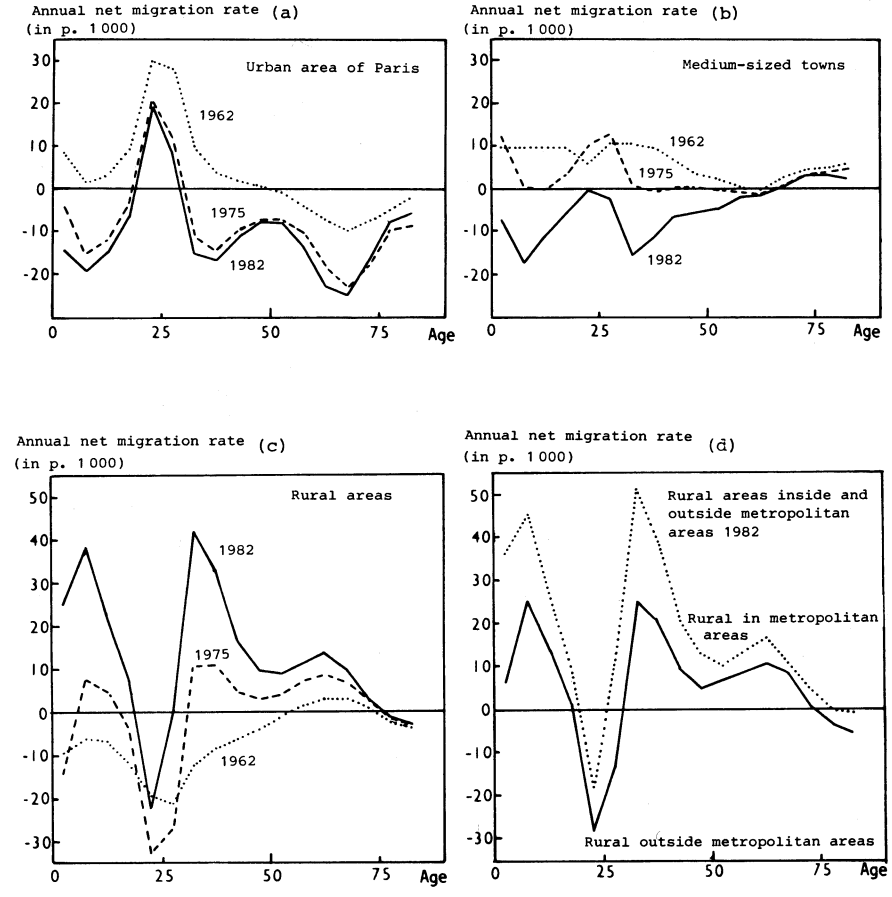



rates are less than those observed previously. The high out-migration of retirement persists, and a secondary minimum appears for those aged 30 to 39, which corresponds to the departure from Paris of parents with young children. It is interesting to note that the main changes result from an increase in out-migration rates rather than from a decrease in in-migration rates.

The rural part of the country experienced the reverse change, with a maximum net migration rate for those aged 30 to 39 and their children since the 1975 census. For the 1975–82 period only those aged 20 to 24 had a negative net migration rate. It is interesting to observe that, even after these rural areas are partitioned according to their connection to a metropolitan area, the two curves are very similar (see Figure 7.4*d*).



**Figure 7.4**
**Annual Net Internal Migration Rates by Age for the Urban Area of Paris, the Medium-Sized Towns (50,000 to 99,999 inhab.), and the Rural Areas, 1962, 1975, 1982**




The medium-sized towns show a quite different evolution. During the 1954–62 period, they had positive net in-migration for every age group. However, for those aged 20 to 29, they were still less attractive than Paris. During the period 1968–75, it was primarily those aged 20 to 29 who were still attracted by such towns. This was true to a lesser degree for retired people. For the other age groups, we have essentially zero net migration.

During the last period, net migration becomes negative for those aged 30 to 39 and their children. Only retired people are now attracted by these medium-sized towns.

## WHO MOVES

Census data are not the best means of ascertaining the characteristics of migrants. In fact, while these data depict moves between intercensal periods as well as the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of individuals at the time of census, it is impossible to link these data with precision. Attempting to do so would lead to uninteresting or even incorrect results. For example, census data show a higher mobility for married individuals between 20 and 44 years of age. Such a result corresponds to marriage-related migration occurring before the census, while the mobility of married persons may be highly reduced.

### Characteristics of Movers

To provide a better view of who moves, we must use life history data that provide the characteristics of individuals before their moves. Here we are using a model linking the migration rate in a multiplicative way (Courgeau, 1985b) according to the duration of stay, with family, economic, and political characteristics. Here we are considering migration as a change of dwelling or as a change of department.

First, we fitted a model introducing only age at the beginning of the stay and its duration. For age, this model give results very similar to those given by a cross-sectional analysis as in Figure 7.2 The duration effect is also very important, corresponding to a decrease of the mobility rate over time. After a ten-year duration, the rate of change of dwelling place will have been reduced by half and the rate of change of department of residence by two-thirds. When introducing variables corresponding to different characteristics of migrants, the dependence on age disappears or is often greatly reduced. On the other hand, the explanatory power of the model is greatly enhanced by introducing the manner in which such life characteristics may influence spatial mobility.

Let us look at the main results of such an analysis (Courgeau, 1985b). From family origins we are able to pinpoint an important "inheritability" factor: that is, the more mobile a person's parents were during his or her childhood, the more mobile that individual is likely to be. A reduction of mobility occurs after marriage, primarily for changes of dwelling place, showing results that are the opposite of those derived from census data. The same stabilization in changes of dwelling occurs after divorce and widowhood, while increased mobility follows the departure of children. These conclusions tell us that the microeconomic approach generally used to study migration may be extended to include the family life cycle.

Tenure status also plays a major part in the mobility process. As along as individuals live with their parents, their mobility rate will remain low. If they become tenants, their mobility increases. It increases further if they are housed by their employer. However, if they become the owner of a residence, their migration propensity will decrease to one-sixth of the mobility of a tenant for changes of dwelling and to one-fourth for changes of department.



Only for more recent cohorts does the level of educational or vocational training influence mobility. The higher the level of education or training, the higher the mobility rate. An individual with a high academic degree will be more open to employment in an increasingly large field. Similarly, mobility rates differ according to occupational status. The lowest rates occur for farmers. Farm laborers also have low rates but only at the local level. Higher rates are present for those working in a managerial capacity. Again, mobility appears to be related to the spatial extension of the work involved.

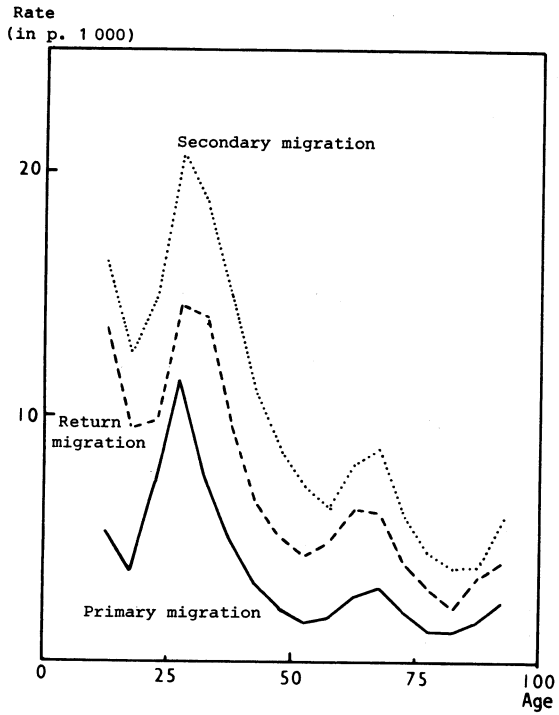
Finally, some political factors or events affect mobility rates. First, national service, in the case of men, leads to an increase in the migration rate. World War II provided different results for older and younger cohorts. Those individuals who had already begun work before the war were greatly affected by its outbreak and were influenced by new mobility processes associated with the war (for example, refugees or prisoners of war). Cohorts that began to work during the war exhibited contrasting behavior patterns with longer periods of fixed residence.

### Repeat, Return, and Circulatory Moves

To analyze these moves we can return to census data, combining the question on place of birth with that on residence at the time of the previous census. This permits us to calculate primary, return, and secondary migration rates. The last rate will give us some information on circulatory migrants. Figure 7.5 shows these rates at the regional level among the male population by age. The data are from the 1982 census and closely approximate the rates for the female population.

Again, the three curves are very similar to those given in Figure 7.2 for all interregional migration. However, they are situated at very different levels. The lowest level is that of primary migration, and the highest is that of secondary migration. Once any interregional move occurs, a subsequent move to another region has a high probability of occurring. Return migration also occurs at a high rate. If the choice of destination were independent of the region of birth, return migration would be around one-twentieth of the secondary migration rate. In fact, the rate of return migration is approximately 70 percent of the secondary migration rate, showing an important preference for return migration to the region of birth. We also observe a higher proportion of return migration on retirement (80 percent of secondary migration at age 60 to 64), in comparison to other age groups (for example, 57 percent of the secondary migrations at age 45 to 54). Nevertheless, return migration regularly occurs at a high rate throughout the life cycle.

**Figure 7.5**
**Primary, Secondary, and Return Migration Rates for Regional Migration among Males, 1982 Census**




## WHY PEOPLE MOVE

It is difficult to ascertain the reasons why people move: The reasons are complex, numerous, and in many cases not easily specified during an interview. Even when using a retrospective survey, it is difficult to know if given reasons are not an a posteriori reconstitution of the interviewee's past.

### Economic Reasons

Let us first describe the economic reasons obtained from a retrospective survey (Bastide and Girard, 1974) before trying to ascertain some more social reasons.

Economic reasons are those given first (50 percent) by interviewees to explain a migration from rural to urban areas or between different urban areas. Therefore, they seem to be essential in the migration process. Nevertheless, they represent a great variety of different economic situations. In 37 percent of these cases, migration is linked to a transfer to another working place within the same firm or the same administration. Then for 18 percent of cases, migration is undertaken to pursue education. In only 15 percent of these cases was migration undertaken to find a new job. The remaining 30 percent migrate for other economic reasons such as becoming self-employed, search for better work, and retirement. It seems surprising that wage and income reasons are very rarely given. This may be linked to the fact that when answering such questions the interviewee does not like to give such materialistic reasons.



### Social and Environmental Reasons

It is also interesting to notice that these rural-urban or urban-urban migrations are in fact explained by noneconomic reasons in 50 percent of the cases. For the same kind of migrations, family reasons are also important, being given in 22 percent of all cases. Here the principal reason for such moves is marriage, accounting for 60 percent of reported instances. The next most important reason is the desire to be closer to family members (17 percent).

These social and environmental reasons are even more important when migration is observed *within* urban or rural areas. They represent 72 percent of the reasons given for these moves. Of this group housing reasons account for 37 percent, of which "finding a more convenient location" was cited in 57 percent of these moves. Of the remainder, moving to attain home ownership was cited 20 percent of the time.

Family reasons are next in the order of priority, occurring in 35 percent of cases. Marriage is the main family reason (65 percent of them). It is perhaps surprising to observe that the expansion of the family is very rarely given as a reason for migration.

We can use another approach to explore some of the family reasons. First, we can verify that a majority of the interviewees have had a change in residence because of marriage. This was the case for 71 percent of the men and 80 percent of the women studied. Such a change occurred for both partners in 58 percent of the marriages, for the woman alone in 27 percent of them, and for the man alone in 14 percent of them. In only 1 percent of the marriages was there no change of dwelling.

We can also try to study the interdependence between mobility and fertility, controlling for the duration of marriage (Courgeau, 1985b). After the birth of a child, a move may be undertaken to a larger house. But some moves may also be undertaken to provide for forthcoming births. For those married before the age of 22, family size has a clear effect on the cumulative number of moves. For example, women born between 1926 and 1935 had, after five years of marriage, the following cumulative number of moves: 0.61 for women without children, 0.66 for women with one child, and 0.71 for women with two children. This result may be explained by the need to adjust the size of the dwelling to the size of the family. However, the reverse may also be true for other families. For the same cohort and the same duration of marriage, we have a cumulative fertility of 1.49 children for women who remained in the residence they inhabited at mar-

riage, 1.60 for those having undertaken one move since marriage, and 1.64 for those having undertaken two moves. This indicates that some moves are undertaken to provide for forthcoming births.

Among women who married after the age of 22, the second effect disappeared, since no significant differences can be detected between women without children and women with one or two children. These women, mainly wives of executives or management staff, seemed more likely to have a sufficiently large home to accommodate their ultimate family size. On the other hand, the cumulative fertility of these women, according to the number of previous moves, indicates that some of the moves may be undertaken in anticipation of a birth. In these cases we find a local dependence between the two series of events such that if spatial mobility seems to be independent of previous fertility, we found a dependence of fertility on previous spatial mobility.

## CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION: THE AGGREGATE LEVEL

Let us now examine how migration has redistributed the French population. First, we will observe its main effect at the aggregate level.

### Demographic: Population Redistribution

After World War II, we observe that variations in natural increase rates across regions or urban areas were small compared to the corresponding net migration rates in the redistribution of the French population. Migration appears to be an essential factor in the redistribution of the French population. In addition, the age structure of migrants produces a high birthrate and a correspondingly low mortality rate in regions where young migrants are attracted. This inflates the effect of migration, even in areas of low fertility such as the Paris region.

The age and sex structure of regions or urban areas largely reflects the consequences of previous migration. For the urban area of Paris, we observe in 1982 an overrepresentation of young adults between 25 and 44 years of age. When compared to the population of the same age in the whole country, this age group is around 13 percent more numerous than expected. However, the significant reduction of net migration in Paris during recent years also leads to a decreasing overrepresentation (more than 25 percent in 1975 for the ages between 25 and 34, against 15 percent in 1982) and to an extension of the age groups concerned. An underrepresentation of 13 percent among children aged 5 to 19 shows that those in the age group 30 to 44 who remain in the Paris urban area are mainly individuals with few or no children. The elderly form another underrepresented group, with substantial male-female differences. At age 70 this underrepresentation is around 15 percent for women and more than 26 percent for men. This is a consequence of the greater number of widows and divorced females remaining in Paris.



It is also interesting to observe what happens in nonmetropolitan rural areas. All children and adults under the age of 50 are underrepresented by around 15 percent, with some important variations according to age. We can say that the recent reversal of migration flows to rural areas has only reduced this underrepresentation. For example, those aged 25 saw their underrepresentation reduced from 35 to 23 percent in 1982. After age 50, we have an increasing overrepresentation of the aged living outside metropolitan areas. This is more pronounced for men than for women; at age 80 the overrepresentation is around 43 percent for women versus 63 percent for men. We must relate this to the significant number of old men who have remained bachelors in the agricultural sector.

Foreigners living in France enhance these contrasts between Paris, other urban areas, and rural ones. Of the 3.7 million foreigners in 1982, 91 percent were living in urban areas (32.7 percent in Paris), compared to the 72.1 percent of the native population (14.2 percent in Paris). When considering only those immigrating between 1975 and 1982 (0.8 million), the proportion is very similar with 91.6 percent settling in urban areas (37.3 percent in Paris). This indicates that the spatial distribution of foreigners since World War II has been mainly urban.

### Social

Since the Industrial Revolution the centralization process has been expressed essentially in the formation of a Parisian monopoly in the industrial, commercial, financial, educational, and intellectual sectors. In 1982, the metropolitan area of Paris accounted for 18.8 percent of the French population. Such a centralization was the consequence of a significant migration inflow from every other region. This migration mixed very different social groups within the same ward or the same block of flats. However, the cutting of ties with the place of origin was seldom complete. Those coming from the same department, and even the same village, located themselves in the same neighborhood, such as the Breton district of Paris in the vicinity of the Montparnasse railway station, and set up regional associations as a means of keeping links with the region of origin.

The urbanization process also led to the concentration of population coming from rural areas around each town. The adaptation problems in this case are less acute than those in Paris. The population remaining in rural areas underwent a different concentration process. The social problems induced by the depopulation of these areas were often solved by regrouping isolated farms or villages into a more populated neighboring town. However, this leads to many social and financial problems linked to the minimal population at which a school or post office may be provided.

More recently, the process of segregation by origin has started to occur on a wider scale. Some social groups are now living in places quite distant from urban areas. For example, executives or management staff may live in rural areas more than 60 km away from the urban center.

Such a segregation process leads to increasing commuting distances. From

1975 to 1982 the mean commuting distance increased from 18.4 km to 19.5 km, and the total number of daily kilometers covered by these commuters increased from 154 million to 197 million. Some of these commuting distances are becoming very long, as is the case for 160,000 individuals where distance covered is more than 200 km.

### Economic

If we consider that migration is generated by differential economic development in various regions, it can in turn create problems and difficulties for the regions involved. For example, the important increase in in-migration to the Languedoc-Roussillon region was caused by an increase in employment, though it also led to a simultaneous increase in unemployment. More generally, no link appears between local variation of employment and local variation of unemployment.

In the past, migration within France was related to departure from agriculture and played a significant part in changes within the structure of employment. Now this role is greatly reduced. From 1973 to 1977, the major part of job mobility (87 percent) was of an intraregional nature, with departure from agriculture representing less than 6 percent of male occupation movement (Pohl and Soleilhavoup, 1982).

### Political

The centralization process experienced in France led political leaders to adopt a national approach to regional planning. It was developed primarily by DATAR (Delegation a l'Amenagement du Territoire et a l'Action Regionale) after 1963.

The main aims of DATAR were to slow the extreme concentration of population, industry, and administration in Paris and to encourage the development of the remaining parts of France. First, governmental policies were introduced to control the construction of industrial buildings in the Paris region and to encourage industrialization of the rest of France. Later, a series of measures were taken to limit the construction of offices in Paris and to transfer some service activities from Paris. In addition, specific measures were taken concerning the public sector by requiring relocation of some offices from Paris or at least by prohibiting any expansion in metropolitan area. Another political orientation was to promote regional capitals as counterweights to the growth of Paris. Lastly, the transportation network has been greatly improved to break the isolation of certain regions.

Such governmental policies brought about changes in migration flows and in the spatial distribution of economic activity in the period after 1970. Some significant past trends such as the concentration of activities and population in Paris and the depopulation of outlying regions have been reversed during the period in which deconcentration policies have been promoted by DATAR.



A more detailed assessment of the efficiency of some governmental policies leads to a less positive conclusion. In some cases the regional grants appear to sustain development rather than to promote it. For example, J. L. Grelet and C. Thelot (1977) showed that both the four departments of the Pays de la Loire where a development grant was in effect and the noneligible, neighboring Sarthe department had the same increase in the number of jobs created.

## CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

We present here some results from an analysis of the consequences of migration to or from major metropolitan areas (namely, areas of Paris, Lyon, and Marseille) based on family constitution, using an INED life history survey (Courgeau, 1987).

First, let us indicate how migration affects nuptiality. For women originating either from metropolitan areas or the country, a short delay of their marriage due to migration appears between age 20 and 30. This delay disappears after age 40, leading to the same proportion remaining single at this age. For men, independent of their origin, out-migrants have a nuptiality rate higher than that of nonmigrants. For the nonmetropolitan population, this behavior is related to the behavior of agricultural workers experiencing changes in occupation (Courgeau and Lelievre, 1986). This change in their work life induces an increase in their nuptiality.

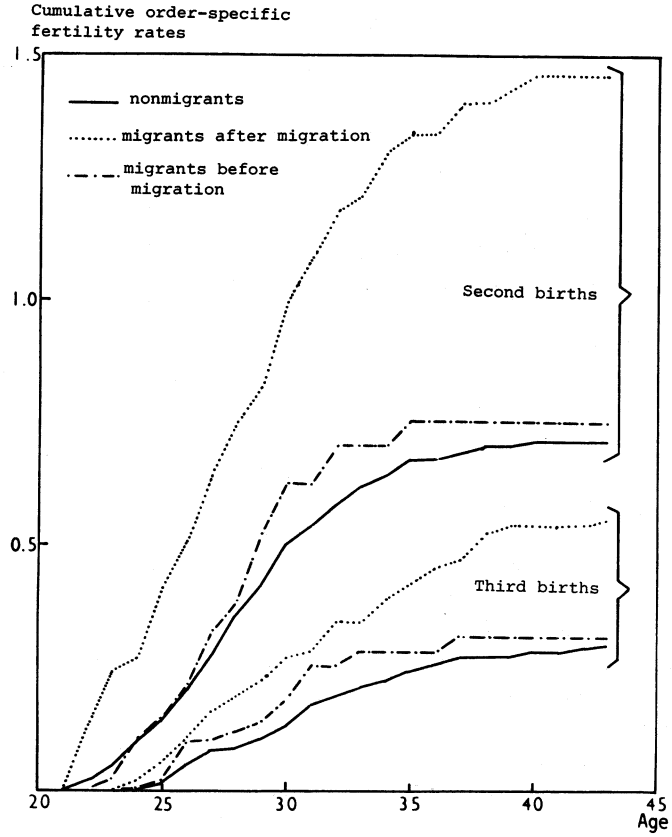
Following the family life cycle, we consider how migration to or from major metropolitan areas affects successive births. Figures 7.6 and 7.7 give the cumulative order-specific fertility rates of these women.

The contrast between the two series of graphs is striking. On and after their second birth, women coming from nonmetropolitan areas experience a significant decrease in fertility once they have migrated to metropolitan areas. On the other hand, even for the first birth, women moving to nonmetropolitan areas experience an increase in fertility once they leave metropolitan areas. Convergence to the fertility level at destination, whatever it may be, takes place rather quickly.

However, migrants may not be a random sample of the population in the area of origin. A selectivity hypothesis suggests that migrants have distinct unobserved family size preferences. In this case fertility propensities tend to determine the choice of destination areas, rather than for the area to determine fertility behavior (Hervitz, 1985).

To verify this hypothesis in Figure 7.6 we have also given the cumulative order-specific fertility rates of these prospective migrants. We can see that the behavior of those who will later migrate to major metropolitan areas is consistent with this selectivity hypothesis. Their birth timing is generally very close to that of migrants. However, for those who will later migrate to nonmetropolitan areas,

**Figure 7.6**
**Cumulative Order Specific Fertility Rates for Nonmigrant, Migrant before Migration and after Migration, Women Originating from Metropolitan Areas**




Source: Courgeau, 1987.

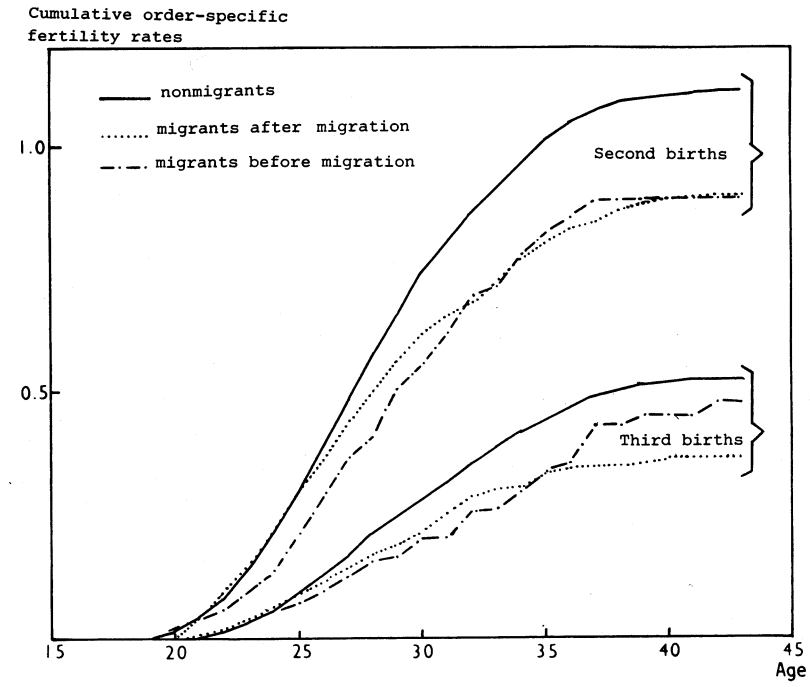
such an hypothesis is no longer verifiable. Their birth timing is very close to the one for nonmigrants, without any apparent selection, suggesting that the adaptation hypothesis holds for the out-migrants from urban areas.

With such an analysis we can simultaneously indicate how marriage and successive births modify migration to or from metropolitan areas. The behavior is consistent for both men and women upon marriage. Once married, their mobility rate to metropolitan areas is reduced by half for women and by one-third for men. Marital status appears very discriminative in the migration process; it is primarily single individuals who are drawn to urban areas. The small number of persons migrating from metropolitan areas before marrying precludes drawing any conclusions for these migrants.

The influence of fertility on the migration rates of women from nonmetropolitan areas follows that of marriage. According to the number of children already born, migration rates to metropolitan areas are always reduced after a birth, whatever its order. On the other hand, migration rates to nonmetropolitan areas are, to a slight extent, higher after a birth. We can conclude that the inclination to live in nonmetropolitan areas increases with marriage and size of family.



**Figure 7.7**
**Cumulative Order Specific Fertility Rates for Nonmigrant, Migrant before Migration and after Migration, Women Originating from Nonmetropolitan Areas**




Source: Courgeau, 1987.

Such analyses may be pursued in different domains (migration and job life history for example); these might lead to the important result that migration must no longer be considered as independent from other relational systems, like the family one. It is not a phenomenon that can be investigated and understood by itself as a dependent variable, but should be viewed as an integral part of a more general process leading to sociocultural change.

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