

Chapter 6

Places of Life Events as Bequestable Wealth: Family Territory and Migration in France, 19th and 20th Centuries

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Abstract Previous studies have shown that the family influences migration decisions in various ways, but very few of them take into account past migrations among the kinship group. In this study, we take advantage of new historical data, based on the TRA survey, to discuss the extent to which kinship influences migration. We use the concept of spatial capital to capture all the knowledge families possess about geographical locations. We are then able to show how this knowledge is—or is not—handed down from one generation to another. This is a key point of the analysis of migration as it means that migration decisions are not only influenced by individual characteristics or economic or historical context, but also by the past migration behavior of the family. As such, migration is not only an investment for the migrant or for his close relatives but can be seen as a long-term investment of the kinship group.

1 Introduction

Scholars who study migration usually emphasize macroregularities underlying human mobility. In particular, economists, sociologists, and demographers focus on the age pattern of migrations. In this view, the life cycle hypothesis appears as an important and useful tool of analysis (see, e.g., Courgeau 1984; Sandefur and Scott 1981). Migrations follow a “bell-shaped curve”, decreasing after a peak around the age of 20. Although the peak can occur earlier or later, depending on historical and geographical contexts, the shape of the curve seems extremely general over time and space, and nineteenth century France is no exception (Courgeau 1993). More precisely, age can be seen as a proxy for vital events that happen during the life cycle (see Courgeau and Lelièvre 2003) because mobility evolves by age as people leave their parental home, get married, have children, and so on.

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However, these empirical regularities do not necessarily provide a good framework for fully understanding the migration process. Among the various mechanisms underlying migration decisions,¹ this chapter focuses on the precise influence of kinship. Two recent studies have made important efforts to reconsider kinship determination in mobility choices. The first one (Gribaudo 1987) analyzes the making of the working class in Turin and shows how integration into urban places relied strongly on kinship. The second study (Rosental 1999) concentrates on nineteenth century France and highlights family mechanisms that produce a migration decision, in particular by relating them to the various opportunities available at a given moment. Both studies agree on the central importance of kinship in migration and on the importance of the timing of individual mobility within a family life cycle. The birth rank of the child, for instance, appears as an essential determinant of mobility because it affects the possibility that an individual will move or not, given his family needs and offers.

From this point of view, migration seems to be best understood as a family undertaking and very strongly related with the kinship network. At the opposite position is Lesger, Lucassen, and Schrover's (2002) article, significantly entitled "Is there life outside the migrant network?", which criticizes the excess of "chain migration" studies in the literature, and not only the ones on family chain migration.

In this study, we will take advantage of new historical data based on the TRA survey, to discuss precisely the extent to which kinship influences migration. We focus on two central aspects of migration; the decision to migrate and the choice of place to move to. One may think that family forms (for example, number of siblings, type of professional orientation, and nuclear family) as well as individual factors (birth rank, gender) have a particular influence on mobility. But it is also clear that these forms depend on the historical conditions and the socioeconomic background in which they fit, and so we need to investigate further how the context shapes the mobility decision. Families rely on external factors such as socioeconomic, legal, and cultural conditions. Our purpose here is not to measure all these factors and take them into account in the decision to migrate, but only to evaluate the family territory and observe its influence on migration decisions. For each individual, we produce an estimation of the places where members of his family live or have lived, which represents, in some way, the spatial capital he inherited. We then assess the link between this family portfolio of places and the migration comportment of the heir.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to reassess the influence of kinship on geographic mobility by taking into account past migrations within the family. We use the concept of spatial capital to capture all the knowledge families possess about

¹A complete description is to be found in Greenwood (1997). For the case of nineteenth-century France, see Ogden and White (1989), especially Chapter 1 (Migration in later nineteenth- and twentieth-century France: the social and economic context) by P. Ogden and P. White, and Chapter 2 (Internal migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) by P. White.

geographical locations. In practical terms, this capital is estimated by the spatial distribution of places that were once visited by any member of the family. This capital is seen as investments made by the family in certain locations from generation to generation. We are able to show how this knowledge is, or is not, handed down from one generation to another. This is a key point of the analysis of migration as it means that migration decisions may not only be influenced by individual characteristics or economic and historical context, but also by the past migration behavior of the family. In this way, migration is not only an investment for the migrant or for his close relatives but can also be seen as a long-term investment of the kinship group. The first part will present the database and the key hypotheses we made in reconstructing families and localizing them in space and time. We then provide a description of the family territory and give some clues to the geographical dispersion of French families. From this geographical observation, we next observe individual mobility; first, what is the influence of the family territory on migration decisions and, second, whether individuals stay in or leave this territory.

2 The Military Registers and the TRA Survey

Historical studies of kinship are often constrained by the sources available, which only study households or discontinuous changes in family organization. The TRA survey offers efficient observations of French families over one and a half centuries for vital events such as marriages or deaths. Military records help to overcome these limited data as conscripts were very precisely traced by the army during an important part of their life cycle. We start by describing our database, focusing on the hypothesis we use to reconstitute families and to observe geographical mobility.

Our sample is based on the TRA survey (also known as “3000 familles” survey). Initiated by Jacques Dupâquier and Denis Kessler, this survey aims to reconstitute the patterns of French families whose ancestors were born in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is based on a patronymic method: all people whose surname begins with the letters T, R, and A are recorded from various sources. Apart from the classical “État-civil”,² the two main sources are wedding and fiscal records. The first source gives information on TRA people at the time of their marriage, especially their place of birth, the residence of the groom and his bride, and the residence of both their parents.³ The second source is the TSA (“Table de successions et absences”). Created after the 1799 law (22 *frimaire* year VII), the TSA is used by the French administration of tax inheritance. For every deceased person, the

²From the French Revolution onwards, the État-civil records births, marriages, and deaths in all French communes. It was also used in the TRA survey but mainly for family reconstitution.

³A more accurate description and usage of the TRA sample, especially the wedding records, can be found in Dupâquier and Kessler (1992).

TSA notes whether he or she left an inheritance.⁴ Both these sources are used to reconstitute the families of the TRA people. They also give us some information on their places of residence but only at fixed moments in the life cycle, that is, mainly at births, weddings, and deaths.

Military records are the core of our sample. Contrary to the other sources involved in the TRA survey, military records provide a continuous record of residences between the ages of 20 and 46.⁵ Just before and after Germany's defeat in the war of 1870, the French army was completely transformed. Replacement⁶ was abolished and replaced by a conscription army. Military duty now applied to everyone, except for those excused for medical reasons. The second major change concerned the length of military service. Before the war of 1870, the French army was a semiprofessional army. Military service lasted 7 years, but people were fully discharged from military duty after leaving the forces. Beginning with the 1872 law, military service was divided into a short portion of active service and a longer portion in the reserve army. Thus, people stayed in the army for 26 years in a combination of active and reserve service. While in the reserve, training periods were held and individuals could be recalled at any time in case of war. In this process, individuals had to declare their successive residences, or risk penalties or even jail sentences. The army created a complete and efficient system to monitor all conscripts, in order to locate them at any time. The military registers ("les registres matricules") were the centre of this system, where all persons were recorded and followed until discharged.⁷

The military records were collected for all TRA people born between 1847 and 1900, but only for a sample of "departements" (French territorial division). The choice of the "departements" collected was oriented by the desire to balance some of the main geographic and socioeconomic characteristics of France at that time. We sought to find an equilibrium between Paris and the "provinces", between North and South France (mainly for the differential in inheritance custom), and between rural and urban areas. Therefore, we collected the whole Parisian area ("le bassin parisien"), which consists of three "departements": Seine (with Paris itself), Seine-et-Marne, and Seine-et-Oise. We also collected from ten other "departements" within the country.

⁴A complete description of the fiscal data is to be found in Bourdieu, Postel-Vinay, and Suwa-Eisenmann (2004).

⁵Age at end of observation varies in the sample as the military law changes.

⁶Before 1872 people could draw to escape military duty, and those who were enrolled could pay someone else to take their place (replacement).

⁷More details on this particular source are to be found in the original texts of the laws (law of "27 juillet 1872 sur le recrutement de l'armée" and law of "15 juillet 1889 sur le recrutement de l'armée") or in the army manuals ("Code-manuel..." 1873). An excellent summary is provided in Farcy and Faure (2003, 14–22). On the general organization of the army and the consequences of the changes of the 1872 law on this organization, see the study by Odile Roynette (2000).

Wedding records were collected for all weddings that included a TRA individual and that occurred in the nineteenth century. TSA records have been collected for all TRA persons who died between 1800 and 1940. Both these sources are exhaustive for the whole of France, with certain exceptions due to accidental source destruction (e.g., war, fire). These two main databases have been used to reconstitute the families of the conscripts collected in the military records. Conscripts are located at the end of the TRA survey because they were born in the second part of the nineteenth century; we can therefore link them without much difficulty.

The TRA survey is representative of the French population at the time of the survey.⁸ Nevertheless, it has some shortcomings. The most important one is surely the absence of women, both in the military records and in the family reconstruction. Indeed, we lose all women after the first generation because their children take the name of the father and, therefore, they are no longer TRA.⁹ Thus, while we are still able to consider the life course of TRA women as they keep their birth name until their death, we cannot follow their children. By using the genealogy from the bottom to the top, we lose the matrimonial branch when considering the ancestors of a TRA individual. We can find the father and his relatives (uncles and aunts) but not the mother's. In the same way, we can find information on the father of the father and follow it along the patriarchal branch, but at each step we lose both parents of the mother. We can, however, still obtain some information on the family-in-law through the wedding records, which give us the residence at time of marriage of the parents of the mother (the matrimonial grandparents). This can compensate somewhat for the lack of data and give us indications, if only partially, on the residence of this part of the family.

So, the main, and perhaps the most difficult, assumption is the neutrality of the matrimonial lineage. It does not mean that this branch does not play any role in the migration, but only that this role is by no way different or particular from the role of the patrimonial lineage. This is of course debatable, but at this stage the matrimonial lineage cannot be evaluated in our study. We analyze inheritance only from the point of view of the patrimonial lineage that we reconstitute from the TRA.

3 Defining Kinship with Historical Sources

Conscripts are the main focus of our analysis and we complete the data from the military records by considering the family networks given by the TRA. The immediate family members that we consider here are the brothers and the father of a given conscript. For each TRA person recorded in the military registers, we also

⁸ See, for instance, Bourdieu and Kesztenbaum (2004).

⁹ Except for the very few weddings that involve two TRAs, groom and bride; however, as underlined in (Rosental 2002), there are not enough TRA names in the French population to make this kind of wedding frequent by chance (i.e., most of these weddings are endogenous).

have all brothers who survive to age 20, as they are all recorded by the army, except at the margin of our sample.¹⁰ We also have some information on his father and mother directly from the military records, as the military system was based on the responsibility of the father if his son did not attend at the army. Table 6.1 describes precisely the construction of the database and the linkage between military records and other sources. Using these data, we are able to link 79 percent of the fathers to the wedding records and 60 percent to the TSA. On the whole, almost 90 percent of the military sample can be linked with the TRA survey, either by the wedding or by the fiscal records.¹¹ Thus, we were able to reconstitute the family for an important part of the sample.

Whereas wedding and fiscal records only identify where someone lives at a given moment (marriage, death, and so on), the military records compile all residences during the period between the end of active military service (around the age of 23) and the end of all military duty (around 46 years of age). In this chapter, we use both discrete and continuous records of residence, but we do not give equal weight to these two kinds of places. We study mobility only for people listed in the

Table 6.1 The military sample and its links to the TRA survey

Generation	Source	N	Proportion (%)	Proportion of conscripts (%)
Conscript	Total	2,896		
	TSA	1,166	40.26	
	Wedding	948	32.73	
	TSA and wedding	537	18.54	
	TSA or wedding	1,577	54.45	
Father	Total	1,982		
	TSA	1,172	59.13	60.19
	Wedding	1,513	76.34	79.28
	TSA and wedding	1,014	51.16	53.21
	TSA or wedding	1,671	84.13	86.98
Grandfather	Total	1,794		
	TSA	675	37.63	42.96
	Wedding	820	45.71	51.38
	TSA and wedding	568	31.66	36.29
	TSA or wedding	927	51.67	58.05
Great-grandfather	Total	1,735		
	TSA	277	15.97	20.65
	Wedding	260	14.99	18.65
	TSA and wedding	171	9.86	12.57
	TSA or wedding	366	21.10	26.73

¹⁰People born at the beginning (around 1850) or at the end (just before 1900) of our sample may, respectively, have an older or younger brother who escapes from our sample.

¹¹People who could not be linked to either of the two sources are not neutral as they are usually foreigners who married or died abroad and so cannot be found in the TRA sources, which cover only Metropolitan France. In most cases, these people are thrown out of our study (as we do not have any of their family information). We are aware of this limitation, but it is one that is inherent in our sample.

military records and for whom we have continuous records of residence. We use the rest of the family, i.e., their parents and grandparents, as a background of some of the main characteristics of the family in terms of geographic and socioeconomic behavior. This family background helps us to explore the potential links between migration and family network.

Another important aspect of our research is how to characterize the places in our sample. We use the basic unit in the French administrative organization, the “commune”. We then consider communes as the main reference for places. This choice is debatable since this administrative unit is not perfectly constant over time. Yet, thanks to the reference dictionary of communes (Motte, Seguy, and There 2003), we can identify the places listed in our database. On the basis of the various sources of the TRA survey, we are able to locate each person in a commune at different moments of his life cycle. We thus have a precise measure of the individual trajectories since the commune is a very small administrative unit (France is divided into no less than 36,000 communes).

We first characterize a commune by its geographical localization. We have coordinates of all French communes which allows us both to locate them in the territory of France and to calculate distances between them. All distances we use are “as the crow flies”. This simplification does not take into account natural elements that may considerably limit mobility, such as mountains or rivers, but we choose “as the crow flies” distances as a convenient way to approximate the real distance between two places and argue that the bias is not too heavy on the whole sample.

We also take into account some characteristics of the commune. Each commune is defined as urban or rural at a given moment in time; thus, our definition of urbanity is dynamic. We consider a commune to be urban if it has more than 2,500 inhabitants at the census directly preceding the moment of residence. For the conscript, as we know the exact time of mobility this measure is almost perfectly in accordance with reality. For the rest of the sample, there can be quite a long time between the moment an individual moved to a commune and the time at which he is recorded in this commune (e.g., at his wedding or the time of birth of one of his children); but this should not be an important bias as few communes became urban before the end of the nineteenth century.¹²

4 The Spatial Capital of Families

For each individual we make an inventory of all places of residence within his family. We consider that these define a family territory which can be seen as “spatial capital” and as such matters in the mobility decisions of family

¹²A more accurate description of French urbanization is provided in Dupâquier (1988) and Lepetit (1988).

members.¹³ Let us first summarize the characteristics of this territory by a few indicators.

To constitute the family territory of a given conscript in our sample, we compile the locations of his ancestors, from both the TSA and wedding records, including the places of residence of both spouses at the time of marriage (before they moved in together), the habitations of both their parents, all his grandparents (if they are still alive), and all his great-grandparents on his father's side. We assume that both parents are living in the same place after their marriage even though that is not always the case,¹⁴ so by default we use the place of residence of the father at the time of the marriage of his children. It is only when the father's residence appears to be missing (in most cases because he is not alive any more), that we use, when available, the place of residence of the mother.

Table 6.2 shows all the locations available in the TRA database and how we use them. We construct two different indicators of the family in terms of genealogic profoundness: one from the parents' habitations, the second from the grandparents and great-grandparents' habitations. The former is based on the mobility of the parents. Firstly, mobility before marriage is estimated with the birth place and the residence at the time of marriage for both spouses—that is, for the father and mother of a given conscript. We then complete it by using the places of birth of the children of the family (the conscript and his siblings)¹⁵ as a measure of the post-marital mobility of the parents. We can obtain up to 15 places, as the maximum number of children in our sample is 11. This pool of places is heavily dependent upon the number of children, but it gives us a good estimation of the parent's mobility, except for mobility before marriage. This first estimate of the family territory is not constrained by family reconstitution but by the size of the family itself. Nevertheless, it gives an approximation of parental mobility and consequently defines a territory that is a reference for the children's generation. We will refer to this definition of family as “parental family”.

We then use a second definition by compiling a family as large as possible, but only in the ascending branch. We use both grandparents and great-grandparents, but not the residence of the parents after their wedding (i.e., the successive places of

¹³“Spatial capital” is used here as a special kind of both human and social capital at an individual scale. It is then relatively close to the definition given by Levy (2003) in the dictionary of geography, under the article on *capital spatial*: “Le capital spatial est un capital, c'est-à-dire un bien social cumulable et utilisable pour produire d'autres biens sociaux”. For us, it is a way to capture social networks but also links with places in various dimensions. For more details, see Levy (2003) and the references given. We use social capital as defined in Lin (2001): “as resources embedded in social networks and accessed and used by actors for actions”. For a more accurate description of social capital, see the recent survey by Durlauf and Fafchamps (2005).

¹⁴In the whole TRA database, roughly 5 percent of the marriages with both places of the parents recorded show a different place of residence for the father and for the mother of the bride or groom.

¹⁵As we also use the TRA database to find the sisters of the conscripts; in this case, siblings can be either men or women.

birth of their children), to provide an estimation of the territory that is independent from the number of children in the last generation. We obtain up to 18 places, depending mostly on the success of family reconstitution. In contrast to the first definition, we refer to these as “ancestral families”.

These two different approximations of the family territory are totally independent. They express two different views of the family’s residences. One, ancestral families, is the memory of past places where ancestors lived, even if nobody lives there any more. It is a vision of place as a patrimony or an inheritance which has

Table 6.2 Construction of the spatial capital

Individual	Nature of the place	N	(%)	Parental family	Ancestral family	Source
ALL		2,896				
Ego	Birth place	2,865	98.9	X		M
Siblings	Birth place first sibling	1,904	65.7	X		MTW
	Birth place second sibling	1,154	39.8	X		MTW
	Birth place third sibling	678	23.4	X		MTW
	Birth place fourth sibling	378	13.1	X		MTW
	Birth place fifth sibling	205	7.1	X		MTW
	Birth place sixth sibling	107	3.7	X		MTW
	Birth place above sixth sibling	121	4.2			
	Father	Birth place	2,380	82.2	X	X
Residence at his wedding		2,200	76.0	X		W
Residence of his parents at his wedding		1,997	69.0		X	W
Mother	Birth place	2,190	75.6	X	X	W
	Residence at her wedding	2,122	73.3	X		W
	Residence of her parents at her wedding	1,968	68.0		X	W
Grandfather	Birth place	1,502	51.9		X	WT
	Residence at his wedding	1,394	48.1		X	W
	Residence of his parents at his wedding	1,234	42.6		X	W
Grandmother	Residence at death	1,261	43.5		X	T
	Birth place	1,328	45.9		X	W
	Residence at her wedding	1,273	44.0		X	W
	Residence of her parents at her wedding	1,215	42.0		X	W
Great-grandfather	Birth place	595	20.5		X	WT
	Residence at his wedding	490	16.9		X	W
	Residence of his parents at his wedding	415	14.3		X	W
Great-grandmother	Residence at death	609	21.0		X	T
	Birth place	451	15.6		X	W
	Residence at her wedding	439	15.2		X	W
	Residence of her parents at her wedding	448	15.5		X	W

been influenced by the mobility of ancestors, but also influences, as any inheritance, the generation who receives it. In ways we are unable to define precisely, people are linked to these places. The residences of the parents, however, are more proximate. In most cases, the parents are still living there, unless they moved after the birth of their last child, and even if they do not live there anymore, they did so not long ago and they probably still have some links to the place.

We implicitly consider all these places as places where the family has some ties. We do not know whether these ties are still up-to-date, but we may suppose that a commune in the family territory is in some way related to the family's history and can still play a role in family choices. Note that, unlike some recent studies based on interviews (Bonvalet, Gotman, and Grafmeyer 1999), which reveal real links identified by the respondents and which use quantitative and qualitative analysis of family territory, we only have theoretical links recorded by the successive living places of the people we are studying. As a result, we have an approximate image of the past—the trace people left by living somewhere. Hence, we must not forget that our family territory is only a partial and reduced one.

5 The Family Territory

Table 6.3 gives a quantitative summary of the family territory constructed in terms of number of residences for parental families. In theory, there are a maximum of 15 different places available, but most families have around three children and so only six places are available. In fact, very few families have more than eight places (5% of the sample). For ancestral families (Table 6.4), the theoretical maximum is 18 places. In contrast to the parental family, a significant portion of the sample reaches this upward limit. Two thirds of the sample has four or more places available, and one third has 10 or more. However, some conscripts have not been successfully linked with the TRA survey and have no ancestral family approximation. Thus, a little more than 20 percent of our sample has only one or fewer places available. To avoid problems with sample size, we choose to limit our analysis to people with at least two places. Respectively, 15% and 23% of the sample is lost in parental and ancestral families by removing these data.

This loss does not produce an important bias as people who could not be identified in our sources are not much different from the others, according to the main characteristics. We perform a probit regression (not shown here) to estimate the effects of these variables on the probability of linking a conscript in the TRA database. Although sons of a wealthy father have greater chances of being linked, other individual characteristics, such as occupation or place of residence, do not change this probability. It seems then that linked people constitute a representative sample of all conscripts we collected.

The distribution of places for the two kinds of families is relatively close to what we might expect after family reconstitution. Unsurprisingly, parental families are concentrated around five places, which corresponds exactly to families having only

Table 6.3 Frequency distribution of parental families according to the total number of places

Number of places	N	(%)
0	11	0.55
1	291	14.59
2	92	4.61
3	74	3.71
4	120	6.02
5	613	30.74
6	354	17.75
7	210	10.53
8	104	5.22
9–10	89	4.46
11 or more	36	1.81
All families	1,994	100.00

Table 6.4 Frequency distribution of the ancestral families according to the total number of places

Number of places	N	(%)
0	375	20.79
1	54	2.99
2	39	2.16
3	116	6.43
4	320	17.74
5	53	2.94
6	33	1.83
8	58	3.22
9	102	5.65
10	140	7.76
11	136	7.54
12–15	180	9.98
16 or more	157	8.70
All families	1,804	100.00

one child whose father's wedding has been found. Except for this concentration, the sample is relatively heterogeneous with the distribution decreasing as the number of places rises. Ancestral families are more equally distributed, though we can see some concentration points reflecting the success or failure of linkage with the TRA. The high percentage of 4-place-families corresponds to a father's wedding without any information on the grandparents, while 10 or more places are related with data on both parents and grandparents.

The number of different places within a family gives a first estimation of the diversity of its territory. We calculate the number of different communes among all the communes available. In other words, we are trying to measure the size of the spatial capital in each family. Table 6.5 gives the detailed results of these calculations, both for parental and ancestral families. The first line of the the tables shows "stable" families or families with only one location in their "pool" of places. As we can

Table 6.5 Number of different places according to the number of places available, by family

Parental family Number of different places	Total number of places available											11 or more	All		
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12-15				
1	58.70	40.54	19.17	17.13	16.10	21.43	21.15	17.98	21.39						
2	41.30	45.95	40.00	37.19	33.90	35.71	30.77	28.09	13.89						
3		13.51	30.83	30.34	29.66	23.33	26.92	31.46	30.56						
4			10.00	14.03	15.82	11.90	11.54	11.24	8.33						
5				1.31	4.24	5.25	5.77	7.86	13.88						
6					0.28	2.38	3.85	3.37	5.56						
N	92	74	120	613	354	210	104	89	36						

Ancestral family Number of different places	Total number of places available											16 or more	All		
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12-15				
1	28.21	19.83	17.81	18.87	9.76	6.06	12.07	9.80	10.00	8.82	6.11	4.46	12.22		
2	71.79	58.62	43.13	33.96	34.15	33.33	22.41	22.55	25.71	21.32	10.56	5.10	29.45		
3		21.55	33.13	33.96	21.95	27.27	32.76	22.55	20.71	21.32	21.67	16.56	24.15		
4			5.94	11.32	12.20	21.21	25.86	22.55	15.71	25.74	20.56	14.65	13.96		
5				1.89	17.07	9.09	3.45	14.71	15.00	15.44	18.89	23.57	10.25		
6					4.88	3.03	1.72	3.92	7.86	5.15	9.44	12.74	4.58		
7						1.72	1.72	3.92	3.57	1.47	8.33	12.10	3.35		
8 or more									1.43	0.74	4.44	10.83	2.04		
N	39	116	320	53	41	33	58	102	140	136	180	157	1,375		

see, the proportion of these families is remarkably constant, whatever the total number of places, if we exclude families with only few (two or three) whereabouts available. This proportion is around 20% in parental families and 10% in ancestral families. This suggests that there are very concentrated families for whom migration between communes seems to be nonexistent or very rare. The diagonal gives us the opposite situation, i.e., families whose places were all different. In contrast to stable families, this indicator seems to be dependent on the number of places available. These families totally disappear when we consider enough locales, suggesting that diversity is quantitatively limited among families. Between these two extremes stands an important part of the sample, in which place diversity is relatively limited, with about half of the sample having only two or three different locations. This reveals a dispersion of the families among a small number of residences. This number seems to increase regularly from one generation to another (as the number of different places increases with the number of places available, i.e., with the number of generations we consider).

So these two distributions suggest various forms of family distribution among communes, with a core of very stable families, and a dispersion of family members that is rather limited. Parental families are less concentrated than we expected, suggesting a quite high postmarital mobility—which is consistent with other studies showing high levels of mobility in this part of the life cycle (see Bourdieu et al. 2000; Moch 1992). On the contrary, ancestral families are more concentrated than we expected, suggesting that there is some kind of maximum size of the spatial capital of families.

We estimate the diversity of the places that constitute the spatial portfolio of a given individual by measuring the number of communes in this portfolio. Whatever their number, these communes can be either (very) close or (very) distant in terms of spatial distribution. We now try to measure the spatial concentration of family as it may influence migration. A very concentrated family, even one living in many different places, should restrain mobility, or at least limit long-distance moves, whereas a family with fewer residences that are more spread out in terms of geographic distance might promote more mobility. We then estimate the barycentre of the family territory, i.e., the theoretical point that is the centre of all places within the family territory. Clearly, this point is a theoretical one, and acts as a shortcut to help us estimate the concentration (or the dispersion) of the family. We then distinguish between relatively concentrated families, for whom all places are close in geographical space, and dispersed families that have a large family territory. To do so, we calculate the average distance from each place in the territory to the barycentre. We do not weight places: each commune where a member of the family is living or has ever lived is considered with the same weight for the calculation of the barycentre. We then obtain a measure of dispersion among families.¹⁶ Figure 6.1 shows the division of families according to this measure of dispersion. The graph

¹⁶This measure is thought to be a simple, if not perfect, summary of the dispersion of places among a given family.

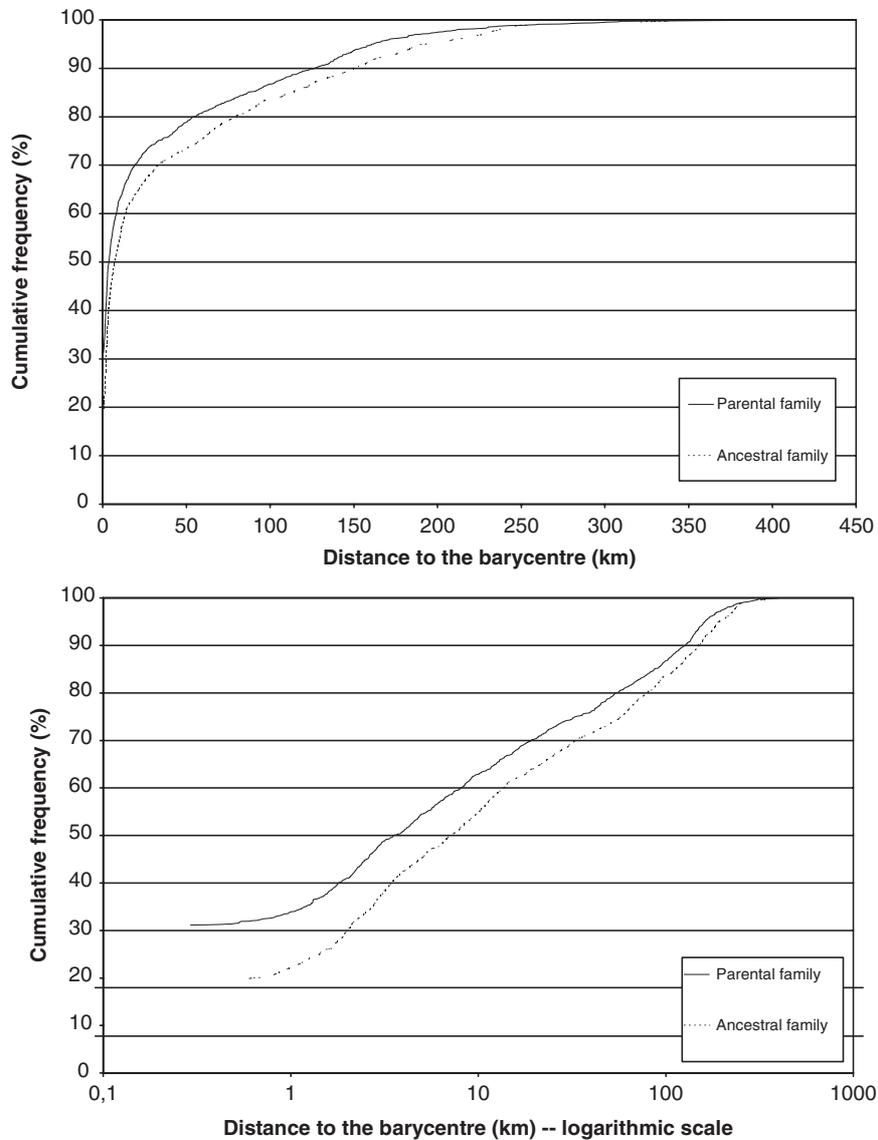


Figure 6.1 Cumulative frequency of the mean distance to the barycentre (kilometer—as the crow flies). Normal and logarithmic scale

in logarithmic scale shows a very regular increase in the mean distance to the barycentre between approximately 4 and 250 km. Between these two limits, distance to the barycentre is rather equally distributed among the families. We find very concentrated families as half of the sample has a mean distance below 4 km. There is

also a very small group of dispersed families, for whom distance to the barycentre equals several hundred kilometres.

The last indicator we use to describe family territory is related to urbanization. As rural or urban status is linked to mobility decisions, we wish to measure a degree of “urbanity” (or “rurality”) for each family. We then calculate the ratio between urban places and all places available. From this ratio, we can distinguish families that are completely rural or urban (for one generation or more) from families in which some members are living in an urban area.

6 Migrants as Heirs

After having highlighted various forms of kinship, defined in terms of their relation to space, we now wish to explore the links between these family forms and the mobility of their members. Our aim is twofold. First, we look at the influence of family forms on the decision of mobility itself. Second, we observe how individuals use the family pool of places they inherited and, in particular, in which cases they extend this patrimony or stay within it. We focus on the men of the last generation who are recorded in the military registers. They are followed from the age of 20 until they die, are discharged for medical reason, or finish their military service at the age of 46. Thus, the mobility we observe is in some way particular as it occurred in the most active part of the life cycle when migration is mostly linked to job search or marriage mobility.

To explore the links between family forms and mobility, we separate migrants and nonmigrants. We then assume that the geographical dispersion of the family has an impact on whether its members choose to move or to stay. In other words, if the previous generations were stable, we could suppose the last generation was less prone to move. However, things are not that simple and it may be that different kinds of mobility are not influenced in the same way by family dispersion. In particular, relative stability in terms of communes—which is the only factor we are able to measure for family background—does not necessarily imply a lack of mobility. People could move within the same commune or could move only briefly—a very frequent phenomenon during this period of time when temporary migrations were common, especially in mountain areas.¹⁷ In this case, family members may migrate even if we observe a high degree of sedentariness among the family. We cannot take into account temporary migration because, in general, it is not recorded in the military registers, but we do observe all other forms of mobility whether intra- or intercommune since we observe residential mobility within a commune. To be sure, the records are sometimes vague for rural areas but residential mobility is well recorded for cities and even small towns (the precise addresses

¹⁷On the historical evolution of seasonal or temporary migration, see the survey by Abel Chatelain (1976).

are often given which is never the case for someone living in a village). For these reasons, it is safe to say that data from military registers underestimate residential mobility by omitting rural mobility that occurred within the same commune.

One of the points at stake here is to see how different kinds of mobility are related to different family forms. We then consider migration between and within communes,¹⁸ since both their meanings and consequences are very different for individuals, for example, in terms of social networks or integration in the labor market.¹⁹ At the same time, we take advantage of the details of the military registers to consider the hazard of first migration in the observation period. In all cases, the reference point is the residence at the age of 20. We focus on the first migration after the age of 20, which is in some way particular as it distinguishes those who change their residence at least once in 26 years²⁰ from those who stay in the same place. We consider that the conscripts are observed from the end of their active military duty, a moment that varies from 20 years of age (no active military service) to 30 or even 40 years of age (professional soldiers), until the end of their military duty, a moment that varies from 41 years of age (under the 1872 law) to 51 years of age (under the 1905 law).

We then use Kaplan-Meier estimates to construct hazard rates and survival functions of the first migration during the observation period.²¹ We consider separately the hazard rate of the first change of residence, the first change of commune, and the first change of residence within the same commune, the last one being estimated only for people living in an urban dwelling.

The other main point of our analysis is the differential role of places during the life cycle. Places we consider as references for family background are collected at particular moments of time, e.g., weddings or deaths. They are places of reference related to such vital events. On the other hand, we study continuous mobility in the last generation and so we have information on places that are not directly related to a vital event. The qualitative difference between these two kinds of mobility may

¹⁸ However, migration within communes is only available for cities; therefore, we consider it only for communes with more than 2,500 inhabitants.

¹⁹ However, it is only a simple way to characterize geographic mobility. To be precise, we should also have taken migration distance into account as it strongly affects migrants through selection process (see discussion in Courgeau and Baccaïni (1989), Adams, Kasakoff, and Kok (2002) or Bourdieu et al. (2000) for the same historical period). Nevertheless, even though we here focus on the opposition between movers and stayers, without any consideration for the distance of migration, we control for other characteristics, e.g., wealth of the father, which could differ between short- and long-distance migrants.

²⁰ Twenty-six years is a shortcut to indicate the length of the observation period, which varies among individuals.

²¹ The hazard rate of the first migration is defined for each period of time (for instance, a year) as the number of migrations in that period divided by the number of individuals at risk at the beginning of the period (a conscript is at risk of moving if he has not moved yet and is still under observation). This rate is expressed in person per unit of time (for instance, persons-per-year). On the statistical analysis of failure time data, see Kalbfleisch and Prentice (1980).

certainly influence the choice of places. In other words, we examine whether lifetime mobility involves the same places as vital events-related mobility.

Mobility before the age of 20 is surely a difficult point for our analysis as we do not observe continuous mobility before this age. Nevertheless, the military registers record the birth place of the conscript and two residences when he reaches the age of 20: his own residence and that of his parents. By comparing his birth place and his residence at 20, we estimate conscript mobility between birth and the age of 20. By comparing the residence of the conscript at the age of 20 and the residence of his parents at that moment, we assess whether his mobility was made alone or with his parents. We assume the conscript moved on his own before the age of 20 if he has a residence at 20 different both from his birth place and the residence of his parents.

We compute the estimated probability of at least one migration from the end of military service to the complete discharge of military duty, which means approximately from the age of 20 until the age of 46. We use Kaplan-Meier estimates to take into account the diversity of time under observation. We start by considering each variable independently to obtain an understanding of their influence on mobility decisions. The results shown in Tables 6 and 7 are expressed as the failure function (the opposite of the survival function) at the last age.²² These tables show the probability of moving at least once, according to both the different definitions of mobility and the variables considered.

Mobility can be influenced by family forms but also by individual determinants, such as birth rank, or by the historical or geographical context. As such, we use some characteristics of the conscripts as control variables. Table 6 gives the probability of moving according to various individual characteristics. First, we use a birth rank indicator. We also consider some geographical indicators related to the habitation at the age of 20: whether this place is urban, rural, or Paris. Finally, we consider the year of birth to capture historical differences in mobility patterns, the length of active military service to estimate differences in the first time a conscript is at risk of moving, and the occupation at the age of 20, both as sector of activity and occupational status.²³

For the family background, we take advantage of the TSA to estimate the father's wealth. We use it as a dichotomous variable, observing whether the father left an inheritance or not. We use the three indicators previously defined, i.e., diversity of places, dispersion of the family, and family urbanization to estimate the family territory. We divide these indicators into groups on the basis of the secondary analysis we conducted. Diversity of places is estimated by the number of different locations among the number of residences available. We then use three

²² After, in fact, 26 years under risk. Some people are even followed after this date as military service was extended to 30 years after the First World War. However, the sample is very small after this date.

²³ For details on the way we construct individual indicators, especially occupations in the TRA survey, see Kesztenbaum (2006).

groups; “stable families” only have one different place in their family territory, whereas families with more than half of their places different (that is, approximately four places or more for parental families and five places or more for ancestral families) are characterized as “high diversity” families. The majority of the sample stands between these two groups. For ancestral families, the stable group is divided in two, separating out families with only one place in their portfolio as “very stable” families. Family dispersion is estimated in four groups; families with no dispersion at all (mean distance to the barycentre is equal to 0 km), low dispersion (between 0 and 4 km), medium dispersion (between 4 and 20 km), and high dispersion (above 20 km). And, finally, urbanization is estimated among the families in three categories; two extreme groups, i.e., when places in the family portfolio are all either rural or urban, and a “mixed” group where families have both urban and rural places in their portfolio.

These groups give a first estimation of the family territory as measured according to parental or ancestral families, and allow us to analyze the different family forms in studying mobility decisions.

As Table 6.6 shows, the results are significant and have the expected sign for the main individual variables. For example, conscripts born in a town have greater chances of intercommune migration than individuals born in the countryside, whereas conscripts born in Paris have a much higher probability of intracommune mobility. Part of these results come from our poor observation of intracommune mobility in the countryside, but it is also consistent with previous observations that show an important intracommune mobility and a quite reduced intercommune mobility in town, or at least in major cities (for the case of Paris, see Farcy and Faure 2003). Similarly, migration is smaller for farmers and is rather higher for industry and service workers and state employees. Finally, birth rank seems to have no effect.

The variables related to the spatial capital of the family also seem to influence mobility decisions (Table 6.7). In general, the probability of moving increases with the size and the scope of the spatial capital that is owned by the family. Thus, a greater diversity of communes in the portfolio, or a greater dispersion of the communes within the family, raises the probability of moving. These results are identical and significant both for parental and ancestral families. This may mean that the history of the family—observed here as the migrations of family members, as proxied by the portfolio of communes—plays an important role in determining present individual mobility. This may also mean that differences in the spatial distribution of the members of the families reveal both different resources (some local, some dispersed) and different ways of using these resources (e.g., local networks). These two explanations are not exclusive. Families with a lot of different places in their portfolio have more opportunities, i.e., more spatial resources to offer for future moves. In other words, migration generates migration (as family inheritance generates and constrains heirs). It is particularly clear when comparing intra- and intercommune mobility: the diversity of places does not have significant effects on the former but does increase the probability of the latter. This means that some families reproduce intercommune migration from one generation to another.

Table 6.6 Probability of at least one instance of mobility between 20 and 46 years of age according to individual characteristics

	Migration							
	N	All		Intercommune		Intracommune		Khi ²
		Prob.	Khi ²	Prob.	Khi ²	N	Prob.	
<i>Year of birth</i>								
1850–1859	401	40.2	145.04***	31.7	82.71***	203	48.2	27.82***
1860–1869	520	66.7		55.2		330	53.7	
1870–1879	600	74.3		59.2		412	64.5	
1880–1889	541	77.2		54.4		389	68.7	
1890–1900	533	78.7		62.3		404	61.9	
<i>Active military service</i>								
None	423	56.8	58.27***	43.7	27.62***	232	52.8	12.21***
1–3 years	1,624	73.2		56.6		1,156	62.7	
4–8 years	525	65.0		52.0		332	59.3	
More than 8 years	23	88.4		73.1		18	38.9	
<i>Place of living at the age of 20</i>								
Rural	1,287	57.6	377.07***	50.5	10.63***	472	52.5	266.44***
Urban	521	64.0		60.9		732	39.3	
Paris	740	93.2		53.6		511	80.4	
<i>Migration before the age of 20</i>								
None	2,238	68.1	14.45***	52.7	21.37***	1,474	61.7	2.4
Migrant	266	75.9		64.3		207	54.5	
<i>Sector of activity at the age of 20</i>								
Farming	904	52.6	191.87***	46.5	39.99***	349	38.1	76.41***
Craft industry	430	70.2		53.9		308	63.8	
Industry	355	85.4		61.9		316	68.5	
Services	327	84.9		65.7		276	68.6	
Trading	374	75.0		52.7		313	67.7	
State employee	86	83.4		61.6		74	62.0	
<i>Occupational status at the age of 20</i>								
Unskilled worker	595	74.5	167.37***	56.3	37.14***	390	61.9	59.77***
Skilled worker	887	74.4		57.4		683	65.1	
Farmer	641	48.0		42.7		228	33.1	
White collar	355	85.3		62.4		337	69.8	
<i>Birth rank, male only</i>								
Only child	841	71.6	4.4	54.0	1.4	602	35.53	3.5
First born	932	67.4		53.3		609	41.45	
Second born	557	68.0		53.9		362	41.71	
Third or higher born	265	69.6		55.7		165	38.85	

Failure function after 26 years under observation (“Prob.”). Khi² refers to log rank test of equality of survival functions.

*Significant at $p < 0.15$; **significant at $p < 0.10$; ***significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 6.7 Probability of at least one instance of mobility between 20 and 46 years old according to family capital

	Migration							
	N	All		Intercommune		Intracommune		Khi ²
		Prob.	Khi ²	Prob.	Khi ²	N	Prob.	
<i>Parental family</i>								
<i>Wealth</i>								
Father wealthy	890	59.7	42.66***	47.0	8.60***	518	53.0	14.29***
Father poor	628	75.7		55.2		490	66.7	
<i>Diversity of places</i>								
Stable	1,584	63.9	48.89***	49.6	32.56***	966	57.5	1.39
Medium	574	76.4		59.2		424	66.3	
High	179	83.9		68.3		150	58.6	
<i>Dispersion</i>								
None	572	60.5	95.93***	49.4	29.50***	337	52.6	35.31***
Low	608	58.6		49.6		291	48.2	
Medium	1,091	77.3		58.1		853	67.1	
High	62	85.8		71.5		55	55.5	
<i>Urbanization</i>								
Rural only	1,149	58.9	105.73***	51.0	3.24	468	48.8	24.94***
Mixed	926	77.0		56.2		816	64.0	
Urban only	262	80.8		54.3		256	64.4	
<i>Ancestral family</i>								
<i>Wealth</i>								
Wealthy	752	64.1	18.45***	52.3	1.26	240	68.5	9.02***
Mixed	109	59.7		49.2		63	49.0	
Poor	303	77.1		54.8		453	52.8	
<i>Diversity of places</i>								
Very stable	1,221	64.4	30.32***	50.1	9.47***	746	59.0	2.88
Stable	321	70.4		56.9		222	60.0	
Medium	426	75.0		57.9		324	59.8	
High	154	82.3		60.8		112	69.3	
<i>Dispersion</i>								
None	317	65.9	87.10***	51.7	17.17***	196	61.0	33.57***
Low	553	54.2		45.8		264	42.4	
Medium	1,157	75.0		57.3		856	64.0	
High	92	88.0		59.0		85	71.5	
<i>Urbanization</i>								
Rural only	1,179	60.8	74.66***	50.9	6.82***	578	52.9	14.47***
Mixed	864	77.9		57.2		749	64.4	
Urban only	79	83.7		52.3		77	65.6	

Failure function after 26 years under observation ("Prob."). Khi² refers to log rank test of equality of survival functions.

*Significant at $p < 0.15$; **significant at $p < 0.10$; ***significant at $p < 0.05$.

To go further, we control simultaneously for all variables, especially by considering the individual characteristics of the conscripts. To do so, we use a Cox proportional hazard regression (Table 6.8). We perform separate regressions when using the wealth of the father as the use of this variable significantly diminishes the size of our sample. We explore parental and ancestral families separately. The variables defining the territory of the family are entered as continuous for dispersion and urbanization whereas diversity of place is considered as three or four groups (parental or ancestral families, respectively). All other individual variables described in Table 6.6 are included in the regression even though their coefficients are not shown in the table. The total number of places available within each family is also included as a control variable.

Taken together, these regressions confirm the previous results. Family variables do affect the probability of migrating; in addition, most of the individual variables (not shown here) appear to be significant and have the expected sign.²⁴ Wealth of the father, for instance, always had a significant negative impact on mobility.

However, the size and scope of the spatial capital of a family has different influences depending on whether we consider intra- or intercommunal moves. Generally speaking, the spatial capital of the family has no influence at all (or even a negative, but not significant, influence) on intracommune mobility. Also, the level of urbanization of the family does not seem to matter in determining migration decisions. Yet there is one remarkable exception. Parents' level of urbanization reduces the hazard of intercommune migration. In other words, a child whose father presently lives in a town, or at an earlier point in time (at least during one period) lived in an urban setting, is less likely to change communes. This result suggests some kind of inertia: when part of the family has settled in an urban area, its heirs are in some way rooted there.

For intercommune mobility, the previous results are confirmed. Even after controlling for all other variables, including wealth of the father, diversity in the spatial capital of a family significantly increases the probability of moving. In other words, the more places an individual has in his family portfolio, the more likely he is to leave his birth place for another commune. As we previously explained, this suggests a positive influence of past migrations on present mobility. This can be seen in terms of resources (networks for instance) or in terms of habits (families of migrants, for example, who have a professional specialization). In both cases, it shows the importance of a history of migration in a given family in determining its members' mobility. Migration seems to be in some way bequestable goods.

The territorial scope of the family's members also plays an important role, again mostly for intercommune migration. This result holds for parental and ancestral families. Again, this suggests a determining influence of the kinship's places and

²⁴The detailed results can be obtained on request from the author. They are rather similar to those given in Table 6.

Table 6.8 Effects of spatial capital on the hazard of first migration (Cox proportional hazard regression)

	Migration											
	All			Intercommune			Intracommune			Wealth		
	Base model	Urban	Wealth	Base model	Urban	Wealth	Base model	Urban	Wealth	Base model	Urban	Wealth
<i>Parental family</i>												
<i>Observations</i>	2,167	2,167	1,365	2,167	2,167	1,365	1,409	1,409	1,409	1,409	1,409	892
<i>Years at risk</i>	22,153	22,153	14,484	29,013	29,013	18,842	14,588	14,588	14,588	14,588	14,588	9,159
<i>Failures</i>	1,404	1,404	856	1,081	1,081	646	739	739	739	739	739	460
<i>Log(likelihood)</i>	-9243	-9242	-5276	-7283	-7282	-4095	-4522	-4522	-4522	-4522	-4522	-2603
<i>Diversity of places</i>												
<i>Stable</i>	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
<i>Medium</i>	0.0594	0.0640	-0.0284	0.1986***	0.1944***	0.1711***	-0.0937	-0.0927	-0.0927	-0.0927	-0.0927	-0.1713*
<i>High</i>	0.1868**	0.1950**	0.0760	0.3460***	0.3380***	0.2792***	-0.1627	-0.1543	-0.1543	-0.1543	-0.1543	-0.2497
<i>Dispersion</i>	0.0011***	0.0010***	0.0009*	0.0013***	0.0014***	0.0010	0.0006	0.0005	0.0005	0.0005	0.0005	0.0009
<i>Urbanization</i>	0.1051	0.1051		-0.1855**	-0.1855**		0.0499	0.0499	0.0499	0.0499	0.0499	-0.1347
<i>Ancestral family</i>												
<i>Observations</i>	1,958	1,958	1,068	1,958	1,958	1,068	1,277	1,277	1,277	1,277	1,277	682
<i>Years at risk</i>	20,007	20,007	11,515	26,216	26,216	14,697	13,210	13,210	13,210	13,210	13,210	7,193
<i>Failures</i>	1,271	1,271	675	980	980	525	674	674	674	674	674	342
<i>Log(likelihood)</i>	-8209	-8209	-3929	-6498	-6497	-3145	-4045	-4045	-4045	-4045	-4045	-1834
<i>Diversity of places</i>												
<i>Very stable</i>	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
<i>Stable</i>	0.0817	0.0776	0.1909**	0.1160	0.1122	0.2791***	0.0397	0.0315	0.0315	0.0315	0.0315	0.0886
<i>Medium</i>	-0.0387	-0.0409	-0.0716	0.0736	0.0726	0.0523	-0.1660**	-0.1717	-0.1717	-0.1717	-0.1717	-0.2856**
<i>High</i>	0.2262***	0.2222***	0.1626	0.1669	0.1630	0.2833	0.0785	0.0685	0.0685	0.0685	0.0685	0.1748
<i>Dispersion</i>	0.0015***	0.0016***	0.0026***	0.0001	0.0007	0.0016**	0.0007	0.0008	0.0008	0.0008	0.0008	0.0013*
<i>Urbanization</i>	-0.0801	-0.0801		-0.1188	-0.1188							-0.0893

The numbers are the coefficients of the model and not hazard ratios. Separate regressions are used for parental and ancestral families respectively. All regressions included control for year of birth, length of active military service, place of living at the age of 20 (rural/urban/Paris), mobility before the age of 20 (as a dummy), sector of employment, and social status at the age of 20. Finally, standard errors are controlled for within family correlations.

*Significant at $p < 0.15$; **significant at $p < 0.10$; ***significant at $p < 0.05$.

of the transmission of spatial capital between generations. Spatial capital, whatever its form, is important when transmitted from father to son, but also when coming from more distant ancestors.

7 Pioneers or Followers?

In the previous section we highlighted how the spatial capital of families influences the migration decisions of their members. Let us now focus on migrants and explore the places to which they choose to move. All migrants are conscripts whose migrations are recorded between the ages of 20 and 46. Thus, the portfolio of places we observe is made up not only of the places where a given individual stays at birth, at marriage, and at death, but also of places where he lives during his working period. Conscripts enter adult life with a particular “spatial capital of places”, provided either by their parents or by their larger kinship. If they choose to migrate, they may or may not stay within this family area. Whenever they choose not to stay with their familiar spatial capital, we call them “pioneers”.

We use two separate definitions of pioneers. The first is a simple one, based on commune diversity at family level: a pioneer is someone who moves to a commune that does not belong to his family territory. In this case, the size of the family patrimony in terms of places is defined by a list of communes. Someone who moves outside of this list is a pioneer since he does not stay in his family territory, but instead discovers new places. This definition, however, has clear limitations. A migrant can go to a new place that is very close to his family territory. For instance, this would be the case for someone who married a woman from the closest village, just next to his birth place.²⁵ According to the second definition, we take into account the distance of the new place to the family territory. In this case, a pioneer is someone who has moved further than the maximum extension of the family territory. This maximal extension is estimated by the distance from the barycentre to the farthest commune of the territory.²⁶

The main issue here is how to define new whereabouts and, as a result, how to define pioneers. The first definition is as large as possible and, even if some of these results are biased by the limits of our family reconstitution, we have an exhaustive observatory for the object we define here, that is, the places of the parents, and a more limited observatory of the places of the ancestors. We can see whether or not individuals restrained themselves to living in places where their ancestors have already moved, which may reveal some sort of stability of the latest generation. The second definition takes into account the scope of the territory of the family’s members. It represents a more radical way to leave one’s family as it means going far

²⁵ It may also be the case that one of his relatives whom we have not identified lives in that nearby place.

²⁶ It is equally determined by the greatest distance between the barycentre and a commune of the territory.

away from the family, at least the family as we define it. However, we should be cautious because moving away does not necessarily mean escaping from the family; rather, this distance may measure a larger separation from the family.

We then calculate the proportion of pioneers according to the two different definitions, but only for migrants, i.e., individuals who lived at least once in a commune different from their birth place. Thus, we observe the probability of a migrant to be a pioneer. We did this analysis using all previous variables. Table 6.9 gives the results for individual variables, and Table 6.10 gives the results for family variables, especially spatial capital.

The proportion of pioneers is strikingly high in the entire sample. A migrant who moves at least once from one commune to another has a more than 95 percent chance of moving at least once to a commune that does not belong to his family pool. More surprisingly, as Table 9 shows, the probabilities are very high both for parental and ancestral families. On the one hand, since ancestral families produce a more detailed description of the territory of the family's members, we might expect that the use of ancestral families would reduce the probability of being a pioneer. However, this is not the case. Ancestral families document a set of places that are in some way obsolete and thus we might expect an increase in the probability of being a pioneer. On viewing our results, it seems this last effect overcomes the extension of the territory: the spatial capital contributed by distant ancestors, grandparents for example, becomes quite useless.

Our results suggest that migrants always move to a new place at least once during their life cycle. This highlights a real gap between migrants and nonmigrants. While migrating from one commune to another means in some way escaping from the family, nonmigrating reveals not only stability but, even more, some attachment to the territory of the family. But, as mentioned above, we have only places of residence and not real links; hence, living in a place that does not belong to the territory of the other members of the family does not necessarily mean escaping from the family. For instance, migration can be a family decision which means the preservation of strong links between the migrant and his family.²⁷ Moreover, part of this result comes by construction of our data. As we consider all moves during the life cycle (at least part of it), we naturally increase the chance of having at least one commune different from the list of places that were already included in an individual's family pool of places. So, by estimating the proportion of individuals who migrated to another place at least once, and not, for example, the proportion who definitely left the family portfolio of residences, we overestimated the pioneer process.

But this point certainly does not explain all of these striking results. Another clue may be found in the qualitative specificity of the places we consider for the conscripts. We may wonder to what extent the use of places that do not rely on a specific event (for example, a wedding) produces a particular image of the influence

²⁷For instance, see Lambert (1994) who developed a model of migration as a way to diversify risk within the family.

Table 6.9 Proportion of pioneers among migrants (change of commune)—individual variables

	Parental families					Ancestral families				
	Communes pioneers			Distance pioneers		Communes pioneers		Distance pioneers		
	N	Prop	Khi ²	Prop	Khi ²	Prop	Khi ²	Prop	Khi ²	
All	994	92.6		57.0		93.7		49.8		
<i>Year of birth</i>										
1850–1859	123	91.1	1.95	56.1	4.54	89.7	10.25***	48.3	4.57	
1860–1869	198	93.9		61.6		97.4		51.8		
1870–1879	243	91.8		58.4		94.7		54.3		
1880–1889	213	93.9		57.3		94.0		48.8		
1890–1900	217	91.7		51.6		91.3		45.0		
<i>Active military service</i>										
None	136	91.9	1.73	62.5	2.95	93.9	1.90	53.8	3.14	
1–3 years	652	92.9		55.2		93.9		50.5		
4–8 years	194	92.3		59.3		93.4		45.5		
More than 8 years	12	83.3		58.3		84.6		38.5		
<i>Place of living at the age of 20</i>										
Rural	335	91.6	0.67	59.1	1.20	90.9	7.13***	49.9	0.00	
Urban	412	93.2		54.5		94.5		50.2		
Paris	222	92.8		56.6		95.5		50.1		
<i>Migration before the age of 20</i>										
None	829	93.0	1.68	55.7	2.37*	94.1	0.35	49.4	0.78	
Migrant	127	89.8		63.0		92.7		53.7		
<i>Sector of activity at the age of 20</i>										
Farming	295	92.9	3.77	65.1	17.80***	93.4	4.74	51.5	12.17**	
Craft industry	172	92.4		59.3		94.7		47.6		
Industry	143	94.4		49.0		95.7		42.6		
Services	158	92.4		52.5		93.6		55.8		
Trading	147	91.2		53.1		92.1		55.0		
State employee	37	86.5		56.8		91.4		40.0		
<i>Occupational status at the age of 20</i>										
Unskilled worker	255	94.1	4.84	53.7	14.21***	95.5	3.81	56.6	7.15**	
Skilled worker	361	93.6		56.8		94.8		48.9		
Farmer	180	91.7		68.3		91.6		48.2		
White collar	184	89.1		50.0		92.6		44.2		
<i>Birth rank, male only</i>										
Only child	248	92.3	3.52	57.3	0.44	93.3	1.79	45.6	2.70	
First born	383	91.1		55.9		93.0		51.2		
Second born	246	95.1		58.5		95.5		51.2		
Third or higher born	117	92.3		57.3		93.0		52.2		

The table gives the proportion of intercommune migrants who lived at least once in a commune that does not belong to his family territory (“communes pioneers”) or which is far away from that territory (“distance pioneers”); see text for details. “Khi²” refers to a khi² test of equality of the distribution for a given variable.

*Significant at $p < 0.15$; **significant at $p < 0.10$; ***significant at $p < 0.05$.

of the family on migration—a fact which complicates the use of places for vital events (residence at marriage or death, for instance) when studying migration. These places are by themselves related to the family and thus may exaggerate the role of the family in the migration process. By considering all places throughout the life cycle (before the age of 46), we show that the family is not the sole determinant of the migrants' choice of places.

And finally, one of our first concerns was the choice of place by the migrants compared to their original portfolio, i.e., the use individuals made of the places they inherited from their ancestors. On seeing our results, it seems that there is very little memory in migration as regards the choice of places: most of the migrants are not using the spatial investment made by their family. When it concerns migration for work (which is certainly the major determinant of mobility between ages 20 and 46), it seems that the places are, on the whole, chosen outside of the family network which, in fact, does not mean that this choice is completely independent from the family.

We go further and try to identify some gap between migrants by taking into account the distance of mobility. A pioneer must not only go to a place that is not in his family portfolio, but he must also go further than the scope of his family territory. In this case, parental and ancestral families produce different estimates. For parental families, we still observe an important proportion of pioneers among the migrants as migrants have an almost 60 percent chance of moving outside of the spatial capital of their family. This suggests that the territory defined by the successive living places of the parents is in some way too small for migrants, at least migrants in search of work. When considering ancestral families, we see a reduction of the probability for a migrant to be a pioneer according to the distance.

This can be explained in part by the definition of pioneers itself. As we extended the scope of the family territory by considering large families, we make it harder for an individual to move outside of this territory. A higher diversity of places or a higher dispersion of the family territory considerably reduces the probability of being a pioneer. This is not a surprise as it is more difficult to leave a large territory than a very small one.

These results also highlight the two different kinds of migration and two different uses of spatial resources by the family. The first kind of family focuses on local resources and therefore experiences mostly local mobility. In this case, we can speak of immobile mobility where migration occurs in a very concentrated area, even when involving different communes. On the other hand, there seem to be families among whom long-distance migrations are not exceptional, revealing a different use of their resources with, for instance, extended networks. These migrants do not need to move far away from the family. It is possible that these two different forms are completely disconnected and reveal two different types of families that use their resources differently. But it also might demonstrate two different parts of the same process, involving families that are not at the same stage of evolution. They might also be dependent on the changing needs of the family (for instance, larger or fewer numbers of children surviving to adult ages).

Table 6.10 Proportion of pioneers among migrants (change of commune)—family variables

	N	Communes pioneers		Distance pioneers	
		Prop	Khi ²	Prop	Khi ²
Parental family					
<i>Wealth</i>					
Father wealthy	328	91.8	0.84	92.5	3.24**
Father poor	286	93.7		95.9	
<i>Diversity of places</i>					
Stable	536	95.0	9.79***	67.2	50.18***
Medium	339	89.7		46.9	
High	119	89.9		40.3	
<i>Dispersion</i>					
Low	304	93.8	1.92	85.2	153.34***
Medium	630	91.6		44.4	
High	43	95.4		27.9	
<i>Urbanization</i>					
Rural only	427	95.1	6.94***	73.1	80.43***
Mixed	501	90.6		43.9	
Urban only	66	90.9		53.0	
Ancestral family					
<i>Wealth</i>					
Wealthy	337	93.9	3.61	49.0	0.07
Mixed	47	92.2		49.0	
Poor	138	89.0		47.7	
<i>Diversity of places</i>					
Very stable	488	93.7	0.72	51.8	3.82
Stable	177	94.9		46.9	
Medium	242	93.4		50.8	
High	93	92.5		41.9	
<i>Dispersion</i>					
Low	256	94.5	1.53	60.6	27.3***
Medium	659	92.9		44.8	
High	53	96.2		47.2	
<i>Urbanization</i>					
Rural only	511	94.7	1.98	55.4	15.49***
Mixed	470	92.6		44.7	
Urban only	19	94.7		26.3	

Same as Table 9 but only pioneers for parental families are considered here (that is, pioneers in comparison to the territory of their parental families).

8 Conclusion: Family and Migration

Defined in terms of their relation to space, families appear to be well diversified. Though purely theoretical, our concept of family territory gives us a background for studying migration. It measures the diversity between families in their relation to

the places where they are living. We can thus observe how people use—or do not use—the spatial capital they inherited from their family. In order to observe this, we concentrate on a sample of French conscripts born in the second part of the nineteenth century.

Migration appears to be inherited because both the size and the scope of the family territory increase the probability of migration. But the effects of the spatial capital are different according to the kind of migrations we have considered. For instance, the size of the family territory influences intercommune migrations but not changes of residence within the same commune. So, it is clear that past migrations do influence mobility decisions of the last generation. The conscripts whose ancestors changed communes frequently have a higher probability of changing their commune. At this point we cannot determine whether this result is related to more resources and—as a consequence—more opportunities, or if it is related to migration habits that characterize “families of migrants”.

On the other hand, places do not seem to be inherited by the migrants as many of them choose to migrate, at least once throughout their life cycle, to places that do not belong to the spatial capital of their family. We thus highlighted the importance of nonfamily habitations in the mobility of men in the most active part of the life cycle. On the whole, opportunities given by the family are more related to information on how to migrate than where to migrate. It seems that spatial capital is a matter of general skills that are helpful for migrating and is not related to specific place knowledge. These results weakened the influence of social networks in migration and the importance of chain migrations.

First, this chapter showed that studies of migration should take into account family history in explaining why people choose to migrate or not and, second, they must consider differently places related to life events and places affected by other factors. In other words, it seems as though people use different networks during their lifetime, depending on the stage of their life cycle, that is, the purpose of their migration—for instance, looking for work or for a spouse. This result concerning the adult part of the life cycle mirrors the use of migration as a survival strategy for children as described in Fontaine (1992).

We still need further investigations to determine precisely how migrants take advantage of the spatial investments made by their family. We must observe how the choice of places depends on both the particular circumstances of the individual and his family. For instance, choices of migration for a given individual can be constrained by the previous mobility of his siblings.

More importantly, not only does spatial capital refer to different uses of family spatial resources, but it also captures dissimilar behaviors between families, some investing more in social networks in a given place, some diversifying their spatial portfolio.²⁸ Spatial investments can be related to other family investments in different

²⁸ We may, for example, think of the kinship groups, described in Hontebeyrie and Rosental (1998), who stay in the same street (Wacquez-Lalo Street in Loos-lès-Lille) from one generation to the next.

manners. If we examine wealth, we can imagine some balanced decisions between investing in economic capital or in spatial capital. In some ways, differences in the size and the scope of the family territory refer to the different relationships to places within the groups of poor and wealthy. These remarks can be extended to investment in human capital or occupational specialization. In other words, we can imagine that investing in places can be a way for some families to compensate for less economic or educational opportunities. In this way, the spatial capital is really a capital that can be negotiated, inherited and, moreover, transformed into other resources.

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