Searching jobs for "better life": understanding employment mobilityand well-being of Eastern European migrants in France and Scotland

Lionel Guillemot, Sergei Shubin

Searching jobs for "better life": understanding employment mobility and well-being of Eastern European migrants in France and Scotland

Lionel GUILLEMOT

Maison des Sciences Humaines, ESO-Angers CARTA
Maître de Conférences en Géographie
Université d'Angers, 5 bis Boulevard Lavoisier 49045 Angers Cedex 01.
Mèl : lionel.guillemot@univ-angers.fr

Sergei SHUBIN

ESO-Angers CARTA
Department of Geography & Environment
University of Aberdeen
Elphinstone Road, Aberdeen AB24 3UF, UK
Mèl : s.shubin@abdn.ac.uk

Abstract: This paper explores theoretical and practical issues related to employment migration and well-being of Eastern European migrants in France and Scotland. Based on a primarily results of surveys made in Aberdeenshire and Anjou, it questions concepts and policies on migration and integration.

Résumé : Cet article développe une approche à la fois théorique et appliquée des migrations des Est-Européens en France et en Ecosse en relation avec l'emploi.Reposant sur les premiers résultats d'études menées en Anjou et Aberdeenshire, il interroge les concepts et politiques de migration et d'intégration.

Key-words: Employment, Migration, Mobility, Resilience, Well-being.

Mots-clés : Emploi, Migration, Mobilité, Résilience, Bien-être.

Employment is surely one of the main factor that lead people migrating to places where they hope tofind a job and a "better-life" (Chabanet and Faniel, 2007), even if migrations have a long history inEurope (Banens, 2009, Hern, 2008) and are sometimes disconnected with economic realities (Guillemot, 2000). This paper explores theoretical and practical issues related to employmentmigration and well-being of Eastern European migrants in France and Scotland. We'll first look attheoretical aspects on mobility and migration, second, focus on migration policies, third, present casestudies evidences and we'll finally discuss migration policies in relation to our case studies.

I. Theoretical aspects: In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in **mobilities** (Urry, 2000, 2002, 2007; Hannam et al., 2006, Papastergiadis, 2000, Cresswell, 2006, Adey, 2010), mixing different approaches, fromtransport (Fumey et al., 2009) to philosophy. Several studies and migration policies portray mobilityas a problem, in a "sedentarist" thinking (Cresswell, 2006). In this case, both imagined mobility ofmigrants (based on the expectations of potential burden on settled communities) and their physicalmovement (often exaggerated due to increased publicity and vitality) are often represented as suspectand invasive because they challenge the power of dominant settled groups to regulate movement andto travel freely (Hetherington, Sibley 1995). Others see mobility as 'romanticised' (cf. Baudrillard,1988; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987); following emancipatory metaphor of nomadism: in this case,nomads are portrayed as "free people", defying and critiquing both the settlement and art inspired bythe state (Kaplan, 1996). The metaphorical nomad and theories of nomadology counter assertions ofpurity, fixed dwelling or being, and totalitarian authorities and practices. However, these "romanticised" representations of migrants as "always travelling" portray them as placeless "others",who can be and should be excluded from the social scene (Sales, 2005, Düvell, 2006). As a result, these discursive categorisations of mobility affect treatment of migrants in dominant political structures andoften lead to disempowerment and exclusion of itinerant groups (Stenning et al., 2006; Hudson et al.,
2007). From this perspective, mobility is often portrayed as liminality and in-betweenness (forcedmovement and exclusion).

Emerging **mobile lifestyles** mean changing relations between well-being and place through livingand working "on the move", which need to be understood and adequately addressed by existing socialpolicies. The understanding of "being on the move" involves not only spatial but also virtual mobilityand "symbolic travel" (Kaplan, 1996). Movement and migration in this case can be understood as"dwelling" and "being with" the world (Heidegger, 1993), which cannot be limited to displacementwithin a pre-defined conceptual space or spatial "containment" and "location". The very mobile being(an exile, a migrant) becomes considered within a moving and changing framework (i.e. territories ofwaiting, changing landscapes of affiliation into society) rather than defined in relation to alwaysalready existing, representational topography (i.e. systems differentiating between (non)/deservingimmigrants). In this case, migrants can be seen as "settling within mobility" (Parutis, 2006) or "stayingat home" rather than emigrating or assimilating into host societies (Burrell, 2006). Young migrantstend to be more adventurous and mobile, unlike more mature migrants with families seeking longterm stability (Okolski, 2004). Young migrants are more likely to be mobile in following their "dream"job or "ideal" location. They may stay in place for a period of time while planning for and anticipatinganother move to a "better" place. Taking into account these mobile experiences, travel can be considered as both movement and "still" living while keeping family links and sense of migrant community (Triandafyllidou, 2006). Mobility and migration are relational as they are based onengaged and situated mobile being in the world, which challenges "fixed" notions of social integrationand territorial structures of service provision (Shubin, 2010; Shubin and Swanson, 2010). The fluid anddynamic nature of mobile lifestyles is also conceptualised in the form of migration circulation, whichstresses different

temporalities of migration and questions binary understandings of movement interms of fixity/flow in policy discourses (Potot, 2006). As a result, existing exclusion of migrants inpolicy frameworks highlights the disjuncture between the fluid subjectivity of young internationalmigrants and imaginations of their movement by sedentary authorities.

In economic literature on migration, mobility is largely described as a key factor for **«integration» into the employment market** (Spencer, 1994, Albu, 2008), but these theories do not consider fluid or"hybrid" international migrations (Whatmore, 2002). International experience has a positive effect oncareer when going back to national employment market (Perret, 2008), which renders travel andinternational mobility changeable and difficult to conceptualise only in terms of employmentoutcomes. Employment remains to be a key factor for integration within a society, but its changeablecomponents (wage structure, earnings potential, psychological and monetary benefits and costs) anddynamic regional labour market variables (wage structure, unemployment, local labour legislativeframework) problematise assumptions about linear and non-flexible relation between labour migration and assimilation into host communities. On top of this, job conditions vary (level of income;working atmosphere) and migration does not always contribute to improvement in well-being. Thereis a variety of other factors which challenge application of assimilation studies in the context ofinternational migrations, including:
- Discrimination from employers when getting a job (« *luckily, I'm blond : I don't look as Roma*
    people » as was said during one interview);
- Cultural gaps / differences (language, behaviour);
- Difficulties in obtaining recognition for previous qualifications / diploma in country of origin
    when moving abroad;
- Legal barriers (to enter employment market abroad), linked to international migration policies
    and legislation against illegal workforce.

The **«Pull / Push» theory** applied to international work migrations explains attractiveness of overseasemployment market (pull), thanks to higher income[1] (El Mouhoub and Oudinet, 2006), better workconditions and job opportunities. Economic, political, social or even religious crisis in the country oforigin can interfere as a push impact, forcing migrants to leave their own country. We must also keepin mind that it can also lead to **brain-drain** relative to space and «pillage» / spoliation of Southerncountries' elites by the Northern ones (Zacharie, 2009). We must also consider the issue of integrationof the migrant populations within the host society: migrants are not always welcome and can sufferfrom racism / xenophobia (Gonzalez Perez & Somoza Medina, 2004).

[1] The fact that higher salary explains the attractiveness of certain territories is also debated in literature (Lall, Selod, and Shalizi,2006; Katz and Stark 1986b): in certain cases, migrations can happen even knowing that the salary will be lower than it wasbefore leaving.
The **human capital model** has also often been raised to explain difficulties of migrants to find a job(Guillemot, 2000, Reitz, 2002). The rare relationships that migrants have when settling abroad partlyexplain their ghettoization / clusterisation (having to work within the national/ethnic community) ortheir problems to enter "official" employment market (whereas they often have to cope with informalwork).

II. Policy aspects:

Policies dealing with migrations, even if often inefficient (Castles, 2004), essentially mean introductionof restrictions or barriers to integration and assimilation (Costoiu, 2008). Mobile populations tend tobe portrayed as threatening and suspicious, which is often the case with the Roma migrantsexperiencing xenophobia / segregation (Delépine, 2008). At the EU level, recent migration policies, created in order to limit migrations from the New member states in the enlarged Europe, focus on twomain aspects: policies against illegal labour (Tapinos, 1999) and policies in favour of migration ofhighly qualified workers (MISEP-OEE, 2009) or seasonal migration (Pollard et al., 2008).

Current policies managing job-related migrations tend to focus on economic factors structuring accessto labour markets and work strategies of mobile people, while often overlooking complex experiences(social, cultural, emotional) of migrants in their search for better living conditions (Spenser, 1994;Anderson et al., 2007), even working conditions (Bazillier, 2008, Davoine and Erhel, 2006), but nottaking enough attention on territorial aspects (Guillemot, 2008). These policies do not take into account complex mobility practices including affective relationships with existing immigrantcommunities, family support strategies, travelling behaviour and cultural links (Sales, 2005, Düvell,2006). Moreover, the emphasis on "managed migration" (Home Office, 2006) and "chosen migrations"(Sarkozy[2], 2006) often links employment mobility with a perceived "culture" of self-sufficiency and justifies their marginalisation as "non-belongers" to the detriment of local economies (DWP, 2006;Attali, 2008). While existing literature offers insights into shortcomings of these policies (Warnes, 2004;Sales, 2005; Bertossi, 2006), it does not quite bring out the importance of place and mobility in theprocesses of spatial organisation of society. This paper develops a holistic understanding of theterritorial systems of employment, which do not only "accommodate" migration, but work withaffected people to improve their well-being in France and Scotland. Recent literature also questionsthe impact of free movement of people (Klugman, 2009, Pecoud and de Guchteneire, 2009, Gilpin etal., 2006), that could be seen as opposite to the actual restrictive laws[3].

National policies also play an important role for migrants' integration (Fougère and Safi, 2008, onnaturalization policies), as we've seen in France with the debate on national identity (E. Besson,autumn 2009). In UK, the definition of integration and cohesion (Home Office, 2003) are based on acommon vision and sense of belonging; diversity of backgrounds is valued; similar life opportunitiesand strong relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace and neighbourhood. In France, the last definition of integration (Ministry of Work, Ministry of Immigration, 25/11/2009) is based on the length of stay (at least 5 years), the job tenure (employed forat least a year), the contract length (at least a year with the French enterprise) and willingness to«integrate» (language, cultural norms).

In our case studies (Anjou, France and Aberdeenshire, Scotland), we notice that local authorities,NGO' specific policies to migrants or international links at university level also interfere on theconcentration of migrants. As an example, Angers is now well known to offer support to migrants: itexplains why, in the recent months, Angers attracts them because of its well-developed networks ofsupport for mobile people, especially thanks to a strong activity of migrant associations. This good«reputation» let the Mayor (left wing) think that Angers may become a « new Sangatte », as he stated in December 2009[4] after facing increasing number of migrants arriving in Angers and having to face first of all accommodation issues. The recent increase of asylum demands within the region[5] ,especially in Anjou, may also explain its attractiveness.

[2] Nicolas Sarkozy, in February 2006, as Minister of the Interior, in a pre-project for a new

law: « *L'avant-projet de loi présenté par leministre de l'Intérieur Nicolas Sarkozy au Comité interministériel de contrôle de l'immigration définit les contours de sa nouvelle politiqued'« immigration choisie et non subie ». Durcissant les règles d'entrée et de séjour des étrangers, cet avant-projet suscite d'ores et déjà desréactions de rejet à gauche et à l'extrême-droite ».* (Raizon D., 8/2/2006, *France, Sarkozy veut «une immigration choisie».* Archives Radio France International : http://www.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/074/article_41762.asp).[3] The recent position (November 2009) of the French Government against informal employers (23/11/2009: X. Darcos, Ministerof Work, and E. Besson, Minister of Immigration) or suggestion of a new regulation policy to informal workers under certainconditions (25/11/09) express a defensive position against free migrations.[4] http://www.ouest-france.fr/actu/actuDet_-Angers-debordee-par-une-vague-de-migrants-_3636-1155555_actu.Htm [5] Asylum demands within the Pays-de-la-Loire region in 2009 : Loire-Atlantique : 255 persons have asked for asylum (193 in 2008, same period : +32%) ; Maine-et-Loire (Anjou) : 283 (159, **+78%**) ; Sarthe : 121 (110, +10%) ; Vendée : 86 (62, +39%) ; Mayenne : 52 (83, -37%). (Source : Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides, from 1/1/09 to 30/9/09).

III. Evidence from case study in Anjou (France) and Aberdeenshire (Scotland):

The paper is based on case studies in Anjou (France) and Aberdeenshire (Scotland), which explore theeffects of migration from Eastern Europe on the host communities. To provide data for this study, aquantitative survey was administered to a sample of approximately 215 'new' (since 2000) immigrantsbetween June and September 2009 in the selected localities in Aberdeenshire and Anjou. The purposeof this survey was to provide a baseline of employment and living conditions, as well as to analyse anumber of key issues facing these groups in terms of social interactions, participation in communityactivities and indicators of cohesion. The survey was conducted with migrants representing 8nationalities (Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia Ukraine, Georgia). Parallel to thesurvey phase, a total of 15 in-depth interviews were conducted with migrants from the study countries. The absolute comparison between France and Scotland could not be done due to imbalancein data sources (East-Europeans were numerous in Scotland and there were only few of them inAnjou), but the research highlighted key trends in employment mobility and well-being of migrants inthe case study areas:

• Aberdeenshire: East-European Migrants linked with job opportunities, but not looking for«integration» within the Scottish Society.

• Anjou: very few East-European Migrants, most of the ones we've met were in Anjou in relationwith their studies (university link, high level of qualification) and not looking for jobopportunity first of all, but had a strong interest in the French culture (language, architecture,history… as explained during interviews). They met a French girl/man and decided to settle inAnjou to stay/live together. The Roma population is a specific case, as their life is «on themove» and they got self-mobile employment.

If we compare these preliminary results, we notice that in Scotland, the main reason for migrating wasemployment (88% out of more than 220 questionnaires) whereas in Anjou, family/personal reasonswere the most important.

On the one hand, our paper examines migrants' motivations and intentions for coming to work inFrance and Britain and compares them with the actual experiences of working and living abroad. Ourfindings suggest that migrants see their mobility as a mechanism for maintaining their quality of life,restarting their career or maintaining their employment status. As a result, migrants' understanding ofwell-being is strongly related to stability of job and income, which they see as the means to deal withthe stress and psychological traumas of socio-economic transition in their home countries. Unsurprisingly, migrants with high educational and work qualifications accept low-wage jobs andmediocre living conditions in order to maintain

stability. Many of our respondents consciously, ifreluctantly, made trade-offs to minimise their reliance on the state and other sources of support, whichcan increase their dependence and vulnerability. In the surveys and interviews, we notice that jobmatch has a positive effect on migrants' feeling integrated:

On the other hand, many of the migrants demonstrated very limited connections with the actualplaces of their living in France and Britain. Our results demonstrate that many of the Eastern Europeans developed limited engagement with place because of their experience of previous migration and attempts to find constancy through the very changeableness of their dwellings. Similarly, temporariness of doing a certain job was an important aspect of migrants' well-being as theywere prepared to tolerate certain jobs for a period of time in order to gain experience and improvelanguage skills. Our research suggests that this is related to migrants' life-cycle and career plan, whichmeans that their well-being also involves different temporalities and non-linear forms of living. This isreflected in migrants' ability to consider their well-being in temporary phases rather than throughpermanent patterns by being "flexible" workers, which available at short notice for an uncertain period.

IV. Migration policies facing case study results:
This paper will finally discuss migration policies (Clochard, 2009) and their effects at different levels(from EU to local authorities), pointing out certain misunderstanding between actors attempting topromote a stronger social cohesion, via national integration (Banton, 2001).

Employment policies are pointed out in France with the new regulation system ("Pôle emploi") andthe contracts signed between Job centres and employment agencies such as Manpower, Adecco, Adia,Randstad: they tend not to accept people not speaking well French as these people seem to be lesslikely to find a job within a short time[6]. There are here clear evidences of discrimination against

---

[6] Cf. Envoyé Spécial, 4/3/2010, « Pôle emploi : une fusion sous pression ». This French TV news program pointed out in earlyMarch 2010 that « Pôle emploi », made from the rapprochement of the ANPE and the ASSEDIC since December 2008, is not

migrants who are assumed to be less employable than locals, whereas migrants are often more flexibleand harder workers, as seen in Scotland where they work long hours in fish factories or in construction industry.Another aspect of employment policies in France and Britain is that mobility tends now to becompulsory, forcing people to migrate when they are made redundant / laid off, but with noconsideration to their own private life and wishes (Fol, 2009).

Traditional migration policies tend to focus on **integration**, but we faced different understanding of integration during our interviews:
•   Stability of job and income ("If you speak the language, you can freely choose your job, youdon't need to share your flat with another 6 people… that's integration', K, 13/06/09)
•   Limited reliance on the state ('I don't want to depend on anyone – drawing on welfare is likebegging', L, 13/06/09)
•   Socialising with other migrants ('New migrants coming to Peterhead learn to speak Russian,not English, in order to communicate at work', O, 27/06/09).

These different understanding of integration (Aprile, 2009) question the way in which integration isdefined within the migration policies, but also question the idea that migrants are willing to settle inthe host country whereas it is not always the case: during our interviews, lots of migrants werethinking of having a professional experience in Aberdeenshire or Anjou before moving to anotherplace or returning in their country of origin. In that perspective, lots

of aspects of traditional migrationpolicies are not suitable for these new migrants who are mobile (Cortes and Faret, 2009) and experience multi-territorial practices (Vélasco-Graciet, 2009).

These policies present a vision of "sustainable development" through assimilation of "new" migrants,while misinterpreting the actual experiences of "new" migrants and their well-being aspirations(Potot, 2006; Fibbi and D'amato, 2008). The paper demonstrates that many labour migrants continue tolive and work "in-between" places, so that their trans-national experiences cannot fit into traditionalpatterns of integration and assimilation. Through the investigation of working practices of EasternEuropean migrants, the paper argues for re-conceptualisation of migration in terms of **resilience**,which reflects migrants' abilities to react and recover from stress and traumas of socio-economic andpolitical change experienced in their "home" countries. It therefore argues for different policies whichtake on board this resilience and provide social assistance for migrants not only to integrate into newcommunities (Dureau and Hily, 2009), but also to recover from the stress of transition. It suggests thatterritorial governance can be improved through incorporation of the informal support networks, nongovernmental employment structures to support geographically mobile groups and improve community cohesion.

The concept of **transnationalism** seems to us the closest concept to explain the living of EasternEuropeans met in our two different regions. That concept can be perceived as between Integration andSegregation. It takes into account the creation of economic, social, identity and political links betweendifferent countries (Fibbi & D'Amato, 2008). It also includes the «cross-fertilization» brought by boththe migrant and the origin and host societies (Vertovec, 2003). Finally, it helps to understand themigrating circulation on how a migrant can put his migrating experience to profit in both societies oforigin and of adoption.

Conclusion
The actual economical crisis may strongly impact international migrations in Europe, as we'll try toexplore its implications in our future research. On the one hand, we expect the shortage of jobopportunities and reduced demand for foreign work-force. On the other hand, economic crisis mightcontribute to an increase in xenophobia linked to unemployment growth, as we've just noticed inFrance at the regional elections in March 2010 with the high level of extreme right wing party(National Front [7]), even if most of the recent research shows no link between the inflow of migrantsand unemployment growth (Portes and French, 2005, Gilpin et al., 2006), and stresses out that"*migrant workers make a positive contribution to the regional economy*" (Green et al., 2007, p. 102).

working very well. The 4 millions unemployed included in «Pôle emploi»'s listing are not receiving a good consideration fromthe 45 000 agents of Pôle emploi or even from its subcontractors as acting / temporary agencies who are not willing to look afterpeople not speaking well French!... [7] The National Front results on March 21 went up to 22% in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and Nord-Pas-de-Calais, and up to19% in Languedoc-Roussillon and Picardie, regions of the South and the North of France where high unemployment is seen asin relation with high proportion of migrants. http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/infographie/2010/03/22/regionales-lesresultats-par-parti_1322331_823448.html
This paper is based on a study on international migrations in relation with employment, supported by Egide-Alliance and the British Council in 2009 and 2010 between the Universities of Aberdeen and Angers.

Bibliography:
-Adey, P., 2010, *Mobility*. London, Routledge.
-Albu, I., 2008, "Labour Mobility in Nowadays Europe and Its Role in Economic Development", *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies,* Volume 2, number 2, pp. 108-111.
-Anderson, B., Spencer, S., Ruhs, M. and Rogaly, B., 2007, *Migrants' lives beyond the workplace. The experiences of Central and East Europeans in the UK*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York, 122 p.
-Anderson, B., Ruhs, M., Rogaly, B., Spencer, S., 2006, *Fair enough? Central and East European migrants in low-wage employment in the UK.* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.
- Aprile, S., 2009, *Les mots de l'immigration*, Paris, Belin, 401 p.
-Attali, J., 2008, Rapport de la Commission pour la libération de la croissance française.http://lesrapports.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/BRP/084000041/0000.pdf.   Accessed May 08, 2008.
-Banens M., 2009, « Les migrations internationales vues de l'Europe », *Les Mondes du Travail*, n°7, Juin 2009, pp. 31-42.
-Banton, M., 2001, National integration in France and Britain, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 151-168.
-Baudrillard, J., 1988, *America*. London, Verso.
-Bazillier R., 2008, *Normes du travail, migrations internes et emploi : une analyse théorique*, Documents de travail du centre d'économie de la Sorbonne, halshs-00275771.
-Bertossi, C., 2006, *French and British models of integration: Public philosophies, policies and state institutions*. http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/Working%20papers/wp-07-46.shtml
-Burrell, K., 2006, *Moving Lives: Narratives of Nation and Migration among Europeans in Post-War Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
-Castles, S., 2004, "The Factors that Make and Unmake Migration Policies", *International Migration Review (IMR)*, Volume 38, No 3, (Fall 2004), pp. 852-884.
-Cattan, N.(ed.), 2007, "Students mobility, gender and polycentrism in Europe", in Cattan N. (ed.),*Cities and Networks in Europe. A critical approach of Polycentrism*, John Libbey Eurotext, juin, pp. 139-148.
-Chabanet D. et Faniel J. (Dir.), 2007, *L'Europe du chômage*, Coll. Politique européenne, n° 21, L'Harmattan, 210 p.
-Clochard O., (Dir.), 2009, *Atlas des migrants en Europe. Géographie critique des politiques migratoires*. A. Colin, Paris, 144 p.
-Cortès, G. and Faret, L., 2009, *Les circulations transnationales. Lire les turbulences migratoires contemporaines*. Paris, Armand Colin, 245 p. -Costoiu, A., 2008, Modes of Minorities' Integration: Explaining Historical, Economic and Political Factors, *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies,* Volume 2, number 2, pp. 2-17.
-Cresswell, T., 2006, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World.* London, Routledge. -Davoine L. and Erhel C., 2006, *Monitoring Employment Quality in Europe: European Employment Strategy Indicators and Beyond*, Document de travail n°66, Centre d'Etudes de l'Emploi, 28 p.
-Delépine, S., 2008, « Les Tsiganes en Europe : Une minorité européenne en danger ? », www.diploweb.com
-Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F., 1987, *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia.* London, Athlone Press.
-Dureau, F. and Hily, M.-A., 2009, *Les mondes de la mobilité*. Rennes, PUR, 190 p. -Düvell, F., 2006, *Illegal Immigration In Europe : Beyond Control ?* Houndmills: Palgrave/MacMillan.
-Düvell, F., 2006, Polish Immigrants in the UK, in Triandafyllidou. In Triandafyllidou, A. (Ed.), *Contemporary Polish Migration in Europe. Complex Patterns of Movement and Settlement.* Lewiston, NY, Edwin Mellen Press, pp. 47-89.

-DWP, 2006, *Worker Registration Scheme* (unpublished). London: DWP. -El Mouhoub M. and Oudinet J., 2006, « Migrations et marché du travail dans l'espace européen »,*Economie internationale*, 105, pp. 7-39.

-Fibbi R. and D'Amato G., 2008, « Transnationalisme des migrants en Europe : une preuve par lesfaits », *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 24(2), pp. 7-22. -Fol, S., 2009, *La mobilité des pauvres*, Paris, Belin, 260 p.

-Fougère D. and M. Safi., 2008, *The Effects of Naturalization on Immigrants' Employment Probability (France, 1968-1999)*, IZA DP No. 3372

-Fumey G., Varlet J. et Zembri P., (Dir.), 2009, *Mobilités contemporaines : approches géoculturelles des transports*. Paris, Ellipses, 285 p.

-Gilpin, N., Henty, M., Lemos, S., Portes, J. and Bullen C., 2006, *The impact of free movement of workers from Central and Eastern Europe on the UK labour market*, Norwich, Department for Work and Pensions, working paper n° 29, 70 p.

-González Pérez J.-M. et Somoza Medina J., 2004, « Territoire et immigration en Espagne. Une étudede cas en Palma de Mallorca et León », *Cybergeo*, Espace, Société, Territoire, article 274, mis en ligne le22 juin 2004, modifié le 22 juin 2007. URL : http://www.cybergeo.eu/index2440.html.

-Green, A. E., Owen, D. and Jones P., 2007, The economic impact of migrant workers in the WestMidlands, West Midlands Regional Observatory, Birmingham, 159 p. -Guillemot, L., 2008, "The end of high level of Unemployement in France ?". Communication aucolloque international de l'Association Regional Studies, Prague, République Tchèque, 27-29 mai 2008.

-Guillemot, L., 2008, « Les étrangers au sein des espaces ruraux du Centre-Ouest : études de cas enAnjou et Poitou-Charentes ». In : *Les étrangers dans les campagnes*, actes du colloque franco-britanniquede géographie rurale, Vichy 18-19 mai 2006, Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand,Collection CERAMAC, n° 25, pp. 175-188. -Guillemot, L., 2007, « *Employment Regional Policies in France: Evolution or Revolution?* ». Communication au colloque international de l'Association Regional Studies, Lisbonne, Portugal, 2 au5 Avril 2007. -Guillemot, L., 2000, *Chômage et chômeurs en Poitou-Charentes*, Doctorat de Géographie, D^{on} S. Montagné-Villette, Université de Poitiers, 450 p.

-Hannam, K, Sheller M. and Urry J., 2006, Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings. *Mobilities,* 1(1), pp. 1-22.

-Heidegger, M., 1993, Building, Dwelling, Thinking, in M. Heidegger, (ed.), *Basic Writings. Revised and expanded edition.* London, Routledge, pp. 344-363.

-Herm A., 2008, «Recent migration trends: citizens of EU-27 Member States become ever more mobilewhile EU remains attractive to non-EU citizens», *Eurostat Statistics in focus*, 98, pp. 1-12.

- Hetherington, K., 1997, "In place of geometry: the materiality of place". In: Hetherington, K. and Munro, R. (Eds.), *Ideas of difference*. Oxford: Blackwell. -Hetherington, K., 1994, *New Age Travellers: Vanloads of Uproarious Humanity.* London: Cassell. -Home Office, 2007, "*The Economic and Fiscal Impact of Immigration*". http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/economic-impact-of-immigration?view=Binary. Accessed May 05, 2008.

-Home Office, 2006, *A Points-Based System: Making Migration Work for Britain*, Cm 6741, Norwich, The Stationery Office.

-Hudson, M., Philips, J., Ray, K. and Barnes, H., 2007, *Social cohesion in diverse communities*. London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation (also available at http://www.jrf.org.uk).

-Kaplan, K., 1996, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement.* Durham: Duke University Press. -Katz, E. and O. Stark, 1986a, "International Migration under Asymmetric information", *The Economic Journal*, 97, pp. 718-726. -Katz, E. and O. Stark, 1986b, "Labour Migration and Risk Aversion in less developed countries", *Journal of Labour Economics*, 4, pp. 134-149.

-Katz, E. and O. Stark, 1986c, "Migration and asymmetric information : comment", *American Economic Review*, 74, pp. 533-534.

-Klugman J., (Dir.), 2009, *Rapport mondial sur le développement humain 2009. Lever les barrières : Mobilité et développement humains*. Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement (PNUD), La Découverte, 237 p.

-Lall, S., H. Selod and Z. Shalizi, 2006, *Rural-Urban Migration in Developing Countries : a survey of theoretical predictions and empirical findings*, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, 3915.

-MISEP-OEE (Observatoire de l'Emploi en Europe), 2009, *La migration des travailleurs au sein de l'UE et en provenance des pays tiers – tendances et efficacité des politiques*. Compte-rendu de la réunion des 5-6 mars 2009, Prague, 17 p. http://www.eu-employment-observatory.net/fr/documents/doc04_01.aspx?year=2009http://www.eu-employment-observatory.net/resources/meetings/MISEPCzechRepublicMtgReportMarch2009-FR.pdf

-Okolski, M., 2004, "The effects of political and economic transition on international migration in Central and Eastern Europe", in: Massey, D. and Taylor, J., (Eds.), *International Migration. Prospects and policies in a Global Market*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 35-58

-Papastergiadis, N., 2000, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialisation and Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

-Parutis, V., 2006, *Construction of home by Polish and Lithuanian migrants in the UK*. Economics Working Paper No. 64. Centre for the Study of Economic and Social Change in Europe, UCL. http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/publications/working_papers/wp64.pdf, Accessed on October 9, 2008.

-Pecoud, A. and de Guchteneire, P., (Dir.), 2009, *Migrations sans frontières. Essais sur la libre circulation des personnes*. Paris, Éditions Unesco, 384 p. -Perret C., 2008, « Mobilités internationales des diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur français enphase d'insertion professionnelle : effets sur leurs débuts de carrière lors de leur retour en France »,
Cybergeo, Systèmes, Modélisation, Géostatistiques, article 424, mis en ligne le 30 juin 2008, modifié le30 juin 2008. URL : http://www.cybergeo.eu/index19063.html. -Pollard, N., Latorre, M. and D. Sriskandarajah, 2008, *Floodgates or turnstiles? Post-EU enlargement migration flows to (and from) the UK*. London, Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), 71 p. -Portes, J. and French, S., 2005, '*The Impact of Free Movement of Workers from Central and Eastern Europeon the UK Labour Market: early evidence*'. DWP Working Paper No. 18. -Potot, S., 2006, « Les migrations, vecteurs de changements sociaux en Roumanie », *La Nouvelle Alternative*, Vol. 21, n°71, pp. 35-46.

-Reitz, J. G., 2002, Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants: Institutions, Markets and Policies. *International Migration Review*, New York, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 1005-1019.

-Sales, R., 2005, Secure borders, safe haven: a contradiction in terms. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(3), pp. 445–462.

-Shubin, S., 2010, "Where can a Gypsy stop?" Rethinking mobility in Scotland. *Antipode*, 43(1) April 2010. -Shubin, S. and Swanson, K. (2010, in press). "I'm an imaginary figure": Defining mobility and the exclusion of Scottish Gypsy Travellers. *Geoforum.* -Sibley, D., 1995, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in The West*. London: Routledge. -Stenning, A., Champion, T., Conway, C., Coombes, M., Dawley, S., Dixon, L., Raybould, S. andRichardson, R., 2006, *Assessing the Local and Regional Impacts of International Migration*. Final Report of aresearch project for the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, Newcastle University.

-Spenser, S., Ed., 1994, *Immigration as an Economic Asset: The German Experience*. London: IPPR. -Tapinos, G., 1999, « Migrations clandestines : enjeux économiques et politiques », 3ème partie du rapport annuel *Tendances des migrations internationales*, OCDE, pp. 247-280. -Terrier E., 2009, *Mobilités et expériences territoriales des étudiants*

internationaux en Bretagne. Interroger lerapport mobilités spatiales / inégalités sociales à partir des migrations étudiantes, Thèse de doctorat de Géographie, Université de Rennes 2, D^on R. Séchet, p. -Triandafyllidou, A., 2006, *Contemporary Polish Migration in Europe: Complex Patterns of Movement and Settlement*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

-Urry, J., 2007, *Mobilities*. London, Polity Press.

-Urry, J., Larsen, J. and K. W. Axhausen, 2006, Geographies of Social Networks: Meetings, Travel andCommunications. *Mobilities*, July, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 261–283.

-Urry, J., 2002, Mobility and Proximity. *Sociology*, 36(2), pp. 255-274. -Urry, J., 2000, *Sociology Beyond Societies*. London, Routledge. -Vélasco-Graciet, H., 2009, *Territoires, mobilités et sociétés. Contradictions géographiques et enjeux pour la géographie*. Pessac, MSH Aquitaine, 350 p.

-Vertovec, S., 2003, "Transnational Migration: International Perspectives", special issue of *International Migration Review* (Guest Editors, Josh DeWind, Peggy Levitt and Steven Vertovec), 37(3). -Warnes, A.M., Friedrich, K., Kellaher, L. and Torres, S., 2004, The diversity of older migrants inEurope, *Ageing & Society*, 24, 3, pp. 307-326. -Whatmore, S., 2002, *Hybrid geographies: natures, cultures, spaces*. Sage, London. -Zacharie A., 2009, « Migration, développement et travail décent », *Cahiers de la coopération internationale*, n°10, mars. (http://www.cncd.be/spip.php?article580).

Note about the authors:

Lionel Guillemot is Maître de Conférences in Geography, ESO-Angers CARTA, at the University ofAngers. His research is focused on employment and unemployment changes, mobilities and migrations and on social policies. His recent project focus on international migrations, urban planningfor retail and mobilities including comparatives researches at a EU level.

Dr. Sergei Shubin is a Lecturer in Geography at the Department of Geography & Environment at theUniversity of Aberdeen. His research is focused on mobilities and social exclusion, as well as policy responses to inequality. His recent project focus on physical and imagined travel, socio-spatialexclusion of mobile groups of migrants and travellers, mobile politics and connections betweenmigrants and "immobile" structures of power, political and economic organisation in the UK, Franceand Portugal.