

PopFest 2018

**Is Long Commuting another Dimension of Inequality among the Poorest Workers?
Evidence from a Demographic Perspective**

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Positioning and Objectives of the Thesis

Controversy: mobility as resource (capital) V.S. mobility as a constraint (injunction).

The thesis focuses on 50 low-income workers with a long commuting pattern.

- 40% of the poorest inhabitants.
- Commuting time > 2 hours/day.
- Comparison between the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona (Spain) and the Aix-Marseille-Provence Metropolis (France).

Hypothesis: situations of highly constrained mobility practices are the result of complex arbitrations that may vary over time.

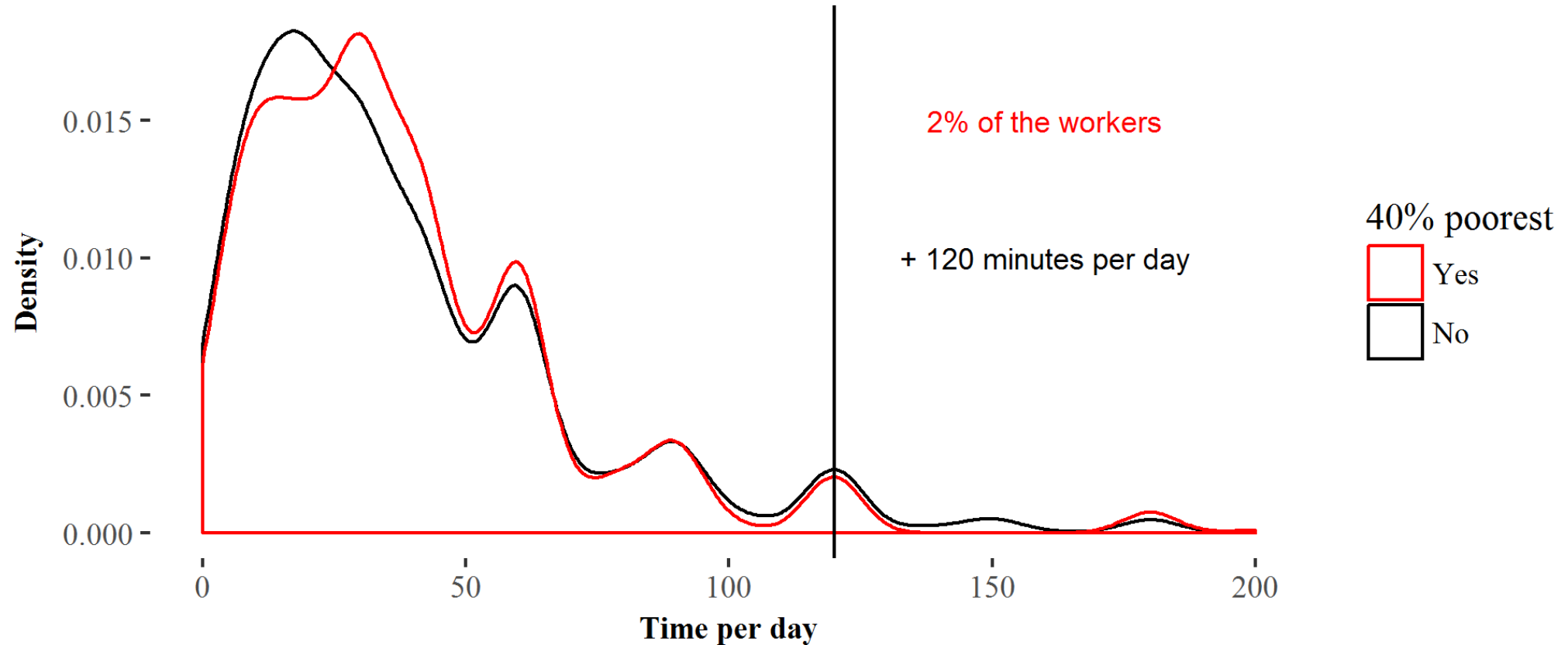
Main objective: contribution to the debate mobility-resource V.S. mobility-constraint by adopting a double perspective:

- Transversal: what effects can highly restrained daily mobility practices have on the residential space?
- Longitudinal: does the living space allow to explain the long commutes of these individuals? Does the sum of past spatial practices make the adaptation to the constraints of the current residential space easier?



The Poorest Long Commuters, a Statistical Minority

Distribution of Commuting Time in France and in Spain



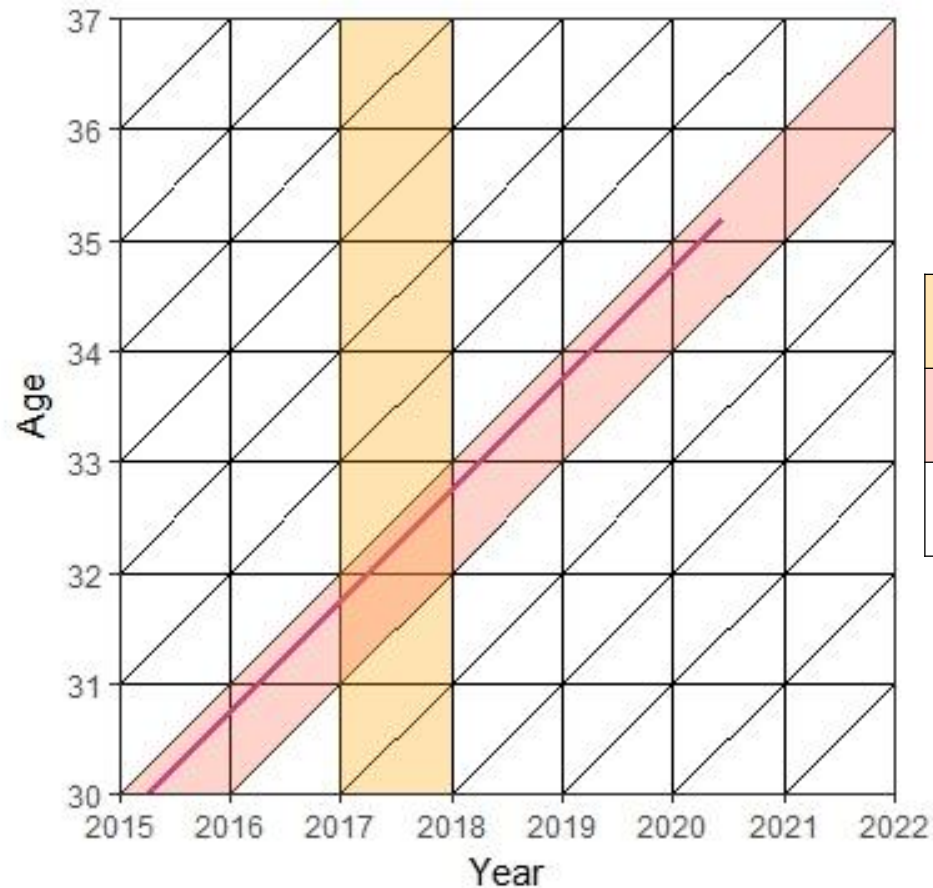
A group representing **10% of workers** in the metropolis of Aix-Marseille-Provence and the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona. Source: EMD, 2009 and EMQ, 2006.

Source: European Working Conditions Survey, 2015.



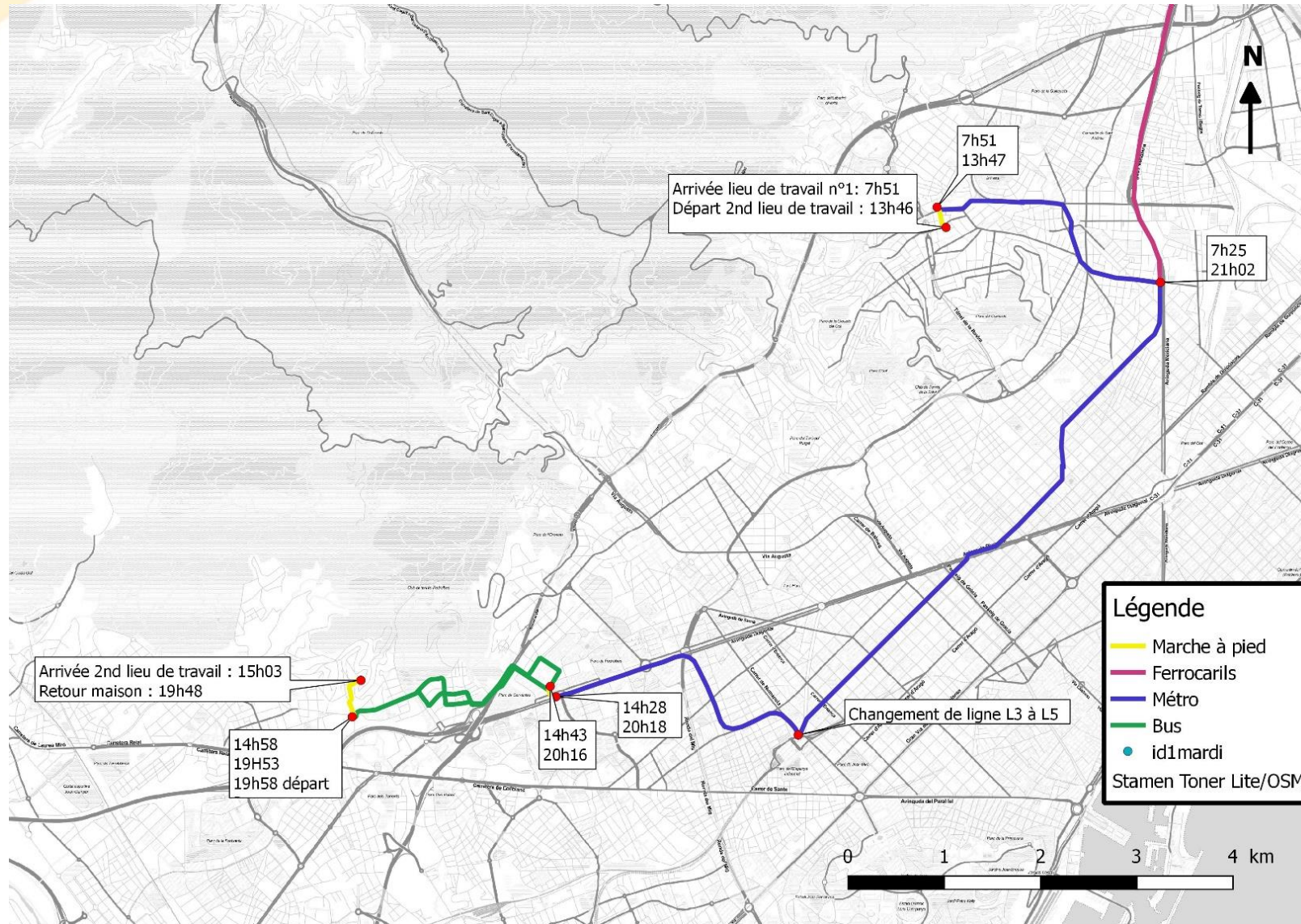
A Global Approach to Daily Mobility through an Inductive Methodology

The objective of the biographical approach is to understand the current daily mobility practices as part of one of the episodes of human life. Indeed, individual life histories **consist of a succession of individual life events** set within a specific historical and social time as well as a specific territory.



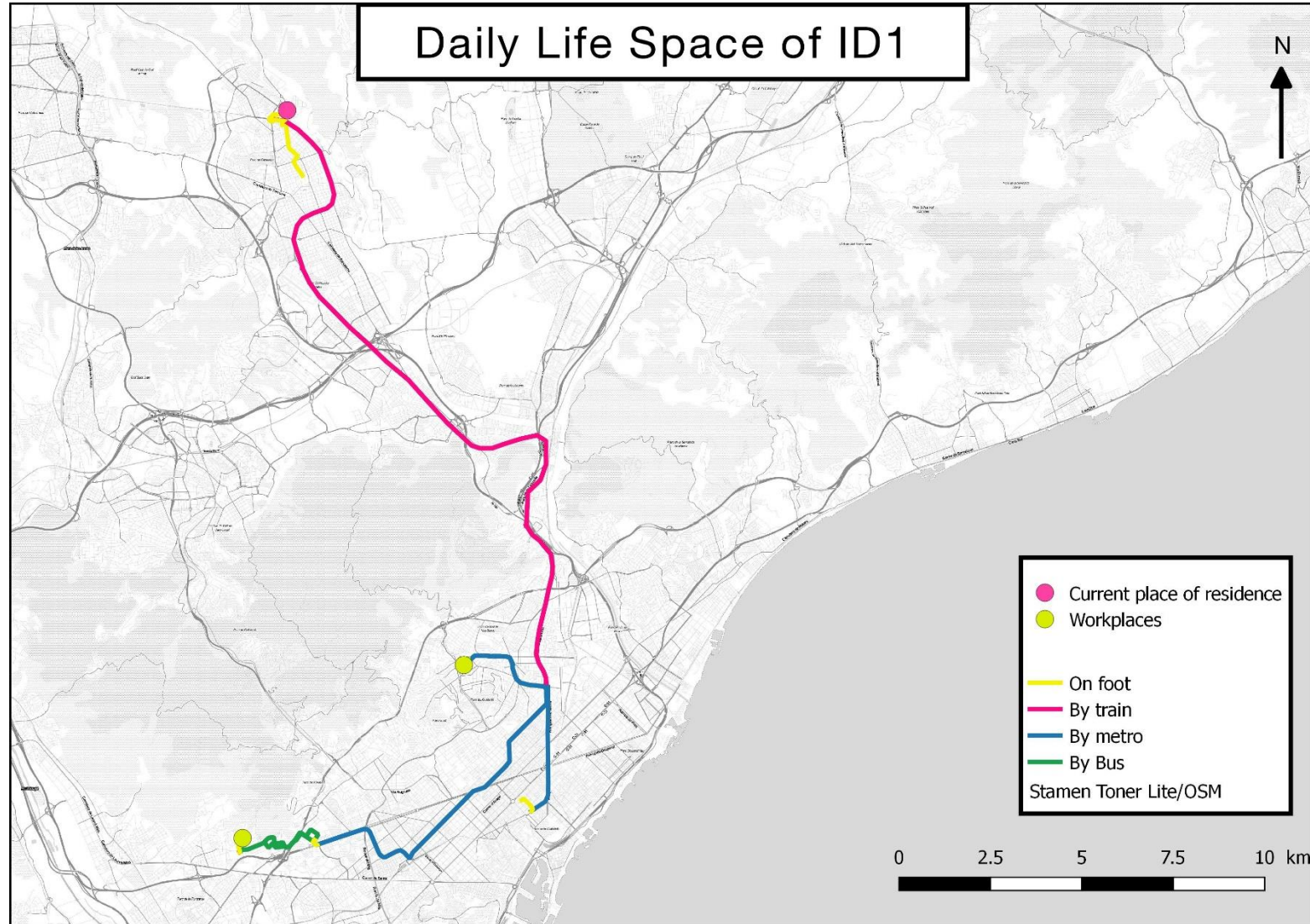
- Transversal approach of the residential space
- Longitudinal approach of the life space
- Life span of an individual

A Working Day of ID1's week



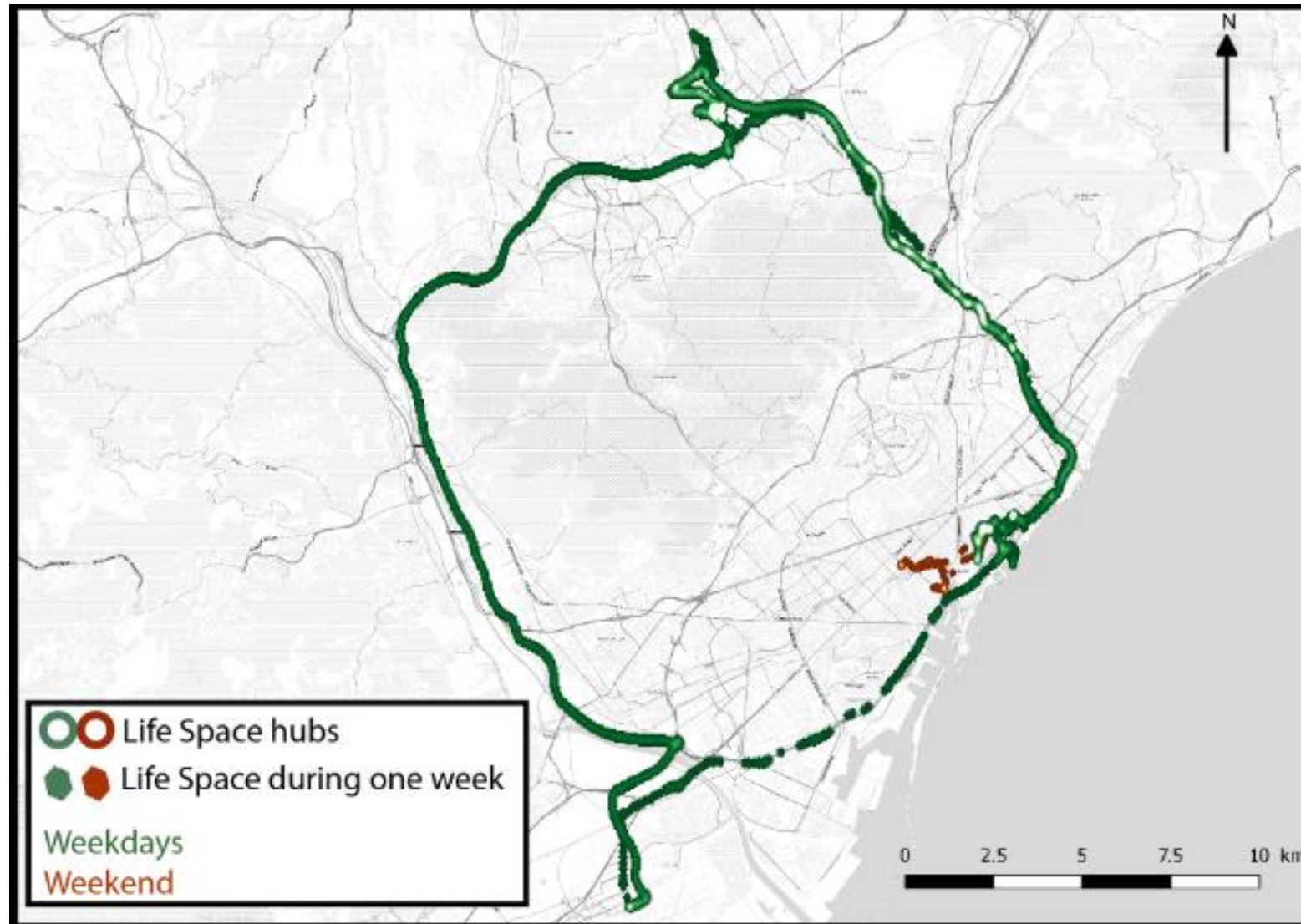


The Residential Space after One Week of Tracking





The Residential Space depending on Temporality



An Interview in Two Steps



A semi-directive interview to give meaning to these geolocated data

- Take into account tactics, strategies and individual projects to contextualize current daily mobility practices and the current residential localization.

Retrieval of retrospective data through an adaptation of the AGEVEN file

- A systematic collection of changes in the family, residential and professional trajectories.
- Contextualize daily mobility skills and practices through family, work and residential changes.



Why Is Long Commuting Another Dimension of Inequality Among the Poorest Workers?



Results (1): The Long Journey to Work, an Indicator of Professional and Residential Limitations

Professional constraints:

- High unemployment forces individuals to take a job no matter where it is located;
- Some professions usually populated by females such as cleaning ladies and caregivers require an intense daily mobility even though their commuting time is not included as part of their billable working hours;
- The precariousness of jobs does not allow plans in a long term. An increase in residential and professional changes were observed for young adults.

Residential constraints:

- High real estate prices that favor the remoteness of areas where housing market is cheaper (gentrification and suburbanization);
- Strategies to avoid certain neighborhoods, especially in Marseille.
- For the poorest, the residential choice depends on an apartment where a member of the family resides, a social housing (finally) free or a landlord who trusts them (even without a deposit)



Results (2): Spatiotemporal Inequalities

- ▶ **In a transversal perspective, a difficult appropriation of time and space**
 - ▶ Means of transport used by these individuals condition their activities and their behavior: hopping from one activity to another (sending text, playing games on their phones, etc.)
 - ▶ An extreme organization is needed to combine their professional and familial activities.

- ▶ **In a longitudinal perspective, no evidence about the possibility to take advantage of the mobility experiences from the past**
 - ▶ A capital of mobility that has trouble crossing borders: the example of the driving license.
 - ▶ A capital of mobility that has trouble crossing the time: yesterday's skills do not always correspond to today's needs: new constraints and new motives of movement will modify the abilities to move according to the life cycle crossed.



Results (3): Gender and Place of Birth, Key Variables to Understand Commuting Inequalities

Gender Inequalities

- More trip's motives: children's activities, "domestic tasks" outside of the place of residence, etc.
- Feeling insecure while commuting.

Ethnic Inequalities

- 58% of the workers of the sample were not born in the current country of residence and 74% of the workers with a wage under €1,000/month were not born in the current country of residence. Similar figures have been observed at the national level.

Merci !

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Surveys Available to Study Daily Mobility

At the European level

- ✦ The European Working Conditions Survey -> Q36 - In total, how many minutes per day do you usually spend travelling from home to work and back? (from 2000 to 2015)

At the national level

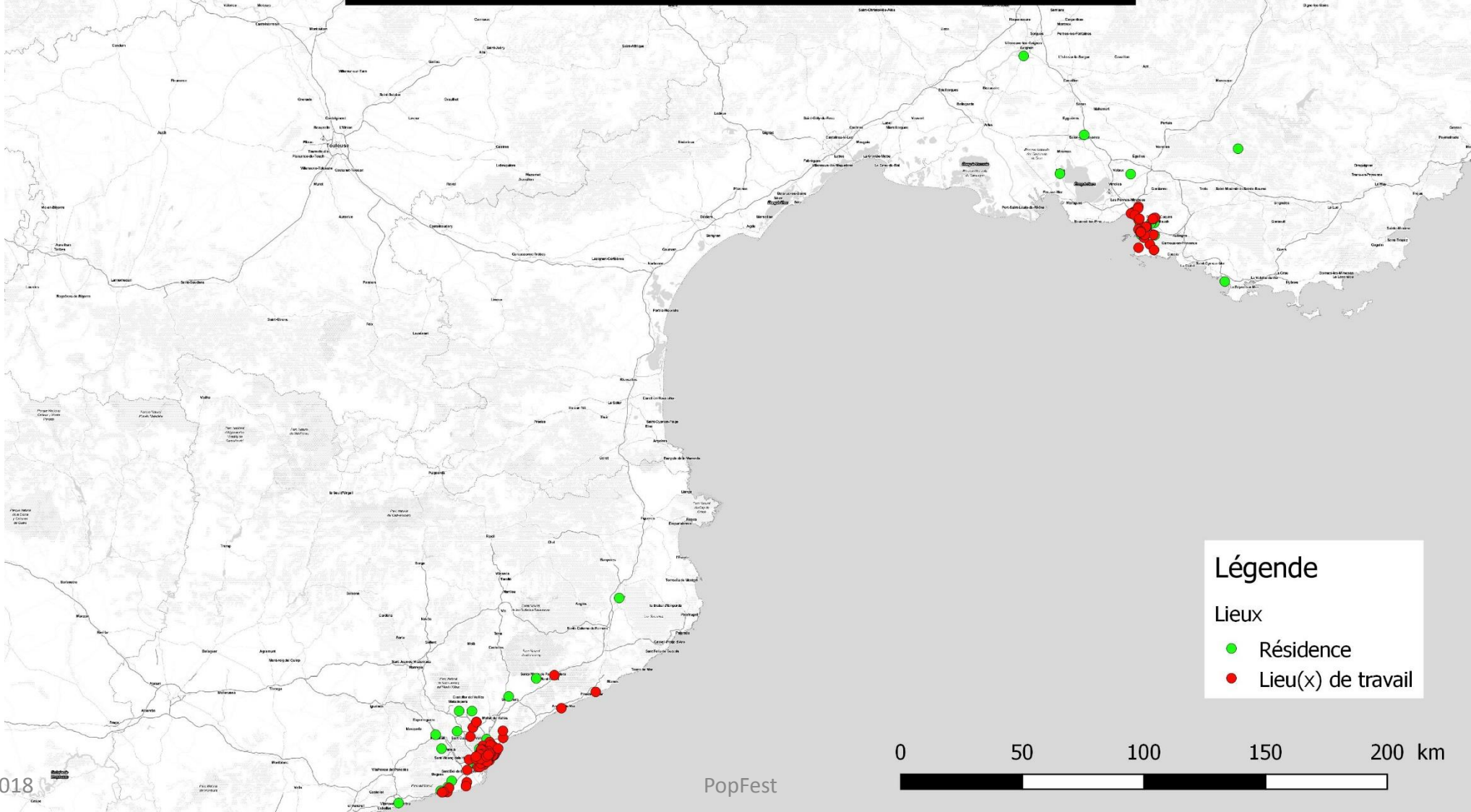
- ✦ In the Spanish census, commuting time is asked as a **discrete variable** [0;10); [10.20); [20;30); [30;45); [30;45); [45;60); [60;90); [90;∞)
- ✦ In the French census, **Origin-Destination Matrices** are available at the municipality level to estimate commuting time in France.

At the metropolitan level

- ✦ In Barcelona, the EMQ was carried out in **2006**. All the trips that were made **the day before** were recorded. Few variables about working conditions and housing career
- ✦ In Marseille, the EMD was carried out in **2009**. All the trips that were made **the day before** were recorded.

→ **Let's create our own database!**

Barcelone et Marseille, deux villes méditerranéennes



Légende

Lieux

- Résidence
- Lieu(x) de travail

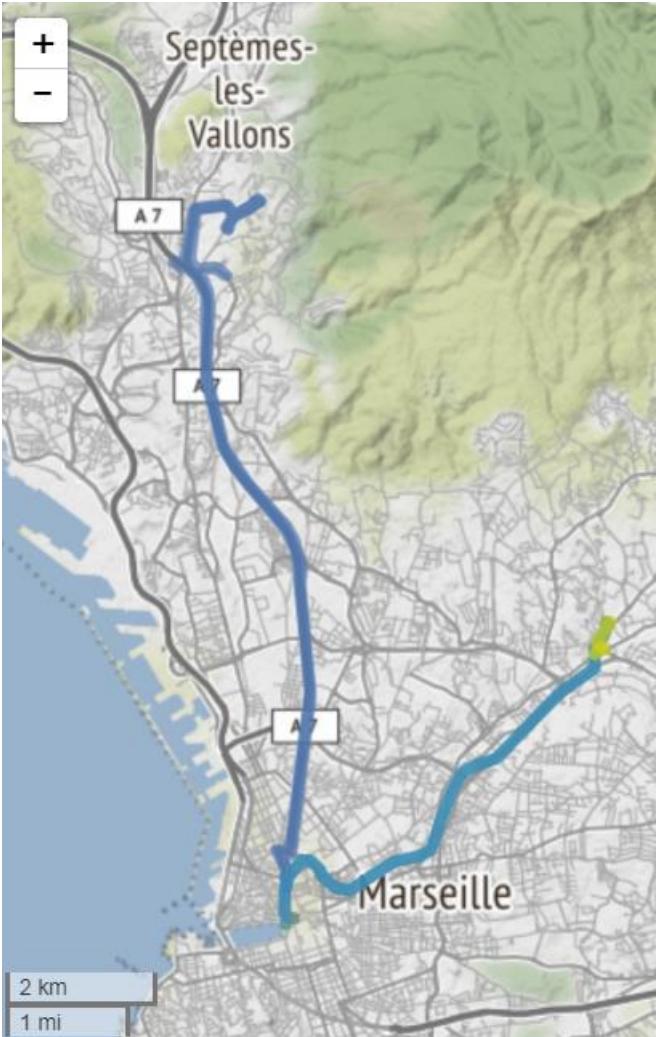
0 50 100 150 200 km



Most efficient transport infrastructures in Barcelona than in Marseille.



The well-known star network of Marseille.





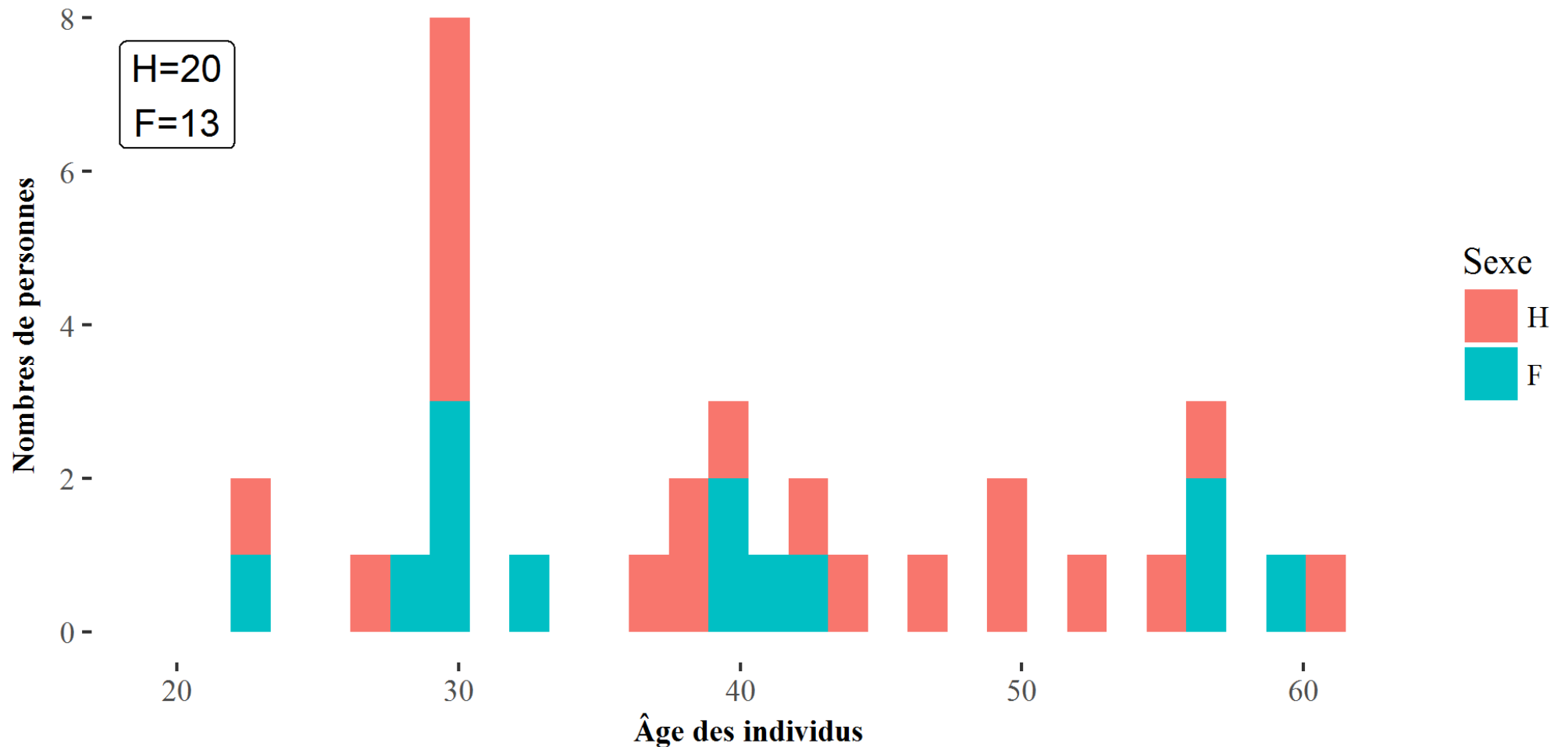
Le « réseau aérolaire » des femmes de ménage pendant leurs heures de travail



Age and Sex of the Poorest Commuters (1)

Les pauvres mobiles en 2015 en France et en Espagne

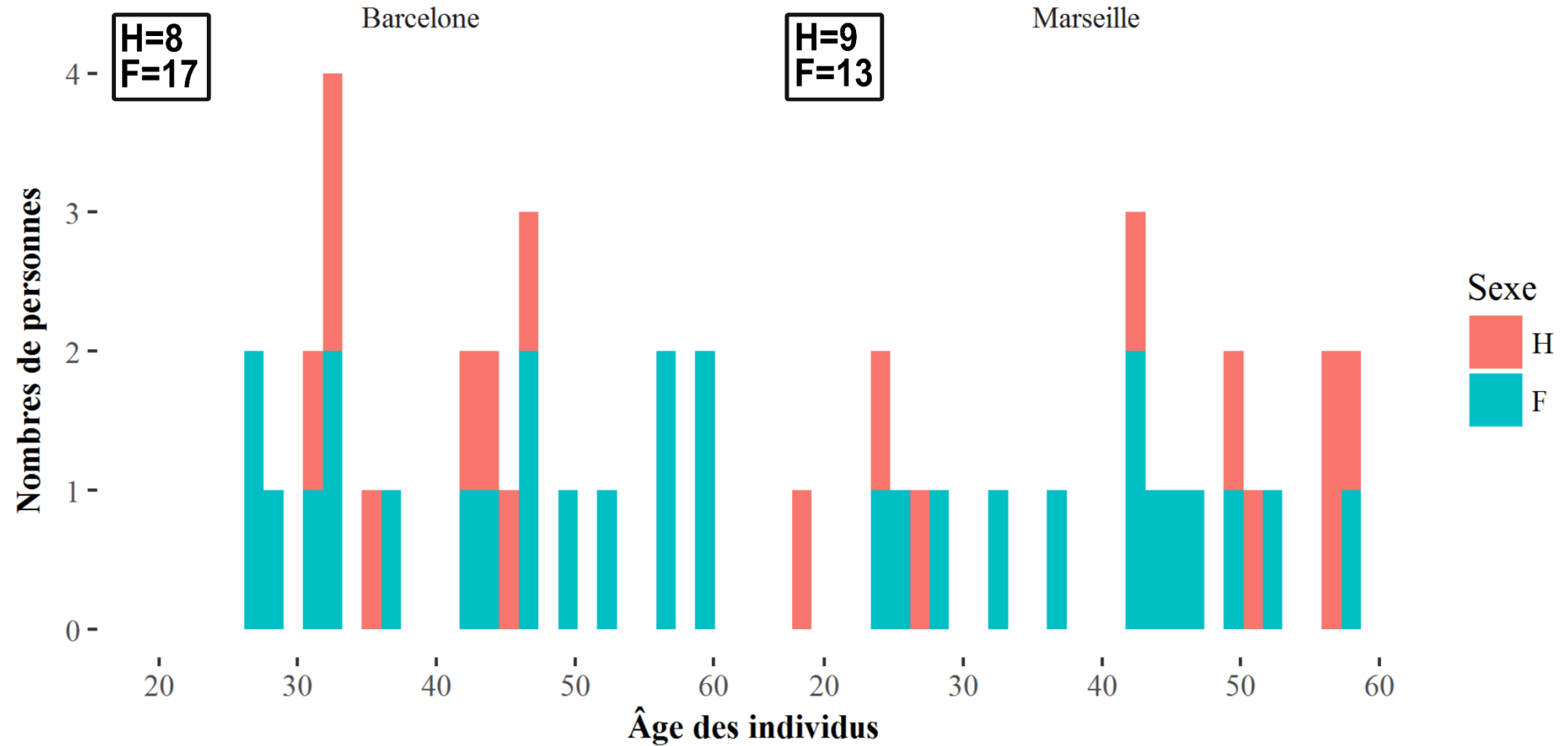
Par sexe et par âge



Age and Sex of the Poorest Commuters (3)

Mon échantillon

Par sexe et par âge



Job Occupation of the Poorest Commuters

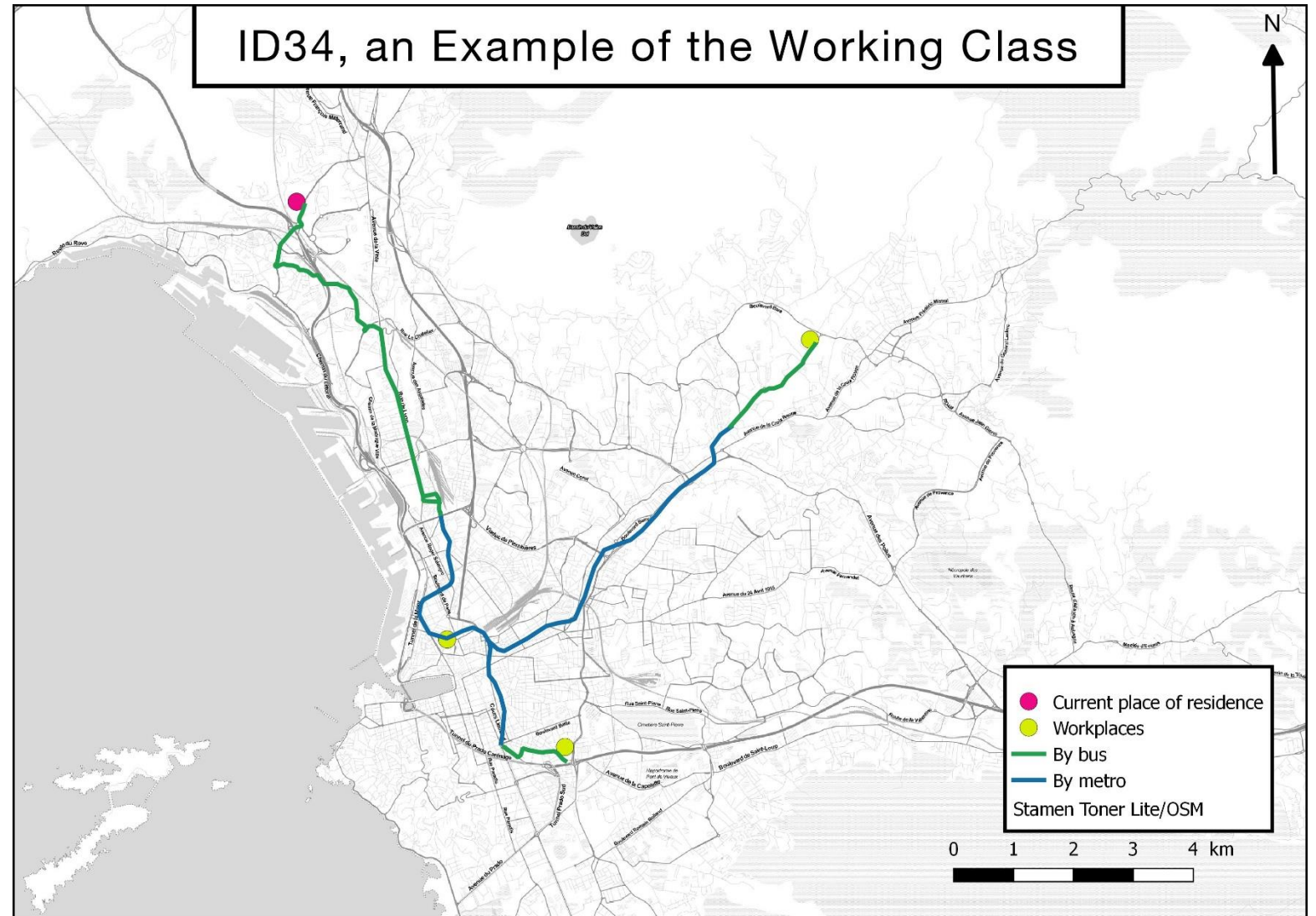
Job occupation	M	F
Insufficient info: Production & specialised services managers	1	0
Professional with university degree	1	0
From nurse to physician	1	0
High-skill in ICT	1	0
Journalists to Artists	0	1
Clerk, Secretary	0	1
Office worker	1	2
Personal service workers	1	1
Sales assistant, Salespersons	2	1
Personal care workers in health services, teachers assistant	0	3
Protective services workers like Fireman, prison guards	1	0
Building construction workers	3	0
Building construction workers, Mechanic	3	0
Electrical and electronic trades workers	2	0
From butcher to Dressmakers or wood treaters	0	1
Cleaning workers	1	3
First sector labourer	1	0
Second sector labourer or warehouse worker	1	0

Job occupation	M	F
Cleaning operative	1	12
Local government officer	2	1
Caretaker	0	4
Lawyer	0	1
Occupational training	6	1
Delivery driver	1	0
Cook	1	0
Removal man	1	0
Phd candidate	1	1
Social worker	0	1
Employee in community associations	1	3
Checkout assistant	0	1
Employee in a fast food	1	0
Building construction workers	1	0
Secretary	0	2
Waiter	1	0
Civil service	0	1
Archivist (trainee)	0	1
Electrical and electronic trades workers	1	0
Sales assistant	0	3

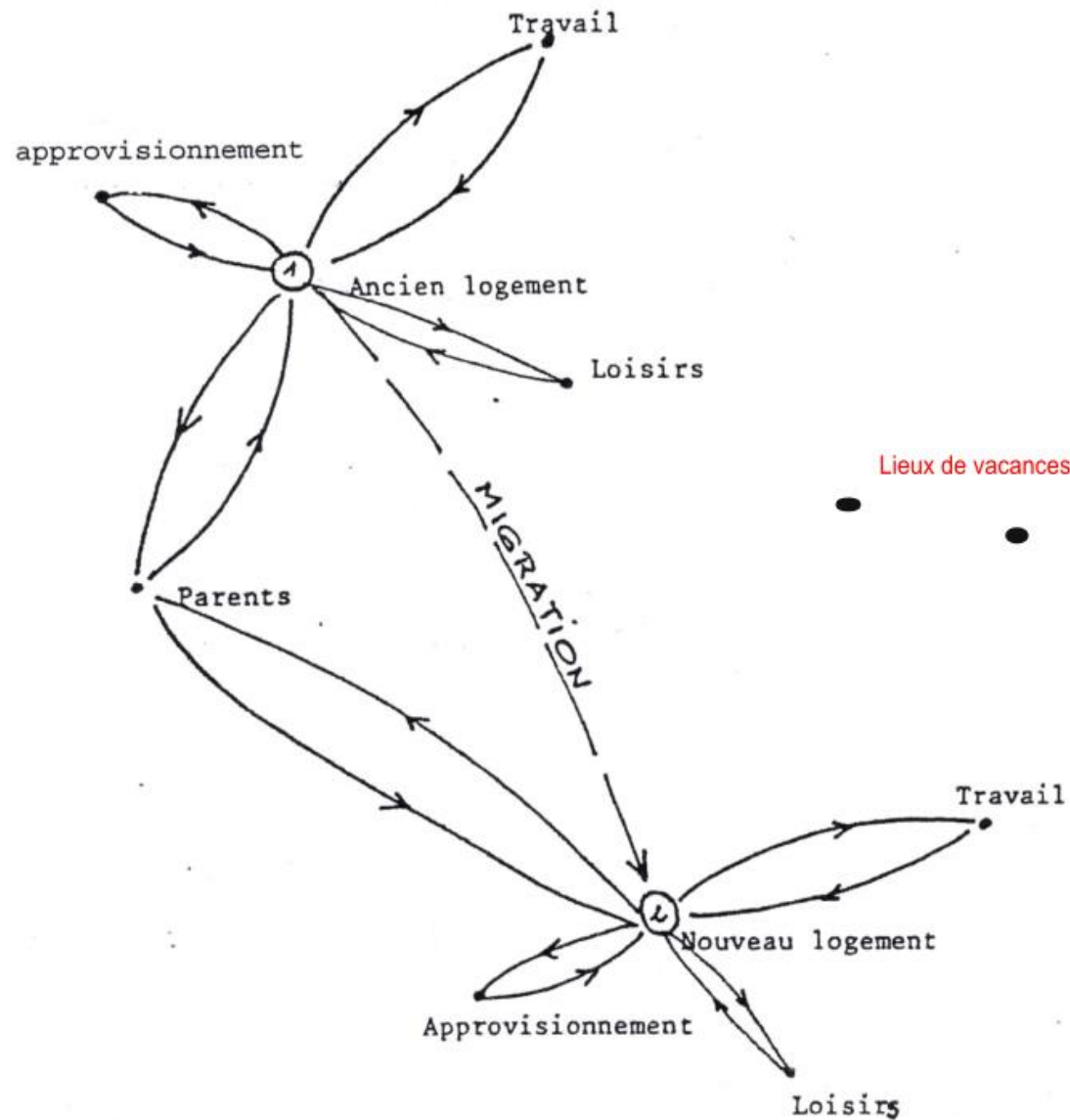
Spatial Reversibility for the “Working Class”

Residential location depends on social housing availability and the commute depends on 3 fixed-term contracts of cleaner.

Reversibility then presents itself as a "palliative to uncertainty and a bulwark against flexibility and change" (Vincent-Geslin, Kaufmann, 2012).



Residential Space and Life Space



Residential space is "the spatial configuration defined by all the places mobilized (frequented or not) at a given moment by an individual" (Dureau, 1999, 2002).

For demographers, the living space is "the set of places with which an individual is connected during his life" (Lelièvre, Robette, 2010, p. 208).

Inequalities in Marseille

Les revenus des ménages

	Démographie fiscale		Revenus fiscaux des ménages par unité de consommation (mensuels en euros)										Ecart		
	Ménages	Population	1er décile	2ème décile	1er quartile	3ème décile	4ème décile	Médiane	6ème décile	7ème décile	3ème quartile	8ème décile	9ème décile	inter-quartiles	inter-déciles
Marseille Provence Métropole	438 683	1 012 469	488	861	986	1 098	1 309	1 527	1 767	2 049	2 223	2 431	3 137	1 237	2 649
Pays d'Aix-en-Provence	144 025	346 980	897	1 178	1 292	1 402	1 621	1 856	2 111	2 426	2 626	2 872	3 658	1 334	2 761
Pays d'Aubagne et de l'Etoile	41 277	102 375	923	1 172	1 269	1 366	1 554	1 746	1 967	2 222	2 387	2 578	3 226	1 118	2 303
Salon - Etang de Berre - Durance	54 714	137 627	869	1 119	1 221	1 315	1 505	1 692	1 899	2 151	2 311	2 492	3 093	1 089	2 224
Ouest Provence	38 133	94 768	806	1 054	1 147	1 232	1 397	1 569	1 758	1 986	2 121	2 273	2 780	974	1 974
Pays de Martigues	29 781	70 154	774	1 029	1 126	1 221	1 405	1 599	1 807	2 050	2 200	2 395	2 952	1 074	2 178
Communes hors EPCI en 2011	9 673	23 702	918	1 134	1 227	1 314	1 483	1 655	1 849	2 075	2 219	2 376	2 862	992	1 945
Métropole Aix-Marseille	747 439	1 766 782	705	990	1 097	1 199	1 402	1 619	1 852	2 131	2 300	2 508	3 201	1 203	2 496
- Marseille	358 380	817 583	455	792	919	1 030	1 244	1 462	1 703	1 986	2 160	2 369	3 069	1 241	2 614
- Marseille Provence Métropole hors Marseill	80 303	194 886	924	1 184	1 289	1 388	1 585	1 794	2 023	2 291	2 458	2 658	3 360	1 169	2 435
- Aix-en-Provence	60 910	130 189	804	1 106	1 228	1 343	1 578	1 835	2 121	2 482	2 709	2 996	3 761	1 481	2 957
- Pays d'Aix-en-Provence hors Aix-en-Provenc	83 115	216 791	988	1 242	1 350	1 455	1 660	1 885	2 121	2 405	2 574	2 787	3 493	1 224	2 505
France métropolitaine	26 204 549	61 653 616	817	1 077	1 176	1 267	1 444	1 628	1 835	2 090	2 250	2 451	3 156	1 074	2 338

On considère au minimum le montant du RSA personne seule pour estimer les revenus après prestations

Source : Insee, DGI 2009 & estimations Compas

Montants de référence en euros	2006	2007	2008	2009
RSA personne seule (RMI avant 2009)	433	441	448	455
seuil de pauvreté INSEE (à 50%)	733	757	791	795
seuil de pauvreté INSEE (à 60%)	880	908	949	954

Definitions

Spatial Capital

- A "set of resources, accumulated by an actor, allowing him to take advantage, according to his strategy, of the use of the spatial dimension of society" (Lévy and Lussault, 2003: 124).
- It has two dimensions: it is both a heritage of places and skills to make it profitable (Lévy and Lussault, 2003: 125).

Motility, a Capital of Mobility

- Motility can be defined as the way in which an individual or group embraces the field of mobility and makes use of it. This can be broken down into three factors relating to accessibility (the conditions under which it is possible to use the offer in the broad sense), to the skills (which the use of this offer requires) and to the appropriation of these last two (the evaluation of possibilities). These three dimensions make a system, they co-produce and can not be approached separately (Kaufmann et al., 2004).