Returning to the parental home
at different stages of life in France.

El retorno al hogar de los padres en las diferentes etapas de la vida en Francia.

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to examine a phenomenon that has been growing in importance in several countries over the past few years: a return to the parental home by young adults and older adults (over 30 years of age)[1]. The aim is to understand   what motivates leaving and returning home and to analyse the similarities and differences. We shall show that older adults experience returning home more as a failure than younger people. This is not so much owing to age as such than to having experimented with almost all the dimensions of adult life: employment, cohabiting partnerships, independent housing, parenthood or autonomy and independence.

Keywords: Adulthood, comparison, family, identity, youth.

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar el fenómeno creciente en diversos países, en los últimos años, de la vuelta a casa de jóvenes adultos y de adultos (mayores de 30 años). El objetivo es entender las motivaciones de irse y de volver al hogar familiar. Analizar las similitudes y las diferencias. Mostraremos que los más mayores viven la vuelta al hogar en mayor medida como un fracaso que los más jóvenes. Esto no se debe tanto a la diferencia de edad como al hecho de haber experimentado el conjunto de las dimensiones de la vida adulta: empleo, vida en pareja, vivienda independiente, parentalidad, autonomía e independencia.

Palabras clave: Adulto, comparaciones, familia, identidad, joven.

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[1] To facilitate understanding, we shall use the terms "young adults" when referring specifically to those under the age of 30, and "older adults" when referring specifically to those over the age of 30, although biological age is not the sole determinant of adulthood.

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I.   INTRODUCTION

Our objective here is to investigate and highlight the differences or similarities between the return of young adults and older adults to the parental home in France.

We shall attempt to understand and examine the phenomenon of young and older adults moving back home to live with their parents, commonly referred to as *Boomerang kids* (Newman 2012), *Boomerang Age* (Mitchell, 2005) or the *Boomerang Generation* regarding people who share the common experience of returning to live at home. Young people's entry into the labour market is a lengthy and uncertain process: precarious contracts, temporary contracts, internships, work-linked training. Qualifications partially help to protect from unemployment (Maurin, 2009) and the highest-qualified have more chances of entering the market. "Conversely, young people who leave full-time education without qualifications (between 15 % and 20 % of the most recent year classes) face high levels of unemployment (over 40 % among non-graduates since the 2008 financial crisis) and more generally seem destined to alternate between insecure jobs and periods of unemployment, depending on the vagaries of the economic situation" Peugny, Van de Velde (2013: 652). In France, there is an increase in young people's dependency on the family. "It is the result in particular of the decision that only over 25-year-olds qualify for the *RMI* (minimum income support). The creation of the *RSA* (low income benefit), although it was an opportunity to reopen the debate on the existence of social income for the young, did not introduce any major changes in the final count" Muniglia, Rothé (2012:65).

The phenomenon is little known today and is poorly targeted quantitatively. These are the data we are aware of. In the 2005s, Mitchell carried out a census from studies in different countries and from various sources: it demonstrated that in the USA, a return home in young adulthood occurred in significant numbers, 40 % of young people moved back to the parental home compared with 25 % in France[2], 20 % in Germany and Sweden. No data on home returners in Europe can be found. In France, the Abbé Pierre Foundation (2015) produced the first recent figures. Using the national survey on housing in 2013, it estimates that there are 925,000 people who had moved back among those living with their parents (after being autonomous for over three months). At the time of the survey, 64% of people that had moved back to live with their parents had lived there for over 6 months (590,000 persons). For 45% (454,000), return took place in particularly difficult circumstances: family breakdown, loss of employment, financial problems, health issues or housing problems (insalubrity, small, badly situated, expulsion etc.). In total, 61% of 25-34 year-olds returned home by necessity.

In the past few years, this phenomenon has developed not only in Great Britain, France and Spain but also in the USA. For example, between 1950 and 2003, in Great Britain, the rate of home returns went from 25 % to 46 % (Mitchell 2005). The economic crisis has been the cause of home returns as well as an accentuation of phenomena such as NEETS[3] (17% in France in 2012, OECD 2014), and migration of the young to other countries.

Remaining in employment is also increasingly difficult for older adults. More people are being laid-off. Furthermore, as separations and divorces lead to an increase in expenses and the needs of daily life, this sometimes results in the return to the parental home of older offspring or of single-parent families.

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[2] She extracts data from the survey by C. Gokalp 2000.
[3] Not in education, employment or training.

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II.   REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The situation relating to return has been explored in several countries by sociologies. The sociological literature deals mostly with the issue of young adults moving back home but less so in the case of older adults. Gill Jones (1995) has addressed and worked on the situation in Great Britain concerning the issue of returning home by demonstrating that the reasons and motivations are structured in a complex manner and it is not possible to establish clear and distinctive causalities.

The situation in the USA and Canada was analysed by B.-A. Mitchell (2005). She engaged in reflection on the subject of young people moving back to the parental home: the return of young people can be considered and envisaged not only negatively, as in the 1970s and 1990s where it was seen as a sign of immaturity, but also in a positive light, as a sign of rapprochement between generations and family members.

Several countries were studied by K. Newman (2012), like the USA, Japan, Italy and she occasionally addresses the French situation. Her work has the merit of giving a global comparative vision and a reflection on the subject of return. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that she deals more with the question of young people extending as well as returning to life in the family home. She shows how social policies help to reduce the number of returns to the parental home even if the conception of the family and the autonomy of the child also have a bearing on this prolongation of living together.

Since 2000, in the USA, the number of young people living with their parents has grown because they have no possibility of entering the labour market. Variations between countries is understood in relation to the influence of various factors: the labour market, the greater or lesser development of the welfare state, the conception of the family and the housing market. The welfare state is not highly developed in Mediterranean societies. Returning home is the only solution when economic difficulties arise. The labour market provides little room for young people and it is often a question of precarious contracts. K. Newman calls an accordion family one that shrinks or grows depending on the circumstances.

In northern societies, financial aid from the state supports these youngsters and they do not feel compelled to return home. The labour market makes their professional integration possible. We have updated the data in order to understand the present situation in Canada. A recent study (Canadian social trends, 2006) shows that generation X, those born between 1972 and 1976, has three times more chance of returning to live with parents that those of the baby-boomers. This study uses data from the 2001 "General Social Survey". It examines the models and reasons of return as well as the socio-demographic and economic factors. With regard to the baby-boomers, the probability of return was less than 12% for men and less than 10% for women. The probability for those born between 1972 and 1976 is 32% for men and 28% for women. There are several factors to be taken into account: living together is more easily accepted, young people take on loans to carry out their studies, financial hardship, less of a stigma regarding living with one's parents, the need for parental support in the transition to adulthood and independence. The most common reason is completion of studies followed by financial reasons and loss of employment. One out of 10 young people returns following a break-up in order to get emotional parental support. Combined with the reasons for leaving, young people who move away for their studies are more likely to return (32%) than those who leave for work.

In the 2011 population census (Canadian statistics, 2011), one sees that 42.3% of the 4,318,400 young adults aged between 20 and 29 years old live with their parents, either because they never left or because they moved back home. In 2006, the proportion was 42.5%. Higher proportions than previous decades: 32.1% in 1991 and 26.9% in 1981.

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In French society, young people depend on the state and the family but if the family does not have the means to provide for them, state benefits are inadequate. Young people have to return home. "Such 'familisation' of individual life courses is likely to lead to an increase in social inequalities between the generations, but also within the younger generations themselves." Peugny, Van de Velde, (2013).

The subject of prolonging young adults' lives within the family and/or the increase in the number of young people living with their parents has been dealt with by sociologists and the French media on a recurring basis for 20 years. It has been observed that transitions are being constructed individually. At the European level, the EGRIS group has shown that trajectories tend to yo-yo and are non-linear (Walther, Stauber et al. 2002). Increasing fragmentation of young people's experiences leads to a multiplication of possible life courses (Evans, Furlong, 2000). There is a multiplicity, a reversibility and a simultaneousness in young people's situations on entering adulthood (Cicchelli, 2013).

Young people have an increasing amount of autonomy but without the economic independence. However, these are the two principal dimensions of the individualisation process (Singly de 1996). We shall define autonomy as an individual's ability to make her/his own rules (Chaland 2001) and independence as the capacity to live from her/his own resources (Singly de 1996). O. Galland (2006), by studying the stages that young people go through to adulthood, emphasises that there is a de-synchronisation of thresholds and a delay in the acquisition of autonomy, for example, residential autonomy. He has shown that there is an extension of life as a youth (1990). The indicators of transition to adulthood that he uses are: leaving the parental home, setting up with a partner and parenthood.

Yet the return of young French people to the parental home does not fall within the French model in which parents urged their children to leave home, to leave home definitively (Maunaye 1997). In this model, building a sense of identity in young people was done when physically apart from the family (Gaviria, 2008) and returning home did not form an integral part of these trajectories. It can be said that it was considered as a bifurcation. "The term "bifurcation" appeared to refer to configurations in which contingent events, slight disruptions can be the source of major changes in individual trajectories or collective processes" (Bessin, Bidart, Grosseti 2010: 9). Leaving home was considered as definitive and returning home as an exception. The home return issue has been broached but rarely in French sociology. Even if the return of a child to the parental home has always existed, what is striking now is the extent of the phenomenon. Fifteen years ago, C. Villeneuve-Gokalp (2000) analysed home return situations as a marginal note in a survey about the leaving age. She shows that there are factors or coincidences at the time of return: not having a job, for over six months, having experienced a period of unemployment during the last four years, or health, family, sentimental, legal or administrative problems. Men are more likely to return if they become unemployed and women if they have personal problems. In her study, the motivations of young people are not identified in the paths. Reports on student life have not provided an in-depth account of the home return issue (OVE – Observatory of Student Life - 2011, 2007).

At the European level, several authors have pointed out different models for leaving home (Bendit, Hein, Biggart, 2009; C. Van de Velde, 2008). They have been constructed without taking into account the return to the parental home dimension.

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III.   METHOD

Si In the framework of comprehensive sociology, we interviewed, in France, people who had returned to live with their parents after a six-month stay away from home, excluding return during the summer months. The survey focused on an entire population of over 18-year-olds. We excluded those leaving on an Erasmus exchange, based on the premise that they were leaving the parental home with a return date. In total, 50 semi-structured interviews were conducted with a population[4] composed mainly of young people. A 10% proportion of people was aged over 30. Those we met could be either still living at home or might have left once again. Men and women aged 18 to 30 years old were involved in almost equal numbers. Families generally lived at a distance of under 200 km. The young people in question had come back home between one and three years after having left.

IV.   RESULTS

4.1. Young people

Partimos Young people move back to the family home either suddenly or after a period of reflection. They test the waters, make the announcement but do not really ask permission. Returning home is usually done alone, during a young person's studies or due to unemployment, for example.

Return as a couple takes place for practical reasons and is short-term. It might occur when they make a transition between two towns or professional situations.

It comprises a minority. For example, in the case of those who are buying property and have to wait for work to be completed in their new accommodation. This is Mélaine's case when she went to live with her parents-in-law:

"It's a bit hard for me to accept as I don't like my mother-in-law at all but I didn't have a choice. I knew I would have to make an effort in the future. On top of that, she's making us give her 150 euros every month, I can understand her asking for it but she grumbles when her son doesn't give it to her on the exact date she asked for it despite the fact she's got a lot of money. Anyway, it was the only solution."

Parents sometimes move out of their main residence to go and live in their second home in order to allow the couple more privacy. Another case is where young people send for their partner from abroad. Juan is descended from Spanish immigration in France. He left home to work in Spain for a few years. Due to the economic crisis in the country, he found himself compelled to return to work in France and live with his parents. After a year, he asked them if his girlfriend, who had remained in Spain, could come and join him. His parents, torn between the desire to please their son and the wish to protect their present way of life, ended up by agreeing. The "empty nest" syndrome does not always affect parents; for some authors this is a myth (Rubin 1992) because parents mostly experience a newfound equilibrium after their children have left home.

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[4] Interviews were conducted by ourselves and by first-year students in DUT Carrières Sociales de l'IUT du Havre 2013-2014 (Two-year university diploma in Social Careers at the University Technology Institute of Le Havre). We thank them for their work.

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When observing the motivations behind the return home, we find that economic reasons are often interwoven with a need for emotional support.

Financial support

There are various and diverse reasons for returning home but, in most of the cases encountered, they involve financial hardship. In cases of partnership breakdown, financial needs are combined with emotional ones. Separating from a partner, completing one's course of studies, insecurity in one's job, dismissal, severance of unemployment benefit, the desire to follow a new course of study, the desire to save money and carry out building work after buying a property are all reasons that go hand in hand. These young people belong mostly to social groups where their parents do not possess the means to finance an independent life completely. In any case, in the French model, parents contribute to residential autonomy of young people but not completely. Young people must take up training and benefit from a grant or else work.

Grants dry up at the end of education, which means that young people can no longer retain their independent lifestyle financed in part by their parents. There are no methods in place to ensure a transition between training and access to employment. They must therefore return home if they have no job or partner who can assist them financially. For these young people, the return is coded as "natural" since they do not have a job and it coincides with leaving full-time education. Here it is a question of returning home after having left to go elsewhere, as Gill Jones (1995) explains. There is a distinction between the definitive departure from the parental home and a departure to go elsewhere. In the second case, it concerns a departure where returning home is predictable.

It is not always owing to financial hardship but a desire to save money. Elodie has completed her studies and entered the labour market. She and her partner are living as a couple but they feel their jobs in town are too far away. She could have decided to pay rent and remain independent in the town where she works. But as the town was accessible by car from her parents' home, she decided to move back to live with them in order to save on the rent.

Emotional support

With regard to one category of young people, the new way of life has become difficult to govern: no taste for post-school education, difficulties in managing their autonomy, marital breakdown, all this combines to make young people return to the parental home.

Separating from a partner occurs after periods of tension, often very suddenly, following a dispute, together with domestic violence or sometimes after a certain amount of heart-searching. This is Karima's case. She left home at age 18, eager to live with her boyfriend despite her parents' reluctance:

 "My ex and I were always having rows for different reasons and also because of financial issues we'd had. We weren't managing anything anymore and I'd had enough of doing the housework on my own all the time when he didn't do a thing, even though we were living together, it wasn't as if I was living on my own."

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Tensions arise for economic reasons, in relation to domestic organisation or because there is a discrepancy between everyone's conception of freedom within the couple. Living together is not a straightforward matter. Philippine says:

"It was high time for me to come back home! It was mainly because I really didn't love the person I was living with anymore, because the longer we were together, the sloppier he got. I couldn't see myself acting the skivvy, in that area either. I couldn't see myself living my whole life with that person. I had to get out as fast as I could. And the only way to do it was to go back to my parents' because I didn't have the time to look for another apartment and I didn't have the money."

Claude, 20 years old, describes his feelings:

> At the beginning, it was like a dream, if you see what I mean, then little by little the issues came along: money, hassles with my partner, and so on. On top of that, at the time   I   only had an ordinary scooter which meant we couldn't always go where we wanted. Things were going OK morally even though it was sometimes a struggle at   the end of the month. I felt like a "man". It was only when my girlfriend left me that morally things went seriously downhill.

Emotional support is appreciated when the loss of one's job leads to social isolation. "Living alone does not necessarily mean being lonely (which only finds expression when the autonomy is not accepted), but it is true that loneliness is common" (Kaufmann 2009:18).

Eric, 19 years old, explains:

> I moved back home because I only had a temporary contract for one year and they didn't keep   me on so I was unemployed and money was too short to pay the rent on the apartment so my mother helped me out, she gave me food to eat. And then what's more, I got very bored, alone,   with no work.

Paul who had left to study in the south, got depressed:

> Let's just say that I had my problems. I went to pieces during the first semester and into depression. My friends helped me a lot. But I failed my first semester all the same. So it was hard to get back on my feet again. And I dragged a millstone around right to the end of the second semester. To sum up, in an engineering school you need to get a minimum overall average of 60% and to validate all your blocks, teaching units. I finished my year with an average of 58%. I got my results and pulled myself together because I was accepted by Le Havre University. My father didn't want me to continue my studies anywhere else.

He organised his return with his parents' support. Regarding home return, C. Villeneuve-Gokalp observed, in 1994: "It is only when leaving home is motivated by a desire for independence or by the wish to start a family that returns are less frequent" (Villeneuve-Gokalp 1994:497). Returning home results from a crisis that is essentially emotional and from a relationship breakdown or social failure (the loss of a job) (*idem*). We note that it is a multi-causal phenomenon in which financial problems are often involved (end of education, breakdown, unemployment, etc.), and the need for emotional support from the family (breakdowns, feeling of loneliness, change in direction, etc.). A single cause cannot be distinguished as motivations overlap in the views expressed by the young.

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Alessandro Gentile (2010) highlights three cases of the function of home return in relation to young Spaniards. The first case concerns a young person who returns home in order to start again on a better footing with a viable and well-defined project. The second case concerns a young person who returns home having experienced a failure, with no perspective of a fresh start. The third case concerns a young person who returns to the parental home until the time is ripe for new beginnings but for whom leaving and returning home form an integral part of the trajectory: it is a question of discontinuous pathways but where self-affirmation is important. Our population comprises primarily young people from the first two categories of the typology.

Living together with one's parents

Living again with one's parents varies according to whether the relationship is with fathers or mothers. Women and mothers are at the controls of domestic organisation. Young people are subjected to rules as to when and how things should be done.

Ariane explains:

> *Seriously, I wasn't comfortable at the beginning, you see I hadn't lived at home for three years, I'd been independent, I'd been the one doing the cooking, the housework, etc. and my dear little mother didn't let me do anything, she wanted to take charge of everything (laughs), you know, as if she had pity on me. She really took care of me, poor thing. And then, little by little, well, I got back on track.*

Parents who adopted new routines once their children left have to readjust to a new situation on the return of their offspring (Moisset 2001). Young people think that their parents are pleased to have them move back and do not ask themselves that many questions about how they feel about it. A new life in common seems at times like family life and, at others, like a flat-share. Ruben talks about his return:

> *It wasn't obvious because, in fact, when you're all alone in a flat well, you take a few liberties, you eat more or less at any old time and you do more or less what you want. Then you go back to your parent's and then you've got rules, things to respect, at first it isn't obvious especially as we've both (his mother and himself) got rather a tough temperament. So it wasn't that simple but in the end we both watered down our wine and then I found a new job straightaway. A job that is very demanding all the same. Mum has her activities as well on her side so in the end we didn't see one another very much. But we made it, OK? When you don't have a choice in the matter in any case you have to make concessions.*

Elodie talks about her return:

> *I'd grown up, I wasn't a schoolgirl anymore. There were no more school reports to expect (smiles). We were adults sharing the same house with respect for each other's privacy. I had my key, I came and went as I pleased. I just had to let her know if I was coming home for dinner or not." Sometimes it's like a flat-share: "We sometimes had discussions like ones you have with people you like and not necessarily with flatmates! But regarding respect for each other's space, yes, you could compare that to a flat-share.*

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When living together, a gradual control on the part of the parents takes place. It has to do with looking for work and/or timetables and/or company. After a period of living independently, young people are no longer used to explaining or justifying themselves and it becomes heavy-going.

The space can be an analyser of family relationships. The way in which young people are made welcome varies from getting back their own room, sharing with a sibling, sleeping on the couch, as well as the way in which their belongings are stored, in a wardrobe, a suitcase etc. Some young people do not unpack their things not because of lack of space but because they expect to move out fast. Returning home is accepted by the parents and does not surprise them. Parents and young people have integrated the fact that youth today is faced with difficulties and that home return is common and the "norm".

Young adults have mixed feelings regarding a return home: they do not generally see it as a failure since it is often an opportunity to make a new start in a different direction. They are proud of themselves despite coming home. Returning home does not call into question the feeling of having grown up which they had when they left. In a minority of cases of young adults who have little opportunity of setting out again, the feeling is more qualified.

Returning after 30

People who return home at an older age do so mostly for economic reasons, generally following a separation or when unemployment benefits run out. Cases of the need for emotional support are minor. Return home can also take place for health reasons.

The return sometimes takes place suddenly. This was the case for Simona who returned home at 40:

> For some time things hadn't been going well with my husband and even when we tried to pick up the pieces I realised it wasn't working. My parents already knew about all this but I didn't think things would move so fast… I mean, from one day to the next, we had to leave our home and go and live with my parents.

Claire returned home at 40:

> I went back to live with my parents with my three children nearly a year ago now. I had to leave my husband when I lost my job because I couldn't put up with a situation that was somehow destroying our family". This is very rare; we did not encounter any other cases of families made up of parents and children who had returned to live with their parents. When older people return home, we have observed that it is men returning on their own and women with children. There were no cases either of fathers returning with their children.

Manon had to return with her children:

> I left home for college in Paris at the age of 18, just like all children who fly the family nest at one time or another. After I got my BTS in Tourism (two-year higher certificate), I met the father of my children, Thomas and Marie, when I was 20. Unfortunately, like most women, I stopped working to bring up the children. When my husband and I got divorced two years ago, I found myself unemployed with no source of revenue. Odd jobs or fixed-term contracts

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weren't enough and I had to find another job urgently so as to find a stable situation and plan some real projects. But as you well know, in the context of a crisis, nothing comes easy.

It is often women who have not been in post-school education and sometimes those who even stopped working during pregnancy who return to live with their parents. After a divorce, they have to rebuild a whole new life.

The decision to return, in the case of women after a breakdown, often takes place suddenly. The couple has been in a bad state for a long time, they struggle to deal with it but one day it all comes to a head. In rare cases, domestic violence is the cause. Nadia made her choice: *"One day my husband went too far. I didn't want my daughter to grow up in a violent environment, that's when I decided to go and live with my parents."*

Jean returned to his parents' without really choosing to do so. He became ill, had no money and when he came out of hospital, he went directly to his mother and stepfather's. For men, experiencing the loneliness of unemployment can be the root cause of a return.

Neither older men nor women code their return as natural, nor of being in the order of things, nor as something positive. It is assimilated to a strong feeling of failure.

Living together again

It is not straightforward for older children and parents to live together. Although there is a strong sense of gratitude for the help provided by the latter, everyday affairs are difficult for a variety of reasons.

Space is limited, especially in the case of mothers returning with their children. Parents have sometimes moved and the house is not big enough. Generally speaking, there is not a bedroom available. They have to juggle between the sitting room and the couch, and their suitcases. On a day-to-day basis, parents interfere with the grandchildren's education.

Added to this is the fact that mothers worry about their children's well-being and sometimes the children do not enjoy camping out at their grandparents'; added to the divorce or the separation, this is a lot for them to cope with and the malaise manifests itself in their school work. But everyone plays their part and families make a welcome for their adult children whether they like it or not. In Jean's case, his mother has a new partner. She will impose her 40-year-old son on him so as not to "leave him in the street". Parents are sometimes very elderly and living together is difficult. Jean feels he has to constantly help out and does not enjoy much freedom. Added to this are the constant negative comments he has to hear. The situation is unbearable.

It is very difficult, for both men and women, to return to live in the parental home. They have experimented, at a given moment, with all the dimensions of adulthood (housing, work, parenthood, relationship) and see themselves reduced largely to the status of a child: no more work, no longer in a relationship, no home. And sometimes with dependent children. Men lose all the dimensions of autonomy and independence when they return and women retain the status of "mother of" in their parents' eyes.

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V.   DISCUSION-CONCLUSION

Becoming an adult, becoming a child

The comparison between the return home of young adults and older adults has enabled us to highlight the influence of age in experiences but above all the dimension acquired then lost in adulthood. Home return is experienced differently depending on when it is integrated into the life course and depending on age. Older adults experience a greater feeling of failure and shame than younger ones.

Nevertheless, home return is not so difficult if one has not experienced all the dimensions of autonomy and independence: employment, independent housing, relationship, parenthood. When people have experimented with everything, returning to the starting block is a painful experience. This is often the case with the over 30s.

The French model of entry into adulthood advocates the residential autonomy of young people. Home return is part of a path that is considered *a priori* "not desirable" by young people or their parents. The economic crisis has had the consequence that as long as youngsters and their parents have integrated the idea of a return, if it occurs, it is part of the trajectory to adulthood. Theoretically, the study of entry into adulthood should integrate these successive returns. Returning home is said to occur following financial difficulties but also following a breakdown in the learning process to gain material and emotional autonomy or management of economic independence which should take place before leaving home.

The emotional side of things goes hand in hand with the material and economic when deciding to return home. It is often seen as a social problem by the media, signifying a delay in the stages for transition to adulthood. It can also be considered as a means for young people of achieving greater maturity. To experiment with autonomy, a minimum of preparation is required, of training, and it is one of the findings of this research, otherwise the difficulties are too great. In some cases, returning home makes it possible to finish the maturing process. The process is as follows: young people leave the home "early" if one is referring to their experimenting with a relationship, educational or economic management. When learning-accompanied autonomy has gone wrong or is insufficient, problems arise: partnership breakdowns, inability to manage a budget properly.

A return home enables people to put things right: reconciliation with the family, learning financial management, retraining, a better understanding of the dynamics of a relationship and re-establishing one's bonding capital. For the oldest, returning home enables them to manage an often transitional situation which is difficult and where family solidarity seems crucial in material and/or emotional terms.

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