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Individual Options and Collective Patterns: Mobility and Settlement in Spain in the Second Half of the 20th Century

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Abstract

This article uses documentary evidence on population dispersal in Spain in the second half of the 20th century to attempt to illustrate the general characteristics of the population flows, the factors that influenced their configuration and their structure. It highlights the importance of proximity but also draws attention to other factors, yielding the conclusion that certain routes are preferred in the structure of migratory destinations and starting points, and that these routes show a certain historical continuity. However, mobility is a counterpoint to permanence, and in this sense, this article underscores the strength and stability of settlement in the Spanish population. The criteria of mobility and settlement reflect the complex junctures of society.

Key words: internal migration, Spain, population, settlement, 20th century

1. Internal migration in Spain: Preliminary considerations and reasons for studying it[1]

One of the few theoretical propositions in the study of spatial population mobility that has been somewhat solidly established states that in a territorially defined population, internal displacements are quantitatively more important than displacements abroad except in periods of exceptional upheaval.

Migration abroad is often more visible and apparent than internal migration; however, in many countries the latter is a key factor in the configuration of population settlement over time.

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[1] The article summarises some of the results set forth in the book *Migracions, activitat econòmica i poblament a Espanya* written by various authors (1999). The Jaume Bofill Foundation financed the research.

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In Spain, internal migration is an extremely interesting demographic phenomenon whose volume and characteristics have shifted over the course of this century depending on the different moments in history. After earning a great deal of attention by both population scholars and the media, today internal migration has virtually ceased to be studied. However, it not only continues to be an important component in the evolution of both the population and settlement, it is also a reflection of other highly significant social phenomena.

The purpose of this article is precisely to once again examine this topic, now that the periods with huge flows of internal migration remain at a certain distance in time, which allows us to examine it with a bit of hindsight. Now is also a time when internal migration is not being discussed – except what is called "migration or residential mobility in metropolitan areas", even though mobility is quantitatively more significant now than in other periods, albeit with different features than in more prominent times.

Examining migration using the balance method enables us to estimate the balance of a region in terms of its population exchanges with other regions. This reveals more about the region and the effects of migration on it than about the phenomenon of migration *per se*. Without downplaying the importance of the balance method, flows bring us a little closer to the reality of the phenomenon by showing us the number of people who have moved between two geographic points in a given period of time. By examining the entire region in units, migrations appear as a web of flows among all the units in all directions with differing levels of intensity.

Distance, and therefore physical proximity, is a very important factor to be borne in mind, but it has often been ignored in studies on migration. Greater physical proximity between two regions is usually reflected in a correspondingly larger migratory exchange. In this article, we have examined the system of migratory flows in Spain bearing in mind distance, and this has enabled us to see the primacy of short-distance migratory movements. These movements rarely cross provincial boundaries and often fall within people's life sphere. This means that these moves have seldom been regarded as true migrations, since they do not entail a rupture of people's ties with their points of reference, including work, friends and family, places of free-time activities and shopping, etc.

Still, as noted above, we can observe noticeable long-distance mobility in certain periods which basically reflects times when the Spanish productive system and labour market were undergoing profound transformations, as occurred paradigmatically in the 1960s. In this case, the longer-distance migratory movements attained a significant proportion within mobility as a whole. The formation of migratory networks which join physically distant regions, but between which there are constant exchanges of both emigration and immigration, leads to a relativisation of physical distance and provides more proximity in terms of knowledge. This establishment of social ties and exchanges among regions has given rise to what we have called "preferred migration pathways", pathways which show high stability for decades, although we can notice significant changes when they are analysed in greater detail.

Finally, another of the issues that this article wishes to highlight is the importance of permanence. Migration and settlement are the flip sides of the

same reality, and in the case of Spain, the strength and stability of population settlement is the predominant side, even though the opposite is often thought and said. This heavily conditions the issue of migration to such an extent that much of the mythical discourse on migration – in terms of loss – is implicitly a negative discourse on settlement. In fact, migration is largely a subsidiary phenomenon, a mechanism of the population's adjustment to the social organisation of the space. We should also bear in mind that that migration is a complex social phenomenon which is important for the groups of people involved, and with the added value of bringing to light aspects of the social reality in which they are inserted.

2. Quantification of the phenomenon: Statistics on residential variations

Even though it is important to bear in mind that all forms of spatial mobility are related and that the boundaries between them are often blurred, here we shall only examine the kind of mobility with a significant change in residence which is called "migration". This is a somewhat imprecise definition, as befits the complexity of the concept. To make it operative and also fit it to the data available, we take "migration" to mean all displacements that represent a change in the town of residence, thus adopting the same criterion used by the National Statistical Institute. Since we are discussing internal mobility, this must be limited to changes that fall within the administrative boundaries of Spain.

Thus, by definition, changing one's town of residence does not include moves within the same town, even though these are often equally or more significant than some displacements from one town to another. Nor does it include the blurring of some municipal boundaries, which exist for administrative and political purposes yet which have little social importance, at least near the boundary itself.

As is already known, the primary sources of data for general studies on internal migrations for the migratory flows and stocks are basically statistics on housing changes and population censuses. It is also known that of all the human activities covered by demographics, mobility is one of the most poorly recorded. There is no doubt that it is easier for a country to have good statistics on birth and death and general population tallies than sound figures on the spatial moves of this population.

This study mainly drew from the National Statistical Institute's *Statistics on Residential Variations* (ERV). It should be noted that the quality of the official data has fluctuated and that it generally became more reliable after the 1970s. The data on internal migratory flows comes from the annual rectification of the municipal population censuses derived from the registry of inflows and outflows in the towns in the periods between censuses. This source provides information since 1961 on the moves that entail a change in residence via a move to a different town, which are the moves that fit the operative definition of internal migration. However, the quality of the record harbours several problems, which are compounded by the absorptions on the municipal census.[2]

[2] This explains the declines shown in the statistics in the years when the municipal census was conducted, because it absorbs some of the registrations of changes in residence. The years when

The main problems include under-registration, a certain disjoint between the time when a move is made and the time when it is registered, and undue registrations which do not reflect effective changes. Here we should also bear in mind cases in which individuals have two residences. Each of these problems has its own casuistic.

The chronological disjoint, coupled with the absorptions on the municipal censuses, mean that the data should processed in a clustered fashion without entering into minor annual details. Fictitious records – second residences, for example – should be borne in mind, especially for intraprovincial flows or flows between neighbouring provinces that include large cities, although they can also occur in more distance provinces between which there is a history of previous flows. With regard to the issue of under-registration, in addition to simply bearing it in mind, we can also speculate on its possible differential effect and try to estimate its importance.

With regard to the differential influence, we could consider local variations in the real application of the administrative registration process and data transcription, as well as the fact that the degree of compliance with the theoretical obligation to register one's residence depends on each social echelon's varying need to have residence certificates.

The territorial unit of analysis is the province, not because it is the sociologically most interesting unit but because the data available to us almost always use the province as the point of reference. On certain topics and for some spheres we have been able to work with a more appropriate unit, but taking the entire country into consideration has led us to adopt the option of the province.

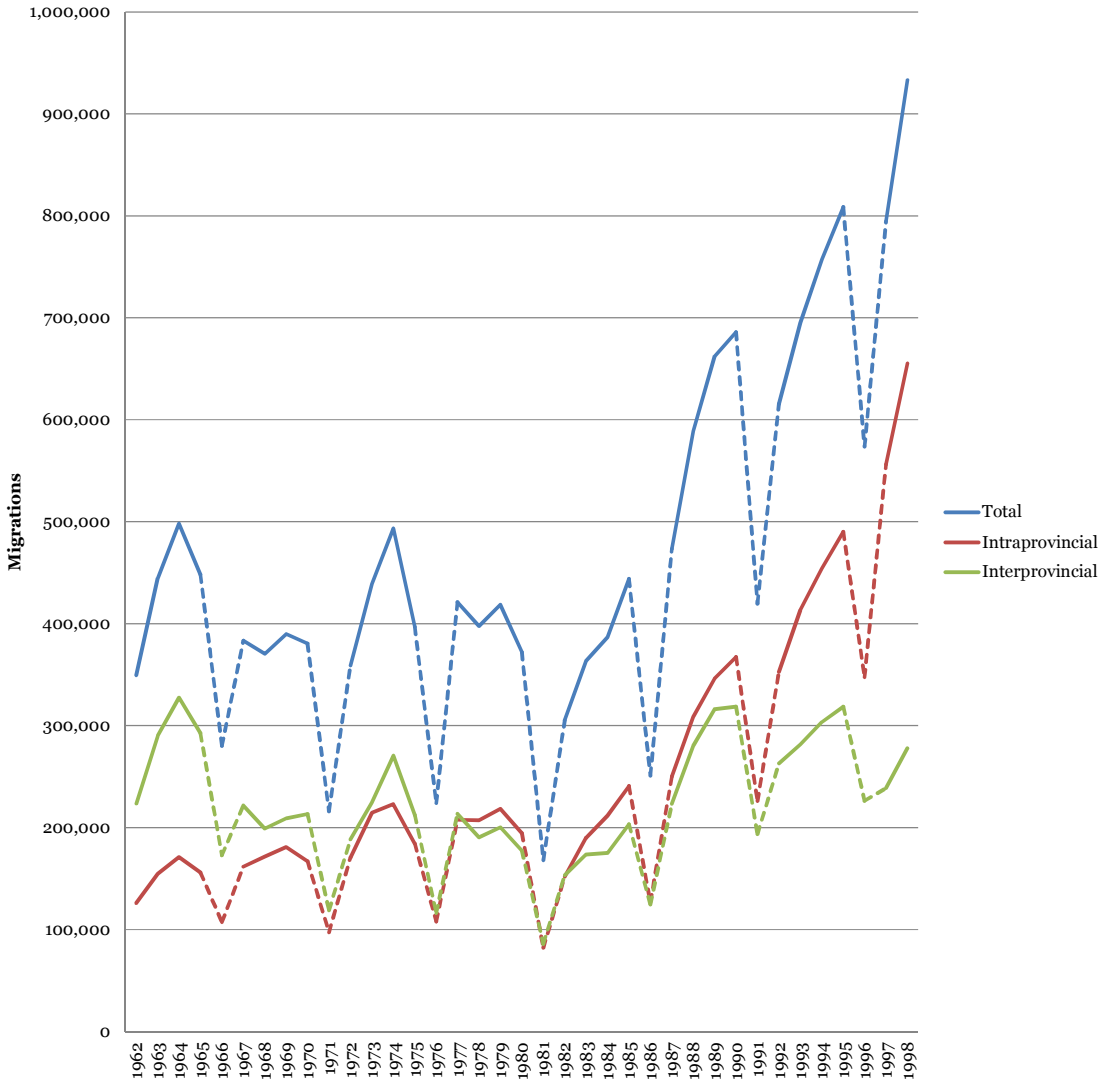
3. The evolution of migratory flows in Spain

3.1. The overall evolution in Spain

The evolution of migratory flows, in absolute values and for Spain as a whole, can be seen in Figure 1. We only have figures since 1962, because even though the EVR began to be published in 1961, the origin/destination matrix is only available starting the following year, rendering it possible to distinguish between interprovincial and intraprovincial migrations.

we can note a decline are the ones ending in 1 and 6, regardless of whether they are from the most recent period or from the time when municipal censuses were conducted in the years ending in 0 and 5, since the effects were seen on the records from the following year because the date of reference was then the 31st of December.

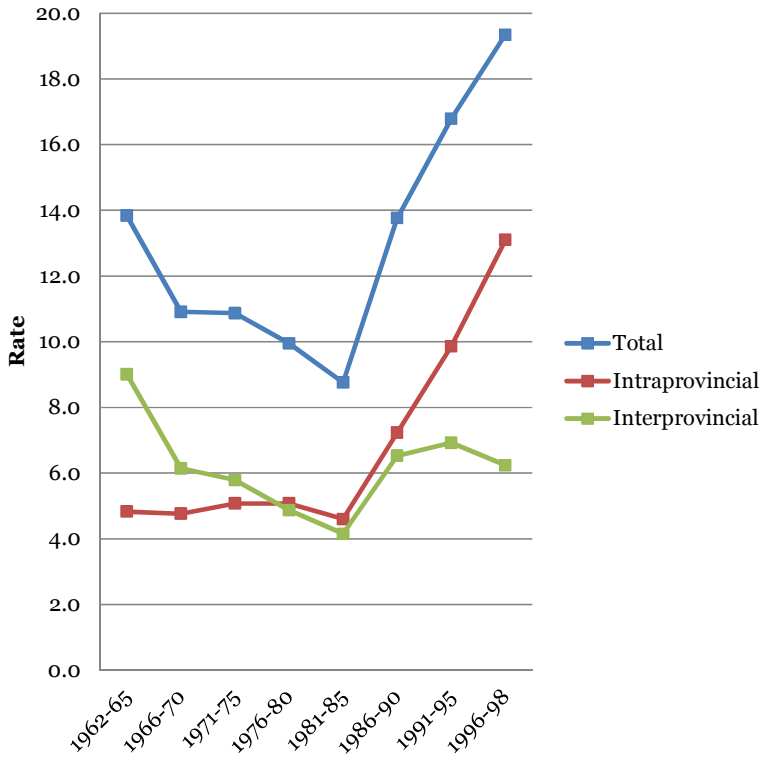
Figure 1. Domestic migrations in Spain. Absolute figures (1962-1998).



Source: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

Beyond the flows, the mobility rate reveals the moves with a potential collective. They show us the relative importance of the individuals who moved. Here we chose to examine the annual rate on a five-year basis to eliminate fluctuations stemming from the census years. The overall migration rates are shown in Figure 2. What stands out is the relatively higher mobility in the 1960s, especially in the first five years of the decade, and in the three later periods (1986-1990, 1991-1995 and 1996-1998).

Figure 2. Domestic migrations in Spain. Rates (per thousand) (1962-1998).



Sources:

Statistics on Residential Variations (ERV):

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population (except 1965):

— 1960, 1970 and 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1965, 1975, 1986 and 1991: INE, national and municipal censuses.

— 1996: INE, 1996 census.

At this point we can ask whether mobility has generally increased over time. The answer is not simple. The available data on migratory flows cover a period that is still brief, and only time will tell whether the current upswing, which follows years of decline, will continue. Surely there will be new fluctuations, and it remains to be seen what predominates. What is more, during the period analysed there has been an improvement in the process of developing the statistics.

More important than knowing whether the overall mobility is rising is examining the changes in the composition of the migratory flows. Thus, while in the early five-year periods, migrations between different provinces (interprovincial) were more prominent, recently migrations that do not extend beyond the boundaries of the provinces (intraprovincial) are more common. However, it is also worth noting that interprovincial migration has risen in absolute figures in recent years, even though it has receded in importance

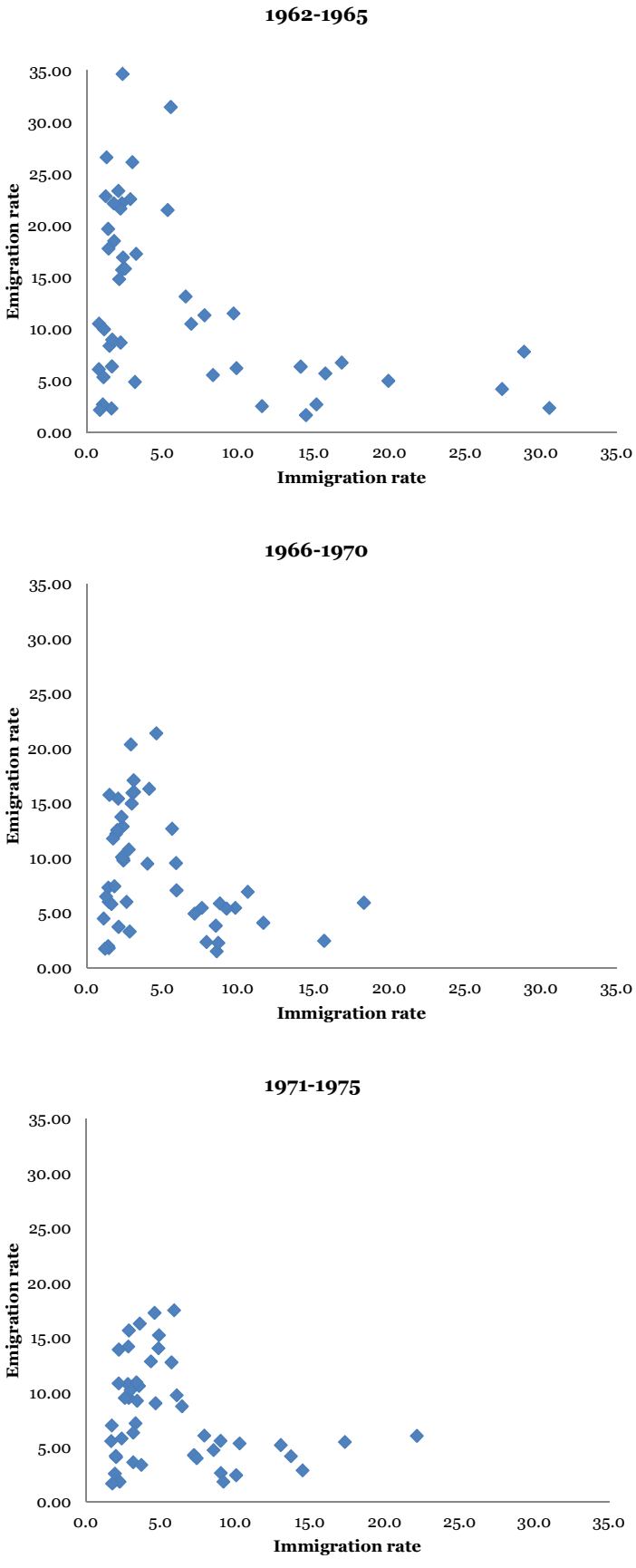
within mobility as a whole. Furthermore, this rise is not only in absolute terms but also in terms of rates, contrary to what is often claimed.

With regard to the steep increase in the rate of intraprovincial migration in the most recent five-year periods, we should wonder to what extent this is a real increase or whether it actually reflects improvements in the statistics, which can differ depending on the kind of migration. Sometimes we may even think that this rate is overstated due to the importance of the ongoing municipal population censuses in many political and economic decisions. Indeed, the last municipal population census in 1996 required quite a few downward adjustments.

3.2. Evolution by province

The overall behaviour of the provinces in terms of their immigration and emigration rates is shown in Figures 3 and 4, where we can note similarities and differences in the five-year periods. Broadly speaking, we can distinguish three periods which are useful for analytical purposes but in fact reflect phases in a gradual process which is especially clear between the second and third periods. In the first period, 1962-1975, the clusters show major distant diagonal dispersion along both axes, in which the majority of points show high emigration and low immigration rates while a smaller number show high immigration and low emigration rates. Starting with the first five-year period, when there were high levels of mobility, there is a gradual drop in these levels. In the second period, 1976-1985, the five-year figures show a somewhat homogeneous and balanced diagonal cluster, especially in the period 1981-1985, and low levels of mobility. In the third period, 1986-1995, there is a strong, homogenous and balanced core, but with minimum levels that are higher than in the previous five-year periods, and at some points the cluster starts to become more imbalanced at the higher levels, although far from the values reached in the 1960s.

Figure 3. Interprovincial immigration and emigration rates in the Spanish provinces (periods 1962-1965, 1966-1970 and 1971-1975).



Sources:

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De jure population (except 1965):

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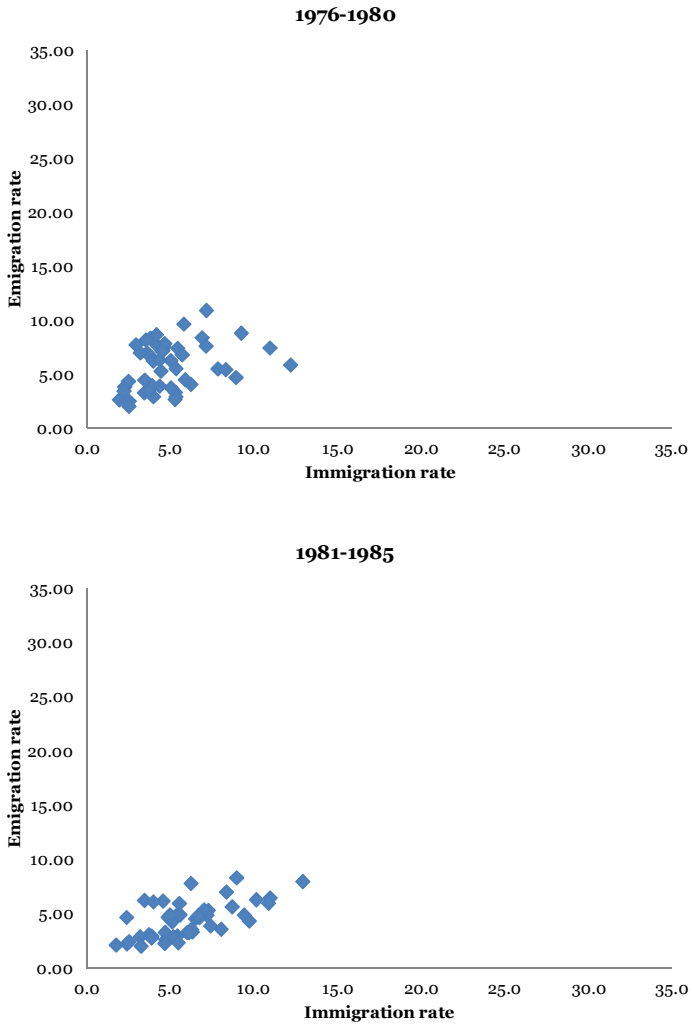
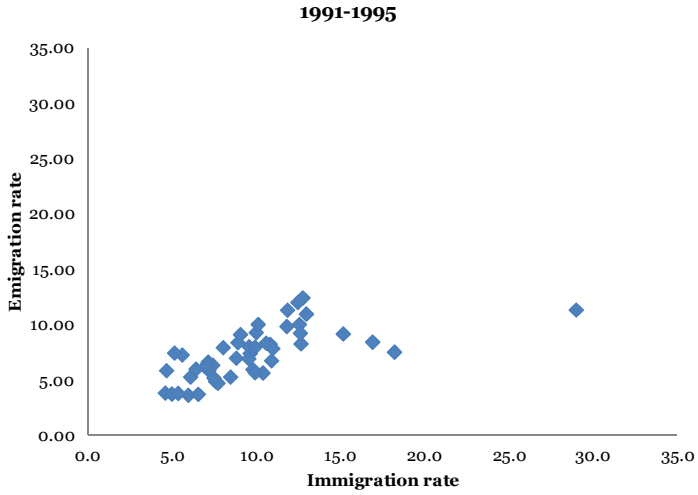
— 1965 and 1975: INE, municipal censuses.

Figure 4. Interprovincial immigration and emigration rates in the Spanish provinces (periods 1976-1980, 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1995).





Sources:

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De jure population:

— 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

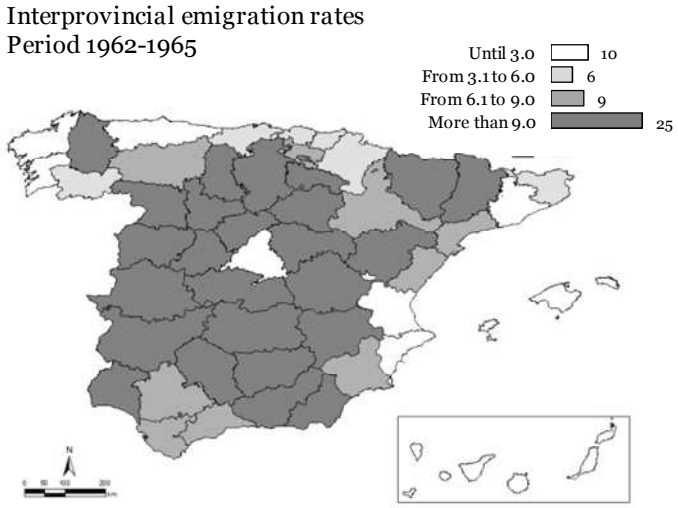
— 1975, 1986 and 1991: INE, national and municipal censuses.

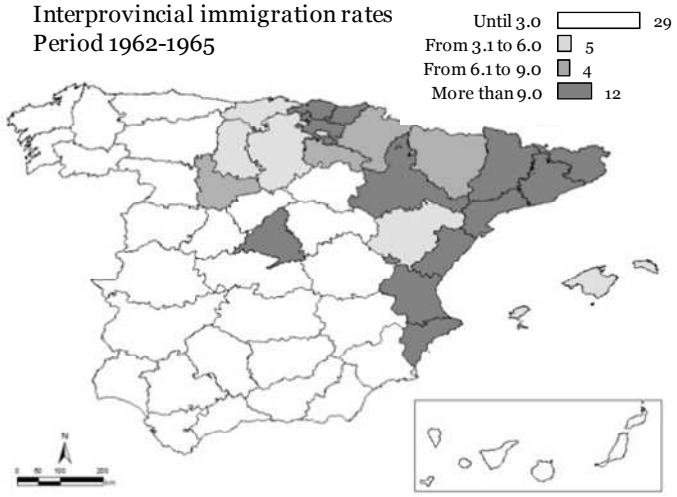
— 1996: *1996 Municipal census*.

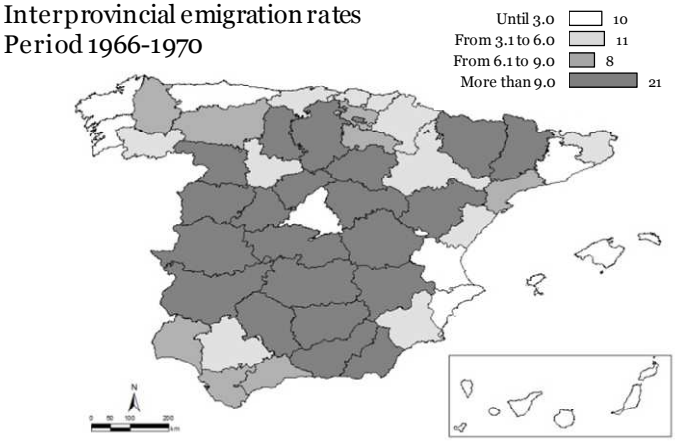
The illustration of the clusters of points highlights the general behaviour of the provinces based on their immigration and emigration rates. However, in Figures 5, 6 and 7, the same evolution is depicted for the same periods identifying the provinces on the maps. We should not forget the values within which each five-year period fluctuated, since the same bracket scale was kept for all the periods, yet at the highest level we can see some values that stand out considerably above the rest. In the first period (1962-1975) there is complementariness between regions of immigration and emigration, with many provinces showing emigration and few showing immigration. In the second period (1976-1985), we can see a predominance of provinces at the mid-point of

the scale, that is, balanced (the first five years, in terms of emigration, somewhat reflects the momentum of the previous period). In the third period (1986-1995), there is a rise in zones in the highest bracket and considerable balance in the majority of provinces.

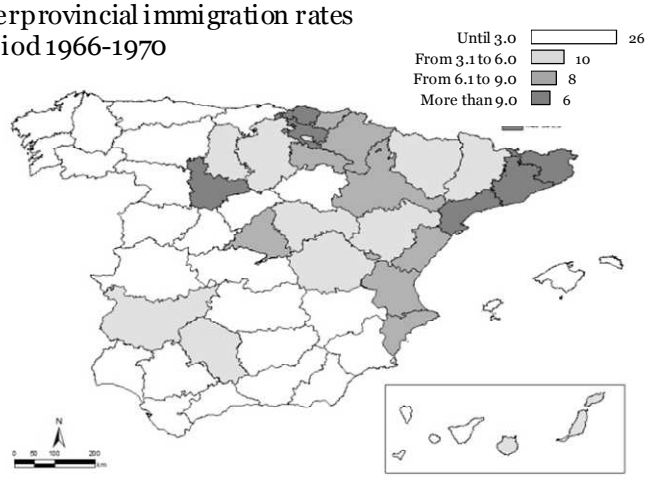
Figure 5. Interprovincial emigration and immigration rates (in thousands) (periods 1962-1965, 1966-1970 and 1971-1975).



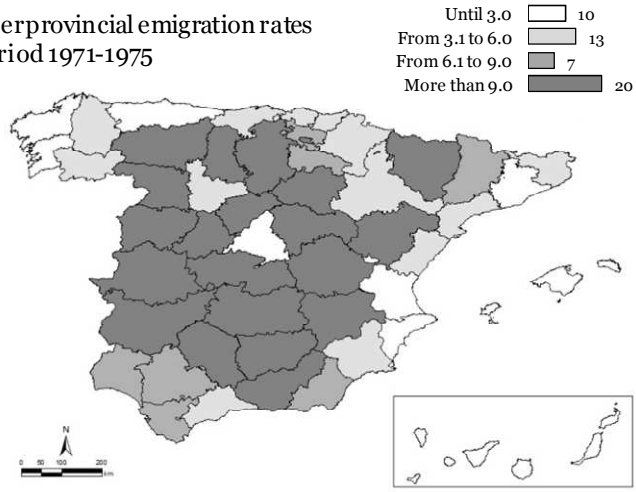




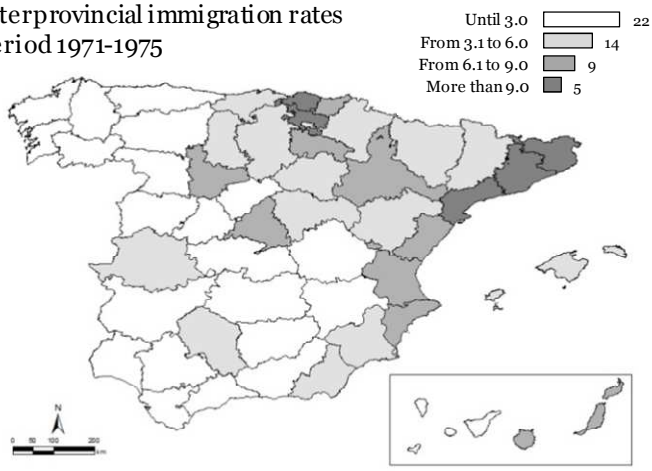
Interprovincial immigration rates
Period 1966-1970



Interprovincial emigration rates
Period 1971-1975



Interprovincial immigration rates
Period 1971-1975



Sources:

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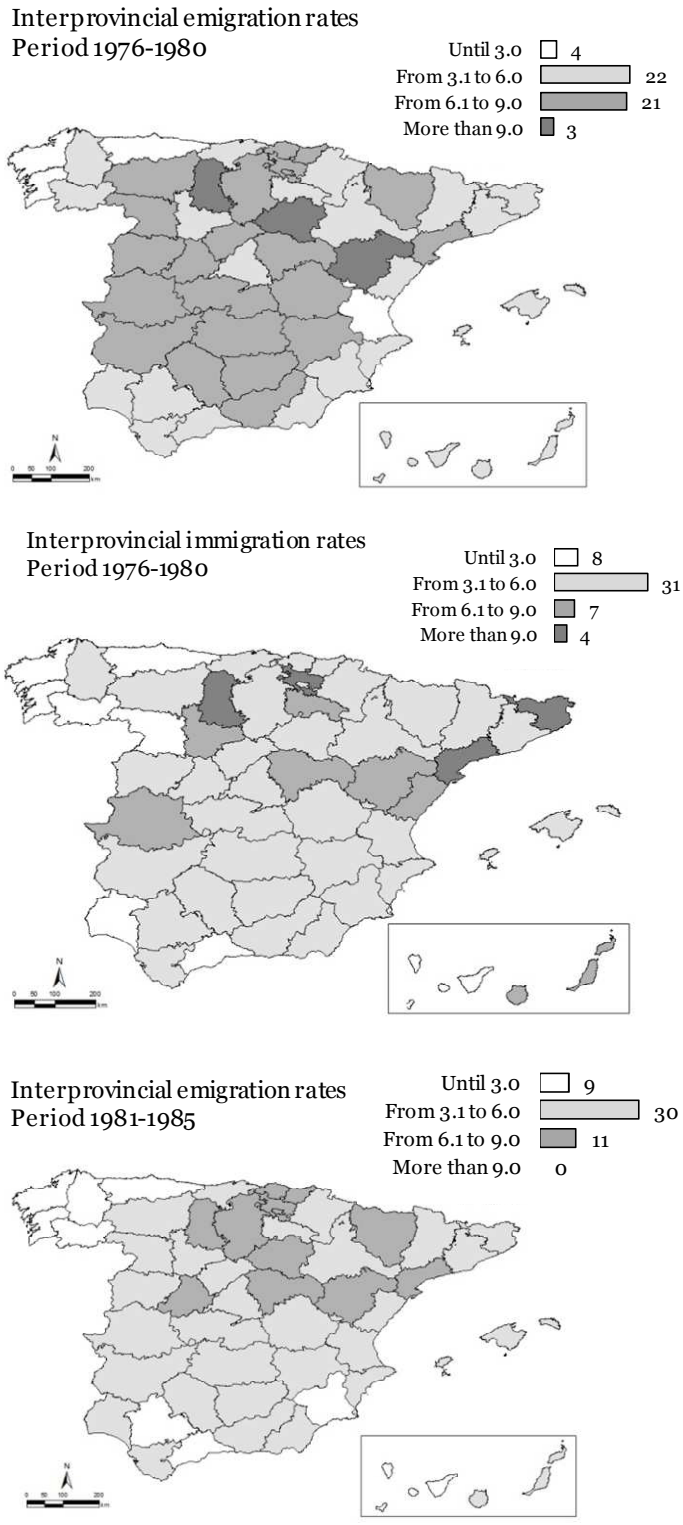
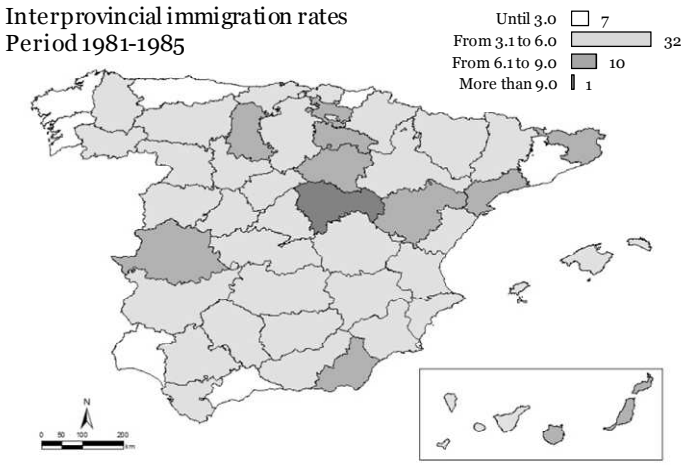
De jure population (except 1965):

— 1960 and 1970: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1965 and 1975: INE, municipal censuses.

Figure 6. Interprovincial emigration and immigration rates (in thousands) (periods 1976-1980 and 1981-1985).





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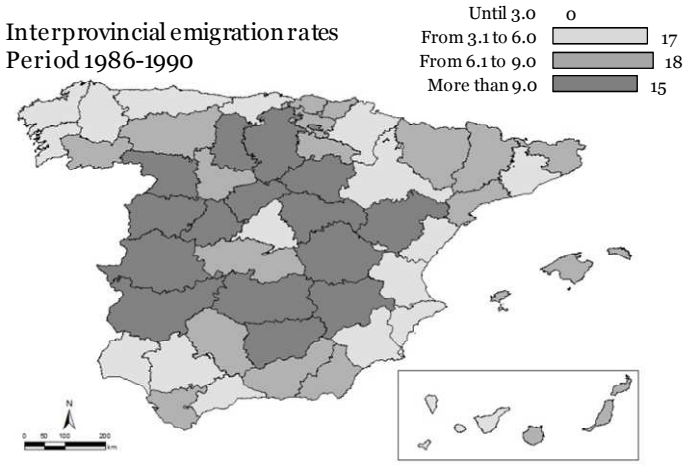
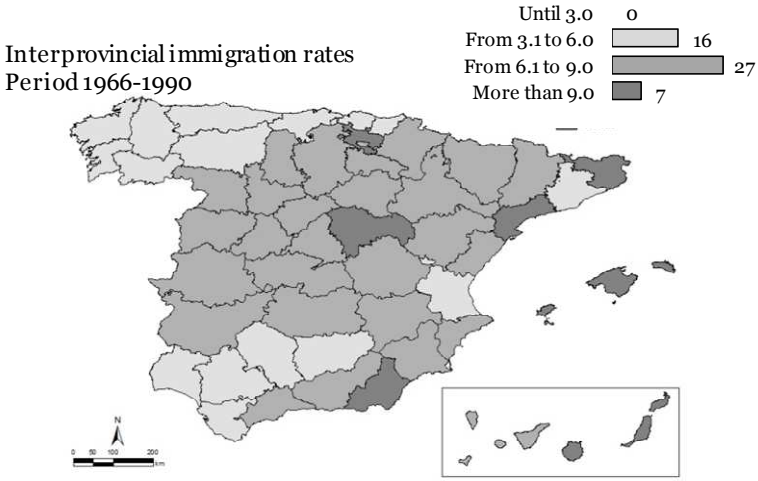
De jure population:

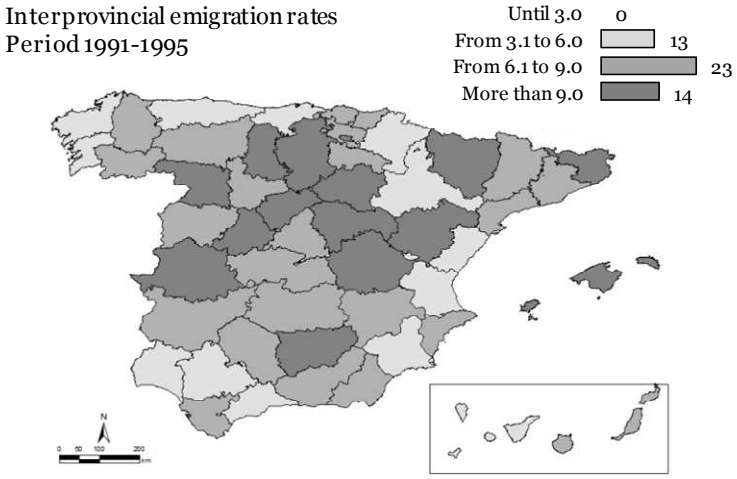
— 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

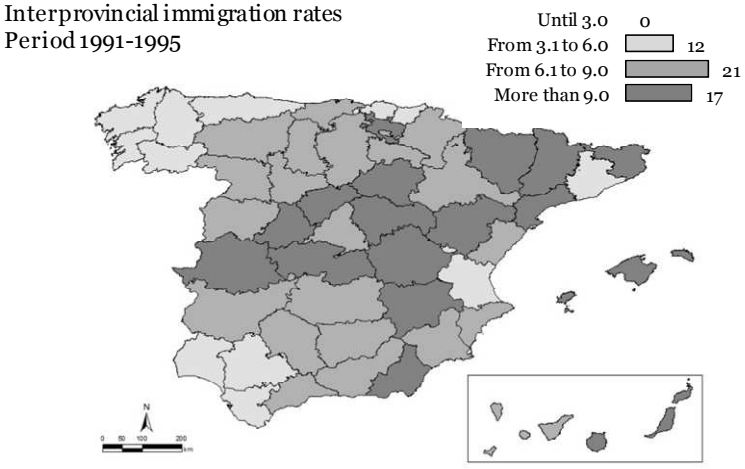
— 1975 and 1986: INE, municipal censuses.

Figure 7. Interprovincial emigration and immigration rates (in thousands) (periods 1986-1990 and 1991-1995).









Sources:

Statistics on Residential Variations (ERV):

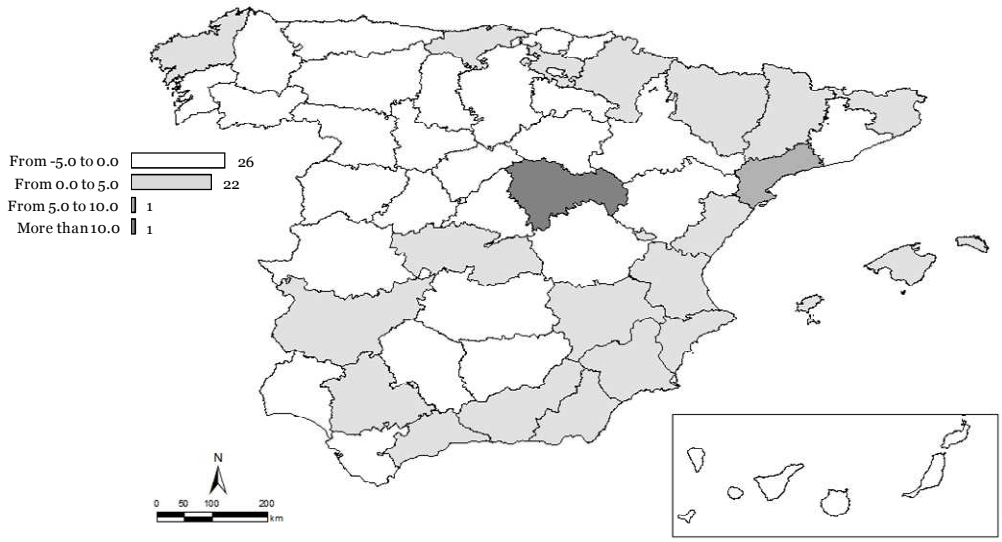
— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population:

— 1986 and 1991: INE, national and municipal censuses.

— 1996: *1996* municipal census.

Figure 8. Net migration rate (in thousands). Spain (1991-1995).



The interest in studying flows is that they provide different information than migratory balances, which are calculated using indirect methods and only enable us to know the additions or subtractions that the migratory movements induce on a territorially defined population. One example of the different interpretations and perceptions that can be made using balances and flows can be seen through a comparison between the map in Figure 8 and the corresponding maps for the same period in Figure 7. They paint a radically different picture of the territorial migration scene in Spain.

4. General characteristics of the flows

4.1. The volumes of interprovincial flows

By definition, interprovincial migrations are displacements between two provinces. Going a step further in our examination of the physical reality of migrations, our goal is to analyse the web of displacements that occurred among the 50 provincial units in Spain.

An emigrant in any of the provinces can choose between 49 possible places to go, in addition to the possibility of moving to another municipality within the same province. As a whole, there are 2,450 possible point-to-point routes if we take the direction of the displacement into account. A simple glance at the matrixes of flows (number of migrants who go from one province to another) which appear in the annual statistics reveals that there are instances of practically all the options, so the migrations appear as moves in all directions. It is also clear that the moves are not distributed homogeneously among all the possibilities.

Tables 1 and 2 show the flows classified by the number of individuals. It also shows first how the migrants are distributed and secondly the flows themselves. Broadly speaking, the evolution between the first and last five-year periods studied is quite striking. In the first period, almost half (49.6%) of the migrants were concentrated in flows of more than 5,000 people, while 28.2% of

the flows included between 1,000 and 5,000 people. Together they account for only 7.7% of the total flows, meaning that there was a vast concentration of migrants in just a few flows. In the last period, the flows of more than 5,000 people account for 22.5% of total migrants, and the second level shows the largest volume, with 44.8%, despite a slight rise in the number of flows at these two levels (12.6%).

Table 1. Interprovincial migratory flows. Percentage of migrants according to number of people. Ceuta and Melilla excluded.

Number of migrants	1962-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95
More than 5,000	49.67	36.84	30.29	10.97	8.25	16.43	22.47
1,000-4,999	28.20	34.43	38.26	47.46	43.54	48.57	44.80
500-999	8.35	10.62	11.13	15.48	15.67	14.52	13.46
Fewer than 500	13.79	19.11	20.32	26.08	32.53	20.49	19.27
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Base	**1,119,940**	**993,677**	**984,347**	**870,030**	**795,009**	**1,241,870**	**1,335,480**

Source: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

Table 2. Interprovincial migratory flows. Percentage of flows according to number of people in the flow. Ceuta and Melilla excluded.

Number of people in the flow	1962-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95
More than 5,000	1.8	1.4	1.2	0.6	0.4	1.1	1.5
1,000-4,999	5.9	6.7	7.3	8.6	7.2	11.1	11.1
500-999	5.4	6.2	6.3	7.8	7.4	10.2	10.3
Fewer than 500	86.9	85.7	85.1	83.1	85.1	77.5	77.1
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Base	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**

Source: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

The analysis by volume easily leads us to focus on the most populous provinces. The population concentration in just a few provinces can only be understood through migrations, while the flows of a certain volume must be correlated with a population that can feed these flows.

Generally speaking, we tallied the flows from the provinces that had a population higher than one million people in 1996 (eleven provinces).[3] The number of migrants in the flows involving these large provinces – as either the starting point or the destination of the displacements – fluctuated between 72% and 80% of the population that moved throughout the entire period studied, and they account for 39.5% of the 2,450 possible flows. These eleven provinces captured almost all the largest flows. Still, this should not make us lose sight of the fact that these provinces simultaneously have a significant amount of low-volume flows. Another interesting issue are the flows among these large provinces. They account for 5.5% (110/2.450) of the total possible flows and between 13% (1962-1965) and 18% (1976-1980) of all migrants. The later periods stand at around 17%.

4.2. Displacement and proximity

When making a specific migratory displacement, there tend to be several different destination options. Choosing one or another is usually the outcome of a complex, subtle combination of factors, one of which is proximity. Although proximity is not necessarily decisive, it is an important consideration. Despite a certain taste for exoticism, people tend to seek a certain affinity with their environment when setting up their residence, and they tend not to depart too far from what is familiar to them. Here the role of knowledge distance and geographic distance both play a role. The former is certainly more important than the latter, but it is more difficult to examine in a study of this kind. It would require us to examine the culture, the present contacts and the historical past, sometimes quite remote.

Therefore, here we shall only discuss geographic proximity, although it is clear that not all physical proximity operates as a preferential pathway, as revealed by the very composition of the statistical data available. Taking the distance factor into account enables us to discover the sociographic component of migrations. In fact, the importance of proximity as a factor conditioning displacements is a theoretical proposition set forth more than one century ago by E.G. Ravenstein,[4] although it is not always present in studies of specific migratory systems.

In order to examine migratory flows according to distances, several operative criteria have been adopted. The distance of migrations between provinces has been taken as the distance between the provincial capitals by motorway in kilometres. Migrations inside each province have not been taken

[3] Alicante, Asturias, Barcelona, Vizcaya, Cádiz, La Coruña, Madrid, Málaga, Murcia, Seville and Valencia. In 1996 they accounted for around 55% of the population of Spain.

[4] This British scientist (born in Germany) published two articles (in 1885 and in 1889) entitled "The Laws of Migration" in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* of London, where he set forth a series of regularities on migration which even today are quite relevant.

into account,[5] and the migratory flows with the island provinces have not been taken into account since geographic distance does not have the same meaning when the intermediate space between two points is land, where one can choose to settle, or a body of water, which is not a settlement option.

The distribution of interprovincial migrations according to distance is shown in Table 3. The figures show quite clearly that short-distance displacements predominate, and that the number of migratory flows generally drops as the distance rises. More specifically, we can note that in the first three five-year periods the relative values of displacements across distances greater than 600 kilometres are higher than later on, with a peak of 40.9% in the period 1962-1965. In the last period, 1991-1995, these long-distance migratory flows dropped to 22.8% of the total.

Table 3. Interprovincial migrations by distance. The Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla have been excluded.

Distance (km)	1962-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95
Less than 300	36.1	37.5	37.3	40.5	43.4	47.4	51.2
300-600	23.0	24.2	25.3	28.4	28.6	27.5	25.9
600-900	22.5	20.8	20.5	19.5	18.3	16.2	14.5
More than 900	18.4	17.5	16.9	11.6	9.7	9.0	8.3
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Base	**1,097,149**	**963,382**	**933,286**	**794,447**	**685,604**	**1,045,696**	**1,152,178**

Sources:

EVR: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

Distance: *El País Yearbook 1998,* Madrid (with rectifications).

4.3. Migratory flows according to the intensity of migration[6]

So far we have examined interprovincial flows in terms of absolute numbers. However, at the same time we have examined the migratory rates to include the

[5] Intraprovincial migratory flows were left out. In theory, these are the flows that entail a shorter distance between the origin and the destination. These movements have been steadily rising and have become quite important since the 1980s. Today they have clearly exceeded interprovincial migratory flows in terms of volume. However, a detailed analysis of this kind of flow poses significant difficulties. The territorial differences on the municipal map – in the sense of the average size of municipalities among the different provinces – hinders us from making a comparative study of the rates, although they do enable us to note the evolution in these migratory movements for each province.

[6] Just as the previous sub-section, this one does not include all the provinces in Spain, as the island provinces were not included in the calculations.

fact that the possibility of migrating between two points depends upon the population stocks. Another way of capturing this is by examining the migratory intensity index,[7] which weighs interprovincial migrations with the populations on either end of the displacement. This index provides us with a real picture of migratory movements by standardising the populations subject to displacement. The importance of the phenomenon of migration, that is, its incidence, is the weight it has in the populations susceptible to migrating.

The results are compiled in Table 4, where the values of the index are shown in five-year periods. By examining the total distribution of the migratory intensity index, we can see three levels with significant migratory intensities – over 0.001 – and a fourth quite low level with a very small interval where a large number of flows is concentrated. This holds true for all the periods. By examining only the evolution in the number of individuals in the first three levels of intensity, we can see the importance of high-intensity flows in the 1960s, a drop in mobility in the period 1976-1985, and a subsequent upswing, with more flows in the average mobility levels.

Table 4. Interprovincial migrations according to distance. The Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla have been excluded.

	Migratory intensity (per 1,000,000)				
Period	**More than 0.009**	**0.005-0.009**	**0.001-0.005**	**0-0.001**	**Total**
1962-65	3.2	2.9	13.8	80.1	100
1966-70	2.0	2.7	15.8	79.5	100
1971-75	1.6	2.2	16.1	80.1	100
1976-80	0.8	1.5	18.4	79.3	100
1981-85	0.6	1.2	15.3	82.9	100
1986-90	1.2	2.7	21.1	74.9	100
1991-95	1.9	3.0	19.4	75.7	100

* The total number of possible flows is 2,162.

Sources:

EVR:

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain.*

De jure population (except 1965):

[7] Migratory intensity index: number of individuals in the flow divided by the product of the populations on either end of the journey. Examining one period, for each place we have taken the average population between the start and end. To make the figures easier to read, the result has been multiplied by 1,000,000.

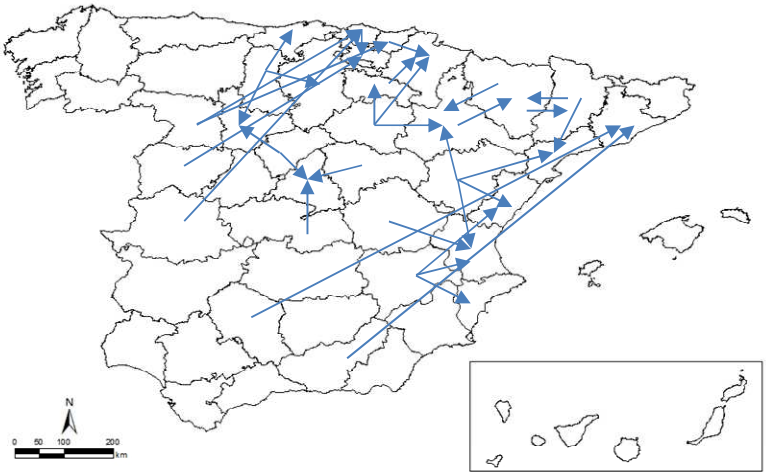
— 1960, 1970 and 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1965, 1975, 1986 and 1991: INE, national and municipal censuses.

— 1996: INE, *Municipal census of 1996*.

To complete this analysis of the web of migratory flows, we plotted on maps the flows at the first and second level of migratory intensity according to the calculations shown in Table 4. In this way, we can see not only how many flows there were but also between which provinces they occurred (Figures 9, 10 and 11).

Figure 9. Main migratory flows according to the migratory intensity index. Spain (1966-1970). In some cases (especially in the flows towards the Basque Country) several lines were joined in a single arrow point to clarify the figure.



Migratory Intensity Index: more than 0.009
Period 1966-1970

Migratory Intensity Index: between 0.005 and 0.009
Period 1966-1970

Sources:

Migrations:

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

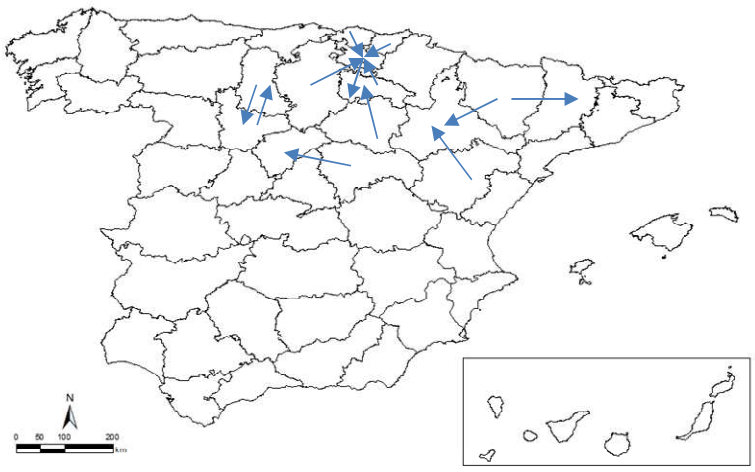
Population*:

— 1965: INE (1969), *Characteristics of the population of Spain deduced from the Municipal Population Census of 1965,* Madrid.

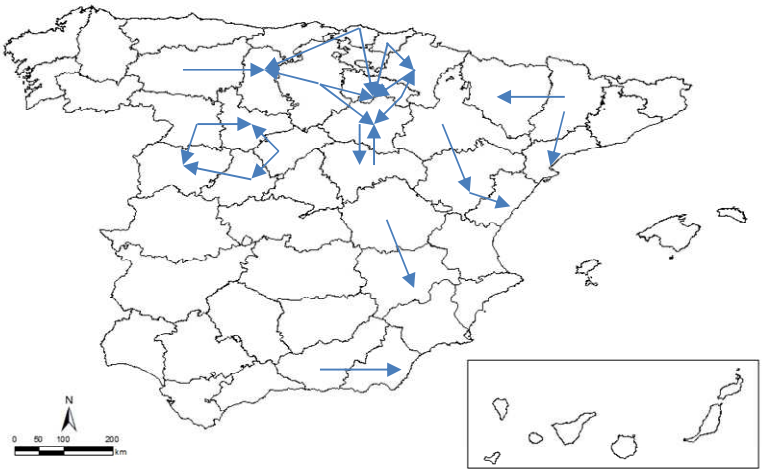
— 1970: INE (1987), *De factor populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

*1965, de facto population; 1970, de jure population.

Figure 10. Main migratory flows according to the migratory intensity index. Spain (1981-1985).



Migratory Intensity Index: more than 0.009
Period 1981-1985



Migratory Intensity Index: between 0.005 and 0.009
Period 1981-1985

Sources:

Migrations:

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population:

— 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1986: INE (1989), *Municipal census of inhabitants on the 1st of April 1986. Population characteristics. National results*. Madrid.

Figure 11. Main migratory flows according to the migratory intensity index. Spain (1991-1995).

Migratory Intensity Index: more than 0.009
Period 1991-1995

Migratory Intensity Index: between 0.005 and 0.009
Period 1991-1995

Sources:

Migrations:

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population:

— 1991: INE (1994), *1991 Population Census. National Results*. Madrid.

— 1996: INE, *Municipal census of 1996*.

All three figures together highlight several interesting issues. The first is the clear importance of proximity, as mentioned above. Proximity is so important that for the five-year periods 1981-1985 and 1991-1995, all the high-intensity flows and the vast majority of secondary-intensity flows occurred between adjacent provinces. The period 1966-1970 is different: the map clearly shows long-distance flows at both intensity levels, although we can also discern flows between adjacent provinces or flows that skip over a single province.

Another conclusion is the virtual nonexistence of two-way flows in the period 1966-1970, while they proliferated in 1991-1995. For the latter period, as well, we should stress the spread of short flows southward and westward on the map, especially compared to the previous five-year period.

5. The structure of migration

5.1. The preferred pathways of the provinces

Interprovincial migratory flows do not occur randomly in space, nor do the regularities observed in migratory distances explain the relations established between some provinces and the lack of relations between others. So how do provinces behave in terms of the structure of their destinations and starting points?

To take an initial stab at such a complex question, we proceeded to calculate the correlation between the emigration and immigration structures of

the provinces (percentage-wise distribution of the flows in and out of two provinces) for each of the three periods chosen, on either end and in the middle of the entire period being examined.[8] Likewise, we calculated the correlation between the emigration and immigration structures of each period and those of the following period(s).[9] In this way, we can see first that the structure of destinations and starting points is symmetrical in all the provinces in the five-year periods 1981-1985 and 1991-1995, with very high correlations (Table 5). In the period 1966-1970, this structure is symmetrical in 43 provinces plus Ceuta and Melilla. In all of these cases, the correlation between the immigration and emigration structures is higher than 0.6.

Secondly, the displacement structures are quite stable. Between 1981-1985 and 1991-1995, we can find correlation levels higher than 0.7 in both the emigration and immigration structures in all the provinces. In the comparison between the period 1966-1970 and the other two periods (1981-1985 and 1991-1995), the correlation of the immigration structure is lower than 0.6 in only five provinces in at least one of the two comparisons; these provinces are Barcelona, Valencia, Alicante, Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa. In the case of the emigration structure, the correlation is under 0.6 in one of the comparisons in eleven provinces: eight in Andalusia, two in Galicia (La Coruña and Lugo) and Madrid. The differences noted in the immigration and emigration structures in these provinces reflect the extraordinary nature of the migratory movements that took place in the 1960s. If we examine these provinces more closely, we can see that in the former – the ones with changes in the immigration structure – there was a drop in the importance of the provinces from which a high number of immigrants had come, and conversely, a rise in the importance of migratory exchanges with the surrounding provinces. In the second group of provinces, however, there was a drop in the importance of emigration to the centres that had been the magnets of immigration in the 1960s, with the exception of Madrid, and simultaneously a rise in emigration to the closer provinces, especially provinces in the same autonomous community, and quite notably to the Canary Islands. The province of Madrid, which falls within this second group, shows similar changes: the importance of emigration towards the surrounding provinces along with emigration towards Andalusia and Galicia rose, while outflows towards the provinces that had been the magnets of immigration in the 1960s dropped.

All of these observations follow the same pattern. They indicate a high degree of stability in the migratory behaviour of the majority of provinces over time. These behaviour patterns remain in place beyond short-term junctures, despite the fluctuations. And especially today, the strong similarity between the emigration and immigration structures leads us to posit the existence of common kinds of displacements which reflect established behaviours and are sometimes masked by more extraordinary flows. Some of these usual displacements are short-distance, between neighbouring provinces, which often simply reflects an expansion in the sphere of mobility. Others take place over

[8] The first five-year period was 1966-1970, since the previous period lasted only four years. The other two periods are 1981-1985 and 1991-1995.

[9] The data on the second calculation are not included in this article. Here we shall only discuss the main results. The detailed information can be found in Cardelus, Pascual, Solana (1999), Table 2.12.

longer distances as a result of institutionalised relations – in the sociological sense of the term – and as the continuation of ties from previous migrations.

Table 5. Correlation between the structure of provincial emigration and immigration for the periods 1966-1970, 1981-1985 and 1991-1995.

	1966-70	1981-85	1991-95
Álava	0.778	0.861	0.925
Alicante	**0.471**	0.879	0.871
Albacete	0.939	0.925	0.975
Almería	**0.553**	0.775	0.957
Asturias	**0.426**	0.945	0.972
Ávila	0.832	0.812	0.998
Badajoz	0.746	0.807	0.974
Balearic Islands	0.795	0.864	0.959
Barcelona	**0.473**	0.870	0.939
Vizcaya	**0.372**	0.820	0.949
Burgos	0.752	0.874	0.887
Cáceres	0.720	0.929	0.988
Cádiz	0.608	0.785	0.972
Cantabria	**0.540**	0.943	0.925
Castellón	0.624	0.923	0.986
Ciudad Real	0.902	0.947	0.995
Cuenca	0.949	0.975	0.985
Córdoba	0.797	0.759	0.951
Coruña, La	**0.455**	0.928	0.970
Girona	0.744	0.974	0.992
Granada	0.847	0.668	0.919
Guadalajara	0.868	0.991	0.996
Guipúzcoa	**0.412**	0.912	0.931
Huelva	0.781	0.879	0.981
Jaén	0.911	0.722	0.948
Lleida	0.724	0.948	0.984
León	0.604	0.901	0.970
Lugo	0.885	0.846	0.950
Madrid	**0.225**	0.779	0.853
Málaga	**0.434**	0.856	0.966
Murcia	0.821	0.871	0.989
Navarra	0.760	0.914	0.981
Orense	**0.454**	0.896	0.940

	1966-70	1981-85	1991-95
Huesca	0.840	0.879	0.982
Palencia	0.747	0.905	0.964
Palmas, Las	0.956	0.981	0.960
Pontevedra	**0.534**	0.922	0.948
Rioja, La	0.776	0.880	0.874
Salamanca	0.613	0.875	0.915
Zaragoza	**0.392**	0.881	0.958
Segovia	0.879	0.983	0.995
Seville	**0.576**	0.809	0.971
Soria	0.861	0.861	0.948
Tarragona	0.749	0.946	0.988
Tenerife	0.839	0.875	0.973
Teruel	0.937	0.801	0.966
Toledo	0.788	0.995	0.999
Valencia	**0.470**	0.935	0.966
Valladolid	**0.455**	0.839	0.935
Zamora	0.809	0.828	0.951
Ceuta	0.824	0.971	0.960
Melilla	0.837	0.924	0.984

The numbers in bold indicate the provinces with a correlation coefficient under 0.6.

Source: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

5.2. Relationship between past and present migrations

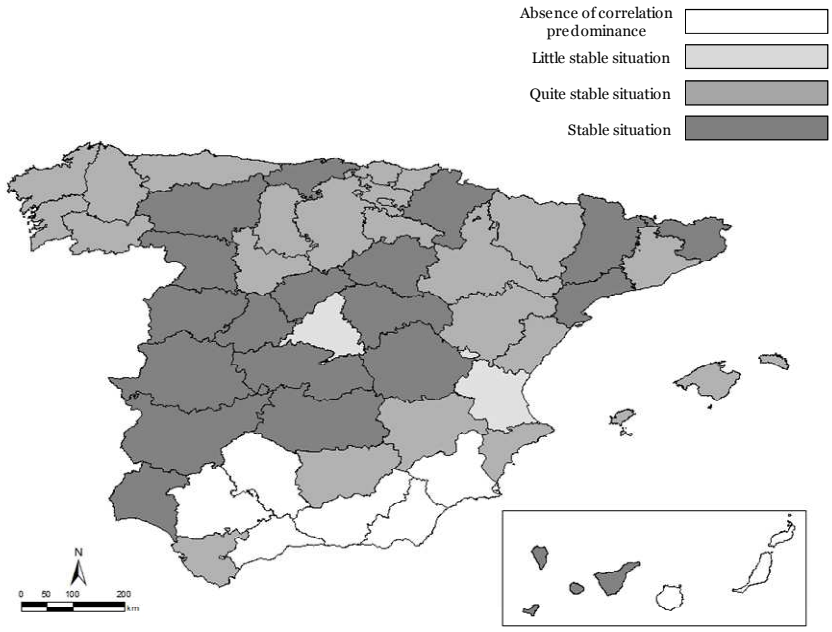
In this section, we shall try to ascertain whether migrations follow the same pathways as the ones that preceded them, a widely accepted fact in the literature on migrations. Migration is a social phenomenon in which communication between those who paved the way and those who remained behind operates much more powerfully than institutional instruments as a way of establishing routes and networks of migration.

While in the previous section we examined the levels of stability of the emigration and immigration flows by comparing the data in three different periods, in this section the goal is to analyse whether the destinations of the current migrations are indeed the same places where the participants in previous flows have gone to live. To study this, we calculated the correlation coefficients between the residence structures of the population born in each province and the structures of the provinces which received emigrants in successive five-year periods. Thus, the residence structures from the 1970 census have been correlated with the structures of the migratory flows in the periods 1971-1975, 1976-1980, 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1995.[10] Likewise,

[10] We have excluded the population that was born and lives in the same province and intraprovincial flows from the structures that are correlated.

we also examined the 1981 and 1991 censuses with regard to the flows in the subsequent five-year periods (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Migratory situations derived from the correlation between residence structures and emigration destination structures.



Source:

— INE (1974), *Census of the population of Spain according to the registration performed on the 31st of December 1970. National total. Characteristics of the population*. Madrid.

— INE (1985), *1981 Population Census. National results. Characteristics of the population*. Madrid.

— INE (1994), *1991 Population Census. National results*. Madrid.

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

This map was based on correlation tables 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 which appear in the book *Migrations, Economic Activity and Population of Spain*.

As an initial interpretation, we can note that in the vast majority of cases there is a significant correlation. In fact, the level and stability of the correlation coefficient of a series of provinces is surprising bearing in mind that in theory we are comparing a structure that has a historical basis and therefore a great deal of momentum derived from the fact that it witnessed movements in different periods, while the five-year flows are much more susceptible to reflecting short-term circumstantial variations. With the correlation coefficients calculated from the 1970 census, we can see that in the first two five-year periods, all the provinces show coefficients higher than 0.7 with the exception of Las Palmas, which is at 0.387, while in the following one, only nine provinces show a coefficient under this level in at least one of the three periods calculated. Of the coefficients calculated based on the 1980 census, we can see that seven of the provinces show coefficients under 0.7 in at least one of the three five-year periods. In this case, these provinces already appeared in the calculations based

on the 1970 census. Of those calculated based on the 1991 census, only three provinces do not reach 0.7 for one five-year period.

Upon closer inspection, we can notice different behaviours, as illustrated in Figure 12. There is significant stability in 19 provinces, with a correlation level close to 0.9 in almost all of them. We can assume that there is a broader sphere of circulation in these provinces and that the displacements are part of a web of relations between the regions, in other words, that the displacements are institutionalised.

There is another large group of provinces (22) which are characterised by correlation levels that fluctuate at around 0.8 with slight variations, yet which never drop under 0.7 and show emigration structures with different minor alternatives, usually with a low volume of emigrations. They can be described as quite stable because all of their displacements are minor, within limits, given the small volume of emigrants.

In the third group, the provinces of Madrid and Valencia stand out and can be described as somewhat unstable because they show more and broader variations than the previous group, even though in the majority of cases the coefficients are at a level regarded as significant. These variations are understandable given their position as first- and second-tier recipients, respectively, in which emigration can fluctuate to a certain extent in terms of the composition of the destinations.

Compared to this, there is a group of seven provinces which show lower correlation levels. One of them is the province of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, which shows an extremely low correlation level in the 1970 census, in the first five-year periods, although it begins to rally starting with the period 1981-1985, and in the correlation of the 1991 census with the subsequent five-year period it is at 0.85. Bearing in mind the volume of migrants, we should seek the explanation in a particular event in the 1970s which is specific to the place. Different, yet still within this group, is the case of Murcia and the Andalusian provinces of Almeria, Córdoba, Granada, Málaga and Seville, which save a few minor differences are generally characterised by showing a high correlation in the periods 1971-1975 and 1976-1980, but later experience a significant drop which holds steady until the last five-year period studied. There are two phenomena that converge and result in a drop in the correlation level: a decline in the volume of emigrants after periods which had many of them, and a different destination structure.

Generally speaking, to summarise this section we can note that the migrations in Spain show a great deal of momentum and stability in their networks of circulation, which is reflected in the population settlement structures.

6. Population settlement

6.1. The importance of permanence

Settlement and mobility are two sides of the same phenomenon. When examining migration expressed in rates, reference is made to a population that is likely to move, and the part that moves is highlighted in relative terms. The possibility of migrating is one alternative to the possibility of remaining in the

same place. In this section, we attempt to focus on population settlement because this enables us to situate and better understand migrations.

Our approach to population settlement is based on an analysis of the birthplace/residence matrix, which reveals the population residing in each province at the time of the census classified according to the province of birth. This source relates two moments in the lives of individuals, the moment of birth and the moment at which the census is taken with the place where they were at birth and where they are at the latter moment. This is an indicator with both potential and limitations. Its simplicity facilitates analysis, yet at the same time it can conceal complex phenomena and very different moments in individuals' personal histories, which requires us to exercise caution when using it. We could say that to some extent, the birth matrix is the crystallised fossil record of past migrations and population settlement.

If we analyse the data from the birthplace/residence matrix, an initial observation we should make is that around 75% of the population in Spain lives in their place of birth, and this holds true in both the 1970 census and in the 1981 and 1991 censuses.[11] This is an average that clearly conceals a wide variety of values. Thus, in the 1991 census the values ranged from a minimum of 44.8% in Soria to a maximum of 95.5% in Tenerife, with the other provinces falling within these two extremes. In successive censuses, the percentages for each province generally remain steady or show only slight variations. We should also note that the 1970 census captures the result of the most important migrations in terms of imbalanced flows.

The steadiness over time of the percentage of residents who remain in the province in which they were born leads us to posit the stability in the behaviour of the provinces, their greater or lesser ability to facilitate permanence and settlement and their migratory flows with other provinces.

6.2. Unequal exchange

The data above show that the provinces have different situations in terms of the permanence of the population that was born there. Somehow we can say that the population of a province has a certain likelihood of continuing to reside there and, should they go to live in another province, they are presented with a range of possibilities which also have rather stable probabilities.

One complementary factor to this is examining the presence of people born elsewhere in each province. Only eight provinces show a percentage higher than 30%, namely the Balearic Islands, the three coastal provinces of Catalonia, Alicante, Vizcaya, Álava, the Basque Country and Madrid. If we add to them the provinces where between 20% and 30% of the population was born elsewhere, we would extend the coastal provinces of Catalonia down to Castellón and Valencia; the Ebro River valley as far as La Rioja, Huesca and Zaragoza; the Basque Country with Guipúzcoa; and the central plateau with Valladolid and Guadalajara; while Málaga would become the only province in Andalusia.

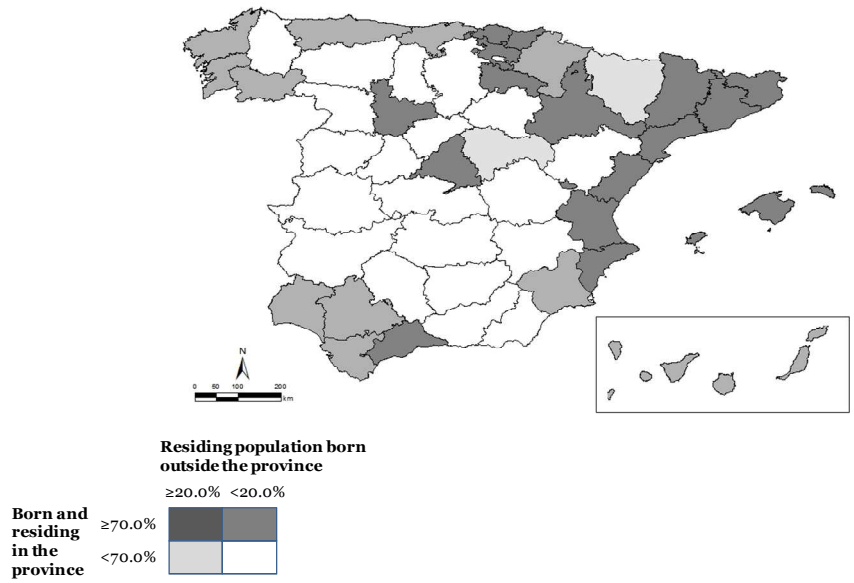
The joint analysis of both variables enables us to note different population dynamics for 1991. We established four categories by dichotomously

[11] Detailed figures in Cardelús, Pascual, Solana (1999).

crossing the variable of the population born and living in the same province, with the threshold at 70%, with the variable of the population living in the province but born outside it, with the threshold set at 20%. Then, as can be seen in Figure 13, we distinguished four different dynamics characterised in this way: provinces with a high level of permanence of those who were born there and a notable presence of people born in other provinces (16); provinces that have a high level of permanence and a low level of people born elsewhere (12); provinces with a low level of permanence and a high level of people born elsewhere (2); and finally, provinces with a low level of permanence and a low level of people born elsewhere (20).

Despite its schematic nature, this classification provides a nuanced picture of the evolution in the population. The first category includes the eight Catalan-speaking provinces and the three provinces in the Basque Country, plus La Rioja and Zaragoza – which join the two regions – and Madrid, Valladolid and Málaga. On the other extreme, the most numerous category, where a major part of the population born there does not remain and very few people go to live there from other birthplaces, includes Extremadura, Castilla-León and Castilla-La Mancha (with the exception of Valladolid and Guadalajara), Lugo, Teruel and the eastern part of Andalusia. Between these two extremes, the category containing twelve provinces in which most of the population born there remains and few people born elsewhere come to live includes Asturias; Cantabria; the Galician provinces except Lugo; the Andalusian provinces of Cádiz, Huelva and Seville; the Canary Islands; Murcia; and Navarra. They are all located on the perimeter and coastal regions of Spain with the exception of Navarra and Orense, which are not coastal. The only two provinces in the last category, which has a low level of permanence and a high presence of people born elsewhere, are Guadalajara and Huesca, both of which happen to border on provinces from the first group, including Madrid, Zaragoza and Lleida.

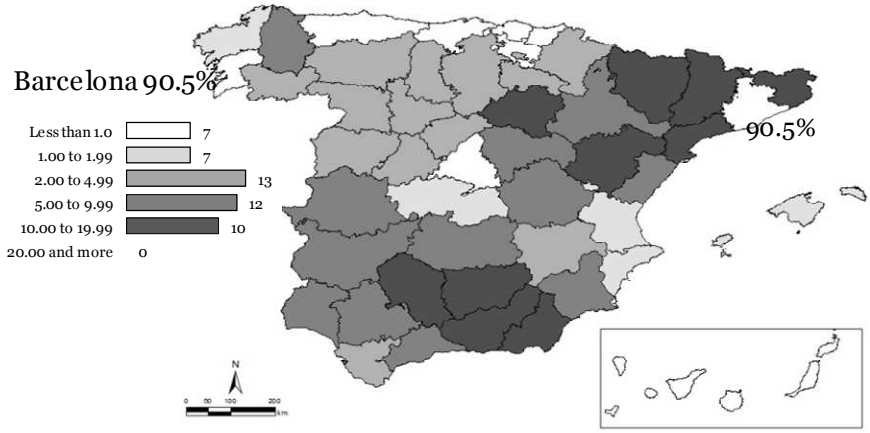
Figure 13. Classification of the nature of the population. Spain (1991).

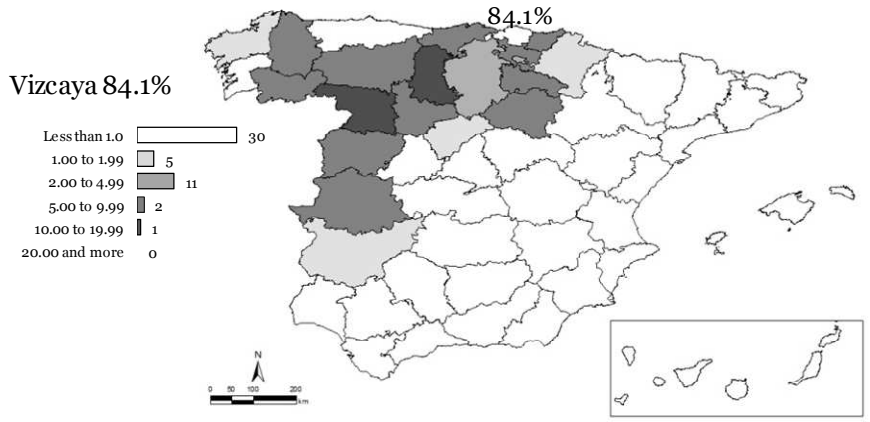


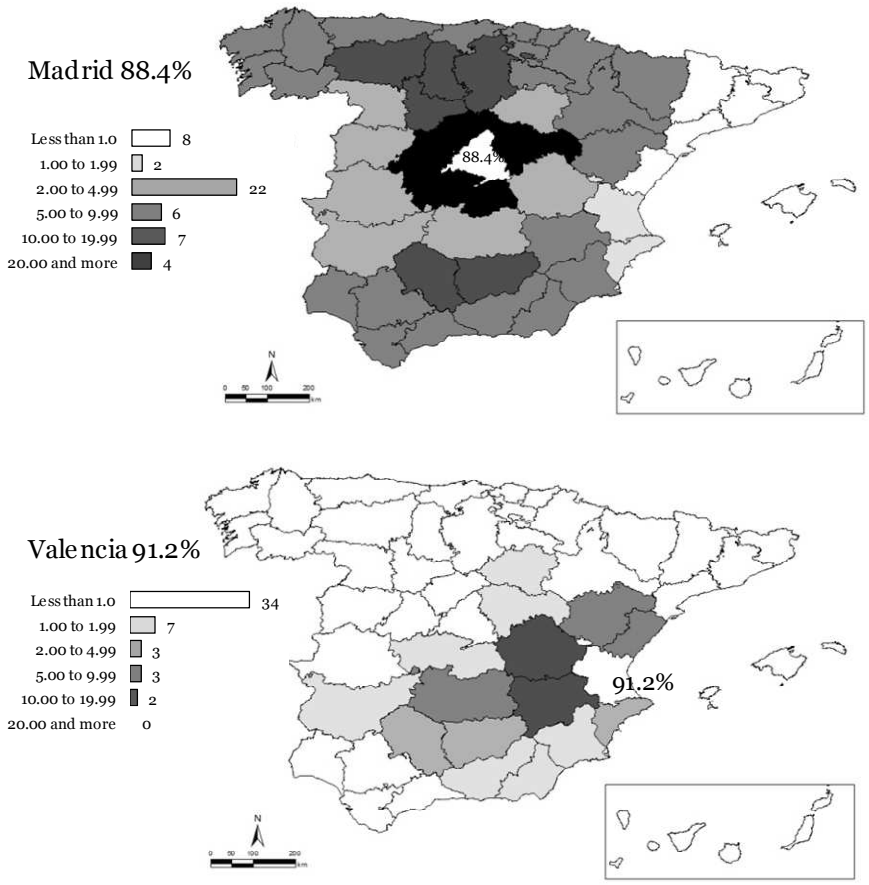
Source: INE (1994), *1991 Population Census. National results*. Madrid.

The analysis of the population structure of people born in each province enables us to further understand the complex reality of Spain by revealing the ties, many of them longstanding, which exist among the different regions in the country. A simplified approach to this entails analysing the percentage of the population born in each province and residing – again, according to the 1991 census – in the four provinces which have received the greatest population inflows. These provinces are Barcelona, Vizcaya, Madrid and Valencia (Figure 14). We should bear in mind that this approach ignores second-tier centres, which are also important in the real population dynamic.

Figure 14. Percentage of people born in each province living in Barcelona, Vizcaya, Madrid and Valencia (1991) (the table shows the percentage of the population born in each of these four provinces and still living there).







Source:

INE (1994), *1991 Population Census. National results*. Madrid.

By examining this figure we can reach conclusions,[12] several of which we shall discuss here:

—Around 10-20% of the individuals born in three Catalan provinces around Barcelona live in the province of Barcelona, yet there are no appreciable numbers of individuals (higher than 1%) born in Catalonia and living in Valencia, Madrid or Vizcaya.

— People born in the autonomous community of Valencia can be found in large numbers in the province of Valencia itself (even though the numbers are lower than in Cuenca and Albacete), in Barcelona, especially individuals from Castellón, along with a few in Madrid and a negligible number in Vizcaya. Likewise, fewer than 2% of the people born in Murcia live in nearby Valencia, while the highest proportion of individuals from Murcia can be found living in Barcelona (between 5-10%), followed by Madrid.

[12] Each map shows the proportion of people born in the same province with a number to lend clarity to the map owing to the disparity in numbers, which would make it difficult to categorise the others.

— The majority of natives from Castilla-León and Castilla-La Mancha live in Madrid, especially in the adjacent provinces, with values over 20% - numerically always more than 30%. However, the figures from Cuenca are lower and it and Madrid show values between 10-20% in Valencia and slightly less in Barcelona. There are also people born in these regions living in Barcelona, with the most coming from Soria. Some Castilian provinces, precisely the provinces in Castilla-León and especially Burgos, also have individuals in Vizcaya, and the provinces in Castilla-La Mancha have natives living in Valencia, especially Albacete and Cuenca, as mentioned above.

— Just like Barcelona, there are very few people born in Madrid but living in the other three provinces that have experienced the highest influx of migrants.

— A large percentage (10-20%) of people born in Andalusia, especially the eastern and central parts, lives in Barcelona. The percentages found in Madrid are considerably lower and only exceed 5% among people from the provinces of Córdoba and Jaén, which are closer to Madrid. Even fewer Andalusian natives can be found in Valencia, and in Vizcaya there is no province with a proportion of native Andalusians higher than 1%.

— The largest number of Extremadura natives lives in Madrid, between 10 and 20%. Barcelona is next in importance, between 5 and 10%, and the figures for Vizcaya are lower, but higher than the figures for Valencia.

— Aragón has natives in Barcelona, with proportionally fewer from Zaragoza, and in Madrid as well, to a lesser degree. In contrast, in Valencia there are only Aragón natives from Teruel, while there are no appreciable levels of Aragón natives living in Vizcaya.

—Natives from the Basque Country live in Madrid and Vizcaya, but there are very few in Barcelona and Valencia. Asturias has the same kind of relationship with Madrid and to a somewhat lesser extent with Barcelona, but not with Valencia or even nearby Vizcaya.

— It is curious that the Canary Islands do not appear on any of the four maps showing a number of residents over 1%, while the Balearic Islands only appears with the next lowest value, in Barcelona. The fact that they are islands must have something to do with this.

Finally, as an overall observation, we could say that the effect of the distance factor is fulfilled in the cases of Madrid, Valencia and Vizcaya (with the unique exceptions of Asturias and Zamora), even though they generally head southwest. In the case of Barcelona, the distance factor is fulfilled with the immediate environment, but not with its relationship with Galicia (Lugo), Andalusia and Extremadura. It is also worth noting that the provinces near Barcelona, Vizcaya and Valencia generally show a high level of permanence, while this is not true of Madrid. This, along with the differing intensity of the proportion of natives of the provinces from both regions, shows that in Madrid the proximity effect is more about absorption, while in the other cases the relationship is more two-way.

7. Closing remarks

In this article, we have examined the population displacements within Spain during the second half of the 20th century. Provinces were taken as the unit of analysis, change in municipality was taken as the selection criterion of the displacements analysed and Statistics on Residential Variations and censuses were used as the statistical sources.

Internal migrations on the level of global volumes are a consolidated phenomenon which was present during the entire period in rates that fluctuate between 8.8% and 19.3% annually. They can therefore not be examined occasionally, as if they were an accidental or extraordinary phenomenon; rather they are clearly part of the dynamic of Spanish society. Of all the different kinds, we have examined interprovincial displacements. In terms of global annual rates, they fluctuate between a maximum of 9% in the period 1962-1965 and a minimum of 4.2% in the period 1981-1985, and remained steady over 6% after 1986.

The main general patterns detected in internal migrations in Spain during the entire period studied are:

a) Proximity is an important factor in the choice of alternative displacement possibilities. The most important volumes of migration can be found inside each province, and displacements to adjacent provinces predominate in interprovincial migrations.

b) The provinces show preferential pathways in the emigration of their population, most of which are rather stable.

c) The majority of provinces also show a high correlation between the structures of the pathways of emigration and immigration. This is partly related to territorial spheres that exceed the provincial unit, spheres of mobility in all directions.

d) Capturing the historical event in space, population, is a phenomenon in which migrations also fit. Worth noting is the fact that there is a strong correlation between the structure of the destinations of historical migrations, detected by the place of birth at a given point in time, and the subsequent migrations. In this sense, a series of zones and regions takes shape not only defined by their geographic proximity but also by their social and cultural proximity.

At first it may seem surprising that during the entire period studied the homogeneousness and stability of the phenomenon is stronger than the fluctuations, which exist, albeit as exceptions, in a given number of provinces. Based on this, we can state that the predominant displacements that provide stability to the behaviour of internal migrations are the ones that appear as normal, so much so that the participants themselves seldom regard themselves as migrants. These are displacements along predetermined pathways – which are somehow institutionalised, in the sociological sense of the word – because they are the usual population outflows from many places to the capital of the province or region, or towards the nearest or most similar industrial or services

zone, in a broader setting yet one perceived by the subjects as within reach. This also includes state-wide displacements of employees and civil servants working in companies and public administrations as they perform their jobs and pursue their professional careers.

What is more, the fact that migrations are mainly phenomena of youth, undertaken during the early years of the independent life cycle, leads us to believe that many displacements are not the traumatic outcome of an external deed or an economic situation but an adjustment process that takes place in a dispersed fashion upon young people's emancipation or entry into the job market.

The general features mentioned above are mainly found after 1980, while in the preceding period, especially during the 1970s, there was a long series of exceptions along with the provinces where they are found. Thus, in this period there was a greater presence of long-distance displacements and flows with a significant volume of individuals. These migrations seem to be polarised between a significant number of provinces with an emigration rate significantly higher than the average and a small number of provinces with a heavy immigration rate. Furthermore, there is no correlation between the preferred emigration and immigration pathways in a series of provinces, and in some of them the stability in the preferred pathways of emigration was ruptured after 1980s.

These facts show displacements that exceeded the boundaries of the usual circulation patterns until the 1980s and better fit the usual concept of migrations. In fact, when discussing the 1960s, we only recall this group of internal migrations because they were the most visible displacements, especially because they also dovetailed with major emigration flows abroad.

The internal and external migrations that took place in the 1950s and 1960s are the outcome of the same impetus, and sometimes they are just different periods within the same process. Spain's chronic gap between the population and the number of jobs, aggravated by a post-war situation and the context of the world war and coupled with the autarchic and repressive policies of the day, are the factors at the root of any interpretation of these migrations, without ignoring the needs for labour in Europe's reconstruction and the moderate reconstruction and industrialisation of Spain. So far, these were the last massive migrations that outstripped the usual population dynamics.

In the 1970s, migration abroad was drastically curtailed, while internal migration continued the momentum of the 1960s, albeit at a slower pace. Starting in the 1980s, internal mobility rose to levels even higher than in the 1960s. What changed was that "regional" displacements came to predominate, and intraprovincial displacements even more so. This mobility was more widely spread over the entire country, with a certain balance between the emigration and immigration flows among the provinces.

Behind this evolution are significant changes that we are unable to address in this article. The majority of workers are no longer agricultural, and farming was replaced by services, especially in the retail and public service sub-sectors. The population became predominantly urban, and a significant level of population concentration was attained globally. The gap between the population and the number of jobs remained steady, and in a period when emigration

options abroad were limited, this was alleviated by the extension in the number of years of schooling and the retirement age. At the same time, the administrative status of unemployment with benefits was created or recognised, and the corresponding level became the highest in Europe.

From these analyses, we can glean the first basic conclusion, namely the importance of permanence. Migration and settlement are flip sides of the same reality, and in the case of Spain, the strength and stability of population settlement is the side that prevails. The mere fact of the high percentage of the population living in the same province where they were born is significant in itself, and this percentage would be even higher if we consider zones that are geographically and socially close as units. This is a reality that emerges constantly in the analyses of the preferred pathways of emigration from each province. Their stability and structure shape a series of zones that reflect the complex reality of Spanish society and its history.

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