

**AT THE (TRANS-)MEDITERRANEAN CROSSROADS:
MIGRATORY FLOWS AND SOCIAL-SPATIAL DYNAMICS.
SOME CONSIDERATIONS**

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I. IMMIGRATION: AN ENLIGHTENING COMPLEX. NOTES

To talk about migrations, the Mediterranean sea and, in our case, Spain can be redundant, when we think that human flows had been the creating processes of a very ancient historical geography of this sea in the middle of Maximilien Sorre's *ecumenical* lands. These flows have different components, nature and force, and they follow different directions even in its present chronology, when the strength of its immediate driving forces here and now may work havoc in our social memory spreading a short, partial and schematic perception of migrations in the so-called collective «imaginary».

«... all our peasants fear loosing their crops because there are not enough day labourers (...). [The usual immigrants] are farm workers deprived of every contact with any urban agglomerations, even the closest; their only exit port is [the same port of their arrival] and the trip (...) is weekly, because there is only one boat in service...»

«...they have much experience on this monoculture and they work well, but although the situation of the first workers to come is legal, they do not have any expectations of future (...) and they are strangers in the area, and may even behave with some prevention or almost fear to social contacts. They are little integrated social and culturally in the zone, but they are not too conflictive (...). They are centred on their obligations and they do not relate much with the inhabitants of the different producer populations...»

The second quotation refers to Moroccan wage workers in the tobacco-producer areas in Cáceres and it describes the situation in mid-1990s (Domínguez dir., 1998, cit. in Pascual dir., 2007, 56). The first quotation is older and it is taken from a note of the French vice-consul in Almería to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It supports the

request of the French colonists of the Oran region in Algeria to exempt, exceptionally, the seasonal workers from Almeria from the quarantine imposed by the French authorities due to the diffusion of the cholera on the Spanish Eastern area... in the Spring of 1885 (Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale, May 30th, 1885; own translation).

The *new* reality of Spain as a *country of immigration* appeared very moderate and discreetly more than three decades ago; it however became an object of interest for social sciences twenty years ago. It soon caused a strong and growing stir in the means and was translated statistically and demographically (though it was not always *in proportion* nor synchronized with it). Its *vertiginous* acceleration has happened in the last ten years. The «unexpected» immigration of the '80s and '90s (Izquierdo, 1996) gave place to what can be called as an «earthquake in the foundations of the migratory model» (Izquierdo, 2007), a sudden increase –which we accept was not easily predictable– that «nobody would have foretold in 1999» (Pumares, García Coll and Asensio, 2006, 195). The variety of changes shown by statistics and their speed of development, apart from their recent happening which «is maybe the most relevant» (Arango, 2002, 240), are the first defining features of immigration in Spain. At a rough first sight (although it is also important to analyse in depth details and the specific contexts of statistics in the different countries), the numbers of foreign citizens living in Spain have achieved in an incredibly short time the quota *normal* in other European countries after a long history as destination of migrant flows.

The literature about immigration in Spain has also increased exponentially: a recent index (Bardají, 2006) has enclosed several thousands of entries, and it is not exhaustive... The convergency of academic subjects on this general interest leaves the idea of another «ecumenism»: Anthropology, Law, Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Health Sciences... Spanish geographers also came to the appointment and, as shown by the research on most universities and by the work of a group of pioneering scholars and teams (Gozálvez, Bel, López Trigal...), and by the constant submitting of papers related both to the general congresses of AGE (starting on the 13th congress in Sevilla, 1993; the 14th in Salamanca, 1995...) and to the working group conferences (specifically to Population, starting on its 3rd and 4th conferences in Torremolinos-Málaga, 1991, and La Laguna, 1993). Spanish geographers have contributed as well to conferences hold by

other specialities and to thematic and transversal congresses, such as *Congresses on Immigration in Spain*, already in their fifth edition held every two years: the last two congresses (in Girona, *Actas* 2004 and Palaudàrias y Serra, eds., 2007; in Valencia, *Actas* 2007) dedicated under similar titles two «tables» to an union of the demographic and *land* approaches, amounting to 40 contributions between both editions. In total, the Proceedings of last year congress in Valencia (cd-rom and internet) amount to more than 4000 pages. Few social sciences as objects of study have this pace nor they can produce the same feeling of overflowing...

To attempt to know *everything* published is a dream and even a more or less careful following of some of the main working lines must be restricted. However, it was not so many years ago when Joaquín Arango (2002, 239) affirmed «how much we ignore or badly know about immigration in Spain». Since then, a mass *standardization*, an improvement of the available statistical resources, the creation of new ones and, above all, the proliferation of researches, studies and reports backed by quantitative and/or qualitative methods have lighted up some of former «shaded areas». But if we think on the frenetic pace and caliber of changes and on the sociological interest of its consequences, some times well understood and some other just sensed, and if we take into account the high political and communication means resonance of the matter, it is easy to understand the urgent feeling that conditions research and analysis: as if certain studies in depth and the time for reflecting on the different aspects of immigration had to be postponed. This is a self-criticism repeated in many scholarly meetings.

In the last five years, Spain has become the first receptor country of migrating flows in the European Union. Converging population flows with different motivations and from the most diverse origins shape a «crossroads» (Salvà, 2004; Gozávez, 2007...). They are a global, complex and multi-sided challenge for geographical analysis: it appeals to population geographers, to economic and social geographers, to political geographers (relevance of borders that are asymmetrically managed), but also to *cultural* geographers (about practices and perceptions or «mentalities») and, throughout all these analitical views, it also appeals to *historical* geographers who can go deeper into the *dynamics* of social spaces of migration implementation (and circulation).

The Mediterranean reference as an space of *relations* and of *fractures* may justify some priorities on exposition, but it does not lessen analytical difficulties. In spite of what is stated by some influent «opinions» and some European policies, neither the Mediterranean sea nor its Spanish influence can be summarised as just a (one-way) *migration space*, although it is true that a wide questioning (from *every place*) about geographical *mobility* of population (in every type and manner) lead to questions about all kind of social realities and about every affecting processes¹.

Versus the size of the scientific and social (or *civic*) challenge, the object of these pages are moderate. As a result of the partial review of ciphers («signs», as well as «consequences» and «factors»²) and of bibliography, and of some project premises and experiencies, we reflect on some processes and their conceptualizations (*multi-culturality*, *trans-nationality*...) and arrive to some possible issues for social-geographical analysis.

The charts and maps included give a partial and uncomplete image of immigration in Spain: first, main «Mediterranean Sea»-originated flows are pointed out although we also include some flows originating from Black Sea-nearby countries, while we centre our reflections on the largest trans-Mediterranean flow coming to Spain, the Moroccan flow. Secondly, we have also represented large flows of African immigrants, from beyond the Magreb, from Western Africa countries, flows that are not originated in the Mediterranean basin. However, the phenomena of transit and of *stay* (which are becoming longer and more precarious when the jump to Europe becomes increasingly more difficult) are affecting Southern countries and are part of the Euro-Mediterranean migratory process, with the already known tragic sequels (events at Ceuta and Melilla's fences in 2005, new routes and longer trips for the furtive expeditions from Western Africa to the Canary Islands...). Although we are not dealing with it, we have to keep in mind the role these real and potential flows play on the increasing connection between European Union immigration policies and their «cooperation to development» and foreign affairs agenda. This trend has embodied in the recent and evident

¹ Instances can be found in the meetings held by Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània (IEMed), or in an international workshop (*Las movilidades en el Mediterráneo occidental*, Granada, October 26-28th, 2006) organised by a trans-Mediterranean network for demographic and social-economic analysis promoted by Instituto de Estadística de Andalucía (IEA) and Universidad de Granada (<http://www.redamed.com>).

² The three reading levels proposed are always a demanding analytical model (Vilar, 1960).

«outsourcing» of European Union border management, which in the Mediterranean area involved at first Morocco's participation on the Southern bank and of other Magreb countries from 2002-2003 (Bensaad, coord., 2005; Blanchard and Wender, coord., 2007; Lahlou, 2007).

On the other hand, it is well known that the overall diffusion of foreigners over the Spanish land has varied much the strong coastal (included the two island communities) and Mediterranean dominant distribution pattern, with the weight of Madrid's pole (García Ballesteros and Sanz, coord., 2004) as the most relevant exception to the relative modest numbers from inland and Atlantic regions (López Trigal, 2007). With significant differences depending on flow origin, it is clear that this pattern, far from being limited to flows from Mediterranean countries, has a general influence: British, German or Scandinavian *residential tourism* (oxymoron reminding that vocabulary distinctions are never neuter) is relevant in hot questions such as the discussion on the «sustainability» of the urban and land development model on the Mediterranean coast and pre-coast or on its «loading capacity». It is significant that Erlich expression has become very popular in the Canary Islands in the last years basically in relation to other social-urgencies-causing immigrant flows that are not so relevant in *number and land* meanings (Comité de Expertos, 2003; Godenau and Zapata, coord., 2005).

North-Western European immigration of retired or active population is an important component of the Spain-Mediterranean Sea-migrations *dossier*. Its little presence in this article is due to the decision taken on the article content and its extension, and by the information on the Spanish contribution to this 31st International Congress given by the Spanish IGU Committee.

II. AN UNUSUAL INCREASE OF MAGNITUDES, THE « GLOBALIZATION» OF PROVENANCE AND DIVERSIFICATION OF MAIN MIGRATORY FOCI

All along the decade of the 1990, an observer of statistics on foreigners residing in Spain could question the outstanding disproportion between *current* images and ciphers generated by some social facts: demographic curves remained much behind the effect of communication means and *social phenomenon*. A posteriori we could say that they were overtaken, but we would never think it proved its having any «common sense» (in spite of any reasoning by the best specialists)!

It is clear that, in the imaginaries and on immigration discourses, statistics (in the word's valid meaning) value is relative and clearly subordinated. However, number *do count* for geography and social sciences. A systematic statistical approach to immigration and foreigners in Spain would fill up these pages easily, even if it was summarised. There are recent and wide syntheses (Domingo and Recaño, 2007; Gozávez, 2007; Izquierdo, 2007; Gil and Domingo, 2007...) that would make our insistence on every component superfluous. A brief reminder limited to some parameters and to the foregoing spatial limits will present some well-founded facts and suggest some of their meanings (causes and consequences).

1. A first preliminar consideration is based on the evolution of recent years. In a context of a sharp magnitude change, the research on immigration and foreign population in Spain has the essential support of a statistical production significant by its different variables as well as by its accesibility and regularity. Its comparison with the statistical production in Italy, a country that has suffered similar but not so marked tendencies seem to confirm it, thanks to the undoubted advantages provided by the Padron (Local Census). We do not forget, however, the confirmed risks of overestimating Local Census recounts or of comparing ciphers from different sources (*Statistics on Registered or resident permit-bearing foreigners* on December 31st, by DGP, and *Census Updates* on January 1st, by INE), in spite of the magnitude of the illegal population regularizations of 2000, 2001 and 2005, nor the «inconsistencies» (Goerlich, 2007a y 2007b) found between *stocks* and flows, specifically between the external migration measured by the *Statistics on Residential Variations* –EVR– and the migratory balances obtained in an indirect manner (from Census and *Population Natural Movement* updates). The Census refining procedure started in late 2005 (in application of Basic Act 13/2003³) foresaw an increasing convergence with resident population statistics (Domingo and Recaño, 2007). At present, according to the Census, the foreign population on January 1st, 2007 amounted to 4.5 millions and it exceeded in one million and a half the residence permits valid on December 31st, 2006, but it only exceeded in half a million the permits registered a year later (almost 4 millions in December 31st, 2007). The Census is improved, the translation of an increasing

³ That established the expiration of the inscriptions that were not renewed after two years related to non-EC aliens lacking a permanent residence permit.

settlement of immigrant population in its administrative status...: our path encourages us to... keep verifying these tendencies in the future and, to begin with, their consistency level.

Apart from its direct usefulness as a source, the Census has already being the framework for domiciled samples based on immigrant population enquiries (Pascual dir., 2007). This is one of the characteristics of the panel applied since early 2007 during a search located in a group of Andalusian municipalities: «Field» work confirms the difficulties as well as the feasibility of this strategy, the interest of which seems evident⁴. New works recently implemented by the INE will enable a more complete valuation⁵.

2. Eight years ago, in a situation similar to ours, in his paper to the Spanish contribution to the 29th IGU Congress (Seoul, 2000) –published in a work under the title *Vivir la diversidad en España*–, our colleague Lorenzo López Trigal pointed out the presence, among the more than 600,000 foreign nationals with residence permits in Spain at the end of 1997, of 27 nationalities with more than 5,000 individuals each one. A decade later, the above global cipher has easily six-folded, or seven-folded if we compared locally registered individuals, from 1998 to 2006 (1/I/98 a 1/I/07): from being 1.6 % to almost 10 % of the population in Spain. Two nations (Morocco and Romania) exceed the half million of registered nationals each, and a third one (Equator) is near that number; a fourth nationality (British) is over 300,000 and some other two (Colombian and Bolivian) exceed 200,000 people. These six nationalities, all together, amount to more than half of the registered foreign population. Under the above numbers, there are other eight nationalities with more than 100,000 people each one. Twenty-seven nationalities have at least 30,000 nationals living in Spain. Of the more than one hundred foreign nationalities registered, the twenty nationalities with the larger numbers amount to 4/5 of registered foreigners: an African one (Morocco), nine from Europe (four of them from Eastern Europe: Romanian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian and Polish;

⁴ *Marroquíes en Andalucía: de los espacios sociales de la inmigración a los de la movilidad* (P06-SEJ-1390, Consejería de Innovación, Ciencia y Empresa, Junta de Andalucía). Researchers of the universities of Granada, Almería, Málaga and Rabat are participating in the project, backed by the IEA. Difficulties appear in sample location: mobility, lack of precision or mismatch of local registration, situations that are very frequent (Equipo MOMA, 2007, in press).

⁵ La *Encuesta coyuntural de migrantes exteriores (ECME)* and, as a «pilot» study, la *Encuesta de Población Residente en España (EPRE)*.

the other five nationalities are British, German, Italian, Portuguese and French), nine Latino-American (Equatorian, Colombian, Bolivian, Argentinian, Peruvian, Brazilian, Dominican, Venezolan and Paraguayan) and one from Asia (China).

Flow intensity and rhythm have varied depending on their provenance, apart from the differences between the dates of arrival and of Census inscription, and depending on the effects produced by the successive regularizations of undocumented immigrants. Moroccan immigrants and their in-flow have experienced a sustained increase since 1999, which is significant in absolute terms but not so important when compared with other groups, and lower than the increase of all the foreign population in relative terms. It is the evolution of one of the first contemporaneous migrant groups to Spain. The American immigration flow dominated from 2000 to 2003 and it was the main beneficiary of regularizations (Gil and Domingo, 2007; López de Lera, 2007; Urdiales and Nieto, 2007), with some other Eastern Europe countries, specially Romanians, a flow that was very strong from 2002⁶, with a volume in 2004-2006 that almost two-folded the Moroccan flow. This migration flow has re-directed towards Spain and other Southern Europe countries after arriving to different destinations in Western Europe during the '90s (Marcu, 2007, 46), and it has meant that the Romanian presence in Spain, that until 2000 was really moderate, suffered a very fast growth and in 2007 folded 233 times! its number of ten years ago. Bulgarian immigration shows a similar evolution, with lower ciphers. More than half of the Romanians with residence permit in Spain in late 2005 had obtained the permit through the «regularization» procedure of that year, in comparison with 13% of Moroccans. The external sources of «irregularity» have shifted and social costs of some *political transitions* in Eastern Europe were leaving their traces in the statistics and the geography of immigration to Spain.

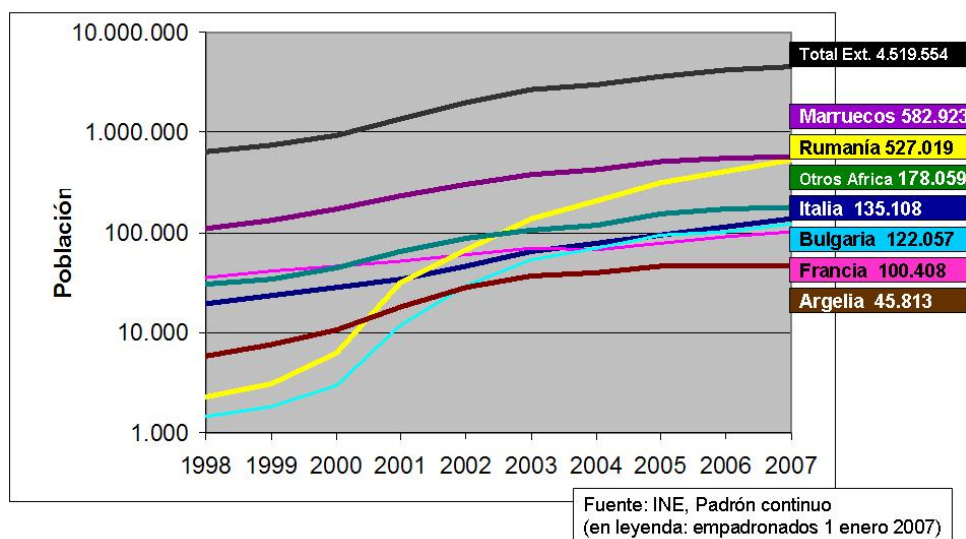
With regard to the South-originated flows, Moroccans are still the main component of African immigration, with almost 70% of the 540,000 entries coming from that continent registered by the EVR from 1998 to 2006. The increase of the flows originated on the South of the Sahara Desert, specially in Western Africa (more than half from only three countries: Senegal, Nigeria and Mali) can be verified and specified in its concentration (when compared with other African provenances) in 2004-2006. It

⁶ Since that year, Romanian and Bulgarian nationals were authorised to travel without visa in Schengen space.

must be remembered that 2006 has been until now the year when more secret migratory attempts from the African coast to the Canary Islands have been intercepted. We do not have to say that the local census inscriptions are not *measurements* of the power of certain images, which unite among other elements a sad dangerous and dramatic reality and its concentrated repetition in time and destination.

We have also to point out to the *cleared-out* representation appearing in the attached flow map⁷: data gathered, including French and Italian immigrants⁸, do not reach to 30 % of the 3.9 million of foreigners registered in the EVR for the reference period, and the same group of nationalities amounted to 37 % of the local registered foreign population (1/I/2007).

Gráfico 1. Evolución de la población extranjera en España (1998-2007): total y varias nacionalidades



⁷ Maps have been carried out by José Antonio Nieto Calmaestra.

⁸ More than half were born out of Italy, specially in Argentina and Uruguay.

Mapa 1. Flujos de entrada en España (1998-2006): algunas procedencias



3. An essential inference ought to be mentioned although it is the object of recent studies (Pumares, García Coll y Asensio, 2006; Gil y Domingo, 2007...): such an outstanding increase of immigrants has produced some “reduced conflicts” (Pumares *et al.*, 2006, 195) and it can not be explained without the economic growth and of employment *in Spain* (for foreigners and *Spaniards*) to which they are so closely related both as a result and as one of the relevant factors. Statistics on Social Security workers/employees registration show that Social Security entries have increased from the 12 millions registered in 1994 to over 19 millions at the end of 2007; in 2007, 2 millions of them were foreigners and their contribution amounted to over 36% since 1999. Foreigners amount to 47% of the 3.4 million-increase of employed people

measured by the *Encuesta de Población Activa* (Active Population Enquiry) from the first term of 2000 to the first term of 2005 (Gil and Domingo, 2007, 448).

Another relevant qualitative and quantitative conclusion reached is that most jobs for foreigners and for Spaniards «complement» in the general dynamics of employment. Differential shades are relevant according to the activities and, in relation to their different distribution, according to the groups of provenance: foreign workers are concentrated in a few branches (construction, hostelry, agriculture and domestic employment amount for over half of their jobs) and a high overrepresentation of African (almost 3/4 of them are Morrocans) in agriculture and in a second place (above Romanians, Equatorians and Bolivians, among others) in construction. The expansion of this sector makes it into one of the areas where Spanish and foreign workers «concur» (Gil and Domingo, 2007, 455) and show an increase of both groups, while sometimes foreigners are «overqualified». In agriculture, that is, among farm *labourers*, it has become a «progressive replacement» (Pumares *et al.*, 2006, 43) up to a certain level; but it is significant to see that in some public discourses references to *basic rights* (access to «documents», «social integration»...) seem to reinforce the relegation to which the so-called «agrarian issue» (as it was called in some Spanish regions just twenty years ago) was condemned, with other implications and social subjects, of course.

This situation is very much related to present trends for employment management (a «segmentation» of labour markets, with deregulation and separate flexibilization) and it can not be understood as just a consequence of the demographic deficit of Spanish population (Gil y Domingo, 2007, 445): a tendency to a «social and laboural progress» for Spaniards, in parallel to the entry of the better-qualified younger generations, goes with a doubly-differentiated concentration of a relevant part of foreigners (and among them, the worst jobs are for Africans) in labour «niches» (or devaluated sectors and jobs). The reality seen in Spain and in other European Southern countries shows in clear contradiction «one of the large fiction works of our times», which says that present capitalist development does not require anymore of non-specialized workers (Castles, 2004, 42). A comparison of the first and the last known registrations detects some promotion traces among immigrants in Spain, although it also warns about its limits and points out its weaknesses (Pumares *et al.*, 2006, 199-201). The equation of economic

growth and social (underdevelopment) *development* in Spain implies contradictions and important challenges (Abad, 2003; Cachón, 2003) with a *local* dimension that can not be forgotten. Although these problems are well known in other European countries, their speed makes them clearly specific in Southern Europe.

4. *Immigration and multiculturality*: This association has become usual. Apart from some Social Sciences long-term *paradigm* discussion about multiple cultures, the idea of plurality is another of the inferences raising from the summary on foreign populations magnitudes in Spain. Evidence can not be denied, but it is good to think about connotations (which sometimes go beyond analysis) of words that may not be such. There was a time when the word «population» was the «antidote of “classes”, too crude as well as “out of reality”...» (Barthes, 1957). Nowadays the fashion is «culture», or even ethnic-cultural «dogma» (Lucas, 2007), with its load of essences (López García and Bravo, 2007) and other naive or well-meaning and in any case politically-meant reductions. However, cultures are not the source of *all* the inner differentiation of our societies, nor cultural plurality *only happens among groups* defined by their geographical, national or religious provenance.

The discussions of French opponents and supporters of incorporating “ethnic” variables to statistics⁹ have not had much echo among Spanish Social Sciences which, in general, are turned towards North-American references: versus those who want to measure «diversity» in order to fight discriminations, there are those who, putting into question the mean's need and efficiency when applied to the claimed object, insistently stress the risk of strengthening stigmas with the inclusion of ethnia among statistical categories. Specially when trends promoting social (and territorial) «segment-division» («community-parcelling») flow together from different sides (Fargues, 2006, 221).

In España another question is raised about the limits of the «social category of immigrant» in relation to Statistics reporting possibilities (Parella, 2005). However, an enquiry among a large and varied group of Catalanian experts found their wide agreement on the feature's temporary aspect («nobody is immigrant forever») and on their refusal to enclose under it immigrants' children when they are born in Spain and to

⁹ Summary in Cohen, 2003. Afterwards, see Simon, 2003; Simon and Clément, 2006; Centre d'Analyse Stratégique, 2006; Geisser, 2007; Weil, 2008...

follow any «visible minorities» (Malmusi and Jansà, 2007). Among its actions plan for 2008, INE is announcing a *Module on foreign population and their descendants* as a «sub-sample of the *Encuesta de Población Activa*», justified by a «concern [about] the complete integration of this group»: apart from their «descendants», immigrants that have been granted the Spanish nationality are also included in their action field. We have to know any details and wait for the next ... not forgetting a deeper reflection by researchers and statistics officers about some concepts that, we ought to keep in mind, entail in short the complete understanding of our societies.

Spanish nationality grantings have continuously risen throughout the last twelve years on which we have information: from under 7000 in 1995 to over 62000 in 2006. The Spanish nationality grantings for this period amount to 275,000; of which Latino-American immigrants are the main beneficiaries thanks to the facilities given by the Spanish law in this sense (for instance, the right to become a citizen after 2 years of residence, instead of the 10 years required for other candidates). Morocco has been the nation of origin leading the list in some of these years (2000, 2003 and 2004) and its citizens granted the Spanish nationality amount to 40,000, 14.5% of the grantings registered in the period. Another constant increase is of births with one alien parent: from 16,000 in 1996 to 93,000 in 2006. It ranges from under 5 to over 19% of the annual totals of people born in Spain between both years, however, its contribution to the general Spanish fecundity, measured by the synthetic index, is still very moderate as in many other European countries (Domingo y Recaño, 2007; Gozávez, 2007; Izquierdo, 2007; López de Lera, 2007; Nieto, Egea and Soledad, 2007). Per nationalities, Moroccan parent(s) children are more but in total most nationalities are from Latino-America and Europe, which present a better gender balance: 64.4 % of Moroccan men in early 2007, versus 48.7 % of Equatorians and 52.7 % among Romanians). Over 10 % of local registered Moroccans on January 1st, 2007 were born in Spain.

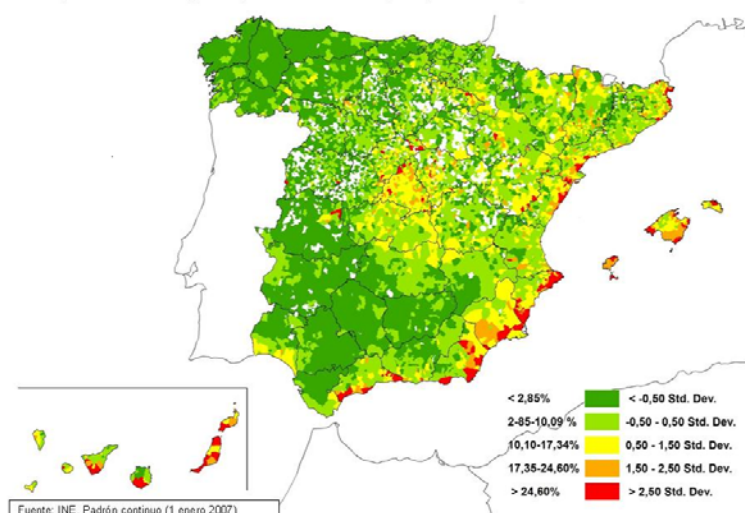
Beyond any taxonomical avoidable obsession, these numbers help to get a more complete idea of the changes undergone and of the social challenges they raised. Changes in school-going people are important: from the school years of 1995-96 to 2005-06, foreign students at non-university levels rose from 50,000 to over half a million (almost 4/5 of them are distributed among the levels of Pre-School, Primary

and Secondary school). As the distinction between public and private schools can be seen as a differentiation mark (and one of the *reproduction vectors*, in association to other contextual conditions) it is to be pointed out the relative concentration of foreign students in public schools (over 82% in the last school year of reference versus under 70% of total students at the same school levels). Difference is increased (near 90%) for African students, who amount to 1/5 of school-enrolled foreigners in 2005-06; among them, the most relevant nationalities are Latino-americans (almost half of them) and European (over a fourth). According to nationalities, the largest group is of Equatorians, followed by Moroccans, Colombians, Romanians and Britishers (amounting to 3/5 of the total). It is in their *local* concretion (in their differentiated distributions and combinations) where these abstract numbers acquire their true meaning.

III. LAND DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRATION IN SPAIN AND ITS DYNAMICS: CONCENTRATION AND RELATIVE DIFFUSION, PROLONGATION OF MIGRATIONS INSIDE SPAIN

One of the first confirmations seen from the map of the distribution of foreign population over Spanish municipalities, at the little number of blank (with no registered foreigners) spaces, is its *general* presence all over the land. However, *large dissimilarities* are still the most outstanding feature: on the destination for the largest flows of recent years, on the differences of demographic make and family dynamics between main provenances and destinations, and also on the movements inside Spain that have kept re-distributing immigrants. Foreign population percentages hide the different demographic size of municipalities and bring more or less anecdotal mirages, but they globally are true reflections of the concentration areas: a) the Mediterranean coastal fringe extending from La Jonquera down to Campo de Gibraltar that widens inland on the Southeast; b) the two island communities that share significant «colonies» of Western European residents (Britishers and Germans mainly); c) the Community of Madrid is a dense focus that radiates towards the bordering areas of the neighbouring provinces of the two Castiles; d) a diagonal axis on the Ebro valley that becomes continuous from La Rioja to Cataluña, and e) several disperse settlements, one of them with an old immigration (Portugueses and Capeverdians in the mining basins of Bierzo and Laciana in León (López Trigal dir., 1994), and other recent settlements (on the Coast in Huelva and the Northeast of Cáceres).

Mapa 2. Porcentaje de población extranjera por municipios



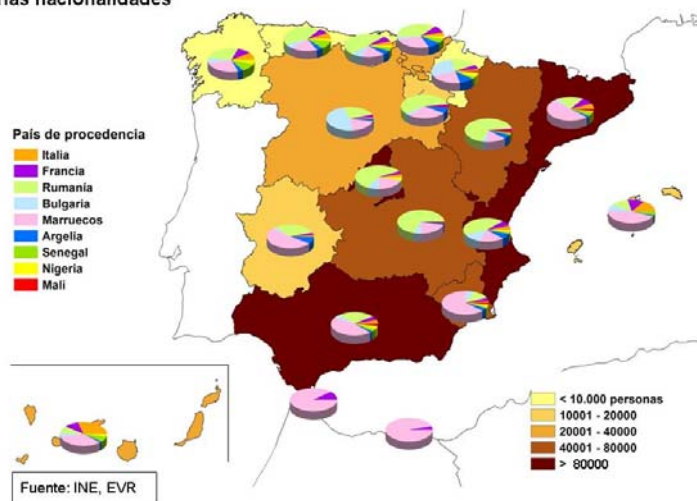
If classified by autonomous communities, Catalonia, Madrid, Valencia and Andalucía (in a decreasing order) have more than 3 millions of foreigners registered in their town councils (1/I/2007), almost 69% of the total, which amount to more than 3.7 millions (almost 83%) if the Canary Islands, Murcia and the Balearic Islands are added. Those communities received 83% of the foreign immigration coming to Spain, registered by EVR, from 1998 to 2006 (more than 70% for the first four communities, with Madrid as the first destination, followed by Catalonia). It is also interesting to watch the recent increase of flows towards communities with very moderate ciphers at the end of the '90s, such as Basque Country, Castilla-León and Castilla-La Mancha. In this latter community the entries accumulated from 1998 to 2006 were more than those registered in the Balearic Islands.

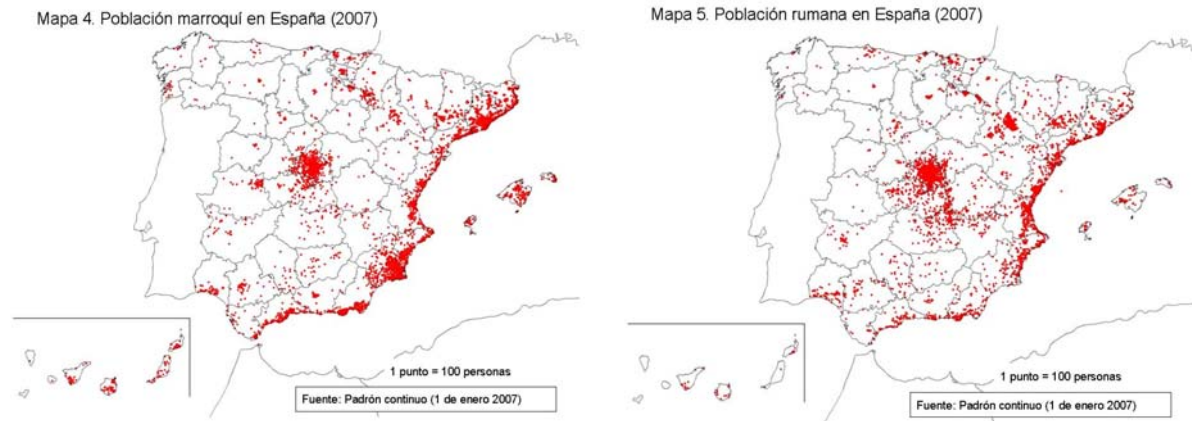
Statistics-disclosed variations in geographical patterns of immigrant settlement in Spain, according to provenance, as well as foreign population make or «land specialization» according to destinations (at different scales), have been usually studied in recent demographic analysis (Pumares, García Coll and Asensio, 2006; Gozávez, 2007; López Trigal, 2007; Domingo and Recano, 2007). As we did when dealing with the general magnitude evolution, we are going to make a partial and selective presentation.

1. The entry map limited to a small group of nationalities (Romanians, Bulgarians, Italians, French, Moroccans, Argelians and the other 3 more frequent

African nationalities: globally, just 3 of every 10 foreign immigrants for the period 1998-2006) verifies the features pointed in the general flows distribution, while it shows a clear differentiation of dominants about the main receiving autonomous communities: in Madrid and in the communities of Valencia, Aragón, Castilla-La Mancha and, in general, in the recent destinations in the North of the Peninsula, Romanian immigration prevails within this group. In Cataluña, Andalucía and Murcia, however, Moroccan-originated flows are still the most important. These different dominant directions in each flow have their corollary in territory distributions per nationalities, as shown by the examples of the two largest groups: the Mediterranean bias is much marked in Moroccans, from Catalonia (where 1 of every 3 immigrants is located) to the Andalusian coast. Thus, a characteristic pattern since the first years of a relatively old immigration in Spain is confirmed. On the other hand, Romanian immigration has achieved in a short time the most relevance in Madrid (which is also the main settlement for people coming from Latino-America) and in its extension over several Castilian provinces (specially on the South). Although both components overlap roughly, it is only in part (as shown by the secondary Moroccan twenty-year-old settlement in the farm counties of Campo Arañuelo and La Vera in Cáceres (Pascual dir., 2007, 54-61).

Mapa 3. Distribución de la inmigración por Comunidades autónomas (1998-2006): varias nacionalidades





2. Large scales are essential to analyze in depth important social processes linked to immigration. It is in the local social environments where the immediate relational space of immigrants is found, influenced (depending on migrants and their *momentum*) by «supporting social networks» dealt with in a methodologically innovating and demanding study (Pascual dir., 2007).

Next to other general conditions of migration-associated «projects» (such as legal and administration measures, of which migration and residence types depend), the influence of other personal features is also significant: living in a rural dispersed settlement will have specific implications for a woman who does not speak the language and who is economically dependant. Some interactions result from immigrant *modes of insertion*, from *local means' economic bases* and, related to them, from the *social dynamics* that shape them. They include a specific story of *migrations* (with the consecutive entries of Spanish and foreign migrants from many different provenances). Local structures of activity and employment and their translation onto labour markets, or habitat and housing features, for instance, are very important characters although not all the relevant relations are likely to be used in analysis.

Local distribution variations (Roca and Fullaondo, 2004 and 2007; Bayona and Domingo, 2004 and 2007; Martori and Hoberg, 2004 and 2007) and, in their case, the centrality, segregation, interaction, exposure and concentration rates, obtained from disaggregated data per censal sections, need a statistical-descriptive analysis to provide interesting clues. Thus, that analysis has stressed the little relative relevance of the city of Barcelona and its Metropolitan Area in relation to Moroccans location in Catalonia,

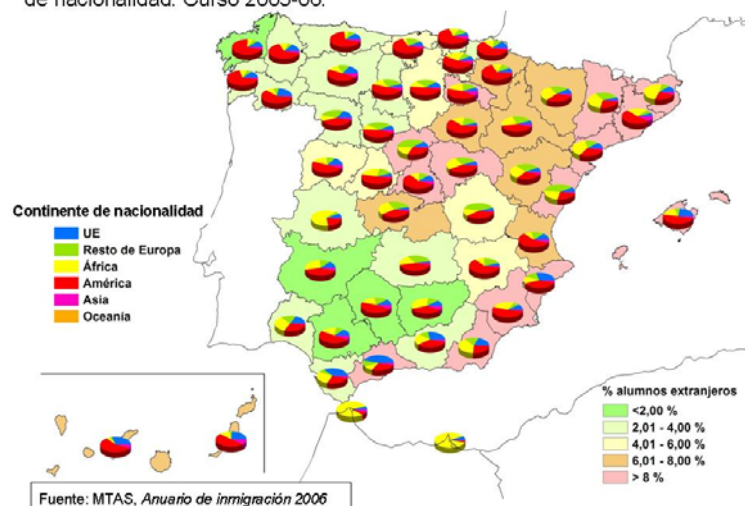
either when it is compared to total population or other immigrant groups, specially Asians and Latino-Americans. According to the 2001 Census, distance between residence municipalities or places and working places affected to almost half of Moroccans working in the Catalanian capital city ... who are integrated, thus, in a pendular mobility pattern of *popular layers*. This feature, moreover, agrees with the relevance of their numbers in municipalities included in the 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants rank, most of them are coastal towns and inland county seats. Scholars have pointed to a relation between this ancient dispersed settlement and the relative antiquity of Moroccan immigration to Catalonia. At the *escala de censal* sections, Moroccans present a high residential concentration in every main city, although it is far from the numbers of other immigrant groups (such as Pakistanis and Phillipinos in the city of Barcelona), and not so strong as in some of their main locations in the peninsular Southeast (Checa and Arjona, 2005; Herranz *et al.*, 2007). However, in spite of their long-time presence, in 2001 Moroccan housing situation in Catalonia still suffered significant defficiencies (Domingo and Bayona, 2007).

3. In recent years there have been important studies on inner migrations of foreign nationals within Spain, which have become very massive flows lately (Recaño, 2002; Pumares, 2005; Pumares, García Coll and Asensio, 2006): over a fourth part of variations per residence place and almost one third of the variations entered between autonomous communities. Foreigners inner migrations pace has increased very fast and, in comparison, it is much higher that those of Spaniards, and difference enlarges even more with respect to those travels that imply at least changing the province of residence, and it is very clear in the flows leaving the large cities. All of this is, in part, a «symptom of the higher settling level» of foreigners in Spain (Domingo and Recaño, 2007). Thanks to the leading directions taken by flows, authors find differences in the roles played by different areas: one of the tendencies show that some of the provinces destinations of an intense foreign immigration become also sources of foreign migration flows towards other Spanish destinations. This is the case of the province of Almería, specifically in relation to African Moroccan migrants (Pumares, 2005, 218-221; Pumares *et al.*, 2006, 145 and ss.). This situation can be also extended to the provinces of Murcia and Cáceres in lesser measures. The communities of Catalonia and Valencia are the most frequent destinations for these flows. An analysis of Social Security workers registrations (Pumares *et al.*, 2006, sp. 178 and ss.) comparing province

location of initial and present registrations (in early 2005) confirms the tendency, which is parallel to a detectable transfer from the «special» agrarian registration to the «general» registration. Farming is one of the sectors that concentrates an important demand for foreign workers (specifically high among Africans), as well as the largest losses due to the usual inner mobility «circuits». From a social-geographical point of view, it is clear that land economic specialisation implies generating local social means that are most of them inestable *for a long time*: any gaps between immigration and settlement, in some contexts, act as temporary calls for ... «more» immigrants. The statistical analysis of provincial aggregates helps directing towards other processes using other information sources and procedures.

4. A brief note on *school* geography. The Autonomous Communities of Madrid, Catalonia, Valencia and Andalucía gather over the two third parts of non-university foreign students (school year 2005-06). The total proportion of the 8 provinces with the highest numbers (Madrid, Barcelona, Alicante, Valencia, Murcia, Málaga, Baleares and Girona) is just a little lower. The highest percentages over total students are in Girona (13,5), Almería (12,3), Alicante (11,6) and Madrid (10,9). African nationalities have their highest numbers (from over 20,000 to over 5,000 students) in Barcelona, Madrid, Murcia and Almería. In this last province, state schools have more than 98% of foreign students (versus almost 94% in Alicante, 89% in Murcia and 88.5% in Girona), that amounted to 14% of school students (almost 16% in Girona), while foreign students amounted to 1.6 % in private schools. A more careful study would require higher details over school distribution.

Mapa 6. Porcentaje de alumnos extranjeros no universitarios y continente de nacionalidad. Curso 2005-06.



IV. MIGRATIONS AND «MIGRATORY CIRCULATION»: GLOBAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN TRANSNATIONAL AND LOCAL MATTERS. FINAL CONCLUSIONS

To understand the migratory process –a «global social fact» (Sayad, 1991, 15)– we have to keep out of an unidirectional spacial logic and to keep in mind every one of the movement *places*, as suggested by many migration scholars. However, *migratory circulation* flow dynamics of the last two decades has affected the profiles of countries and areas of *outward and inward migración*, an usual distinction that refers to permanent realities but also hides some «increasingly more complex combinations of functions or roles» (Simon, 1997, 2002). The frequency, modes, contexts and mechanisms of this *spatial mobility* make unique the recent evolutions of a phenomenon that had much more relevance than is thought in the long-distance migrations that took place 100 years ago.

The «transnational approach» is defined by its attempts to integrate in the observation and analysis the sending and the receiving societies plus the migratory process itself, and by its basically ethnographic methodology (Portes and Börocz, 1998; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; Suárez, 2007...), and it also attempts to study the key factors for a «globalization from below» (Portes, 1997; Tarrius, 1995, 2002, 2007).

Several scholars (Artal, Pascual y Solana, 2006; Jabardo, 2006...) have studied migrations as a *process* and they are analysing in detail migratory «directions» with good results.

However, to include in our scope social-geographical aspects of the country of origin does not mean accepting only some well-known «cultural» and «demographical» generalities and forgetting some other changing and complex realities that can be found in an easily-accessed basic information and statistics. Bernabé López and his collaborators have followed for many years a different path about Moroccan immigration; they have diversified their sources resorting to the Consular registration in Spain and, collaborating with Moroccan experts, they have studied the geography in Morocco of the migration to Spain: they have found similitudes and differences with other former periods of Moroccan migration to other destinations, and they have

established their permanences and variations throughout the 1990's (López García *et al.*, 1993; López García *dir.*, 1996; López García and Berriane *dir.*, 2004).

One of the lines of study necessary from a social-geographical approach, in direct reference to trans-Mediterranean migrant flows, must combine a *transnational* approach to the concept and a concrete practical research (as seen from team composition) and the *local* point of view: it must be concerned about spatially differentiating processes in different immigration places (as well as in emigration places) through comparative micro-analysis with some good anchorage points. On the other hand, it must pay much attention to *dynamics*, to the timing of any studied facts, *dating* carefully its evolution: watching it *continuously and retrospectively* even at a mid-term, that of a research project. Analysis must be statistically founded, as much as possible, but it must also make use of other techniques: combining the statistical exploitation of surveys (or, when it is possible, of *panels*) and other qualitative instruments (Cohen *et al.*, 2007).

It can not be forgotten that Spain's new role as a country destination of immigrants is played within a economical-social and political-administrative context very different (in the European-Mediterranean region) from that of previous periods of massive migrations towards other European countries. How has immigrant settlement changed conditions?. Is its impact more or less uniform or are there different local adjustments?. Do changes happen when immigrants remain longer in some places?

Furtive entries, paperless and illegal administrative situation, a clear working precariousness plus an unstable settlement are some characteristics that condition many migratory flows: temporary returns are impossible and family reunion becomes difficult. On the other side, a progressive strengthening of settlement processes tends to make normal a certain migratory circulation that, among immigrants who usually have temporary jobs in Spain, can become even stronger than in other immigrants who, many decades ago, *settled* in their destinations with more stable employments and at longer distances from their countries of origin.

Among Moroccan immigrants, visiting periodically their country of origin is the almost rule once their legal administrative situation in Spain is accomplished (a situation that is true for a large majority of them for many years ago), and it is possible that they return

more than once a year (even many times); some of them even stay long periods of time in Morocco, living part time in Spain. In some cases, migratory circulation reaches other European countries, thanks to the residence there of some relatives or to a previous experience and knowledge of the concerned person. Findings from the enquiry-panel taken in Andalucia agree with data from other researches about projects or migratory travels of Moroccan or foreign immigrants in other Spanish areas (Artal, Pascual and Solana, 2006; Sow and Evers Rosander in Jabardo, 2006). Thus, Jabardo's (2006, 145) saying that migration «links separate geographical and mental spaces» comes true. In this sense, see the works by Mohamed Berriane (1999, 2002, 2003, 2007...) on the relations between European migrants from Rif and their region of origin (Rif), one of the main Moroccan migration foci to Spain. He also refers to the different social-economic directions of migrants to Europe.

High mobility circulatory practices over large distances sometimes answer to «businessman»-type economic strategies, and they may question concepts such as «receiving» and «provenance» society while raising theoretical problems about how researchers ought to approach migrant relations with any of those societies. But other frequent displays of exaggerated mobility are immigrants reaction to a long-time and strong precariousness: a mark (as well as a consequence and a factor) of a bad «integration». It would be very useful to have each travel well *located* (in space and time) and to gain a most precise idea of their *extension* (exceptional, emerging, more or less frequent or massive).

Are certain migratory or circulatory practices embodied in group «identities»? The term of «transnational *awareness*» (Castles, 2004, 48; italics are ours) recalls only one of the levels. «There are probably different types (...) depending on economic and social status (...) But most of them (...) are likely to have contradictory and fluctuant identities (...) and a hybrid local awareness, in variable measures and in different times» (*Ibid.*, 48-49).

We might as well remember it: Social classes and means do condition! Even in whatever refers to the prevailing attitudes and opinions in the receiving societies, and in the differential concentration of any commonly-known negative stereotypes and prejudices (Aparicio *et al.*, 2005; Gualda dir. and Sánchez Bermejo, 2007; Herranz *et*

al., 2007...). A methodologically-refined study on Andalucía has recently shown that the number of immigrants is much less relevant than any other factors, such as the stability of their presence: itinerant immigrants are greeted most suspiciously (Rinken and Pérez Yruela, 2007, 66).

Without forgetting the powerful influence of a «global» context and without cherishing hopes on fully *statistical and final* demonstrations from the «social» geographical point of view, it would be convenient to keep looking for other *local* characteristics (apart from *times*) that could worsen or, maybe, dampen well-known prejudices or some of their demonstrations. Even if done with the «awareness» due to the lucid observation of a great historian who formerly was a geographer, who in the last period of his long life saw truncated by his health problems his project of a book on the problems such as «the reception of immigrants in developed countries [and] the relations between religious fundamentalism and national identities»: the «gap that separates [present] physical sciences possibilities from human sciences capacities» (Vilar, 1997, 9-13).

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