

Territorial Patterns in the Residential Mobility of the High Classes in the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona

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This work focuses on the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona (RMB), defined by the 164 municipalities included in metropolitan territorial planning since the 1960s, and which together comprise 5,107,970 inhabitants at the beginning of 2018 and more of 3,300 km² of surface. Despite its long use in planning (Nel·lo, 2004) and in studies on RMB, it does not have an administrative expression.

The concept of residential mobility is used, understood as the displacement in the space produced by a change in the main house (Módenes, 2006), when in addition these migrations or changes of residence occur within the same urban unit, the Metropolitan Region. For the analysis of internal migrations, we have used two scales.

1) The municipal scale, where the microdata of the Statistical of Residential Variations (EVR) are used, statistic that includes the registrations and cancellations in the Municipal Continuous Register by migration between Spanish municipalities. In this case, exchanges with other metropolitan municipalities of the RMB produced during the last 20 years (1998-2017) are considered. This will have a time series with more than 2.6 million intra-metropolitan migrations, which will allow differentiating several stages and identifying the effects of the economic crisis;

2) the infra-municipal scale, using a subdivision of the metropolitan municipalities, with units defined from a minimum threshold of 20 thousand residents, and that allow the analysis of the microdata of the Population Census of 2011 with guarantees of statistical reliability given the Sample character of this census. For this, 190 units of analysis have been delimited. In the city of Barcelona, attempts have been made to preserve other administrative boundaries (the new areas are sums of Basic Statistical Areas, AEB), or districts in other metropolitan cities. On the other hand, we have group municipalities with less than 20 thousand inhabitants.

In the analysis of the census data we must remember, as indicated by García Coll (2009), Susino and Duque (2010) or López-Villanueva et al (2013), that the information on the characteristics of who moves refers to the census moment (November 2011), and not when the change of municipality takes place.

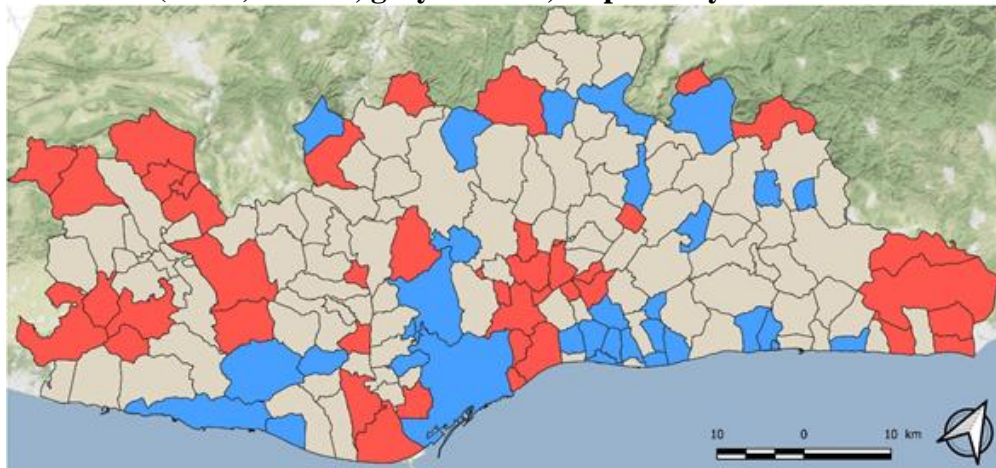
Regarding the identification of the municipalities of the upper classes, we have built a typology that classifies the municipalities according to socioeconomic variables of the population, with census data for 2011. For this, we lunch a factorial analysis of municipal socioeconomic condition based on the categories that most articulate socio-spatial differences:

- a) The occupation as managers, managers, scientific and intellectual professionals (groups 01 and 02 of the National Classification of Occupations of 2011, CNO2011).
- b) The occupation as skilled workers in services, industry, handicrafts, construction facilities and machinery operators or assemblers - groups 05, 06, 07, and 08-; and the unskilled workers - group 09-.
- c) The population with university studies

d) The unemployed population.

These categories correlate to the point of produce a single factor that explains 78.8% of the variance. We applied this same methodology to classify and group the territorial units of 20,000 inhabitants, with the intention of analyze the 2011 census microdata in a territorialized manner and with the greatest possible detail.

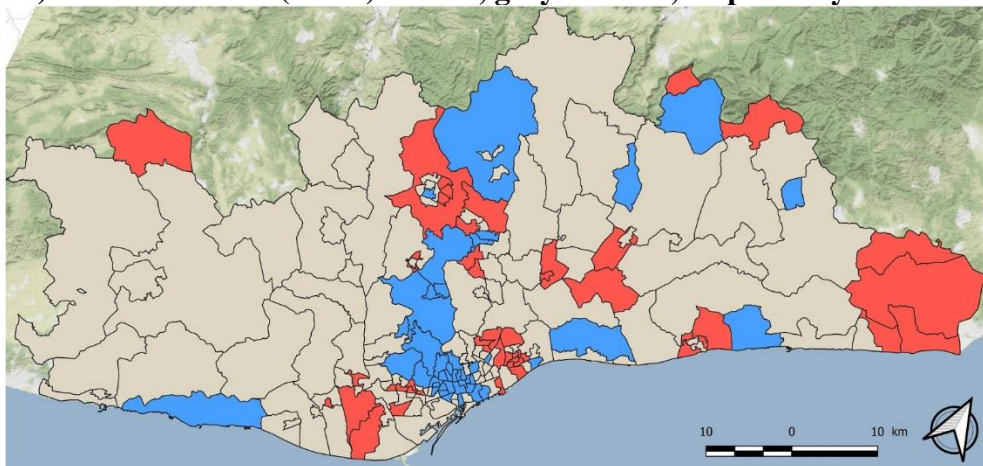
1. Municipalities with scores over 0.75 (upper), around the average (middle) and below -0.75 (lower) in blue, gray and red, respectively.



Fuente: C

Source: Population and housing census 2011, own elaboration

Groups of 20,000 inhabitants with scores over 0.75 (upper), around the average (middle) and below -0.75 (lower) in blue, gray and red, respectively.



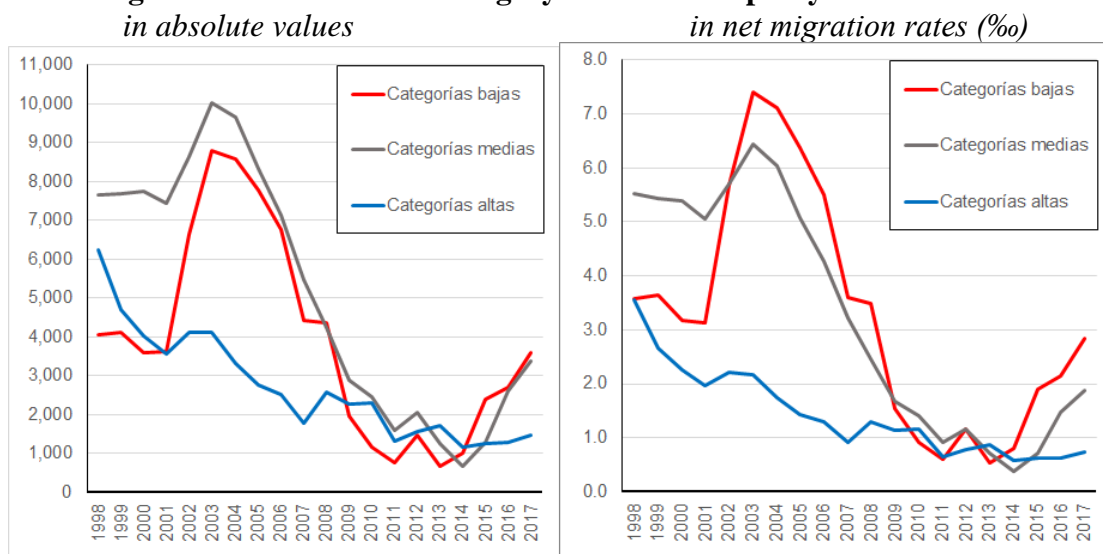
Source: Population and housing census 2011, own elaboration

We document metropolitan migration based on the Residential Variation Statistics (EVS), 1998-2017. From the perspective of the receiving municipalities, the balances received and originated in Barcelona are always positive, although with evident differences between municipalities of the different categories used. Thus, for the municipalities of upper categories the balances are decreasing, and with little temporal variability. On the other hand, the years of greater intensity of mobility depend on metropolitan migrations to municipalities with medium or low incomes, which behave with high similarity in temporal evolution and which determine the intensity of global evolution. During the most intense years of the crisis, the net migratory rates of the three categories are at the

same intensities, although as of 2014 the dynamics are again divergent, the balance growing again towards the municipalities of low and middle categories.

These flows hide a high differentiation in their structure according to the country of origin. If the weight of the immigrant population is decisive in recent residential mobility, it is even more so if we differentiate by socioeconomic category. Thus, it is the municipalities of low categories that have received the majority of immigrants born abroad, in absolute values but also in intensity, as evidenced by net migration rates. In this case, the municipalities of medium and high categories behave very similarly, while the municipalities of low categories are those that show greater intensities, but also net volumes. The presence of immigrants in the flows explains a very important part of the social transformations of space in recent years.

Migration balances between Barcelona and the metropolitan municipalities according to the socioeconomic category of the municipality



Source: Self made. Data from the Residential Variation Statistics and the Continuous Population Register (INE).

Finally, the highest occupational categories - directives and professionals - have a markedly different behavior in Barcelona (the city with more than 500 thousand inhabitants) than in the rest of the territory. While in Barcelona the percentages of managers and professionals are systematically higher for the fixed population than for the residential mobile population, in the rest of the populations it is the other way around, that of the total population, the high occupational categories present higher percentages as a residentially mobile population than as a fixed population. This systematic difference is congruent with a process of territorial deconcentration of the upper occupational classes from Barcelona to the whole territory.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the limitations of this work, we can infer some first conclusions. In the first place, we observed how emigration from Barcelona to the municipalities of medium and low metropolitan categories has a cyclical nature, determined by the economic situation, while migrations to the upper class municipalities do not depend on it. In direct relation with this mobility, it is clear how the immigrant population determines the meaning of the migratory balance of Barcelona with the metropolitan rest, especially in relation to lower-class municipalities. From both situations, it follows that during times of economic boom

the metropolitan social polarization has increased via residential mobility, due to a greater growth in the municipalities where the lower classes reside mostly. From the census data, it is clear that residential mobility contributes to the differentiation by social class of the territory. Groups of extreme occupational categories (lower and higher) experience greater residential mobility.

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