

Chapter 9

Foreigners, Neighbours, Immigrants: Translocal Mobilities in Rural Areas in Spain

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9.1 Introduction: Mobilities and Fixities in a Translocal Rurality

New migratory movements, residential strategies and forms of work organisation are transforming rural areas into translocal landscapes. We cannot understand these rural societies today without analysing the connections between their labour markets and global production processes, international migration flows, the social networks that sustain them and the residential patterns unfolding in an increasingly nomadic society. Different authors have stressed the necessity of addressing not only all of these mobilities (Massey et al., 1998; Castells, 1996; Urry, 2006) but also the immobilities (fixities) upon which all of these flows are based (Adey, 2006; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Bell & Osti, 2010), the global inequalities on which they are established (Marsden, 2009), as well as the social hierarchies and power relationships inherent within them (Cresswell, 2001, 2006).

Included within many of these migratory movements are other potential mobilities – return migrations, family reunifications – and this takes the analysis beyond an individual focus to the analysis of transnational social networks. There may also be “enfolded mobilities” (Williams, 2009, p. 315), which connect different mobilities, as is the case of international labour migrations of individuals coming from the north of Europe to work in services related to residential tourism along the Spanish Mediterranean coast.

Perhaps the presence of foreigners is one of the realities that most clearly express the profound transformation of the nature of contemporary rural life: the foreigner is seen in contrast to the characteristics of familiarity, closeness and the endogenous relationships associated with the traditional life of the country. As Buller (1994, p. 9) pointed out, “foreigners are called on to play an increasingly important role, directly or indirectly, in the evolution of the rural space and world.” On the other

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hand, the foreign population gives the rural area a translocal character, as it connects in a deep and long lasting way local realities to the realities new settlers come from and to which they remain tied (Waldinger, 2010; Hedberg & Carmo, 2011). The new settlers also illustrate through their deep heterogeneity the production of different mobilities in which the resources mobilised and the opportunities enjoyed by different groups of transmigrants vary: differences in reasons for moving, in speed and rhythm of movement, routes travelled, subjective experiences and difficulties gone through, as pointed out by Cresswell (2009). They also have diverse strategies and different itineraries, trajectories, ties and levels of rootedness or unrootedness toward the region where they have settled.

The complex nature of international migration to rural areas means that its impact is not lineal but rather selective and ambiguous. On the one hand, places (local cultures and economies, demographic and productive structures, etc.) do not serve merely as support but rather as real active elements (Hedberg & Carmo, 2011). Its effects combine with other long existing processes, such as the Fordist exodus from the country to the city that had a dramatic impact on the demographic structures of rural communities, or agrarian industrialisation that brought about the decline of the logic of family labour in agriculture. On the other hand, these processes raise new questions for rural research related to the meaning of post-productive rurality or regarding the traditional profiles of counterurbanisation (Halfacree, 2008). Finally, these migratory strategies present distinct elements not only in contrast to the Fordist migrations of the fifties, sixties and seventies in Europe but also in relation to the theoretical models of just a decade ago.

For example, recent research identified a specific pattern of migration in the south of Europe related to late capitalist and industrial development, characterised by the importance of agriculture and tourism, speculative urban development and an informal economy based on family networks (King, 2000; Katseli, 2004). In this migratory process, rural destinations, as well as the sectors and activities related to rural economies, acquire an important role alongside those of metropolitan and industrial destinations (Fonseca, 2008; Kasimis, 2008; Kasimis, Papadoulos, & Pappas, 2010; Labriandis & Sykas, 2009; Oliva, 2010). While some defining characteristics of this pattern have been maintained – such as the weight of undocumented migration, the informal economy as the target activity, or its coexistence with high rates of local unemployment – other characteristics have tended to fade in importance due to the new weight acquired by female migration or the diversification of the economic activities in which migrant labour is employed – services, manufacturing, etc.

In the following sections, we have carried out an initial exploration of the profile and the residential and occupational trajectories of foreign residents in Spanish rural areas. In order to understand the strategies that seem to guide their migratory plans, and the impact of their presence in rural localities, we have paid extra attention to the interrelations between geographical and occupational and social mobility. The data support the findings of previous studies in that they show the subsidiary role of agriculture and rural areas over the employment and residential strategies of immigrants. In addition to local employment opportunities, family migration patterns also seem to play an important role in these new residents settling in rural areas. In the

conclusion, the consequences of our findings are discussed in relation to the new translocal rurality.

Our research is based on the National Immigrant Survey (ENI) conducted in 2007. This survey of all foreign residents over 15 years of age is the first to offer representative information at the national level on immigrants' residential and occupational trajectories. This is undoubtedly the best source at the moment for analysing the impact of immigration on Spanish society. The primary decision that was made in order to carry out our analysis of the foreign population in rural areas was to only look at data for those persons who have resided in Spain for at least 3 years. Regarding the variable "size of habitat", we were unable to obtain information for approximately 22% of the cases; however, given the volume and distinct contrasts carried out, this is not expected to produce important biases in the information analysed here.

9.2 The Internationalisation of Spanish Rurality

The Spanish case is especially useful for the analysis of new migratory patterns (Arango, 2000) as well as the complex interrelationship between the different types of mobility that converge in rural areas. It illustrates the profound impact of these processes in the configuration of new rural landscapes that have not yet been adequately theorised. Whether the newcomers eventually take root in these areas or just settle there for a short time (depending on the cycles of the local labour market or the life and family chances) the continuous movements that today characterise rural areas set a different, translocal reality.

Between 1998 and 2008, the foreign resident population in Spain grew from 640,000 (1.6% of the population) to well over 5 million (11.4%). Although the majority have settled in urban areas, the impact has also been significant in rural areas, where this population has grown from 5.8 to 9.3% of the rural population in the same period.

The presence of foreign residents in rural Spain responds to different migratory processes and different types of mobility with diverse social and territorial impacts. On the one hand, there is the retirement migration of those from the centre and the north of Europe, who come to the Mediterranean coast and the islands, which are agreeable locations for who that are no longer economically active. This migration wave began coming in the mid-1980s (King, Warnes, & William, 2000; Rodríguez, Fernández-Mayoralas, & Rojo, 2004; O'Reilly, 2000) to destinations in particular counties and has grown in importance as the large European "baby boom" cohorts have entered retirement age. In addition, those who have studied this phenomenon have verified more rural and individualised residential orientations (King et al., 2000; Casado, Kaiser, & Warnes, 2004; Gustafson, 2008) and others that we might refer to as a timid "transnational neoruralism", nourished by young people looking for employment in the services and activities required by the former group (O'Reilly, 2007).

Another migratory movement to rural areas has been the return of the descendants of older generations of Spanish emigrants to other European countries (France,

Switzerland, Germany), who are returning to their places of origin, or from Latin America (Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, Uruguay or Cuba), where the economic crisis brings children and even grandchildren of those emigrants back to places where there are still family ties. This type of migration has a more pronounced impact in areas that were more affected by emigration in the past, such as certain rural areas in Galicia.

But most of the international movement toward rural areas is fed by the immigration of labour and is especially linked to areas of industrial agriculture and the development of tourism and construction and fed by groups coming from the Maghreb (Moroccans, Algerians, etc.), eastern Europe (Romanians, Bulgarians, etc.), and Latin America (Ecuadorians, Colombians, Argentineans, etc.) (Hoggart & Mendoza, 1999; Mendoza, 2003; Pedreño, 2005; Morén-Alegret, 2008; Camarero et al., 2009; Oliva, 2010).

This labour migration clearly responds to the pattern that Enrico Pugliese (1993) called post-industrial migration. The post-industrial migrations of the nineteen-eighties and nineties and the first decade of the 21st century have occurred in the context of a deep crisis in the restructuring of labour relations, the weakening of the welfare state and an increasingly precarious and informal labour market. Unlike migration flows linked to the industrial growth of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s in Europe, migrations today bring together many more nationalities, are linked to much more varied occupational sectors and turn the countries of southern Europe into net receptors of migrants.

Foreign immigrant labour represents a group with high spatial and sectorial mobility. It constitutes a “new proletariat” endowed with enormous flexibility, which has come to occupy economic sectors with a structural demand for cheap, flexible labour. It is a group that is willing to accept difficult work and that is not very demanding in terms of stability and the formal recognition of its rights as workers (Pedreño & Riquelme, 2006). In Spain, the spectacular growth of these migratory flows corresponds to the confluence of a period of intense economic growth with the entry into the workforce of reduced autochthonous cohorts with high levels of education and greater job expectations (Cachón, 2002). For the Spanish population, difficult, unstable and poorly paid occupations have become increasingly unacceptable. What has occurred overall nationally is also true in the rural areas. Economic activity in rural areas in Spain has been sustained to a great extent by the inflow of foreign labour, the autochthonous supply of labour having run out in many cases (jobs within the family, amongst the youth and women) in sectors like agriculture, construction, manufacturing, hotel and catering services, retail or domestic work and care-giving (Pedreño & Riquelme, 2006).

Labour migration has played a leading role in the major changes that have occurred in the Spanish social structure and in rural areas. Those who participate in these changes are called “immigrants”, a category that does not include other foreign residents. This is a category of social order, a category that is at once unifying and differentiating. As Balibar and Wallerstein have pointed out, “immigrant is a catch-all category, combining ethnic and class criteria, into which foreigners are dumped indiscriminately, though not all foreigners and not only foreigners” (Balibar

& Wallerstein, 1991), so that migrants involved in migration retirement or a return to Spain or foreigners with high employment or professional qualifications are not considered “immigrants”. In contrast, labour migration flows imply, for those who are involved, being labelled as immigrants, a label which is maintained even after having obtained Spanish nationality and which is often transmitted to their children who were born in Spain.

Balibar and Wallerstein (1991) pointed out that the categories “immigration” and “immigrant” acted as the functional substitute for “race” in the *modus operandi* of racist discourse after the processes of decolonisation and the migration flows to northern and central Europe after the Second World War. Before the crisis of the seventies, immigration appeared above all as a class phenomenon: immigrants appeared as foreign workers; after the crisis, they began to be foreigners, (vaguely defined in ethnic/cultural terms) workers or not (Cachón, 2006).

We therefore find ourselves with an initial differentiation between distinct mobilities which justify, in our subsequent analysis, the differentiation between foreign residents from western Europe (EU 15) – who in general are not regarded by public opinion as immigrants – and those from Latin America, the Maghreb and eastern Europe, the fundamental protagonists of the labour migrations.

Keeping in mind this basic distinction, we can see how the data (Table 9.1) reveal great diversity in terms of place of origin and the situation of foreigners residing in rural areas, even though three nationalities (Moroccans, Ecuadorians, and Romanians) make up one-third of the total (34%). While in Spain overall, Moroccans comprise the largest and most longstanding group, in rural areas Romanians are the largest group (comprising one out of every six foreigners). What we have called retirement migrations are concentrated amongst fewer nationalities, especially British (6.5%), French (6.1%) and Germans (4.2%).

The geographic distribution of foreign residents in rural areas (Fig. 9.1) shows that the eastern and Mediterranean coasts continue to be strong poles of attraction for immigrant labour. But the expansion of metropolitan areas, the agro-industrial

Table 9.1 The 10 principal nationalities in rural areas

Country of birth	(%)
Romania	15.65
Morocco	12.74
United Kingdom	6.49
France	6.14
Ecuador	5.96
Bulgaria	4.92
Argentina	4.82
Colombia	4.32
Portugal	4.29
Germany	4.17

Weight (%) of different nationalities over total number of foreigners in rural areas. Arrivals before 2005

Source: ENI (2007). INE. Expanded on by the authors

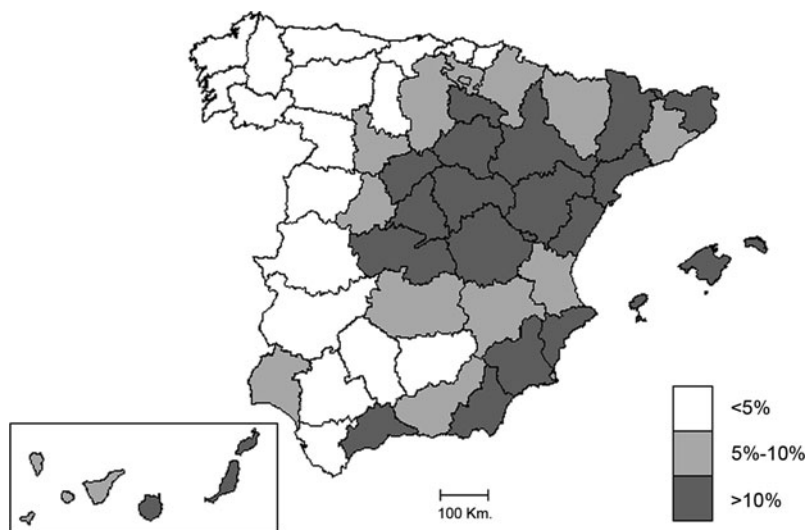


Fig. 9.1 Weight of resident immigrant population in rural areas 2008
Source: Municipal Register (2008). INE. Expanded on by the authors

complexes in certain areas of the country as well as local manufacturing throughout rural zones have spread the migration phenomenon to a large part of the interior, the eastern peninsula and the archipelagos.

On the new map of rural immigration, we can detect other types of phenomena. As a result of programmes to fight depopulation, rural areas that seem to have been fated to depopulation are now welcoming new groups of foreign residents, in small numbers but with a significant impact locally. Many politicians in small towns have viewed the inflows of immigrants as the last opportunity to avoid their town's disappearance. The immigrants, at least those most accepted because of their "cultural proximity", have revitalised these areas demographically. The question is whether rural immigration is going to be capable of correcting the deep demographic imbalances affecting many rural areas.

9.3 The Demographic Impact of International Immigration in Rural Areas

Here we will examine the demographic impact international migration flows have had on the rural areas of Spain.

A linear interpretation would lead one to assume that immigrants fill the gaps that demographic imbalances have produced in rural population structures. The data, however, do not support this hypothesis as it is too simple, not taking into account the dynamics of rural areas themselves, or the role of immigrant populations in constructing their own residential and occupational trajectories.

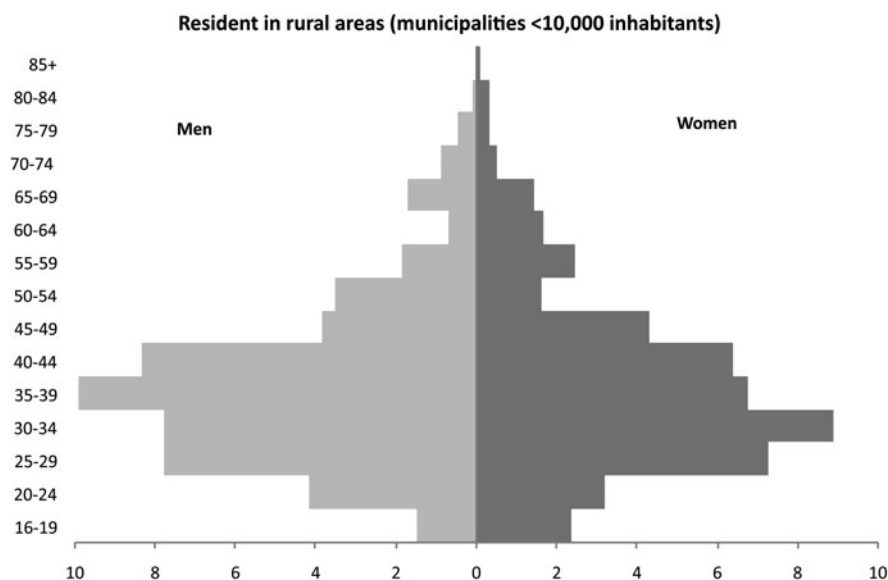


Fig. 9.2 Immigrant population structures. Arrivals before 2005

Source: ENI (2007). INE. Expanded on by the authors

As in neighbouring countries, Spain's rural population exhibits deep demographic imbalances: fundamentally an aged and masculinised population. If we look at the demographic structure of foreign residents in rural areas, we see that it is very concentrated generationally and very unbalanced by sex, with the same masculinisation that has affected Spanish rural areas for decades (Fig. 9.2). In this sense, immigration could be seen to have exacerbated this gender imbalance.

If we distinguish foreigners who come from western Europe (EU 15) from the rest, we find very different circumstances, as corresponds to populations with different socio-economic levels and different mobilities.

Those from the European Union 15 (see Fig. 9.3) are, first of all, older (here emigration related to retirement and return predominates) and in general predominantly male, although this is not the case for all age groups (especially amongst intermediate ages). Place of residence for those from the European Union 15 is strongly influenced by family relations, as more than 40% are married to or have partners who are Spanish (Table 9.2). This could explain the feminisation at younger ages. This is also an emigration whose settlement in rural areas has to do with the residential preferences typical of professional groups and has no connection to local labour markets.

Regarding foreigners not from the EU 15, the demographic structure is more concentrated in intermediate age groups, amongst the economically active, and is notably masculinised but with somewhat more of a balance between the sexes for those in their thirties (Fig. 9.4). In this sense, labour migration has come to

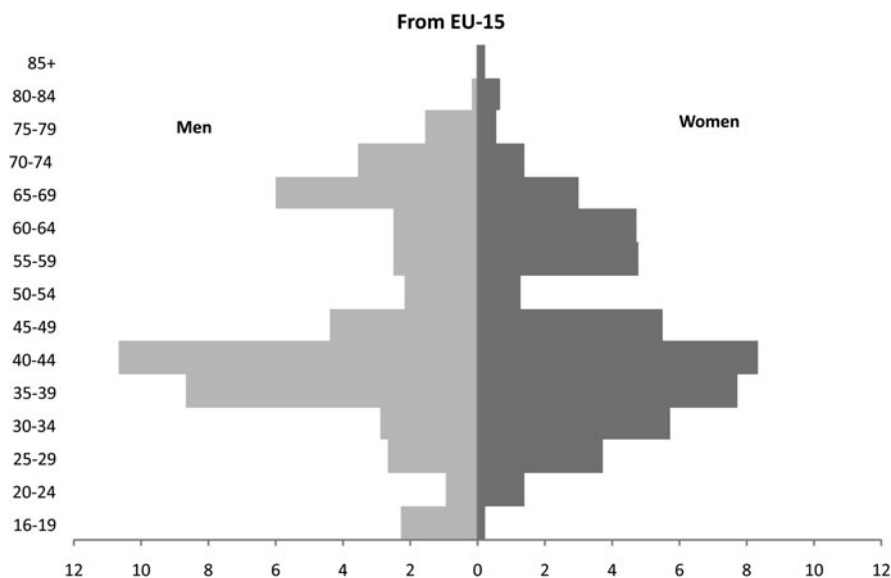


Fig. 9.3 Rural immigrant population structure from EU-15. Arrivals before 2005, Residents in municipalities <10,000 inhabitants

Source: ENI (2007). INE. Expanded on by the authors

Table 9.2 Forms of co-existence amongst couples in resident immigrant population in rural areas

			Non-EU 15		EU15	
			Men	Women	Men	Women
Not married			21.6	21.7	21.6	16.0
Married or living with partner	Spouse lives in Spain but in other housing		1.0	1.1	0.0	1.0
	Living with partner in same home	Intranational	56.6	45.9	29.9	23.9
		Transnational	3.6	4.1	5.4	9.8
		Mixed	10.5	25.8	41.9	48.6
	Spouse resides in other country		6.8	1.4	1.2	0.7
Total			100%	100%	100%	100%

Arrivals before 2005, residents in municipalities: <10,000 inhabitants; intra-national: both spouses/partners same nationality; transnational: spouses/partners of different nationalities; mixed: one spouse/partner is Spanish

Source: ENI (2007). INE. Expanded on by the authors

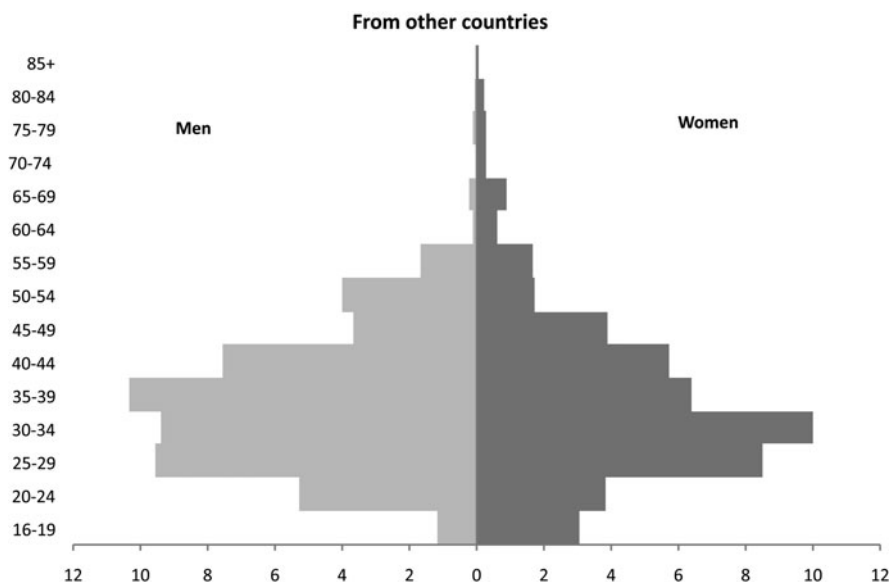


Fig. 9.4 Rural immigrant population structure from other countries. Arrivals before 2005, Residents in municipalities <10,000 inhabitants

Source: ENI (2007). INE. Expanded on by the authors

strengthen the Spanish local population of intermediate ages, although, as was previously pointed out, it has exacerbated the gender imbalance.

Today there is a tendency towards increasing feminisation in migratory patterns. This is a recent process that has to do with the processes of migratory selection in the countries of origin as well as with the demand for labour in occupations that have traditionally been for women in the country of destination – primarily domestic work and care-giving, but also in hotels, retail and food services. The case of Latin American women in Spain is a good example of this phenomenon. The entry of Spanish women into the labour market, the weakness of public social services to support families and the ageing of the population have reinforced the role of these “global care chains”, as Hochschild (2000) labelled them, in international migratory movements. In spite of this, however, the weight of the very male-dominated Moroccan immigration to Spanish rural areas has maintained the seeming masculinisation in the overall data.

The data in Table 9.2 allow us to link migration flows to some of the effects of rural masculinisation. For example, one-fourth of foreign women who do not come from the EU 15 and who reside in rural areas are married to Spanish men. Thus, marriage appears to be an important factor in settlement, which in turn is linked to the high proportion of unmarried men in the autochthonous population.

In brief, the consequences of immigration on the rural demographic structure are contradictory. On the one hand, the arrival of new residents deepens some of the traditional imbalances, such as the masculinisation of rural areas. Nevertheless, there

are also trends toward the revitalisation of the rural population as the immigrant population is at reproductive ages, the impact of which could be vital in a demographic sense. Although it is quite complex technically to evaluate this impact, the data show that a higher percentage of immigrants in rural areas live with their children (56%) than those who live in urban areas (50%).

9.4 Labour Migrations and Rural Labour Markets

Immigrant workers settling in rural areas are integrated into a labour market that is concentrated in a limited range of activities and occupations, which in turn are also highly differentiated by sex. One out of every three men is employed in construction, while women are employed in retail work, hotel and catering services and domestic services (Table 9.3).

In general terms, the data show that agricultural activity is not especially important for foreigners, nor do significant differences appear with respect to the autochthonous population. The 2007 Survey of the Active Population (EPA) revealed that 5.6% of Spanish men and 3% of Spanish women were employed in agricultural occupations, figures that are not very different from those for the foreign population (7.3% for men and 2.5% for women).

Employment in agriculture is closely linked to certain nationalities: Moroccans, Ecuadorians and Romanians make up more than 50% of the foreigners working in agriculture. Foreign workers make up 14.4% of all workers in this sector. In other

Table 9.3 Foreign population residing in rural areas (<10,000 inhabitants) – occupation by industry

Industry	Total foreign born population		Non-EU15		EU 15	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Agriculture	12.0	4.0	13.8	4.2	5.0	3.3
Manufacturing	20.5	12.6	21.7	12.4	15.7	13.2
Construction	32.6	0.1	35.3	0.2	21.6	0.0
Retail	9.0	17.1	9.3	17.1	8.1	17.2
Hotel/catering	4.7	18.4	3.8	19.3	8.6	14.8
Transport, mining, energy and fishing	8.7	3.3	7.3	2.3	14.4	6.9
Business services	5.8	12.6	3.5	11.9	14.9	15.2
Administration and education	2.7	4.9	1.4	3.1	7.8	11.4
Personal services	3.2	10.8	3.1	10.0	3.9	13.9
Household employment	0.7	16.2	0.8	19.5	0.0	4.0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Arrivals before 2005

Source: ENI (2007). Expanded on by the authors

words, one out of every six agricultural workers in Spain is a foreigner. Three-quarters of foreign workers employed in agriculture are unskilled workers. However, for these immigrant groups, agriculture is not their main source of employment. For Ecuadorians and Romanians, agriculture accounts for only 7% of their employment, while it is higher for Moroccans, reaching 15%. Only those from Gambia, which represents a very small group numerically, have a rate close to 30%.

As paradoxical as it may seem, agriculture, of all the sectors, ends up being the one with the least local and least settled labour force. Only one-fourth of the foreigners working in agriculture reside in rural municipalities. If we keep in mind the fundamental role of spatial mobility in the employment strategies of immigrants, we can easily understand that the seasonal nature of agricultural work accentuates this mobility. It is possible to work in the country but to take advantage of the housing rental possibilities offered in cities; it is possible to be in a state of permanent itinerancy between the different agricultural harvests throughout Spain (Viruela, 2010), or to spend periods of time in one's home country and return to Spain for the months when there is work, as is the case of workers from the Maghreb.

Mobility between place of residence and place of employment also takes place in the opposite direction; foreign workers who reside in small towns commute daily to work in urban labour markets (something that is very common in the suburbs of large cities). The case of construction work is perhaps the clearest example. Crews of construction workers travel great distances from rural zones to urban centres, which are more dynamic in terms of real estate development, or to other rural areas in which the increase in second residences has contributed to revitalising construction. Extra-local labour markets have also acquired great importance in the case of women, especially in the domestic service and business services sectors.

The importance of temporary contracts in the industries in which foreign workers are concentrated reveals that their main occupations are precisely those in which employment is the most precarious. Subordinate integration into the labour market is one of the social foundations of international labour migration. Migration supplies an extremely flexible workforce for the jobs that are least attractive to nationals. For example, in the case of foreign males residing in rural areas, 56% of those working in agriculture have temporary contracts, 48% of those in construction, 37% of those in manufacturing, and 28% of those in retail. In the case of women, 47% of those working in agriculture hold temporary contracts, 31% of those in manufacturing, 30% of those in retail and hotel/catering services, and approximately 34% of those working in domestic service and personal services. The phenomenon of labour migrations results in what Pedreño called the ethno-fragmentation of the labour market (Pedreño, 2005). The segmentation of labour markets produces and thus sanctions social differentiation and the transmission of inequalities.

Thus, if we look at Table 9.3, which shows the occupational structure of foreigners coming from the EU 15 countries – a group that has a higher percentage of inactivity – we can see that this group is overrepresented in economic sectors less given to job insecurity (administration and education, business services, transport, mining and energy, etc.).

9.5 Exploring the Trajectories of International Migrants: Residential Mobility, Occupational Mobility and Family Migration Patterns

Fundamental to the employment strategies of immigrants is spatial mobility (Pedreño & Riquelme, 2006). Mobility refers, first of all, to the journey from the country of origin and thus the creation of a translocal social space. Second, it refers to the residential and occupational mobility involved in migration, which ranges from situations of administrative irregularity and employment in difficult and grossly underpaid jobs in rural or peripheral areas to situations of legality, in higher paid jobs in urban environments with more dynamic labour markets.

A basic question is the role rural areas play in the strategies and life plans of migrants. Up to what point is the countryside only a “way station”, or can it become, under certain conditions and for certain groups, a destination with lasting roots? We believe that this question can be addressed by identifying patterns of residential and occupational mobility and different family migration patterns amongst the different national groups.

9.5.1 Residential Mobility

All of the research carried out up until now shows high residential mobility amongst foreigners. The research based on Residential Variations Statistics shows that the internal migratory patterns of foreigners differ in intensity and spatial structure from those of the native Spanish (Recaño, 2006). Ten years ago, foreigners changed their place of residence approximately 40,000 times, 4.2% of the total changes of residency, and in 2007 they moved more than half a million times, 30% of the total (Viruela, 2010). Internal movement is fundamentally related to labour and housing markets (Pomares, García, & Asensio, 2006), and this continuously alters the distribution of the foreign resident population in Spain (García, 2005).

A specific analysis of urban rural mobility reveals that immigrants' first place of residence is urban: small towns account for only 1 out of every 10 recent arrivals (Table 9.4). Those from the EU 15 settle in rural areas a little more often than others, but in both cases migration is primarily to urban areas. However, with increasing length of residence, those from the EU 15 increase their presence in rural areas. In contrast, although the presence of immigrants from other countries in urban areas has also declined, this does not mean they are settling in rural areas; rather, intermediate rural and urban environments, such as small cities, peri-metropolitan municipalities and county seats, are becoming more important.

If we analyse the movements of immigrants more closely, we see that there are few changes of residency from rural to urban areas and vice versa (Table 9.5). In the case of foreigners from the EU 15, the trend is toward ruralisation (5.5% have gone from initially living in a village to living in a city while 10% have moved in the opposite direction). However, for the rest of the foreign population, even though the

Table 9.4 Size of municipalities of arrival and final settlement of immigrants

Size	Municipality upon arrival			Municipality of final settlement		
	Total	Non-EU 15	EU 15	Total	Non-EU 15	EU 15
<10,000	11.7	11.1	14.2	13.5	12.3	18.7
10,001–20,000	9.1	7.9	14.4	10.8	9.7	16.1
20,001–50,000	14.0	13.1	17.9	18.0	16.9	23.0
>50,000	65.3	67.9	53.6	57.7	61.2	42.3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Arrivals before 2005

Source: ENI (2007). Expanded on by the authors

Table 9.5 Relationship between place of arrival and current place of residence

	Total	Non-EU 15	EU 15
Have always resided in rural municipalities	6.7	6.3	8.6
Municipality of arrival urban; current municipality rural	6.8	6.0	10.0
Municipality of arrival rural; current municipality urban	4.9	4.8	5.5
Have always resided in urban municipalities	81.6	82.9	75.8
Total	100%	100%	100%

Arrivals before 2005

Source: ENI (2007). Expanded on by the authors

trend is along the same lines, the difference between the two movements is hardly noticeable and is probably related more to the dynamic of urban sprawl in which the urban population moves to the peripheries than to choices related to rural labour markets. This process can be better understood by analysing occupation trajectories.

9.5.2 Occupational Mobility

Occupational trajectories show that agriculture has considerable importance in the initial employment in Spain for foreign-born men (approximately one-third have their first job in agriculture) while a substantial proportion of women begin working in domestic service (Table 9.6).

Different studies have shown that for immigrants, the ability to get a job in construction in the case of men or in the service sector in the case of women is a step forward in their migratory project, allowing them to leave work in agriculture, which is considered more unrewarding, unstable, poorly paid and poorly regarded (Muñoz, 2005; Pedone, 2005, 2006).

In fact, the occupational structure of immigrants has changed in the last 6 years, coinciding with the settlement of new rural residents (Table 9.7). While in 2001, agricultural activity was the main source of employment for immigrant men in rural

Table 9.6 Immigrants residing in rural areas according to initial employment held in Spain

	Men	Women
Agriculture	33.2	8.6
Manufacturing	13.5	10.6
Construction	24.2	1.1
Retail	7.3	10.7
Hotel/catering	6.2	19.7
Transport, mining, energy and fishing	6.0	3.8
Business services	4.2	8.9
Administration and education	2.8	3.7
Personal services	2.4	7.0
Domestic services	0.4	25.9
Total	100%	100%

Arrivals before 2005

Source: ENI (2007). INE. Expanded on by the authors

Table 9.7 Variations in immigrant occupational structure (2001–2007)

Occupation	Men			Women		
	2001	2007	Difference	2001	2007	Difference
Agriculture	26.6	12.0	−14.6	10.9	4.0	−6.9
Manufacturing	17.3	20.5	3.2	12.5	12.6	0.1
Construction	24.9	32.6	7.7	3.0	0.1	−2.9
Retail	9.2	9.0	−0.2	12.1	17.1	5.0
Hotel/catering	7.1	4.7	−2.4	20.1	18.4	−1.7
Transport, mining, energy and fishing	5.1	8.7	3.6	3.1	3.3	0.2
Business services	3.6	5.8	2.2	6.8	12.6	5.8
Administration and education	2.8	2.7	−0.1	6.6	4.9	−1.7
Personal services	2.7	3.2	0.5	8.3	10.8	2.5
Domestic services	0.8	0.7	−0.1	16.5	16.2	−0.3
Total	100%	100%		100%	100%	

Source: 2001; Data: Population Census (2001). INE (2007) Data: ENI (2007). Expanded on by the authors

areas, it is now construction. And there has also been a significant shift of women away from employment in agriculture to jobs in the retail sector and in business services.

Abandoning employment in agriculture seems, therefore, to be a step forward in the migratory trajectory. The capacity to advance in this upwardly mobile direction depends in part on what has been referred to as a process of ethnic stratification of the labour market (Pedreño, 2005). This process refers to the way in which employers appeal to cultural differences to legitimise classifying the work aptitudes and qualifications of immigrants based on their nationality. In the case of agriculture,

it has been shown that an ethnic hierarchy exists in which eastern European workers are the most highly regarded, Moroccans are the lowest on the totem pole, and Latin Americans are somewhere in between. North Africans are relegated to the hardest jobs with the least responsibility (Viruela, 2002). This process is the same in other sectors such as construction, where employers attribute higher qualifications to eastern European workers in comparison to north Africans (Colectivo IOE, 1998). In the area of domestic work, a series of qualities defined in terms of ethnicity are attributed to women; for example, it is said that eastern European women are “beautiful and intelligent”; Latin American women are “sweet and affectionate”, and Muslim women are “strange and submissive” (Pedreño & Riquelme, 2006).

The ethnic stratification of the labour market reveals the inequalities operating in regard to gaining access to employment networks, even in the context of labour migrations. It tells us something about the social production of different mobilities. For example, with respect to employment in agriculture, it is generally the most recent arrivals who occupy those jobs. Perhaps the only exception would be Moroccans, who occupy the lowest position in the ethnic stratification of labour markets and for whom the nearness of their country of origin makes agricultural work a seasonal activity and supplementary to others that they do in their home country, or perhaps a temporary work strategy that is part of their plan of taking advantage of their family residence in Morocco.

9.6 Family Migration Patterns

The data show that immigrants over time participate in the same process of disengagement from agriculture experienced by the Spanish population and that they find greater opportunities in urban and peri-urban areas for their plans for economic progress (finding supplementary employment, reducing downtime between seasonal jobs, improving access to transport for moving around the country).

The presence and potential for settlement of new foreign residents depends on local employment opportunities or opportunities – via commuting – to connect to the most dynamic urban labour markets. But settling in rural areas also seems to be related to the opportunity for family consolidation.

As shown in Table 9.8, there is a significant difference in family structure amongst the foreign population according to place of residence. Rural foreigners more often live in families; they are more often married or living with their partners than urban foreigners. This suggests that their presence is linked to family settlement. Settlement occurs when family coexistence can be consolidated.

This fact leads us to introduce family migration patterns into our analysis. The very different demographic structures presented by immigrants, according to their nationality, has made it possible to identify different family migration patterns (Camarero & García, 2004; Camarero, 2010), which appear to be connected to occupation and residency patterns and which potentially condition their tendency to settle in rural areas.

Table 9.8 Forms of co-existence amongst the foreign-born population by size of habitat

	<10,000	10,001–20,000	20,001–50,000	>50,000
Not married	16.70	26.53	24.27	26.22
Married and living with spouse or partner	75.02	63.50	64.83	64.49
Married, spouse living in other country	8.28	9.96	10.90	9.29
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Arrivals before 2005

Source: ENI (2007). INE. Expanded on by the authors

The comparison of the demographic structures of Moroccan and Dominican immigrants, for example, reveals very different migration strategies (Camarero & García, 2004). The Moroccan population is represented by a marked masculinisation. They are predominantly single young men between 25 and 35 years of age. There are many more married men than married women, which indicates that the families of these men continue to reside in Morocco; thus, these are translocal transnational families. Family reunification is low in relative terms. This structure tells us that there is a seasonal pattern of migration: for many Moroccans, Spain is a transitory destination or at least not a place where one settles down; rather, it is a place that you leave after a few years. This is consistent with employment being primarily in agriculture and construction, which is seasonal and under the most precarious of situations, and more frequently in rural and intermediate areas than in large metropolitan areas.

In contrast, Dominican immigration is characterised by a pronounced feminisation; these are women with children. During the initial years, their children remain in the Dominican Republic, creating translocal families in this case as well. In the majority of the cases, these female heads of households are employed in domestic work. These are entirely feminine chains in which the women emigrate first and later bring their children and only in some cases their partners. In other cases, the partner never comes, and what was already a *de facto* single-parent family in the country of origin is consolidated in Spain, or blended families are formed, often with Spanish men. In contrast to both of these patterns, migrants from eastern Europe, such as Bulgarians or Romanians, present migration patterns that are much more family-oriented. They migrate with the whole family at the same time (Camarero, 2010).

The potential capacity to consolidate families living together in rural areas therefore varies amongst the different immigrant groups.

These different family migration patterns show us that there is a dual selection process, first in the place of origin and then in the place of destination: some must go and others must stay. The family appears as a powerful institution regulating individual mobility as well as an institution of solidarity and translocal cohesiveness through space and time, but one whose relationships also appear to be shaken by the very experience of mobility (Camarero, 2010).

9.7 Conclusion

The presence of immigrants in the countryside is another demonstration of the definitively translocal nature of rural areas. They are one element in the complex social landscape of globalised and post-modern rurality, one more element that has come to stay. Foreigners have been seen as a solution to the problems of depopulation and the loss of the economically active population in rural areas. They have also been viewed as a threat because of the social heterogeneity they introduce into a space that is seen as being socially and culturally homogeneous. In any case, the study of immigrants in rural areas offers us the opportunity to observe the social production of different mobilities: return or retirement migrations versus labour migrations, new neighbours versus “immigrants”, etc. Labour migration in rural environments cannot be separated from processes of ethnic fragmentation of the labour market, which define the status of immigrants through their subordinate position in the labour market, nor can it be separated from the ethnic stratification within the immigrant population, which separates and places the different nationalities in a hierarchy based on supposed ethnic differences or affinities.

The consequences of immigration for the demographic structure of rural areas are contradictory. On the one hand, immigrants have come to reinforce the active generations that support rural communities by introducing an element of vitality. On the other hand, on occasion they have reinforced the masculinisation of rural areas, which is one of the most serious threats to their social sustainability. However, the feminisation of migrations can increase the opportunity for autochthonous men to find partners and therefore strengthen the formation of families.

In general, the data related to the residential and occupational trajectories of immigrants point to the fact that agricultural and rural areas are not especially valued destinations for immigrants and that they are seen more as entry points or stations on the way to urban or peri-urban environments. The countryside continues to be a world where diverse fixities (Bell, Lloyd, & Vatopec, 2010) and inflexibilities (local cultures, local labour markets, habitat structure or environmental conditions, etc.) converge, as the capacity for movement and connection to employment networks is reduced and dependencies connected to family responsibilities are increased. The presence of international migrants in rural areas cannot be considered apart from the high social and economic value given to urban settlements in the receiving country. Their rural-urban mobility strategies express, in a stronger way even than those of the autochthonous people, the close interdependence between rural and urban areas in our mobile societies.

Whether new residents settle in rural areas is going to depend, as with the autochthonous population, on the existence of employment opportunities at the local level or the possibility of being connected to a more dynamic urban labour market via commuting. But it also has to do in an important way with the opportunities for the consolidation of the family in rural villages. In this sense, the different family migration patterns of immigrants from different countries have an impact on settlement in rural areas. Those patterns that favour family reunification or the formation of families with a Spanish partner have an added advantage. This is another

example of the way international migrants “bring with them” the places where they come from, and the definitive translocal nature of rural areas.

The results of our analysis reveal a liquid rurality, a rurality in motion and in endless transformation. All of these processes we have analysed demonstrate a need for more research as well as imagination in the elaboration of policies for rural development that take these new migratory flows into consideration.

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