

Recent Residential Mobility in Spain

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Abstract

This paper presents some of the main conclusions which can be drawn from internal migration in Spain. We have a double objective: on the one hand, to present the volume of flows and, on the other, to interpret observed patterns within them. The data originates mainly from the Residential Variations Statistics (official Spanish register of residential changes). The hypotheses are classified with a criterion for completeness: considering all possible alternatives. The findings show that the urban-centripetal flow ceased to be significant in the 1980s. Although in the first decade of the 21st century, all habitats grew, thanks to foreign immigration, cities registered negative migratory balances. By contrast, for the first time, rural areas recorded a positive demographic balance. The counterurban theories are called into question in light of recent data and of the classification used.

Keywords: Territorial dynamics, Demographic dynamics, Reurbanization, Urban deconcentration, Counterurbanization

1. Introduction: The Study of Demographic Dynamics

Until well after the middle of the twentieth century, there was a broad and latent consensus on territorial dynamics. The hegemonic theory held that all societies walked unerringly towards a situation in which the majority of the population would reside in cities. If this were to happen, a rural society, which defined pre-industrial societies, would become another urban society. In this context, present-day rural life would be relegated to a marginal and regressive status.

Nevertheless, as of the 1970s, first in America and then in many other European countries, evidence that growth in "non-metropolitan" areas was higher than that of the "metropolitan"¹ areas became noticeable. With Beale and Berry, in North America, and Vinning and Kontuly in Europe, to name just a few pioneering examples, a new paradigm began to emerge, as opposed to the previous orthodox one, often referred to as "counterurban". According to the latter, as originally formulated, a veritable "*Clean*" had taken place in the history of mankind, opening up a new cycle of territorial dynamics in which individual preferences for more natural habitats, of lower volume and density, would become increasingly prevalent. The new cycle is also known as "*rural turnaround*".

However, the recorded history of the theory and empirical data registered rapid and drastic reversals (García Docampo, 2014). While in the USA, the 1980s reflected higher growth in urban areas (12% versus the 2% of non-metropolitan); many European countries were registering counterurban processes. The diversity became more apparent in the 1990s: in the USA a true counterurban revival was noticeable (Beale *et al.*, 1990; Long *et al.*, 1997.); in Europe, the diversity observed merely brought about huge scholarly confusion. Thus, countries that previously recorded an urban crisis changed and again to show clear evidence of concentration, such as Austria, Sweden (Champion, 1992), Belgium, Germany (Frey, 1995); however, many also showed signs of deconcentration: Canada (Dahms *et al.*, 1999), Denmark, France, Ireland, and Italy (Champion, 1992)².

With the new millennium, evidence of redevelopment becomes more visible, both in Europe (Bromley *et al.*, 2007;

¹ The contested use of US Metropolitan categories versus Nonmetropolitan areas has generated much controversy in the analysis of current trends. An analogy has on occasions been derived from these and their balances with rural and urban spaces. However, this analogy presents three types of problems: 1) non-metropolitan areas include both urban (including cities) and rural areas; 2) a county that is considered "metropolitan" in a census will not necessarily be considered as such in the next one, as modifications due to the expansion of an existing metropolitan may take place, or a new metropolitan area could be generated from the growth of a "non-metropolitan" area; 3) In the nonmetropolitan categories there are counties adjacent to metropolitan areas which could be locating a major part of non-metropolitan growth.

² Presently, different interpretations coexist. On the one hand, the hopes of the counterurbans, who envision a return to the path of the 1970s, that was broken during the past decade, but interpreting that regression to be in its final throes before the cities enter into their ultimate and fatal crisis. On the other hand, the counter-urban interpretation continues to be challenged, insisting that what grows are mainly, and in the majority of cases, the rings and city suburbs.

Cheshire and Gordon, 2006; Turok and Mykhnenko, 2007) as in America (Johnson, 2006) and in other continents (Priemus 2003 and Buzar *et al.*, 2007). The paradigm is strong and dominant (Haase *et al.*, 2010) but does not override the pro-rural thesis. The adjustment to the theoretical model of cyclic³ sequence of Van den Berg *et al.* (1982) seems quite acceptable (Parr, 2012); although, from certain positions, the emphasis is now more clearly on the simultaneity and disorder of the sequential processes (Couch *et al.*, 2005; 2002; Turok, 2007) and even on a tendency towards the stabilization of all habitats (Haase *et al.*, 2010). However, empirical evidence of rural revitalization allows them to continue sustaining the counterurban hypotheses (Halfacree, 2012, Farrell, 2012).

In the case of Spain, the rural exodus to the cities was particularly strong between 1950 and 1980 (Figure 3). However, as Camarero (1993) points out, the net migration of rural municipalities since the mid 1980s tends to zero, balancing inputs with outputs, and therefore verifying the hypothesized equilibrium of Wardwell (1977). In the 1990s, the Spanish rural municipalities (population under 10,000) were already growing (García Sanz, 1997), a trend which is more evident in the new millennium. Notwithstanding, cities also recovered their prominence (Nel.io, 2004, Pozo Rivera *et al.*, 2009), intensifying the hypotheses based on the processes of reurbanization. García Docampo *et al.*, (2012), presents not only the evolution of rural and urban areas throughout the twentieth century, but also an interpretation, contrasted empirically for the case of Spain, of how this evolution corresponds to a model determined by "Territorial Transition". This postulates that deconcentration is only one phase in a process that concludes in a new territorial rebalancing, where both rural areas and urban areas and their outskirts grow significantly over the first decade of the 21st century.

Contributions to the study of internal migration in Spain were much more abundant, as can be seen, for example, in the bibliographic review by Silvestre (2002), but especially from a more local and sectoral analysis perspective. Rodríguez *et al.* (2004) provides evidence of the contribution made by "retirement migration" to the renewal of the rural population, and Oliva (2010) extends the significance to other groups of foreign immigrants. Lamela (2006) shows how foreign immigrants are also the ones that move the most internally. The treatment of the impact between changes of residence and other social variables has also generated an extensive amount of literature, as in the case of rural gentrification (Janoschka *et al.*, 2014; Duque Calvache, (2014), gender (Gurrutxaga, 2013), age (Hierro, 2006) or changes in the "perception" of rurality (Rivera, 2013). Catalonia is one of the Spanish regions that has most carried out exhaustive research on migration (Solana, 2010, Bayona *et al.*, 2013, Pallares *et al.*, 2014), although other regions have also received attention, such as Pozo Rivera *et al.*, (2009) on Madrid, and Morillo *et al.* (2010), on Andalusia.

Both in Spain and internationally, the said academic literature has sought to find evidence of what the recent pattern is and, by extension, what will be the future trend of territorial dynamics and, in particular, of rural areas.

2. Methods and Data

2.1 Hypotheses

Hypotheses are presented in a thorough manner, considering each and every one of the possible alternatives of territorial dynamics. The comparison is made with data referring to Spain, but the theoretical context goes beyond the national context in order to understand the trends observed in Europe and other countries that are fundamental to the OECD.

To understand what is happening in a given society at a spatial level it is necessary to have knowledge of which are the relevant territorial categories. The urban-rural dichotomy is a classic debate among them, and it is not exempt of controversy. It is important to maintain these categories because they summarize a broad process of social change in a paradigm that is academically well understood; the historical development of rural societies led to an inexorable *urbanization* process and the concentration of population in cities. However, simplifying this duality hinders the understanding of some of the processes that have taken place since the last third of the 20th century. At the very least, it is essential to include a new category, which we could call "periphery" (*ring*), like a crown inserted into the ancient rural areas surrounding the major cities. Even though subsequently, to empirically interpret the contemporary Spanish reality, we have introduced some much finer clarifications; the fundamental triad consists of "cities", "rings", and "rural areas". These three areas are far from being internally homogeneous and relationally different, but instead, the heterogeneity existing in each of them and the unclear barriers that identify them turn them into weak concepts because of definition and delimitation problems. Still, they are the interpretative protagonists of territorial dynamics. To exclude any of them

³ The cyclic sequence began with the "concentration" of population in the cities, followed by successive phases of suburbanization (followed), with the simultaneous growth of cities and their fringes, and deconcentration (or de-urbanization), with the growth of fringes and other rural spaces, during periods when cities did not grow.. Finally the process culminated in a fourth phase of reurbanization, where the main cities recovered the hegemony of their dynamism and growth (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1982).

would impede the understanding the past, the present, and the future evolution of the system of population settlements.

In fact, all the evidence that Beale, Berry and his other contemporaries presented on non-metropolitan growth in the 1970s in the USA was soon questioned, on the suspicion that they did not adequately measure the rural areas or even "non metropolitanization" itself. The main reason was based on the premise that growth was focused more on peri-urban areas, which practically formed part of the suburban fringe areas. Early on Fuguitt *et al.* (1975), Vining and Strauss (1977) and Gordon (1979) perceived how contiguity with urban areas is relevant to understanding the location of the growth of small settlements. Criticism of this ruralist generalization of all non-metropolitan areas became more evident in the 1980s (Hall *et al.*, 1980) considerably damaging the credibility of the counterurban paradigm. Since the 1990s, some very decisive analyses (Long *et al.*, 1997; Johnson *et al.*, 2005; Wang, 2006) began to show that a clear conclusion can be drawn. In the case of North America, most population growth in the second half of the 20th century focuses on "*new metropolitan*" counties; in other words, counties that went from being non-metropolitan in the 1970s to being metropolitan in a later census⁴. The reason for the change lies in the peripheral location of the counties and in that they are adjacent to metropolitan areas.

In the simpler and also more useful version of territorial dynamics, from a theoretical point of view, there are three relevant spaces for the analysis of internal migration (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1982; Elliot, 1996; Parr, 2012): the traditional compact city (core), the suburban peripheries (fringe) and the rest dominated by rural areas (rural). Despite the huge reduction that this represents, giving priority to criteria of parsimony, this triad makes it possible to efficiently understand (better than other more complex taxonomies) alternative theoretical hypotheses. Leaving out the evident internal diversity of each habitat, one can easily see the semantic relation that characterizes them. Each, in turn, may increase or decrease, regardless of the behaviour of the others, which makes it possible to develop a limited number of combinations (presented in Figure 1), each of which responds to a different kind of dynamic. The possible hypotheses originate from the combination of the dynamics of each of these three habitats. By carrying out a simplified differentiation of the spaces, dividing them into three groups (Traditional Compact Cities, Periphery and Rural) and identifying in each of them only two possible dynamics (growth or crisis, symbolized respectively with the sign + or - / =), 8 *alternative hypotheses*⁵ are produced (García Docampo, 2014).

Dominant patterns can be observed during each historical moment and they are characteristic of some of the alternative situations. Thus, in a feudal society a pre-industrial "equilibrium" was recorded, with growth both in cities and rural areas (the periphery did not yet exist as a territorial entity). In this first phase, the growth rates in the different territorial habitats are quite similar (De Vries, 1995). The course of history is accompanied by industrialization processes, first with a high concentration of population in cities and a massive rural exodus (concentration), and then with the opening up of a phase of centrifugal expansion in cities in which core and fringe grow simultaneously (suburbanization). More recently, the core dynamics have become stagnant (or decrease) and those of the fringe have been even further activated (decentralization). A particular case of the latter is produced when it is the rural areas that are revitalized (counterurban). Finally we have the current situation. The questions referring to the present and the future are still open, summarized in the following alternative hypotheses: either an urban revival takes place (redevelopment), or only (or principally) rural areas grow (counterurbanization) or preferably the peripheries of major cities (deconcentration), or the peripheral areas grow as much as the rural areas (de-urbanization), or lastly one of the situations contrary to generalized growth or decline takes place.

⁴ The joint work of Johnson, Nucci and Long (Johnson *et al.*, 2005) is particularly telling. They divide the counties of the U. S. into four groups. Firstly, the nonmetropolitan, which remains in that category both in the 1963 census as in the one for 1993. Secondly, those who switch to the metropolitan category, known as "New Metro". In turn, the metropolitan is divided into two groups, resulting in a third category of counties already densely populated in 1963, the "Core Metro", and finally, one last category reserved for the metropolises not very densely populated in 1963 (the "noncore"). Two main conclusions can be drawn from their study: 1st) Growth in the 1970s basically took place in counties that in subsequent censuses were considered as metropolitan ("New Metro"); 2nd) The Rural rebound of the 1990s however, can in fact be confirmed with the empirical data presented, reflected in the growth of non metropolitan counties that exceeds not only the core, but also the noncore. It is also true that this cycle began in the late 1980s and clearly ended in the second half of the 1990s..

⁵ Actually, transfers with the repetition of 2 elements (growth or stagnation, symbolised in Figure 1 with + and =/-) taken for each habitat (which are three: Core, Ring, and Rural). Where n stands for the number of elements and r for the cases studied, the calculation of possibilities is $nr = 23 = 8$.

2.2 Classification of Spanish Municipalities

The empirical comparison that could answer the above questions in the case of Spain requires a process of territorial breakdown that in this instance has been resolved by using the municipalities (NUTS IV) as a reference. Clearly, this presents some problems, namely that a municipality can contain both rural and urban spaces. However, there are more advantages than disadvantages, compared to other alternatives (such as the Singular Population Entities of the INE (Spain's National Statistic Institute)). The advantages include: the amount of sociodemographic information available, the accuracy of the physical demarcation to geolocate the data, and the municipal hyperfragmentation of Spain's territorial structure (more than 8,000 municipalities), which keeps the effects of internal heterogeneity to a minimum.

In a second phase, when shifting from the theoretical model to the applied one, further to the above, we added a new type of habitat to the three former ones. The reason for this new inclusion is due to empirical difficulties in clearly separating Urban from Rural in some cases. This led us to consider an intermediate habitat, referred to herein as Urban Minor. It includes spaces (municipalities) that are medium-low in size, that are far removed from the concept of rurality, but with a weak degree of "city". They are municipalities with more than 10,000 and less than 35,000 inhabitants, not included in the categories of "city" or "Periphery".

A consideration of four types of habitats was thus established; cities, suburbs, small urban and other municipalities. We used the Atlas of Housing (Department of Housing, 2007) as a general basis for the classification of Spanish municipalities. We performed a number of changes: 1st- We used strict criteria to redefine "city" municipalities (Figure 1) following a logic of "historical volume"; 2nd- We associated them with the municipalities which the Housing Atlas 2007 considered to conform to its Urban Area, which we call "peripheries"; 3rd- We considered the rest of the municipalities which the Atlas classifies as Small Urban Area, not peripheral to a city, such as Minor Urban, and included in that category all municipalities not considered "Periphery" (Ring) with more than 10,000 inhabitants in 2011; 4th- The rest of the municipalities are included under "Rural". The positioning of each municipality in one category or another was done through a process of automatic classification, based on the fulfilment of the criteria for inclusion and their system of prevalence. These criteria are shown in Figure 1. During a later stage, the rural habitat was broken down into three different groups: Rural Manualized, Rural Agricultural, and Rural Inactive.

HABITAT	CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION
Cities	Any municipality that meets the following criteria simultaneously is considered a city. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Had a total population of 15,000 or more inhabitants in 1910. - Had a total population of 30,000 or more inhabitants in 1930. - Had a total population of 30,000 or more inhabitants in 1981. - Had a total population of 35,000 or more inhabitants in 2001. <p>Similarly, all municipalities that are provincial capitals even if they do not comply with the above criteria are considered cities.</p>
Periphery	Municipalities that appear as part of a Great Urban Area in the Atlas of Housing (2007) are considered "peripheral" (not included in cities). In this case the large urban areas are characterized by having at least a municipality of 50,000 or more inhabitants and other municipalities included in large urban areas must have 1000 or more inhabitants
Urban Minor	The Urban Minor, or also called Small Urban, are classified according to three criteria: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not listed under the category of Cities or Outskirts 2. Having 10,000 or more inhabitants in 2011 3- Appear classified as Small Urban Area Municipalities in the Atlas of Housing 2006
Rural	Other municipalities not included in any of the above categories are further divided into three subgroups: Rural Manualized, Rural Agricultural, and Rural Inactive. Criteria for classification in each of the rural municipalities in one of these subgroups depend on their social and occupational structure. A system of automatic classification, based on profiles was used.

Figure 1. Criteria for the classification of Spanish municipalities by habitat

Source: Developed by the author

2.3 Data

The source for all the data is the "Instituto Nacional de Estadística" (National Statistic Institute ("INE")); the official statistic agency of the government of Spain). Mainly, we used two operations: the Residential Variation Statistics, "EVR" [Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales], which is an on-going administrative record that collects the changes of address of the population, and as reference for the overall population at all times, we used the Census and Municipal Population Registers (exhaustive collection and cross socio-demographic data). Information was also provided by other

auxiliary sources such as the Natural Population Movement, "MNP" [Movimiento Natural de la Población], which reports on births and deaths, and the Migration Survey, "EM" [Encuesta de Migraciones] with data obtained from surveys focused on a representative portion of the migrant population complemented partial aspects of our main objective.

3. Discussion

3.1 Evolution of Habitats in Spain

During the first half of the 20th century, the process of concentration of population in Spanish cities was progressive. During the middle of that century a pattern of change is perceived, resulting from the strong impact of suburbanization processes, while the rural exodus also becomes more intense, reaching its peak in the early 1970s (Precado Ledo *et al.*, 1985). In the 1980s, the trend drifts slowly but steadily towards a rebalancing of growth, that is less intense, but reaches every single habitat as of the beginning of the new millennium (García Docampo *et al.*, 2012).

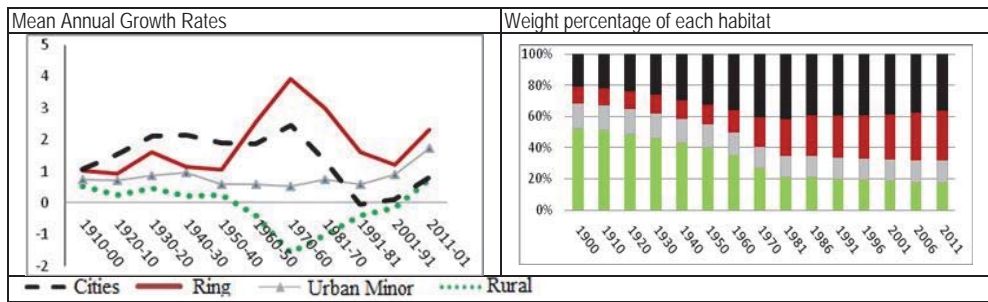


Figure 2. Evolution of each Habitat in Spain

Source: Census of Population (for years ending in 0 or 1) and Municipal Register for years ending in 6 (INE).

In retrospect, Spain went from being a country with over 55% of its population living in rural municipalities, in the early 20th century, to becoming a more urban society. The rural habitat was relegated to just below 20% of the population at the beginning of the 21st century (Figure 3). The migratory component is the explanatory cause for the variation in inhabitants. After the historical rural exodus, in the recent period which began in the 1980s, the patterns appear semi-stable. It is a known fact that fertility dropped sharply between the mid 1970s to the late 1990s (Goldstein *et al.*, 2009). The drop took place in a similar way in all the habitats, although the Crude Birth Rate (CBR), included herein (Figure 4), hides the differences in the age pyramids for each one. It does, however, provide a better measurement of the intensity of natural increase per thousand. In absolute terms, only Rural records a negative balance as of the mid 1980s, and until the present day it maintains a very slow downward trend in values that, all in all, account for a loss of 20 inhabitants per year. The remaining habitats gained population by natural increase. The suburbs broke the historical hegemony that cities had held until the 1980s. Attracting young inhabitants resulted in the favourable balances that, as a whole, represent annual net gains of nearly 80,000 inhabitants since the beginning of the new century. Cities, in turn, registered a rapid drop in their balances that went from a net gain of more than 200,000 inhabitants annually in the early 1970s, to recording negative values in the late 1990s. Nevertheless, with the new millennium, they returned to positive values, with total gains of around 30,000 inhabitants (Pozo Rivera *et al.*, 2009). Finally, the behaviour of the municipalities that we include under the category of Urban Minor is very similar to Rural, but the values are always better for the first than for the latter.

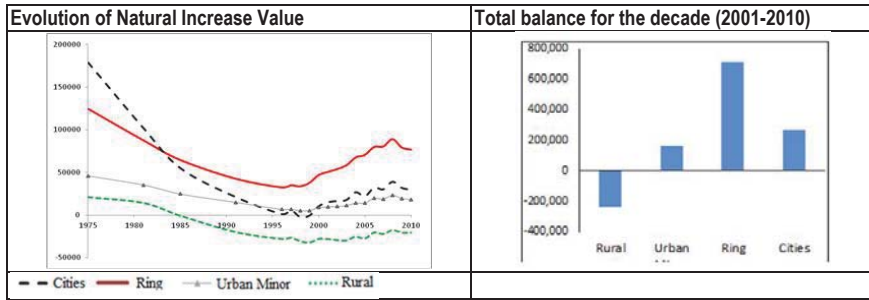


Figure 3. Natural Increase by habitat in Spain

Source: Natural Population Movement (Microdata, INE) and the Residential Variation Statistics (Microdata, INE).

As mentioned earlier, the degree of migration is the main cause for growth and decrease in each habitat. In the mid 1990s the rural habitat as a whole yielded a positive migration balance. Only cities (and very occasionally at that) registered negative values.

Although it has greatly improved, the Residential Variation Statistics ("EVR") collects data for only part of the internal migrations. This has led us to question its validity on several occasions. The method based on the difference between Stock and Natural Increase permits us to estimate variations that are more intense, but that essentially do not modify the patterns registered in the records. The higher deviations occur in the outskirts and rural areas. Although they do not follow a set pattern, the deviations tend to be lower as of the year 2002⁶.

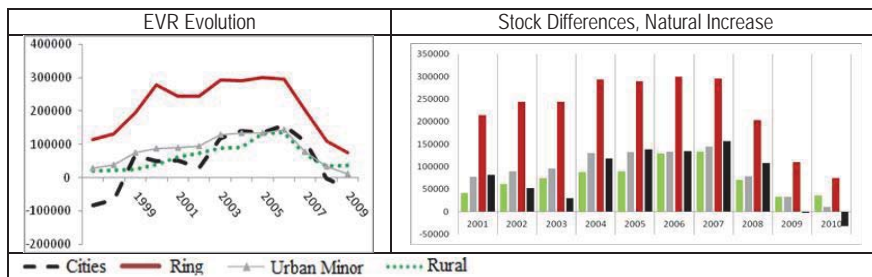


Figure 4. Internal Migration in Spain

Source: Microdata from the Residential Variation Statistics (National Statistic Institute of Spain).

The growth of each habitat is primarily the result of its migratory behaviour, although, as shown in Figure 4, only the rural areas have a negative natural increase value. The migration balance is positive in all habitats, including Rural (Figure 5). But in this case, the logic of suburbanization and urban deconcentration is at the root of the explanation of what took place over the last decade. Even interpreting the general drop in the contribution from migrations as of the economic recession of 2007, these logics are still valid or, if possible, more evident.

The significant volume of net migration concentrated in the peripheries conceals the relative weights of each habitat in terms of its population size. However, adjusted by population, the only habitat showing surplus values are the peripheries of Urban Areas. In 2010, for each inhabitant residing there, another had arrived (actually 1.03) over the past decade (Figure 5). Cities, however, show a weaker attraction (Odds ratio = 0.72). The Rural areas, although with a negative balance, scale down this reduction to 0.85 (that is to say, the replacement is not covered, and for each inhabitant in 2010, 0.85 of a person arrived, instead of a whole).

⁶ This change in trend could possibly be due to the incorporation in 2002 of the chapter on foreign emigration "that takes into account the deregistration of residence informed of by the municipalities, which refer mainly to movements of Spaniards abroad, that have been registered in Consular Office Registers. Similarly, some deregistrations of foreign nationals are recorded when Councils are informed of their return from abroad, although the percentage of that occurrence is unknown" (General Methodology of the EVR, INE).

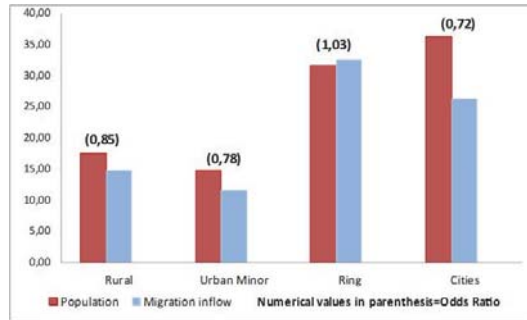


Figure 5. Relative weight of migratory inflow in each habitat. Spain, 2010

Source: Microdata from the Residential Variation Statistics and Municipal Register of 2010 (National Statistic Institute of Spain).

4. Conclusions

The changes recorded on growth patterns and population settlements have produced centrifugal expansion models, recently reinforcing the phenomena of suburbanization and urban deconcentration (Hall, 1988: 286-330). The concept of the traditional city and its boundaries cease to be effective if they fail to include these new settlements. Therefore, it is relevant to include and define "Urban Areas", which add peripheries to compact cities. All the territory included in this area has an urban inclination and therefore, we methodologically accept the axiom that all rural areas are always and necessarily outside of that habitat. This conceptual strategy is necessary for the understanding of modern territorial processes. We conclude, therefore, that the three new relevant habitats are: traditional city, suburbs, and rural areas. These areas constitute the pure model, although in practice, it is convenient to add a number of areas scattered throughout the geography which operate as main interior county towns; small and very small cities, which we call Urban Minor, in order to also differentiate them from more rural areas.

Territorial dynamics have undergone several phases, of which it is first worth highlighting the process of population concentration in cities, with the resulting exodus from rural areas. Somewhat later—almost universally—the centrifugal expansion of cities toward their peripheries was recorded, thus giving way to the Urban Areas. Next, traditional cities reached a saturation threshold that caused a standstill of growth (or often a regression) in favour of their peripheries or more rural areas. Presently, different scenarios can be detected: urban revival, consolidation of the rural revival, and balance in growth rates of all habitats. In the latter case, there are three main hypotheses to corroborate the dynamics of the future: reurbanization, counterurbanization, and rebalancing.

Empirically, over the first decade of the 21st century Spain registered its highest population growth rates. This is due to the arrival of immigrants from abroad (especially during the first five years, representing 10% more inhabitants). Immigrants settled in all the habitats, causing the population rates in all of them to increase. Initially, this allows keeping the previous three hypotheses alive.

The internal migration flow over the studied decade (2001-2010) has exceeded 23 million migrations, gradually increasing from 1.5 million in 2001 and reaching its peak in 2006, with nearly 3 million changes of residence. Since then, values are in the area of 2.5 million. The inflow from abroad explains the majority of population increases in all of the habitats. Over 1.5 million (net balance) settled in cities and in the outskirts (in each). The Urban Minor and the Rural also received over 1.5 million net migrations each during the decade.

In general, considering the habitats in pairs, the larger the habitat, the more unfavourable its flow. This is always true except with regard to the relationship between Urban Minor and Rural, which is favourable for the first. In this sense, the hypotheses put forward which indicate that the trends towards greater dynamism are inversely proportional to the size of the municipality of destination, appear to have some empirical basis. Although cities earn more from the contribution of the external flow, their large deficit with respect to the peripheries makes the latter greater receivers of changes in residence. The only habitat that, overall and only in moderate amounts, gains inhabitants compared to the others, is Urban Minor. This conceals a broader process that has to do with the prevalence of the balance of the peripheries: the peripheralization of the population and the expansion of areas considered to be peripheral. That is to say, part of the urban flow that does not stay in the periphery moves away to other municipalities that are small, but urban, thus enlarging

the perimeter of the functional area of the cities.

In short, throughout the decade studied, increases were registered that affected all the habitats, although in the rural areas it is necessary to make a distinction that excludes 57% of it. The rural areas that border with the urban peripheries (Rural Manualized areas) have grown, receiving some of the effects of deconcentration of the urban population. In fact, the greatest increases occurred in the peripheries and these, far from being static categories, partly extend into rural habitats, where the lower social classes tend to settle. In spite of this, given the dynamism shown by all the habitats, the trend towards rebalancing seems to be an increasingly plausible hypothesis.

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