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Author(s): AMANDO DE MIGUEL

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Social and Geographic Mobility in Spain

This study seeks to explore the problems of geographic and social mobility in Spain which were brought into being by social phenomena very characteristic of our epoch.¹ Because the data available are limited, conclusions refer only to special sectors of Spanish society. Even with these data, it is impossible to study the subject in its entirety. It is hoped, therefore, that these pages may stimulate further study in this area. On the other hand, the desire to open up new fields and inquire into new problems, rather than resolve them, result in statements which often have the quality of hypothetical formulations rather than empirical generalizations.

The most immediate and general problem to be discussed is the relation between the two concepts which occupy our attention. Is there a point

¹ Though based on primary data, this work is in part a continuation of other research already published or which is now in the course of being published. In many of the publications mentioned certain aspects of the problem, which are here treated only in passing, are elaborated at length. The data concerning the Spanish managerial group appear in the following detailed studies, all of which are co-authored by Juan J. Linz and Amando de Miguel: "Structural Characteristics of Spanish Enterprises," *Racionalización*, Nos. 1-4, January-August 1964, pp. 1-12, 37-105, 193-209 and 289-297; "Geographic Mobility and the Spanish Management Class," *Revista de Estudios Geográficos*, Vol. 26, No. 94, February 1964, pp. 39-88; "Level of Education of the Spanish Management," *Arbor*, Vol. LVII, No. 219, March 1964, and Vol. LVII, pp. 33-65; "Social Origin of Spanish Businessmen," *Information Bulletin of the Graduate School of Inter-*

Amando de Miguel received his *doctorato* from the University of Madrid in 1961 and is now a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University. He is manager of Data, S.R., a social science research organization and co-author of a forthcoming book on Spanish businessmen.

where emigrants are also *moviles*?² Before this question is answered, attention must be centered on other, more specific questions. First, is the hope of social ascendance actually an important motivation for change of residence (migration) or geographic mobility? Perhaps the tendency to ascend upward socially, rather than horizontally, can best be understood if it is considered as a manifestation of the individual's need to repay society for the freedom of movement he has enjoyed. What are the manifestations through which the need for horizontal or vertical mobility express themselves? What factors govern the movement of emigrants to different parts of the country? Answers to these and other questions are found in the following pages.

Aspects of the Problems of Mobility and Emigration

The point of departure for this analysis is the fact that in any society there exists a homeostatic tendency. This tendency is especially great in an industrial society in which changes have been extreme. This homeostatic tendency might tend to militate against mobility and migration³ since both are almost pathological in nature to the extent that they produce tension in individuals who deviate from the norm and in the structures supported by them.⁴ Both phenomena are dependent, to a great extent, on the level of economic development, and this explains why the most notable emigra-

national Law, University of Salamanca, No. 3, 1964, pp. 39-48; and "Social Mobility Among the Spanish Management Group," *Fomento Social*, No. 75, July-September 1964, pp. 259-276, and No. 76, October-December 1964, pp. 363-391. In some of these articles one can find a brief description of the sample and the basic variables used in this study.

The data on young people are taken from the "Study of the Mental Preconceptions of Spanish Youth" issued by the *D. N. Juventudes*. The special techniques used in this study are described by the author in "Economic Stratification: Participation in Income and Consumption," *Revista del Instituto de la Juventud*, No. 1.

² In order to distinguish between *emigrantes* or *forasteros* (outsiders, foreigners) and *moviles*, *emigrantes* or *forasteros* is used to refer to people who make a permanent geographic move. *Moviles* refers to people who move socially. Attention will be concentrated on upward mobility (defined by occupational criteria) of the Spanish people and on internal emigration within Spain. All of the data compiled refer to the situation which actually exists in Spain.

³ Phenomena such as prejudice against foreigners or immigrants, stereotyping groups of people, ridiculing the *nouveau riche* or the recently arrived are well known and recognized in all societies. Note that in many of these images the *emigrante* is juxtaposed with the *movil*.

⁴ With regard to the consequences of social mobility, the reader is directed to the following publications: Peter Blau, "Social Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," *American Sociological Review*, June 21, 1956, pp. 290-295, and Morris Janowitz, "Some Consequences of Social Mobility in the United States," *Transactions of the III World Congress of Sociology*, Vol. 3, London, ISA, 1956, p. 193.

tion taking place would be from country to city and why social mobility would always be upward.

Since Spain is an underdeveloped country both economically and in relation to other European countries, these phenomena have scarcely been paid any serious attention. A recent consequence of the growth of urban development in Spain, however, has been a progressive complexity in occupational structures. One result of this has been that individuals of certain social classes have begun to transfer locality with great frequency. Economic development and resultant social change, consisting primarily in a diminution of the farming population, have been restrained. Nevertheless, from 1950 to 1960 the speed of change increased enormously. One out of fourteen Spaniards migrated either outside his locality or his country.⁵ It is unknown where it will end and what proportion of Spaniards will ultimately change localities and move within society.

To quantify social mobility is a complex task. With the data available, however, it is possible to do so. To give a general impression of what has been happening in this century in Spain, it can be said that Spain has been characterized by poor interior geographic mobility (this does not take into account immigration outside of the country, a phenomenon which has not effected emigration within). It should be noted that there is a measure of occupational mobility within the population much higher than the rate of economic development would lead us to believe.

Because better data on the subject are lacking, the Bureau of National Survey (*Encuesta Nacional*) statistics have been used to help determine the approximate degree to which the urban population can "tolerate" occupational mobility. Again it must be emphasized that the most important conclusions have to come from other works and from a very detailed and careful analysis of each of the problems involved.

The Index of Inheritance⁶ of the juvenile urban population, calculated according to the occupational levels of their grandfathers and fathers, is typical of some other European nations, such as France and Italy, and is

⁵ M. Siguán article cited in *Arbor* (see below), p. 111, based on the calculations of García Barbancho and Ramon Tamames.

⁶ The Index of Inheritance (or of association, according to Glass and other authors) signifies the level of hereditary transmission between father and son of occupational status. The larger it is, the less "equality of opportunities." This index, used for the first time in the pioneer study by Natalie Rogoff, *Trends in Occupational Mobility*, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, has this peculiarity that it can be computed independently of the economic development and resulting occupational changes of a country. It tries to measure the mobility "tolerable" to a society. Data in this study are based on a comparison with those cited by J. R. Hall and W. Ziegel in a volume edited by D. V. Glass, *Social Mobility in Britain*, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1954.

slightly higher than that of the United States. If the new and separate occupational sectors among the lower middle class and the working class of Spain are described, the occupational mobility appears to be higher than in other countries. Using a less precise indicator, but one which has been more extensively employed at least among that portion of the population engaged in non-manual labor, a good portion came from homes in which both the mother and father did non-manual labor. This disposal seems to indicate that the degree of social mobility in Spain is essentially the same as has been found in other Western nations.⁷

The relationship between mobility, emigration and businessmen must be examined further. At this point it can be said, at least for this group, if the father's occupation is taken into account, that the son's mobility does not appear to be very different from that in other countries. The rural sector of the nation, including many people in the second generation who have started business enterprises of importance, is excluded from this category. What remains is a country in which social mobility is similar to that in other advanced countries.⁸

What are the institutional or structural factors which explain such a high level of social mobility in Spanish society, or at least in some of its sectors?⁹ The first is the egalitarian standard so diffused in the urban culture; i.e., the progressive extension of addressing people by their first names (*tuteo*); the lack of difference in grammar, accent and idiom with respect to different social classes; the lack of differentiation in social dress; the lack of social differences, such as elite social clubs and residences; and the lack of adhering to various social observances. The second is the diffusion of the character of the *nuclear family*; for instance, accepting non-residence of the father, the freedom given to young people to choose their mate, reduced observance of birthdays and an "amoral familism" which Banfield identified in Italian culture. The third is a lack of economic inactivity on the part of the traditional elite, which one would expect to be either unemployed, involved in higher education, or simply advancing themselves as "legal counselors" or "administrators." There is also a lack of exploitation of the economic resources of the community. Finally, any so-called universalist institutions, actually institutions for the furtherance

⁷ These data can be compared with those presented by Lipset and Bendix with reference to other countries in *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, University of California Press, 1962, pp. 18+. There is a Spanish translation available by Eudeba, Buenos Aires.

⁸ This point is amply documented in the Linz-Miguel article cited in *Boletín informativo del Seminario de Derecho Político*.

⁹ We insist that these factors are valid only with reference to the urban population and relatively to the socio-economic development of the country.

of contrast in a particularist environment, provide opportunity for competition and the entrance into hierarchies where formerly opportunities would have been restricted to family contacts and friendships. In this case, however, the amount of mobility has been unduly disproportionate or, to put it another way, disfunctional, distributed according to the level of economic development. Probably these institutions of contrast act as a form of opposition countering increased mobility. There has arisen a strong class consciousness among certain professional groups, such as engineers and other prestige groups, which have filled the "void" created by the loss of prestige by former leisure classes. These "defenses" are almost a necessary product of the structural disequilibrium which brought to a head the many social tensions that have characterized the recent movement of contemporary Spanish history.

Whenever social mobility is mentioned, the problem of migration must also be considered. It consists primarily in a transfer of rural population into industrial areas. This rural exodus can be considered as a form of social ascendancy at least in the sense that individuals pass from a social system which is simple and self-enclosed to one which is more complex and open, where the possibility for upward mobility is much greater. In Spain this exodus follows the law of "existing opportunities" and, therefore, is very constant in its origin, destiny and rhythm.¹⁰

These movements are not simple in nature, and many phases can be distinguished among them. In order to improve living conditions, there is usually a search for better work opportunities within the same region. Since most regions are underdeveloped and do not offer many opportunities, people usually turn to the traditional industrial centers, such as Barcelona, Bilbao or Guipuzcoa. From the standpoint of access to transportation, and because of recent developments, Madrid is a particularly attractive place for the migrant to go. The New Development Plan foresees a change in this fact in the future when some provinces neighboring the traditional industrial provinces of Burgos, Zaragoza and Valladolid will be able to absorb a part of the rural migration.

There is a general tendency for the migratory unit to consist of the nuclear family. Usually the father migrates first. When he finds himself secure enough on the job, he is joined by his wife and children. It would be very interesting to know how often this process is repeated and at

¹⁰ For the definition of this concept see Samuel Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory of Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, December 1940, pp. 845-867.

which point in the process of migration another type of social mobility would bring about the appearance of the *extended family*.

The social mobility accompanying the rural exodus has many aspects. In many cases horizontal mobility takes place, involving a simple change in the kind of work performed (from rural to industrial), and does not transform itself into upward mobility until the second and third generations. In many other cases emigration from the country leads to immediate impoverishment, accompanied by a loss of their small rural property, crowded living conditions in the so-called "suburbs" of the cities, unemployment and an increase in delinquency and other forms of social dissolution. In reality it is also the necessary step which will permit future generations to move upward on the social scale. In other words, the rural exodus does not produce social ascent *immediately*, but it may mean an increase in the future possibilities for social ascendancy. The extreme nature of the steps taken by the migrants creates a characteristic reaction on their part of trying to hold on by all means to their slum dwellings, *chabolas*, which the urban authorities consider unfit for human habitation.¹¹

Not all rural migration and mobility is realized between the agrarian and industrial peonage, although this is the most important movement from the geographic standpoint. From the point of view of economic analysis, however, the case of the small rentiers and rural property owners who directly enter the urban middle classes as financiers, small merchants, employers and service workers are important. This type of migration is found most often in the provinces on the coast north of Madrid.

One of the typical exports of the countryside to the cities is the ecclesiastical profession, whose members are recruited in excessive numbers from the northern part of the peninsula, the area most bound by tradition. Their adaptation to urban society is particularly painful. In recent years it has been possible to reduce this flow of migration by recruiting the clergy more from the urban sectors.¹² Equally important has been the migration of women from the countryside into the city to work as domestics. Here social ascent depends on their acquisition of habits, manners, aspirations and the mentality of the urban middle class.

Within urban society geographic and social mobility have traditionally been quite restricted. The only groups which were geographically and socially mobile were the military and the clergy,¹³ members of institutions

¹¹ For an illustration of these conditions see the literary account by J. L. Martín Vigil, "Una Chabola en Bilbao," *Editorial Juventud*, Barcelona, 1960.

¹² See Severino Aznar, "La Revolución española y las vocaciones eclesiásticas," *IEP*, Madrid, 1949.

¹³ Particularly in the biographies of bishops and generals are their humble origins emphasized as a positive factor in their lives.

which have been centers of social and ideological conflicts and tensions. It is quite likely that there has been a good deal of mobility among certain groups of functionaries, such as the officials of the Post Office, Telegraph Bureau and Police, as well as among some segments of industry and commerce (e.g., banks).

A more general statement can be made by saying that the more costly it is to migrate in terms of effort, the more efficient is the social mobility resulting from it. It is as if the concept of social mobility arose as a need to reward oneself for the effort invested in migrating, and this need, in turn, spurred one to excellence. In the case of external migration, where the investment of effort is extensive, returns on the effort are much more frequent, or at least much more expected, than is the case with internal migration. As has been seen, the relationship between mobility and migration requires careful analysis. For this reason the motivations to migrate and the motivations for upward mobility must be examined separately.

Motivations to Migrate

The various psychological aspects of the motivations to migrate have been treated in various works by Miguel Siguán.¹⁴ This study will, therefore, view the subject from a more sociological position, something which Siguán himself did not do because relevant data on the subject were lacking at the time.

Unfortunately, data have been derived from only one source, an opinion poll, organized by the Bureau of National Survey, taken among the young farm population. The restricted character of the sample and the method by which this inquiry was carried out impose further limitations on the value of the findings. All this does not, however, prevent the use of the data now available, hoping that the findings may be corroborated by a more rigorous study.

To begin with, the so-called rural exodus is not as simple and readily apparent a concept as one might suppose: 54 out of the 100 young people interviewed intended to remain in the country. The number increased to 62 out of 100 in a group of day-laborers or *braceros* (Table I).

The expectations of "those wanting to leave the countryside remain quite realistic, and only the smallest portion of the sample, which in the case of

¹⁴ See Miguel Siguán, "Del campo al suburbio," CSIC, Madrid, 1959, and M. Siguán, "Emigración y desarrollo económico en España," *Arbor*, Vol. LVII, No. 219, March 1964 (issue dedicated to the subject of economic development).

TABLE I
*Diverse Aspects of the Motivations to Migrate
Among Young Rural Workers*

Young Rural Workers	% of those wanting to leave the countryside	% of those with a salary of 50 pesetas who want to leave the village	% of those who have a family somewhere and want to join them	% of those wanting to leave but not having a place to go	Total Number of Cases
Property Owners	50	23	43	62	100% (109)
Rentiers	52	35	27	62	(60)
Braceros	62	52	23	64	(159)
Not Known	42	34	21	39	(38)
Total Men	54	39	30	61	(366)
Total Women	57	60	52	63	(60)

According to the Bureau of National Survey (*Encuesta Nacional*).
See note 1.

the *bracero* was reduced to zero, felt that emigration would improve their chances for getting an education. While the majority of those interviewed would have liked to remain in the country, the majority of those who wanted to leave felt that their lives would not be radically altered or improved by this change, except that they would change from agricultural work to manual industrial labor. It must be remembered that all of those interviewed had not yet gone through a period of military service so that leaving home had been on their minds in one form or another largely because of the impermanency of their status. But from among those *braceros* with a salary of fifty pesetas (at a 1960 rate) who decided to leave home, 23 per cent had fathers who were property owners. The portion of women interviewed who decided to migrate reached 60 per cent. As can be seen, the economic motives are sufficiently strong to account for the exodus from the country into the city where the salaries are higher.

While the economic differences are important, they are not the only ones. Besides a quantitative difference between the country and the city in job opportunities available and in the satisfaction of needs, there is a qualitative difference between the two. This difference is much more difficult to measure since it seems to be less tangible, but it is, nonetheless, real. In spite of certain conveniences and comforts available in the city, the same poverty and inequality prevail in the country as in the city. What distinguishes one from the other is that in the country life is controlled by *unpredictables*, factors beyond human control, such as health, weather, providence and being born into the right family. Even the system

of agriculture and the salaries connected with it are subject to the vagaries of chance.

On the other hand, to achieve one's goals in the city dishonest and unjust means may be used, such as the use of personal connections, bribes and recommendations based on personal preferences. Yet opinion prevails to the effect that since these means, at least in principle, are available to all, they can be foreseen and dealt with rationally in one way or another. That may in part explain why so much hardship and injustice is tolerated in the urban life by those who have abandoned the countryside.¹⁵

An interesting aspect of the population movements is that they occur with amazing regularity. All of these migrations have aimed at certain specific goals independent of the structural changes which might have occurred within society. Such was the case with the oft-repeated waves of migration reaching Barcelona from Murcia and the Mediterranean coast, the Castilian migrations into the Basque country and the movement of population from all the provisions into Madrid. The data prove that the young country people interviewed followed the same pattern as their migrating predecessors in their preferences for change of location and in their reasons for leaving the countryside. The final explanation of this curious phenomenon can be found in the primary contacts of potential emigrants. Siguán describes it as follows:

At the time of making a decision to emigrate, he relied not only on the social pattern but also on those of his acquaintances who had migrated before him. These together constituted a most important source of motivation for a people who, in their daily lives, rely upon the support of personal relationships and acquaintances. For the emigration has a contagious character, and the members of the same migrating group have a tendency to cluster together and converge on the same suburban areas already populated by peasants, thereby creating small pockets of rural population in the suburbs. . . . The more people who have already left the community, the easier and the less risky it is for successive individuals to break the pre-existing ties and migrate.¹⁶

It can be added that the decision to emigrate in order to rejoin one's friends and relatives is not the predominant factor in all cases. The *braceros* are a group for which kinship ties have less force as a motivating factor. It can be said that the more comfortable the socio-economic position of a

¹⁵ This point is developed in M. Siguán, *Arbor*, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁶ M. Siguán, *Arbor*, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

particular village, the less subjective and unstable are the motives for migration. A very controversial question in the analysis of the motives for migration is: Which is the more crucial factor, the attraction of the city with its greater opportunities and more comfortable life or the impulse to escape the hardships of rural life and the lack of comforts in the village? The data seem to corroborate the argument of those who believe that the factor of attraction is the more important. In answer to the question "Would you like to leave the village?", 61 per cent of the youth questioned answered in the affirmative. Included in this group were the 16 per cent who said that they liked everything about the village. It appears that conditions in the village by themselves do not provide sufficient impetus for migration. The differential factor, therefore, was that the city offered more opportunity. It appears, however, that both of these factors together still do not explain the entire situation. If, aside from the pressing need to leave, the village still retains its attractiveness, there must be strong tensions in the process of emigration itself, the manifestations of which must be the phenomena of social disintegration which preoccupy contemporary moralists.

In the final analysis it can be said that the basic cause of geographic mobility is not the condition of life which exists in the village per se but rather the desire for social ascension which can be fulfilled only by leaving the village.

It should be indicated that there is a further need to explore the relationship between geographic mobility and the regional differences which exist within Spain. A knowledge of this is essential to the understanding of the social structure of the country.¹⁷ There is no doubt that the tremendous growth of Madrid is a result of qualified immigrants having converged on that capital. Furthermore, the advantages, in terms of the amount and speed of industrialization, that the Basque provinces enjoy over the Catalanian ones are due in part to the fact that the immigrants to the Basque regions were Castilians, Navarronians and Aragonians, whose level of education is much higher than that of the Andalusians and Murcians who migrated to Catalonia. Because of the selective factor at work, it is not surprising that regional differences persist despite the constant influx of the rural population into the great industrial centers.

¹⁷ This theme has been presented in detail in Juan J. Linz and Amando de Miguel, "Intra-nation Differences and Comparisons: Methodological and Substantive Implications," *Comparing Nations*, edited by Richard L. Merrit and Stein Rokkan, Yale University Press, 1964.

Motivations for Upward Mobility

That people like to rise in the social order is an obvious fact that does not need empirical confirmation. Not so obvious are the different shadings and modifications that can qualify this general principle; e.g., the willingness to sacrifice certain goals and values to achieve a particular social level varies with the society. Not having available studies of this phenomenon, use has been made of data gathered by the National Bureau of Survey. Various questions were addressed to young people concerning the activities which constitute their life ideals; for instance, what would they like to become, study, etc. They compiled a list of situations and activities which they hoped would give them satisfaction in the future. In comparison with American students, *privatism*, that is, a preference for the sphere of family to any other, is of lesser importance to the Spaniard for whom public life is of much greater relevance.¹⁸ Actually, 41 per cent of the men placed their career first and 31 per cent indicated family, while the comparative data indicate 28 per cent and 55 per cent respectively for American students. The aforementioned difference decreases, however, when one includes those students of Spanish universities whose aims have been formed by current adolescent culture. What is of interest here is that planning for a profession, which is part of the desire for upward mobility, is a separate concept and a fundamental value in itself for the Spanish student. An indirect indication that the motivation to ascend socially must be strong for the Spanish student is the fact that a disproportionately large percentage of students working toward the Baccalaureate degree choose technical careers which involve much time and expense.

When attention is turned to the worker, the picture is somewhat different. If education is the principal vehicle of mobility in an industrial society, does being unequipped to pursue an education reduce the individual's hope of achieving his aspirations? This reasoning is not entirely valid since only a minority of workers, those who are not satisfied with their work, would like to exchange their lot with students. The majority aspire to the next higher job. It is quite possible that desires adapt themselves to actual possibilities and that reality is more meaningful for the young working boy than his desire to become a student. The question then becomes: If they were free to choose their own profession, what would they become? When this question was asked, the answer which specified "student" constituted an insignificant percentage of the total.

¹⁸ See Rose K. Goldsen, *et al.*, *What College Students Think*, D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1960, p. 24.

Among those who chose schooling, the majority had no intermediate education. It can be seen that the limitations on a positive answer to the questions asked above would be considerable.

That the motivation toward upward mobility seems strong among the rural population in part reflects the fact that transference from manual to non-manual labor has enlarged their view point. When young students were asked which job or activity attracted them most, only 18 per cent mentioned activities connected with agriculture. Almost one-half mentioned mechanics, an expression which indicated that, in many cases, the expectations of the young farmers were centered upon becoming a qualified and stable worker.

At this point it can be stated with certainty that the motivation for upward mobility differs from one group to another and that there exist different and interesting variations according to family environment and other factors. Not much more can be said about the other factors since that is the task of the psychologist because motivation seems to appear in some individuals and not in others. These are areas which are open to further investigation, and conclusions can only be considered tentative.

Motivations for Upward Mobility as they Relate to Geographic Mobility

Until now it has been implied that emigration and upward mobility are the same phenomena. Some empirical evidence must now be introduced to prove this conclusion and reveal the mechanism of the operation of this situation.

TABLE II
Social and Geographic Mobility in Three Generations

<i>Occupational Mobility</i>		<i>% of cases where mother worked</i>	<i>% of cases where the fathers have migrated from the country to the city</i>	<i>Total Number of Cases</i>
<i>Father's Grandfather</i>	<i>Father's Son</i>			
Upward	Upward	22	30	100% (69)
	Stationary	17	32	(209)
	Downward	11	15	(94)
Stationary	Upward	21	24	(129)
	Stationary	12	8	(123)
	Downward	10	4	(40)
Downward	Upward	20	3	(45)
	Stationary	15	3	(61)
	Downward	8	—	(13)

Data from the Bureau of National Survey.

The data in Table 2 show that not only does the upward mobility of grandfather and father imply the geographic mobility of the former (almost by operational definition, since upward mobility is considered to consist of the passing from an agricultural occupation to an urban one) but that in the case of a young person with upward mobility,¹⁹ the probability that his forefathers have moved from the countryside to the city is greater than in the case of the young people with downward social mobility. These data taken from a community study, because of their limitations, cannot be used to verify the hypothesis described at the beginning of this section.

TABLE III
*Occupational Distribution for the Entire Population and for the
Immigrants in an Industrial Community in Guipuzcoa*

<i>Occupational Categories</i>	<i>Immigrants*</i>			<i>Population Total</i>
	<i>Recent 1956-1962</i>	<i>Intermediate 1940-1955</i>	<i>Earliest Before 1940</i>	
Laborers	73	67	53	62
Service Professions	6	4	3	4
Employees	3	4.5	4.5	5
Foremen	3	4	3	3
Professional	0.4	1	1.5	1
Farm Owners	2	3	9	7
Employers	8	14	22	15.5
Others	5	3	4	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100% (4.179)

* In absolute numbers they are 52 of 100 of the population total. According to I. Larrañaga and R. Iruretagoyena, *Hernani* (a sociological study of a Guipuzcoan industrial town).

Table 3 indicates the occupational distribution of a small industrial town, Guipuzcoa (Hernani), and the parallels existing between those who have immigrated there in successive stages. Definitely true is the obvious fact that recent immigrants, from 1955 to 1962, are those from the lowest occupational ranges, the lowest three-quarters of which consist of those who are laborers or in service professions. What is interesting is that the

¹⁹ In another, yet unpublished work which deals more specifically with social mobility, we define exactly the method of social ascension, stability or decline. It is sufficient to state here that the case of ascension from the father to the son is defined when the son is a student, or employed if the father is a worker, or a worker if the father is a peasant.

earliest immigrants, those who arrived before 1940, have achieved not only the occupational level of the native population but have actually surpassed them. The measures which the residents used as status symbols passed from laborer, to clerk, to professionals and, finally, to landowners and employers. Generally, the concept of status is becoming more widespread. Assuming that this factor does not effect excessively the existing differences and that there are in reality three levels of promotion for the immigrants, who all started off on the same level, it can only be assumed that the ultimate motivation for migration is the reward of social ascension, the manifestation of which is the acquisition of property and power.

What are the mechanisms through which emigration and the promise of upward mobility are experienced? In the first place the emigrant feels a sense of breaking with a series of traditional ties, pressures and social agreements. The emigrant can now "sacrifice himself" more freely. In the workaday world where formerly this would not have been tolerated, the man's wife now works outside of the home. This situation is just one aspect of the way in which patterns of life are changed for him. His leisure pursuits change and so does the kind of matter he reads and the tools he uses. The data indicate a strong link between the changes that have taken place between the time of the grandfather and father and the father and son and that the mistress of the house is frequently absent. It will not be difficult to prove all of the indicators of this supposed liberation function in the same fashion. It is reasonable to suppose that this liberation takes place with greater swiftness and impersonal quality the more heavily industrialized an area is.

Second, it is almost inevitable that the centers of education, which try to raise the general level, will have to be located in the midst of the highest concentration of population.²⁰ A transfer of residence will ensue, the consequences of which will have a negative effect on general upward social mobility.

Third, it has been said that emigration entails a psychological price which the law of selectivity implicitly extracts from those who are more capable. Naturally, there are those immigrants who eventually emerge on the controlling end of the situation. But in reality the outside businessman, as shall be seen later, has a much better chance of succeeding than does the native since the dubious characteristics of modernity are more highly developed within him.

²⁰ The extreme case would be Madrid with her great concentration of higher education centers. In recent years the tendency has been to decentralize everything possible. This tendency will probably effect the relations between social mobility and emigration which have been stated here.

Fourth, certain basic psychological factors cannot always be detected. It is known that for the emigrant the sense of threat, which a hostile environment engenders in him, is frequently felt.²¹ He who chooses to become an immigrant must be capable of overcoming the fear that would tempt him to return to the point of departure. Such particular psychological factors create the sociological factors which have been alluded to previously.

Fifth, a series of institutional factors relating to the fact that Spanish society officially rewards certain actions with approval must be posited. For example, the universal recruitment system which exists in public administration, through which each individual can rise in public administration by competing for ascendent positions within the hierarchy, can be cited. It is almost always the case that officialdom does not bestow its advantages on the native (a typical case would be the doctor or teacher in a small town) which usually go to the outsider. On the other hand, moving upward sometimes means moving away. A typical case is the military where the directive jobs involve geographic mobility. While in this context, the traditional role of the military as a great source of mobility for many country people must be mentioned. Often the first opportunity for professional promotion is provided within the military unit. There they are also taught jobs, such as being a driver or mechanic, or have simply been taught to read or have been given their first taste of the urban environment. The opposite case, however, must also be mentioned. This is a system of social rewards particularistic in nature in which case there is also a premium on geographic mobility. The most well known of these is local loyalty (*paisanaje*), the custom of giving lavish aid to people from the same town or province.

A Special Case: The Greater Social Mobility of Outside Businessmen

By way of conclusion reference will be made to the special case of outside businessmen, or those who are not native to the village in which they do business. This will confirm the special relation between social mobility and emigration with precision. It is not inappropriate to include samples drawn from the Spanish business community of those from the more industrially developed regions. The data show that 62 per cent of these were born in the province in which they carry out their major business venture.

²¹ That which in a more rigorous manner some psychologists call "need for achievement" or "n-Ach." See David McClelland, *The Achieving Society*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, N. J., 1961.

Outsiders are a minority and yet are as progressive and mobile as the native businessmen.²²

With the data available it can be demonstrated that the chances of a foreign businessman ascending the social scale are actually greater than for a native businessman. The one exception seems to be the case where the natives manage businesses of a relatively modest size in the less industrialized provinces (Table 4). This exception is, nevertheless, a negative piece of data in light of the hypothesis demonstrated in an earlier section regarding the fact that a positive correlation between geographic and social mobility is more evident the more heavily industrialized an area becomes. In addition, the more industrialized an area is, the more frequent are the cases of upward mobility. Managing a business in an area other than the one in which one was born opens the possibility for upward mobility more than it would be open in a situation in which one had been born but which had already been heavily industrialized.

TABLE IV

Degree of Social Mobility among Native and Outside Managers in Relation to the Size of the Business and the Region

Size of Business (in number of workers)	Region	% of upward mobility for		Percentage Difference
		Outsiders	Natives	
Less than 500	Industrial	32 (41)	19 (166)	+ 13
	Semi-industrial	23 (22)	24 (56)	— 1
More than 500	Industrial	80 (34)	65 (59)	+ 15
	Semi-industrial	75 (12)	32 (16)	+ 32

Note: The numbers represent the percentages and those in the parenthesis are the bases.

—For an exact definition of natives and outsiders see my article in *Revista de Estudios Geográficos* (the region is considered as a unity).

—The definition of upward mobility can be found in detail in my article in *Fomento Social* (the variables used are the position of, the origin and the size of the business).

—For a detailed discussion of the concepts of business size and region see the Linz-Miguel article in *Racionalización*.

The mechanisms controlling the emigration of businessmen differ according to various situations. On the one hand, it seems that an industrialized province produces a disproportionately large amount of managers

²² Our data prove that the degree of social mobility is in the Spanish businessman similar to other industrial nations, however, the geographic mobility is considerably less. Even so, the emigration of the businessman is somewhat superior to that of the population as a whole.

in relation to the general population.²³ Being connected with industry starts one off with several advantages in terms of further upward mobility. This probably aids in the efficient management of those businesses which operate on a national scale. In general this refers to those centered in Madrid with branches in the provinces, such as the I.N.I., the Bank and insurance, electrical and construction companies. These tend to eliminate possible competition from aspirants in the provinces.²⁴

On the other hand, there emerge in the provinces a class of aspiring businessmen who can only realize their possibilities in areas already ensconced in industrial tradition. Their professional lives consist in undergoing a higher education, usually in engineering, and then beginning their managing and business careers in an industrial province.²⁵

Almost by definition the outsiders do not manage family businesses. Either they rise to a business position on their own, or they offer their professional services as managers. In both cases the possibility of upward movement and the motivation and desire to excel are extensive. By contrast, members of the native population manage most family businesses where the possibility of innovation is slight, opportunities for changing jobs are limited and, in any case, a secure future and hard work are neither professional nor specialized. This leads to a situation where no particular career is being followed and, finally, where no upward mobility exists.

²³ They also produce disproportionately more members of the public administration and fewer professors, military men, bishops and other more traditional occupations. The theme of the contribution of the different regions and the different elites is outlined in the Linz-Miguel article found in *Revista de Estudios Geográficos*.

²⁴ This process appears to be evident in the Basque region and to a lesser degree in Asturia and Madrid. In contrast, it is very limited in Barcelona, although it was the province of original Spanish industrialization. Precisely because of the abundance of small businessmen, a familiar type in Catalan, mobility as well as emigration is difficult for this particular group.

²⁵ We believe that education has not been as strong a vehicle of social mobility in Spain as it has been in other countries. Only in some determined groups (doctors, teachers, and on a minor scale engineers and others) is this true, although the general rule is that the level of education correlates almost perfectly with the level of origin. Those that emigrate are under the disadvantages of age and have to elect different means of social mobility, basically, the access to property.