

## Werk

**Titel:** Managing and marketing of urban development and urban life

**Untertitel:** proceedings of the IGU-Commission on "Urban Development and Urban Life", Berlin, August 15 to 20, 1994

**Jahr:** 1994

**Kollektion:** fid.geo

**Signatur:** XX

**Digitalisiert:** Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

**Werk Id:** PPN1030505985

**PURL:** <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN1030505985>

**OPAC:** <http://opac.sub.uni-goettingen.de/DB=1/PPN?PPN=1030505985>

**LOG Id:** LOG\_0083

**LOG Titel:** New urban poverty in the Basque Country and Navarra

**LOG Typ:** article

## Übergeordnetes Werk

**Werk Id:** PPN1030494754

**PURL:** <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN1030494754>

**OPAC:** <http://opac.sub.uni-goettingen.de/DB=1/PPN?PPN=1030494754>

## Terms and Conditions

The Goettingen State and University Library provides access to digitized documents strictly for noncommercial educational, research and private purposes and makes no warranty with regard to their use for other purposes. Some of our collections are protected by copyright. Publication and/or broadcast in any form (including electronic) requires prior written permission from the Goettingen State- and University Library.

Each copy of any part of this document must contain there Terms and Conditions. With the usage of the library's online system to access or download a digitized document you accept the Terms and Conditions.

Reproductions of material on the web site may not be made for or donated to other repositories, nor may be further reproduced without written permission from the Goettingen State- and University Library.

For reproduction requests and permissions, please contact us. If citing materials, please give proper attribution of the source.

## Contact

Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen  
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1  
37073 Göttingen  
Germany  
Email: [gdz@sub.uni-goettingen.de](mailto:gdz@sub.uni-goettingen.de)

## **NEW URBAN POVERTY IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY AND NAVARRA**

**Manuel Ferrer, Alban d'Entremont, Ignacio Ciscar**  
University of Navarra, Pamplona, Spain  
**Maria Angeles Saracibar**  
Public University of Navarra, Pamplona, Spain

The Basque Country and Navarra occupy a mountainous coastal area of Northern Spain of less than 20,000 km<sup>2</sup> and approximately 2.7 million inhabitants. This space has four major cities totaling 1.6 million inhabitants: Bilbao, San Sebastián and Vitoria in the Basque Country, and Pamplona in Navarra. The first two were industrialized at the beginning of the century, whereas the latter two experienced growth only as of the 1960s. This has given rise to two subsystems of differential characteristics, with San Sebastián and especially Bilbao in the north suffering the consequences of economic crisis and reconversion, whereas Vitoria and Pamplona in the south have fared off much better. This paper analyzes the poverty resulting from this crisis from a descriptive, statistical and geographical point of view, using a variety of indicators. The authors conclude that although the northern capitals of the Basque Country are suffering from new forms of poverty, within the Spanish context they are still better off than the average. This poverty is very much an urban phenomenon, with new manifestations. Meanwhile, the southern capital of the Basque Country and the capital of Navarra have in fact little incidence of poverty at the present moment, and are favorably compared with many regions of Europe.

The aim of this study is to analyze urban poverty in a system of Spanish cities pertaining to two different generations: the cities of the northern Basque Subsystem and those of Alava and Navarra, further south. The territory being analyzed covers 17,000 km<sup>2</sup>, is occupied by 2.7 million inhabitants, and is made up of two Autonomous Communities: the Basque Country (7,000 km<sup>2</sup> and 2.2 million inhabitants) and Navarra (10,000 km<sup>2</sup> and 0.52 million inhabitants). In this space, an urban system has developed on the basis of four Metropolitan Areas: Bilbao (0.9 million inhabitants) and San Sebastián (0.3 million), both located on the coast; and Vitoria (0.20 million) and Pamplona (0.25 million), located in an interior corridor south of the Cordillera separating Spain from France. The first three cities are provincial capitals of the Basque Country, whereas the fourth is the capital of the Autonomous Community of Navarra. Together, they form the vertices of a quadrilateral of approximately 90 km. on each side just south of the French border, whose interior is occupied by a mountainous zone associated to the Pyrenees.

### **I. STATISTICAL REFERENTIAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **1. The concept of poverty applied in this study**

The concept of poverty applied to the defined zone reflects a social condition linked to the lack of the means to satisfy basic human needs. These basic necessities can

refer to the *minimum basic requirements for survival* or else to *basic needs that reflect the standard of living of the surrounding community or social entourage*, and whose absence indicates social marginalization.<sup>1</sup> When studying poverty, one must bear in mind both its duration in time—long-term, short-term or cyclical—and its spatial distribution and concentration within a certain set territory—certain social groups in the developed world, or large human masses in the so-called *less developed nations*.

In order to adequately measure the phenomenon of poverty there is the need for other indicators other than per capita income, stemming from the direct observation of income and expenditure, qualitative socio-economic variables, household conditions, characteristics of the living milieu, state of health and indicators bearing on persons, families and households. This explains the leading role played by the Surveys on Family Budgets carried out by the central statistical organs of our country.

The measurement of poverty, be it objective or subjective, requires the consideration of three parameters:

1) The selection of the so-called *poverty line*, that is the value that separates those who can be considered to be relatively poor (*less favored households*) as compared to the remainder of the population. Three objective poverty lines have been selected, situated at the levels of 40% (PL40), 50% (PL50) and 60% (PL60) of the *mean equivalent household expenditure*. The proportions of households situated below these poverty lines are useful in themselves as indicators of poverty.

2) The selection of the *equivalency scale*, which ponders the different budgetary requirements of the different types of persons making up a household.<sup>2</sup> This permits the comparison of households composed by a different number of individuals with varying incomes.

3) The selection of *indices of poverty*, which determine the relative position of the poor sector of the population with regard to the remaining population, as well as the so-called *poverty gap*. This is obtained by relating by coefficient the mean expenditure of the poor and the mean expenditure of the poverty threshold.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the objective indicators, in the *Spanish Survey on Household Budgets 1990-91* there is also a subjective module which converts this and other studies into a source of primordial importance vis-à-vis the direct observation of households.

## 2. Analysis of poverty in Spain according to mean equivalent expenditure per household

The study of the mean equivalent expenditure per household allowed us to find the proportion of households located below the different poverty lines. The mean household expenditure in Spain in 1991 is calculated to be 852,640 pesetas (approximately \$7000). To complete the analytical framework, we compared those

results with those of the subjective study, that is to say the self-classification on the part of individuals according to their perception of their own state of wealth or poverty.<sup>4</sup>

As a result of the study of the Survey we can detect certain *at risk groups* or *social groups having a high incidence of poverty*.

With regard to the *type of household*, the Survey shows that there is a greater risk of objective poverty in those households made up of a single person of an advanced age, whereas couples with an only child are the most favored. Regarding the *composition of the household*, the greatest risk exists in households with only one or two members, or in those having more than six members. As for the *age of the main money-earner*, those included in the 18 to 29 age range are less exposed according to the three poverty lines; this makes us think that young people only form an independent household if they are in a favorable economic position.<sup>5</sup> With regard to the *sex of the main money-earner*, those households whose main earner is female have a greater probability of being situated below the different poverty lines. This confirms that women have greater difficulty of access to the labor and consumer markets on an even standing with men. According to the *activity of the main earner*, as was to be expected having a job is the greatest guarantee against objective poverty. Finally, the *level of formation of the main earner* allows us to detect those persons finding themselves in social situations far removed from marginal groups or unfavorable situations. In this sense, university studies or their equivalent on the part of the main earner are a definite safeguard.

The study of the incidence of poverty in Spain according to Autonomous Communities shows that the region having the highest risk of objective poverty is Extremadura, with 28.2 % of its households located below PL40, whereas on the subjective scale it is much better off than the Canary Islands. The households of Madrid and Navarra, on the contrary, are the least vulnerable vis-à-vis objective poverty according to this indicator.

It is possible to apply the different classifications to the population occupying the households under study, in order to obtain data relating to the number of persons instead of the number of households. Approximately 4 million Spaniards (10.4 % of the total population) occupy the 11.3 % of households that spend less than 40 % of the national mean equivalent expenditure. This naturally is in keeping with the tendencies observed in the case of households, only with a slight variation in the percentage.

According to PL 50, Andalucía stands out in the number of poor households (22.9% of the national total), that is almost three times more than in the case of Catalunya (8.2 %), although the relative number of households within the national framework is practically the same in both regions (16.6 and 16.0 % respectively).

By means of the *LISREL* Program we were able to cross-reference the answers to the questionnaire relative to the subjective appreciation of household poverty with

the general objective characteristics of households (mainly data relating to the main earner). Tendencies have been the same at both the national level and the regional level,<sup>6</sup> both in the case of horizontal and vertical percentages.

Some of the conclusions obtained have been the following:

1) *Difficulty to meet monthly budgetary requirements:*

The modal value is situated in the category of "with some difficulty". Those households in a situation of poverty which find it "very difficult" to make ends meet are 20.4 %, whereas within the total number of households they represent only 11.9 % of the total; this reflects a double prevalence as compared to the national total. These households have many of the characteristics outlined in the preceding section.

2) *Minimum net income needed to meet budgetary needs:*

The survey shows that 71.6 % of the poor consider that they would need a minimum monthly income of 100,000 pesetas, (\$800), whereas only 44.5% of the total households consider this to be the minimum income required. On the contrary, only 6.3 % of the poor households consider that more than 150.000 pesetas (\$1200) would be needed monthly, as compared to 23.9 % of households situated above PL 50. Let us remember that although 19.7 % of households are situated below PL50, only 3.9% self-classify themselves as being poor. The characteristics of those households finding themselves in this situation are again similar to those previously outlined.

3) *Household situation in relation to social and geographical entourage:*

The poor households (40.8%) and the national ensemble of households (49.0%) consider that their economic situation has improved as compared to the preceding generation. It is to be underlined that within the national ensemble the number of households stating an improved situation slightly outstrips the number of those that state a worsened situation. The effect is inverse within the ensemble of poor households. There is a considerable increase of households that consider themselves unfavorable as the geographical referential space is extended (local neighbourhood, Autonomous Community, Spain, European Union). This behavior is more accused among the poor households than within the national ensemble of households.

If we analyze poverty from the perspective of its evolution in recent years, we will observe a large amount of stability during the three years of the Spanish Survey (1974, 1981 and 1991). Those households not reaching 50% of the mean equivalent expenditure, in all three years, are about 20%, whereas the number of persons has decreased by 1.5% in the last decade. This reflects, more than anything else, that the average size of households in Spain—including the poor households— has diminished between 1981 and 1991. Also, it must be borne in mind, vis-à-vis the data provided by the *Survey on Household Budgets 90-91*, that important redistributing



effects have taken place due to the extension of Social Security and Unemployment benefits.<sup>7</sup>

## **II. SPATIAL AND SOCIAL FRAMEWORK**

### **1. Dualism within the Basque and Navarrese Subsystem**

The analysis of poverty in the Basque Country and Navarra necessarily has to be made in reference to the historical process leading to the formation of its urban system. Whereas the take-off of the two northerly cities (Bilbao and San Sebastián) took place at the beginning of the century as a consequence of the First Industrial Revolution, that of the southerly cities (Vitoria and Pamplona) did not take place until the 1960s. Within the system, whereas the first two became strongly specialized in traditional basic industry, the innovating initiatives proper of the Second Industrial Revolution became located in the second two, frequently as the new location of initiatives that were fleeing from the congestion which was imposed upon the northern cities by the surrounding relief. This gave rise to counterpoised industrial subsystems, with two being out-dated —Bilbao and San Sebastián— and the other two being adapted —Pamplona and Vitoria.

Excessive specialization in critical sectors —steel, metals, chemicals, equipment, shipbuilding— within the northern subsystem made it especially vulnerable in the face of the economic crisis of the 1970s, and even today the process of spatial, urban and productive reconversion is far from being completed. The problem has been especially grave in the case of the Metropolitan Area of Bilbao. Along with the Metropolitan Area of San Sebastián, Bilbao occupies the apex of a set of hierarchically ordained medium-sized cities in the northern subsystem in which intense spread effects took place with regard to the production model. The Metropolitan Area of Bilbao concentrates 80% of the population of its province (Vizcaya), which has only 5 small cities and very few nuclei at base level. In Guipúzcoa province polycentrism is very accused given that apart from the Metropolitan Area of San Sebastián there are 40 cities and towns of varying size having historic centers and new peripheral urbanization, and whose total population within the province by far outstrips that of the main city.

As opposed to the northerly polycentrism, in the southern fringe the second industrial phase, accompanied by a strong tertiary effect, gave rise to two small Metropolitan Areas, Pamplona (Navarra) and Vitoria (Alava), which organize highly centralized subsystems, especially in the latter case. Endowed with a great capacity of diversification, these cities adjusted to the different crises of recent times. At the present moment they are free from the drawbacks of obsolete sectorial and spatial structures, and are developing urban —residential and productive— zones of great

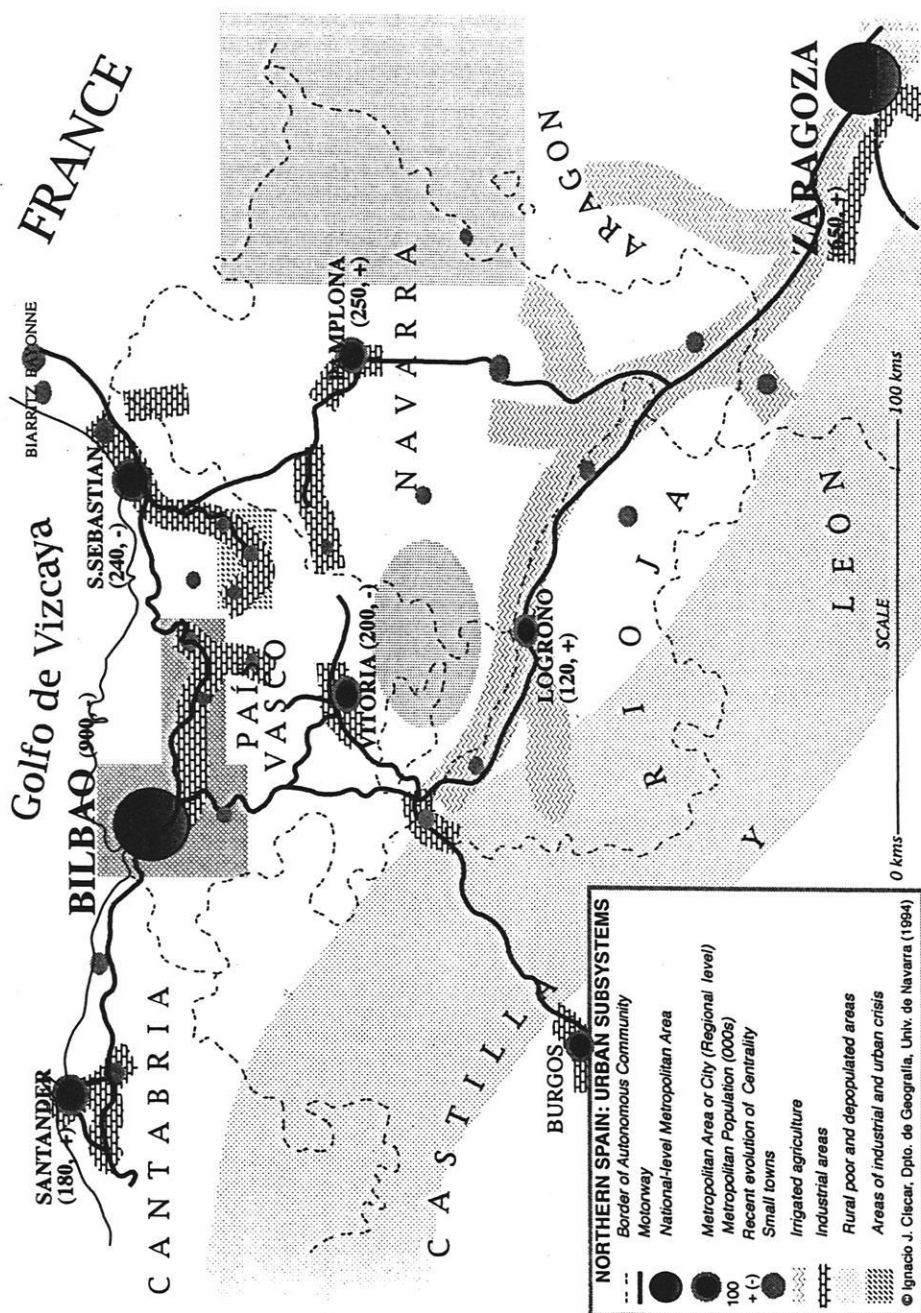
quality. The creation of these new qualified metropolitan zones is linked to the new middle classes related to industry and specialized services.

Demographically, the entire system is at zero growth. However, whereas in the northern subsystem population is declining due to the joint forces of increased out-migration and negative natural growth rates, further south the absence of out-migration and a younger age structure helps to maintain growth rates at a slightly positive level. All this is a change of tendency in an area that experienced enormous rates of growth between 1950 and 1975. Vis-à-vis centrality, the system is structured according to a set of levels whose distance is one to four; and at distances of 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, 2, 1 and even less at the superior metropolitan level, with nuclei being more abundant at the lowest levels. Industrialization has been diffuse, culminating in the phase of greatest industrialization in Spain (1955-1975). Urbanization affects practically the entire northern subsystem, whose population density is above 300 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>.

In Vitoria and Pamplona, urban take-off, linked to non-basic industries — automobiles and auxiliary industries, machinery, household appliances, light metals— did not take place until the 1960s. Growth became confined to the apex of the urban system whose demographic and functional distance is quite far removed from the few small nuclei organizing rural areas. There is nonetheless a certain difference in the case of Navarra (Pamplona), where the institutional policies of decentralization produced a greater degree of industrial dispersion than in Alava. Vitoria, the main city of this province, has become the site of many industries that due to their size were unable to occupy the narrow valleys of the northern provinces, and due to its proximity to the traditional industrial areas of the Basque Country, of which it is the political capital (see Figure 1).

As a consequence of both subsystems pertaining to two distinct generations of productive models, they have experienced the effects of economic crisis in different manners. In the northern subsystem, de-industrialization has been considerable,<sup>8</sup> to such a degree that the Central Government has had to intervene with incentives and reconversion policies, carrying out huge investments with the aim of helping the large numbers of persons having their jobs at risk in the steel and metallurgical sectors. The economic crisis has however affected almost all sectors, including those which at first did not seem especially vulnerable. At the present moment unemployment is higher than the national average (20%) in the northern subsystem, whereas in the southern subsystem it is much lower. Unemployment in Navarra is presently the lowest of all the regions of Spain (13%). As a result, the provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa, which at the beginning of the 1970s —along with Catalunya, Madrid and Baleares— spearheaded the economic development of Spain and the rise in its standard of living, are at the present moment somewhat below the national average in per capita income. This decrease is however not so accused if we examine other indicators such as Disposable Family Income, as we shall see later on.

Figure 1





Within the context of Spain's large Metropolitan Areas, Bilbao has been the most vulnerable. It is without doubt the Spanish Metropolitan Area presently suffering from the greatest amount of problems, since its reconversion has not been completed and on top of this it is just now beginning its much-needed urban remodeling. It is therefore understandable that poverty should affect above all the old urban and industrial structures, especially the Metropolitan Area of Bilbao, in view of its size (41.8 % of all industrial employment in the Basque Country, 44.8 % of all employment in services, and similar figures of percentages of total population and employment within the whole of the Basque Country (44.3 and 42.2%), and in view of the specific nature of its industry which concentrates a huge percentage of critical installations.<sup>9</sup>

## **2. Differential development of the urban subsystems**

During the phase of development in Spain by way of intense industrialization (1960 to the mid-1970s),<sup>10</sup> Bilbao, Barcelona and Madrid were at the head of the country. Bilbao is an economic metropolis whose influence is macro-regional and national. The strong migratory movements which Spain underwent in the 1960s flowed to the provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa in 15% of all cases. All the economic indicators situated these two provinces among the first positions within the national ranking around 1975.

However, The huge masses of immigrants found great failings in household infrastructures, with resulting overcrowding which only began to be solved in the mid-sixties. On the other hand, basic infrastructures and services were insufficient to meet the growing needs of population coming in not only from the surrounding provinces, but also from further afield.

There was also a lack of adequate urban planning. The mechanisms of metropolitan planning implemented were not able to solve the growing problems of street saturation and of greatly increased housing densities. The situation was negatively affected by the mountainous relief of the area, which relegated housing to narrow valley bottoms and steep hills, with all the environmental, economic and social costs that ensued. In the Metropolitan Area of Bilbao —20 km. of built-up space disposed in a very narrow axis— there is the greatest concentration of problems of this nature. Although the shortcomings of living quarters were eventually solved, during the entire period of intense urbanization and industrialization, as in other large Spanish cities, an extended periphery of blue-collar residence was built up with deficiencies in infrastructures and environmental quality, as well as in employment opportunities and social standing. Within this context, in spite of evident morphological improvements, there still persisted the existence of some shanty towns erected in the 1950s where the marginal population lived.

The industrial and urban process developing further south was different. Pre-existing institutional and socio-economic factors made for a qualified adaptation to

the new society (Alava and Navarra have historically conserved a high degree of self-government, the modernization of agriculture rested on a small but well organized urban population, and industrialization was carried out in agreement with policies regulating needs relating to land uses, housing and infrastructures). Vitoria is the finest Spanish example of the application of Rationalism. In Pamplona and in other industrialized nuclei in Navarra, due to institutional action —Regional Government and local town councils— a climate of solidarity and associationism was fostered which spread from the countryside to the cities (the agricultural cooperative model was transferred to housing cooperatives) and relatively qualified housing was constructed, mainly in the capital. As opposed to the northern subsystem, in the south the historical city centers are the only zones in which urban poverty would become somewhat entrenched, and it is indeed rare to find poverty elsewhere.

### **3. Crisis and transition towards the postindustrial society**

A question to be stated in the first instance is the extent to which de-industrialization and industrial reconversion, with the resulting regulation of jobs and unemployment, are related to the increase in poverty. In principle, the data on the removal of enterprises in the Basque Country are eloquent. Between 1981 and 1994, the number of large business endeavours (more than 500 workers) was reduced by 53 %, (from 80 to 38). As regards medium sized business concerns (100-500 employees), these became reduced by 12 %, (from 428 to 380). And with regard to small businesses reduction has been by 20 % (from 511 to 407 in the same period).<sup>11</sup>

In spite of the high level of unemployment, which —as we have said— according to official figures is above 20% at the metropolitan level, and above 30% in some urban districts, the levels of social protection have been important, although we must distinguish between coverage given to workers in large enterprises being reconverted, and that given to workers in small businesses, usually auxiliary companies, whose coverage has been more precarious. The existence of strong family ties, linked to a reality of underground economy, are factors which have permitted survival amongst such high levels of unemployment in the last 15 years.

An evident problem on the medium-term is that posed by the younger generations, whose insertion within the labor market is most difficult. As an example of this phenomenon, it must be stated that concretely in the Basque Country in 1990 —as compared to 1975 and as we have said before— 44% fewer people under 30 years of age are now living independently from their parents.

Of the three unemployed groups —persons receiving subsidies, non-subsidized persons and youth in search of insertion within the labor market— the latter two are the most vulnerable. It is in the second group where we find correlation with poverty and with the additional problems of family breakdown, drug addiction, urban tribes, delinquency, school dropout or political radicalism. Unemployed youth are most

vulnerable to this type of exclusion; they proceed above all from non-subsidized unemployed families, thus perpetuating a vicious circle of poverty which is exacerbated by the bad image caused by the confliction which is generally associated to juvenile marginalization.

It is especially worthy of mention to note to what extent the process of disintegration has taken place in regions historically characterized by profound religious sentiments and how in such a short period of time there has come about a change towards a new urban subculture based on individualism and permissiveness associated to a certain indifference vis-à-vis ethical and civic values.

### III. ANALYSIS OF POVERTY IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY AND NAVARRA

#### 1. Statistical parameters of poverty within the subsystem

The Basque Autonomous Community has been the pioneer of the application, in Spain, of policies in the fight against poverty by means of the so-called *Ingreso Mínimo de Inserción* which, after its implementation in the Basque Country in 1989, has been adopted by the remainder of Autonomous Communities in Spain. As a previous step and as a consequence of the application of this instrument of social policy, different reports on poverty in this region have been published. These reports—preliminary survey in 1986 and follow-up reports—<sup>12</sup> coincide in their general results with other sources, such as those published by *Caritas*.<sup>13</sup>

In 1986 it was estimated that 38 % of households either had problems when trying to fulfill the ordinary requirements of basic needs (*maintenance poverty*) or else were unable to fulfill the minimum requirements for equipping their household. These figures are evidently samples of difficulties which nonetheless may not only reflect a reality of low income, but also one of excessive expenditure which relies heavily on credit. It can be estimated that 22.5% of those households have arrived to this situation of difficulties as a result of the economic crisis. The average income of poor households can be estimated at 47.1% of that of the non-poor households. Households in extreme poverty, with an average income situated at 24.5% of that of non-poor households, can be estimated to be 4.9% of the total (29,000 homes in the Basque Country). Extreme accumulated poverty can be estimated at 2.1%.

Figures relating to problems for fulfilling ordinary living requirements are highest in the province of Vizcaya (42.7%, which is 10% higher than in the rest of the Autonomous Community). Finally it can be estimated that 2% of Basque homes have serious problems when trying to attain the fulfillment of the minimum monthly food requirements.

In agreement with this study, it can be considered that the highest rates of poverty are found among families whose head is a married unemployed male (73.5%). If

furthermore he is an immigrant from another region in Spain and over 40 years of age, the percentage jumps to 84.3%. It can be considered that within the ensemble of the population long-term unemployment poses the greatest problem, which in turn is exacerbated by the fact that the traditional social networks of immigrant solidarity were broken down by the immigrants themselves.

Among the employed, the causes of objective poverty are to be found in the low salaries of lower-scale professional categories, the saturation of the small independent commercial markets, the low production capacity of some farmers and the difficult situation of some groups in precarious labor conditions.

As was commented in a previous section, it is to be noted that the mechanisms of social protection have played an important role. As a consequence, the highest rates of poverty are to be found among the unemployed, the handicapped and women in broken homes, whereas rates among the elderly are similar to those of the general population. This situation is corroborated by the analysis of the beneficiaries of welfare programs, who come to approximately 85% of all potential receivers. It is estimated that 1.7% of all homes in the Basque Country have at some time received official aid, with prevalence in Vizcaya being 1.9% . Of these homes, 70.2% have no other means of income. Although it has to be taken into account that separated or divorced persons are few in the Basque Country (5% of all married persons — although the proportion of separated or divorced attains 10% in the case of persons born in the 1960s), it is to be noted nonetheless that 46% of households whose head is either separated or divorced have had to be aided by social welfare programs.

Within this general framework, poverty appears according to a twofold spatial component: diffuse and sectorial. The first case is typical of the districts of the Metropolitan Area of Bilbao where early industrialization was rampant, as well as in mining areas, with the greatest rates being found in submetropolitan areas downstream from the central municipality, whose population is 200,000 inhabitants. The second case is more typical of sectors further removed from contact with the modern city in historical centers (whose deterioration has fostered penetration by recently arrived poor immigrants, the establishment of marginal groups and the permanence of low-income elderly persons), and of other sectors which are either commonly associated to the residual suburbs of the second industrialization phase, or else correspond to residential zones where aging buildings, small living quarters and defects in standard of living and environmental problems are common, along with the lack of infrastructures and public spaces, and the existence of contaminating industry located close by.

In agreement with the study *La pobreza en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca (Avance)*, —which, as we have said, estimates that 38% of the population has difficulty in maintaining a decent standard of living— at the level of the Basque Autonomous Community the highest rates of poverty are found in marginal rural mountainous zones, the historical centers of Bilbao and Vitoria, and in the blue-collar periphery of the Metropolitan Area of Bilbao. The rate of poverty thus understood

attains over 50% of all households, and jumps up to 75% in the case of shanty settlements.

Special relevance has to be assigned to the central Municipality of Bilbao, where the greatest accumulation of marginal sectors is found, given the fact that along with the suburbs, here greatly represented, we must add the ample marginated sector of the historical center, especially two specific zones. One is the *barrio chino* or red-light district, which in the first and second industrialization phases was associated to one particular street and which at the present moment includes the entire center (Bilbao la Vieja), in which we find the greatest degree of urban marginal deterioration: prostitution, delinquency, drugs and street people, in an entourage of substitution of the traditional activities proper of a historical center (local and even urban commerce, crafts) in favor of other activities related to degraded leisure.

In the submetropolitan periphery there exists another district, Otxarcoaga, which integrates all the components of Rationalism and which is the second zone of social margination. Erected with the aim of finding housing for the inhabitants of the suburbs whose homes were demolished during the Franco Regime and who were forced to move to Otxarcoaga, in the last three decades there have been processes of substitution which have converted this district into a marginal zone, whose characteristics are broken homes, drugs and delinquency.

As a counter-point to this type of urban units, the Metropolitan Areas of San Sebastián and especially Bilbao have also developed districts that were already segregated from the rest during the First Industrial Revolution due to their greater environmental quality and which during the second industrialization phase experienced an important process of expansion (Guecho and Lejona in the Metropolitan Area of Bilbao are the most representative of this type of district, with approximately 200,000 inhabitants). These districts house the heirs of the old mining, industrial and financial elite of the First Industrial Revolution, as well as those related to the second industrialization phase and the tertiary sector—new classes linked to liberal professions. These privileged social sectors are also present in expansion zones closer to the city centers, of high architectural design and important urban remodeling.

It has to be said that from a formal point of view, the old patterns of land occupation in agreement with the Garden City—which in the Metropolitan Area of Bilbao was important as a consequence of close links to Great Britain during the First Industrial Revolution—have been slowly replaced by other types of collective low density quality housing. Rising land prices and new patterns of individual housing have fostered this type of urban re-structuring.

Of much greater relevance are the new zones erected in the Metropolitan Areas of the southern fringe, especially in Pamplona, whose metropolitan economy has been the most dynamic as a result of the intense industrial and tertiary processes from the 1960s to the present day—the automobile industry, sectors related to multinational investments or regional initiatives, universities and hospitals, specialized commerce,



etc.— a striking achievement considering that this Metropolitan Area serves a region of only half a million inhabitants.

Navarra's originality, however, does not rest solely on the amount of quality urbanization which has emerged in Pamplona's metropolitan periphery in recent years, and in the resulting emergence of new middle classes, but also on another connotation. Without downgrading the data published recently on the number of poor people residing in this Autonomous Community (a recent survey points to 30,000 persons), it has to be mentioned that this region contains the only focal point of immigrants from the Maghreb, thereby constituting a specific form of marginalization in a particular urban sector. This focal point, estimated to contain 400 persons in 1994, is located in Navarra's second city, Tudela —30,000 inhabitants—, and is narrowly linked to underground activities in Navarra's most intensive agricultural zone to the south of the region. Here we find the same phenomenon as in other intensive agricultural zones in the country (Almería-Murcia, Catalunya-Levante), in which immigrants from southern Spain who traditionally tended to agricultural activities are increasingly being replaced by workers from northern Africa.

On the contrary, in Vitoria and in the northern fringe, this type of immigrant is either confined to the old districts —alongside Gypsies— or else spread among the poorest districts of the Metropolitan Areas, where living conditions are at their worst. This type of immigrant belongs to the group suffering from the greatest degree of social exclusion in view of the economic and legal shortcomings involved, and especially in view of stereotyped attitudes that are attached to them, given the fact that the apparition of some forms of minority delinquency are unjustly extrapolated by some members of the original population to the entire ensemble of these minority bodies.

---

#### NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL COMMENTS

<sup>1</sup> This is the approach used by the research study *Estudio de los hogares menos favorecidos según la Encuesta de Presupuestos Familiares, 1990-91*, Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

<sup>2</sup> The *equivalency scale* was calculated in agreement with the *Oxford Scale*, which is obtained by means of the sum of the members of each household pondered according to the following coefficients: 1.0 for the main earner, 0.7 for household members above 14 years of age, and 0.5 for family members under 14.

<sup>3</sup> An indicator employed is the *poverty line*:

$$d = 1 - P/L$$

*P* = mean equivalent expenditure of households below the poverty line determined by the mean equivalent expenditure.

*L* = effort of additional contribution of expenditure needed to situate the less favored households above the poverty threshold.

<sup>4</sup> The subjective classification contains the percentage of households which self-classify themselves as being poor in answer to question 3 of the subjective module of the Survey on Household Budgets. The household chooses its response on a scale going from rich to poor. The subjective appreciation is always well below the objective measure in this type of study.

- <sup>5</sup> It is to be stated to this effect that in the Basque Country there is a 44% deficit of independence from the family among the youth as compared to 15 years ago.
- <sup>6</sup> Given the small size of the sample at the provincial level, the high degree of segregation carried out would affect the precision of estimations, whose sample error would augment accordingly with the smaller size of the units represented in the contingency table, a fact that must be kept in mind.
- <sup>7</sup> On the other hand, it could happen that the equivalency scales used in the three years considered do not adequately reflect variations imputed to consumption as a function of the typology of persons making up family units, and that these equivalency scales should be revised.
- <sup>8</sup> Between 1978 and 1988 Bizkaia, the province in which the Metropolitan Area of Bilbao is located, which is of the highest rank of those being considered, experienced a drop in industrial employment from 184,300 jobs to 106,000. In 1991, up to 120,000 had been recuperated. These losses are comparable to those experienced in the other seven Spanish Metropolitan Areas of over 0.5 million inhabitants. MENDEZ, RICARDO; CARAVACA 1993. *Inmaculada Procesos de reestructuración industrial en las aglomeraciones metropolitanas españolas*. Madrid: MOPT.
- <sup>9</sup> LEIRA, E. 1989. *Bilbao. Un territorio metropolitano*.
- <sup>10</sup> This phase and the following period are described in BOURNE, L., SINCLAIR, R., FERRER, M. and D'ENTREMONT, A., eds. 1989. *The Changing Geography of Urban Systems*. Department of Geography of the University of Navarra for IGU Commission on Urban Systems in Transition, Pamplona; Section A: "Urbanization in Countries of the Mediterranean: the Spanish Example", pp. 21-60.
- <sup>11</sup> Cámaras de Comercio de Bilbao, Vitoria y Donostia 1994. *Catálogo Industrial del País Vasco*.
- <sup>12</sup> Gobierno Vasco, Departamento de Trabajo, Sanidad y Seguridad Social, *La pobreza en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca (Avance)*. Gobierno Vasco, col. de Documentos de Bienestar Social, Vitoria, 1987. In this collection there are other published studies on this topic, among others: *Informe de evaluación del Plan Integral de Lucha contra la Pobreza en Euskadi (1988-92)*, 1992.
- <sup>13</sup> The Catholic social charity organization *Caritas* has been publishing, since several years ago, statistical information on its work among at risk groups, both at the regional and the national level. This information, although stemming from other sources, corroborates the tendencies outlined in this work.