

PAPERS 46 HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY.

First Results of the *Enquesta de condicions de vida i hàbits de la població de Catalunya, 2006**

FOREWORD

This 46th PAPERS issue that the reader may be holding is the first report including data from the *Survey of the living conditions and habits of the population of Catalonia, 2006*. Just as it was done at the 2000 edition, two fully current and socially relevant subjects, housing and residential mobility, have been chosen and analyzed at the scale of the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona and the Province of Barcelona. The analysis has been territorially disaggregated in four internal areas (the city of Barcelona, the First Metropolitan Belt, the Second Metropolitan Belt and rest of the Province of Barcelona). Besides, considering that this is the *Survey*'s 5th edition, when regarding these territories data have been studied diachronically when possible; this way, the results obtained may be understood in a more precise manner as a part of long-running dynamics rather than just a juncture.

As a complement to this first results analysis, the monograph includes two annexes that help contextualizing the information about the main subject and the statistic resource of the data. The first annex includes statistic tables that complement the text, either supporting the graphics inserted in the analysis or adding information that hasn't been considered essential to it. The second annex is dedicated to the resource that provides for data: the *Survey of the living conditions and habits of the population*; its 2006 edition technical and methodological features are detailed, together with a wide explanation about the process of sample construction.

Carme Miralles-Guasch and Carles Donat, both geographers at the Institute for Regional and Metropolitan Studies, and Jaume Barnada, an architect at the Barcelona City Council, have structured the report in four parts that can be read independently while they are connected amongst them too, as explained at the summary and the set of conclusions at the end of the analysis.

The first part describes the characteristics of the housing units where the population lives, regarding housing tenure, living space, year of construction and type of building. Some data related to secondary residence are also expounded. A very relevant subject is treated in the second part: residential mobility in relation to the housing changes that have taken place during the five or six years preceding

each edition of the *Survey*. Regarding the aforementioned territories, it is possible to know the amount and evolution, the causes and the relation between residential changes and the life cycle. At the third part, the authors have wanted to focus on two collectives amongst the ones that meet greater difficulties when looking for a house: the youth and the elderly. Due to rather different reasons these two social groups – that are defined by their age and thus not internally homogeneous – have greater problems than the rest of the population when facing the housing market. The last part of the article deals with the changes of residence that also result in a change of municipality —which are called internal inter-municipal migrations— analyzing them as a dynamic involving the different territorial areas considered, as well as in relation to the sizes of both the towns of origin and destination. There is also a section that regards the newcomers. And taking everything into account, main tendencies in population distribution are pointed out according to the residential changes revealed by the *Survey*.

The article concludes with a summary and a set of conclusions that outline, in a synthetic manner, the characteristics of the housing units and the population living in them, emphasizing the youth and elderly matters due to the specific difficulties that they meet. Changes of residence have also been highlighted, together with the consequent redistribution of the population at the metropolitan scale.

HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF BARCELONA AND IN THE PROVINCE OF BARCELONA¹

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Introduction

Within the context of contemporary history, since the end of the 1990s the housing market has entered into an unprecedented cycle of rising prices. This cycle has been characterised by a sharp increase in the population who are looking for a home and by the boom in housing construction, a fact which, however, has not stopped prices from rising significantly year after year. While this housing market

trend has met the housing needs of a large part of the population, albeit at the cost of taking on heavy mortgage repayments, it has excluded others and left them in an even more adverse situation because of the accumulated shortage in some form or other of subsidised housing which, in turn, has become less and less of a priority in metropolitan areas since the beginning of this cycle. All in all, this has led to a situation where nowadays housing is one of the main concerns of citizens and also one of the central issues in public policies for the coming years.

This volume of the journal *Papers* features the first set of data from the 2006 edition of *Enquesta de condicions de vida i hàbits de la població* (from here on referred to as the *Survey*), and focuses on housing and residential mobility. This issue was already the subject of discussion in some of the articles in the volume that began publishing the data from the previous *Survey* five years ago, and for a variety of different reasons has been a recurring theme. First and foremost, as said before, is the importance that this issue has at present for both society and public administration policies. The second reason is related to the territorial level, metropolitan, where the main forces behind the housing market coincide now more than ever. It follows that one needs to be alert to the fact that these housing market mechanisms and the implementation of housing programmes by public administrations in this field have a major bearing. In fact, in some cases they are at the root of other areas of public interest such as mobility, social cohesion and environmental sustainability, which are all within the metropolitan sphere of interest. Last, but by no means least, the third reason which has brought us to focus on the first data on housing, starts from the conviction that this information and analyses provide more in-depth knowledge about the complexity of the housing market and the needs of the citizens. Furthermore, with the latest *Survey* we now have access to a chronologically ordered series of data for the entire Metropolitan Area of Barcelona (1995, 2000 and 2006), and to a lesser degree for the whole of the Province of Barcelona (2000 and 2006), which allow for making diachronic analyses and providing more accurate information for planners and public management.

This article is divided into four sections which deal with the main characteristics and factors related to housing in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona and the

Province of Barcelona. This analysis is organised chronologically running from the 1990s up to the present year and differentiates between four internal territorial areas: Barcelona, the First Metropolitan Belt, the Second Metropolitan Belt and the rest of the Province of Barcelona.

The **first section** begins with a description and analysis of the characteristics of the main types of housing where the population lives (housing tenure, living space, age and type of building), and ends with a description of some general features regarding second residences. In the **second section** an analysis is made of the main forces behind the demand for housing. This begins with a description of developments from the mid 1990s immediately followed by an analysis of the main causes behind the sharp increase seen in the early years of the 21st century. There is also a closer look at the relationship between residential mobility and age, which attempts to approach the housing market from the perspective of the needs of the population at any given moment during their life cycle. In the **third section** emphasis is given to the two social groups who find it most difficult to meet their housing needs: young adults and the elderly. As regards the first group there is an analysis of the main causes behind the elevated age at which young adults leave home and a description of the characteristics of the housing where they live when they first move away from home, comparing these to the population as a whole. As regards the elderly there is also a description of the housing where they live and an analysis of the main specific needs of this social group in terms of both housing and its immediate surroundings: the neighbourhood. Finally, in the **fourth section**, there is a description of the main migration patterns related to the housing market in the inner Province of Barcelona, underlining the increasing integration taking place at the metropolitan level. There is also an analysis of flows headed by the newly arrived population from outside the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona and the Province of Barcelona who, along with these internal migrations, determine, quite markedly, the distribution of the population.

1. The characteristics of the first home

The characteristics of the housing in which the population lives in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona (from here on referred to as the MAB) and the Province of Barcelona, according to the classification given in the *Survey*, are housing tenure, living space given in square metres, year of construction and the housing type. So, this section offers an analysis of the percentages of the population that, in the four territorial areas which this article refers to, either rent or own, the most typical living space area and where they are found, the age of the buildings in the

metropolitan and provincial areas and the occurrence of single family flats or houses in the different places under analysis. These characteristics are analysed diachronically and by territorial area.

TENURE SYSTEMS

As has already been seen from the data given in previous editions of the *Survey*, and as all the available data indicates regarding housing characteristics, home ownership continues to be the majority tenure system. Figures for home ownership have not fallen below 70% in any of the surveys or territorial areas, with the exception of Barcelona in 1995 when the figure was 67.1%. However, in the last five years the most outstanding feature regarding housing tenure is that in the more metropolitan areas in the Province of Barcelona the continual rising trend of home ownership in detriment to renting has stopped. As can be seen in figure 1.1, during the years 2000 to 2006, the percentage for the population of home owners in the MAB has fallen by 2.8%, whilst those who rent has risen by 2.3%. Only when we move beyond this metropolitan area, referred to as the rest of the Province of Barcelona, do we find that home ownership has remained steady at 82.8%.

As regards the areas which make up the MAB, despite the aforementioned trend, the percentages differ between each area. In Barcelona, where figures for home ownership have always been lower, the fall in home owners has been more marked, as much as 5.1%, with an increase of 3.6% for those who rent. In the First Belt the increase in rented housing is around 2.4% and in the Second Belt around 1.4%. From this it can be seen that the increase in the renting option is more significant in Barcelona (the centre of the metropolitan area), and tails off the further one moves away towards the areas which are furthest.

Nevertheless, we are not talking about major changes in the metropolitan housing tenure system. Rather we could talk of a positive stabilisation in the percentage of rented homes compared to buying a home, a fact which is not changing attitudes towards home ownership. It is almost certain that the increase in the price housing sells for means that, in some cases, people opt for renting as a transitional or alternative step, especially when acquiring a first home.

In contrast, it should be pointed out that there is a tentative change in the public administration housing offer, as there has been a significant increase in rented housing with the objective of creating a public housing stock of this tenure type. This is important, not only as a short term measure to guarantee housing needs for a wide section of the population, but also to bring metropolitan standards closer to those of other European cities which have an extensive public rented housing

stock compared to the paltry metropolitan 2%. Here, particular mention needs to be made of the public policies implemented in the city of Barcelona along these lines regarding both subsidised rented housing as well as new housing projects reserved for young-adults, the elderly and other specific social groups.

Another variable which the *Survey* provides for evaluating home ownership is whether the homes are paid up or not. Following this line of analysis, it should be noted that up until the year 2000, in all the territorial areas referred to, more than 50% of the population owned their home outright. Nowadays, these percentages are lower, and in some cases fall to levels not very far off 40%. As can be seen in figure 1.2, in the MAB those home owners who own their home outright represent 45.0% and those who are still paying for their home 32.0%, figures which are similar for the province of Barcelona as a whole. Six years before, in these two territorial areas, figures were 56% and 23% respectively.

The decrease in the number of people who own their home outright with respect to those who are still paying for their home can be seen in all four areas under study, although with varying degrees of intensity which become more pronounced the further we move away from the metropolitan centre. As can be seen from figure 2.1, the difference between paid up homes and those still being paid off is more significant in Barcelona than in the Second Metropolitan Belt, where figures show a difference of only 1.3% in favour of the former. These differences in intensity for this same trend between the four areas also need to be seen in the light of internal inter-municipal migration flows. One such example is the Second Belt, which has been the main receiving area for internal migrations during the last few years, where there is a high percentage of the population who live in homes pending paying off and also where the highest growth in this category has been recorded.

There are two reasons behind this continued increase in the number of homes which have not been paid off yet. The first concerns that section of the population setting up a new home. This is particularly pertinent in the case of the population in the 25 to 34 age range who in the last 11 years have had a very important bearing on the age structure and who, in the majority of cases, have opted for buying. To this demand one has to add that of the population who own their home outright or have a low mortgage and have opted for taking out a new mortgage and moved home with the objective of shifting up market, above all in the last period of time covered in this article. This second reason may well have an even greater bearing than the first considering the number of the population that this involves.

Furthermore, if the percentage of people who have bought their flat, and who are still paying for it, is added to the percentage of residents who rent their home, then we can see how some 50% of the population need to make monthly payments for their home. In reference to new lease agreements, we are mainly talking about the young-adult population and new residents, that is to say, people setting up new homes. The effect of long-term mortgage repayments and the high price of housing in general (buying or renting) is putting a significant section of the metropolitan population in a state of continual debt and with near zero savings capabilities.

As regards rented housing a distinction can be made between those with an indefinite lease from those with a fixed term lease. As can be seen in figure 1.3, in the year 2006 in all the areas analysed, the number of fixed term leases was higher than the number of indefinite lease agreements, with the exception of rented housing located in the rest of the Province of Barcelona where figures for indefinite leases are marginally higher than the number of fixed term leases. This distribution is the outcome of types of leasing agreements that have evolved as a result of the reform of the urban leasing laws, which has led to the situation where almost all new signed lease agreements are fixed term. This has resulted in a decrease in the population who have indefinite lease agreements (normally associated with older and former leases) and an increase in the number of those with fixed term leases.

Still on the subject of the effects of laws governing the rented housing market, it should be mentioned that some aspects of current laws are neither favourable to lessees nor owners of rented housing as they generate situations of instability among the former and insecurity among the latter. In the case of lessees, fixed term leases can generate psychological insecurity, which in many cases entails a high degree of residential mobility and the constant search for a home to buy. Furthermore, tenants tend to give little value to the property they are temporarily renting and, consequently, only carry out those improvements that are absolutely necessary. Turning to the owners of rented housing, the main problems derive from doubts concerning the state of the property and the fear of non-payment of rent. As a consequence, this situation produces an "ageing effect" on housing which is more manifest in rented homes than in those which have been bought.

Within this general development, it needs to be pointed out that the growth in fixed term leases has been higher in those areas where rented housing stock is more dynamic: in Barcelona and in the First Metropolitan Belt. In 2006, in both the MAB and the Province of Barcelona, almost 60% of the lessee population had a fixed term lease and little more than 40% had an indefinite lease agreement.

LIVING SPACE

The available living space of the housing where the population lives has increased in all the territorial areas under consideration here, except the city of Barcelona. In the Second Metropolitan Belt as well as in the rest of the Province of Barcelona, homes measuring more than 80 m² are the predominant feature in the total housing stock. As can be seen in figure 1.4, this trend has been the case throughout recent years and is more the case in the less densely populated areas and at the same time further from the metropolitan centre, such as the Second Belt and the rest of the province, where homes measuring more than 100 m² account for 38% and 47% respectively.

Similarly, the housing livable space is linked to population density and the level of urban development in the area where they are located. For this reason, one can distinguish two models for the territories under analysis: one for Barcelona and another one for the Second Belt and the rest of the Province of Barcelona. The First Belt, however, is an area located between the two former spaces and takes on some of the characteristics of both models.

This situation means that if one looks at each of the four territorial areas under analysis there are significant differences regarding both livable space as well as how housing has developed. In Barcelona and the First Belt the population lives, in general, in smaller homes than in the Second Belt and the rest of the Province of Barcelona. In the two more central areas of the MAB, the majority live in housing measuring between 61 m² to 80 m². Although these kinds of housing have gained ground in Barcelona, rising from 34.4% in 1995 to 38.3% in 2006, in the First Belt corresponding figures have fallen steadily, from 48.5% to 42.8%. These diverging trends mean that nowadays the proportion of housing with a living space of between 60 m² to 80 m² in both areas accounts for the majority, with figures for both close to 40%. The same diverging trends seen in these two areas can also be found in other housing livable space categories: while in Barcelona larger housing percentages have levelled off or are falling, they are on the increase in the First Belt, especially for properties measuring more than 100 m², which in a period of eleven years have risen from 10.8% of the total housing stock to 15.9%.

We can also find a similar situation in the outer spaces of the Province of Barcelona, although the growth in number and percentage for housing with a livable space greater than 100 m² is more manifest. In the Second Belt, housing of this kind accounts for almost 40% and in the rest of the Province 47.1%. It is here in these outer areas where the population that lives in larger homes (80 m² or more)

is growing and is more developed: six years ago figures reached almost 75%, whereas now they are close to 83%.

The population living in small homes (less than 60 m²) accounts for a significant percentage in Barcelona and in the First Belt (around 17-18%) and falls dramatically the further one moves away from the centre: only 5% of the population lives in small apartments in the Second Belt and a little under 3% in the rest of the Province.

In Barcelona changes to the Normes Urbanístiques del Pla General Metropolità (*General Metropolitan Planning Urban Development Regulations*) have allowed for increasing population density and a larger number of housing per parcel of land. This has meant that, within a short space of time after implementing these reforms, there has been a decrease in the size of new housing of around 10%, and the reforms have not produced the desired effect of a greater diversification in types of residences. Another outcome has been that while the total price of housing has been held in check to a certain degree, at the same time there has been a sharp increase in price per square metre and has certainly been one of the factors that have contributed to overvaluing present new housing. This trend in the city of Barcelona can also be seen, to a lesser degree, in the most densely populated nuclei in urban metropolitan areas.

Another reading of the decrease in useable housing living space in the central MAB can be seen in changes in the types of home and consequently in the diversification of types of residences. Nowadays, not only are flats being built for bringing up families but there is also a predominance of housing with less living space that, on average, is designed for two persons per home. But the reality of this situation illustrates that even though there is this criterion for reducing the useable living space, this is due more to the criteria of real estate companies and property developers rather than a response to this idea, since in the market we only find smaller conventional flats.

Meanwhile, in other less developed and lower population density zones the criteria for housing living space remains steady at around 100 m² as a synonym for optimum dimensions. This comfort standard leaves the way open for accommodating different types of homes and in addition guarantees the possibility for uncomplicated reforms and change of use. In contrast, smaller housing can often present problems when it comes to recycling, put accommodation at the limits of its habitable possibilities and in the medium term create a city with less wealth. Seen from another perspective, this trend brings us closer to other European cities (such as Paris or London) where housing living space has also been reduced.

YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION

In 2006, almost half of the MAB population (48.5%) lived in housing built in the 1960s and 1970s. Since then, the steady rhythm of housing construction has continued, particularly in the 1990s, a fact which means that almost one third (30.2%) of the population live in housing built after 1980. The remaining population live in buildings built before 1960: 16.7% built between 1901 and 1960 and 4.6% built before 1900. If one considers the Province of Barcelona as a whole, the distribution is strikingly similar: 47.3% of the population live in housing built in the 1960s and 1970s, 31.3% in buildings constructed afterwards, 16.5% in buildings constructed between 1901 and 1960 and 4.9% in buildings constructed prior to 1900.

If one analyses the figures broken down by area, one can see that, while in all four areas there is a very significant percentage of the population living in housing constructed in the 1960s and 1970s, the percentage living in housing constructed afterwards decreases the more we move towards Barcelona. Accordingly, in Barcelona those built after 1980 account for almost 16% compared to a little over 29% in the First Belt and more than 40% in both the Second Belt and the rest of the province.

The main cause behind these figures has to be looked for in land availability in the different territorial areas. Growth in housing construction during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a saturation of land exploitation in Barcelona, the municipalities of the conurbation, and in some of the traditional industrial cities in the Second Belt, which meant that during the following twenty-five years housing construction has been limited by this situation. This limitation has been offset by the restoration of the oldest housing stock, or land redevelopment operations which targeted the redevelopment of former industrial spaces. These efforts in the more developed cities have been accompanied by the construction of housing in those parts of the territory where there is more land availability, especially in medium and small sized municipalities in the Second Belt and in the municipalities that are not part of the First Belt conurbation. This is where the biggest growth has taken place during the last 25 years, and which is reflected in figure 1.5 (with data broken down by area), where one can see that almost half of the population in the Second Belt live in housing constructed after 1980.

HOUSING TYPES

The flat is the predominant type of housing in all the areas under study throughout the last 11 years: the highest figures being more than 90% and the lowest around 50% (figure 1.6). All in all, whichever type of housing we find depends to a great deal on the surroundings where they are built. In the most densely populated

areas single-family houses, whether terraced or detached, are in the minority and figures do not go above 10% in any of the cases. Alternatively, in the spaces furthest from the metropolitan centre and less densely populated, we find that single-family houses are quite a significant feature, especially in the Second Belt and in the rest of the Province of Barcelona, accounting for more than 35%.

The proportional distribution between the different housing types in the different areas has remained quite stable, especially in the city of Barcelona and the First Metropolitan Belt, where, between 1995 and 2006, the percentage of flats has been around 96% and 88% respectively. The only dynamics that break this pattern of stability is in the Second Belt and the rest of the Province where single-family terraced houses have given way to detached houses. Thus, for example, in the furthest reaches of the MAB periphery, terraced houses accounted for 28.7% of the housing stock in 1995 and has fallen to 24.8% in 2006. In contrast, single-family detached houses have increased from 8.2% to 12.4%. This very same trend is reflected in the rest of the Province with a decrease from 37.2% to 30.4% for single-family terraced houses and an increase from 9.7% to 13.8% for single-family detached houses. These figures reflect the differences in town and country planning policies put into practice by the various municipalities. Accordingly, in Barcelona, and generally speaking in the most important cities, the majority of the neighbourhoods that have been developed have a reasonably high population density, while the trend to promote single-family housing and extensive land development continues to grow in the rest of the territory, particularly in medium and small-sized municipalities. This situation is already causing territorial dysfunctions, particularly those related to land availability for new growth (residential and industrial) and mobility for the people. Furthermore, in the short term, this could generate environmental and social cohesion problems that will be difficult to solve.

THE SECOND RESIDENCE

In the MAB and Province of Barcelona there is a high percentage of inhabitants who have a second residence. As can be seen in figure 1.7, since 1995, around 19% of the population in these areas benefit from one or other kind of second residence, that is, almost one in every five inhabitants are members of a family with a second residence. This figure has remained quite stable in the last eleven years, with a slight tendency to fall.

An analysis by metropolitan belt shows that there is a certain relationship between the residential area population density and having a second residence: the more densely populated the area the more manifest the fact of having a second residence. Accordingly, as can be seen

in figure 1.7, it is in the city of Barcelona and in the First Belt where we find the highest percentage of the population with a second residence, with figures of 25.2% and 21.1%, respectively. The Second Belt and the rest of the Province of Barcelona, where residential population density is lowest, is where we find the lowest percentages, with figures of 19.7% and 18.5% respectively.

As regards the type of housing tenure, around 95% the second residences are owned, a fact which has been reinforced throughout the last 11 years, reaching a peak in 2006 with percentages of 97.2% in the MAB and 97.1% in the Province of Barcelona. In other words, home ownership is even more common for the second residence than the first home. Approximately two thirds of the second residences have been bought, while the rest are the result of inheritances and family homes (see appendix, table 1.6).

2. Residential mobility

The characteristics of housing in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona, described in the previous section, provide a description of the main housing stock and its development since the mid-1990s. In this section, the analysis focuses on demand, based on the corresponding number of the population and the reasons for and age at which people move to another residence. The first point put forward is the evolution over time of change of residence based on where the population comes from, making a clear distinction between those who have not moved from the area under study and from those who have moved various distances from outside. Afterwards, the analysis focuses on the reasons that cause the residential population to move home and finally, there is a more in-depth analysis of these reasons linking them to the life cycle of people. Regarding this last point an analysis is made of residential mobility taking into account that the reasons behind moving home vary according to the age, social norms and the socio-economic context.

NUMBERS AND TRENDS

The number of the population that has moved home in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona continues to increase in the last period covered by the *Surveys*. As can be seen in figure 2.1, in the three moments that have been analysed, figures for the population that has moved home have risen from 5.4% to 20.9%. If we take the Province of Barcelona as a whole, one can see how the trends are the same, which means that one in every five people living in the Province of Barcelona in 2006 have moved to their present home in this last period.

There are two reasons which explain the increase in the population that has moved residence between 2001 and 2006. The

main reason needs to be seen in the light of the sharp increase in residential mobility, this being understood as change of residence by the population who were already living in the MAB or the Province of Barcelona, and who account for more than 85% of all moves (figure 2.2). Despite this steady increase, the MAB still reflects relatively low levels of residential mobility when compared with other major European capital cities. The second reason has been the increase in the newly-arrived population, being those who have arrived from outside the areas under study, particularly those coming from outside the 15-member state European Union². As can be seen from figure 2.2, the total immigrant population in 2006 accounts for around 13% of the demand for housing as compared to a little more than 3% in the previous period.

THE MAIN CAUSES OF THE INCREASE IN RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

The sharp increase in residential mobility, between the three periods under analysis can be explained by different phenomena: some are related to the reasons behind moving home and others by the age structure of the resident population. Both factors determine the intensity of residential mobility and determine the housing demands and needs of the population.

The *Survey* groups together five major underlying reasons expressed by residents as to why they have moved home³. The proportional distribution of the reasons has varied throughout recent years, especially among those who have moved to a *better home* and those who have done so for family reasons, whether to *setting up a new home* or for *other family reasons*. As can be see in figure 2.3, in the MAB, in the first half of the 1990s the *setting up of a new home* heads the list of reasons for moving home (46.6%), followed by the desire to move to a *better home* (32.7%). This order is inverted in the second half of the decade, and almost one in every two reasons is due to moving to a *better home*, whilst *setting up a new home* only accounts for one third. In the last period the importance of a *better home* has fallen (41.3%), although it still takes first place with respect to other reasons for moving home. Similar percentages can be seen throughout the entire Province of Barcelona.

This relative decrease in changes of residence in the last six years, which were motivated by the desire for a better home, has been absorbed by family reasons, particularly for reasons stated in *other family reasons*, which has risen from around 7.9% at the end of the 1990s to the level of 12.2% now. Among these reasons, as will be seen later on in more detail, those that predominate are reasons due to family break-up or an increase or decrease in the number of family members in the home.

It should also be noted that *work-related* reasons have only a slight bearing on motives for moving home, accounting for 4% in all the time periods and areas. These very low figures need to be seen in light of the inflexibility of the housing market, where home ownership predominates⁴, which poses obstacles for residential mobility linked to changing job or cases where the work place is relocated. One of the main consequences of this situation has been the continued increase in the distances to be travelled between the home and the work place during the last 11 years⁵. This phenomenon has added to deficits in public transport services, especially in the outlying metropolitan areas and, as has been seen in the first section, with the growth of low density housing types which are difficult to provide with collective transport services. The outcome of the combination of these factors has been that the increase in distances travelled between the home and the work place has been accompanied by an increased use of the privately owned vehicle⁶.

This distribution of motives for residential mobility determines, to a certain degree, new and changing housing needs. The moves motivated by *setting up a new home* and those caused by *family breakups* have meant a net increase in demand for housing. In contrast, the relationship between the other reasons provided by the *Survey* and needs for new housing is more complex. Change of residence motivated by these reasons, from the perspective of the demand for housing, meet individual needs that go beyond basic needs in the majority of cases⁷, since this section of the population moving already have a home. From the perspective of supply, the housing vacated by this section of the population can form part of available housing. Thus, an increase in residential mobility associated with these reasons brings new demands with it, but also a new supply of second hand housing, providing that the these homes vacated by the population moving home go on the housing market⁸.

The second phenomenon which explains the sharp increase in residential mobility is related to the age structure of the resident population. In 2006 the percentage of the population between the ages of 25 and 39 is higher than in previous years⁹. It is close to one third of the population in the MAB and in the Province of Barcelona (32.1% and 31.7%, respectively) whilst in 2000 the figures were almost five percent lower (27.8% and 27.7%, respectively), and in 1995 more than six percent lower (25.8% for the metropolitan area of Barcelona). As will be seen later, this age range group is the one which moves home most.

THE LIFE CYCLE AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY¹⁰

Residential mobility is closely related to a person's age, to the degree that it determines the change of residence

rates and regulates the different reasons. Accordingly, a relationship is established between residential mobility and the life cycle, the moments when the population most change home as opposed to others and, what is more, in each of these moments the causes can be markedly different. During a person's lifetime, at the different moments in time, there are changing motivations that act as triggers for residential mobility¹¹. These motivations are a response to different sub-cycles or individual trajectories revolving around the family cycle (leaving home, setting up home as a couple, increase or decrease in family members, or separation or divorce being among the most frequent reasons), the work cycle (relocation of the job, change due to looking for job opportunities, etc.), or are linked to a residential cycle *per se*, due to which the population moves residence to satisfy the need for a better home (moving up market, better tenure option and better environment being among the most common reasons). Furthermore, these sub-cycles may differ among the various generations according to the changes in social norms, residential mobility models, or opportunities and restrictions in the socio-economic context. The analysis of changing residence based on the life cycle, and subsequently the age of the individual, allows us to delve deeper into the complexity characterised by demand for housing based on the needs of the population.

• Age¹² and reasons for moving home

As has already been stated, throughout a person's life there are moments when they are more likely the move home than others. As can be seen in figure 2.4, those people who move home most are aged between 25 and 39, and, since 2001, particularly those between the age of 30 and 34. In 2006, in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona, approximately one in every three individuals between 25 and 29, half of those between 30 and 34 and one third of those between 35 and 39 have moved home in the early years of the 21st century. From 40 onwards the change of residence is less frequent, although one can also see a rising trend. Those ages when there are less changes of residence are found at the extremes of the life cycle of the population: those younger than 25 and those older than 60¹³.

The age of the population not only determines the degree of residential mobility, but is also a conditioning factor for the reasons behind it. As can be seen in figure 2.5, setting up a new home is clearly the main reason for moving home among the young-adult population, particularly between the ages of 25 and 29, although moves motivated by a *better home* account for a significant percentage, which is particularly evident among the 30 to 34 age group. Generally speaking, a change of residence motivated by a *better home* among the young adult

population needs to be seen in the light of difficulties in finding a satisfactory home as a first option. As we move forward through the life cycle the *setting up new homes* motivation diminishes, while the *better home* motivation continues to rise and after the age of 35 is the main cause of residential mobility. The very fact that residential mobility has markedly increased among the 35 to 39 age group of the population, particularly for reasons of a *better home*, can be interpreted as a delayed effect in securing a home seen as a long term or definitive acquisition, which would explain why residential mobility after the age of 45 is very low compared to other age groups. In reference to moves motivated by a *better home*, it needs to be pointed out that in the early years of the 21st century one can see a decrease in the relative bearing of this reason in all the age groups. The decrease among the young-adult population needs to be seen in the light of the difficulties this age group could be having in finding a home that meets minimum requirements. Alternatively, for the adult population this is due to a sharp increase in family changes, both the *setting up of new homes* as well as for *other family-related reasons*. Finally, it should also be noted that moves motivated by work-related reasons are, without exception, very infrequent in all the moments of the life cycle.

As we have seen previously, the events that condition residential mobility are above all related to the family cycle (*setting up new homes or other family-related reasons*) and to the residential cycle. We can now add that the former is the case for the majority of the young-adult population, particularly as this is when new homes are set up, and the latter the case for the majority of the adult population. Within this general picture which relates the age of individuals to when they change home and the reasons that trigger this, there are also other influencing factors. In recent years one can appreciate significant changes in the family cycle and in the residential cycle, some of which have already been referred to in this article. In some cases they are related to the development in residential models or social norms, but also in others, particularly the housing market, allowing for some socio-economic restrictions.

• Family changes - change of residence

Traditionally, and up to the 1980s, moves caused by the family cycle were concentrated in the youngest age ranges and were infrequent after the age of 30. Recently, some models have been changing among both the young and adult population. First of all, from the 1980s until now there has been a delay in the age at which young people leave home. In addition, and also related to this development, in the last decade, the age at which people set up new homes has lengthened up to 34. Finally, and this is a more recent dynamics, one can see that

changes of residence related to the family cycle go beyond 35 and have a stronger bearing on the adult population.

One of the main factors that define the life cycle and at the same time influence residential mobility is the age at which people leave home. In recent years one of the main characteristics of the young-adult population is the high percentage who have still not left home, that is, they have not made their first change of home on their own. As shown in figure 2.6, where we can see the trend to young adults leaving home by age ranges, from 1985 until 1995 the percentages for the population who have left home decrease in the three age ranges and from then on they have levelled off with a tendency to rise in the last period. This increase is apparently incongruous with the marked rise in house prices which has been a characteristic of the early years of the 21st century. In order to explain this contradiction it is necessary to bear in mind that the increase in the rate at which young adults leave home is, above all, due to the newly-arrived population, the majority of them young people, who have already left home. To a lesser degree this is also due to the increase in the rates at which young people leave home for those already living in the Province of Barcelona; these rates, given the threshold which they had reached, could hardly fall further.

Despite this development in the last period, the numbers for young people who have left home under the age of 30 continue to be much lower than for those who have not. In the case of young adults under 25 who have left home, the figures are very low, particularly since 1995 when they accounted for 4.7%, and although there has been an increase, they are now at around 10%. That is to say that in 2006 only one in every ten young people between 18 and 24 in the Province of Barcelona have left home. Among the 25 to 29 age group of young people, the figures are almost the same for those who have left home as those who live with their parents or guardians, although the latter are still the majority. Finally, as regards the 30 to 34 age group the figures for when they leave home are higher and in the last period have once again reached levels above 80%. Nevertheless, one needs to bear in mind that almost one in every five young people between 30 and 34 live in their parents' home. All in all one can deduce that the figures for when young adults leave home continue to be very low.

Another of the main changes in the family cycle, in this case during the last period, has taken place in the population aged 35 to 60. From the latest data provided by the *Survey* one can see an increase in residential mobility for family-related reasons among the adult population, both in for *setting up a new home* as well as for *other family-related reasons* (figure 2.5). Whilst we need to wait for future editions to see if this trend is confirmed, it appears

that this is becoming one of the important factors for the future that will have a bearing on the housing market and which will have to be analysed in more detail.

Allowing for the fact this is no more than an example based on early results, one needs to bear in mind that the other *family-related* reasons group covers up to eight reasons. Among these, what needs to be underlined is the impact of the following on changing residence in recent years: *separations or divorces*, those related to an *increase in family members in the home* (having a baby) and those that are due to *reduction in family members*. The growing tendency of these motivations among the adult population does not mean that in previous times there were no changes to family size (i.e. situations where there was an *increase in family members in the home*). The difference here is that now these transitions in family situations have meant a change of home, which indicates a change in the residential models with respect to previous years which had been more static.

• The residential cycle – move to a better home

As is the case for residence changes related to the family cycle, residential mobility related to the *better home* motive has also experienced some noteworthy changes in the last period under analysis. Residence changes motivated by the *better home* reason are framed within a wider range of residential strategies employed by people with a medium or long-term life cycle perspective. Whether they change residence or not depends on their context: opportunities or restrictions. As regards opportunities these are mainly related to work or professional security which translates as a higher income level and opens up the possibility to move up-market. The main restrictions generally stem from the housing market and the financial strain on the home income to meet payments. In recent years, and as a result of the sharp increase in housing prices, one can see certain changes in the strategies employed by the population who change residence for a *better home*.

The *better home* motives in the *Survey* break down into three categories: *better housing*, *better tenure option* and *better environment*. Recent trends in these categories indicate some changes in residential behaviour of which two are particularly clear. First, as regards the young-adult population who have already made their first change of residence (that is, they have now left home), one can see that numbers for those who buy a property when changing residence have fallen. Second, one can also see a decrease in all age groups whose reason for moving home is motivated by the *better environment*.

One of the main residential strategies of the population is to buy a home, whether this is at the moment of setting

up a new home or later on during the life cycle. In recent years one can see that changes of residence by the young-adult population with the aim of buying has fallen considerably while among the adult population this has remained relatively stable.

As we have seen, among the 25 to 34 age range of the population there is a significant percentage of changes of home due to the *better home* motives (one person in every five in the 25-29 range, and one in every three in the 30-34 age range). If we take a closer look at the data in figure 2.7 we can see that between the two periods the rate at which people move home for a *better tenure option* has fallen, and quite sharply. So, it appears that housing market restrictions would have consequences for the young-adult population residential mobility models, causing a fall in the number of moves for which *buying a home* was the main objective. This hypothesis is confirmed when we look at the data given in figure 2.9. In 2000, 87.2% of the population in this age group whose reason for moving was a better home, did so by buying a property and only 10.6% did so by renting. In contrast, in 2006 these percentages have changed to 75.2% and 24.8% respectively. So, not only are there less moves related to a *better tenure option*, but also among those who move for *better housing* there are more who continue to rent and less who actually buy a property.

In contrast, among the adult population the moves motivated by a *better tenure option* have remained relatively stable. As can be seen from figure 2.7, among the 35 to 39 age group population this percentage has remained steady at around 16%, and in the 40 to 59 age group there has been a slight decrease, although the percentages are still quite significant (12.9%).

All in all one can deduce from this that buying a property continues to be one of the main objectives in the residential cycles of the population, and that if restrictions in the housing market make this difficult and unattainable for young adults, then this kind of move is shifted on to older age groups. Likewise, one needs to bear in mind that this residential strategy contains a strong cultural component and that recent trends in housing prices and financing conditions make this option more and more inaccessible for the majority of citizens. Continuing this line of thought, the recovery experienced in the rented housing market favours a global rationality in housing tenure which brings us tentatively closer to the prevailing trends in other countries of the European Union.

Another of the major changes that can be seen in the residential cycle recently has been the fall in home moves motivated by a *better environment*. As can be seen in figure 2.7, the impact of this motivation increases as one moves through the life cycle. However, the *better environment*

motivation is the least common among the reasons for moving with the *better home* category for all age groups. As can be seen in both periods, it ranks third and last, with a very significant drop between 2000 and 2006, the exception being the 25 to 29 age group where there is an increase but where its importance over the total is of little bearing.

3. The young population and the elderly, difficulties and challenges meeting their housing needs

In spite of the sharp increase in residential mobility analysed in the previous section, there is one particular social group who have difficulties finding a solution to their basic housing needs. The most important of these, because of the numbers they represent, are the young-adult population and the elderly. The former are characterised by the late age when they leave home as a result of socio-economic conditioning factors, cultural models and the present state of the housing market. As for the latter, the population who are older than 65 have specific housing requirements, to meet their needs at this stage in the life cycle so that they can achieve a certain degree of well-being.

THE HOUSING NEEDS OF THE YOUNG-ADULT POPULATION

Residential mobility among the young population has already been discussed in the previous section in terms of one of the population social groups which most changes residence. This is mainly due to the fact that this is the age when most of them set up a new home, but another factor is dissatisfaction with the first home they move to. This section looks more closely at some of the housing-related aspects that affect the 25-34 age group of the population (young or young-adult)¹⁴, making a distinction between those who have already left home and those who have not. First there is an analysis of the characteristics of the housing for the sub-group of the young population who have already left home: tenure system, living space and degree of satisfaction with the home where they live. This is immediately followed by an analysis which focuses on the main factors which determine models for those who leave home, such as restrictions imposed by the job and housing markets, the shortage of some kind or other of subsidised housing and cultural models.

• The housing for young adults who have left home.

Young adults from the MAB and the Province of Barcelona who have moved away from home generally tend to live in housing which is slightly smaller, newer and with the same facilities as the population as a whole. Generally speaking, however, young adults are more

dissatisfied with their home, mainly due to lack of space. The majority are home owners, although percentages for this group are lower than for the population as a whole. As we move away from the capital their flats are larger, newer and there is a higher rate of ownership.

The young-adult population generally live in housing they have bought, although recently figures for this **tenure option** have fallen. As can be seen in figure 3.1, in the metropolitan area in 2000, 85.3% of the young population between the age of 25 and 34 now living away from home, were living in housing which they had bought, while in 2006 this percentage had fallen to 72.2%, a trend which is almost identical to that for the Province of Barcelona where the figures have fallen from 85.3% to 72.5%. So, in 2006, seven in every ten young adults who have left home live in housing they own and figures put them 10% below figures for the population as a whole.

To complete the tenure system picture for young adults living away from home, let's say that Barcelona is where percentages are highest (39.4%) and decreases the further we move from the capital (22.5% in the First Belt and 12.8% in the Second Belt). Generally speaking, in all areas more young adults rent than the population as a whole, although this is far more the case in Barcelona and the First Belt, where this percentage is higher for young adults by 14% and 10.4% respectively. In the case of the Second Belt the difference is only 3.8% and is very close to figures for the population as a whole (see appendix, table 3.1)

Turning to **housing living space**, as can be seen in figure 3.2, a large section of young adults who have left home live in housing with a living space of between 61 m² and 80 m² (41.3% for the MAB and 39.8% for the Province of Barcelona), and generally speaking these homes tend to be smaller than for the population as a whole. As we have already seen in section 1, half of the population live in housing with more than 80 m² of living space, while the figure for the population aged 25 to 34 is approximately 40%. This situation is a cause for concern because a type of housing is becoming widespread with few options for reusing and with certain minimum dimensions as regards inhabitable standards.

Analysis of trends in housing living space for young adults reveals that, contrary to what has happened among the population as a whole, the living space for this group has decreased slightly in the last period. As can be seen in figure 3.2, in the metropolitan area and in the Province of Barcelona, the proportion of young adults who live in housing with less than 60 m² of living space has grown in detriment to housing with between 60 m² and 100 m², while the percentage living in housing with more than 100 m² has remained practically

the same. One of the causes can be found in the sharp increase in housing prices which has characterised the early years of the 21st century which will have prevented part of this population group from accessing housing with larger dimensions, particularly in the more central areas of the metropolitan area. If this trend, reinforced by urban planning laws, continues in the medium term, it could end up generating a housing stock of reduced dimensions that will impoverish the metropolitan residence fabric.

Analysis by territorial area verifies that in housing where the young population lives in the Second Belt is larger in dimensions as opposed to housing in Barcelona and in the First Belt, which is also a characteristic for the population as a whole. In these two last areas approximately 70% of young adults live in housing with dimensions of less than 80 m², while in the Second Belt this figure is around 25% lower, about 45%. Logically, the situation is the reverse for housing measuring more than 80 m². From this category, particularly noticeable are homes measuring more than 100 m². While more than 20% of young adults live in housing with these dimension characteristics in the Second Belt, in Barcelona and in the First Belt this figure falls by half (see appendix, table 3.2).

Another interesting characteristic is the **age of the housing**. The first conclusion that can be drawn from the data given in figure 3.3 is that there are more young adults living in housing dating from the 1960s and 1970s (44.4% and 42.7% for the MAB and the Province of Barcelona, respectively) rather than in newer housing constructed after 1980 (39% and 40.5%, respectively). If these figures are compared with those given in section 1 of this article, one can see that the housing where young adults live are slightly newer than for the rest of the population, although the differences are not statistically significant. All in all, this indicates that a major part of the most recent housing is not occupied by the young-adult population, but rather by the adult population who change residence to move to a newer home.

Analysis by metropolitan belts reveals some important nuances regarding the previous argument since one can see that this situation is particularly the case in Barcelona and in the First Belt, and far less the case in the Second Belt. First one needs to bear in mind that, in general and as is the case for the population as a whole, as we move away from the metropolitan centre we find that the housing where the young population lives is newer. But, the most interesting nuance can be found when comparing the figures for these two social groups. In Barcelona the percentage for the young-adult population living in newer housing is practically the same as the figure for the population as a whole (16.4% and 15.8%, respectively). In the First Belt

this relationship favours the young-adult population by 5% (35.4% and 29.3%, respectively), and in the Second Belt this is the case by 15% (60.7% and 45.6%, respectively). In other words, the further we move from Barcelona the more we find that the young-adult population lives in newer housing and furthermore, these percentages are higher than for the rest of the population. All in all, one can deduce that the newest housing is more accessible for the young-adult population the further we move from the metropolitan centre.

As regards the **drawbacks of housing**, in general the young-adult population is more dissatisfied with their home than the population as a whole, and lack of living space is the main reason. While around 40% of the population as a whole state that they are quite satisfied with their home, the figure for young adults who have left home is around 30%. As can be seen in figure 3.4, in the MAB and Province of Barcelona, lack of living space ranks as the principal drawback, around 18.5%. Therefore, there is a direct correspondence between perceptions concerning the lack of living space and the real situation regarding housing dimensions. Following this line of thought, one needs to bear in mind that the reduced dimensions of new housing has been brought about by two factors that, given present conditions, are unlikely to change. The first is the increase in price per square metre and the second is due to urban planning regulations which are favouring the construction of smaller flats. The case for the metropolitan area is no exception taking into account that this situation can be found in the main European metropolitan areas in the last ten years. The second drawback mentioned by young adults is, the lack of a lift (11.5%), as is the case for the population as a whole.

Analysis by belts shows that for young adults who no longer live at home, Barcelona is where lack of space as the main complaint accounts for the highest percentage (24.0%). In the First Belt this percentage is 19.3%, and 14.4% in the Second Belt. The highest percentages for the second stated drawback ranking in the list, the lack of a lift, are found in the First Belt (15.7%) followed by the Second Belt (10.4%).

• Why some young adults leave home while others do not

As we have already seen in the second section of this article, the figures for leaving home among the young-adult population are very low in the MAB and Province of Barcelona. Among the 18 to 24 range, the low percentage of approximately 10% is mainly the result of increased years in formal education and having to wait longer before entering the job market. Moving to the young adult sub-group aged 25 to 34, this percentage, however, is around 67%, and there are

other determining factors relating to this sector, the most important being: the employment conditions for part of this group¹⁶, the financial effort required to be able to meet payments for a home, the accumulated deficit in housing under some kind of subsidy scheme and the value given to home ownership in Catalan culture.

The combination of relatively low incomes and high costs for mortgages or rents allows one to understand why the age at which young adults leave home is so high. In 2006 the most common monthly expenditure on housing among the 25 to 35 population was around 301 to 600 euros. This is the amount paid by half of the young-adult population in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona. Above this price range, approximately one quarter of this social group has a monthly expenditure between 601 to 900 euros; below, we have the other quarter whose monthly expenditure is lower than 300 euros a month, and among this group 15% have no monthly housing expenditures (see appendix, table 3.5).

Analysis of young adult incomes based on figure 3.5 reveals that around 56% of young adults earn less than 1,050 euros a month. As a consequence, we can find rented housing types, that are often shared, which are a first option when leaving home until the moment they wish to start a family. This produces a situation in which the tenure option of the first home (bought or leased) is seen as a stepping stone and quality, urban location are not a consideration, rather choice is determined almost exclusively by financial constraints. The percentage of young adults with monthly incomes below 1,050 euros is higher among those who still do not live in their own home (that is, they have not left the family home), accounting for 62.8%, as opposed to those who have (52.3%). All in all, one can deduce that income levels are one of the determining factors when it comes to leaving home.

Another of the factors which explains the difficulties faced by the young-adult population attempting to enter the housing market, is the accumulated deficit of one or other kind of subsidised housing. The aforementioned increasing financial effort necessary to access the housing market is in sharp contrast to the lack of a housing stock subject to some kind of subsidy. From the perspective of supply this deficit began in the mid 1990s when a downward trend in this kind of housing offer began. It is only in recent years that various metropolitan town councils have begun promoting specific policies for subsidising rented accommodation for young people. These are policies which have taken shape in the form of reduced dimension housing for temporary use until the lessees are in a position to access another home.

Financial strains and the lack of subsidised housing explain part of the reason why

young adults leave home so late in life, however, there are other reasons, such as lack of job security and cultural factors which affect this social group. From the latter one prevalent factor is the preference to buy and the paltry offer in corresponding rented accommodation. Even though there has been an increase in recent years in the proportion of the young-adult population who rent, buying a home continues to be the majority option in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona.

Buying a home in many cases involves the need to generate savings to make a down payment, and there are many young people who, although they have a job, live with their parents for longer so that they can meet this expenditure. In addition, public administration policies (particularly tax breaks) and financing companies have encouraged buying a home. It is only in recent years that some public administration financial aid policies have been put into operation to promote renting both for property owners and lessees, and backing has been given to promoting subsidised rented housing, particularly in the city of Barcelona. In contrast, the practice of buying a home, so deeply rooted in Catalan culture, means that there is solidarity within the family when it comes to buying a home, but this is not so often the case when it comes to renting. So, renting as an intermediary step between living at home with one's parents and buying one's own home is uncommon in this age group and makes it particularly difficult for them to live away from home.

Home ownership is also associated with a particular household profile. In figure 3.6, one can see how those who live as a couple (most cases), own their home, while close to half of the group who live in lone person households, single-parent households, households without a nucleus or households with two or more nuclei, grouped in the *others* category, rent their home. With the increase in non-traditional household types (lone person and without a nucleus) and single-parent households, there is a decrease in the shared expenses capacity of a household, and consequently this has a bearing on the increasing number of the population who have difficulties accessing the housing market. In fact, one of the main causes of the increase in rented housing in the early years of the 21st century will have been the increase of these kinds of household types (see appendix, table 3.8).

Another factor related to cultural models has to do with the perception of the young-adult population concerning moving out of their parents' home – in recent years these have undergone changes. These changes can be seen in the light of the trend in motives expressed in the population between 25 and 34 for leaving home. As can be seen in figure 3.7, in 1995 the majority responded stating that they foresaw moving out to "live with a partner", however, this has changed

completely and in 2006 the majority of young adults replied that the reason was "to be independent". Some of the causes for this change of perception are the importance of being independent and some models which are not so directly linked to setting up as a couple in present Catalan society.

THE HOUSING NEEDS FOR THE ELDERLY

The population over the age of 65 has certain specific needs related to health and health care, needs which are generated by growing older and also socio-economic circumstances that distinguish them from the rest of the population, and which can affect their capacity to satisfy their basic housing needs. So in this sub-section there is a description, first and foremost, of the characteristics of the housing where the elderly live and the preferences and drawbacks they find in their residential living space. In addition, there is a description of the socio-economic characteristics of this social group in terms of income and the tenure system, two factors which help to understand the conditions they are living in.

• *The housing of the elderly*

Although the housing of the elderly should include a series of facilities and spaces related to health, mobility and installations designed to meet age-related physical conditions, we often find cases of more precarious conditions resulting from the age of the building and the lack of resources to make improvements.

As regards the **age of housing**, more than one third of the over 65s in the MAB and Province of Barcelona live in very old housing built before 1960, as can be seen in figure 3.8. Around 48% were built between 1960 and 1980 and only 13.5% were constructed after 1980. In general, the fact that most elderly people live in housing built before 1980 needs to be seen in the light of reduced residential mobility which is a specific feature of the generations over 65.

Analysis by belt reveals that in Barcelona more elderly live in housing built before the 1960s, accounting for 51.5%. The First Belt, however, is where most live in homes dating to the 1960s and 1970s, i.e. 63.6%, coinciding with the period when a major part of the population came to the metropolitan area. Alternatively, it is in the Second Belt and the rest of the Province of Barcelona where there is a higher percentage of elderly persons living in relatively new buildings, 21.8% and 17.0% respectively, as opposed to 7.7% and 12.4% for Barcelona and the First Belts, respectively.

The age of housing in many cases indicates a deterioration and a lack of **facilities and spaces** suitable for the elderly. According to data recorded in the *Survey*, in 2006 the percentage of

the elderly living in housing with a lift, hot water, heating and air conditioning is slightly lower than for the rest of the population. As can be seen in figure 3.9, close to 2% of the housing in the metropolitan area where those over 65 live, do not have hot water or an in-door toilet and around 50% do not have heating and/or a lift. The percentages for the rest of the Province of Barcelona are similar, although one can see that there is a high percentage of housing equipped with heating (85.4%) in the non-metropolitan regions, above all due to the fact that this is newer housing and that average winter temperatures are lower. In contrast, it is in the First Belt where more elderly people live in homes without heating, accounting for 64.4% (see data by area in the appendix, table 3.11).

As regards housing **living space**, the elderly in the MAB and Province of Barcelona live in housing which is smaller than those for the population as a whole, albeit with differences between areas. As can be seen in figure 3.10, in 2006 49.0% of the population in the MAB lives in flats with a living space less than 80 m², while the percentage for the elderly is 56.3%. The same percentages for the Province of Barcelona are 46.3% and 52.9% respectively. The largest group in numbers in the two areas is the population who live in housing with dimensions running from 61 m² to 80 m², close to 40% in both cases.

Analysis of these data by area reveals that the distribution of living space is similar to that for the population as a whole, that is, there is a higher percentage of housing measuring less than 80 m² in Barcelona and the First Belt than in the remaining areas. It is in Barcelona where there are fewer differences between the housing where the elderly live and that for the population in general, while these differences are more marked in First Belt. As is the case for the population as a whole, in the First Belt there is a higher percentage of elderly living in flats measuring less than 60 m² (27.5%), while these percentages for Barcelona are around 18% and below 7% for the remaining areas.

Turning to the **tenure system**, as can be seen in figure 3.11, the most common tenure situation for the elderly is home ownership, with percentages that are very close to those for the rest of the population, and which in 2006 were around 82% for the MAB and for the Province of Barcelona. Broken down by area, the situation for the elderly is also practically the same as for the population as a whole. Accordingly, in Barcelona, where there are more elderly who rent (22%), in the rest of the territory figures are much lower, 8% in the First Belt, 7.5% in the Second Belt and 11.2% in the rest of the Province.

Generally speaking, the over 65 population who rent is the social group who live in the oldest housing. As can be seen in

figure 3.12, the majority of owned housing for this social group were built from the 1960s onwards (around 67%), while the majority of rented housing were built earlier (74.5%). One can also see that the housing conditions are worse among the elderly who live in rented housing. By way of example, 6% of the population of this age group who rent their home do not have hot water in their home, while this figure for those who are home owners is 1.2%. This situation is explained first by the fact that those who rent live in the oldest buildings, and secondly because less repairs are carried out or money invested (see appendix, table 3.15).

As regards **satisfaction with housing**, despite the fact that conditions are slightly worse when compared to those for the population as a whole, there is a large percentage of elderly people who have no problems concerning where they live, almost certainly because they have a greater capacity to settle for and adapt themselves to the situation. As can be seen in figure 3.13, among the most mentioned inconveniences in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona, those that stand out are related to accessibility and lack of comfort due to shortage of facilities or space. Accordingly, around 13.0% of the population over 65 consider the lack of a lift in the building to be the main drawback, with damp and cold due to lack of heating accounting for 6.2%. If we look at the data for the population as a whole, this last point ranks seventh; damp and cold is one element which the elderly particularly suffer from. Lack of space, accounting for 5.0%, is the next highest inconvenience on the list. Analysis by belt shows that it is in the Second Belt where the elderly are most satisfied with their home and in the First Belt where they find more drawbacks (see appendix, table 3.16).

• *The socio-economic characteristics of the elderly*

There are certain factors associated with the population over 65 in the MAB and Province of Barcelona regarding income level which determines their housing situation. The majority live independently and solely from their pension, and so often they do not have the necessary financial resources to meet important home expenditures.

In 2006, 91.3 % of the population over 65 in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona live independently, that is, head of the family or head of family partner. In the 65 to 74 age group the percentage is 5% higher, while for those who are over 75 there are more who depend on others with whom they share their home. In the last 11 years in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona figures for the over 65 population who live independently have stabilised at around 90% (see appendix, table 3.17). This residential self-sufficiency, which in the majority of cases is financial self-sufficiency, is something which the

elderly value very highly, but at the same time brings risks in its wake, both financial and health related.

The main source of income for the over 65s in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona is some kind of pension or benefit, with figures of around 85%. The income for practically two thirds of this group come from retirement pensions, close to 15% from widow/widower's pensions and 2.7% from disability pensions. Around 12% have no form of income. If the data for 2006 is compared to the two previous periods one can verify that although the nature of pensions may have changed, this is the main source of income for the elderly in the three periods under analysis (see appendix, table 3.18).

The source of income determines the amount and their incomes are lower than those for the rest of the population. Figure 3.14 shows how the largest group in numbers have monthly incomes below 450 euros (around 37%, including those with no income). Close to one third of the elderly live on monthly incomes ranging from 451 to 750 euros and only 14.0% have monthly incomes above 1,050 euros.

Along with the degree of relative poverty among the elderly, one needs to bear in mind that the housing tenure system determines the financial effort to meet payments for the home. We have already seen that the most common tenure system is home ownership for the elderly in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona. As regards financial expenditure to pay for the home, in 2006, more than three quarters of the population had already paid for the home outright, although around 6% still had to make payments. Therefore, in the majority of cases, paying for housing does not imply a financial burden at this stage in their life. As regards the rest, around 13.5% rent their home, and therefore, have to make monthly payments in this area. A third of the rents are indefinite lease agreements, the majority old lease agreements with monthly repayments below 200 euros. Despite this fact, around 35% of the elderly who rent have to meet monthly payments that run from 201 to 600 euros, which is a very high figure when compared to their incomes (see appendix, table 3.20)

Another factor to take into account is that, in general, the elderly who rent have incomes which are lower than those who own their home. In figure 3.15 one can see how, among the former, the percentage for those with monthly incomes below 450 euros is slightly higher. Furthermore, those with incomes above 750 euros account for more in number among those who own their home. Thus, one can conclude that people over 65 who rent are in a slightly worse financial situation than those who own their home. To this one needs to add that they cannot take advantage of their home as something with a market value so as to improve their living conditions.

In recent years some town councils have begun promoting rented housing for the elderly with appropriate services designed for this vulnerable group. These are policies which will need to be reinforced in the future as there can be no doubt that this is the social group which most needs support from public administration.

• *The elderly and the neighbourhood*

There are certain services and public spaces that, along with housing related factors, can be considered basic to meet the living needs of the elderly. In addition, the specific mobility characteristics of this social group are related to their immediate environment, the neighbourhood. Knowing the level of satisfaction with their neighbourhood, and the main advantages and disadvantages that may be found, allows us to orient public administration policies aimed at the elderly.

One of the first pieces of information to guide us in this matter is by asking the elderly where they would like to live. As can be seen in figure 3.16, approximately three quarters of the elderly in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona answered "in the same neighbourhood", which could be interpreted as their being satisfied living there. The preference for living in the same neighbourhood is more prevalent in the population as they grow older, with figures reaching 81% in the case of the population over 75. Analysis of the data by area reveals that it is in the city of Barcelona where the elderly most wish to lie in the same neighbourhood (80.1%), followed by the Second Belt and the rest of the Province of Barcelona (75.4% and 75.9%, respectively). The First Belt is where figures are lowest (64.2%).

As regards opinions about the environment where they live, more than 95% of the elderly can find some positive aspect about living in their neighbourhood. Peace and quite and accessibility to services and shopping areas as well as being able to maintain contact with close friends are the main positive factors. Accordingly, in the MAB and Province of Barcelona figures for these prevalent considerations are as follows: peace and quiet (34.5%), personal social relations and knowing the people in their neighbourhood (16.1%), that you can find all you need (14.8%) and general quality of life (11.0%). Still on the subject of positive factors, in Barcelona, as opposed to the rest of the metropolitan area, a good transport system ranks sixth (8.3%) (see appendix, table 3.23).

Turning to negative aspects, it should be said that a little over one third of the elderly in the MAB and Province of Barcelona can find no disadvantages to living in their neighbourhood. This figure is higher in the Second Belt where 45% of the over 65 population cannot see any negative aspects to the place where they live, while for the rest of the territory figures run from between 20% to 30%. For the territory

as a whole, of those who see negative aspects to where they live, the information is as follows in order of importance: unsafe area (10.5%), excessive noise levels (8%), unclean streets (7%), traffic congestion (6%) and too many immigrants (4%) (see appendix, table 3.24).

4. When moving home means changing municipality

One of the main conclusions that can be drawn from section 2 of this article is that the population in the Province of Barcelona who have moved home have done so, above all for reasons related to the family cycle or for a better home and in very few cases for reasons of work. However, these moves are not found traced out in municipal limits and since the mid 1980s one can see a trend towards an integration of the housing market at a metropolitan level, which more and more is taking shape as a single common reality. As a result of these moves from one municipality to another, there has been a change in the distribution of the population in the inner metropolitan area with major flows running from the more central areas towards the more peripheral, and from the larger municipalities towards the smallest municipalities. Since the end of the 20th century the population arriving from abroad has added to these internal inter-municipal migrations, and has begun a new phase which is a combination of these internal migrations related to the housing market and international migrations for job reasons.

This section analyses the main trends in the distribution of the population based on migratory movements determined by the metropolitan housing market. First, there is an analysis of the development of internal migrations from the middle of the 1990s to the present, with a particular attention to the main flows that are described. This is followed by a brief description of migrations originating from abroad from the perspective of where they settle in the areas under study. Finally, and by way of conclusion, there is a description of the main population distribution trends resulting from these migratory movements.

INTERNAL INTER-MUNICIPAL MIGRATIONS

As has been seen in the second part of this article, one of in every five people who lived in the Province of Barcelona in 2006 came to live in their present home in the early years of the 21st century, and among these 87% are people who already lived in the Province of Barcelona. Changing residence can also mean a change of municipality and this has been a rising trend throughout the three time periods under analysis. These changes of municipality, in addition to analysing them as inter-municipal migrations, are also interpreted as inward and outward flows

between the different metropolitan belts and between municipalities of different sizes.

• *Changing municipality*

The population who not only move home but also use this opportunity to move from the municipality where they have been living, has increased in recent years rising from 25% of the total changes of residence in the first half of the 1990s to 38% in the early years of the 21st century. This means that four in every ten inhabitants in the Province of Barcelona have moved home and municipality in the last time period analysed.

This development for the territory as a whole differs for each of the four areas. As can be seen in figure 4.1, this increase has taken place with particular intensity in the First and Second Belt, while in Barcelona the figures have remained steady, with a slight upturn in the last period. This means that in the last 16 years around 30% of Barcelona residents who have decided to move home have also moved to another municipality, or seen from another view, residential self-containment for the city of Barcelona has remained relatively steady at around 70%. In the First Belt moving from one municipality to another has continued to grow considerably since the beginning of the 1990s and in the last decade almost one in every two people who have moved home have also moved municipality. In the Second Belt, 16 years ago these changes affected less than 20% of the population who moved home and nowadays this figure is close to 40%. From this development one can now conclude that the metropolitan area with the highest level of residential self-containment is the city of Barcelona. By way of conclusion one could say that the more consolidated a city is the more settled the population, while higher levels of mobility are generated in the suburbs. This leads one to consider that the development of metropolitan cities should tend towards densely populated spaces with infrastructures and services which at the same time as freeing up natural land would generate new places for residential areas highly valued by their residents.

• *Migrations between territorial areas*

In some cases changing municipality also means changing from one of the four territorial areas to another. As can be seen in figure 4.2, these moves from one municipality to another which have also meant moving to another territorial area have increased from 47.7% in the last half of the 1990s to 54.4% in the last period.

If we take those changes of residence that denote moving from one area to another, that is, those who represent a little over half of the inter-municipal moves, the total distribution of inward and outward flows between the different metropolitan territories provide us with an interesting

redistribution of the metropolitan and provincial population. As mentioned in previous editions of the *Survey*¹⁷, this redistribution illustrates how the outward flows are more important than inward flows the closer we move towards the centre of the metropolis. All in all, and even though this is clearly the general trend, one can see some changes with interesting connotations, not so much for the numbers involved, but rather what they mean in terms of a changing trend, particularly if confirmed in future editions of the *Survey*.

Of all the outward flow population movements in the Province of Barcelona in the second half of the 1990s, a little over 60% originated in Barcelona. Figure 4.3 shows how, for Barcelona, this percentage has fallen by 10% and is now around the 50% figure. In contrast, the city of Barcelona is host to 15% of the total inward flows for any of the areas, registering a 3% increase. This is a moderate increase, but when combined with the decrease in outward flows this leaves a negative balance that has fallen by 15%. In the First Belt migrations have increased in both directions, much more in the case of outward flows, which are more and more approaching figures for Barcelona. Thus, one can see signs of a development which before were only found in the capital city. The resulting negative differential increases slightly although these figures remain low. In contrast to the two previous areas, the Second Belt offers a positive relative balance, although this has fallen 25%, above all because of the important fall in the population flowing in from other areas, having dropped from almost 60% to a little over 40%. The rest of the Province of Barcelona, with a relative balance close to 10%, has clearly entered into the decentralisation flow pattern traced until now in the metropolitan area. This is due both to the increase of inward flows which have risen from 3.5% to 10%, as well as the drop in outward flows, which have fallen from figures of around 5% to values that are practically negligible.

Taken as a whole, and based on the distribution of the internal migrations that represent inward and outward flows to one or other of the four areas in the Province of Barcelona, one can deduce that this decentralisation tendency is continuing. However, these flows should have entered into a new phase determined by the following characteristics: the deceleration in outward flows from Barcelona, which are increasing in the First Belt, the moderation in inward flows to the Second Belt and the spread to the rest of the Province.

• *Migrations between municipalities of different size*

Another of the main features that characterise internal migrations is the tendency by a large part of the population

to move to a different size municipality. This is a situation which can be seen in the two periods studied in more than 80% of the cases. In general terms, these migrations follow the trend to move from the largest cities to the smallest. Notwithstanding, beyond the sphere of Barcelona, one can see important changes in the inward and outward flow distribution which tend to balance out between the municipalities of differing sizes.

According to figure 4.4, in the large municipalities (from 100,000 to 999,999 inhabitants), in recent years the inward flows have increased by almost 7%, while the outward flows have fallen by 5%, leaving a difference (although a negative difference of -2,8%) which is far below the -14,6% registered in the in the second half of the 1990s. In the medium to large size population centres (between 50,000 and 99,999 inhabitants), where the differential is already positive, both inward and outward flows have increased, although the latter have done so at a higher rate, which has given way to a moderation in the relative balance. In the small-medium size municipalities (between 10,000 and 49,999 inhabitants), the fall in inward flows has been very significant while the outward flows have remained steady. As a result of this development, the positive difference, which during the period 1996-2000 was the highest in all the areas, has eased off significantly and has fallen from 21.7% to 7.3%. Finally, in the small municipalities (less than 10,000 inhabitants), there has been a combination of a slight increase in the outward flows while the inward flows remain steady, and as a consequence the relative balance has fallen by 2%, from 16% to 14%.

Taken as a whole, one can deduce that the predominant inter-municipal migration flows continue to run from the large municipalities to the small municipalities. However, these migrations do not appear to have as clearly marked origins and destinations as in earlier periods when the source of outward flows were the large municipalities and the hosts were the small municipalities, and the fact that now all types of municipalities are more and more becoming sources of both inward and outward population flows. This trend, with respect to previous periods, is due to the fact that with the passing of time there is a greater degree of territorial homogeneity between the municipalities which make up the MAB, a fact which illustrates quality of life. So, moving to another municipality is more a choice which citizens can opt for rather than the result of being dissatisfied with their first home.

THE NEWLY ARRIVED POPULATION

Since the end of the 1990s, there has been a very significant increase in the newly-arrived population in the Province

of Barcelona, coming from the rest of Catalonia, the Spanish State or the 15-member state European Union and, particularly, other parts of the world.

As regards the newly-arrived population in the early years of the 21st century, the city of Barcelona has been the main host area, and in second place the rest of the metropolitan area, with the exception of the small municipalities where they are far fewer. One can also see that the non-metropolitan areas also attract few of the newly arrive population. As illustrated in figures 4.5 and 4.6, the distribution of the newly arrived population is as follows: 40.7% in the city of Barcelona, 22.6% in the First Belt, 30.6% in the Second Belt and 6.1% in the rest of the Province of Barcelona. If we analyse the data according to size of municipality, we can see a polarising of this immigrant population. As already illustrated, the Catalan capital city is the destination of 40.7% of the newly arrived population, while the smallest municipalities (less than 10,000 inhabitants) attract only 7.4%. In the remaining municipalities one can see a very homogeneous distribution: the group comprising large, medium-to-large and small-to-large municipalities are the destination of approximately 17% of the newly arrived population.

Taken as a whole, one can conclude that the residential behaviour patterns of the newly arrived population have been very different from that of the population already living in the Province of Barcelona, and in some cases is even the opposite. These contradictions are particularly visible in the city of Barcelona, which continues to show a significant negative balance regarding internal movements, but which at the same time is the main host area of the newly arrived population. In the small municipalities one finds the same situation but the flows run in the opposite direction, since they show higher positive differentials and are where only a small percentage of the recent immigration settle.

The behaviour of these new residents follows their own rules, since at first what they are looking for is their first residence where the quality of the property is not the most important feature, rather it serves more as lodgings, and at the same time is close to a dense and shared social environment. At this first stage leasing is the typical housing tenure system. However, in the medium term, there is a redistribution of this newly arrived population towards the MAB, often looking to buy a property close to the work place.

MAIN TRENDS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

The combination of the internal migration flows and the arrival of people from outside the Province of Barcelona described so far in this section, allow

for an interpretation of the main trends regarding the population distribution in the Province of Barcelona. Some early observations can be made, being that with the advent of new immigration there has been an increase in the population in almost all areas: in some cases they have compensated for population loss due to internal migration and in others they have added to the increases.

If one analyses population development by area, in recent years we have a situation in Barcelona where, although the negative differential between inward and outward flows of the residential population has fallen, the resulting balance continues to be quite negative. With the newly arrived population, the numbers for the city of Barcelona have remained stable. In the First Belt, the slight increase in the loss of inhabitants due to internal migration has been compensated for with interest by the arrival of people from outside the Province of Barcelona, which has resulted in an increase in the population. In the Second Belt, the fact that the very high internal migrations differential has remained steady, combined with the arrival of the immigrant population, has resulted in a very important increase in inhabitants. In the rest of the Province of Barcelona, the sharp increase in the positive balance due to internal flows and inward flows from other places has resulted in a considerable increase in residents in this area.

If one analyses the municipalities according to size, in the large municipalities the significant decrease in the internal migrations negative differential combined with the arrival of the population from outside the Province of Barcelona has resulted in an increase in the population, and has thus reversed the losses from the previous period. In the medium-to-large size municipalities, the slight fall in the positive balance due to internal migrations has been compensated for by the arrival of people from outside the Province of Barcelona, thus maintaining a significant level of growth. In the small-to-medium size municipalities, the decrease in the positive differential due to internal migrations has been compensated for by the arrival of immigrants, resulting in a growth that is still quite considerable. Finally, in the small municipalities, the positive balance due to internal migrations has been added to with the arrival of immigrants, which has meant a very significant growth in the population.

In summary, one can see that the trend towards decentralisation and dispersal of the population shows signs of having entered into a phase characterised by the spread towards the rest of the Province of Barcelona: the deceleration of some of the predominant flows inwards to the seven metropolitan regions (the outward flows from Barcelona and the inward flows to

the Second Belt and to the small-medium size municipalities) and the increase in outward flows from the First Belt. The combination of these flows, along with the newly arrived population, has resulted in that fact that parts of the territory that were losing their population have seen this loss offset, and in some cases even a change in direction of this tendency. Alternatively, in places where the population was increasing due to internal migrations, the newly arrived population has had a bearing, to one degree or another, on this major increase.

Abstract and Conclusions

This article analyses the main factors related to housing and residential mobility based on information provided by the survey, *Enquesta de condicions de vida i hàbits de la població*. Although *Papers 46* is dedicated to the early results of this 2006 survey, the information analysed is based on the last three editions (1995, 2000 and 2006), which provides a broad perspective of how the housing market has evolved in the metropolitan area of Barcelona and its three internal areas: Barcelona, the First Belt and the Second Belt. The Province of Barcelona as a whole is also included in this analysis, although the information for this area begins from 2000.

The information provided by these first data is important to the degree that it allows for a diachronic analysis of a period spanning more than a decade, not only for housing characteristics but also about the relationship between them and the profile of the population according to age and income, etc. Furthermore, data also have a territorial referent framed within the metropolitan area, which is the real level of the housing market, and provide distinctions between its three internal realities. These are optimum space and time coordinates for developing an analysis of one of the most relevant issues and at the same time most complex in everyday Catalonia, which has multiple perspectives and forms part of the backbone of recent public administration policies.

This article begins with a description of the most relevant characteristics regarding first homes and also second residences. The second section attempts to take a closer look at the demand for housing, and provides an analysis of recent trends in the population who move home. This is followed by taking a more in-depth look at two social groups that find it more difficult to satisfy their housing needs: the young adult population and elderly. Finally, there is an analysis of the migrations from one municipality to another in relation to residential mobility.

The **first section** starts with tenure systems for first homes. Home ownership is the majority tenure option for housing in the Province of Barcelona, which does

not fall below 70% in any of the editions of the *Survey* or any of the territorial areas under study, except Barcelona in 1995 when it fell to 67%. In the early years of 21st century, and mainly as a direct result of the increase in property prices, the percentages for the population who are home owners or rent have stabilised after a long period in which the former had increased in detriment to the latter. These dynamics have taken place in the Province of Barcelona as a whole and all the territorial areas that it comprises, although to differing degrees. In Barcelona, where one quarter of the population in 2006 rent their home, and in the cities of the urban continuum, one can see a slightly more noticeable decrease in home ownership and a major increase in renting. Then as one moves further away from the metropolitan centre this trend is more moderate.

Although figures for the population who own their home have stabilised, the percentage who are still paying their mortgage has increased, and when this is added to those paying rent then the result is a sharp increase in the number of citizens who have to make monthly payments for their home: half of the population in 2006 compared to one third in 2000. The effect of long term mortgages and high housing prices in general (buying or renting) has left a significant part of the population in a situation of sustained debt and with near zero savings capabilities.

As regards the housing living space, in Barcelona and the First Metropolitan Belt the population lives, in general, in smaller housing than in the Second Metropolitan Belt and the Province of Barcelona. In the first two areas the most common size is between 61 m² and 80 m² (38% and 43%, respectively), while dwellings of more than 100 m² predominate in the latter two (38% and 47%, respectively). During the latter period housing sizes have increased in all the territorial areas referred to, except Barcelona, and this development has been a growing trend during recent years, being more marked in the less densely populated areas which at the same time are further from the metropolitan centre. The fall in housing living space in the city of Barcelona in the latter period mainly needs to be seen in the light of the changes in the Normes urbanístiques del Pla General Metropolità (*General Metropolitan Urban Planning Regulations*) to adapt living space to new types of residential housing. However, it appears that the result has been the construction of conventional, and also smaller housing. So, despite a certain cooling off in rising housing unit prices, price per square metre has continued to grow significantly.

Another of the characteristics analysed is the age of housing property. In 2006 approximately half of the population lived in buildings constructed in the 1960s and 1970s, almost one third in those built later

(particularly in the 1990s) and the rest in buildings built before 1960. Analysis of these data by area reveals that, there is a significant number housing in Barcelona and the metropolitan belts that was built in the 1960s and 1970s, but the figures for more recently built housing (built after 1980) fall as we get closer to the metropolitan centre. Generally speaking, this distribution needs to be seen in the light of recent urban planning and land availability. The growth in housing construction during the 1960s and 1970s left a legacy of land saturation in Barcelona, the outlying conurbations and in some of the traditionally industrial cities of the Second Metropolitan Belt. This limitation has been partly offset by reforms of the oldest housing stock or land-related operations aimed at re-classifying old industrial areas. Similarly, the main housing construction growth areas during the last 25 years have been, above all, in the least urbanised parts of the territory: in the small and medium size municipalities of the Second Belt and non-conurbation areas in the First Belt.

The predominant type of housing in all the areas is the flat, with figures of above 90% in Barcelona, a little less in the First Belt, but markedly lower in the Second Belt and the rest of the Province of Barcelona, with percentages running from 60% to 50%, respectively. In these two areas one can also see that there is a considerable number of single-family housing, particularly terrace homes, even though in recent years one can appreciate a significant growth in detached homes. These data reflect the differences in the urban planning policies put into effect by the municipalities. So, while in Barcelona, and in general in the more important cities, the policies that have been implemented have mainly encouraged neighbourhoods with a relatively high population density, there is a continued rising trend in single-family home and extensive land occupation in the rest of the territory, above all in the small and medium size municipalities. This situation is already causing some territorial dysfunctions, particularly related to land availability for new growth (residential and industrial) and to citizen mobility. In the short term, this will likely generate environmental and social cohesion problems which will be difficult to solve.

Turning to second residences, one in every five inhabitants in the Province of Barcelona living in a home with a second residence, a figure which has not changed since the mid 1990s. Almost all second residences are owned, of which approximately two thirds have been bought and the rest are the result of inheritances or family homes. In Barcelona in 2006, 25% of the population has a second residence, and is the area for which the highest figures are recorded. Figures for the First Belt are 21%, the Second Belt 20% and the rest of the Province of Barcelona 18%.

The **second part** of this article focuses on analysing changes of residence with the objective of categorising the population's demand for homes in recent times and the main reasons behind this development. The population that moves home has increased considerably since the 1990s. While a little under 5% of the population had moved home in the first five years of the period under study, this rose to more than 20% by the early years of the 21st century. That is, one in every five people living in the Province of Barcelona in 2006 has moved to their present home in the early years of the 21st century.

This increased rate for moving home and the corresponding demand has been triggered by the combination of various factors, some of them of a short term nature and others which appear to already be an established element in the residential models of the citizens. From among the former category one needs to acknowledge the age structure of the population and the arrival of immigrants. From among the latter category, one feature which stands out is the diverse range of reasons for why the population moves home.

The first thing that needs to be underlined is that, although the newly arrived population from outside the study area represents approximately 13% of the demand for housing in recent years, the majority (the remaining 87%) of those looking for a home were already living in the Province of Barcelona. Rates for changes of residence by this latter group, also called residential mobility, have risen significantly in the three periods under analysis, and are due to a diversification in motives for moving home. The *Survey* breaks down the motives given by residents for moving home into five main categories: *better home* (either moving up-market, a better tenure option or better environment); *setting up a new home*; *other family-related reasons* (related to an increase / decrease in the number of family members in the home or break up of the family - the most common reasons); *work-related reasons*; and finally *other reasons*. At the beginning of the 1990s, setting up a new home was top of the list of reasons why people moved home (47%), followed by the desire to move to a *better home* (33%). In the second half of the same decade the order of motives for moving home changed places: the predominant reason was a *better home* (almost half), leaving second place to *setting up a new home* (a third of all those surveyed). More recently, in the early years of the 21st century the impact of the *better home* reason has fallen (41%), even though it still ranks first in the list in relation to other reasons for changing residence. Similarly, and with a bearing on the question of a diversification of motives for moving home, this relative fall in the impact of a *better home* has been absorbed by one of the minority motives categories, *other family-related reasons*,

which has risen from 8% at the end of the 1990s to 12% in the early years of the 21st century.

The differences between reasons for moving home is of great importance from the point of view of planning housing needs, given that *setting up a new home* and *family break ups* imply a net housing demand, while in the case of other reasons the relationship is more complex. The demand associated with a *better home* for the young population has to be seen mainly in the light of the difficulties they face in finding a satisfactory home the first time. In the case of the adult population, we can see different situations, although we could say that the majority of moves here are not to satisfy basic needs. However, these changes of residence may well be more important in terms of consequences for supply, given that the housing that they leave is available, and providing they actually come on to the housing market.

Another fact which explains the sharp increase in residential mobility in the early years of the 21st century, in this case of a temporary nature, has to do with the age structure of the population. In 2006, 32% of the total population over the age of 18 were aged between 25 and 39. In 2000 this percentage was 5% lower and in 1995 more than 6%. One needs to bear in mind that these are the ages when people are most likely to move home, especially for *setting up a new home*.

An analysis has also been made of residential mobility based on the life cycle of people which has provided more in-depth information about housing demand characteristics from the perspective of the needs of the population. The age of an individual has a very strong impact on residential mobility to the degree that it determines the intensity of house moves and regulates the different reasons. Thus, during different moments during the life cycle the reasons that trigger residential mobility change. These reasons are a response to various sub-cycles or personal trajectories within the family cycle (leaving home, setting up as a couple, increase or decrease in family size and separation or divorce numbering among the most common), or the work cycle (relocation of the workplace, moving home to open up more job options, etc.), or are related to a residential cycle per se, by which the population moves home to satisfy needs for a better home (the most common being: better housing conditions, better housing tenure option or better environment).

The age group which moves home most are those aged between 25 and 39, particularly those between 30 and 34, and one in every two people in this age range have moved home in the early years of the 21st century. After the age of 40 changes of residence are less frequent, although one can appreciate an upward trend.

Family cycle related motives account for the majority of reasons why the young adult population (25 to 34) change residence, particularly in the 25 to 29 range, as this is when most of them set up a new home. This reason for moving home decreases as they move on through the life cycle. In contrast, better home motives follow an upward trend and after 35 are the main reason for residential mobility. Moves triggered by work-related motives are, without exception, less frequent at all stages of the life cycle.

However, within this overall picture, in the last period one can see significant changes in trends for both the family cycle and the cycle related to the better home motives. As regards the family cycle, since the 1980s young people leave home when they are older. In addition, and in part due to this development, as of the last decade the age at which young adults set up their own home has extended to the age of 34. Finally, and this is a more recent development, one can observe how changes of residence related to the family cycle go beyond the age of 35 and that this is gaining ground among the adult population. In particular this can be attributed to the following reasons: an increase in family break ups, increase or decrease in family size in the home, and setting up a new home. Among the better home motives, one can also see some changing trends in the early years of the 21st century that appear to be related to the increase in housing prices that are a major feature of this period. Among these changing trends there are two which particularly stand out: among the young-adult population that have already made their first home move (that is they have already left home) one can observe a decrease in moving to a bought home; and one can also see a decrease in all ages regarding moving home motivated by a *better environment*.

The continuing increase in residential mobility since the 1990s and the associated demand for housing, however contrasts with the difficulties encountered by some social groups in satisfying their housing needs. Among these, the most important in terms of numbers are the young adult population and the elderly, and this is the focus of the **third section**.

One of the main characteristics of the young-adult population are the figures for the age at which they leave home which, despite levelling out in recent years, continued to be markedly low. According to this data, nine in every ten young people between the age of 18 and 24, one in every two between the age of 25 and 29 and one in five between the age of 30 and 34, still live at home. Allowing for the fact that among the youngest of these age groups are there are those who have been in formal education for longer and consequently enter the job market later, among the young-adult population the main causes have to be looked for in

the combination of various factors: the precarious work contracts used to employ part of this group, the financial effort needed to acquire some form of housing, the accumulated deficit of subsidised housing and the importance of home ownership in the Catalan culture (these being the most important reasons). Also, this social group cannot be considered as a uniform social group, particularly in reference to the financial effort required of them. For example, while approximately half of young adults have monthly earnings below 1,000 euros, there is another group accounting for 15% who have no expenses in terms of paying for housing.

Within this general picture, there are places within the territory under study where if a young person wishes to leave the nest to set up a home or acquire a home but live in the same area, they will most certainly encounter major difficulties. For example, the percentage of young adults in Barcelona who have left home is very low (60%) compared to the Second Belt (71%). Some of the difficulties encountered derive from the fact that housing prices (buying or leasing) are higher in Barcelona and some of the main cities in the MAB as opposed to other municipalities, yet corresponding income levels for all these areas are very similar.

Another of the factors associated with the young-adult population are the characteristics of the housing where they live when they leave home. Generally speaking, they live in housing which is slightly smaller, newer and with the same installations as the population in general. However, given this situation, they are more dissatisfied, mainly due to the lack of living space. Home ownership is the predominant form of tenure, although the percentages are lower than for the population as a whole.

Analysis of the different types of housing where young people live according to the area where they live reveals a similar picture as for the population as a whole, that is, young adults that live in the Second Belt and the rest of the Province live in larger homes than those in Barcelona and the First Belt. The lack of living space as the first on the list of inconveniences is higher the closer one moves to the metropolitan centre (24% in Barcelona, 19% in the First Belt and 14% in the Second Belt). Therefore, there is a direct correspondence between this perception and the real situation as regards housing living space. The further we move away from the metropolitan centre we find that the housing is generally newer and home ownership outweighs leasing: 55% in Barcelona, 75% in the First Belt and 85% in the Second Belt.

While for the young population the main problem regarding housing is related to access, for the elderly the lack of suitable installations and space in the buildings or houses where they live are the problems

when it comes to satisfying what we could determine are their basic needs. Given this social group's income level, these deficits are difficult to solve and even more so for those who rent their home.

The housing where the elderly live should include a series of facilities and spaces related to health, mobility and installations, some of them basic to the population as a whole and others more specific to this particular social group. However, the elderly find themselves in more precarious situations, above all due to the age of the buildings where they live and the lack of repairs. For example, in 2006, 50% of the elderly live in buildings which do not have a lift or heating and 2% do not have hot water or an indoor toilet.

Another factor which as a bearing on the quality of housing facilities and spaces for the elderly is the tenure system. As is the case for the population as a whole, the elderly mainly live in homes they own (approximately 80%), which in the majority of cases are completely paid up. As for the rest, approximately 15% rent their home, of which one third have the older indefinite contracts while the remaining two thirds have fixed term lease agreements. Figures vary according to the area, so, while the figures for elderly people renting their home in Barcelona is as high as 22%, in the First Belt this figure is 8%, in the Second Belt 7.5% and 11% for the rest of the Province of Barcelona. Generally speaking, when we break housing down by tenure type for the elderly, rented housing is much older than housing that has been bought. To this, one needs to add that those who rent have to meet monthly payments and also have slightly lower incomes. All in all, the outcome of this situation is that elderly generally tend to live in lower-standard housing than the rest of the population, and for those who rent their home their living conditions are even worse.

The exception to this picture of deficiencies and poor housing conditions for the elderly is the living space of their homes. As we have seen, the majority of elderly people live with their partner or alone, usually in housing which is larger than that for the population as a whole. This leads one to consider which is the more important housing need for this social group: to have more living space in square metres or the necessary facilities and spaces. We can find one possible answer by looking at the main drawbacks of the buildings where they live based on the surveys. When responding to this issue, around 13% of the elderly people surveyed mentioned the lack of a lift and 6% the dampness and the cold. The next on the list of inconveniences was the lack of space, 5%, which is much lower than the figure for the population as a whole regarding this question.

One final point to make regarding living space for the elderly is the perception and level of satisfaction regarding the

neighbourhood where they live. First of all, 75% of elderly people want to live in the same neighbourhood, a figure which increases to as much as 81% for those over 75. In general, the proximity and accessibility of health services and shopping facilities as well as keeping in touch with their closest social circles, are the main positive aspects seen by the elderly regarding living in their neighbourhood. Turning to the negative aspects, it is worth noting that only a little over one third have no reservations about living in their neighbourhood. This view is held by a larger percentage in the Second Belt with figures around 45%, but figures for the rest of the territory range from 20% to 30%.

The **fourth section** of this article offers an analysis of the main trends in the distribution of the population based on change of residence which also means a change of municipality. On the one hand, these moves can be attributed to the newly arrived population, but on the other (and still the majority) to the population who already lived in the Province of Barcelona. These recent demographic shifts, referred to as internal migrations, are linked to the metropolitan housing market. Accordingly, the population move to or stay where they find the best option depending on different housing characteristics in the different areas and on their financial situations.

One of the main features of the housing market is that there are less and less changes of residence within municipal limits. The percentage of the population who move home and municipality has increased from 25% in the first half of the 1990s to 38% in the early years of the 21st century. This trend for the territory as a whole varies according to each of the four areas under study. The increase in the population who leave the municipality where they were living when they moved home has taken place with particular intensity in the First and Second Belt, where in 2006 this percentage was 48% and 38% of the home moves, respectively. In contrast, in Barcelona the figures have remained stable, with a slight tendency to increase in the last period where figures leave us with a percentage of around 31%. Or seen from another angle, residential self-containment for Barcelona has remained relatively steady at around 70%.

Furthermore, in the last 10 years, among the population who move from one municipality to another, approximately half have moved from one area to another and 80% have moved to a municipality of a different size to the one they moved from. When analysing these internal migrations from the perspective of these two variables, it can be seen that there are some places which act more as transmitters and others as receivers. In general, the flows which illustrate these migrations are characterised by moves, in the majority of cases, from more central

areas of the metropolitan area towards more peripheral areas, and from the larger cities to medium and small sized municipalities. In the early years of the 21st century these trends show signs of having entered into a phase characterised by a spread towards the rest of the Province of Barcelona, on the one hand a deceleration of some of the predominant inward flows from the seven metropolitan regions (the outward flows from Barcelona, and the inward flows to Second Belt and to the small and medium sized municipalities), and on the other hand by the increase of outward flows from the First Belt. The combination of these internal migrations motivated by the housing market with the advent of the newly arrived immigrants has resulted in the fact that parts of the territory that were losing more population have seen a moderation in this loss, and in some cases this tendency has even been reversed. The newly arrived population has also added their weight, in varying degrees, to a major increase in places whose population was also growing due to internal migrations.

All in all, one can conclude that internal migrations motivated by the housing market, which began in the 1980s, have continued to increase in the last sixteen years reaching very important levels. Therefore, and this is becoming more the case, the integration of the housing market at a metropolitan level is taking shape as a single common reality that goes beyond municipal limits and determines quite considerably the distribution of the population throughout the territory. Furthermore, the advent of the newly arrived population since the end of the 20th century, which paradoxically live where there are more outward flows due to internal migrations, introduces a new factor to the metropolitan housing market, and from the point of view of the population has allowed for an increase everywhere.

Appendix. Some methodology issues

The data presented in this article are grouped into two measurement levels: in the first there are the original variables and in the second those obtained with bi/tri-variant correlations. Filters have been applied to both to be able to analyse just one part of the sample universe. In addition, analysis has been based on data related to specific time periods and territorial areas. Finally, there are some variables and concepts that, for the purpose of facilitating readability, have not been stated explicitly in this article and which are given below.

Filters

The first filter used, which was applied to all the data given in this article, was the age of the population. The sample universe in the 1995 and 2000 editions of the *Survey* included the “18 and

above” age group. In the 2006 edition, this universe was extended to include “16 and above”. In order to be able to analyse the variables diachronically for all three editions, a filter of “18 and above” has been applied to the 2006 edition. Regarding the data referring to “moving home” given in the second section, a filter was applied for the “population who have left home”. This filter allows for excluding that section of the population who have moved home with their parents or guardians, giving a more accurate measurement of housing demand. The remaining filters applied, such as the “25-34 age group” and the “65 and over” age group, are explained in the article itself, in the accompanying figures and also in complementary data tables in the Appendix.

Time periods studied

This article presents data taken from the *Survey* relating to developments during the years prior to drafting the *Survey* itself: house moves and moving to another municipality. The frequency and distribution of these moves have been analysed according to three time periods (1991-1995, 1996-2000 and 2001-2006) based on data taken from the 1995, 2000 and 2006 editions of the *Survey* respectively. The first two cover a period of five years, while the third covers a period of six years, which means that some of the developments observed may be overstated when making comparisons with the previous two periods.

Territorial areas

The territorial areas referred to in this article are the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona and the Province of Barcelona. The former comprises 7 regions and 164 municipalities and coincides with the Metropolitan Area as defined in the Pla Territorial General de Catalunya; the latter comprises 311 municipalities. Within these territorial areas studies, a series of subdivisions has been used in the grouping of municipalities, in such a manner that the Province of Barcelona has four areas of analysis: the city of Barcelona, the First metropolitan belt (made up of 26 municipalities from the defunct Corporació Metropolitana de Barcelona - Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation), the Second metropolitan belt (made up of the remaining 137 municipalities in the metropolitan region), and the rest of the Province (comprising the municipalities of Anoia, Bages, Berguedà and Osona).

Concepts

To facilitate readability, some of the variables and concepts used have not been stated explicitly; these are as follows:

- Population who have left home: the percentage of the population interviewed whose relationship to the head of the

household is neither son/daughter, nephew/niece nor grandchild.

- Population with their own home: the percentage of the population interviewed who are either head of the household or her/his partner/spouse.
- House moves: the percentage of the population who have left home and who have moved to their present home during the years covered by this study against the total population.
- Change of municipality: the percentage of the population who have moved home to their present municipality of residence during the years covered by this study against the total population.

* “*Survey of the living conditions and habits of the population of Catalonia, 2006*”

- 1 The authors would like to thank the following IERMB team: Isabel Clos, Elena Domene, Alicia Sánchez, Maria Costa and Jaume Clapés.
- 2 Three different places of origin have been taken into consideration: the population already living in the area under study, the population who previously lived in other parts of Catalonia, other parts of the Spanish State or the 15-member state European Union, and the population originating from the rest of the world.
- 3 The *Survey* lists up to 22 reasons which are re-classified into 5 categories: a better home, setting up a new home, other family-related reasons, work-related reasons, and other. When referring to “family reasons” this includes both setting up a new home and “other family-related reasons”. The Appendix gives a breakdown of the 22 reasons and how they are grouped together.
- 4 See section 1.
- 5 In the MAB the average inter-municipal travelling distance between home and work has increased from 11 km in 1991 to 12.7 in 2001. Source: *Enquesta de Mobilitat Obligada (EMO)*, 2001.
- 6 In the MAB rates for inter-municipal journeys to work using a privately owned vehicle has risen from 66.8% in 1991 to 72% in 2001. Source: *Enquesta de Mobilitat Obligada (EMO)*, 2001.
- 7 For further information about differences between basic housing needs and a better home see Leal, J. & L. Cortés (1998, pp. 1-12).
- 8 This differentiation of demand is applied to housing needs planning studies, generally drawn up using *ad hoc* surveys. One example of this, where in addition an analysis is made of the elasticity of each demand with respect to economic cycles, can be found in Roca, J. (1998).
- 9 One should bear in mind that these figures refer to the population structure that was living in the areas under study, that is, they do not include the newly arrived population in the last six years.
- 10 As has been seen so far, the figures and trends for the MAB and the Province of Barcelona as a whole are very similar. In this sub-section, in an attempt to improve readability and offer figures, only the data for the metropolitan area are given. The analysis given can be applied to the Province of Barcelona as a whole. The data for this area can be found in the appendix.
- 11 This coincidence is not always unidirectional, as on some occasions moving home could be caused by a change in the family or work related. These counter relationships are a priori less common and are not covered in this article.
- 12 When referring to the young-adult population this covers the 25 to 34 age range, and the term adult refers to people aged between 35 and 64.
- 13 From among the elderly group of the population there are some changes of residence that are beyond the scope of this article. For example, those who return to the municipality where they were born in other parts of the Spanish State.

These changes of residence would need to be part of another study focused on long distance migrations of the elderly. For further reading on this matter see Puga González, M.D. (2004).

14 The terms “young” or “young adult” are used as synonyms throughout this article to refer to the population aged between 25 and 34.

15 Lack of space is also the major inconvenience for the population as a whole, but the figure is lower (11.9%).

16 According to the *Survey on conditions and habits of the population in Catalonia*, the proportion of the young adult population between 25 and 34 who have left home and work in the MAB and the Province of Barcelona has risen from 64.9% in 1995 to 86.3% in 2006. A parallel situation has also been recorded for those working with temporary contracts, rising from around 7.5% to close to 22% in 2006.

17 See *Papers. Regió Metropolitana de Barcelona*, Núm. 34.