

González-Laxe, Fernando; Martin-Bermúdez, Federico; Martin-Palmero, Federico

Conference Paper

INTERREGIONAL MOBILITY OF THE PRODUCTIVE FACTORS AND THE STRUCTURAL DEFICIENCIES IN THE ECONOMY: THE EXPULSION OF MANPOWER FROM GALICIA

51st Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "New Challenges for European Regions and Urban Areas in a Globalised World", 30 August - 3 September 2011, Barcelona, Spain

Provided in Cooperation with:

European Regional Science Association (ERSA)

Suggested Citation: González-Laxe, Fernando; Martin-Bermúdez, Federico; Martin-Palmero, Federico (2011) : INTERREGIONAL MOBILITY OF THE PRODUCTIVE FACTORS AND THE STRUCTURAL DEFICIENCIES IN THE ECONOMY: THE EXPULSION OF MANPOWER FROM GALICIA, 51st Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "New Challenges for European Regions and Urban Areas in a Globalised World", 30 August - 3 September 2011, Barcelona, Spain, European Regional Science Association (ERSA), Louvain-la-Neuve

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/120190>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.

ABSTRACT

INTERREGIONAL MOBILITY OF THE PRODUCTIVE FACTORS AND THE STRUCTURAL DEFICIENCIES IN THE ECONOMY: THE EXPULSION OF MANPOWER FROM GALICIA

Mobility as a factor of labour is— especially in this stage of economic globalization — a positive aspect that permits the suitability of human capital with regard to the remaining productive factors and the promotion of competitiveness. However, it is also an element that can determine the existence of structural deficiencies in the regions or countries of origin of the emigrants, a true reflection of the inadequacy of matching the demand for labour to an offer that is increasingly qualified.

Galicia is a community with extensive experience in the expulsion of manpower to other regions and countries. During the XX century, all the specialists in this area pointed out two waves that were perfectly differentiated in time. The first Galician emigration (fundamentally transoceanic) occurred in the first half of the century and was the result of the deagrarianization of the Galician economy and the incapacity of the industrial and the services sectors to absorb the surplus manpower. The second one was fundamentally directed towards European countries as a consequence, once again, of the inadequate regional capacity of creating extra-agrarian employment and the increasing demand for industrial and services manpower in the economies of the nearby countries.

In the last few years of the past century, and especially in the first decade of the XXI century, signs and empirical evidence have started to be detected that in Galicia a wave of what can be de qualified as new emigration is being produced. Indeed, the figures of interregional mobility in Spain indicate the fact that in the last few years, tens of thousands of Galicians have been contracted to work in other Spanish regions. The object of this research, as a result of available date, is to quantify those movements of manpower and, by establishing some starting hypotheses, to verify the causes of the modern third emigration from Galicia.

JEL Classification: R50, J61, R23.

Key words: Regional Economy, Geographic Labour Mobility, Regional Labour Markets, Regional Migration, Galicia.

Fernando González Laxe

Universidad de A Coruña. Facultad de Economía y Empresa. Campus de Elviña, s/nº 15071 A CORUÑA. E-mail: laxe@udc.es

Federico Martín Bermúdez

Universidad de A Coruña. Facultad de Economía y Empresa. Campus de Elviña, s/nº 15071 A CORUÑA. E-mail: federico.martin@udc.es

Federico Martín Palmero

Universidad de A Coruña. Facultad de Economía y Empresa Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales. Campus de Elviña, s/nº 15071 A CORUÑA. E-mail: fgmartin@udc.es

1 Introduction and Objectives

Galicia is a region with abundant experience in the expulsion of manpower towards other regions or countries. The two waves of Galician emigration undertaken during the XX century are widely recognized and have been thoroughly studied: the first one occurred in the first half of the century and was principally transoceanic and the second one, starting in the fifties, had as its destination the more highly developed European countries. The reasons are fairly common: the extremely slow evolution in Galicia from an agrarian society to an industrial and services society, and, therefore, not having the capacity of absorbing surplus labour from the primary sector. Currently, data has started to be known from the end of the XX century and the beginning of this one leading us to observe a migratory phenomena which is more or less the same as the others but different at the core: the Galician economy is continuing to expel human capital outside of its borders, but it is different because (as opposed to previous periods where the manpower had very little education and training) the great majority of this migratory wave is formed in general by particularly young people who are very qualified, and their destination is no longer European or South American countries but for the most part the rest of Spain. This phenomena, although perceived socially, is not currently being studied or quantified very much.

Consequently, the objective of this research is, by means of the data, to analyze and establish the causes for what can be called the *third emigration* in Galicia and quantify its importance.

2. Starting Hypothesis

It should be noted, in the first place, that the decisions that people make about the training that they receive are fundamental in determining future economic expectations: collectively, societies achieve greater well-being and growth with a qualified labour supply. On an individual basis, this is manifested in the fact that future earnings for highly trained people are expected to be comparatively greater than for individuals with less training. Therefore, in addition to the social interest in training (maximization of the collective well-being), there exists the private interest of the individuals (maximization of the individual utility) based on a mathematical decision: a person will decide to be trained - in addition to the individual human desire to improve one's knowledge and to grow as a person - if the expected future benefits (by means of greater future earnings) can compensate for the direct and indirect costs of the training or for

the earnings that could be achieved in an alternative (less qualified) job during the training period.

In the second place, it is evident that once the decision to be trained has been made, in the future (when the training period is finished), the individual will be faced with a labour market which will hopefully meet one's expectations in terms of qualified jobs, not only as far as the salary is concerned but also how appropriate the job is with respect to the training. Otherwise, it is probable that people will decide to look for opportunities further away from home with the objective of ultimately maximizing the objective function of their expected future benefits commensurate with their training.

Consequently, the following *verification hypotheses*, among others, are established for the present research (Mc. Connell, Brue y Macpherson, 2003, pp. 340 and ff.):

1^a) The younger a person is, when the circumstances are the same, the more probable it is that this person will emigrate. In the first place, young people consider (in order to maximize the expected benefits) that even a small salary difference is significant considering the duration of one's working life. In the second place, moving costs are lower for young people. And, lastly, there is a greater tendency to be mobile on account of having fewer familiar responsibilities.

2^a) The higher the level of education is, the more likelihood there is to emigrate: it is the logical consequence of having to recover the initial investment in training.

3^a) Distance, nowadays, is not a very important factor with respect to emigration, especially when referring to interregional movements: the improvement in transportation implies a greater tendency to travel towards nearby regions (in terms of time) within the state.

4^a) The unemployment rate in the community of origin is one of the reasons for emigration. In the case of trained personnel, the underemployment rate or the inadequacy of demand with respect to the supply of qualified jobs is another determining factor in the decision to emigrate.

2 Sources of the statistics and data together with other methodological considerations

The traditional sources of information (census, register) and those related to migratory movements provided by the National Institute of Statistics (INE)) are not sufficiently explanatory of this phenomena, especially when the fundamental cause of the migratory

processes is due to conditions of the labour market: when dealing with, in principle, short-term movements, the people who migrate do not usually explicitly declare changes of residence, which means that they continue to maintain their habitual residence in their place of origin. For this research, two basic sources of information have been used: in the first place, and for the first few years covered by this study (until 2003), data derived from the studies and basic data about Mobility of the National Employment Institute (INEM), an organism dependent on the Labour and Emigration Ministry, have been used. In the second place, from 2002 on, the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (dependent on the Labour and Well-being Ministry of the Galician Autonomous Government) has developed a regional database that contains the Mobility Reports until 2010 with the basic data derived from the INEM statistics. By using a homogenous methodology, it is therefore possible to have a coherent analysis of the evolution of the pertinent variables.¹

3. Analysis of the results

Based on the cited sources of the statistics, it is possible to establish a pattern of detailed analysis of the data, aimed at verifying (or not) the starting hypotheses.

3.1 The first indications

A first approach to the problem can be accomplished by means of a combination of data from the two mentioned statistical sources. In Table 1, the evolution of the number of signed contracts registered at the Galician employment offices for work outside of this community can be observed. It is shown that during the first decade of the XXI century, there were more than 658,000 of these types of contracts realized, with an evolution of steady growth from 2000 until 2006. From 2007 on, coinciding with the global crisis, there was a decrease in these types of contracts, with the most dramatic period being the last 2 years of the decade.

¹ We would like to thank María José Cortés Jiménez, Director of the Occupational Monitoring Service of Galicia, for her orientations and clarifications concerning the contents and treatment of the databases of this Service.

Table 1. Interregional Mobility. Number of signed contracts realized by Galicians outside of Galicia (2000 – 2010).

Year	Contracts
2000	54,852
2001	59,293
2002	56,327
2003	59,706
2004	65,673
2005	70,649
2006	74,792
2007	73,608
2008	60,544
2009	41,705
2010	41,179
Total	658,328

Source: Self elaboration based on data of the Ministry of Labour and The Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

Table 2. Interregional Mobility. Net balance Galicia – the rest of Spain in the number of contracted workers (absolute values 2003 -2010).

Year	Entering	Leaving	Balance
2003	29,318	37,578	-8,260
2004	28,547	42,842	-14,295
2005	20,528	46,390	-25,862
2006	23,386	47,918	-24,532
2007	24,494	47,503	-23,009
2008	22,720	39,201	-16,481
2009	18,590	27,604	-9,014
2010	18,886	26,119	-7,233
Total	186,469	315,155	-128,686

Source: Self elaboration based on data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years)

The importance of these figures provides a first notion of the implication that this phenomena appears to have. The detailed data described in Table 2 concerning the movements of workers between Galicia and the rest of Spain from 2003 until 2010 are sufficiently explanatory: during that period, 315,155 Galicians were contracted outside of Galicia and 186,149 workers from outside Galicia were contracted to work in this

region, meaning that there was a net negative balance of 128,686 workers. It can be observed that the negative balance in this particular area is constant during all those years, with the peak period being the triennium between 2005 and 2007.

3.2. The profile of the new Galician emigrants

By means of the statistical treatment of the databases concerning the movement of manpower during various years, a detailed analysis can be made of the typology of the Galician workers contracted throughout the rest of Spain, not only in terms of their personal circumstances (age, sex, training, etc.), but also in terms of the specific characteristics of their eventual destinations (economic sector, occupation to be developed, the specific area where they are contracted, etc.)²

3.2.1. Age and sex

In Table 3, data relative to the emigrants classified by these variables are compiled. In reference to the first of them, the jobs that are offered in Galicia for the rest of Spain are predominately filled by very young workers: 46.7% of the total are less than 29 years old and 39% are between 30 and 40 years old. The percentages relative to older workers have very little significance (11.19% for workers between 45 and 54 years old and 3.09% for workers who are older than 55).

With respect to the sex of the workers, it is noticeable that the new emigration is especially carried out by males; in fact, 68.49% of those who leave the region to work are men compared to 31.51% of them who are women.

If the data are analyzed by crossing both variables, 2 phenomena can be observed: of the emigrant women, the overwhelming majority are quite young (61.48% are less than 29 years old and another 32% are between 30 and 44 years old); on the other hand, the profile of men who leave the region to work have a more varied profile: 39.88% are less than 29 years old and 42% are between 30 and 44 years old. The percentages relative to the workers who are older than 45 years old are, in this case, fairly significant (18% compared to 6.4% of the women).

² It is possible that because of the need to preserve statistical confidentiality, by treating very disaggregated aspects of the database and proceeding with their grouping, some statistical positions are lost. However, the variational effect on the aggregate data can be considered having very little statistical importance.

Table 3. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain classified by age and sex (2003 -2010).

Age	Women		Men		Total	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
<=29	61,045	61.48	86,096	39.88	147,141	46.69
30 to 44	31,843	32.07	91,166	42.23	123,009	39.03
45 to 54	5,255	5.29	30,017	13.91	35,272	11.19
>=55	1,148	1.16	8,585	3.98	9,733	3.09
Total	99,291	100	215,864	100	315,155	100
%	31.51		68.49		100	

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.2.2. Training

In Table 4, statistics are compiled relative to the training of the workers contracted for areas outside of Galicia. The biggest percentage, 36.74% (115,783 people), corresponds to those workers who have at least completed the coursework of the Obligatory Secondary Education (ESO). It should be pointed out that practically 40% of the contracts correspond to workers having completed studies in Vocational Training, Secondary School, or University. The number of emigrants with higher education is very significant (12.56% of the total or 39,581 people in absolute terms), a fact that merits further analysis along this research. On the other hand, just 23.6% of the workers hired outside the community had only a primary school education.

3.2.3. Typology of the destinations. Sectors

In Tables 5 and 6, percentage data (horizontal and vertical) are included according to the economic sectors of the destination. These data indicate that 4.73% of the emigrants went to the primary sector, 9.09% to industry, and 62.21% to services. However, it should be pointed out that almost 24% of the workers were contracted in the construction sector, a fact that clearly reflects the particular situation of the Spanish economy in the decade that is being analyzed.

Table 4. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified by their ultimate level of education (absolute values) (2003 -2010).

Level of Studies	Number	%
Primary	74,384	23.60
ESO	115,783	36.74
Vocational Training	33,479	10.62
Secondary School	51,928	16.48
University	39,581	12.56
Total	315,155	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

Table 5. . Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified by the economic sector of the destination (horizontal percentages) (2003 -2010).

	Ages	Primary	Industry	Construction	Services	Total
Women	<=29	1.27	5.19	2.54	91.00	100
	30 to 44	1.94	7.46	3.79	86.81	100
	45 to 54	3.32	5.77	4.11	86.79	100
	>=55	4.17	5.86	5.29	84.68	100
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>1.64</i>	<i>5.99</i>	<i>3.07</i>	<i>89.30</i>	<i>100</i>
Men	<=29	3.82	10.15	30.48	55.55	100
	30 to 44	6.77	11.08	34.62	47.54	100
	45 to 54	11.23	9.62	38.99	40.16	100
	>=55	6.93	11.75	38.83	42.50	100
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>6.17</i>	<i>10.53</i>	<i>33.69</i>	<i>49.61</i>	<i>100</i>
Totals		4.73	9.09	23.97	62.21	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

The classification by sex and ages causes us to come to some interesting conclusions: females who emigrate are primarily directed towards the Services sector (89,30%) and they are fairly young (91% of the women who are 29 years old or less are contracted in the Tertiary sector). On the other hand, with respect to males, the distribution is quite distinct: 6.17% go to the Primary sector, 10.53% go to Industry, 33.69% were contracted in the Construction sector, and 49.61 went to Services. For this subset, the distribution for ages is more homogenous.

Table 6. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified by the economic sector of the destination (vertical percentages)
(2003 -2010)

	Ages	Primary	Industry	Construction	Services	Total
Women	<=29	5.12	10.88	2.02	27.86	19.05
	30 to 44	4.34	8.69	1.67	14.77	10.59
	45 to 54	1.19	1.08	0.29	2.37	1.70
	>=55	0.35	0.26	0.09	0.54	0.40
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>11.00</i>	<i>20.91</i>	<i>4.07</i>	<i>45.55</i>	<i>31.73</i>
Men	<=29	22.40	30.95	35.26	24.76	27.73
	30 to 44	41.13	35.06	41.55	21.98	28.77
	45 to 54	21.49	9.58	14.73	5.85	9.06
	>=55	3.97	3.50	4.39	1.85	2.71
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>89.00</i>	<i>79.09</i>	<i>95.93</i>	<i>54.45</i>	<i>68.27</i>
Total		100	100	100	100	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

With respect to the classification by vertical percentages, the information contained in Table 6 confirms the pre-eminence of males in the first 3 sectors. Specifically, of the 4.73% of the total who were contracted in the Primary sector, 89% were men; of the 9.09% of the total who were contracted in Industry, 79.09% were men; and 95.93% of those who went to Construction were males. The Services sector presents an important exception to this pattern of distribution by sex: out of the 62.21% of the total population who were contracted in the Tertiary sector, 54.45% were males and 45.55% were females.

3.2.3. Typology of the destinations. Occupations

In Tables 7 and 8, the data is included in percentages (horizontal and vertical) according to the different occupational categories in which the emigrants were contracted, in line with the system used by the National Occupation Classification of the National Institute of Statistics. With respect to the percentages by occupations, some particular aspects should be pointed out: 20.02% of the emigrants are classified in the statistical data as Non-qualified. However, the category of Scientific & Intellectual Technicians

represents 8.01% of those contracted; Technicians and Support Professionals represent 12.93%; Technical Artisans and Support Personnel represent 12.93%; Artisans and Qualified Workers represent 19.35%; and Operators of Installations, Machinery, etc. represent 8,21% of the total. In conclusion, almost 60% of those contracted present a degree of representative qualification. With respect to sex females are more present in the category of Catering and Business Services Workers and they also have a remarkable presence in the area of Technicians and Scientists, exceeding the percentages of the male population.

Table 7. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified according to the National Classification of Occupations (CNO³.) with respect to the destination occupations (horizontal percentages) (2003 -2010).

	Ages	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Women	<=29	0.11	0.82	9.98	16.59	18.44	36.31	0.37	1.29	1.19	14,90	100
	30 to 44	0.09	1.30	13.68	16.09	17.08	27.12	0.56	1.94	1.69	20,44	100
	45 to 54	0.13	0.90	8.45	8.28	11.13	27.90	0.98	3.28	2.73	36,25	100
	>=55	0.22	1.21	7.95	7.84	11.37	26.93	1.10	4.08	3.09	36,20	100
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>0.11</i>	<i>0.98</i>	<i>11.07</i>	<i>15.92</i>	<i>17.56</i>	<i>32.85</i>	<i>0.48</i>	<i>1.64</i>	<i>1.46</i>	<i>18,00</i>	<i>100</i>
Men	<=29	0.12	0.50	6.50	10.85	6.72	15.26	1.79	23.74	8.23	26,28	100
	30 to 44	0.08	1.25	7.46	12.15	4.38	10.72	3.63	29.60	12.58	18,15	100
	45 to 54	0.04	0.93	3.69	10.67	1.77	7.99	6.17	35.47	18.27	14,99	100
	>=55	0.00	1.24	5.32	13.05	2.74	8.07	2.82	37.39	15.19	14,17	100
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>0.09</i>	<i>0.89</i>	<i>6.50</i>	<i>11.45</i>	<i>4.97</i>	<i>12.19</i>	<i>3.15</i>	<i>28.16</i>	<i>11.57</i>	<i>21,03</i>	<i>100</i>
Total		0,09	0,92	8,01	12,93	9,15	19,05	2,26	19,35	8,21	20,02	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

With respect to horizontal percentages (Table 8), some interesting data can be observed: the hiring of males was superior in all categories except for two. Female presence was

³ National Classification of Occupations (CNO) referred to in the Tables is the following:

- 0 Armed Forces
- 1 Public administration and company management
- 2 Scientific and intellectual technicians and professionals
- 3 Technicians and support professionals
- 4 Administrative type employees
- 5 Workers in the services of catering, personnel, security, and sales.
- 6 Qualified workers in agriculture and fisheries
- 7 Artisans and qualified workers of industry, manufacturing, construction, mining, etc.
- 8 Operators of installations and machinery, assemblers, etc.
- 9 Non-qualified workers

greater in the category of Administrative type workers (63.73%) and in Catering and business services (57,26%), where, in addition, the greatest percentage of women were young. The presence of males was practically absolute in the professional categories of Qualified workers in agriculture and fisheries; Artisans and qualified workers of industry, manufacturing, construction, mining, etc.; Operators of installations and machinery, assemblers, etc. One more issue to point out is that the majority of non-qualified positions (70.15%) were filled by men.

Table 8. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified according to the National Classification of Occupations (CNO) with respect to the destination occupations (vertical percentages) (2003 -2010).

	Ages	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Women	<=29	24.23	18.35	25.61	26.38	41.43	39.18	3.33	1.37	2.97	15.3	20.56
	30 a 44	10.57	14.87	18.10	13.18	19.77	15.09	2.64	1.06	2.19	10.82	10.60
	45 a 54	2.20	1.63	1.76	1.07	2.03	2.45	0.72	0.28	0.55	3.024	1.67
	>=55	0.88	0.50	0.38	0.23	0.47	0.53	0.18	0.08	0.14	0.684	0.38
	<i>Subtotal</i>	37.89	35.40	45.85	40.87	63.73	57.26	6.99	2.81	5.90	29.85	33.21
Men	<=29	34.80	15.28	22.84	23.62	20.66	22.55	22.32	34.54	28.24	36.95	28.15
	30 a 44	23.79	37.48	25.76	26.01	13.24	15.59	44.50	42.35	42.44	25.1	27.69
	45 a 54	3.52	8.50	3.89	6.97	1.63	3.54	23.06	15.48	18.80	6.322	8.44
	>=55	0.00	3.35	1.66	2.52	0.75	1.06	3.12	4.83	4.63	1.769	2.50
	<i>Subtotal</i>	62.11	64.60	54.15	59.13	36.27	42.74	93.01	97.19	94.10	70.15	66.79
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.2.4. Typology of the destinations. Autonomous communities

With the objective being to coherently verify the starting hypotheses, it is especially important to analyze the destinies of the new emigrants according to regions. In Table 9, this data is compiled. It should be pointed out that the principal attraction is the Community of Madrid, which absorbed 22.40% of the emigrants (70,601 people). It is followed in importance by Cataluña with 12.11% and the Canary Islands with 10.2%. In a detailed analysis of the data, this last percentage is explained on the basis of an emigration fundamentally dedicated to restaurant and hotel services, and above all, the construction industry. What is also noticeable is the attraction of Autonomous

Communities such as Castilla – León (7.93%) and Asturias (5.06%) whose proximity is, without a doubt, an important factor.

Table 9. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified according to the destination Autonomous Communities.

(2003 -2010).

Autonomous Community	Total	%
Andalucía	17,709	5.62
Aragón	8,131	2.58
Asturias (Principality of)	15,947	5.06
Canarias	32,152	10.20
Castilla - León	25,005	7.93
Cataluña	38,172	12.11
Madrid (Community of)	70,601	22.40
Navarra (Statutory Comm.)	4,737	1.50
País Vasco	16,480	5.23
Others	86,221	27.36
Total	315.155	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.3 *Work conditions at the root.*

According to what has been established in the starting hypotheses, it is evident that the conditions of the Galician economy reflected in the structure of its labour market and its differential characteristics as compared to the rest of the state are most probably determinants in the decision to emigrate. In order to verify these factors, some quantitative aspects (differences in salaries, types of contracts, and working hours) and qualitative ones (means of finding jobs and work satisfaction)⁴ are analyzed.

3.3.1. Salaries, contracts, and workdays.

In Table 10, data is compiled showing the evolution of wage cost differences in the different Autonomous Communities of the Spanish state from the year 2000 until the year 2008.

⁴ References to the unemployment figures in the origin are not considered a determining factor because, obviously, the data do not include people who are already outside their community, and they also conceal situations of subemployment, as will be verified later on, turn out to be very important.

Table 10. Wage costs per worker by Autonomous Community. Percentage data.
(2000 -2008).

Autonomous Comm.	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Andalucía	91.12	90.74	91.46	90.87	89.77	88.86	89.60	89.37	90.18
Aragón	97.53	98.34	98.54	98.33	97.07	97.66	99.15	100.44	99.30
Asturias	98.26	97.86	97.71	99.18	98.97	98.70	98.12	99.13	99.32
Balearic Islands	88.80	89.19	89.43	90.52	92.61	93.60	94.02	94.67	94.40
Canarias	85.40	83.07	83.77	82.23	82.66	82.95	82.25	83.40	83.95
Cantabria	92.84	92.03	91.35	91.78	92.98	92.41	92.16	92.28	91.30
Castilla y León	93.22	93.37	92.88	91.99	91.72	92.32	91.20	91.89	92.42
Castilla-La Mancha	85.90	84.84	84.13	85.51	85.40	86.47	89.29	87.97	88.15
Cataluña	105.32	105.91	106.74	107.06	107.93	107.61	107.60	107.98	107.19
Community of Valencia	88.93	90.19	88.59	89.12	88.79	88.96	89.12	88.62	89.06
Extremadura	81.70	81.88	81.20	81.81	80.56	80.34	80.44	81.18	82.12
Galicia	86.75	87.33	87.14	85.90	84.82	84.48	85.41	85.67	85.03
Madrid	120.24	119.85	119.52	120.09	120.82	120.96	120.39	119.66	118.94
Murcia	81.17	80.22	80.54	82.22	83.95	84.43	84.56	84.21	85.00
Navarra	109.35	109.06	110.22	111.71	112.89	113.00	110.87	109.72	108.54
País Vasco	116.78	116.04	116.47	115.39	115.52	116.70	115.31	116.27	117.14
Rioja (La)	93.49	92.44	91.03	91.10	90.57	92.09	92.52	91.92	92.03
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: National Institute of Statistics. Social Indicators 2009

It should be pointed out that in Galicia, the wage costs in the year 2000 was 86.75% compared to the base of 100 for the totality of the Spanish economy. This difference, instead of nearing the average value, became even more pronounced: in the year 2008, the average wage costs for a Galician worker was reduced to 85.03%.

An even more important factor as far as we are concerned is that the wage costs in Madrid, Catalonia, or the Basque Country were far superior to the average (the case of Madrid was the most significant with a difference of 20.24 points in 2000 and 18.94 points in 2008). Comparing Galicia with the destinations of the Galicians contracted in other Spanish regions insofar as salaries are concerned leaves no doubt: in some cases, the salaries were 40% greater than in Galicia (in the case of the Community of Madrid). The existence of an excellent correlation between destinations and greater wage costs appears to be irrefutable.

The direct relation between working conditions in the destination and the greater emigration from the origin repeats itself if we analyze the conditions of the contracts in

terms of duration, distinguishing indefinite contracts from seasonal or temporary ones. In Table 11, data is compiled which shows the percentage of indefinite contracts in terms of all types of contracts in various Spanish Autonomous Communities. In order to facilitate the comparison, an index of 100 for Galicia has been used⁵.

Table 11. Percentage of indefinite contracts with respect to the total contracts by the principal Autonomous Community destinations of Galician emigration. Galicia Index = 100 (2004 -2009)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Andalucía	47	49	53	53	48	45
Aragón	118	112	117	108	108	102
Asturias	96	90	102	92	95	94
Canarias	123	115	111	104	109	111
Castilla - León	99	100	105	82	99	95
Cataluña	150	145	148	134	152	139
Galicia	100	100	100	100	100	100
Madrid	154	153	159	147	173	161
Navarra	111	99	100	93	97	83
Basque Country	83	80	84	76	78	78

Source: National Institute of Statistics. Social Indicators 2009

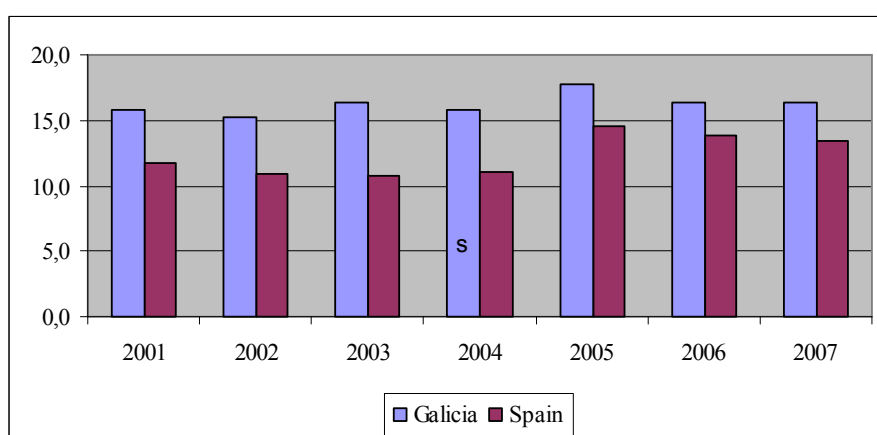
The results appear to indicate once again that the regions where the most Galician workers emigrated to were those that had the greatest percentage of indefinite labour contracts during the period analyzed in this research. This is the case of Madrid, Catalonia, and the Canary Islands (with the most pronounced differences being with the first two destinations), which represented more than 42% of the destinies of Galician workers outside their community.

Another circumstance that without a doubt conditions the decision about emigration is directly related to the workdays that are realized in the origin. In Graph 1, a comparison is made of the percentage of people working more than 50 hours a week in Galicia and those in all of Spain.

⁵ Indefinite contracts are not really very common in Spain. According to the data of the registered labor movement (series 19997-2009) of the National Institute of Statistics, in the period being analyzed (2004 – 2009) the average of indefinite contracts in Spain out of the all the realized labor contracts was about 10%, which gives us an idea of the precariousness of the Spanish labor market.

It is evident that during all the analyzed years, the Galician workday was always longer than in the totality of the Spanish state, peaking in the year of 2005 at 17.7%, which was the number of people working more than 50 hours a week compared to the total.

Graph 1. Percentage of people working more than 50 hours weekly. Comparison Galicia – Spain (2001 -2007)



Source: Self-elaboration from data of the INE. Survey of the active population (various years)

3.3.2. Methods of access to jobs and how they meet expectations.

In Table 12, we can see the percentages relative to the different ways that Galicians declared as to how they obtained their first job. Many conclusions can be derived by means of this analysis. In the first place, it is quite apparent how inefficient the public

Table 12. Percentage of workers according to the method used for finding their first job (2001 -2007)

	2001	2007
Application or direct contact	18.36	23.53
The media	3.01	3.69
Public employment office	2.58	2.57
Employment agency or Temporary agency	2.02	1.93
Relatives, friends, or other personal contacts	32.48	32.86
Self-employment	23.24	20.52
Advertisements in official publications	6.01	11.43
Information from one's educational institution	1.27	1.66
Other procedures	11.04	1.8
Total	100	100

Source: Galician Institute of Statistics. Survey about Conditions of family life (2008)

Employment services really are (they barely represent 2,5% of the total) as well as temporary employment agencies (an uninspiring 2% in the best of cases). Two methods of access to the employment market stand out: self-employment (23.24% in 2001 and 20.52% in 2007) and the more than 32% who got a job by means of friends, relatives, and other personal contacts. This gives us a clear image of the precariousness and the lack of transparency in the Galician job market.

Finally, the fact that employment available has or doesn't have a relationship with the training received is no less significant a factor in deciding about emigrating.

Table 13. Percentage of people whose first job had a relation with their studies (Galicia 2004)

	%
Total	26.64
Basic education	11.82
Higher education	57.78

Source: Galician Institute of Statistics. Survey about Conditions of family life (2004)

The results of Table 13 do not appear to leave any doubt: only 26.64% of Galician workers indicated that their job in Galicia had any relation to their education; in other words and conversely, 73% of the workers declared that their job in Galicia had no relation to their previous studies. The data is even more adverse for those who do not have a higher education: only 11.82% of the workers had jobs with any relation to their education. And, finally, for the people who had received more training (higher education), practically 58% declared that their work and studies had a relationship, but the opposite conclusion is extremely significant because it determines that 42% of the advanced degree holders were in situations of sub-employment in Galicia.

3.4 Particularized analysis: the expulsion of the most highly trained workers from Galicia.

Of the analysis carried out until now, apart from a series of provisional conclusions that could lead us to make further deductions, there is one fact that deserves a more detailed reflexion: of the total of Galician workers contracted to work in other Spanish regions, 39,581 of them have university degrees. It could seem an exiguous amount in relative

terms when comparing it to the total amount of emigrants in the particular time considered (12.56% of the total), but if it is compared to the number of people in Galicia finishing their higher education during the same period in question, this amount has much more significance: if the number of people who obtain university degrees is, on the average, about 9,000 per year, one can come to the conclusion, in net terms, that half of those obtaining university degrees have left the Galicia to work elsewhere. In addition, there seems to be a very high level of sub-employment for this collective in the internal job market. Both facts suggest the importance of briefly concentrating on the analysis of the particular situation of the most highly educated workforce in the terms proposed in this research

3.4.1. Preferred destinations

In Table 14, the subset of the most qualified workers who found work in other regions of Spain is analyzed. It is obvious that Madrid was the most attractive for the emigrants with 39.27% of the total (15,542 people), followed by Catalonia (12.56%), Castilla - Leon (5.90%), Andalucía (4.77%), Canary Islands (4.08%), and Asturias (3.81%). These six communities accounted for 70% of these workers (more than 28,000). It is evident that there is a direct relationship with variables such as higher salaries and, to a lesser degree, proximity.

Table 14. University degree holders registered in the Galician employment offices contracted in the rest of Spain, according to the Autonomous Community destinations. (2003 -2010).

Autonomous Communities	Total	%
Andalucía	1,889	4.77
Aragón	551	1.39
Asturias (Principality of)	1,509	3.81
Canarias	1,616	4.08
Castilla - León	2,336	5.90
Cataluña	4,972	12.56
Madrid (Community of)	15,542	39.27
Navarra	338	0.85
Basque Country	1,290	3.26
Others	9,538	24.10
Total	39,581	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.4.2. Profiles by age and sex

The data contained in Table 15 gives a very clear idea of the profile of the Galician emigrants with university degrees working in other parts of Spain. As far as age is concerned, 52.31% of the total were very young (29 years old or less), which means that more than half of the workers left Galicia practically the moment their studies were completed; and, in addition, another 41.16% who left were between 30 and 44 years old. This profile of a young university population emigrating is so explicit that only 6% of the total was more than 45 years old.

The analysis by sex raises some exceptionally interesting questions. On the one hand (contrary to the data about the total emigration, which was mostly male), there existed an almost even distribution (51.56% females versus 48.44% males); on the other hand Galician women with university degrees tended to emigrate at a younger age than men: 61% of the women were 29 years old or less as opposed to 52% of the men.

Table 15. University degree holders registered in the Galician employment offices contracted in the rest of Spain, classified according to sex and age. (2003 -2010).

Age	Women		Men		Total	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
<=29	12,420	60.86	8,286	43.22	20,706	52.31
30 to 44	7,482	36.66	8,810	45.95	16,292	41.16
45 to 54	424	2.08	1,473	7.68	1,897	4.79
>=55	82	0.40	604	3.15	686	1.73
Total	20,408	100	19,173	100	39,581	100
%	51,56		48,44		100	

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.4.3. Indirect Data. The employability of Galician university graduates.

A source of indirect and qualitative information about the work situation of Galician university graduates have been realized for several consecutive years by the Agency for Quality Galician University System (ACSUG). The studies, called The Employability of Degree Earners in the Galician University System, contain very valuable information

for analyzing the circumstance of the Galician labour market and the opinions and experiences of those involved. In order to realize this analysis it has been necessary to take into account the results of the Employability studies (PIL) using the same methodology for different periods from the year 2001 until 2007, and which are published in the latest edition (ACSUG, 2010).

The first issue that can be highlighted is the general tendency of Galician university graduates, once their particular studies are completed, to prepare for the Civil Service Exams or embark on further studies, a situation that is found to be true for the majority in all the surveys done from the year 2001 (Table 16). A little more than 42%, in the most favourable case, acceded to the work market. It is without a doubt that the precariousness of this market makes the university graduates opt for something more secure so that in the future they can recuperate the cost of their investment of time.

Table 16. Percentage of Galician university graduates according to their situation with regard to the labour market upon finishing their studies.

	PIL 2001-2003	PIL 2003-2005	PIL 2005-2006	PIL 2006-2007
Prepare civil service exams	27.72	30.70	25.82	29.50
Continue studying	29.66	28.86	32.24	33.73
Work or look for work	42.62	40.44	41.94	36.77
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Self elaboration on the basis of ACSUG (2010)

Of those degree earners who worked, it must be emphasized that a significant percentage of them did so outside of Galicia (Table 17): 10.5% of the generation analyzed in the period of 2001-2003 were working in other parts of Spain, a percentage that reached its highest value in 2005-2006 (14.02%).

Table 17. Percentage of Galician university graduates according to the location of their jobs. Percentage data (2003 -2007)

	PIL 2001-2003	PIL 2003-2005	PIL 2005-2006	PIL 2006-2007
Galicia	87.16	87.70	85.46	86.00
Rest of Spain	10.5	11.80	14.02	13.24
Rest of Europe	1.98	0.30	0.38	0.51
Rest of the world	0.36	0.20	0.14	0.25
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Self elaboration on the basis of ACSUG (2010)

Once again, it has been reaffirmed that the principal cause of these results are the deficiencies of the Galician labour market; according to the data in Table 18, more than 60% of Galician university graduates who left the community did so because they either hadn't been able to find work in Galicia or they had received better job offers elsewhere.

Table 18. Galician university graduates: reasons for emigrating

	PIL 2003-2005	PIL 2005-2006	PIL 2006-2007
Unable to find work in Galicia	32.80	29.64	36.84
Better job offer elsewhere	30.90	33.51	30.36
Personal reasons	22.20	31.19	26.06
Other reasons	14.10	5.66	6.74
Total	100	100	100

Source: Self elaboration on the basis of ACSUG (2010)

Finally, there are two indicators which serve to confirm the employment conditions of those Galician university students working in the community. The first one is the type of work being realized and the relevant contractual situation. From the contents of Table 19, it can be verified that the option of self-employment was not very common in

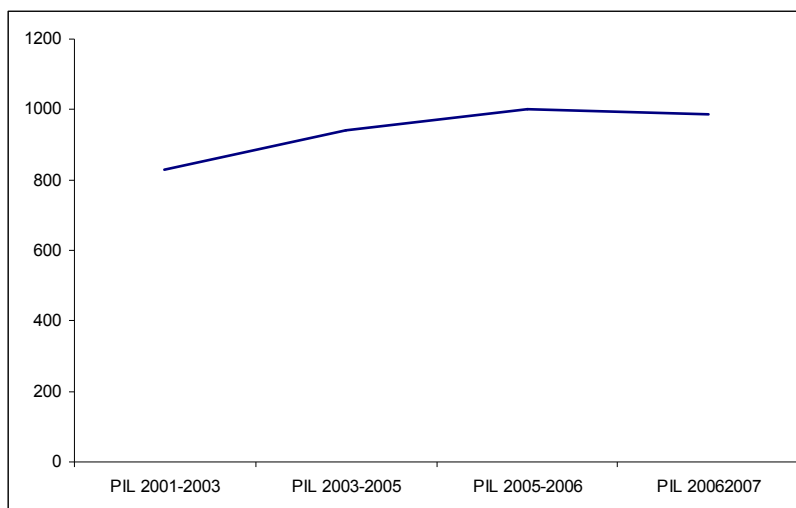
Table 19. Galician university graduates: typology of work and contracts

	PIL 2001-2003	PIL 2003-2005	PIL 2005-2006	PIL 2006-2007
Self-employed	7.76	7.58	6.85	8.75
Salaried	92.24	92.42	93.15	91.25
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
Active	88.84	86.95	78.39	82.93
Inactive	11.16	13.05	21.61	17.07
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
With contract	95.62	96.10	97.28	96.24
Without contract	4.38	3.90	2.72	3.76
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
Indefinite	22.11	39.74	40.95	38.62
Temporary	49.02	37.50	40.23	34.98
Apprenticing	13.2	9.95	10.65	10.15
Scholarship /grant	7.58	2.44	2.45	2.66
Other	8.09	10.37	5.72	13.59
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Self elaboration on the basis of ACSUG (2010)

this collective, because the percentage of those who chose this option ranged from 6.85% in 2005-2006 to 8.75% in 2006-2007. Another issue to emphasize is the percentage of university graduates who were self-employed but worked irregularly: in some periods up to 21% were not officially active and more than 4% did not have a work contract. And for those that did have contracts, the data only serves as a reflection of the instability of temporary work: in some periods of time, temporary contracts reached 49%, and the use of apprentice contracts or scholarships / grants represented more than 20%.

Graph 2. Average salary (€) of Galician university graduates who work in Galicia (series in real terms).



Source: ACSUG (2010)

The second of the indicators which determine the precariousness of the Galician labour market for university degree earners, and, consequently, their possibilities of emigrating, is reflected in the average monthly salary received by this collective during the period 2001 to 2007 which ranged from 800 euros to 1000 euros in terms of real salary (amounts deflated by the Consumer Price Index).

4. Conclusions

The research carried out has had as its objective to properly verify if the starting hypotheses could be endorsed by means of the appropriate analysis of the data in question. The first conclusion is that these hypotheses are verified almost to perfection, on basis of the following arguments:

- a) The members of the emigrant collective are very young; precisely, 47% of them are 29 years old or younger and another 39% are between 30 and 44 years old. As far as their sex is concerned, the members are mostly males (68.49%).
- b) 39% have completed high school, vocational training, or university and another 36.74% at least their basic education. Almost 60% of the workers who leave Galicia are contracted for qualified labour.
- c) The destination communities have particular characteristics that play an important role in the decision to emigrate: they either have higher average salaries, they are located relatively near Galicia, or they have better indicators of labour stability.
- d) In comparison to other communities, the average salaries are much lower than in the rest of Spain and the conditions regarding the contracts and the workdays are more precarious. In addition, the public employment services in the Galician labour market are neither transparent nor efficient.
- e) With respect to the most qualified workers (university graduates), the migratory process is even more severe: in the analyzed period, 39,581 university graduates left Galicia for other regions with better salaries and opportunities. The profile of this subset of emigrants is different from the rest. In general, they are very young and evenly divided between males and females (what particularly stands out is the number of very young university degree earners). The precariousness of the labour market and the lack of well-paid opportunities for university graduates have been shown to be another reason for the expulsion of qualified workers towards other regions.

The second conclusion, which is no less important, is: the verification of the starting hypotheses demonstrates the severe structural deficiencies in the productive systems of the economies of origin. With the exception of temporary phenomena (such as in the case of the growth in construction), the confirmation of the hypotheses serves to determine that: the Galician economy is incapable of efficiently absorbing the human

capital in which it invests; and on the basis of this important factor, we are in the process of the third emigration⁶.

Finally, and derived from the previous conclusions, it is necessary to make a reflection about the indirect consequences of this behaviour: one of the main concerns about the future of the Galician economy lies in its extreme demographic weakness which is manifested in its very low birth-rate, and, in conjunction with that, a very high mortality rate⁷. With these parameters, all the projections warn about the serious problem that Galicia may have in the future. Therefore, it seems evident that this phenomenon of the new emigration (it must not be forgotten that it is primarily young) can only serve to put even more of a damper on the sustainability of the Galician economy.

⁶ As was pointed out at the beginning of this research, although labor mobility has some positive aspects in this stage of economic globalization, the phenomenon of the exportation of manpower – especially the most highly qualified - is a clear indicator of the inefficiencies in the internal production systems. This situation is perfectly reflected in the thoughts of the philosopher and Professor of History of Science, José Manuel Sánchez Ron who in an article of a widely distributed publication pointed out that *“if everything stays the same, most of our most capable young people will end up, if not unemployed, frustrated, limited or contributing permanently to the science of other countries. I know that in this way they will ultimately contribute to the common scientific knowledge of humanity, but as the selfish person who I am when it concerns my native country, I wish this would be a more suitable home for science, and even more so for its young people,. If this new emigration -also forced- is called "globalization", I say "cursed globalization!"* (Sánchez Ron, 2011)

⁷ According to the data of the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2011), the gross birthrate in Galicia is 8.09 births per 1,000 residents and the mortality rate is 11.10 deaths per 1,000 residents. These alarming figures are the second worst in Spain, with only Asturias having poorer numbers.

5. Bibliography

- Axencia para a Calidade do Sistema Universitario de Galicia (2010): *Estudo da inserción laboral no sistema universitario de Galicia*, en <http://www.acsug.es>
- Instituto Galego de Estatística (2004): *Encuesta de condiciones de vida de las familias*, en <http://ige.es/>
- Instituto Galego de Estatística (2008): *Encuesta de condiciones de vida de las familias*, en <http://ige.es/>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (varios años): *Encuesta de población activa*, en <http://www.ine.es/>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2009): *Indicadores sociales*, en <http://www.ine.es/>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2009): *Indicadores demográficos básicos*, en <http://www.ine.es/>
- Mc. Connell, C., Brue, S. L. y Macpherson, D. A. (2003): *Economía Laboral*, Mc.Graw Hill, Madrid.
- Observatorio Ocupacional de Galicia (varios años): *Informes de movilidad laboral*, en <http://emplego.xunta.es/cualificacions/>
- Sánchez Ron, J. M. (2011): “Juventud, maldito tesoro”, *El País*, 19/02/2011

ABSTRACT

INTERREGIONAL MOBILITY OF THE PRODUCTIVE FACTORS AND THE STRUCTURAL DEFICIENCIES IN THE ECONOMY: THE EXPULSION OF MANPOWER FROM GALICIA

Mobility as a factor of labour is— especially in this stage of economic globalization — a positive aspect that permits the suitability of human capital with regard to the remaining productive factors and the promotion of competitiveness. However, it is also an element that can determine the existence of structural deficiencies in the regions or countries of origin of the emigrants, a true reflection of the inadequacy of matching the demand for labour to an offer that is increasingly qualified.

Galicia is a community with extensive experience in the expulsion of manpower to other regions and countries. During the XX century, all the specialists in this area pointed out two waves that were perfectly differentiated in time. The first Galician emigration (fundamentally transoceanic) occurred in the first half of the century and was the result of the deagrarianization of the Galician economy and the incapacity of the industrial and the services sectors to absorb the surplus manpower. The second one was fundamentally directed towards European countries as a consequence, once again, of the inadequate regional capacity of creating extra-agrarian employment and the increasing demand for industrial and services manpower in the economies of the nearby countries.

In the last few years of the past century, and especially in the first decade of the XXI century, signs and empirical evidence have started to be detected that in Galicia a wave of what can be de qualified as new emigration is being produced. Indeed, the figures of interregional mobility in Spain indicate the fact that in the last few years, tens of thousands of Galicians have been contracted to work in other Spanish regions. The object of this research, as a result of available date, is to quantify those movements of manpower and, by establishing some starting hypotheses, to verify the causes of the modern third emigration from Galicia.

JEL Classification: R50, J61, R23.

Key words: Regional Economy, Geographic Labour Mobility, Regional Labour Markets, Regional Migration, Galicia.

Fernando González Laxe

Universidad de A Coruña. Facultad de Economía y Empresa. Campus de Elviña, s/nº 15071 A CORUÑA. E-mail: laxe@udc.es

Federico Martín Bermúdez

Universidad de A Coruña. Facultad de Economía y Empresa. Campus de Elviña, s/nº 15071 A CORUÑA. E-mail: federico.martin@udc.es

Federico Martín Palmero

Universidad de A Coruña. Facultad de Economía y Empresa Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales. Campus de Elviña, s/nº 15071 A CORUÑA. E-mail: fgmartin@udc.es

1 Introduction and Objectives

Galicia is a region with abundant experience in the expulsion of manpower towards other regions or countries. The two waves of Galician emigration undertaken during the XX century are widely recognized and have been thoroughly studied: the first one occurred in the first half of the century and was principally transoceanic and the second one, starting in the fifties, had as its destination the more highly developed European countries. The reasons are fairly common: the extremely slow evolution in Galicia from an agrarian society to an industrial and services society, and, therefore, not having the capacity of absorbing surplus labour from the primary sector. Currently, data has started to be known from the end of the XX century and the beginning of this one leading us to observe a migratory phenomena which is more or less the same as the others but different at the core: the Galician economy is continuing to expel human capital outside of its borders, but it is different because (as opposed to previous periods where the manpower had very little education and training) the great majority of this migratory wave is formed in general by particularly young people who are very qualified, and their destination is no longer European or South American countries but for the most part the rest of Spain. This phenomena, although perceived socially, is not currently being studied or quantified very much.

Consequently, the objective of this research is, by means of the data, to analyze and establish the causes for what can be called the *third emigration* in Galicia and quantify its importance.

2. Starting Hypothesis

It should be noted, in the first place, that the decisions that people make about the training that they receive are fundamental in determining future economic expectations: collectively, societies achieve greater well-being and growth with a qualified labour supply. On an individual basis, this is manifested in the fact that future earnings for highly trained people are expected to be comparatively greater than for individuals with less training. Therefore, in addition to the social interest in training (maximization of the collective well-being), there exists the private interest of the individuals (maximization of the individual utility) based on a mathematical decision: a person will decide to be trained - in addition to the individual human desire to improve one's knowledge and to grow as a person - if the expected future benefits (by means of greater future earnings) can compensate for the direct and indirect costs of the training or for

the earnings that could be achieved in an alternative (less qualified) job during the training period.

In the second place, it is evident that once the decision to be trained has been made, in the future (when the training period is finished), the individual will be faced with a labour market which will hopefully meet one's expectations in terms of qualified jobs, not only as far as the salary is concerned but also how appropriate the job is with respect to the training. Otherwise, it is probable that people will decide to look for opportunities further away from home with the objective of ultimately maximizing the objective function of their expected future benefits commensurate with their training.

Consequently, the following *verification hypotheses*, among others, are established for the present research (Mc. Connell, Brue y Macpherson, 2003, pp. 340 and ff.):

1^a) The younger a person is, when the circumstances are the same, the more probable it is that this person will emigrate. In the first place, young people consider (in order to maximize the expected benefits) that even a small salary difference is significant considering the duration of one's working life. In the second place, moving costs are lower for young people. And, lastly, there is a greater tendency to be mobile on account of having fewer familiar responsibilities.

2^a) The higher the level of education is, the more likelihood there is to emigrate: it is the logical consequence of having to recover the initial investment in training.

3^a) Distance, nowadays, is not a very important factor with respect to emigration, especially when referring to interregional movements: the improvement in transportation implies a greater tendency to travel towards nearby regions (in terms of time) within the state.

4^a) The unemployment rate in the community of origin is one of the reasons for emigration. In the case of trained personnel, the underemployment rate or the inadequacy of demand with respect to the supply of qualified jobs is another determining factor in the decision to emigrate.

2 Sources of the statistics and data together with other methodological considerations

The traditional sources of information (census, register) and those related to migratory movements provided by the National Institute of Statistics (INE)) are not sufficiently explanatory of this phenomena, especially when the fundamental cause of the migratory

processes is due to conditions of the labour market: when dealing with, in principle, short-term movements, the people who migrate do not usually explicitly declare changes of residence, which means that they continue to maintain their habitual residence in their place of origin. For this research, two basic sources of information have been used: in the first place, and for the first few years covered by this study (until 2003), data derived from the studies and basic data about Mobility of the National Employment Institute (INEM), an organism dependent on the Labour and Emigration Ministry, have been used. In the second place, from 2002 on, the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (dependent on the Labour and Well-being Ministry of the Galician Autonomous Government) has developed a regional database that contains the Mobility Reports until 2010 with the basic data derived from the INEM statistics. By using a homogenous methodology, it is therefore possible to have a coherent analysis of the evolution of the pertinent variables.¹

3. Analysis of the results

Based on the cited sources of the statistics, it is possible to establish a pattern of detailed analysis of the data, aimed at verifying (or not) the starting hypotheses.

3.1 The first indications

A first approach to the problem can be accomplished by means of a combination of data from the two mentioned statistical sources. In Table 1, the evolution of the number of signed contracts registered at the Galician employment offices for work outside of this community can be observed. It is shown that during the first decade of the XXI century, there were more than 658,000 of these types of contracts realized, with an evolution of steady growth from 2000 until 2006. From 2007 on, coinciding with the global crisis, there was a decrease in these types of contracts, with the most dramatic period being the last 2 years of the decade.

¹ We would like to thank María José Cortés Jiménez, Director of the Occupational Monitoring Service of Galicia, for her orientations and clarifications concerning the contents and treatment of the databases of this Service.

Table 1. Interregional Mobility. Number of signed contracts realized by Galicians outside of Galicia (2000 – 2010).

Year	Contracts
2000	54,852
2001	59,293
2002	56,327
2003	59,706
2004	65,673
2005	70,649
2006	74,792
2007	73,608
2008	60,544
2009	41,705
2010	41,179
Total	658,328

Source: Self elaboration based on data of the Ministry of Labour and The Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

Table 2. Interregional Mobility. Net balance Galicia – the rest of Spain in the number of contracted workers (absolute values 2003 -2010).

Year	Entering	Leaving	Balance
2003	29,318	37,578	-8,260
2004	28,547	42,842	-14,295
2005	20,528	46,390	-25,862
2006	23,386	47,918	-24,532
2007	24,494	47,503	-23,009
2008	22,720	39,201	-16,481
2009	18,590	27,604	-9,014
2010	18,886	26,119	-7,233
Total	186,469	315,155	-128,686

Source: Self elaboration based on data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years)

The importance of these figures provides a first notion of the implication that this phenomena appears to have. The detailed data described in Table 2 concerning the movements of workers between Galicia and the rest of Spain from 2003 until 2010 are sufficiently explanatory: during that period, 315,155 Galicians were contracted outside of Galicia and 186,149 workers from outside Galicia were contracted to work in this

region, meaning that there was a net negative balance of 128,686 workers. It can be observed that the negative balance in this particular area is constant during all those years, with the peak period being the triennium between 2005 and 2007.

3.2. The profile of the new Galician emigrants

By means of the statistical treatment of the databases concerning the movement of manpower during various years, a detailed analysis can be made of the typology of the Galician workers contracted throughout the rest of Spain, not only in terms of their personal circumstances (age, sex, training, etc.), but also in terms of the specific characteristics of their eventual destinations (economic sector, occupation to be developed, the specific area where they are contracted, etc.)²

3.2.1. Age and sex

In Table 3, data relative to the emigrants classified by these variables are compiled. In reference to the first of them, the jobs that are offered in Galicia for the rest of Spain are predominately filled by very young workers: 46.7% of the total are less than 29 years old and 39% are between 30 and 40 years old. The percentages relative to older workers have very little significance (11.19% for workers between 45 and 54 years old and 3.09% for workers who are older than 55).

With respect to the sex of the workers, it is noticeable that the new emigration is especially carried out by males; in fact, 68.49% of those who leave the region to work are men compared to 31.51% of them who are women.

If the data are analyzed by crossing both variables, 2 phenomena can be observed: of the emigrant women, the overwhelming majority are quite young (61.48% are less than 29 years old and another 32% are between 30 and 44 years old); on the other hand, the profile of men who leave the region to work have a more varied profile: 39.88% are less than 29 years old and 42% are between 30 and 44 years old. The percentages relative to the workers who are older than 45 years old are, in this case, fairly significant (18% compared to 6.4% of the women).

² It is possible that because of the need to preserve statistical confidentiality, by treating very disaggregated aspects of the database and proceeding with their grouping, some statistical positions are lost. However, the variational effect on the aggregate data can be considered having very little statistical importance.

Table 3. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain classified by age and sex (2003 -2010).

Age	Women		Men		Total	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
<=29	61,045	61.48	86,096	39.88	147,141	46.69
30 to 44	31,843	32.07	91,166	42.23	123,009	39.03
45 to 54	5,255	5.29	30,017	13.91	35,272	11.19
>=55	1,148	1.16	8,585	3.98	9,733	3.09
Total	99,291	100	215,864	100	315,155	100
%	31.51		68.49		100	

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.2.2. Training

In Table 4, statistics are compiled relative to the training of the workers contracted for areas outside of Galicia. The biggest percentage, 36.74% (115,783 people), corresponds to those workers who have at least completed the coursework of the Obligatory Secondary Education (ESO). It should be pointed out that practically 40% of the contracts correspond to workers having completed studies in Vocational Training, Secondary School, or University. The number of emigrants with higher education is very significant (12.56% of the total or 39,581 people in absolute terms), a fact that merits further analysis along this research. On the other hand, just 23.6% of the workers hired outside the community had only a primary school education.

3.2.3. Typology of the destinations. Sectors

In Tables 5 and 6, percentage data (horizontal and vertical) are included according to the economic sectors of the destination. These data indicate that 4.73% of the emigrants went to the primary sector, 9.09% to industry, and 62.21% to services. However, it should be pointed out that almost 24% of the workers were contracted in the construction sector, a fact that clearly reflects the particular situation of the Spanish economy in the decade that is being analyzed.

Table 4. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified by their ultimate level of education (absolute values) (2003 -2010).

Level of Studies	Number	%
Primary	74,384	23.60
ESO	115,783	36.74
Vocational Training	33,479	10.62
Secondary School	51,928	16.48
University	39,581	12.56
Total	315,155	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

Table 5. . Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified by the economic sector of the destination (horizontal percentages) (2003 -2010).

	Ages	Primary	Industry	Construction	Services	Total
Women	<=29	1.27	5.19	2.54	91.00	100
	30 to 44	1.94	7.46	3.79	86.81	100
	45 to 54	3.32	5.77	4.11	86.79	100
	>=55	4.17	5.86	5.29	84.68	100
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>1.64</i>	<i>5.99</i>	<i>3.07</i>	<i>89.30</i>	<i>100</i>
Men	<=29	3.82	10.15	30.48	55.55	100
	30 to 44	6.77	11.08	34.62	47.54	100
	45 to 54	11.23	9.62	38.99	40.16	100
	>=55	6.93	11.75	38.83	42.50	100
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>6.17</i>	<i>10.53</i>	<i>33.69</i>	<i>49.61</i>	<i>100</i>
Totals		4.73	9.09	23.97	62.21	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

The classification by sex and ages causes us to come to some interesting conclusions: females who emigrate are primarily directed towards the Services sector (89,30%) and they are fairly young (91% of the women who are 29 years old or less are contracted in the Tertiary sector). On the other hand, with respect to males, the distribution is quite distinct: 6.17% go to the Primary sector, 10.53% go to Industry, 33.69% were contracted in the Construction sector, and 49.61 went to Services. For this subset, the distribution for ages is more homogenous.

Table 6. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified by the economic sector of the destination (vertical percentages)
(2003 -2010)

	Ages	Primary	Industry	Construction	Services	Total
Women	<=29	5.12	10.88	2.02	27.86	19.05
	30 to 44	4.34	8.69	1.67	14.77	10.59
	45 to 54	1.19	1.08	0.29	2.37	1.70
	>=55	0.35	0.26	0.09	0.54	0.40
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>11.00</i>	<i>20.91</i>	<i>4.07</i>	<i>45.55</i>	<i>31.73</i>
Men	<=29	22.40	30.95	35.26	24.76	27.73
	30 to 44	41.13	35.06	41.55	21.98	28.77
	45 to 54	21.49	9.58	14.73	5.85	9.06
	>=55	3.97	3.50	4.39	1.85	2.71
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>89.00</i>	<i>79.09</i>	<i>95.93</i>	<i>54.45</i>	<i>68.27</i>
Total		100	100	100	100	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

With respect to the classification by vertical percentages, the information contained in Table 6 confirms the pre-eminence of males in the first 3 sectors. Specifically, of the 4.73% of the total who were contracted in the Primary sector, 89% were men; of the 9.09% of the total who were contracted in Industry, 79.09% were men; and 95.93% of those who went to Construction were males. The Services sector presents an important exception to this pattern of distribution by sex: out of the 62.21% of the total population who were contracted in the Tertiary sector, 54.45% were males and 45.55% were females.

3.2.3. Typology of the destinations. Occupations

In Tables 7 and 8, the data is included in percentages (horizontal and vertical) according to the different occupational categories in which the emigrants were contracted, in line with the system used by the National Occupation Classification of the National Institute of Statistics. With respect to the percentages by occupations, some particular aspects should be pointed out: 20.02% of the emigrants are classified in the statistical data as Non-qualified. However, the category of Scientific & Intellectual Technicians

represents 8.01% of those contracted; Technicians and Support Professionals represent 12.93%; Technical Artisans and Support Personnel represent 12.93%; Artisans and Qualified Workers represent 19.35%; and Operators of Installations, Machinery, etc. represent 8,21% of the total. In conclusion, almost 60% of those contracted present a degree of representative qualification. With respect to sex females are more present in the category of Catering and Business Services Workers and they also have a remarkable presence in the area of Technicians and Scientists, exceeding the percentages of the male population.

Table 7. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified according to the National Classification of Occupations (CNO³.) with respect to the destination occupations (horizontal percentages) (2003 -2010).

	Ages	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Women	<=29	0.11	0.82	9.98	16.59	18.44	36.31	0.37	1.29	1.19	14,90	100
	30 to 44	0.09	1.30	13.68	16.09	17.08	27.12	0.56	1.94	1.69	20,44	100
	45 to 54	0.13	0.90	8.45	8.28	11.13	27.90	0.98	3.28	2.73	36,25	100
	>=55	0.22	1.21	7.95	7.84	11.37	26.93	1.10	4.08	3.09	36,20	100
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>0.11</i>	<i>0.98</i>	<i>11.07</i>	<i>15.92</i>	<i>17.56</i>	<i>32.85</i>	<i>0.48</i>	<i>1.64</i>	<i>1.46</i>	<i>18,00</i>	<i>100</i>
Men	<=29	0.12	0.50	6.50	10.85	6.72	15.26	1.79	23.74	8.23	26,28	100
	30 to 44	0.08	1.25	7.46	12.15	4.38	10.72	3.63	29.60	12.58	18,15	100
	45 to 54	0.04	0.93	3.69	10.67	1.77	7.99	6.17	35.47	18.27	14,99	100
	>=55	0.00	1.24	5.32	13.05	2.74	8.07	2.82	37.39	15.19	14,17	100
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>0.09</i>	<i>0.89</i>	<i>6.50</i>	<i>11.45</i>	<i>4.97</i>	<i>12.19</i>	<i>3.15</i>	<i>28.16</i>	<i>11.57</i>	<i>21,03</i>	<i>100</i>
Total		0,09	0,92	8,01	12,93	9,15	19,05	2,26	19,35	8,21	20,02	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

With respect to horizontal percentages (Table 8), some interesting data can be observed: the hiring of males was superior in all categories except for two. Female presence was

³ National Classification of Occupations (CNO) referred to in the Tables is the following:

- 0 Armed Forces
- 1 Public administration and company management
- 2 Scientific and intellectual technicians and professionals
- 3 Technicians and support professionals
- 4 Administrative type employees
- 5 Workers in the services of catering, personnel, security, and sales.
- 6 Qualified workers in agriculture and fisheries
- 7 Artisans and qualified workers of industry, manufacturing, construction, mining, etc.
- 8 Operators of installations and machinery, assemblers, etc.
- 9 Non-qualified workers

greater in the category of Administrative type workers (63.73%) and in Catering and business services (57,26%), where, in addition, the greatest percentage of women were young. The presence of males was practically absolute in the professional categories of Qualified workers in agriculture and fisheries; Artisans and qualified workers of industry, manufacturing, construction, mining, etc.; Operators of installations and machinery, assemblers, etc. One more issue to point out is that the majority of non-qualified positions (70.15%) were filled by men.

Table 8. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified according to the National Classification of Occupations (CNO) with respect to the destination occupations (vertical percentages) (2003 -2010).

	Ages	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Women	<=29	24.23	18.35	25.61	26.38	41.43	39.18	3.33	1.37	2.97	15.3	20.56
	30 a 44	10.57	14.87	18.10	13.18	19.77	15.09	2.64	1.06	2.19	10.82	10.60
	45 a 54	2.20	1.63	1.76	1.07	2.03	2.45	0.72	0.28	0.55	3.024	1.67
	>=55	0.88	0.50	0.38	0.23	0.47	0.53	0.18	0.08	0.14	0.684	0.38
	<i>Subtotal</i>	37.89	35.40	45.85	40.87	63.73	57.26	6.99	2.81	5.90	29.85	33.21
Men	<=29	34.80	15.28	22.84	23.62	20.66	22.55	22.32	34.54	28.24	36.95	28.15
	30 a 44	23.79	37.48	25.76	26.01	13.24	15.59	44.50	42.35	42.44	25.1	27.69
	45 a 54	3.52	8.50	3.89	6.97	1.63	3.54	23.06	15.48	18.80	6.322	8.44
	>=55	0.00	3.35	1.66	2.52	0.75	1.06	3.12	4.83	4.63	1.769	2.50
	<i>Subtotal</i>	62.11	64.60	54.15	59.13	36.27	42.74	93.01	97.19	94.10	70.15	66.79
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.2.4. Typology of the destinations. Autonomous communities

With the objective being to coherently verify the starting hypotheses, it is especially important to analyze the destinies of the new emigrants according to regions. In Table 9, this data is compiled. It should be pointed out that the principal attraction is the Community of Madrid, which absorbed 22.40% of the emigrants (70,601 people). It is followed in importance by Cataluña with 12.11% and the Canary Islands with 10.2%. In a detailed analysis of the data, this last percentage is explained on the basis of an emigration fundamentally dedicated to restaurant and hotel services, and above all, the construction industry. What is also noticeable is the attraction of Autonomous

Communities such as Castilla – León (7.93%) and Asturias (5.06%) whose proximity is, without a doubt, an important factor.

Table 9. Workers registered in the Galician employment offices who were contracted for other regions of Spain, classified according to the destination Autonomous Communities.

(2003 -2010).

Autonomous Community	Total	%
Andalucía	17,709	5.62
Aragón	8,131	2.58
Asturias (Principality of)	15,947	5.06
Canarias	32,152	10.20
Castilla - León	25,005	7.93
Cataluña	38,172	12.11
Madrid (Community of)	70,601	22.40
Navarra (Statutory Comm.)	4,737	1.50
País Vasco	16,480	5.23
Others	86,221	27.36
Total	315.155	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.3 *Work conditions at the root.*

According to what has been established in the starting hypotheses, it is evident that the conditions of the Galician economy reflected in the structure of its labour market and its differential characteristics as compared to the rest of the state are most probably determinants in the decision to emigrate. In order to verify these factors, some quantitative aspects (differences in salaries, types of contracts, and working hours) and qualitative ones (means of finding jobs and work satisfaction)⁴ are analyzed.

3.3.1. Salaries, contracts, and workdays.

In Table 10, data is compiled showing the evolution of wage cost differences in the different Autonomous Communities of the Spanish state from the year 2000 until the year 2008.

⁴ References to the unemployment figures in the origin are not considered a determining factor because, obviously, the data do not include people who are already outside their community, and they also conceal situations of subemployment, as will be verified later on, turn out to be very important.

Table 10. Wage costs per worker by Autonomous Community. Percentage data. (2000 -2008).

Autonomous Comm.	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Andalucía	91.12	90.74	91.46	90.87	89.77	88.86	89.60	89.37	90.18
Aragón	97.53	98.34	98.54	98.33	97.07	97.66	99.15	100.44	99.30
Asturias	98.26	97.86	97.71	99.18	98.97	98.70	98.12	99.13	99.32
Balearic Islands	88.80	89.19	89.43	90.52	92.61	93.60	94.02	94.67	94.40
Canarias	85.40	83.07	83.77	82.23	82.66	82.95	82.25	83.40	83.95
Cantabria	92.84	92.03	91.35	91.78	92.98	92.41	92.16	92.28	91.30
Castilla y León	93.22	93.37	92.88	91.99	91.72	92.32	91.20	91.89	92.42
Castilla-La Mancha	85.90	84.84	84.13	85.51	85.40	86.47	89.29	87.97	88.15
Cataluña	105.32	105.91	106.74	107.06	107.93	107.61	107.60	107.98	107.19
Community of Valencia	88.93	90.19	88.59	89.12	88.79	88.96	89.12	88.62	89.06
Extremadura	81.70	81.88	81.20	81.81	80.56	80.34	80.44	81.18	82.12
Galicia	86.75	87.33	87.14	85.90	84.82	84.48	85.41	85.67	85.03
Madrid	120.24	119.85	119.52	120.09	120.82	120.96	120.39	119.66	118.94
Murcia	81.17	80.22	80.54	82.22	83.95	84.43	84.56	84.21	85.00
Navarra	109.35	109.06	110.22	111.71	112.89	113.00	110.87	109.72	108.54
País Vasco	116.78	116.04	116.47	115.39	115.52	116.70	115.31	116.27	117.14
Rioja (La)	93.49	92.44	91.03	91.10	90.57	92.09	92.52	91.92	92.03
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: National Institute of Statistics. Social Indicators 2009

It should be pointed out that in Galicia, the wage costs in the year 2000 was 86.75% compared to the base of 100 for the totality of the Spanish economy. This difference, instead of nearing the average value, became even more pronounced: in the year 2008, the average wage costs for a Galician worker was reduced to 85.03%.

An even more important factor as far as we are concerned is that the wage costs in Madrid, Catalonia, or the Basque Country were far superior to the average (the case of Madrid was the most significant with a difference of 20.24 points in 2000 and 18.94 points in 2008). Comparing Galicia with the destinations of the Galicians contracted in other Spanish regions insofar as salaries are concerned leaves no doubt: in some cases, the salaries were 40% greater than in Galicia (in the case of the Community of Madrid). The existence of an excellent correlation between destinations and greater wage costs appears to be irrefutable.

The direct relation between working conditions in the destination and the greater emigration from the origin repeats itself if we analyze the conditions of the contracts in

terms of duration, distinguishing indefinite contracts from seasonal or temporary ones. In Table 11, data is compiled which shows the percentage of indefinite contracts in terms of all types of contracts in various Spanish Autonomous Communities. In order to facilitate the comparison, an index of 100 for Galicia has been used⁵.

Table 11. Percentage of indefinite contracts with respect to the total contracts by the principal Autonomous Community destinations of Galician emigration. Galicia Index = 100 (2004 -2009)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Andalucía	47	49	53	53	48	45
Aragón	118	112	117	108	108	102
Asturias	96	90	102	92	95	94
Canarias	123	115	111	104	109	111
Castilla - León	99	100	105	82	99	95
Cataluña	150	145	148	134	152	139
Galicia	100	100	100	100	100	100
Madrid	154	153	159	147	173	161
Navarra	111	99	100	93	97	83
Basque Country	83	80	84	76	78	78

Source: National Institute of Statistics. Social Indicators 2009

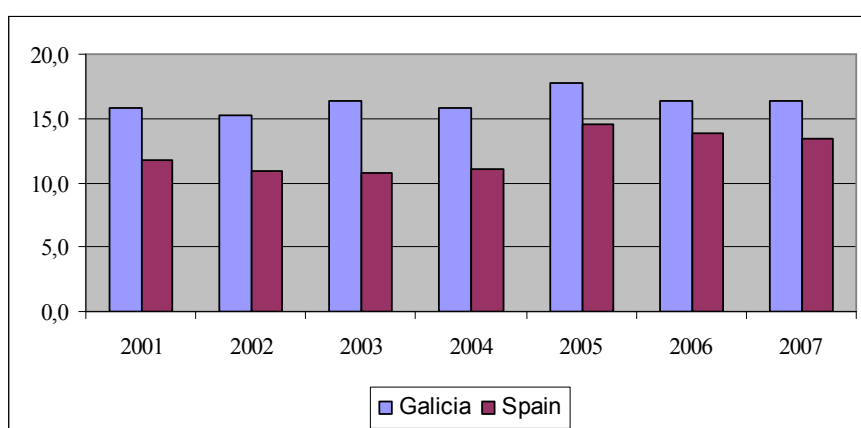
The results appear to indicate once again that the regions where the most Galician workers emigrated to were those that had the greatest percentage of indefinite labour contracts during the period analyzed in this research. This is the case of Madrid, Catalonia, and the Canary Islands (with the most pronounced differences being with the first two destinations), which represented more than 42% of the destinies of Galician workers outside their community.

Another circumstance that without a doubt conditions the decision about emigration is directly related to the workdays that are realized in the origin. In Graph 1, a comparison is made of the percentage of people working more than 50 hours a week in Galicia and those in all of Spain.

⁵ Indefinite contracts are not really very common in Spain. According to the data of the registered labor movement (series 19997-2009) of the National Institute of Statistics, in the period being analyzed (2004 – 2009) the average of indefinite contracts in Spain out of the all the realized labor contracts was about 10%, which gives us an idea of the precariousness of the Spanish labor market.

It is evident that during all the analyzed years, the Galician workday was always longer than in the totality of the Spanish state, peaking in the year of 2005 at 17.7%, which was the number of people working more than 50 hours a week compared to the total.

Graph 1. Percentage of people working more than 50 hours weekly. Comparison Galicia – Spain (2001 -2007)



Source: Self-elaboration from data of the INE. Survey of the active population (various years)

3.3.2. Methods of access to jobs and how they meet expectations.

In Table 12, we can see the percentages relative to the different ways that Galicians declared as to how they obtained their first job. Many conclusions can be derived by means of this analysis. In the first place, it is quite apparent how inefficient the public

Table 12. Percentage of workers according to the method used for finding their first job (2001 -2007)

	2001	2007
Application or direct contact	18.36	23.53
The media	3.01	3.69
Public employment office	2.58	2.57
Employment agency or Temporary agency	2.02	1.93
Relatives, friends, or other personal contacts	32.48	32.86
Self-employment	23.24	20.52
Advertisements in official publications	6.01	11.43
Information from one's educational institution	1.27	1.66
Other procedures	11.04	1.8
Total	100	100

Source: Galician Institute of Statistics. Survey about Conditions of family life (2008)

Employment services really are (they barely represent 2,5% of the total) as well as temporary employment agencies (an uninspiring 2% in the best of cases). Two methods of access to the employment market stand out: self-employment (23.24% in 2001 and 20.52% in 2007) and the more than 32% who got a job by means of friends, relatives, and other personal contacts. This gives us a clear image of the precariousness and the lack of transparency in the Galician job market.

Finally, the fact that employment available has or doesn't have a relationship with the training received is no less significant a factor in deciding about emigrating.

Table 13. Percentage of people whose first job had a relation with their studies (Galicia 2004)

	%
Total	26.64
Basic education	11.82
Higher education	57.78

Source: Galician Institute of Statistics. Survey about Conditions of family life (2004)

The results of Table 13 do not appear to leave any doubt: only 26.64% of Galician workers indicated that their job in Galicia had any relation to their education; in other words and conversely, 73% of the workers declared that their job in Galicia had no relation to their previous studies. The data is even more adverse for those who do not have a higher education: only 11.82% of the workers had jobs with any relation to their education. And, finally, for the people who had received more training (higher education), practically 58% declared that their work and studies had a relationship, but the opposite conclusion is extremely significant because it determines that 42% of the advanced degree holders were in situations of sub-employment in Galicia.

3.4 Particularized analysis: the expulsion of the most highly trained workers from Galicia.

Of the analysis carried out until now, apart from a series of provisional conclusions that could lead us to make further deductions, there is one fact that deserves a more detailed reflexion: of the total of Galician workers contracted to work in other Spanish regions, 39,581 of them have university degrees. It could seem an exiguous amount in relative

terms when comparing it to the total amount of emigrants in the particular time considered (12.56% of the total), but if it is compared to the number of people in Galicia finishing their higher education during the same period in question, this amount has much more significance: if the number of people who obtain university degrees is, on the average, about 9,000 per year, one can come to the conclusion, in net terms, that half of those obtaining university degrees have left the Galicia to work elsewhere. In addition, there seems to be a very high level of sub-employment for this collective in the internal job market. Both facts suggest the importance of briefly concentrating on the analysis of the particular situation of the most highly educated workforce in the terms proposed in this research

3.4.1. Preferred destinations

In Table 14, the subset of the most qualified workers who found work in other regions of Spain is analyzed. It is obvious that Madrid was the most attractive for the emigrants with 39.27% of the total (15,542 people), followed by Catalonia (12.56%), Castilla - Leon (5.90%), Andalucía (4.77%), Canary Islands (4.08%), and Asturias (3.81%). These six communities accounted for 70% of these workers (more than 28,000). It is evident that there is a direct relationship with variables such as higher salaries and, to a lesser degree, proximity.

Table 14. University degree holders registered in the Galician employment offices contracted in the rest of Spain, according to the Autonomous Community destinations. (2003 -2010).

Autonomous Communities	Total	%
Andalucía	1,889	4.77
Aragón	551	1.39
Asturias (Principality of)	1,509	3.81
Canarias	1,616	4.08
Castilla - León	2,336	5.90
Cataluña	4,972	12.56
Madrid (Community of)	15,542	39.27
Navarra	338	0.85
Basque Country	1,290	3.26
Others	9,538	24.10
Total	39,581	100

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.4.2. Profiles by age and sex

The data contained in Table 15 gives a very clear idea of the profile of the Galician emigrants with university degrees working in other parts of Spain. As far as age is concerned, 52.31% of the total were very young (29 years old or less), which means that more than half of the workers left Galicia practically the moment their studies were completed; and, in addition, another 41.16% who left were between 30 and 44 years old. This profile of a young university population emigrating is so explicit that only 6% of the total was more than 45 years old.

The analysis by sex raises some exceptionally interesting questions. On the one hand (contrary to the data about the total emigration, which was mostly male), there existed an almost even distribution (51.56% females versus 48.44% males); on the other hand Galician women with university degrees tended to emigrate at a younger age than men: 61% of the women were 29 years old or less as opposed to 52% of the men.

Table 15. University degree holders registered in the Galician employment offices contracted in the rest of Spain, classified according to sex and age. (2003 -2010).

Age	Women		Men		Total	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
<=29	12,420	60.86	8,286	43.22	20,706	52.31
30 to 44	7,482	36.66	8,810	45.95	16,292	41.16
45 to 54	424	2.08	1,473	7.68	1,897	4.79
>=55	82	0.40	604	3.15	686	1.73
Total	20,408	100	19,173	100	39,581	100
%	51,56		48,44		100	

Source: Self-elaboration on the basis of data of the Occupational Monitoring of Galicia (various years).

3.4.3. Indirect Data. The employability of Galician university graduates.

A source of indirect and qualitative information about the work situation of Galician university graduates have been realized for several consecutive years by the Agency for Quality Galician University System (ACSUG). The studies, called The Employability of Degree Earners in the Galician University System, contain very valuable information

for analyzing the circumstance of the Galician labour market and the opinions and experiences of those involved. In order to realize this analysis it has been necessary to take into account the results of the Employability studies (PIL) using the same methodology for different periods from the year 2001 until 2007, and which are published in the latest edition (ACSUG, 2010).

The first issue that can be highlighted is the general tendency of Galician university graduates, once their particular studies are completed, to prepare for the Civil Service Exams or embark on further studies, a situation that is found to be true for the majority in all the surveys done from the year 2001 (Table 16). A little more than 42%, in the most favourable case, acceded to the work market. It is without a doubt that the precariousness of this market makes the university graduates opt for something more secure so that in the future they can recuperate the cost of their investment of time.

Table 16. Percentage of Galician university graduates according to their situation with regard to the labour market upon finishing their studies.

	PIL 2001-2003	PIL 2003-2005	PIL 2005-2006	PIL 2006-2007
Prepare civil service exams	27.72	30.70	25.82	29.50
Continue studying	29.66	28.86	32.24	33.73
Work or look for work	42.62	40.44	41.94	36.77
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Self elaboration on the basis of ACSUG (2010)

Of those degree earners who worked, it must be emphasized that a significant percentage of them did so outside of Galicia (Table 17): 10.5% of the generation analyzed in the period of 2001-2003 were working in other parts of Spain, a percentage that reached its highest value in 2005-2006 (14.02%).

Table 17. Percentage of Galician university graduates according to the location of their jobs. Percentage data (2003 -2007)

	PIL 2001-2003	PIL 2003-2005	PIL 2005-2006	PIL 2006-2007
Galicia	87.16	87.70	85.46	86.00
Rest of Spain	10.5	11.80	14.02	13.24
Rest of Europe	1.98	0.30	0.38	0.51
Rest of the world	0.36	0.20	0.14	0.25
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Self elaboration on the basis of ACSUG (2010)

Once again, it has been reaffirmed that the principal cause of these results are the deficiencies of the Galician labour market; according to the data in Table 18, more than 60% of Galician university graduates who left the community did so because they either hadn't been able to find work in Galicia or they had received better job offers elsewhere.

Table 18. Galician university graduates: reasons for emigrating

	PIL 2003-2005	PIL 2005-2006	PIL 2006-2007
Unable to find work in Galicia	32.80	29.64	36.84
Better job offer elsewhere	30.90	33.51	30.36
Personal reasons	22.20	31.19	26.06
Other reasons	14.10	5.66	6.74
Total	100	100	100

Source: Self elaboration on the basis of ACSUG (2010)

Finally, there are two indicators which serve to confirm the employment conditions of those Galician university students working in the community. The first one is the type of work being realized and the relevant contractual situation. From the contents of Table 19, it can be verified that the option of self-employment was not very common in

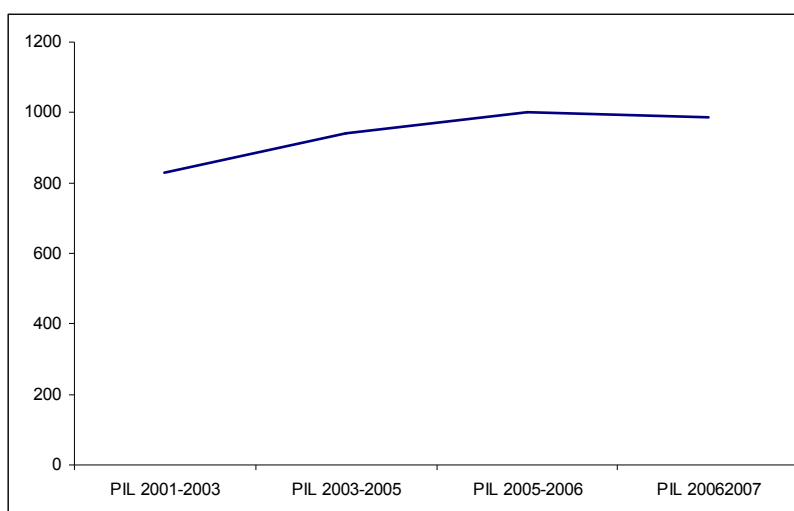
Table 19. Galician university graduates: typology of work and contracts

	PIL 2001-2003	PIL 2003-2005	PIL 2005-2006	PIL 2006-2007
Self-employed	7.76	7.58	6.85	8.75
Salaried	92.24	92.42	93.15	91.25
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
Active	88.84	86.95	78.39	82.93
Inactive	11.16	13.05	21.61	17.07
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
With contract	95.62	96.10	97.28	96.24
Without contract	4.38	3.90	2.72	3.76
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
Indefinite	22.11	39.74	40.95	38.62
Temporary	49.02	37.50	40.23	34.98
Apprenticing	13.2	9.95	10.65	10.15
Scholarship /grant	7.58	2.44	2.45	2.66
Other	8.09	10.37	5.72	13.59
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Self elaboration on the basis of ACSUG (2010)

this collective, because the percentage of those who chose this option ranged from 6.85% in 2005-2006 to 8.75% in 2006-2007. Another issue to emphasize is the percentage of university graduates who were self-employed but worked irregularly: in some periods up to 21% were not officially active and more than 4% did not have a work contract. And for those that did have contracts, the data only serves as a reflection of the instability of temporary work: in some periods of time, temporary contracts reached 49%, and the use of apprentice contracts or scholarships / grants represented more than 20%.

Graph 2. Average salary (€) of Galician university graduates who work in Galicia (series in real terms).



Source: ACSUG (2010)

The second of the indicators which determine the precariousness of the Galician labour market for university degree earners, and, consequently, their possibilities of emigrating, is reflected in the average monthly salary received by this collective during the period 2001 to 2007 which ranged from 800 euros to 1000 euros in terms of real salary (amounts deflated by the Consumer Price Index).

4. Conclusions

The research carried out has had as its objective to properly verify if the starting hypotheses could be endorsed by means of the appropriate analysis of the data in question. The first conclusion is that these hypotheses are verified almost to perfection, on basis of the following arguments:

- a) The members of the emigrant collective are very young; precisely, 47% of them are 29 years old or younger and another 39% are between 30 and 44 years old. As far as their sex is concerned, the members are mostly males (68.49%).
- b) 39% have completed high school, vocational training, or university and another 36.74% at least their basic education. Almost 60% of the workers who leave Galicia are contracted for qualified labour.
- c) The destination communities have particular characteristics that play an important role in the decision to emigrate: they either have higher average salaries, they are located relatively near Galicia, or they have better indicators of labour stability.
- d) In comparison to other communities, the average salaries are much lower than in the rest of Spain and the conditions regarding the contracts and the workdays are more precarious. In addition, the public employment services in the Galician labour market are neither transparent nor efficient.
- e) With respect to the most qualified workers (university graduates), the migratory process is even more severe: in the analyzed period, 39,581 university graduates left Galicia for other regions with better salaries and opportunities. The profile of this subset of emigrants is different from the rest. In general, they are very young and evenly divided between males and females (what particularly stands out is the number of very young university degree earners). The precariousness of the labour market and the lack of well-paid opportunities for university graduates have been shown to be another reason for the expulsion of qualified workers towards other regions.

The second conclusion, which is no less important, is: the verification of the starting hypotheses demonstrates the severe structural deficiencies in the productive systems of the economies of origin. With the exception of temporary phenomena (such as in the case of the growth in construction), the confirmation of the hypotheses serves to determine that: the Galician economy is incapable of efficiently absorbing the human

capital in which it invests; and on the basis of this important factor, we are in the process of the third emigration⁶.

Finally, and derived from the previous conclusions, it is necessary to make a reflection about the indirect consequences of this behaviour: one of the main concerns about the future of the Galician economy lies in its extreme demographic weakness which is manifested in its very low birth-rate, and, in conjunction with that, a very high mortality rate⁷. With these parameters, all the projections warn about the serious problem that Galicia may have in the future. Therefore, it seems evident that this phenomenon of the new emigration (it must not be forgotten that it is primarily young) can only serve to put even more of a damper on the sustainability of the Galician economy.

⁶ As was pointed out at the beginning of this research, although labor mobility has some positive aspects in this stage of economic globalization, the phenomenon of the exportation of manpower – especially the most highly qualified - is a clear indicator of the inefficiencies in the internal production systems. This situation is perfectly reflected in the thoughts of the philosopher and Professor of History of Science, José Manuel Sánchez Ron who in an article of a widely distributed publication pointed out that *“if everything stays the same, most of our most capable young people will end up, if not unemployed, frustrated, limited or contributing permanently to the science of other countries. I know that in this way they will ultimately contribute to the common scientific knowledge of humanity, but as the selfish person who I am when it concerns my native country, I wish this would be a more suitable home for science, and even more so for its young people,. If this new emigration -also forced- is called "globalization", I say "cursed globalization!"* (Sánchez Ron, 2011)

⁷ According to the data of the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2011), the gross birthrate in Galicia is 8.09 births per 1,000 residents and the mortality rate is 11.10 deaths per 1,000 residents. These alarming figures are the second worst in Spain, with only Asturias having poorer numbers.

5. Bibliography

- Axencia para a Calidade do Sistema Universitario de Galicia (2010): *Estudo da inserción laboral no sistema universitario de Galicia*, en <http://www.acsug.es>
- Instituto Galego de Estatística (2004): *Encuesta de condiciones de vida de las familias*, en <http://ige.es/>
- Instituto Galego de Estatística (2008): *Encuesta de condiciones de vida de las familias*, en <http://ige.es/>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (varios años): *Encuesta de población activa*, en <http://www.ine.es/>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2009): *Indicadores sociales*, en <http://www.ine.es/>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2009): *Indicadores demográficos básicos*, en <http://www.ine.es/>
- Mc. Connell, C., Brue, S. L. y Macpherson, D. A. (2003): *Economía Laboral*, Mc.Graw Hill, Madrid.
- Observatorio Ocupacional de Galicia (varios años): *Informes de movilidad laboral*, en <http://emplego.xunta.es/cualificacions/>
- Sánchez Ron, J. M. (2011): “Juventud, maldito tesoro”, *El País*, 19/02/2011