

**Coexistence of Paradigms?  
Residential Segregation in Spain After Mass Migration**

Albert Sabater  
Andreu Domingo  
Juan Galeano

Centre for Demographic Studies  
Autonomous University of Barcelona  
Barcelona, Spain

Submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America  
to be considered in

Session 6 Migration and Urbanization  
605 Residential Segregation (first choice)  
607 Immigration and Assimilation (second choice)

San Francisco, CA  
May 3-5, 2012

***Abstract***

Introduction: Although the replication of sequences from clustering to dispersal by immigrant groups has become apparent in Spain, we argue that the current picture of immigrants' settlement patterns is more complex than the projected by the traditional assimilationist perspective. Aim: We investigate the co-existence of assimilation, pluralism and heterolocal tendencies in Spain after a decade of mass international migration. Data: We use annual population data between 2000 and 2010 derived from Municipal Registers across the smallest census geographies for all municipalities in Spain. Method: We analyze three separate aspects of the residential patterns of immigrant groups: evenness, exposure and encapsulation. Results: The findings allow us to confirm that whilst some immigrant groups replicate the assimilation path of outward spatial movement gradually, some pursue the pluralist path by huddling together in spatial enclaves and others become heterolocal by virtue of immediate dispersal after arrival.

## *Introduction*

The new demographic realities as a consequence of international migration in Europe have given momentum to the contemporary debate of rethinking integration/assimilation. Within this context, the profundity and rapidity of demographic changes in countries such as Spain offer a unique scenario which is unlikely to be replicated on a large scale elsewhere in Europe in the near future. After recording the second largest net absolute migration in the world during the 2000s, only lagging behind the USA worldwide (OECD, 2007), debates about the potential impact of residential segregation on integration and its causes and consequences for social policy have been raised notably. The unfavorable economic outlook has added pressure for policymakers who have to deal with the possible resentment against immigrant populations, and the danger that existing patterns of residential segregation among immigrant groups may amplify over time and lead to discrimination, disadvantage and isolation.

While a fair amount is known about the international migration turnaround in Southern Europe (King et al, 1997; 2000) and the main causes that fuelled such a strong demand for labor-intensive and low-skilled jobs in low-paid occupational sectors (Domingo and Gil-Alonso, 2007), research assessing the demography of settlement of international migrants is just starting to get under way. The changing population composition of Spanish's neighborhoods has attracted considerable public policy attention with a special emphasis on the emergence of new patterns of residential segregation. In line with previous research in Spain and elsewhere in Europe residential patterns of immigrant groups reflect a discontinuity between past and present ways of spatial incorporation (Musterd, 2005; Finney and Simpson, 2009; Sabater et al, 2012).

## *Aim*

The aim of this paper is to contribute to further understanding of the spatial behavior of recent immigrants in 'old' and 'new' settlement areas by looking at three simultaneous processes: the clustering of immigrant groups in gateway areas; the formation of enclaves and the construction of new neighborhoods free of old patterns of segregation.

This paper builds on the demographic body of work in this area (Stillwell and van Ham, 2010) and it is considered to be an important contribution to the segregation debate in Spain and elsewhere because it sheds some light towards the co-existence of paradigms (assimilation, pluralism and heterolocalism). Although it is widely acknowledged that the basic hypothesis of the spatial assimilation model remains valid –with immigrants groups likely to follow a sequence from clustering in urban enclaves to dispersal throughout a geographic area–, the competing hypotheses of pluralism –which leads to economic integration but social encapsulation and the mosaic- and heterolocalism –based on the idea of immediate dispersal after arrival– have come into play given the shortcomings of the traditional assimilationist model in describing the sociospatial behavior of recent migrants, particularly in a context of 'a much greater range of location options in terms of residence and also economic and social activity than anything known in the past' (Zelinsky and Lee, 1998: 285).

To address our main research question –how segregated are recent immigrant groups in Spain after mass international migration?- we review literature on residential segregation and test the abovementioned competing hypothesis in two sets of analyzes (see below).

### ***Data and Methods***

This paper uses population data between 2000 and 2010 derived from Municipal Registers (and released annually by the National Statistics Institute) to analyze residential patterns of immigrant groups. Since self-reporting of racial or ethnic background is not used in official statistics in Spain, analyzes are focused on aggregate geographical origins and the largest immigrant groups by country of origin. Our smallest unit of analysis is the census output area (the equivalent of census tracts) with an average of 1,500 residents. Methodologically, we implement the following steps for metro and non-metro municipalities in Spain:

-First, we analyze immigrant residential areas by using two separate dimensions, *evenness* and *exposure* (Massey and Denton, 1988), which allows us to identify the extent of sharing residential space of immigrant groups with the ‘host society’ (as measured by the dissimilarity index, ID), and the extent to which there are residential areas in which immigrant groups predominate (as measured by the isolation index,  $xPx^*$ ).

-Second, we implement an approach to identify immigrant residential areas according to the degree of encapsulation or group mixing (Johnston et al, 2002). The approach allows us to classify areas into two main types: *minority enclaves* (where immigrant groups form a majority of the total population) and *host communities* (where the host society forms a majority of the total population). The operationalization of this area typology is further sub-divided, giving six subtypes in all. The minority enclaves are sub-divided into assimilation-pluralism enclaves (the host society is a large element of the population, 30-50 per cent), mixed-minority enclaves (shared by two or more immigrant groups and few members of the host society), polarized enclaves (one immigrant group comprises at least 60 per cent of the total population) and ghettos (a high degree of concentration as with the polarized enclaves, and a substantial percentage of the group’s population living in such areas). The host communities are sub-divided into non-isolated host communities (the host society forms 50-79 per cent of the total population) and isolated host communities (the host society comprises 80 per cent or more of the total population).

### ***Findings***

1. The results indicate that residential segregation of immigrant groups is generally moderate and a tendency of de-segregation is found despite gains in the average local concentration of immigrant groups in both metro and non-metro areas of Spain.
2. Although the most recently arrived of the immigrant groups tend to show the highest levels of residential segregation, there clearly exists the exception of Latin American groups and, to a lesser extent, of groups from Eastern Europe.
3. The formation of minority enclaves in Spain largely reflects the recent episodes international mass migration and the processes of chain migration that followed into the original areas of settlement. The implementation of the

approach to identify immigrant residential areas according to the degree of encapsulation suggests, however, that polarized enclaves or ghettos are not found.

4. The spreading of diversity reflects changing destinations and new areas of settlement of immigrant groups in metro and non-metro areas of Spain, which results in a substantial increase of the number of non-isolated host communities.
5. The results show that different paths can coexist in metro and non-metro areas in Spain during the same period (2000-2010): assimilationism is clearly played out by immigrant groups such as the North African (mostly Moroccan), pluralism is exemplified by groups such as the South Asian (Pakistani, Indian and also Chinese), whilst heterolocalism is seen amongst the majority of Latin American groups.
6. Whilst the model of heterolocalism becomes increasingly apparent during a period of economic prosperity, the economic recession has imposed greater selectivity on the dispersal movement from original areas of settlement of different immigrant groups.

## **References**

- DOMINGO, A. and GIL ALONSO, F. (2007) 'Immigration and Changing Labour Force Structure in the Southern European Union', *Population (English edition)*, 62(4): 709-727.
- FINNEY, N. and SIMPSON, L. (2009) *Sleepwalking to segregation? Challenging myths about race and migration*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- JOHNSTON, R. J.; FORREST, J. i POULSEN, M. F. (2002) Are there ethnic enclaves/ghettos in English Cities?, *Urban Studies*, 39(4): 591-618.
- KING, R., FIELDING, A. and BLACK, R. (1997) 'The International Migration Turnaround in Southern Europe', in KING, R. and BLACK, R. (Eds), *Southern Europe and the New Immigrants*, (pp. 1-25) Portland: Sussex Academic Press.
- KING, R., LAZARIDIS, G. and TSARDANIDIS, C. (Eds) (2000) *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, Houndmills: Macmillan.
- MASSEY, D.S. and DENTON, N.A. (1988) 'The Dimensions of Residential Segregation', *Social Forces*, 67: 281-315.
- MUSTERD, S. (2005) 'Social and ethnic segregation in Europe: levels, causes, and effects', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 27 (3): 331-348.
- OECD (2007) *International Migration Outlook. 2007 edition*. SOPEMI. Paris: OECD.
- SABATER, A.; BAYONA, J. and DOMINGO, A. (forthcoming, 2012) 'Internal Migration and Residential Patterns across Spain after Unprecedented International Migration', in FINNEY, N. and CATNEY, G. (Eds) *Minority Internal Migration in Europe*, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, International Population Studies Series.
- STILLWELL, J. and van HAM, M. (Eds) (2010) *Ethnicity and Integration. Understanding Population Trends and Processes*, Volume 3, London-New York: Springer.
- ZELINSKY, W. and LEE, B. A. (1998) 'Heterolocalism: An Alternative Model of Sociospatial Behaviour of Immigrant Ethnic Communities', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 4: 281-298.