

LATIN AMERICANS' CONCENTRATION AND DISPERSION RESIDENTIAL STRATEGIES IN MADRID AND BARCELONA METROPOLITAN AREAS. A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS THROUGH RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY¹

Jenniffer Thiers Quintana

Departament de Geografia, Universitat de Barcelona

jthiers@ub.edu

Jordi Bayona-i-Carrasco

Departament de Geografia, Universitat de Barcelona, and Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

jordibayona@ub.edu

Isabel Pujadas Rúbies

Departament de Geografia, Universitat de Barcelona

ipujadas@ub.edu

Long summary

Literature on Spanish large city foreigners' residential segregation and concentration trends has recently highly grown. During the immigration boom years, the arrival of immigrants from abroad was the main cause of segregation and concentration patterns, even though the role of their internal migration within the country and their demographic dynamics had to a certain extent also to be taken into account. However, now that foreign immigration flows are much smaller due to the economic crisis, the role of internal movements in foreign population redistribution is much more relevant. Nevertheless, despite its importance, little is still known about the territorial distribution of return migration.

Here we focus on one of these aspects, foreigner, and particularly Latin American, residential concentration patterns. In this case, this community would be particularly relevant as according to the January the 1st 2014 *Padrón* or local registry, 46.9% of the foreigners living in Spain on that date were Latin Americans. In fact, we especially centre our attention on Spain's two major metropolitan areas, Madrid and Barcelona, where a large part of Latin Americans residing in Spain live.

¹ This paper will be part of Jenniffer Thiers Quintana's doctoral thesis entitled "Movilidad residencial en las áreas metropolitanas españolas. Un análisis comparativo de las dinámicas residenciales de la población española y sudamericana". (Spanish Metropolitan area residential mobility. A comparative analysis of Spanish and Latin American populations).

The analysis both aims to study immigrant mobility and Latin Americans' residential patterns. On the one hand, it focuses on foreigners' movements within metropolitan areas and their main city, differentiating their characteristics depending on whether they settle in areas where they tend to concentrate or not. On the other hand, the analysis underlines the specific sociodemographic characteristics of Latin Americans living in areas where they tend to concentrate.

Methodology and Areas under study

2011 Population Census microdata are the main source used. It is a survey based census so available spatial data is grouped into 20 to 40 thousand inhabitant units. The Barcelona Metropolitan Region and the Comunidad Autonoma de Madrid, are the analysed areas. The first is divided into 190 units and the second into 237. 24.4% of the Spain's inhabitants reside in them, 884,550 of which are Latin Americans.

When referring to stocks and their mobility we will choose place of birth instead of nationality as a reference, because Latin Americans gain access to Spanish nationality much faster (2 years of continuous legal residence) than other nationalities and therefore nationalisations have quickly risen among them.

Location quotients, which are calculated as follows, have been used to analyse the degree of concentration:

$$QL = \frac{X_i/T_i}{X/T}$$

Where X_i stands for a specific group of population in spatial unit i , T_i for the total population in that spatial unit, and X and T stand for the whole municipality's population in the analysed group and total population respectively. Using standard deviation as a dispersion measure we had defined 5 different categories. The first category would indicate that there is underrepresentation (figures are under the mean minus a standard deviation). In the following two groups, figures are around the mean (between plus or minus a standard deviation). We have called the fourth group the relative concentration one (between one and two standard deviations above the mean). Finally, the fifth and last category would indicate the threshold from which we set the highest concentration (more than two standard deviations above the mean).

Then, the characteristics of dwellers living in the formerly mentioned high concentration areas have been analysed, as so has Latin American mobility patterns by place of residence. Our initial hypothesis is that their residential mobility depends on

their degree of concentration and that areas where they are more dispersed will have higher sociodemographic category migrants.

Literature review

Two main research lines analyse immigrant concentration and residential mobility relationships. On the one hand, many studies focus on immigrant population concentration and autochthonous population dispersion, or, what in other words is known as the “white flight” (Frey and Liaw, 1998). This, in turn would increase immigrant population concentration even more. On the other hand, some studies mention “ethnic avoidance” when focusing on internal migration. In other words, when moving within the country, mainly autochthonous people, though also certain other groups too, try to avoid moving into high immigration concentration areas. Finally, some analysis focuses on migrant immobility (Rathelot and Safi, 2014 for France).

First Results

Previous research (Thiers *et al.* 2015) on a relatively smaller area such as the Metropolitan area of Barcelona suggests that areas where Latin Americans concentrate differ according to the place where migrants move from. For example, the centre of Barcelona (Ciutat Vella) attracts migrants directly coming in from abroad and therefore it mainly concentrates communities that have only recently settled in Barcelona. However, Latin Americans living in first ring areas mostly come from other places in the metropolitan area, and the central city particularly. Consequently, internal migration would be the main cause of increasing foreigner concentration. From a sociodemographic point of view, those that lived in high foreigner concentration areas belong to the lower social categories, have higher unemployment rates, shorter term jobs and lower education levels than those living in less high immigration areas.

We also desire to widen up our study area and analyse how Latin American residential settlement patterns are a positive phenomena related to the knowledge of the inhabited space and their integration, in which peer relationships are interrelated via residential mobility. As far as we know, and can be observed in table 1 and 2, different concentration category typologies behave in similar ways in both Madrid and Barcelona, as around 152 thousand people live in high immigration concentrated areas of Madrid (29.9% of Latin Americans) and 119 thousand live in a similar situation in Barcelona (31.7% of Latin Americans).

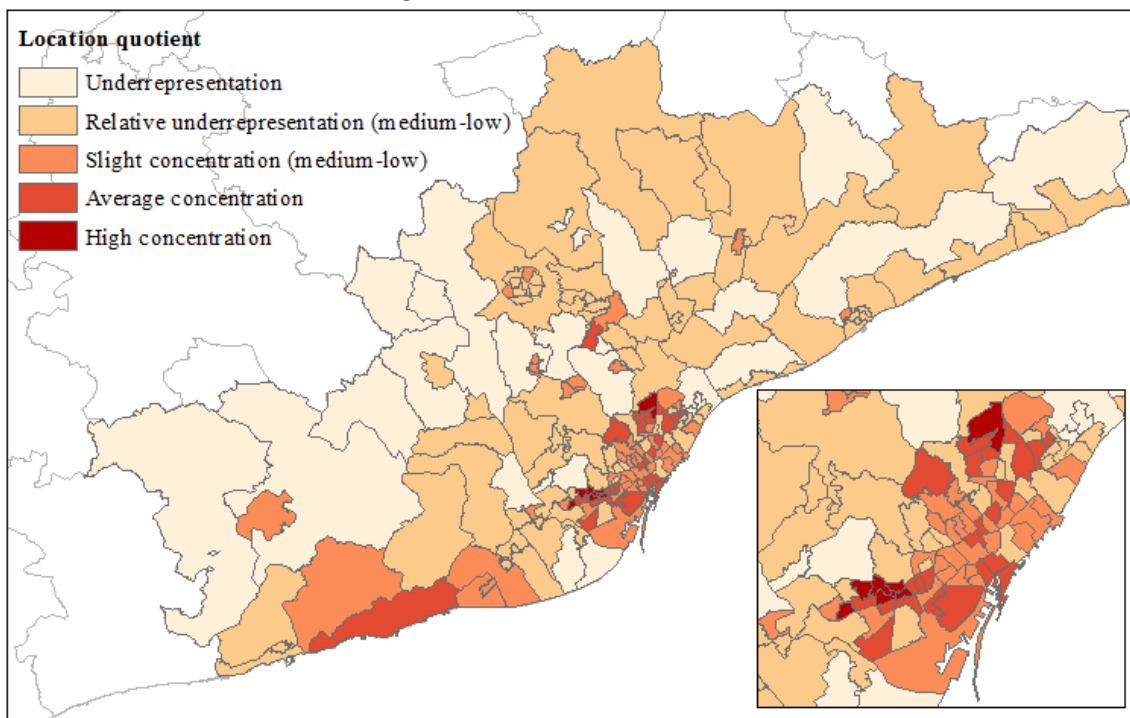
As shown in Figures 1 and 2 Latin Americans particularly concentrate in both Madrid and Barcelona central cities. However, mean concentrations are with some exceptions mainly found in first ring areas.

Some of the main issues we want to present on the Latin American community's situation in the two main Spanish metropolitan areas are shown by the formerly

presented concentration typologies when analysed together with social and physical spatial characteristics. As it can be observed by social or commercial organisations created by them, it is a highly interrelated population.

In sum, the main characteristic of Latin Americans living in the main Spanish metropolitan areas is that they do not reside in large stigmatised neighbourhoods as other communities do, and are therefore more integrated and have developed solidarity networks. Hence, this allows them to disperse more throughout the metropolitan area, leaving solidarity networks to only the most vulnerable.

FIGURE 1. BARCELONA METROPOLITAN REGION'S LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION LOCATION QUOTIENT, 2011.



Source: 2011 population census data, INE.

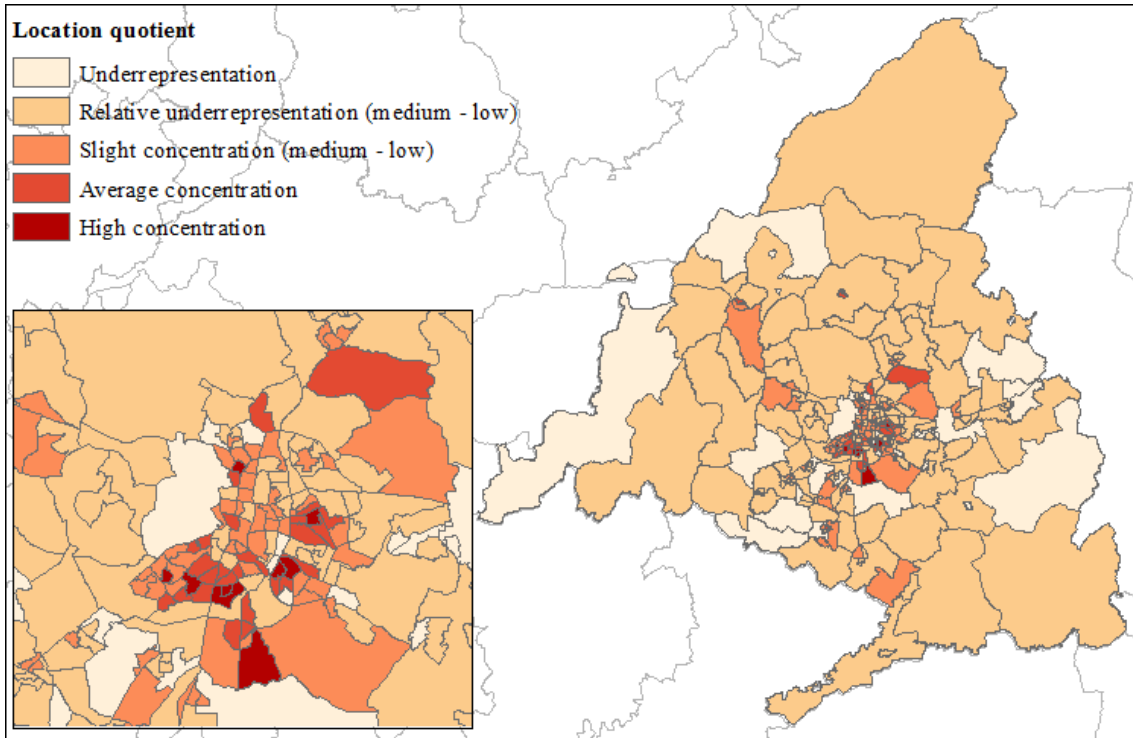
TABLE 1. BARCELONA METROPOLITAN REGION'S POPULATION COMPOSITION BY LATIN AMERICAN CONCENTRATION CATEGORY, 2011.

	Latin Americans	Other foreigners	Lat./Other foreigners (%)	Total foreigners	Lat./Total foreigners (%)	Total population	Lat./Total population (%)
Underrepresentation	17,851	31,445	56.77	49,296	36.21	653,210	2.73
Relative underrepresentation (medium – low)	116,540	138,521	84.13	255,061	45.69	2,169,974	5.37
Slight concentration (medium – low)	122,917	115,989	105.97	238,906	51.45	1,345,130	9.14

Average concentration	82,881	60,499	137.00	143,380	57.81	634,651	13.06
High concentration	36,441	14,740	247.23	51,181	71.20	184,437	19.76
Total	376,630	361,194	104.27	737,824	51.05	4,987,402	7.55

Source: 2011 population census data, INE.

FIGURE 2. MADRID METROPOLITAN REGION'S LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION LOCATION QUOTIENT, 2011.



Source: 2011 population census data, INE.

TABLE 2. MADRID METROPOLITAN REGION'S POPULATION COMPOSITION OF BY LATIN AMERICAN CONCENTRATION CATEGORY, 2011.

	Latin Americans	Other foreigners	Lat./Other foreigners (%)	Total foreigners	Lat./Total foreigners (%)	Total population	Lat./Total population (%)
Underrepresentation	21,421	57,274	37.40	78,695	27.22	694,392	3.08
Relative underrepresentation (medium - low)	173,085	242,773	71.29	415,858	41.62	3,065,396	5.65
Slight concentration (medium - low)	161,600	132,969	121.53	294,569	54.86	1,649,131	9.80
Average concentration	102,016	60,721	168.01	162,737	62.69	722,716	14.12
High concentration	49,795	21,103	235.96	70,898	70.23	255,612	19.48

Total	507,917	514,840	98.66	1,022,757	49.66	6,387,247	7.95
-------	---------	---------	-------	-----------	-------	-----------	------

Source: 2011 population census data, INE.

References

Frey, W.H. and Liaw, K-L. (1998). Immigrant Concentration and Domestic Migrant Dispersal: Is Movement to Nonmetropolitan Areas “White flight”?, *The Professional Geographer*, 50:2, 215-232.

Rathelot, R. and Safi, M. (2014). Local Ethnic Composition and Natives’ and Immigrants’ Geographic Mobility in France, 1982–1999. *American Sociological Review*, 79(1), 43-64.

Thiers, J.; Bayona, J. and Pujadas, I. (2015) “Inmigración extranjera, concentración territorial y movilidad residencial: un análisis de las dinámicas recientes en la ciudad de Barcelona en base al Censo de 2011”. In García Castaño, F. J.; Megías, A. and Ortega, J. (Eds.) *Actas del VIII Congreso sobre Migraciones Internacionales en España* (pp. S31/53–S31/66). Granada: Instituto de Migraciones.