Residential Segregation between Latin American Population in Spain: an Analysis on Territorial Integration.

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At the beginning of 2008, for the first time the foreign population registered in Spain represented more than 10% of all residents in the country (5.2 million foreigners), according to data from the "Padrón Continuo". Considering that in 1998, these values were 1.5% (0.5 million foreigners), the growth of immigration in Spain must be defined according to its high intensity.

At this evolution, Latin American population has a major role. In January 2008, there were 1.761.272 Latin Americans in Spain that represents 1 of each 3 foreigners in the country. Among them, 14 nationalities have more than 20.000 residents. The most important are the Ecuadorians (420 thousand), Colombians (280 thousand), Bolivians (240 thousand), Argentineans (145 thousand), Peruvians (120 thousand) and Brazilians (115 thousand). Compared to other nationalities, Latin Americans present some fundamental differences: 1) a majority of women in almost all the nationalities, specially during the first years after the arrival; 2) immigrants are more concentrated at the services economic sector; 3) population are settled mostly in urban areas.

About the concentration in urban areas, which is the object of this analysis, in 2007, for example, 46.5% of the 245 thousand foreigners living in Barcelona were Latin Americans. The same percentage for Madrid was 60% between 470 thousand foreigners' residents. In Valencia (52.7%) and Seville (46%) the percentages are still high. Malaga (37%) and Zaragoza (33%) are other important cities considered in this study.

In this way, the aim of this paper is to analyze the residential patterns of Latin American population in Spain. Specifically this paper focus on three aspects: 1) the analysis of the residential settlement of this population; 2) the analysis of their housing conditions; 3) the relationship between residential patterns and housing conditions as an indicator of integration.

In some theoretical perspectives, it was assumed that the territorial distribution of a population group in urban areas can be understood as an indicator of integration, assuming the spatial or geographic proximity as an indicator of social proximity. At the Central European context, this relation was lower than in the American case due to the

existence of a stronger Welfare State in which the housing policies affect the population distribution. In turn, the recent studies that incorporate immigration in the analysis for South European countries have shown that contrary to the hypothesis that lesser State intervention could be related to more segregation rates, it seems that this relation is weaker. Although these lower segregation rates for some nationalities the social conditions of foreigners are characterized by their precariousness. For that reason, it is necessary to complement the study of foreigners' residential segregation patterns with other socioeconomic characteristics, as the study of housing conditions.

Previous studies centered on the Barcelona case have shown a lower residential segregation between Latin Americans compared to other nationalities. Using the segregation rate at the census track level, numbers for the year 2007 are 29.4 for Colombians and 40.1 for the Bolivians (one of the most recent flows into Spain), very far from the rates of Filipinos (76.7) and Pakistanis (72.7). Nonetheless, at the same time this collective presents lower rates of segregation, which indicates an spatial distribution similar to the total population, its residential conditions, according to Census 2001 data, were not far from the conditions of other foreigners. For the Barcelona's case, in 2001, 27% of the Latin Americans lived under overcrowded situations. This value was 29.7 % for Asiatics and 28.4% for Africans. The analysis of another aspects of their housing characteristics like the total surface available or the homeownership proportion offered similar results as other nationalities. The time of settlement in the city, and not the territorial distribution' patterns, explained the differences between the collectives.

Taking into account the Barcelona case, the same approach will be extended to the following Spanish cities – Madrid (470 thousand foreigners, which represents 15% of its population), Barcelona (246 thousand, representing 15.4% of the population), Valencia (99 thousand and 12.5%), Zaragoza (65 thousand and 10%), Malaga (34 thousand and 6.1%) and Seville (25 thousand and 3.6%). The purpose is to corroborate if the results found for Barcelona can be extended to the most important cities in the country.

This article explores the data provided by different data sources: the Continuous Register (Padrón Continuo de Población), which registers the population residing in each municipality (at January 1<sup>st</sup>. of each year) by sex, age and nationality. Data from census tracks are available since 2004 and will be used to calculate the most important segregation indexes and its evolution in the last years. It will be used also the 2001 Census, the last statistical source with sociodemographic information on the population and their households at the level of census track. Finally, the analysis incorporates results from a very new data source, the Immigrants National Survey (ENI, from the

Spanish National Statistics Office) that will complete the sociodemographic analysis of the Census 2001.

The expected results will contribute strongly to the debate on the relation between territorial distribution and integration in the context of the South European countries.