

Recent Transformations in the Urban Fabric of the Andalusian Capital Cities: Genesis and Transformation of the Immigrant Neighborhoods

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Summary

The arrival and subsequent settling of foreign immigrants in the main capitals of Andalusia is a recent fact that has clearly influenced the transformation of the urban fabric as well as the society where these immigrants settle. This report illustrates, in the first place, the true function that immigrant neighborhoods should hold, in order to then describe the general terms which define the formation of these immigrant neighborhoods in Spain. Then, it highlights the exceptions in the process of settling in the Andalusian capitals (more than 100,000 inhabitants), stressing the dynamics that have made this localized residency possible in given areas of those cities. Finally, it outlines possible plans for a short-term evolution, insisting upon the necessity to adopt intervention politics that more efficiently guide the function that these immigrant neighborhoods should hold within the urban system in each of these cities.

Introduction

Foreign immigration in Spain has been a phenomenon that began innocuously in the last decade of the 20th Century and has increased gradually until reaching its historic peak between the years 2000 and 2007. As of the beginning of 2010, foreigners already represented 12% of the Spanish population, and the number rose to 5,747,734; a figure that is not to be scorned¹ for a country that had previously been characterized as a rather homogeneous society with respect to its demographics.

1. www.ine.es. In the study, the figures considered are for immigrants who are officially registered in the census

Andalusia has fully participated in this trend. Here, the population of foreigners increased by 5 times during those years, moving from a meagre 1.75% to a total of 8.41%. Despite the fact that this figure falls slightly below the national average, it is still a substantial increase. As such, Andalusia ranks as the fourth autonomous community with respect to the number of foreigners, following Catalunya, Madrid, and the Valencian Community.

Now, with respect to the population of foreign residents in Spain, one could say that it presents a rather differentiated and unique model, which to some degree sets it apart from other countries. On the one hand, there is a relatively large community of European immigrants who are older than 65 years old, and with high incomes. This has guaranteed them their residency in Spain, especially in coastal regions of both Andalusia and the Mediterranean. Generally, this group of immigrants assimilates to the lifestyle and maintains many of the same, characteristic attitudes, which of course sets them apart from the other group called “Economic Immigrants”. This other group of foreigners is found both in Spain as well as Andalusia, and is mostly comprised of non-European foreigners between the ages of 20 and 40 who come to work in agriculture, construction, and city services. These foreigners are referred to as economic immigrants.

This dual model of residency among the foreign population adds a certain complexity to the study, for it becomes evident that the repercussions and differences generated in the use of space by each of the aforementioned groups are notorious and accusatory, especially when one begins to analyze this space on a local level, or even by neighborhood. This relevant increase in the population of foreigners in such a short span of time has had a clear effect

in the cities, giving rise to, among other phenomenon, the appearance of immigrant neighborhoods. This, without a doubt, has been one of the main transformations that has occurred in both Spanish and Andalusian capitals during the time period that was analyzed in this study. Its structural significance, as well as its subsequent evolution and the problems which arise from it, have notably contributed to modify the structure and the landscape of these Spanish cities in recent years, thereby generating tensions that have demanded sectarian politics with respect to the processes of reception and integration of the immigrants in diverse geographical regions.

Historically, the flow of migration has been attracted to the big cities given that the economic and work opportunities are concentrated there. Also, they offer the possibility to access a broad and diverse real estate market. As such, the immigration phenomenon and the city itself maintain an intrinsic connection. At its core, imitation represents a fundamental factor in the urban demographic growth, leaving the natural increase of the population in second place (Capel, 1997).

The Process of Settling Among Foreign Immigrants in the Urban Fabric: Towards an Intraurban Geography of Immigration

One of the principal characteristics of the Spanish society in the beginning of the new millennium has been the massive arrival of foreign immigrants who have established themselves in this country, notably increasing the work force, and integrating themselves in the economic and social fabric. The migratory model with respect to work is excessively supported by fragile and fleeting jobs, which produces a high rate of temporality and irregularity (Izquierdo, 2010). As a result, the foreign population has settled fundamentally in the city, with the majority of them participating in the underground economy – a fact that provokes an increase in the process of irregularity, and also has an influence when it comes time to establish a more or less stable, long-term residency.

The immigrant neighborhoods are drawn up as zones to welcome a significant amount of contingents coming from diverse nationalities, not only specific communities. Here, they carry out an appropriation of public space which is decisive when it comes time to classify the neighborhood as such; and this is seen fundamentally by means of the urban landscape. The function that these neighborhoods carry out could very well be classified as strategic, given that they allow and facilitate the progressive adaptation

of the immigrants to the society in which they settle. This function explains the introduction and development of structures that ensure or remind the society of its origin; for example, commercial infrastructures of an ethnic character that favour the continuation of consumption habits, of purchasing, and of nutrition; introduction of associations that facilitate the administrative tasks of the immigrants such as the acquisition of a basic, indispensable training (literacy, knowledge of social rights, utilization of health services, etc.). All of these structures tend to facilitate the adaptation of the immigrants while maintaining a balance between past and future.

These reception neighborhoods tend to conduct or generate spaces with some centrality. The function of centrality is not created beginning with the existence of a significant concentration of immigrants (though it does this too), but rather it is especially created for the emergence of a specialized economy, both cultural and social in space. In this way, it is then converted into and represents an attractive center of community for consumption and building relationships. Therefore, this space is frequented by members of diverse communities of immigrants that, although they do not resident there, they come to purchase goods or to establish social connections. For these reasons, it is necessary to differentiate between residential zones and central areas, in order to avoid a linear and uniform conception when it comes time to interpret the use of urban space by the communities of foreign immigrants.

Thus, the immigrant neighborhoods perform a strategic function from an economic and social point of view, which is why they should continue to contribute to a large extent to improved functioning of the contemporary city. However, the reality is usually quite different, especially because currently, they generate a large number of tensions, and actually contribute to the structural, as well as social, fragmentation, in the cities. But, the immigrant neighborhoods and the zones of centrality do not appear in random form. They respond to a process that comes defined by certain variables, such as previous circumstances. Precisely these circumstances are what condition the transformation of unique neighborhoods, and which, the majority of the time, result in zoning lines of exclusion.

In this sense, it is important to illustrate, in the first place, the notable influence that the arrival conditions exert on the immigrant population in their place of residence. Thus, those who come supported by family and friendship networks benefit from truly privileged information and help. Among them, the most vulnerable are without a doubt those who take advantage of this type of logistic assistance. They should confront the problem alone to

find the solutions to the principal problems in order to know how to obtain housing as well as how to find a job. As a side note, it is important to note others who arrive with a work contract from their point of origin. In theory, they should arrive with all of the logistical problems resolved. However, all too frequently, it does not happen this way. Thus, they feel obligated to search for solutions for their most immediate necessities, among which, undoubtedly is the issue of finding housing.

In the second place, it is necessary to keep in mind the different administrative situations with respect to the immigrants' stay, residency and work permits. In this case, the circumstances are usually defined. Those without papers in Spain can obtain, free of charge, universal health care, and they also have the right to sign up their children in schools in the public education system. Similarly, NGO unions and certain associations offer free courses about languages or professional development. However, the immigrants come across true difficulties when it comes time to resolve given problems, of which stable housing is generally emphasized due to its importance and urgency.

In the third place, and lastly, there are also many personal circumstances that influence this, though they are difficult to place value on. For instance, the aspirations and objectives of those immigrants determine the number of years that they want to stay in the country, and whether or not they establish a return date or not. Similarly, the "family regrouping" policies of their settling destination will also influence the duration of one's stay. Furthermore, the real possibilities of integration, greater or lesser success in the work force, and the relationships that reinforce one's feelings of identity will also define a familiar model of residency among these immigrants in the heart of the society where they were received. All of this defines what is understood as the "migratory trajectory".

Therefore, access to housing or a home, and the place of residency that is chosen within a city, depend largely upon the aforementioned circumstances, and show the time of one's stay as another one of the variables that will define the residential guidelines of the immigrant population in the cities.

Access to homes and long-term residency

The topic of the home has become one of the primary problems that need to be resolved for foreign immigrants, even before other matters, such as obtaining work, are taken care of. However, a respectable home is not always

within reach for immigrants. In the majority of these cases, the native population clearly refuses to rent homes to this group of people, including to those immigrants who already have a work permit and residency. For this reason, and in an irremediable way, the homes that are put up on the renter's market are, in general terms, those homes which have severe deficiencies (they are very old, they have moisture problems, infestations, poor health conditions, etc.). One might naturally assume that the prices of these homes would be somewhat affordable, but this is not the case, thereby showing the significant inequalities in the prices of the rent due to the impenetrable market for tenants.

This problem is aggravated by those who find themselves in irregular standing with respect to their residency. For them, having a home is an unattainable commodity, which is why they see themselves as obligated to accept truly inhumane conditions. Due to this trend, one can find situations such as subletting, renting rooms, and even renting beds in shifts, often known as "Migrant Boat Apartments" in Spain. In these situations, it becomes evident that there are no residential strategies; one simply accepts what one finds. Extreme situations also occur for homeless immigrants; for those whose only solution consists of simply living in public spaces (benches in plazas, public parks, etc).

For this reason, independent from one's legal status, the problems one encounters when looking for a place to sleep have turned into the first and fundamental obstacle for immigration in Spain. This is further accentuated by the temporary factors that have occurred in recent years in the real estate market in Spain. However, one must also keep in mind that the type of housing demands will depend partly on one's family situation, partly on the length of stay, and partly on the goals and aspirations of the immigrant population.

In 2007 in Spain, the National Survey of Immigrants was carried out (INE, 2008). In spite of certain methodological deficiencies and inaccuracies, various matters with respect to foreign immigration became evident for the first time, as was the case with the issue of housing. However, it is important to clarify that pioneering work is being done with respect to these issues (Colectivo IOE, 2005), as well as the fact that important information is being provided by the population and housing census.² Above all, it is necessary to recognize that the form of housing and access to homes among the immigrant

2. The last census refers to 2001, which has now become obsolete. For this reason, this study has utilized the information provided by the National Immigrant Survey, 2007, with the expectation that these facts will be confirmed by the new population and housing census corresponding to 2011

population is perhaps one of the most difficult issues to penetrate or learn about. This is possibly due to the circumstances that surround it, and which often turn it into a motive for investigation.

In Spain in the year 2008, there were more than two million households of foreigners. This figure should be interpreted as a trend, but even so, the number is quite substantial, especially for a country that has seen foreign immigration grow at an accelerated rate, and in only a few years.

surprising, as it indicates that approximately 40% of the foreigners reside in rented apartments, while 38% live in their own property. This high proportion of homes owned by foreign immigrants can be explained by two reasons. On the one hand, the dual migratory model in Spain should be stressed again to illustrate that a large majority of owned homes are for those groups of foreigners who are retired senior citizens, and who have invested their savings in the acquisition of a home in the coastal housing complexes along the Mediterranean. On the other hand, it is necessary to highlight the preference of the majority of

	Total	Apartment or Efficiency	%	Single Family Home	%	Other Type	%
Total	2,158,694	1,557,681	72.21	589,846	27.21	11,167	0.53
Andalusia	294,788	162,115	54.99	130,953	44.42	1,720	0.58

Table 1. Homes of Foreign Immigrants in Spain

Source: INE, 2008

The statistics confirm the situation that is to some degree predictable, illustrating that the majority of the immigrant population lives in apartments (72.2%). Yet, it is surprising that 27% declare residency in single family homes. The explanation for this fact is simple; it is due precisely to the dual model of migration which was previously mentioned. This model could indicate that the majority of the single family homes correspond to the European Union foreigners, who are mostly residents in the housing complexes in the coastal areas.

Furthermore, the statistics show a third group referred to as "other types". In the methodological description of this given survey, this group is clarified as dealing with those homes of a diverse nature that could be incorporated in work spaces, warehouses, etc., or also homes provided by families. In this case, the low proportion is surprising, for which one can infer that this classification probably should have been more clear and explicit.

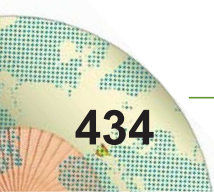
Clearly, one can affirm that the formation of two million immigrant households in such a relatively short span of time has given rise to important tensions for the real estate market, especially considering the few offers and lack of tradition in this new renter's market in Spain. But also, why not recognize that it has also given rise to an opportunity that encouraged the renter's market and contributed to the rising value of specific properties. Without a doubt, these facts, together with the circumstances through which the current real estate market in Spain is passing, have conditioned the process of foreign immigrants settling in the urban areas of our cities.

In reference to what is referred to as the possession regime, the available data from this survey is quite

the Spanish families to own their principal home. This fact, in addition to contributing to the deficiencies in the renter's market, as was already outlined, has also carried over to those groups of foreigners who have obtained better jobs and whose migratory plans include long term stays in the country. Thus, and following the native population's tendencies, a certain proportion of immigrants have praised the idea of buying homes. Naturally, this has enabled them to find success of sorts, thanks to the banking industry (as it is well-known) giving mortgages quite easily during some years. In those moments, and due to the lack of employment opportunities, many of those immigrants could not afford to pay their mortgages, which led them to turn over their homes to the bank. This provoked various, dramatic situations in which, apart from unemployment, these immigrants also found themselves without housing. Therefore, the majority of the times, they only acquired access to a home thanks to the unity among family and friends. All of this increased the level of residential irregularity and overcrowding.

In order to conclude this commentary, it is interesting to note that of the 869,963 homes up for rent among the foreign immigrants, only 12,744 of them had been rented by a public institution; this is approximately 1.5%. This figure becomes of great interest when one must evaluate the politics and reception and integration programs for foreign immigration on behalf of distinct public administration departments in Spain.

If we now analyze the average number of people that live in homes, the statistics show us some facts that indicate that the degree of overcrowding among the foreign immigrant population is not very high, for which it could even be considered as positive. The average size of



	Total	Property	%	Rent	%	Relinquished	%	Other Situations	%
Total	2,158,694	823,447	38.15	869,963	40.30	416,985	19.17	48,298	2.23
Andalusia	294,788	128,317	43.52	94,150	31.93	68,567	23.26	3,755	1.28

Table 2 .Breakdown of Housing Tendencies among Foreigners in Spain

Source: INE, 2008

immigrant households was 3.40, very close to the figure obtained for Spanish peoples' households. Furthermore, the largest households are those which were declared as integrated by two, three, and infrequently, four people, respectively. One must recognize that the figures here seem to be quite suspicious, even considering the previously mentioned dual model of migration. Thus, before prematurely jumping to any conclusions, one should keep in mind, as has been stated, that with

These are typically underprivileged neighborhoods, which are segregated from a structural point of view, and with various degrees of exclusion from a social point of view.

But it does not always happen in this way. The Spanish coastal housing complexes, where the majority of the European Union foreigners reside, cannot be classified as areas of exclusion, even though in the majority of these occasions, there is an evident structural and social

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or More	Average/home
Spain	10.34	24.25	22.64	21.46	10.38	10.96	3.40
Andalusia	13.88	26.57	20.92	20.51	10.20	7.90	3.16

Table 3. Number of People per Home

Source: INE, 2008

respect to foreign immigration, it is not only what there is, but also what can be suspected (Izquierdo, 2010:272).

Clearly, and the reason why access to a home is referred to here, the foreign immigrants have found themselves obligated to try to get a home based only and exclusively on their own resources, without relying on any assistance program or information from the public administration offices. In the majority of these cases, the very own immigrant networks have been those to substitute these deficiencies, forming housing groups that have contributed enormously to increasing the density of the renter's market for the immigrant population. This whole process tends to increase the levels of legal insecurity and irregularity for the foreigners, which naturally will have significant, social repercussions if the proper politics are not taken up.

Immigrant Neighborhoods and Zones of Centrality

The higher or lower concentration of foreign immigrants in a given urban sector is what determines its nature. This is how, at least quantitatively, one can define and understand the term "immigrant neighborhood". As a general rule, in the contemporary cities, there are areas where, as a majority, many contingencies of immigrants of distinct nationalities, ethnicities, and origins reside.

segmentation. However, in this case it would have to be classified as "elitist". For this reason, it is the physical, social, and environmental conditions that contribute to establishing these differences, as well as those which form an intraurban geography of unfortunate and segregated neighborhoods from an ethnic-social point of view.

The appearance of immigrant neighborhoods in Spain is largely due to the general changes that have affected the city and its surroundings. Thus, the emergence of zones in decline, the formation of expanding outskirts as seen in the topology network, and the rehabilitation of historic centers are facts which respond to the same reality, and reflect the important transformations that the Spanish cities have gone through in the last twenty-five years. There are also changes from a demographic point of view, although in these cases, the modifications may not be as evident. Surely, and perhaps one of the consequences of the new urban reality, is without a doubt the loss of internal cohesion and fragmentation of the urban fabric, both from a structural perspective as well as a social one.

In effect, during the years that have been analyzed here, the principal Spanish cities expanded their artificial ground³ by 43%, while the population only increased by

3. "Artificial Grounds" can be understood as not only the constructed city but also, the transportation infrastructures, the areas currently being built up, etc. Vid: Ministerio de Fomento, Op. Cit, 2011

15% (Ministerio de Fomento, 2011:28). This important and rapid growth is related to the changes in the growth models of the cities. Following the dominant trends in urbanism and urban economics, residential zones have been developed in low density areas, known as single family housing complexes or town homes. These town homes once supported expanding the large infrastructure web, as well as the proliferation of the large commercial complexes for leisure in the outskirts of the big cities. All of this has materialized as a structural modification of the urban geography that, in a synthetic form, could be said to currently appear integrated by three large parts: the historic centers as one part, the consolidated suburban districts as another, and lastly, the areas of urban diffusion.

This expansion of artificial ground has produced another phenomenon that is hardly given attention, but is clearly perceived, which is the urban sprawl. This phenomenon has its most evident manifestation –although not the only– in the clearing out of certain urban sectors in which a drastic reduction can be seen in the amount of native inhabitants. This is principally caused by the trend of new generations moving towards the outskirts of urban areas. In these new areas, the homes are more spacious, the prices are more reasonable, and from a social point of view, these zones are homogeneous. Yet this urban sprawl not only refers to the population, but also affects the economic activities, and most certainly, the urban services.

In this realm defined by the previously mentioned urban dynamics, one can find the appearance of immigrant neighborhoods in Spain. It is relevant to stress the idea of abandonment and urban sprawl prior to the residential settling of these immigrants, which as an effect, generated subsequent results, such as the aging demographics, the rise in single homes made up of elderly people (the majority of whom are women), and the rise in the number of empty homes that generally present problems to live in them. All of this translates, with the passing of time, in the closing of traditional businesses, the deterioration of the landscape and atmosphere, and definitely, in the loss of social activity both in the street and in public spaces.

The massive arrival of foreign immigrants –largely found in Spanish cities in semi-abandoned areas or those with low population densities, as well as already deteriorated, empty housing developments– seemed attractive due to their low prices. In addition, many of these homes have the sufficient size to be shared among various families or many singles. The owners, for their part, were encouraged by this demand, because it meant that they could now put up homes on the real estate market that, until this moment, had few business perspectives.

Moreover, with this it is important to highlight its location within the urban framework. Currently, the majority of these neighborhoods are found in packed urban areas, benefit from good accessibility, and as a general rule, are well connected.

Thus, the urban dynamics that have occurred in the past 20 years in Spanish cities explain how the formation of more than two million immigrant households has been possible in less than a decade. And not only this, but also the formation and consolidation of immigrant neighborhoods has currently been accepted as one of the most significant in our cities.

In general terms, it can be shown that the urban spaces where the foreign, economic immigrants have primarily settled in Spain are:

- To some degree, the working class neighborhoods created during the 1950s and 1960s, which at that time constituted the periphery of the cities.
- Partly in the historic center, in areas more or less degraded, aged, and abandoned by the political public over the course of many years
- In the costal housing complexes, in a closed form, where communities of European Union foreigners have settled. This last aspect, as was mentioned previously, will not be studied in this report as it is an outlying example
- In the towns and metropolitan sectors that have suffered during the past years from aging, abandonment, and urban sprawl

The preference for one sector or another within the city presents local differences depending on the specific urban development, local idiosyncrasies, the housing market, or the public politics related to the rehabilitation of degraded areas. That is to say, although one could make generalizations, the local component is quite important when it comes time to describe and understand the intraurban geography of the foreign immigrant neighborhoods (Valero, 2008).

The subsequent evolution of those neighborhoods is also still uncertain, given the short period of time that passed since its formation. In general terms, it can be seen that they tend to consolidate themselves, as is seen in the appearance of ethnic businesses, the establishment of services that are governed by local networks, the establishment of orientation offices run by local administration, and definitely, by the appearance

of specific landscapes and the creation of areas used to build relationships and increase centrality. However, it is predictable that, little by little, the risk factors of exclusion and marginalizing will increase.

If until now they have been classified as underprivileged neighborhoods, it is probable that in the immediate future, the lifestyle conditions in these same areas are going to get worse. The economic crisis that is affecting our country has elevated the costs of unemployment among the immigrant population, which leads to many finding themselves in irregular situations all over again; in this case, due to economic instability. Together with this, it can be foreseen that there will be a deterioration in the social loans, as well as the quality of life in general – facts which are going to increase the tendencies towards exclusion and structural and social marginalizing.

Foreign Immigrants in Andalusian cities: A Recent History

Andalusia has openly participated in this process, although naturally with its own nuances. The evolution of the arrivals appears below in the **Figure 1**.

As one can observe, the rate of arrival of foreign residents has been increasing gradually until the present day, characterizing itself by its intensity. Thus, the foreign population has notably multiplied in only one decade, which shows the importance of this process. However, one could also say that there have been groups of foreign immigrants in the past few years who have achieved a solid representation in this autonomous community since, practically until the beginning of this millennium, the foreigner groups hardly existed, except in specific, concrete areas.

Even so, it is necessary to show that the illustrated region still today has a proportion of foreigners (8%) lower than the national average (12%). This fact, together with its unequal territorial distribution account for one of the differentiating characteristics. Additionally, and apart from this, one must stress the dual nature of the migratory model, for if it is common for the rest of Spain, in Andalusia there should be a higher representation given that the European Union foreigners account for 1/3 of the total. This fact, without a doubt, will be reflected in diverse aspects as can be seen below.

From a territorial point of view, and with respect to residential settling, the differentiating characteristic is inequality. In effect, the foreign population is currently centered mainly in the coastal zone and the big cities,

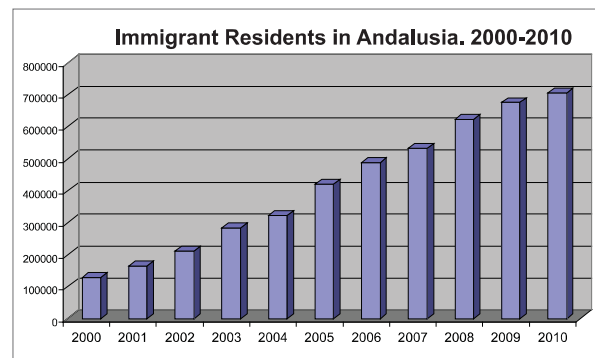


Figure 1. Foreign Immigrants in Andalusia

Source: INE, 2011

although they can also be found in a scattered form in the whole geographic region. Essentially, of the 770 towns that compose Andalusia, 654 have reported an increase in the foreign population, to a small or large degree during those years (Checa, 2007:14). The town halls in the coastal zone stand out, where the concentration of foreigners is higher than the regional average (especially in the Costa del Sol and the Almerian Coast), while the inland zones have a much lower concentration. In this respect, one must keep in mind that 50% of the foreign population is located in only 20 towns (Pumares, 2008).

This unequal residential distribution has its origin in the dual model of migration previously alluded to. This has generated a substantial development in the tourism sector that offers a fair amount of jobs linked to the development of hospitality and construction. Furthermore, the push for an intensive agriculture oriented towards exportation has been what has directed the demand, and it demands important contingencies of manual workers, which generally are found among the foreign population. All of this has especially occurred in the coastal, Mediterranean zone.

However, one must not forget the strategic position that this region possesses, and that given its location as a port of entry between continents, it has been converted into the southern border of the European Union. This is self-explanatory, since the coastal towns are where the highest volume of the foreign population is found.

The provincial capitals have become involved a bit later in the process of residential settling among foreigners, it is true. But, its growth has been significant during the last decade as the number has increased by 7 fold. To date, 20% of the foreign immigrants located in Andalusia have secured their residency in the provincial capitals. In this sense, Málaga has 6.44%, Seville has 5.30%, Almeria has 2.84%, and Granada has 2.13%, making up the capitals with the highest number of immigrants. In contrast, the inland zones and mountainous regions have a low representation and continue to become uninhabited, losing its population year after year.

	2000	2006	2010
Almería	2,304	16,945	20,003
Cádiz	590	1,445	2,178
Córdoba	1,492	5,746	9,484
Granada	3,298	12,277	15,065
Huelva	783	4,876	8,180
Jaén	455	2,901	3,653
Málaga	6,226	30,723	45,394
Sevilla	5,026	25,295	37,352
Total	20,174	100,208	141,309

Table 4 (a). Foreign Residents in the Andalusian capitals

Source: INE, 2010

	2000	2006	2010
Algeciras	1,751	5,178	6,999
Jerez de la Frontera	689	3,419	5,234
Marbella	14,437	28,326	36,986
Dos Hermanas	524	1,893	3,257

Table 4 (b). Foreign Residents in the Andalusian Cities (+ 100.000 inhabitants)

Source: INE, 2010

Therefore, in this unequal distribution, the largest concentration corresponds to the coastal capitals of Western Andalusia, while Seville as the principal city of the South, is similarly home to a growing population of foreigners.

We have also observed those Andalusian capitals which currently have more than 100,000 inhabitants. With respect to these, it is necessary to clarify that these cities are very different from one another, with markedly distinct purposes, and which have grown for quite different reasons. For example, Algeciras is currently made up as the true capital of the countryside of Gibraltar, as well as being a city on the border with an entry point between two continents. Thus, its growth is largely due to its strategic position, as well as the growing economic activity induced by its port activity and industrial development.

Jerez de la Frontera, on the other hand, has the largest population of the cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. It currently has nearly 200,000 inhabitants, and although it is an inland city, it is also viewed as a central node, given that it is strategically located between Seville and Cádiz. Its growth, therefore, can be explained by its range of centrality, as well as holding a commercial function and a certain complexity, together with its well-known agricultural industry of exportation that has an important tradition behind it.

Marbella, widely known, owes its spectacular growth to its booming tourism industry. It holds an important contingency of European Union foreigners. In fact, in this city, the two migratory models previously outlined can be clearly seen, which reinforces why it considerably complicates this study.

Lastly, Dos Hermanas is a city located in the immediate outskirts of metropolitan Seville, whose growth is influenced to a large extent by the industrial activity, as well as its functionality tied in to its specialized location within the urban area of Seville.

With respect to the number of foreigners in these capitals, its value is quite disparate and even has a different origin. Marbella is the city which holds a higher number of foreign residents, even higher than some of the inland capital cities. The study of the intraurban locations of the economic immigrants turns out to be complex for its duality previously illustrated. Algeciras, on the one hand, has an authentic mosaic where immigrants from diverse origins and nationalities peacefully live together. On the other hand, the true number of foreign immigrants in Algeciras is considerably larger than that which was noted, given that a considerable amount of foreigners who recently arrived as well as some transients⁴ do not yet appear to be registered in the census.

Both Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz) and Dos Hermanas (Seville), are part of the trend corresponding to the inland cities, which is to say, the number of foreigners is considerably lower, but this could be proven to be a representative result. Also, this number is larger than what is registered for any given provincial capital, which would thereby make them dynamic and emerging nodes within the urban system in Andalusia.

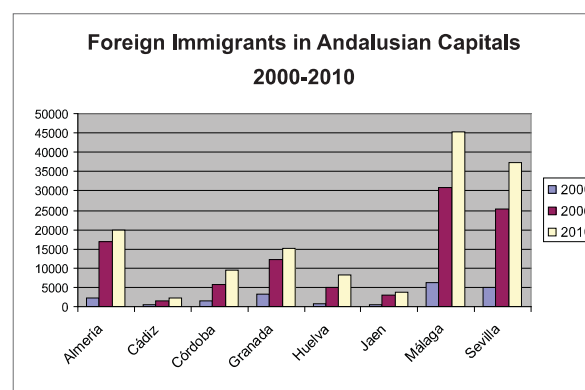


Figure 2. Foreigners in Andalusian Capitals 2000-2010

Source: INE, 2011. Self made

4. This is how it appears in the reports from Andalucía Acoge, a non-profit organization that provides assistance to foreign immigrants

Thus, the presence of foreign immigrants in the Andalusian capitals is a new phenomenon, just recently developed in the last decade, which is giving rise to intense processes of transformation in the internal geography of the cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Spatial Distribution and Socio-Residential Differentiation: The Emergence of the Immigrant Neighborhoods in Andalusian Cities

The settling of the foreign population in Andalusian capitals includes not only an analysis of its intraurban, territorial distribution, but also requires an analysis of the degrees of socio-residential differentiation and the consequences that are derived from this. Generally, it involves an increase in the processes of structural and social segmentation, which could drag these neighborhoods or underprivileged areas down to become marginalized or excluded areas.

The appearance of these immigrant neighborhoods relies on the previous existence of certain urban dynamics, which were previously described, and contributes to the formation of underprivileged neighborhoods or areas where urban inequalities are obvious. These circumstances are sharply seen in Andalusian capitals where one can find depressed areas from a demographic, economic, social, and structural perspective. Given what the demographics represent, as was described before, the phenomenon of the abandonment or sprawl of the native population to different neighborhoods brings with it the consequence of increasing the rates of aging demographics, as well as the loss of social prestige.

From the structural point of view, this activates the process of degradation of properties, considerably increasing the number of aging homes, which are empty and clearly deteriorated. Simultaneously, it also produces a degradation of the public, outdoor spaces, which progressively acquire marked characteristics of slums.

Furthermore, the urban tertiary and undersupply diminish and the small businesses or neighborhood shops progressively shut down, becoming to some degree a ghost town.

In the Andalusian capitals, these urban dynamics have drawn up a zoning map of run down neighborhoods common in the rest of the Spanish cities, and have been

precisely where there has been the most residential settling of the foreign immigrants. These zones are basically located in

- impoverished areas of the historic centers
- working class housing developments from the 1950s and 1960s
- the outskirts of urban areas

Now, as was previously shown, although one could form generalizations, the local component is important when it comes time to describe and understand the intraurban geography of the foreign immigrant neighborhoods in each of the cities; and these local aspects, combined with elements that explain the residential preferences of the immigrants, are those which show the evolution of the immigrant neighborhoods.

In essence, the immigrants follow specific patterns that prevent a homogeneous distribution across the city. Thus, the preferred or desired locations for residential stability are usually those neighborhoods which are located in the central zones that are well connected, with commodities and satisfactory supply, and which offer a certain degree of security, for which they are not openly considered poor neighborhoods.

Regarding these factors which explain the arrival of the immigrants to those neighborhoods, it is necessary to also include others that contribute to reinforcing their presence there. The first factor is usually the custom of sharing an apartment. Many immigrants need to share an apartment, since their economic level prevents them from living independently. These habits are reinforced by the prototype of the immigrant, which is predominated by single women who work in domestic services, with a low level of income, and in some cases, a limited use of the home given that they dedicate themselves to domestic services as live-ins or the like. The density in these neighborhoods reaches an extremely high level, especially given the appearance of apartments where more than ten people pertaining to different families might live.

A second factor facilitates these apartments being converted into a temporary refuge for recent arrivals, connected at times by relatively close family ties or by previous neighbors from their native countries. The community has the necessity of maintaining close ties with other members. This allows them to access information, to share resources, and even, many times, is the primary way of finding work. This concentration is giving rise to the appearance of services specifically for this group; for instance, stores, salons, internet cafes,

restaurants, and the like. Moreover, they begin to create their own religious communities, connected basically by specific religious faiths, mosques, Evangelist Churches, etc. This is how central points for immigrants arise.

A third factor would be the existence of segregation among the various immigrant groups, since, in spite of obtaining the same incomes, there seems to exist a tendency to occupy different spaces (Checa, 2007:194). In this way, it has also been shown that the more different the communities are, the stronger the tendency is to live within groups of their own kind. Thus, the Maghiribians and Sub-Saharians tend to settle in groups in outlying neighborhoods, while the Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans show a higher degree of dispersion in the urban geography. All of these matters make the Andalusian capitals, where the majority of the immigrants usually reside, a taxonomy named working class neighborhoods or low income housing developments which corresponds to the 1970s.

In effect, the historic centers of the Andalusian capitals, in general terms, has behaved until now as a reception zone for recent immigrant arrivals. Yet now, this tendency is increasingly losing steam given that the historic centers of the Andalusian cities have been converted due to recent urban dynamics into excellent tourist districts, with an urban heritage, renowned for its first class landscapes and monumental districts.

Although it is true that in almost all these cities, one can find degraded and run-down areas, it is also important to note that recent politics relating to the overall rehabilitation of cities carried out by local administrations almost always leans in favor of the process of gentrification and urban regeneration. This thereby supposes the expulsion of the immigrant population towards exterior zones, especially those who have only been residing in the city for less than two years. However, there are always exceptions, as is the case with Algeciras, where a mosaic of races and cultures (European, Arabic, African, Asian, and Latin American) live peacefully in the center of the city and its surroundings. Algeciras itself is an exception, given its geographic position which, as was reiterated before, has converted this city into the authentic port of Europe.

But in the rest of the cities, the immigrants settle in what was once the immediate outskirts of the cities, in the working class housing developments from the 1950s and 1960s. In effect, in the principal Spanish cities during the 1900s, many working-class neighborhoods were built to combat the deficit of existing housing, as well as the housing needs of the immigrant population (both country-side and city immigration). These homes were located in what was then the suburbs of the cities,

but which are now completely integrated within the city limits, and which, in the majority of these districts, have a good, if not the best, location. However, nowadays it causes significant social problems since in these areas, there is a high concentration of unemployment, poverty, insecurity, drug trafficking, delinquency, etc.

From a structural point of view, these neighborhoods (in reality, publicly promoted developments) are characterized as having more than 90% social housing, all of which have a very low quality, some of which are extremely small in size, and others have a lack of important furnishings. They are built by intermediary social service organizations through the Housing Ministry, Workers Union for Housing, or Patrons of Affordable Homes within local reach. Their original positioning in many cases was clearly in the suburbs, and over the years, they have remained physically segmented from the city itself. Currently, they depict a vividly recognizable atmosphere which defines them as underprivileged neighborhoods.

From a social point of view, these areas have been seen in the process of supporting a significant demographic, in such a way that today they are inhabited by broken families, households with very few economic resources, groups of elderly people who were the first inhabitants of these original neighborhoods, and above all, communities of foreign immigrants. Most definitely, they have lost their sense of identity and community which used to characterize the old, working class neighborhoods. Some clear examples of this include neighborhoods in the North of Seville capital, such as El Cerezo, Hermandades del Trabajo, Las Avenidas, etc.

A second example of where this residential settling has occurred is in the vicinity of the metropolitan districts in the big cities. In this case in particular, the clearest example is found in Seville (Almoguera et al, 2007). During the last decade, and especially in the major years of the real estate boom, a process of residential mobility among the natives began, which was characterized by the search for better quality homes, and in parts of the city with a better quality of life, both in its environment and landscape. Thus, given areas of the nearby suburban towns have been affected by the demographic losses and by an ongoing process of population shifts; where the natives have left in search of single family homes, the European Union immigrants have arrived. In towns such as Dos Hermanas, San Juan de Aznalfarache, or Camas, the population density of foreign immigrants tends to be higher than average.

Lastly, one must insist on the phenomenon of dispersion. In effect, in addition to the immigrant neighborhoods

where the concentration levels are significant, one can observe the presence of immigrants in nearly all districts of the city. In these cases, they are in households which already have some roots in the cities (more than five years), with higher incomes, and usually with long term stays in mind. Naturally, this is seen in the communities with higher incomes, and those which are more integrated in the society where they have settled.

Clearly, although the appearance of foreign immigrant neighborhoods in the Andalusian capitals deals with a new and emerging phenomenon, it is interesting to confirm the fact that currently, these neighborhoods are already in the process of consolidation, in a way that could very well prove that it deals with one of the dynamic, urban principles which has occurred in the beginning of this century. All of this comes with its benefits and drawbacks, but even so, just in time to direct these processes and correct the errors.

Conclusions

Perhaps one of the most alarming facts from the last ten years in Spain has been the development of more than two million households of foreign immigrants –300,000 in Andalusia– which is an unprecedented circumstance in the recent history of our country. This has resulted in a large number of homes –which are otherwise difficult to occupy– being put up on the renter’s market, and thereby, a growth opportunity for the real estate sector. Now, if this has been considered an important opportunity until now, it is no less true that it will also bring with it various types of dysfunction.

The statistics show that, in effect, the immigrant neighborhoods have been consolidated in the past few years, and this has occurred without many problems. So, they have contributed to cause an increase in the structural segmentation in the cities, as well as a fragmentation in the existing social organization up until now. It can be said that they have contributed to create more physically fragmented cities, and less egalitarianism. The foreign immigrant neighborhoods and their future, short term evolution can only be understood from an evolving perspective. These very urban dynamics of residential settling and mobility of the immigrants is what is going to direct the future processes. Thus, the various situations will only be understood and explained in each given moment.

For now, it is necessary to establish clear, political guidelines with respect to the access to homes on behalf of the immigrant population, resembling those relating to how to obtain public health care and education. For all of

this, it becomes a necessity to intervene and establish action plans in order to improve their conditions, especially keeping in mind that many of the recent plans have been a clear failure; for lack of political will and financing, or inadequate planning.

In the immediate future, and given the current economic conditions, it is quite probable that the number of irregular immigrants will rise in Spain. Since the unemployment rate is especially punishing the immigrant populations, it can also be expected that the activity with an underground economy and number of unstable jobs will rise as well. As has already been affirmed, exclusion feeds the processes of irregularity (Izquierdo, 2011) and it also converts the cities into a stage of conflicts. If one truly aims for harmonic cities where one can develop a creative atmosphere, it is necessary to establish political efficiencies, capable of achieving cities that are less complex and more balanced, mostly on the scale of human beings.

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