

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN MIXED CITIES IN SPAIN. THE CASE OF ALMERÍA

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This article studies the importance of international theoretical and empirical analyses and the extent to which they can be applied to explain residential segregation of foreign immigrants in one of the most multi-ethnic areas of Spain, the province of Almería. To find out the processes leading to segregation, we have analysed urban growth and the context of reception as the key elements in designing immigrant incorporation. The results show that the main cause of segregation is ethno-discrimination based on native residential preferences for the endogroup.

Keywords: preferences, segregation, discrimination, immigration, residential market

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INTRODUCTION

Spain has gone from being a country of emigrants to one of immigrants. Until the mid-eighties in the last century, thousands of Spaniards crossed the frontier in search of work. However, one decade later, the wave has reversed, with greater intensity than in any other Western country, to the point where in 1998, there were only 637,085 immigrants living in Spain, and in 2008 there were 5,220,577. That is, in ten years, the number of immigrants has multiplied by eight, which means they now represent 9% of the country's population.

This wave has several basic characteristics. The first is its concentration along the coasts (Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia and

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Andalusia) and in Madrid. Second, the diversity of the places they come from, especially, in this order, Romania, Morocco, Ecuador, Colombia and Bolivia, with the particularity that the wave of Eastern Europeans and Latin Americans practically began in 2001. And third, their role in the country's economy, as the growth in employment rates is mainly due to immigrant labour. The Spanish GDP has thus gone from 108,003 million Euros in 1995 to 269,762 in 2008.

However, one of the city's responses to population diversity and heterogeneity is spatial segregation, understood as the separate occupation of space by different population groups. This situation has become one of the key elements to understanding contemporary urban inequality (Massey and Denton, 1993; Wacquant, 2001), because segregation leads to deprivation of certain resources that other areas are not subjected to and keeps the relational structure asymmetric. The final result is the appearance of a new urban infraclass (Clark, 1998), which is why the debate on the causes and traits of residential segregation are issues generating the most bibliography in urban literature.

The first effort at explaining differences in spatial occupation was by the authors of the Chicago School, Park, Burgess, McKenzie, Zorbaugh and Wirth, who offered an analysis through concepts of competition, domination, invasion, succession and natural areas. The axial principle that defines the whole process is the price of land. However, although economics continues to be important in explaining spatial segregation, today they have lost the subsocial character that classical ecologists gave them. Thus, according to recent economics literature, segregation is due, on one hand, to the differences in class caused by salary differences (Adelman, 2004; Hattery and Smith, 2005) and on the other, the potential for spending on housing and location (Zubrinisky and Bobo, 1996; Thernstrom and Thernstrom, 1997). Although, we find studies sustaining that the socioeconomic factors do little to explain segregation (see Durango, 1999).

However, in the last two decades, the international debate on residential segregation seems to have acquired two basic vectors of analysis. On one hand, studies that accentuate ethnic or racial discrimination in access to the residential market and bank loans (Munnell et al., 1996; Galster, 1988, 1989), and on the other, those that stress residential preferences as defining segregation (Clark, 1988, 1989; Ihlandfeld and Scafidi, 2002; Ross, 2003).

This article discusses the importance of and the extent to which theoretical and empirical analyses may be applied in explaining residential segregation of immigrants in one of the most multiethnic areas in Spain, the province of Almería. Mi-

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gratory waves in this province, as in the rest of the country, have undergone a change in direction. In 2008, it received 130,000 people from over one hundred countries, although the majority were from Morocco, followed by Romania, Ecuador, Argentina, Colombia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Therefore, it also uses the results to analyse segregation with attention to the geopolitical origin of the immigrants: Eastern Europeans, African, Sub-Saharan and Maghreb.

DATA AND METHODS

To find out what leads to residential segregation in the province of Almería, we analysed urban growth and context of reception (Portes and Böröcz, 1992), as defined by the opinions and attitudes of the mainstream population, as the key to designing immigrant incorporation.

Two questionnaires were designed to find out these last two points. The first was given to immigrants of different nationalities: African, Latin American and Eastern European in La Mojenera, Vicar, Roquetas de Mar, El Ejido, Níjar and Pulpí, the towns with the densest immigrant populations in the province. The questionnaire was divided into three large blocks. The first asks for sociodemographic and occupational information (income, occupation, sex, age and education). The second addresses residential mobility and preference for certain neighbourhoods, with special attention to ethnic composition and social interaction (see Ross, 2003). The last concentrates on the immigrant's perception of discrimination in sale and rental of housing by the mainstream real estate agencies and population and the loan policies of finance companies.

The sample was taken from immigrants in the census with legal residence in the towns mentioned above. Sampling was by fixed proportional quota according to occupant nationality and housing location, with a 95.5% confidence level and a sampling error of ± 3 . As immigrants in Almería have settled in scattered as well as urban habitats, two strategies were used. In cities, sampling was done *randomly*. However, many immigrants in scattered habitats live in shacks, cars or abandoned greenhouses unregistered in the city census¹ (see Checa and Arjona, 2007), so we had to use key informers and the snowball technique to get to them, since it would have been impossible any other way. With this strategy, we acquired a more complete, more realistic vision of the situation.

Questionnaires were administered to subjects found by snowball sampling, which took us to places not even registered as housing in the municipal census, warehouses, shacks, run-down houses and houses occupied by squatters, and gave us a much more complete, realistic view of the situation. A sample of 1350 questionnaires was accumulated in this way.

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The second survey was administered to a *Spanish population* residing in the towns mentioned above. This questionnaire largely coincided with the one prepared by the Spanish Reality Research Centre (CIRES), used for several years by the Permanent Immigrant Observatory (OPI). It records sociodemographic indicators, preferences for neighbourhoods, attitudes and valuation concerning the immigrant population, etc., to which we added others on residential matters: groups preferred for selling and renting housing to, intention of changing residence and places considered attractive or desirable to live. Quota sampling of the municipal census was done by place of residence, sex and age. In this case, the field work was done using random routes, since almost all of the native population lives in cities; Spaniards residing in scattered sites are registered in the census with their address, so it was unnecessary to recur to the snowball technique. The sampling error is ± 4 and a total 616 questionnaires were used.

Using the same logic as the xenophobia index (see Díez Nicolás, 1998), a residential exclusion index was designed for this work, defined by the following variables: Annoyance at having Eastern European, black African, Maghreb or Latin American neighbours, preference in renting or selling homes to them, preference for neighbourhood makeup, contribution of immigration to delinquency and opinion on giving free housing to immigrants, whether legal or illegal. Answers that most favoured "standard" residential integration scored zero and one point was given those that absolutely rejected immigrant integration. The index therefore varied between 0 and 12 points.

Finally, field work investigated whether policies exist or have been designed or specific action has been taken concerning immigrant customers in the most important real estate franchises and finance companies in the area. To do this, several strategies were designed. First of all, we interviewed five managers of the most important real estate companies in the province, and this is how we knew whether their residential offers depended on the customer. Furthermore, two directors of finance companies were interviewed to find out bank loan requirements for Spaniards and immigrants. In the second place, we did a simulation, in which we (Spaniards) phoned real estate agencies and banks asking about the residential market offer (place, price, age, etc.) and loan conditions, and then an immigrant went in person, and the differences in attention and in offers were compared.

RESULTS

In the framework of the economic structure (Sassen, 1991, 1994) and the displacement of activities and employment (Wilson, 1987, 1997; Kasarda, 1989, 1995; Kain, 2004), the configuration of the residential fabric in Almería follows a disorderly growth

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model. That has caused residential displacement both in cities and scattered housing.

Starting in the second half of the fifties in the last century, intensive agriculture under plastic began to develop in the province in the districts of Campos de Dalías and Campos de Níjar. With several harvests per year, production was directed at satisfying the needs of international markets, mainly European. It all began with action by the National Colonisation Institute (INC), which, in addition to putting land into production and distributing it among settlers,² gave housing practically without charge to owners and workers. The location of these houses was diversified, so housing was built in already existing, consolidated towns, such as Roquetas de Mar and La Mojónera, and also in new neighbourhoods located among the greenhouses outside of the main towns, El Solanillo and Las Marinas in Roquetas de Mar, San Agustín in El Ejido and San Isidro in Níjar. Similarly, construction of housing was also permitted near the greenhouses in areas zoned as rural and non-residential. Therefore, one of the main characteristics of this residential model is counter-urbanisation, the main purpose of which was to live near the expanded greenhouses scattered around the municipal limits, either so they could be watched over, or so the working day could be extended as long as necessary without having to worry about transportation. So the logic of the economic system itself created a segregated, scattered residential pattern.³

At the present time those residential niches are almost entirely occupied by African immigrants, the first to arrive in the province. However, the most recent arrivals (since 2000), the Latin American and Eastern European immigrants, hardly live there at all.

Residential tourism has also favoured urban development. These areas are so close to the sea that neighbourhoods and suburbs, such as Aguadulce in Roquetas de Mar, Almerimar in El Ejido, San José in Níjar or San Juan de los Terreros in Pulpí, have grown up all along the coast, to the point that in towns such as Roquetas de Mar and El Ejido, over four thousand licences for new homes, most of which are for residential tourism, are given every year.

This urban development has also led to population growth in these districts, as seen in the populations of Dalías and Níjar, which in the fifties of the last century were barely over ten thousand inhabitants and at present are nearer to two hundred thousand, because of two large migratory waves. The first came from the interior of Almería and the adjacent provinces. Later, continual increase in the number of greenhouses (in 1968 there were 75 hectares covered by greenhouses and today it is estimated that there are around 30.000), and

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most of the family labour that had been employed in them leaving to live elsewhere, favoured the immigration first from Africa and later from the rest of the continents.

Consequently, before the arrival of the first African immigrants in the province of Almería in the eighties, there was already an urban configuration defined by towns, peripheral neighbourhoods and scattered farmhouses, or *cortijos*. As the *cortijos* were abandoned by the Spanish population who moved to the cities and towns, immigrants filled the residential gap left in the scattered habitat.

However, the slow increase in migratory flows from abroad saturated the capacity of the *cortijos* to provide shelter in just a few years, leading to their later insertion in peripheral neighbourhoods and the main towns. In any case, and regardless of the habitat, the one characteristic that immigrants all have in common is their residential segregation (see Table 1), to which must be added, for some groups, occupation of indecent housing (Checa, 2004).

➔ TABLE 1
Residential segregation in Almería (2004)

		Dissimilarity	Isolation	Centralisation
Maghrebis	Algeria	0.69	0.70	-0.66
	Morocco	0.53	0.60	-0.62
	Mauritania	0.86	0.74	-0.66
Africans Sub-Saharan	Gambia	0.80	0.75	-0.74
	Ghana	0.78	0.74	-0.70
	Guinea Bissau	0.67	0.73	-0.65
	Mali	0.84	0.84	-0.68
	Nigeria	0.80	0.83	-0.37
	Senegal	0.70	0.74	-0.66
Latin Americans	Argentine	0.52	0.48	0.40
	Colombia	0.63	0.53	0.50
	Ecuador	0.50	0.50	0.42
Eastern Europeans	Lithuania	0.48	0.35	0.30
	Romania	0.49	0.35	0.37
	Russia	0.54	0.37	0.53
<i>Median</i>		<i>0,68</i>	<i>0.64</i>	<i>-0.30</i>

Source: Municipal registries (2004).

As observed in the data in Table 1, the most segregated groups are the Africans, both Sub-Saharan and Maghreb, followed by Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans. Even if we break down the figures from the three indices, we find that the African immigrants are not only concentrated in certain areas (dissimilarity), they are the group with the least probability of contacting or coinciding with Spaniards in their neighbourhoods (isolation) and their housing is the farthest from the ci-

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ty centres (centralisation). Therefore, Africans usually live in housing scattered among the greenhouses. This demonstrates the scant residential mobility of this group since they were the first immigrants to arrive in the province. On the other hand, although the Latin Americans and the Eastern Europeans also have high dissimilarity segregation indices, the indices for isolation and centralisation are usually lower, and they therefore settle in scattered housing closest to the towns or suburbs and especially, in the cities themselves, increasing the probability of contact with natives.

If we compare these figures with those from research in other places, the data for Almería are higher. For example, Carvajal (2004) on the coast of Malaga, Martori and Hoberg (2003) on certain cities in Catalonia (Spain) and Martínez and Leal (2008) on Madrid have all found lower figures. Lavía (2008) in the Basque Country also found a maximum of 0.52 for Maghrebis and 0.25 for Latin Americans.

Even in Europe,⁴ the studies by Ceri Peach (2001) on Great Britain; Doherty and Poole (1995) in Belfast; Musterd and Durloo (2002) in Amsterdam; Friedrichs (1998) in Cologne; Giffinger (1998) in Vienna; or Kemper (1998) in Berlin report lower indices. Furthermore, in North America, see Massey and Denton (1993) or U.S. Bureau of the Census (2000) cities and ethnic-racial groups also appear to be less segregated.

At this point, we might ask what the reasons for this residential situation are and where the differences between one group and another stem from. We therefore start out with the main analyses currently being carried out on the subject in international literature: economics, residential preferences and discrimination.

Economic factors

According to the economic approach, the key to understanding ethnic segregation is in individual factors based on differences in resources and income among groups. In Almería, the economic differences between natives and immigrants are obvious, as demonstrated in Figure 1. Over 50% of the Spanish population states that they earn over 1000€/month, while 90% of the immigrants earn 1000€ or less.

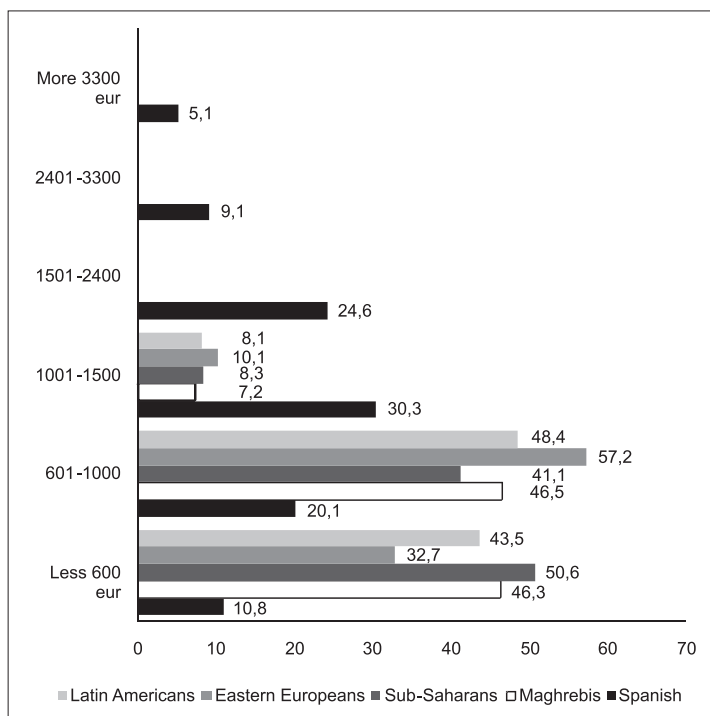
There are two basic reasons for this difference. On one hand, the different labour markets where Spaniards and foreigners are employed and, on the other, the segments those markets occupy, or in other words, according to social security membership, 70% of the immigrants working in Almería do so in agriculture (greenhouses), followed by construction and the service sector and in the last place, are self-employed (see Arjona, 2004). All of these markets, and especially agri-

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culture, are characterized by being subject to high seasonality, irregularity, flexibility and ethnicity, characteristics typical of a secondary market (Doeringer and Piore, 1975). This translates into low salaries and unstable employment. However, the Spanish population usually works in the service sector, which ensures better stability and payment. Most of the domestic population works in auxiliary and transformation agricultural industries. Even Spaniards who are employed in agriculture are either the owners or foremen of the estates, or else greenhouse construction and maintenance workers, with higher income in all cases. As a result, immigrant debt capacity is lower and they are unable to buy houses or flats in certain residential areas.

➔ FIGURE 1
 Inequality of
 incomes by origin
 ($p < 0,000$)



Among the immigrant groups themselves, wage differences are not very wide, although the African and Latin American immigrants say they have lower incomes than the East Europeans. The differences are especially due to integration of part of the East European immigrant population in labour markets with higher salaries and social recognition, especially in the service sector, agricultural transformation industry and export carriers.

If income is what mainly determines residential location, immigrants and Spaniards in lower income brackets would both be expected to occupy the same places. But the reality

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does not corroborate this hypothesis. In the first place, very few natives now live on the "cortijos", and those who remain are the owners of greenhouses who have decided to stay on their farms to be near their work and enjoy greater privacy. However, the immigrants that live on cortijos are not the owners of the farms, nor is their choice due to criteria of privacy, but at most to maintain their invisibility, especially, those who are here contrary to immigration laws. Furthermore, because of their limited capacity for shelter, immigrants who live in scattered housing do not live only in *cortijos*, but tool sheds, self-built huts, shacks, abandoned cars, etc., which the Spanish poor never do.

In the second place, poor Spaniards and immigrants rarely co-inhabit urban residential space. Immigrants settle in peripheral neighbourhoods and in the historic city centre, undesirable areas with no prestige. So lower income groups rent or sell their homes to immigrants, so they can move out to other more desirable areas, producing the process of invasion, succession and filtration described by the classic authors of the Chicago School.

And, thirdly, the above situations occur, above all, among the Africans. As shown in Table 1, the probability of contact, isolation index, of Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans with Spaniards is higher, since many of them live in the same neighbourhoods or residential areas. Thus, for example, the Latin Americans in Roquetas de Mar live mainly in Aguadulce, sharing space,⁵ not only with Spaniards, but also with residential tourists from the European Union.

As seen above, the difference in income between groups is not very great, so one of the possible explanations for spatial separation might be the capital invested in housing. But when we analyse these investments, we see that Eastern Europeans spend an average of 27€ per month more for rent than the Sub-Saharanans. And monthly mortgage payments among immigrant property owners are also very similar, without distinction by origin, varying between 400 and 600€ to be paid off in 20 years.

Consequently, the results suggest that economic reasons only explain residential segregation in completely opposite situations, that is, when very wealthy Spaniards are compared to very poor immigrants, but not Spaniards and immigrants with similar income, since they very rarely share the same space. Neither do groups of immigrants share many places, even though their economic characteristics are very similar.

Also North American literature, from the sixties of the last century, shows that even when income and education are similar, Blacks and Whites remain segregated (see, among others, Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Farley, 1975, 1991; Farley et al., 1993; Denton and Massey, 1988; Massey and Denton, 1993; Zubrinsky, 2000).

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Closely related to economics, residential segregation might also be explained by lack of information or ignorance of the housing market, or on the other hand, according to the immigrants themselves, those places are economically inaccessible for them. In these cases, immigrants were asked about their knowledge and perception of the residential market in four different neighbourhoods, each of them corresponding to one of the towns selected.⁶

Thus for example, 85% of immigrant residents in Roquetas de Mar say that the most expensive area is Aguadulce and La Romanilla; 75% of immigrants residing in El Ejido identify Almerimar and Santo Domingo as the most expensive places and in Nijar, 98% say that the most expensive place is San José. On the other hand, El Barranquete, Yegua Verde, El Corsario, El Viso and San Agustín were identified as the cheapest.

To test this perception, real estate agents and builders were interviewed to inform us about the real price of housing in those areas. They told us that the most expensive areas were those near the beach (Aguadulce, La Romanilla, Almerimar, San José and San Juan de los Terreros), which cost over 2,500€/m² compared to the neighbourhoods around the greenhouses (El Viso, Corsario, La Gangosa, San Agustín, etc.) which were around 1,700€/m². These results show that immigrants do have an approximate idea of the value of housing and housing zones, no matter where they are from.

Going deeper into this subject, we asked immigrants what economic possibilities they and others from their country had for access to the various neighbourhoods. About 65% of them said that half, almost all or all of the members of their group had the wherewithal for access to the most expensive residential areas.⁷ Only in San José, Almerimar and Las Salinas was this reduced to 33%, to the point that 70% of immigrants say that the prices paid for rental of their homes, most of them shared, are the same or higher than those asked of other groups in better areas.

In conclusion, the explanation for residential segregation must also be sought in other elements not exclusively economic, the lack of information or the monetary resources for living in certain places.

Residential preferences

Ascription of social values to certain neighbourhoods as an element explaining segregation in an excessively natural and economic determinism was one of the most important criticisms⁸ made in the fifties of the authors of the Chicago School. More recently, this line of analysis was rescued by the studies of Clark (1986, 1988, 1989) in the form of residential preferences. According to this current, the inclination of groups to-

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TABLE 2
Spaniards' preferences
of varying ethnic
compositions (%)

	Sub-Saharan	Moroccans	Eastern Europeans	Latin Americans
It does not matter to me	21.4	15.1	37.7	46.8
1	0.8	1.8	4.1	8.1
2	1.6	3.6	8.4	8.9
3	3.9	3.2	7.6	7.3
4	6.2	5.0	6.2	6.7
5	9.7	9.6	11.7	10.9
6	14.8	9.9	5.2	3.4
7	8.1	8.0	4.4	2.4
8	11.2	10.9	5.7	2.4
9	6.0	9.9	1.5	0.2
It is a serious problem for me	16.2	23.1	7.6	2.9

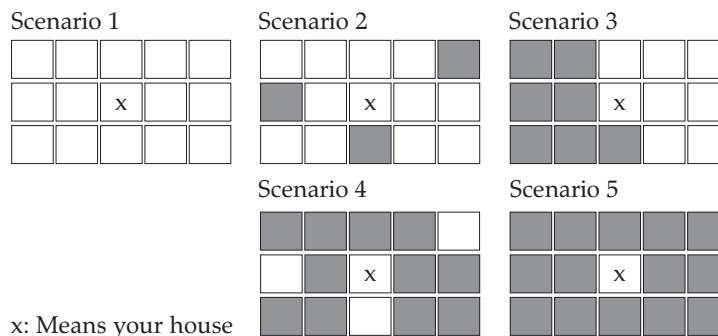
p < 0,001

ward a certain zone is the explanation for residential segregation, so Spaniards would want to live with Spaniards, Moroccans with Moroccans and so forth and so on with all the groups. On this point, we analysed the predilections of all the groups for sharing space with the others.

Spaniards, as shown in the following table, have a greater propensity for Eastern Europeans and especially for South Americans as neighbours, compared to Africans, especially Moroccans, who are the most rejected for sharing residential spaces. 23.1% say that they would be much more annoyed at having a Moroccan for a neighbour, 15.1% that they would not care. There is a similar opinion about Sub-Saharan, although the percentages are much lower. On the other hand, only 7.7% of the Eastern Europeans and 2.9% of the South Americans are an annoyance for the Spaniards (see Table 2).

This residential tendency of the native population is much clearer and sharper when they are asked their preference from among five types of neighbourhoods, which go from all Spanish to all foreigners (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 2
Neighbourhood
diagrams



77.3% of the natives say they would rather live in a neighbourhood made up of the majority or all Spanish. 20.1% an-

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swered that they would live in half-Spanish and half-immigrant neighbourhoods. Only 0.3% would live in a neighbourhood which was entirely or majority immigrants.

82% of the Spaniards even state that if they were living in a neighbourhood like Scenarios 4 or 5, their first option would be to move somewhere else,⁹ where there was a majority of Spaniards. This figure rises to 95% if the neighbours were Maghrebis.

In greater detail, 8.3% of the Maghrebis would live in a neighbourhood made up only of their own and 17.3% are inclined toward a Maghrebi majority, however, the preference chosen most is a mixed population (42.4%). Even the preference for a neighbourhood with a large (19.3%) or totally (10%) Spanish population is better than a majority or exclusively Maghrebi neighbourhood. 90% of Maghrebis also say that if they lived in a neighbourhood made up exclusively of Spaniards they would not try to move elsewhere. For the Maghrebis, the least desirable group is the Eastern Europeans.

For their part, the Sub-Saharanans have the greatest preference for their endogroup: 9.6% would rather live in a neighbourhood where there are only Sub-Saharanans, and 16.2% neighbourhoods where there are many Sub-Saharanans, although the most popular option was mixed neighbourhoods (53.6%). Only 5% would live in an area with an entirely Spanish population and 15.6% would live with a majority of Spaniards. Finally, 87% would not change their place of residence if it were in a Spanish neighbourhood. As with the Maghrebis, the least desirable group is the Eastern Europeans.

3.4% of the East Europeans would like to have a neighbourhood made up completely of their endogroup and 10% of a European majority. But, as in the above cases, the scenario most chosen is mixed areas (57.1%). 23.4% and 5.3% would live in Spanish neighbourhoods. Furthermore, 96% would not change their place of residence if it were in a Spanish neighbourhood either, but would do so if it were Maghrebi.

Finally, Latin Americans are also inclined toward mixed neighbourhoods (40.2%), although they have the greatest preference for Spanish-majority neighbourhoods (22%). So 5.3% would live in endogroup neighbourhoods or 15.2% majority Latin American. The group that most annoys them is again the Moroccans.

Going further into this, we find that, almost without distinction, all of the groups coincide in pointing out the same places and neighbourhoods as desirable. That is, 75% of the immigrants residents in Roquetas de Mar point out La Romanilla, Aguadulce and Las Salinas; 69% in El Ejido indicate Santo Domingo and Almerimar; 93% in Níjar say San José; and 95% in Pulpí say San Juan de los Terreros. All near the sea.

Zones also preferred by the Spanish population, and which are currently enlarging their General Urban Zoning Plans, due to the residential demand they generate.

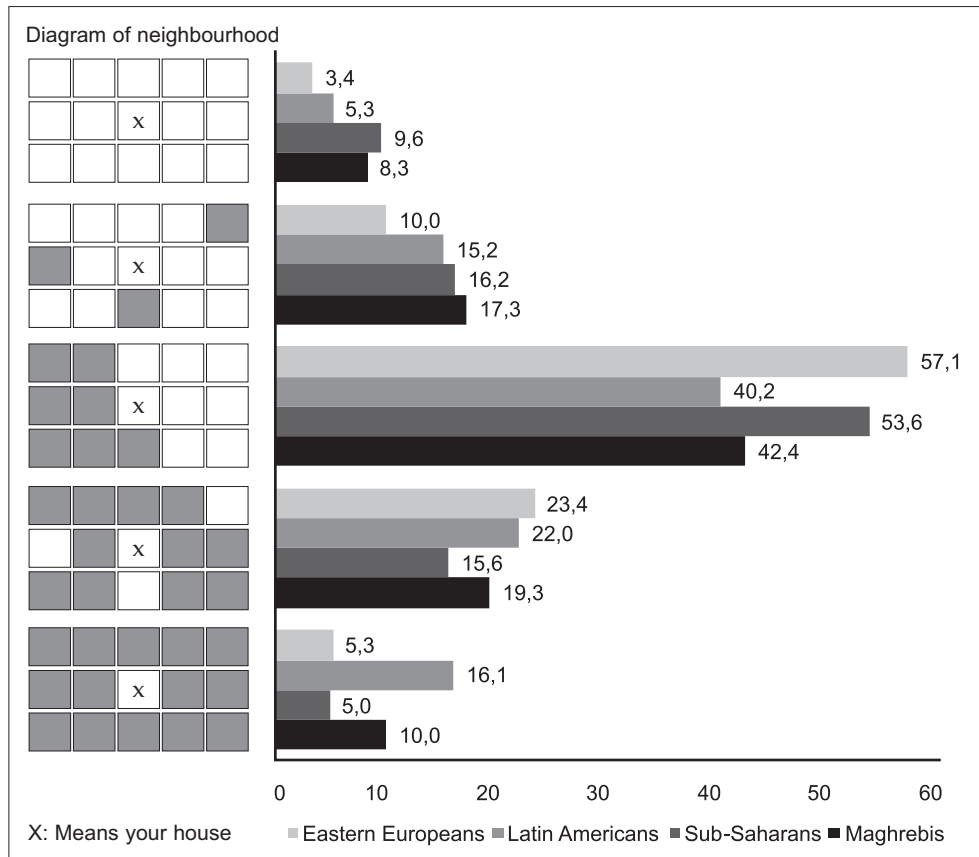


FIGURE 3
Attractiveness of
neighbourhoods of
varying ethnic
compositions
($p < 0,037$)

Research on residential preferences has also gone beyond the racial composition of the population to explain segregation, concentrating on preferences for location by social interaction, and focusing on human capital and the opportunities provided by proximity, such as infrastructure, green space, leisure, etc. (see, among others, Benabou, 1993; Cutler and Glaeser, 1997; Borjas, 1998; Ross, 2003).

In our case, the neighbourhoods chosen by immigrants as the most desirable to live in coincide, in turn, with places where proximity variables are most frequent and best conserved, widening the opportunities for social and personal development, indicators that are as or more valuable to the immigrants than the purely ethnic in choosing a place to live.

Does this mean that all of the groups analysed, because most of them want to live with Spaniards, have the same acculturation strategies? Obviously not. No group wants to adopt cultural assimilation as a recourse for integration in the

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host society. Logically, the Latin Americans show the most affinity to Spaniards (we share the same language and the majority are Catholic) which does not mean that they forget certain particularities (such as food). Navas et al. (2004) made a study on acculturation strategies and attitudes in Almería from the perspectives of the natives and Africans. The study showed that natives think the Maghrebi culture has a negative influence on the Spanish culture, preferring exclusion and segregation for this group. This attitude is repeated with Sub-Saharan. On the other hand, and as a result of this, Africans have acculturation strategies based on marginalisation, that is, they resort to in-group reidentification.

Therefore, the option of living together does not keep individuals from maintaining their own ethnic content, or in other words, there is a desire to live in a multicultural society.

The foreign population therefore has a preference for mixed neighbourhoods, compared to the Spanish population, the context of reception, which has a clear desire to live in exclusively Spanish neighbourhoods. Even when their answer is neighbourhoods with co-presence, there is an inclination toward certain groups. Therefore, if we take into account that the natives control the sale and rental housing market, we can better understand the reasons explaining residential segregation as going beyond the desire of immigrants to live together.

Discrimination

At the same time, and in response to the explanation of preference, Galster (1988, 1989) believes that segregation is best defined by ethnic discrimination. The context of reception thus becomes the backbone from which immigrant incorporation depends in all areas, employment, residential, legal, etc., through various levels of tolerance and acceptability. More concretely, applying the xenophobia index of Diez Nicolás (1998) to Almería, it is observed that only 0.3% of the population is not xenophobic at all. It should not be forgotten that in Almería, and specifically, El Ejido, one of the most violent racial conflicts in Europe erupted in February of 2000 (see Foro Cívico, 2000; Checa, 2001; Martínez, 2001; SOS Racismo, 2001), when immigrants were chased, beaten and their houses or businesses set fire by the Spanish population.

For the specific case of residential insertion and taking as a reference the desires and preferences of Spaniards as seen above, we analyse, on one hand, the strategies that lead natives to define incorporation of immigrants by controlling the residential market, and on the other, the results obtained from the residential xenophobia index.

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The residential market in cities where there are immigrants from outside the Community is highly segmented by nationality or place of origin. We thus find a market of first or second-hand homes in good condition and located in highly desirable areas, controlled by real estate agencies and builders and directed at the domestic population. There is also another market of second or successive-hand housing in deficient condition, controlled almost exclusively by individual owners and directed at immigrants, although some real estate agencies are now also entering this market due to the high profits and demand.

Immigrant access to residence depends basically on the rental and sales strategies of the owners. At the present time an immigrant housing submarket limits this almost obligatorily to a market well designed for them and in certain zones, buildings or houses in the various municipalities. Immigrants have revived a part of the residual and worthless real estate market. Families speculate with their houses, many of them in a state of near ruin, at the same time the owners acquire access to another house or can improve their life style, which is why immigrants pay more than Spaniards for equivalent houses.

All of this has led to Spaniards placing limits on the location of immigrants, creating more and more gated communities (Blakely and Gail, 1997) where rent or sale of housing is implicitly prohibited. But, when that limit is surpassed for some reason, the natives begin to leave little by little (White flight). Natives consider living next to immigrants a sign of loss of prestige, preferring some groups, Latin Americans, over others, Africans. Thus 34.4% of the people of Almería would never rent or sell to Maghrebis, 20.5% to Sub-Saharanans, 19.2% to Eastern Europeans and 10.9% to Latin Americans (see Table 3). A situation that is not new for the African case since various studies, both in the national and Andalusian settings, point to the Africans as the group that causes the most distrust among Spaniards (see Campo, 2004; Pascual, 2004; Pérez et al., 2001).

TABLE 3
Intention to rent or to
sell dwellings of the
Spaniards to the
immigrants (%)

	Sub-Saharanans	Moroccans	Eastern Europeans	Latin Americans
Never	20.5	34.4	19.2	10.9
1	2.3	4.4	3.1	1.1
2	6.7	8.6	5.8	3.4
3	8.8	8.9	4.9	4.4
4	9.9	9.1	9.3	6.2
5	12.3	11.9	16.9	15.1
6	8.4	4.7	7.0	8.4
7	6.0	3.1	4.9	8.1
8	4.7	3.1	7.0	12.5
9	2.3	0.8	3.9	3.6
Always	18.2	11.0	18.2	26.3

p < 0,014

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This selective discrimination is justified by a series of stereotypes and prejudices about different groups, because they are noisy, dirty, do not take care of their homes, and crowd together, etc., but also to prevent their neighbourhood from becoming a zone of transition and reducing the value of their homes (Yinger, 1995). Still, Latin Americans cause no drastic reduction in the price of housing as still occurs with the Maghrebis and Sub-Saharanans.

As shown in Table 4, which gives the data for the residential xenophobia index, only 1.9% is not xenophobic at all, compared to 30% who are quite or very xenophobic. These data demonstrate the extreme difficulty that immigrants have in entering any place of residence, although they have sufficient debt capacity to do so. Thus the Maghrebis and Sub-Saharanans seem restricted to the *cortijos* or peripheral neighbourhoods where they revitalize a worthless residential market and are kept away from social spaces, making co-presence difficult.

➤ TABLE 4
Index of residential
xenophobia

		Frequency	%	% accumulate
Nothing xenophobic	0	12	1.9	1.9
Little xenophobic	1	42	6.8	8.8
	2	58	9.4	18.2
	3	66	10.7	28.9
Something xenophobic	4	109	17.7	46.6
	5	88	14.3	60.9
	6	58	9.4	70.3
Enough xenophobic	7	53	8.6	78.9
	8	52	8.4	87.3
	9	28	4.5	91.9
Extremely xenophobic	10	22	3.6	95.5
	11	14	2.3	97.7
	12	14	2.3	100.0
Sum		616	100.0	

Real estate agencies also discriminate, by imposing basic obstacles based on the preferences of the owners who leave the sale or rental of the houses in their hands. Thus, when immigrants go to real estate agencies to rent or buy a house, if the flat is in a zone of recognized prestige, the company responds that it has already been sold/rented, or even tells them that the owner is looking for another kind of client. In our field work, many of the real estate agencies confirmed that even though the immigrants are their most numerous customers, there is a double policy for the Spanish or rich world customer on one hand, and the immigrants, for whom the

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offer of residences in certain areas is restricted, on the other. According to them, the owners strongly emphasize this, since they are under heavy pressure from their neighbours because of the possible economic deterioration of the building, block or neighbourhood. Discrimination by real estate agencies goes beyond this however, as they charge more for those flats than for others that are similar, located in other zones and reserved for the native population.

Finance companies are not exempt from this discriminatory behaviour. To the difficulty of acquiring access to personal loans or mortgages, immigrants find that commissions charged, duration of the loan and guarantees required are stricter for immigrants than for natives. This was tested with simulation strategies by asking for the same loan ourselves and receiving better conditions than the immigrants.

Although these circumstances are in part alleviated by using online banks, so at the present time, the majority of loans awarded to immigrants are given by companies such as Bankinter or Barclays.

Something similar often occurs when immigrants look for housing through real estate agencies, which offer only housing limited to certain areas, that is, where the majority are immigrants. However, when we asked for housing, supposedly investing the same money as the immigrant, the homes offered were located in different neighbourhoods.

With simulation strategies similar to those we used, and in the same place, Foro Cívico (2000) Martínez (2001) and Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz (2001) came to identical conclusions: Immigrants are discriminated against when they look for housing through real estate agents. However, this situation is not exclusive of Almería, and SOS Racismo (2008) in Bilbao, Columbares (1996) in Murcia and Bernabé and Cabré (1995) in Barcelona found similar results in their research.

The European Monitoring Centre of Racism and Xenophobia (2003) and Colectivo Ioé (2006) in their nationwide studies report the difficulties that immigrants have in finding housing and emphasize deliberate discrimination by owners and real estate agents as one of the most important impediments. Even Ponce (2001) and Checa and Arjona (2002) give unequal management by governments in noncompliance with the right to equality, as one of the most important obstacles in finding housing. Political programmes for positive discrimination have not worked either.

Therefore, immigrants find themselves trapped in a dual residential market, controlled mainly by small owners whose preferences for and discrimination of certain groups and specific economic interests design their incorporation: avoid devaluation of certain areas and make deteriorated areas profitable.

CONCLUSIONS

The development of agriculture and sun-and-beach tourism in the province of Almería has attracted populations from the rest of Spain and from all of the continents on one hand, and, on the other, a residential fabric configured by scattered dwellings and cities or their outskirts. However, the immigrant residential incorporation has not come about in an even, balanced manner, to the point where segregation figures are the same or higher than those of certain ethnic groups in Europe and America.

The ethnic residential segregation patterns in Almería are a conjunction of a series of factors. Based on the results obtained, the hypothesis that the main cause of segregation is economic differences between the different ethnic groups is rejected. Neither is there evidence that segregation is the fruit of ignorance of the prices of housing in the different residential areas, nor because of different ideas about which areas are desirable, since all of the groups know the prices very well and coincide with the Spaniards on which residential areas are the most attractive.

The results have also shown that there is a range of preferences insofar as the composition of neighbourhoods. Spaniards want to live mainly in a majority or totally Spanish neighbourhood, where the Maghrebis are the least desired neighbours, due to a supposedly century-long cultural antagonism, to the point that the majority of Spaniards living in Almería say they would try to move out rather than live in an immigrant neighbourhood. For their part, the immigrant communities prefer to live in mixed neighbourhoods and often feel more comfortable living in neighbourhoods with a Spanish majority, although they are aware, especially the Africans, that their ethnicity is an important obstacle for their residential integration in Spanish suburbs.

This Spanish tendency toward the endogroup has led to discriminatory residential practice. The residential xenophobia index shows that only 1.9% of the population is not xenophobic at all, in a market that is basically controlled, not so much by real estate agencies as by small owners, who place a price on housing that in an open market would be worthless. In this way, with the arrival of immigrants, a dual residential market has been created, in which immigrants, and especially Africans, are restricted to housing which would be empty if it were not for them, either scattered or in neighbourhoods several kilometres away from city centres, or, in other words, directed segregation is under way.

Similarly, and taken as a reference were the three partial hypotheses proposed by Kain (1965, 1968) that attempt to ex-

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plain employment differences between Whites and Blacks in the United States. The first attributes residential discrimination to the concentration of the Black population in city centres. The second affirms that the location of Blacks reduces employment opportunities. The third and last stems from the idea that suburbs and dispersion of jobs reduces job opportunities for Black residents in the city centres.¹⁰ The residence in scattered dwellings in Almería, just as suggested by Kain's first and third hypothesis, is reducing the economic and residential opportunities for entering other jobs or other areas. Immigrants that live in scattered dwellings form an army of reserve labour. Employers seek them at harvest and planting season and the rest of the time there is less need for labour, which is limited to certain tasks and days. Therefore, immigrants are jobless many days a month. But their possibilities for entering another employment market are very limited, since if that particular morning he is not hired, there is no other alternative for working in any other activity.

Therefore, if the endogroup preferences and discriminatory attitudes of Spaniards persist, residential segregation of immigrants in Almería will definitely become more and more accentuated and extend to new groups, due to the continuous increase in population diversity in the province, in a model that segregated from its conception. And in any case, residential segregation is a clearly polarizing element which has strong implications for the quality of life of immigrants. Therefore, a global integration policy is required in which the local administration has much to say and do (Ponce, 2001) and the society will have to change its attitudes of racial prejudice.

NOTES

¹ Official addresses are given of some family member, friend or immigrant association, but their real place of residence is at an unregistered scattered site.

² For an exhaustive analysis of the colonisation process see Rivera, 1997.

³ Anderton and Egan (1996) explain that in some industrial cities in the United States, dispersion of industry also generates segregation, since worker housing tries to be as near as possible to the workplace.

⁴ However, these comparisons must be taken with caution as different geographic areas, in both European and North American cities, are used in the calculation. Therefore, in many cases if the rates were calculated taking the neighbourhood as a reference, the figures would be much higher.

⁵ The fact that they share certain areas does not mean they live in the same building or communities. The Latin Americans mostly live in the oldest and most deteriorated buildings in the zone.

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⁶ Origin of the population, infrastructure and furnishings, location, consideration, etc., were all taken into account in the selection of areas. The zones corresponding to Roquetas de Mar were Aguadulce south, La Romanilla, Cortijos de Marín and Las Salinas. In El Ejido: Almerimar, San Agustín, Santo Domingo and La Loma de la Mezquita. In La Mojenera: EL Viso, El Corsario, San Nicolás and Avenida Europa. In Vicar: El Corsario, La Gangosa, La Puebla and La Yegua Verde. In Níjar: San José, San Isidro, Campohermoso and El Barranquete. And in Pulpí: La Fuente, San Juan de los Terreros, Los Canos and Barrio Martero.

⁷ Similar results were found by Zubrinsky (2000) in Los Angeles and Farley et al. (1993) in Detroit.

⁸ See mainly Firey (1947).

⁹ The options were very comfortable, somewhat comfortable, somewhat uncomfortable and very uncomfortable, and only in the last case would they think about changing neighbourhoods.

¹⁰ This explanation, called Spatial mismatch, has generated strong debate and a long bibliography (see Ihlandfeldt and Sjoquist, 1998; Hammer, 2001), and there is no lack of research sustaining that this theory is invalid (Jenks and Mayer, 1990) or has limited empirical evidence (Holzer, 1991).

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Rezidencijalna segregacija u miješanim gradovima u Španjolskoj. Slučaj Almerije

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U ovome se radu proučava važnost međunarodnih teorijskih i empirijskih analiza i njihova primjena u tumačenju rezidencijalne segregacije stranaca-useljenika u jednom od izrazito multietničkih područja Španjolske, pokrajini Almeriji. Kako bi se istražili putovi koji vode k segregaciji, urbani rast i kontekst prihvaćanja proučeni su kao ključni čimbenici useljeničkog uključivanja. Rezultati pokazuju da je glavni uzrok segregacije etnička diskriminacija, koja se temelji na rezidencijalnim preferencijama domaćega stanovništva prema vlastitoj nacionalnoj skupini – endogrupi.

Ključne riječi: preferencije, segregacija, diskriminacija, useljavanje, tržište nekretnina

Segregierte Wohnviertel in spanischen Städten mit gemischten Bevölkerungsanteilen. Der Fall Almería

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Im Artikel wird die Bedeutung internationaler theoretischer und empirischer Analysen untersucht, die die Entstehung innerstädtischer Segregation infolge des vermehrten Andrangs ausländischer Zuwanderer zum Thema haben, sowie die Frage, inwiefern sich solche Analysen auf eines der an verschiedenen Ethnien reichsten Gebiete Spaniens, die Provinz Almería, anwenden lassen. Um die das Phänomen der Segregation auslösenden Prozesse verstehen zu können, haben sich die Verfasser dieses Artikels mit einer Analyse des Städtewachstums und der Art und Weise der Aufnahme neuer Immigranten als den Schlüsselfaktoren zur Erforschung der Inkorporierung von Zuwanderern in der Gesellschaft beschäftigt. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Hauptursache innerstädtischer Segregation in der Diskriminierung bestimmter Volksgruppen liegt, da die einheimische Bevölkerung ihresgleichen vorzieht.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Präferenzen, Segregation, Diskriminierung, Einwanderung, Wohnungsmarkt