

SOCIO-SPATIAL SUBJECTIVITY AND MANAGING DIVERSITY IN THE MAIN SPANISH CITIES. WHAT SEGREGATION INDEXES CAN'T ANALYZE

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I. INTRODUCTION

Insufficient and poor efficiency of the policies of diversity management and integration of the foreign population developed in different EU countries, has been reflected in numerous ethnic enclaves existing in the main European urban agglomerations. Social exclusion that characterizes these segregated areas and events related to religious extremism produced in different countries in Europe with great tradition in hosting foreign population (France, UK, Germany, Denmark, etc ...), emphasize the relationship in the social imaginary between immigration and social dispute, being observed a widespread prevalence of attitudes based on fear and rejection towards this population. In this sense, measurement of residential segregation of the foreign population traditionally has focused on analyzing through various indexes the location, distribution and concentration in urban space. However these indexes do not show the psychosocial effects than in the host society are generated towards the population that is perceived as foreign (Uslaner, 2012), this is especially important for understanding the processes of residential segregation and its effects on levels of social cohesion.

The vision on immigration it is built as a social reality based on a process of individual and collective interpretation of the presence of foreign where social perceptions determine the attitudes and behavior that develop on it (Zapata-Barrero y Pinyol, 2013:22). In this sense the study of individual perceptions is shown as a factor to take into consideration when establishing how to measure segregation and developing integration policies to ensure adequate managing diversity. To do this, in this research starting from an analysis based on the construction of social attitudes towards immigration intends to apply to the four most populous Spanish cities, Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Seville, the perceived aloctonia's index (from now PAI), designed to determine the concentration threshold of the foreign-born population from which, due to the reactions of the host society, it would be advisable to develop

actions of social intervention in order to ensure proper management of ethnic diversity. It is suggested to approach the analysis of the concentration of foreign foreign population without forgetting the importance of the attitudes of members of the host society which through their fears and rejection determine the processes of residential segregation (Charles, 2000).

II. INTRA-URBAN SCALE OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

At the time to analyze the concentration of a community to intra-urban scale there are basically two measuring instruments, the Coefficient of Location (Brown and Chung, 2006) and the distribution of housing types developed by Jhonston, Forrest and Poulsen (2002). In both cases, due to the characteristics of their approaches, it can be considered that the values offered show the weight of the foreign population in full or a particular ethnic group respect to the host society. Thereby, both instruments indirectly visualize the areas of highest concentration of foreign population, therefore marked those areas that the host society link socially with high presence of immigrants. Despite this, it was considered that none of the models get fully develop the objectives stated in this research because it doesn't shows the relationship between the concentrations of foreign population and perceptions about them develops the host society. Social perceptions abroad in the neighborhood that the native population related to the emergence of social problems and lower levels of social cohesion (Charles, 2000; De Souza Briggs, 2005; Sturgis et al., 2013; Iglesias Pascual, 2016). This makes advisable the development of management policies for ethno-cultural diversity to ensure encouraging a fluent intercultural contact, issue of great importance to relieve the appearance of negative attitudes toward foreign.

III. FOREIGN POPULATION, XENOPHOBIA AND RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Xenophobia term that encompasses different forms of rejection, exclusion and different types of non-ordinary racism as cultural racism, class racism or new racism (Cea D'Ancona, 2009a) it is one of the reactions that is produced by an increase in ethno-racial diversity in the host societies. In different European countries it has shown how this reactions can range from an explicit and public demonstration of rejection towards foreigners in the neighborhood (Gruner, 2010; Iglesias Pascual, 2016) to more subtle expressions of rejecting such as the reluctance of members of the host society in casual contacts in the day with foreigner (Huijts, Kraaykamp y Scheepers, 2014; Søholt y Lynnebakke, 2015). The reactions of the host society to the presence of foreign population has been an issue widely analyzed in American academic literature and more recently in Europe. Within these research has been established two main lines of interpretation. On the one hand research into the threat theory consider that the increase of the foreign population results in an increased rejection by the host society. Proof of this are the researches of Farley et al. (1994), Quillian (1995), Scheepers, Gijsbert and Coenders (2002), Semenov et al. (2004) or Semionov, Gikman and Krysan (2007). Studies within the threat theory associated increasing ethnic diversity with deficits in social cohesion in immigrant neighborhoods (Putnam, 2007, Sturgis et al, 2013: 4.).

However studies within the so-called contact theory consider that the greater presence of foreign population in the neighborhood increases the likelihood of contact with the local

population which in the long term is beneficial in reducing prejudice against this population and improve the living together (Pettigrew y Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Wagner y Crist, 2010; Barlow et al., 2012; Dewaard, 2015). These investigations show that the most contact with the foreign population (Pettigrew, Wagner y Crist, 2010; Echazarra, 2014) or residence time of foreigners in the host society can reduce the occurrence of rejection and help the emergence of receptive attitudes towards foreign population (Sampson y Groves, 1989; Dewaard, 2015). However, other studies show how greater diversity, greater period of residence and a decrease in prejudices towards foreign does not have to necessarily be reflected in better integration. In fact fear can disappear but this does not necessarily mean greater integration and better coexistence (Van der Bracht, Coenen y Van de Putte, 2015; Huijts, Kraaykamp y Scheepers, 2014).

In the case of Spanish cities, the arrival of foreign population has occurred in a short period of time, which has made more difficult the social assimilation of changes (Iglesias Pascual, 2014). Thus it is considered that in the origin of residential segregation of the foreign population, as well as economic and residential elements has a background of social subjectivity closely related to the emergence of xenophobic attitudes in the local population. It means that residential segregation spatially visualizes the development of xenophobic attitudes of the host society.

All the exposed was initially exposed in an analysis for the city of Seville aimed to detect those neighborhoods where the concentration of foreign population could cause the emergence of social attitudes of rejection (Iglesias Pascual, 2015). From these conclusions drawn from this study from Sevilla, it has developed a new analytical proposal to establish a threshold concentration of foreign population applicable to different Spanish cities with the aim to visualize the neighborhoods where they would be advisable to implement measures aimed at social integration of foreigners.

IV. PERCEIVED ALOCTONÍA INDEX: VISUALIZING THE REJECTION OF SOCIETY HOST

From the analysis developed in Seville, a proposal for implementation in the cities of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Seville now it arises used the Padrón Continuo data from 2014. To that it is designed the PAI focused to quantify this population associated with economic migration and potentially generate a higher level of rejection in the native population. To select the nationalities that generate more rejection in Spain have taken into account the different OBERAXE reports about the evolution of racism and xenophobia (Cea d'Ancona and Vallés, 2015: 254-259). In this way the IAP quantifies the number of foreign-born that host society associated with economic competition.

$$\text{Perceived aloctonía index (IAP)} = \frac{X_i}{X} \times 100$$

Where x_i represents the number of individuals belonging to nationalities or ethnic groups with higher levels of rejection in the host society and x be the total population of the territorial application unit. In this article, as a population with a greater social rejection, it has selected a set of nationalities derived from the information provided by the Padrón Continuo, is

the case of population from South America, Central America and the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, Russian population and Ukrainian, and EU population from Romania, Poland and Bulgaria. To determine the values of IPA it has taken the following considerations:

- Checking that all neighborhoods of Seville with census tracts with more than 20% of foreign population showed different processes of social and territorial stigmatization and deficiencies in the management of diversity.
- The use of this same threshold in international and national researches, related to the emergence of xenophobic attitudes in the host society (Farley et al, 1994; Herranz Rafael, 2008, Herranz Rafael et al, 2012..).
- The underestimation illustrated in studies based on surveys that analyze the attitudes towards the presence of foreigners, due to social desirability bias, especially among people with higher level of training that tends to conceal their views of rejection towards foreigners (Krysan, 1998; Cea D'Ancona, 2009b).
- The greater intensity of attitudes of rejection in those areas that have a greater presence of foreign (Semenov et al, 2004; Cea d'Ancona 2004: 288.).

Based on these issues has been considered that the PAI, locate the areas of high concentration of foreign population, showing the spaces in which there is moderate risk of rejection occur those with values higher than 15% and areas with high risk, that exceed the value of 20%. To show how the use of IAP can offer a complementary and specified vision to developed by other methods of measurement of intra-urban residential segregation has been calculated and expressed cartographically in each city the location coefficient (Brown and Chung, 2006) and the IAP. Thereby the comparison of the values obtained by both instruments can test whether the IAP is a valid instrument to make explicit those areas of the city where starting up of integration policies would be necessary.

The comparative analysis of the location coefficient and PAI cartography show in all cities that the census tracts that exceed the value of 15% and 20% in the PAI, specified in greater degree than the location coefficient the areas of high concentration of foreign population. That is the location coefficient shows a wide distribution of areas where the foreign population is overrepresented, however the census tracts with high values of PAI, locate more concretely the areas of greatest concentration, making explicit the areas where negative effects for coexistence and social cohesion of the neighborhood would be generated and therefore pointing out the areas where the application of measures of integration and diversity management would be necessary.

In the last decade it has developed from a system based on multiculturalism to intercultural model. The intercultural model focuses its intervention to actions directed to the local space, the neighbouring context. Actions that allow break the invisible wall of mistrust and rejection that rising between the host society and the foreign population (Gruner, 2010). The neighborhood is the place where daily life develops and where public policy can work better contributing to improve coexistence, social cohesion and integration. It is in the neighborhood where foreigner rejection discourse is generated (Iglesias Pascual, 2016), making this territorial scale in the most suitable for the detection of attitudes of rejection and implementation of integration policies which help avoid the emergence of residential segregation

processes of foreign population and the emergence of territorially stigmatized areas. Considering that ethnic diversity can have negative or positive effects on social cohesion levels according to the degree of social interaction among residents (Sturgis et al., 2013) it is of major importance early detection of these areas where it is necessary to apply the intercultural integration model.

To achieve this early detection is selected neighborhoods with census tracts that exceed a value of 20% in the IAP as preferred spaces for ethnic diversity management. From this approach for 64% of the districts of Barcelona are inside this category. In the case of Madrid this percentage would rise to 70%, and 44% in Valencia and Seville in the case of 9% of the neighborhoods. The broad delimitation of neighborhoods made from the application of the PAI, contrasts with the limited territorial information available about the territorial policy areas of different immigration management plans in the four cities selected and it shows how diversity management is below the needs that would result from the current presence of foreign population. These results contrast with the low values that different research carried out about the residential segregation of the foreign population in spanish cities, in this way, as suggested by the text title, it can be considered that by using the PAI a complementary issue to those who study the traditional segregation indices it's analyzed. It aims to analyze the group that suffers segregation, the foreigner, beside to assess the role of the group with their social control generates segregation, the host society.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The results of the research point out how the sociospatial subjectivity developed out of the presence foreigner, and especially the economic immigrants, shown by IAP visualizes the social dimension resulting from their segregation in space. Likewise we can say that low levels of residential segregation in the Spanish urban space should not be confused with appropriate levels of integration. Thus to avoid falling into a simple mathematical exercise, the study of residential segregation only makes sense if it is accompanied by an analysis of its social consequences order to act on the situation. In turn has observed a significant relationship throughout research among social intersubjectivity, neighborhood and immigration which leads us to consider the social subjectivity as a key element in the management of ethnic diversity in the city. Finally we propose two instruments for diversity management with a sufficient territorial, educational and subjective dimension. Firstly the anti-rumour project developed in cities like Barcelona and more recently in Andalusia, aimed to revert stereotypes about immigration and secondly the development of a territorial pedagogy (Iglesias Pascual, 2014) that through information and participatory action allows citizens to visit unknown parts of the city, accompanied by people from different cultures, as well as receive personalized support about integration (Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol, 2013).

