

Formation and evolution of ethnic enclaves in Catalonia before and during the economic crisis¹

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Abstract

The spatial settlement of the immigrant population has become a reality, and the economic crisis has further deepened our interest in the concentration levels of immigrants. In this sense, the establishment of ethnic enclaves, defined as residential areas with a significant representation of one or more foreign populations, has become a subject of particular attention in the academic and political sphere. However, there are currently few studies that have quantitatively examined the establishment and evolution of these enclaves. Through the implementation of a residential classification method that allows us to take the census tract as the unit of analysis, we aim to inventory the different types of residential spaces and explain the basic demographics of their residents, in particular for the inhabitants of the 48 census tracts that could be considered ethnic enclaves in 2011. In them, we evaluate the trend in degrees of residential exclusivity for all settlement areas before and during the economic crisis.

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1. Introduction: The debate on segregation in Catalonia

Along with the fear of denationalisation, one of the concerns about whether the immigrant population in Catalonia is integrating or not has been segregation. The confluence of residential and work segregation has been viewed as the prime factors hindering knowledge of Catalan initially and later, and more generally, the possibilities of establishing exchanges and integrating with the non-immigrant population. These concerns have existed since the days of the first wave of immigration in the 20th century, which culminated with the crisis of 1929 and the Spanish Civil War (Vandellós, 1935), as well as in the second wave during the 1960s, which ended with the oil crisis in the mid-1970s (Solé, 1982).

There are major differences between the migrants who came from the rest of Spain during the first three-quarters of the 20th century and the current international migration, which culminated with the boom in the first decade of the 21st century, which was, in turn, truncated by the economic crisis which started to be felt after 2008. However, the debate on the pros and cons of residential segregation seems to continue intact, despite the fact that we have to admit that the negative factors seem to be gaining on the positive ones in the final accounting. Yet this debate is occurring not only in Catalonia. Internationally, estimates of the consequences of segregation also continue to fluctuate among authors who believe that it is an obstacle to integration (Fortuijn et al., 1998) and those, albeit fewer, who state that concentrations of immigrants in the territory should be considered a first step in settlement which allows them to retain their networks of proximity and socialisation, which are especially useful in times of crisis, even though inequalities do persist (Finney & Simpson, 2009; Musterd, 2011). Even today, the voluntary or involuntary nature of concentration continues to be one of the core issues in this debate (Peach, 1996).

What seems clear is that the spatial concentration of immigrant populations is a shared feature in the majority of countries (Hirschman, 1983). This phenomenon is rooted in the processes of spatial differentiation inherent to the urban economy (price of housing and accessibility to transport, for example). It is further reinforced by chain migrations (Mac Donald & Mac Donald, 1964), which encompass both family migrations that lead to the reunification of common-law or legal families and migrations assisted by friends or acquaintances (social network), as well as internal migrations of this population subgroup, which is recognised to engage in internal mobility more often than the local population (Rogers & Henning, 1999; Finney & Simpson, 2008), especially during the first few years after arrival, as a result of what is called *the residential adjustment process* (Nogle, 1994; Recaño & Domingo, 2006; Viruela Martínez, 2010).

Even though there is a large number of studies that analyse the territorial distribution of the foreign population in Catalonia (Bayona, 2007; Martori & Hoberg, 2012; Bayona & López-Gay, 2011; Sabater et al., 2012; etc.), and

qualitative studies of ethnicity-based concentrations have been performed, especially in what is called the *ethnic business* (Moreras, 2002; Solé et al., 2007; Arjona & Checa, 2009), ethnic enclaves have not yet been studied from the quantitative standpoint for Catalonia as a whole, with the exception of one study conducted by the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (Martori & Apparicio, 2011). We still do not know how many enclaves there are, what their population composition is and where they are located. Our goal is to help to close this information gap, and we shall do so in three directions: first, by typologically defining ethnic enclaves and their location based on the available data (from 2000 to 2011), secondly by analysing their formation and evolution, and thirdly by studying the socio-demographic characteristics of the people living there.

2. Statistical sources and methodology: How we can define an ethnic enclave using the available data

The initial methodological challenges we faced were choosing what territorial scale we would use and then defining the ethnic enclaves themselves with the constraints imposed by the existing statistical sources.

2.1. Geographical scale, changing geographies and other biases

In a study of this kind, the choice of geographical scale is not a minor matter. However, and perhaps more importantly, the major problem is due to changing geographies over time. Let us start with scale issue. It is well-established that the degree of concentration of a population in a territory tends to increase or be diluted according to the size of the area being measured. Given the lack of a standardised spatial unit designed so that the relevant organisation can perform statistical analyses, we have decided to use the smallest spatial disaggregation available to us: the census tract based on the continuous population censuses. This allows us to compare all the municipalities in Catalonia, and it contains information on the sex, age and place of birth of the inhabitants. The main scale disadvantage is that the area of the census tract is highly variable and can cover a block of buildings, as in many areas within the city of Barcelona, or up to 300 km², as in one of the six tracts in the town of Tremp, in Lleida province. This disparity not only introduces a bias due to the different size of census tracts but also makes difficult to provide meaningful cartographic representations.

As mentioned earlier, the issue of changing geographies is of special concern. For example, we find that Catalonia was divided into 5,207 tracts in 2000, while in 2010 the number of tracts had dropped to 5,019, after having reached a peak of 5,410 in 2008 (Table 1 in the Appendix). This variability is the outcome of the administrative nature of the census tract, whose purpose is to keep track of the electors for the different elections. Directly related to this major disadvantage is the bias produced by the changing number of inhabitants in each tract. Even though the mean stipulated by electoral law is 1,500 people, this number refers to voters, meaning that residents with foreign nationality who do not have the right to participate at least in the municipal elections are excluded from the calculations. It is important to note, however, that 61% of the census tracts have between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants. Another important disadvantage is the way census tracts are delineated, which may divide historical neighbourhoods in some towns where the foreign population tends to

congregate because of the characteristics of the housing market, leading to both over- and under-estimations in spatial concentration and residential segregation of the immigrant population.

Of all of these difficulties, changing geographies and census tract delineation are the most worrisome ones, although the biases produced by each problem have not quantified yet. The variability in the number of census tracts within the same municipality can seriously distort our understanding of the evolution of ethnic enclaves. This is the case of the city of Barcelona, where from 1,582 in 2000 and 1,585 in 2001, number of census tracts dropped to 1,491 in 2002 and 2003 and later from 1,484 to 1,482 during the period 2004-2009. Since 2010, the city has been divided into 1,061 tracts. This decision – which is administratively justified because it best reflects the reality of the neighbourhoods (Barcelona Town Hall, 2010), which were blurred by the census division – makes it virtually impossible to reconstruct the distribution of the inhabitants by place of birth among the different territorial divisions. Finally, it is crucial to highlight that census tracts do not reflect ‘real’ neighbourhoods and, therefore, the estimates provided should always be regarded as a proxy for small (but not functional) areas.

2.2. Regarding the definition of ethnic enclave

We do not have a canonical definition that allows us to issue a semantic and quantitative definition of *ethnic enclave*. Regarding the semantic aspects of the word *enclave*, the dictionary of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans says that it is a “territory situated within another territory with different geographic, administrative or political features”. By extension, if we add the adjective *ethnic* to the noun, it is understood that the differences in this territory nestled within another are precisely the ethnic features of its population. This leads us to a second problem: how do we define *ethnic categories*, given that there is no statistic in either Catalonia or Spain that captures this characteristic, either by self-definition or by the interviewer’s determination? Bearing in mind this limitation, we define ethnic as the characteristics that people born in the same country or group of countries might have, with the awareness that this may be an overgeneralisation, since ethnicity can be defined by linguistic and/or cultural affinities and that oftentimes, but not always, an ethnic group is accentuated by the phenotypic similarity of its members. We have chosen the *place of birth* variable instead of the *nationality* variable with the purpose of providing statistical visibility to people who have become Spanish nationals over the course of this decade. This methodological decision was taken both because of the importance of the flow of immigrants from Latin American countries and because of this group’s ease in securing nationality. We are aware, however, that this leads to a bias that affects our results, primarily in terms of whether it refers to children of immigrants born in Spain, which means underestimations of a given group’s proportion of the population when they have had children in Spain, most likely the groups of individuals who have been settled here the longest time or who have the highest birth rate. Secondly, we divided the population according to place of birth and grouped together the home regions

(born in Spain, Latin America, Western Europe,² Eastern Europe,³ Africa and Asia), with the awareness, too, that working with such broad categories blurs the socio-demographic particularities of groups with a strong presence in Catalonia, such as those born in Morocco compared to the other groups of people born in other African countries.

In the migratory reality of our country, the type of ethnic enclave applied to the census tracts matches the classification developed by Johnston, Forrest and Poulsen (2002) for English cities. This typology has previously been used to analyse the transformation of the residential spaces in Spain (Sabater et al., 2013), as well as to pinpoint the zones with the highest concentration of foreign-born people living in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (Martori Cañas & Apparicio, 2011). In our case, we discriminated between seven kinds of residential areas depending on the percentage of local population and the composition of the foreign-born population living in each place. We call the points where the local population is the majority – born in Spain – *majority communities* and we distinguish two kinds. We call the places where they are not the majority *minority or ethnic enclaves*, and we distinguish five kinds. Thus, the majority communities include:

1. *Homogeneous majority communities*, where the population born in Spain accounts for 80% or more of the total population, while one or more groups of foreigners by region of birth form a minority within all the inhabitants of the same area.

2. *Non-homogeneous majority communities*, where the population born in Spain accounts for 50% to 79% of the total, while one or more groups form a significant minority within all the inhabitants of the same area.

Where the population born in Spain is not the majority, we can talk about *minority or ethnic enclaves*, which we divide into five types:

1. *Type-A plural enclaves*, where the population born in Spain still accounts for 30% to 49% of the population, and one or more groups of immigrants account for at least 20% of the total population, but none of them reaches more than 60% of the total population within the area.

2. *Type-B plural enclaves*. Just as in Type-A plural enclaves, the population born in Spain still accounts for 30% to 49% of the population, but no one group accounts for 20% of the total.

3. *Mixed enclaves*, where the population born in Spain is less significant within the population as a whole (less than 30%), while one or more groups form the bulk of the total yet without polarisation; that is, no group accounts for more than 60% of the total population within the same area.

² Western Europe includes: Germany, Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Malta, Monaco, Norway, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom, San Marino, Sweden, Switzerland and Vatican City.

³ Eastern Europe includes: Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovenia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic, Czech Republic, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, Ukraine and Cyprus.

4. *Polarised enclaves*, where one immigrant group accounts for at least 60% of the total population in the area, and this group also has a significant presence in other census tracts.

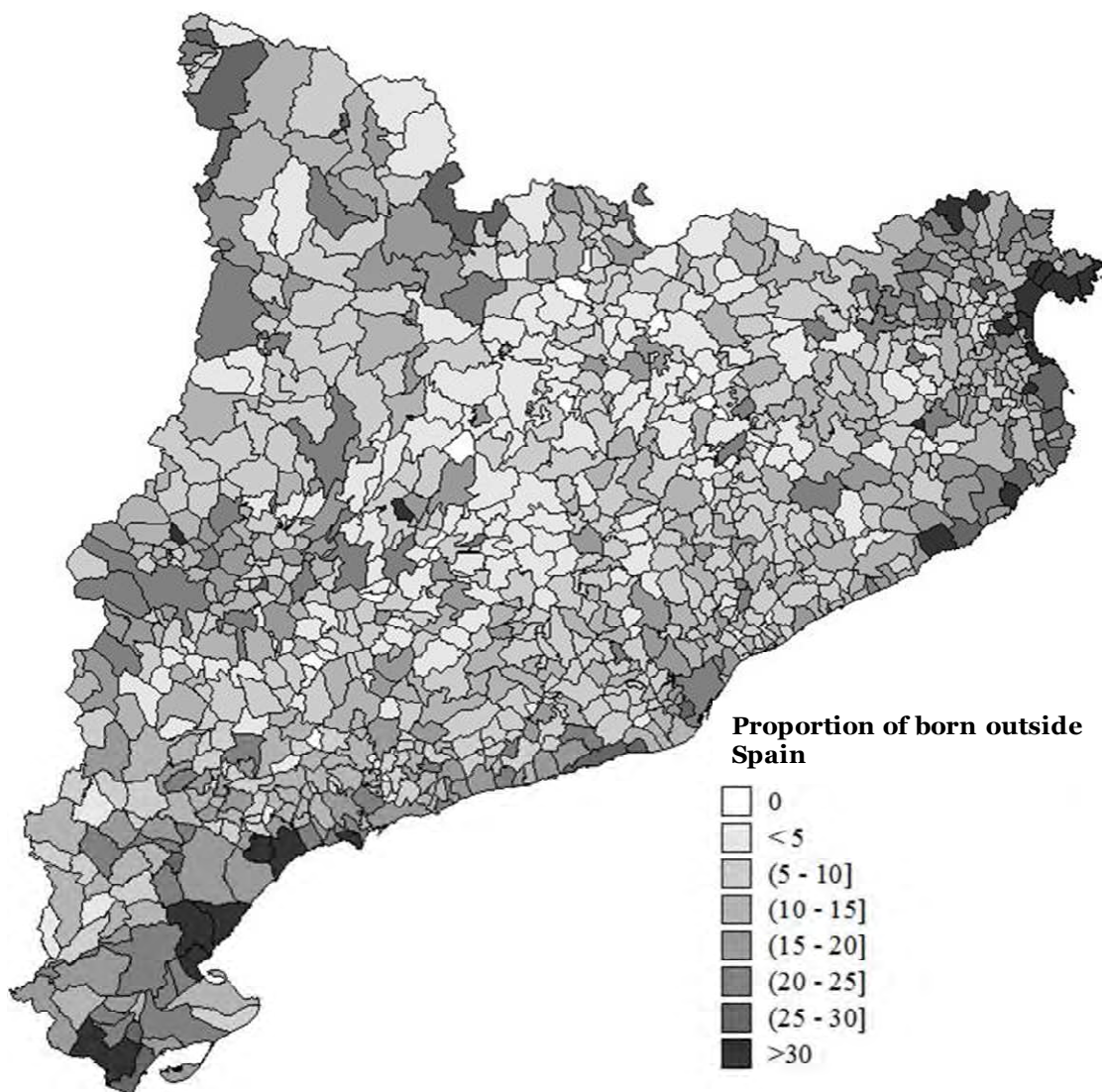
5. *Exclusive enclaves* (some authors identify them as ghettos given the high concentration and segregation that characterise them), which simultaneously fulfil two criteria: the existence of polarisation (a group of foreigners which account for more than 60% of the total population) and a population group (higher than 30%) which lives in the same area, in our case, the municipality to which the census tract belongs.

3. Location of ethnic enclaves in Catalonia

Currently, there are few ethnic enclaves in Catalonia. According to our definition of ethnic enclave, in the 2011 census tract we could only find 16 municipalities in all of Catalonia which had one, a mere 1.7% of the 947 municipalities in Catalonia. All of the 48 census tracts that can be defined as ethnic enclaves (out of a total of 5,019) are what we have called *plural enclaves*; that is, even though the foreign-born population is in the majority, they have a lower concentration of foreign inhabitants – between 50% and 70% of the total population. Of these tracts, 43 can be defined as Type-A enclaves – a single group accounts for between 20% and 60% of the population in the census tract – while five can be defined as Type B – where no single immigrant group reaches 20% of the total population of the tract. In other words, the distribution of the foreign-born population, despite the high percentages it has reached in the past decade compared to the population born in Spain, is characterised by a spatial distribution that resembles that of the local population, with moderate concentration levels. In terms of type of residence, this translates into a scarcity of ethnic enclaves, although we accept the possibility of underestimation, as mentioned above (in terms of both the total number of enclaves and the degree of concentration). Seventy-one percent of the 5,019 census tracts in 2011 corresponded to homogenous majority communities where the population born in Spain accounts for more than 80% of the registered population, while 27.7% are non-homogenous majority communities, where between 50% and 80% of the population was born in Spain.

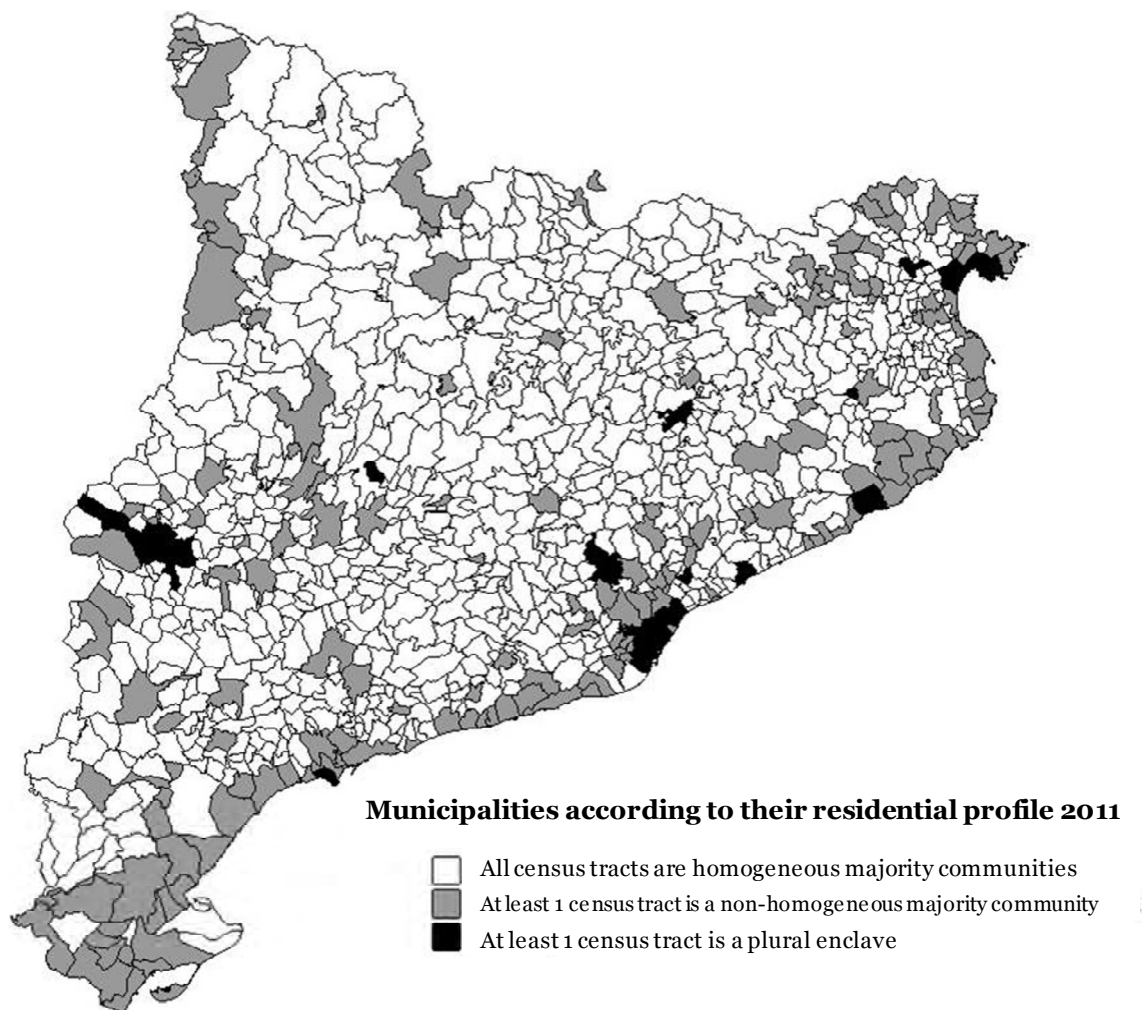
Where are these enclaves located? If we compare the percentage distribution of all the people born abroad on a municipal level with the location of the municipalities according to the presence of non-homogenous majority communities and enclaves in Catalonia in 2011 (Maps 1 and 2), we can see that half of the 16 municipalities with ethnic enclaves are concentrated in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area. On the level of census tract, this percentage rises to 66.6%, since we can find 18 ethnic enclaves in the municipality of Barcelona alone, six in Santa Coloma de Gramenet, three in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, one in Badalona, one in Mataró, one in Montornès del Vallès and one in Terrassa.

Map 1. Proportion of the registered population born outside Spain on a municipal scale (Catalonia 2011)



Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

Map 2. Municipalities according to the presence of majority communities, non-homogeneous majority communities and ethnic enclaves (Catalonia 2011)



Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

As could be expected for Catalonia as a whole, the five municipalities with the highest proportion of foreign residents – Castelló d'Empúries (48.6%), Guissona (46.4%), Lloret de Mar (43.4%), Salou (39.6%) and Salt (38.2%) – are indeed the homes to the ethnic enclaves, but with very different casuistics, even for those that share structural features, such as the prominence of the tourism industry. Thus, we find that two of the four census tracts in Castelló d'Empúries are ethnic enclaves, and they contain two-thirds of the entire population (11,885 people in 2011). In Lloret de Mar, a municipality with 14 census tracts, four of them are ethnic enclaves (two Type A and two Type B), and their population accounts for 36% of the total (40,282 people). In Salou, two of the eleven tracts can be considered ethnic enclaves; 7,800 people (29.8% of the total) live in these two tracts. Within this same typology is the town of Roses, 34% of whose residents are foreign-born, with one ethnic enclave among its eleven tracts. On the other hand is the case of Guissona, where both the recruitment of foreign workers for the food transformation industry and the supply of housing for these workers by their employer mean that one of the three tracts in the town, in

which 2,300 of the 6,500 residents live, can be classified as an enclave. On a larger scale, the importance of the meat industry has affected the fact that the ethnic enclave where the African-born population accounts for 45% of the total is located in Vic. Finally, the town with the highest proportion of foreign-born residents, and with a strictly residential profile unlike the other towns analysed, is Salt, which has four tracts out of a total of 16 that can be considered ethnic enclaves, which are the home to one-third of all residents in the town (10,259 people).

In the case of Barcelona, a municipality with 1,061 tracts which has the highest number of ethnic enclaves per census tract, we can nonetheless see that 15 of the 18 are concentrated in a single neighbourhood: El Raval (which encompasses a total of 20 census tracts). If we add to them the population living in the two tracts located in the Gothic Quarter plus the one tract in Sant Pere, we get a total of 41,300 people living in ethnic enclaves, which accounts for a mere 2.5% of the city's total population (1,615,452 people). On a different scale, Lleida and Figueres share their status as capitals of their respective *comarques* (and Lleida is also a provincial capital), but both only have one census tract which could be classified as an ethnic enclave. In the case of Lleida, of the 29,000 foreigners living in the city, 4.5% live in an enclave tract. In Figueres, 9.7% of the 13,000 foreign residents in 2011 lived in the only ethnic enclave in the city.

4. Formation and evolution of ethnic enclaves

Before embarking upon a tentative description, we should note that the lack of census-tract level data on births and mobility severely constrains our analysis. This would allow us to disentangle whether the formation and evolution of ethnic enclaves is mostly due to natural change or (internal and international) migration. Nonetheless, due to the recentness of immigration, it is safe to expect that most spatial patterns related to the arrival of migrants, including the formation of ethnic enclaves in Catalonia, have mostly been guided by the migration component and, more recently, their growth in situ. Other non-demographic effects such as their legal recognition and the effect of the economic recession are pivotal to understanding the settlement dynamics over time. In recent years, for example, a great deal of attention has been paid to the impact of the crisis spatially depending on the individual characteristics (e.g. place of origin, age, sex) and the destination/ place of residence.

First, let us examine the impact that the laws may have had on the figures on the immigrant population. Taking 2000 as the start of our observation, it should come as no surprise that in 2005 the effects of normalisation⁴ led to an increase in the number of people registered in the municipal censuses; therefore, this may cause variations in the ratio of population by place of birth in some of the census tracts. Indeed, some of them show more than 50% of the population born abroad, which might be counted as an "enclave". This may well be the case of Mataró, Terrassa, Lleida and the first enclaves recorded in Salt and Santa Coloma de Gramenet, for example. Seventeen percent of the 48

⁴ By "normalisation" we mean the regularisation of the status of foreigners living on Spanish soil without residence and work permits enacted by the socialist government led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero.

census tracts classified as ethnic enclaves appeared as such in 2005. In these cases, the census tract must surely have been an ethnic enclave previously, but the residents' failure to register in the municipal censuses prevented them from being identified. This might be the case of the only census tract in Lleida, in which 56.5% of its residents were suddenly born abroad in 2005. Only the town of Castelló d'Empúries shows an ethnic enclave from the start of the period, the first group of which was made up of people born in Western European countries; this lasted until 2011 despite the division of the tract in 2006. The emergence of enclaves in different municipalities around Catalonia in 2006, such as the first one recorded in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, where the prime place of birth of those born outside Spain is Latin America, or in Salou, where Africa is the leading continental region of birth, and the growth in the percentage of those which had formed in 2005, such as in Mataró and Santa Coloma de Gramenet, can also be explained by the laws, bearing in mind the rise in family reunification which came in the two years after the 2005 normalisation, since one year of continuous legal residency was required in order to reunite.

However, regardless of the largest continental contingent of people born abroad, twelve of the enclaves appeared as late as 2008, that is, dovetailing with the onset of the economic crisis. This can be explained by the swiftness of the spread of the immigrant population around Catalonia during the migratory boom. Even though the population growth was exceptional because of the volume of newcomers, their internal mobility and dispersed settlement patterns may explain why the majority of enclaves appeared precisely at the same time as the shift in migratory flows. We might believe that a peak of saturation had been caused by the maximum immigration figures reached in 2007, but we should also bear in mind another important phenomenon besides the dispersion of the immigrant population: the more notable loss in the Spanish-born population living in the census tracts which became ethnic enclaves. It is difficult to distinguish to what extent this reduction is due simply to the chain of residential vacancies that the real estate bubble accelerated, whether it comes from the flight of the local population precisely due to the increase in the immigrant population in the shared census tract (Frey, 1979), or whether is due to both aspects at the same time.

Following this criterion on the twofold evolution of the population living in the census tract that would become an ethnic enclave by place of birth, we have isolated three main patterns. First, some towns have undergone a process of ethnic population replacement. Secondly, some have experienced heavy population growth primarily due to foreign-born residents (with a drop in the Spanish-born population). And third, some towns have experienced growth due to residents born both outside and inside Spain, but with very different paces and population distributions. Finally, the recent trend of concentration or de-concentration is related to the origin of the majority group in the census tract, as we shall see. In this sense, we could assume different responses to the economic crisis, as some groups show a greater tendency towards mobility than others.

4.1. Ethnic replacement

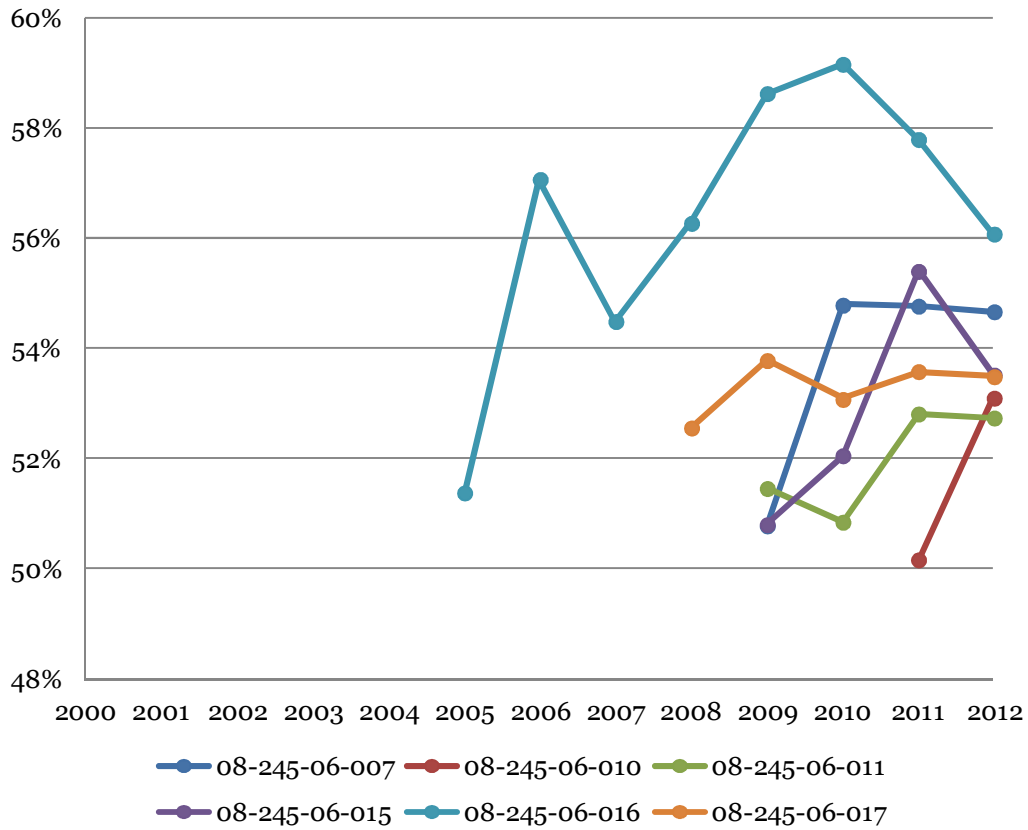
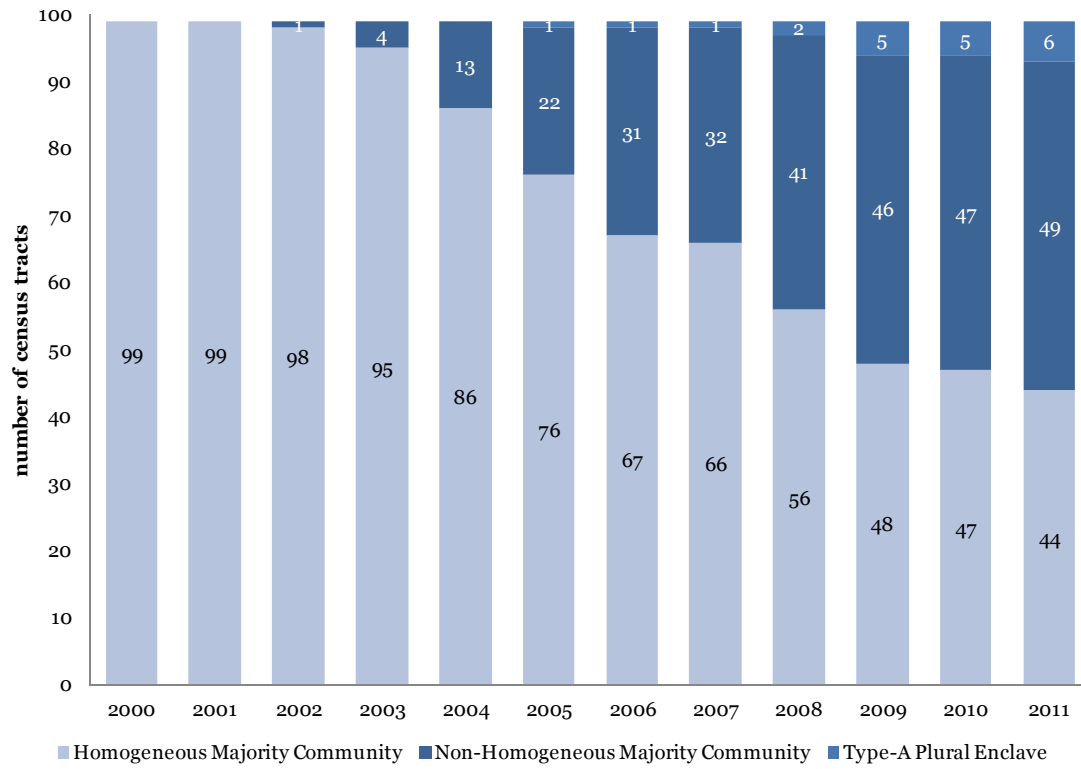
To illustrate the municipalities which have undergone a process of ethnic replacement, that is, municipalities where the number of inhabitants did not

vary excessively between 2000 and 2011 but where the number of persons born outside Spain did and consequently the number who were born here declined, let us take two examples, both from the Barcelona Metropolitan Area: Santa Coloma de Gramenet and L'Hospitalet de Llobregat. As we shall see, the change in population composition also includes the different groups of people born outside Spain.

On the one hand, Santa Coloma de Gramenet had 99 census tracts throughout the period, with a total population of over 117,000 people in 2000 and 120,000 in 2011. What changed considerably over these 12 years is the composition of its population and consequently the residential distribution within the municipality. First, between 2000 and 2011 the city lost around 21,000 people born in Spain, but it gained 25,000 people born abroad, although we should bear in mind that some of those born in Spain were the descendants of the foreign-born population and that the composition the latter also varied by origin (from the prevalence of people born in Africa before 2004 to those born in Latin America and Asia after that). These changes led to a transformation in the city's residential composition. While in 2000 it was exclusively made up of homogenous majority communities, they accounted for only 44% of the total in 2011, giving way instead to the proliferation of both non-homogeneous majority communities and six plural Type-A enclaves.

Even though people born in Latin America became the most numerous group in the city in 2004, within the ethnic enclave tracts, the first of which appeared in 2005, those born in Asia were the majority. As Graph 1 illustrates, the tendency within the six tracts is towards greater concentration, except in the oldest tract, where the loss of Asians, Latin Americans and Africans in 2011 led to a drop in the percentage of foreigners compared to 2010.

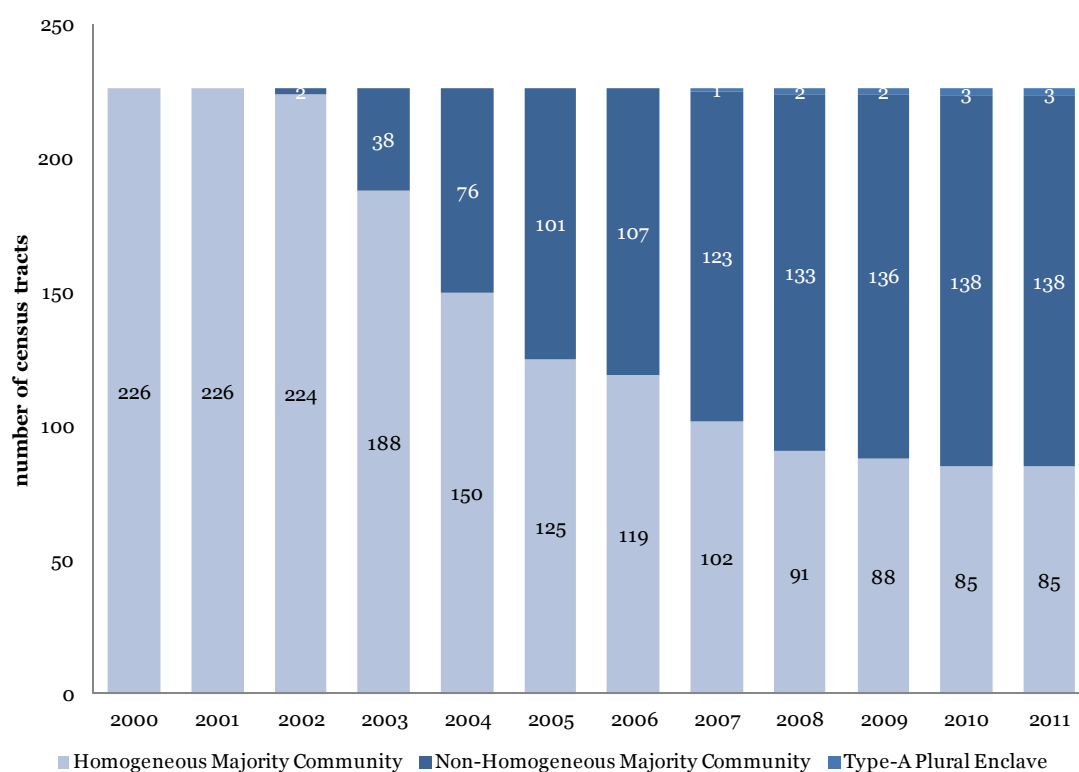
Graph 1. Evolution of the residential concentration on the census-tract scale (Santa Coloma de Gramenet 2000-2011)

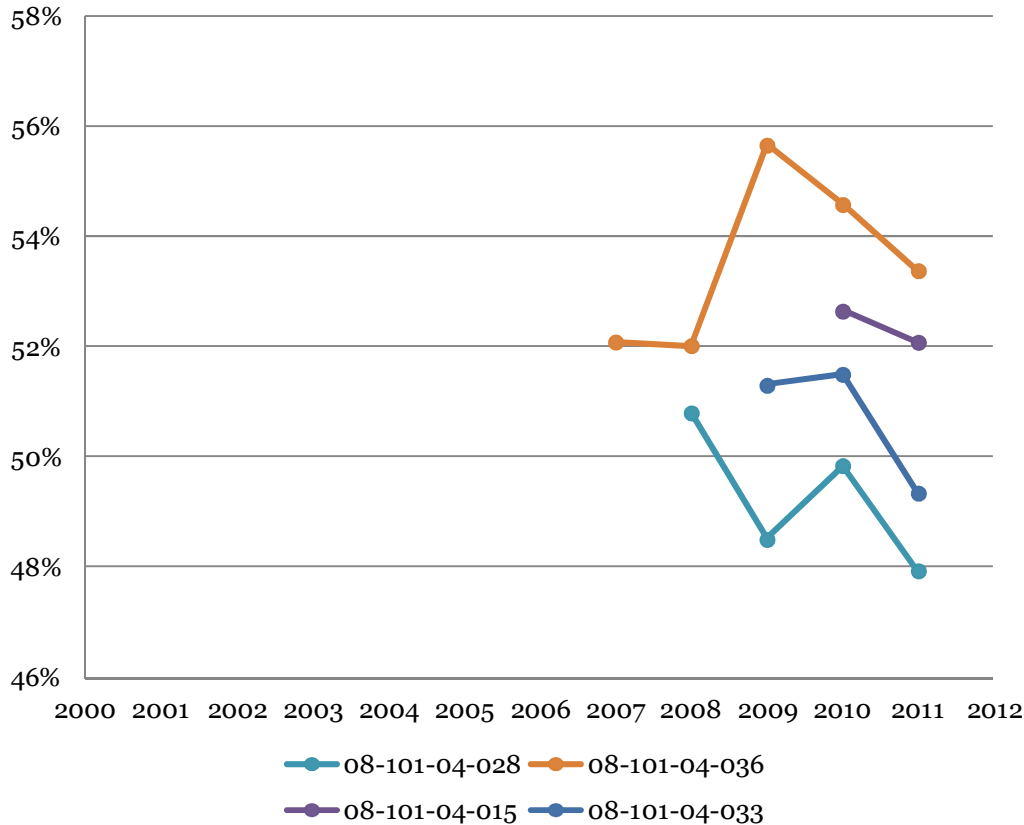


Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

Even though the number of inhabitants in L’Hospitalet de Llobregat is almost double that of Santa Coloma de Gramenet (from 241,000 people in 2000 to 256,000 in 2011), it can also be considered an example of population replacement in terms of its composition. While the number of census tracts remained steady (226), just as in Santa Coloma de Gramenet what changed was the composition of its population and in consequence the distribution of residential composition. This city lost a total of 42,000 people born in Spain during the period 2000-2011, while the gain in the foreign-born population was 56,000, three-fourths of whom were born in Latin America. Here, too, we find a city composed exclusively of homogeneous majority communities in 2000 (Graph 2), which began to disappear in favour of non-homogenous communities after 2002, which accounted for 61% of the total by 2011. What is more, during this period, up to five enclaves appeared, only three of which met the requirement of having less than 50% of the population born in Spain in 2011. For all of them, the tendency is clearly towards deconcentration spurred by the decline in the number of Latin Americans.

Graph 2. Evolution of the residential concentration on the census-tract scale (l’Hospitalet de Llobregat 2000-2011)





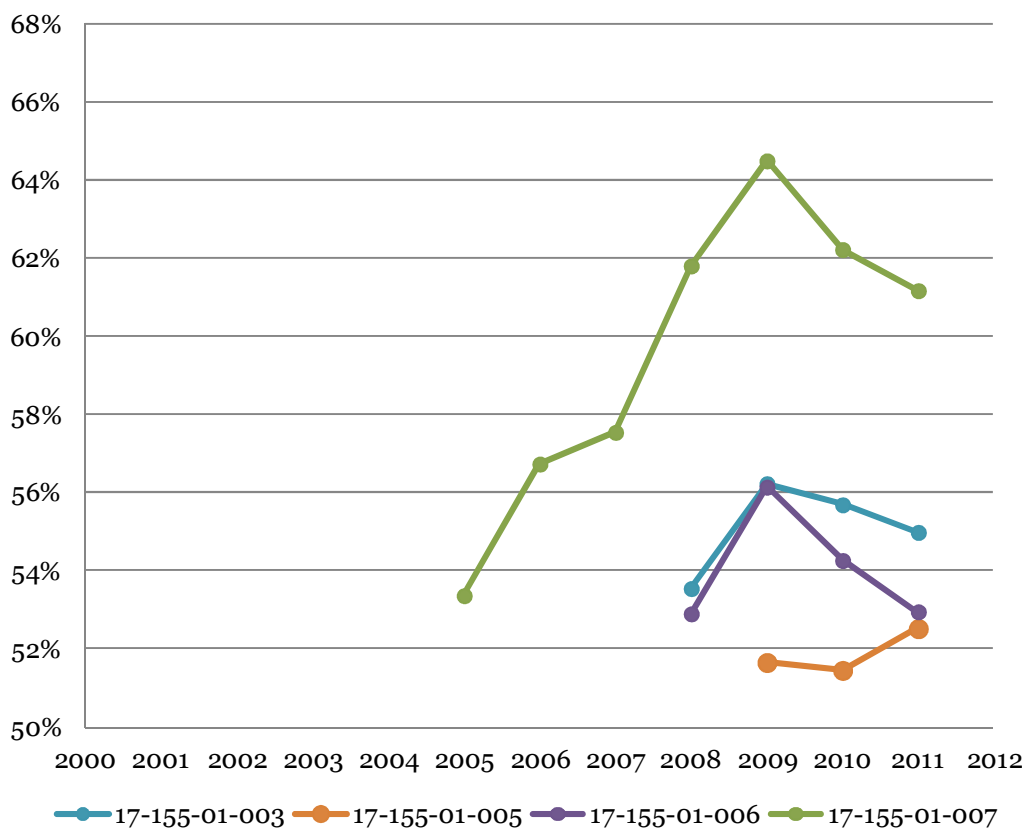
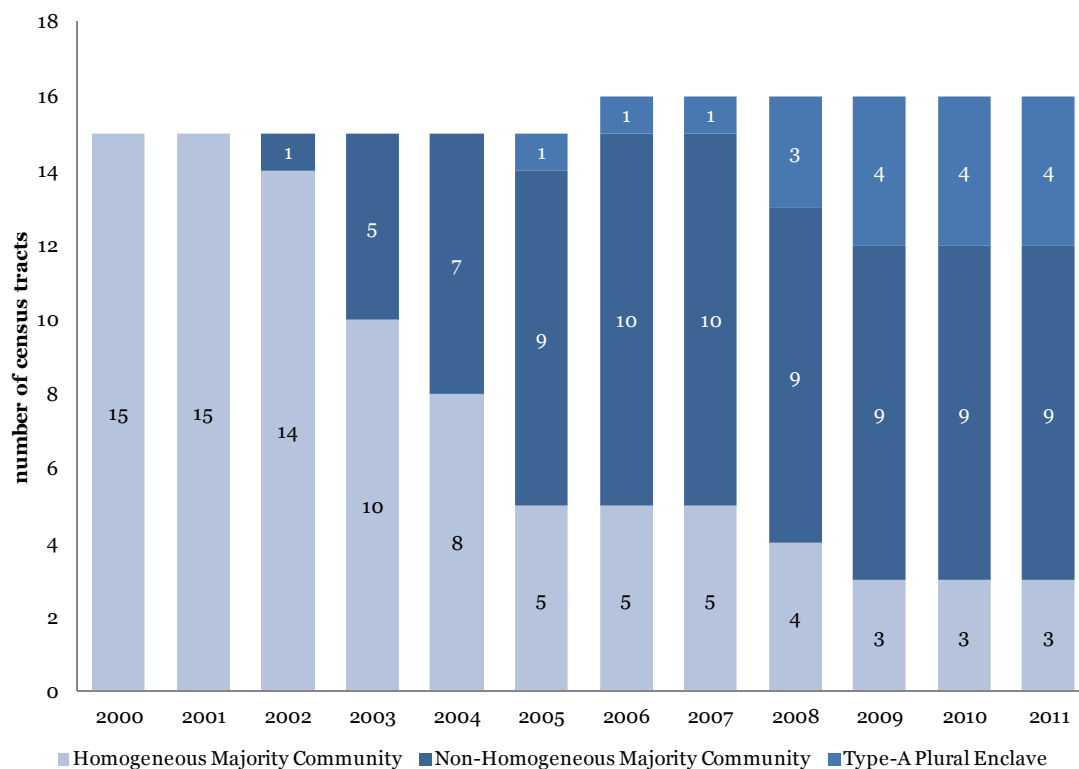
Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

4.2. Growth due to the foreign-born population

We have taken the towns of Salt in El Gironès and Vic in Osona as our representatives of the second kind of municipality according to the evolution in the population composition by place of birth. Specifically, these towns have experienced steep growth in the number of inhabitants due primarily to foreign-born residents.

Salt, which added a census tract in 2006, increasing from 15 to 16, also lost Spanish-born residents between 2000 and 2011, but in this case the losses (1,960 people) were more than offset by the gains in the number of foreign-born residents (10,300 people). Thus, the total population rose from 22,000 to 30,000 inhabitants. In this municipality, the main immigrant groups throughout the entire period were those born in Africa (from 900 to 7,400 inhabitants), followed later by those born in Latin America (from 150 to 2,500 people). On the other hand, the evolution in the percentage of people born abroad who live in the four ethnic enclave tracts in the town of Salt allows us to perceive the plausible effects of the economic crisis through the decline in the foreign-born population (or perhaps their relocation to other tracts). Thus, in three of the four enclaves, 2009 signalled a turning point in the previous trend towards greater concentration (Graph 3), primarily caused by the decrease in the number of people born in Africa and Latin America and, to a lesser extent, Eastern Europe. Even though the number of Asian-born residents was small in these tracts (between 50 and 100 people), it nonetheless rose during this period, despite the aforementioned overall loss in foreign population.

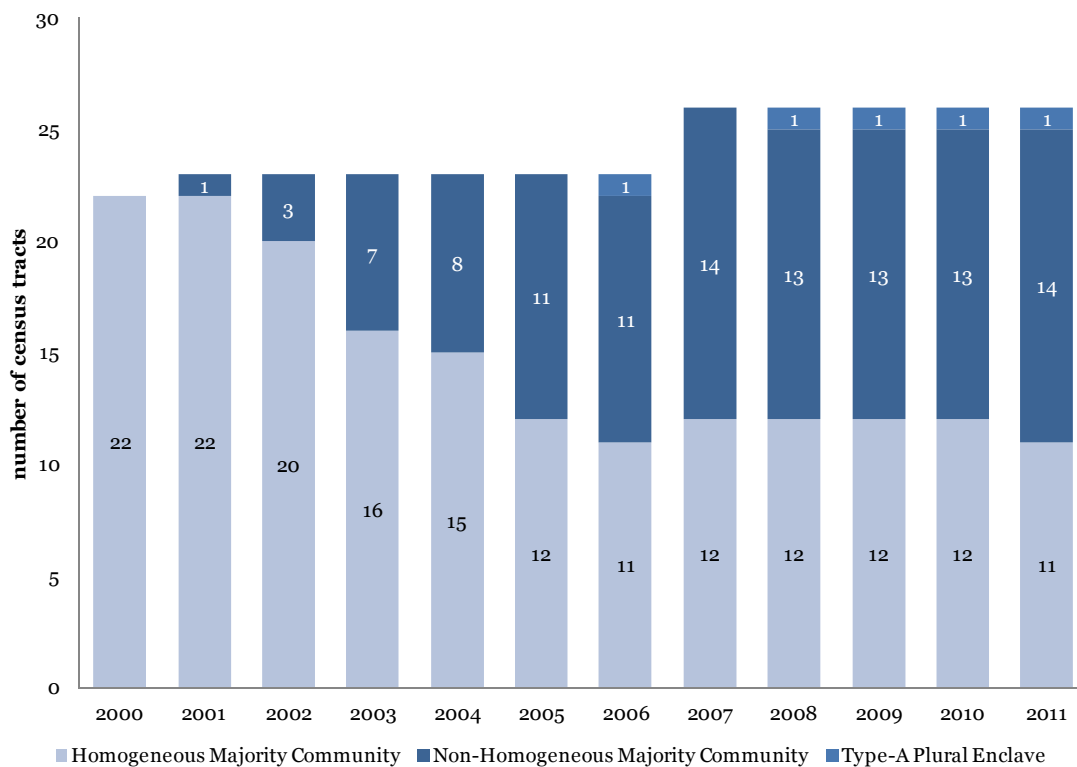
Graph 3. Evolution of the residential concentration on the census-tract scale (Salt 2000-2011)

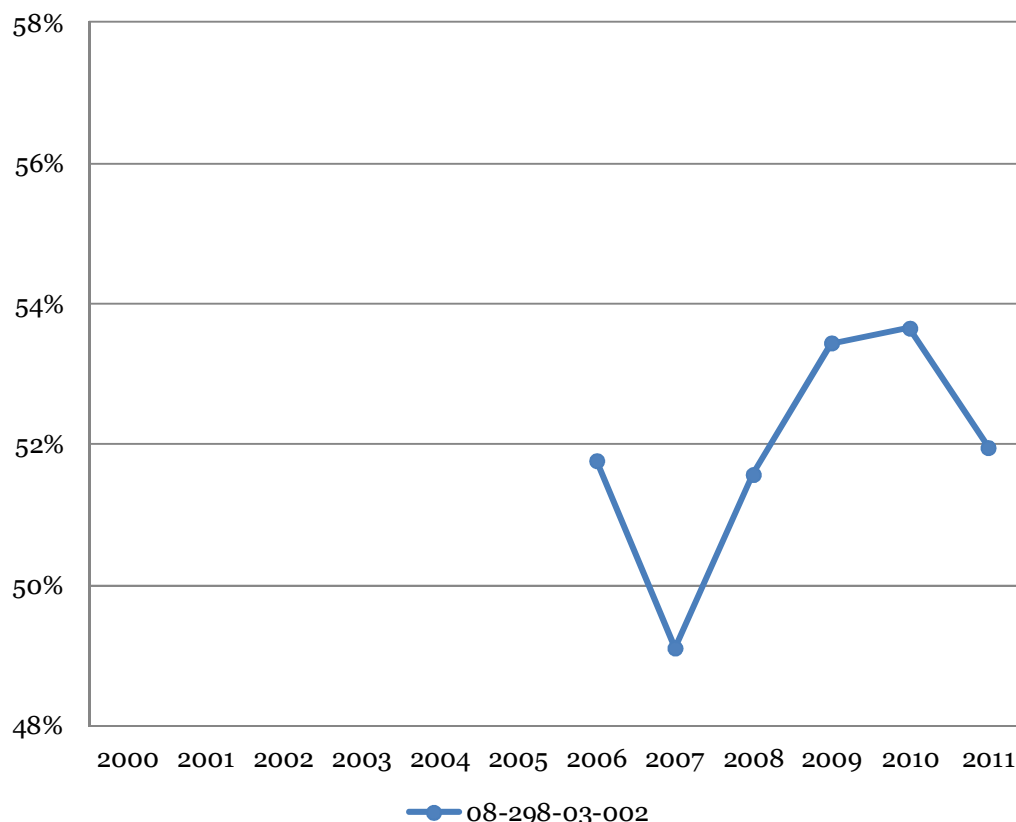


Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

In the case of Vic, a town where the number of census tracts rose from 22 in 2000 to 23 between 2001 and 2006 and to 26 between 2007 and 2011, the Spanish-born population experienced slight growth (from 29,700 to 31,100) between 2000 and 2011. In contrast, the foreign-born population, with a rise of 8,000 people, is chiefly behind the total growth of 9,300 people, as well as the change in the composition by residential type, with the appearance of non-homogeneous majority communities and an ethnic enclave. In this town, people born in Africa led the growth in the foreign-born population, reaching 5,000 people in 2011, followed by Latin America (2,200 people) and Asia (1,170 people). Regarding the evolution in the percentage of foreigners living in the ethnic enclave tract, the first thing we should note is that the decline since 2007 came from the increase in the number of census tracts. Here we can also observe how 2009 signalled a turning point after which the tract lost foreigners from all the continental groups.

Graph 4. Evolution of the residential concentration on the census-tract scale (Vic 2000-2011)



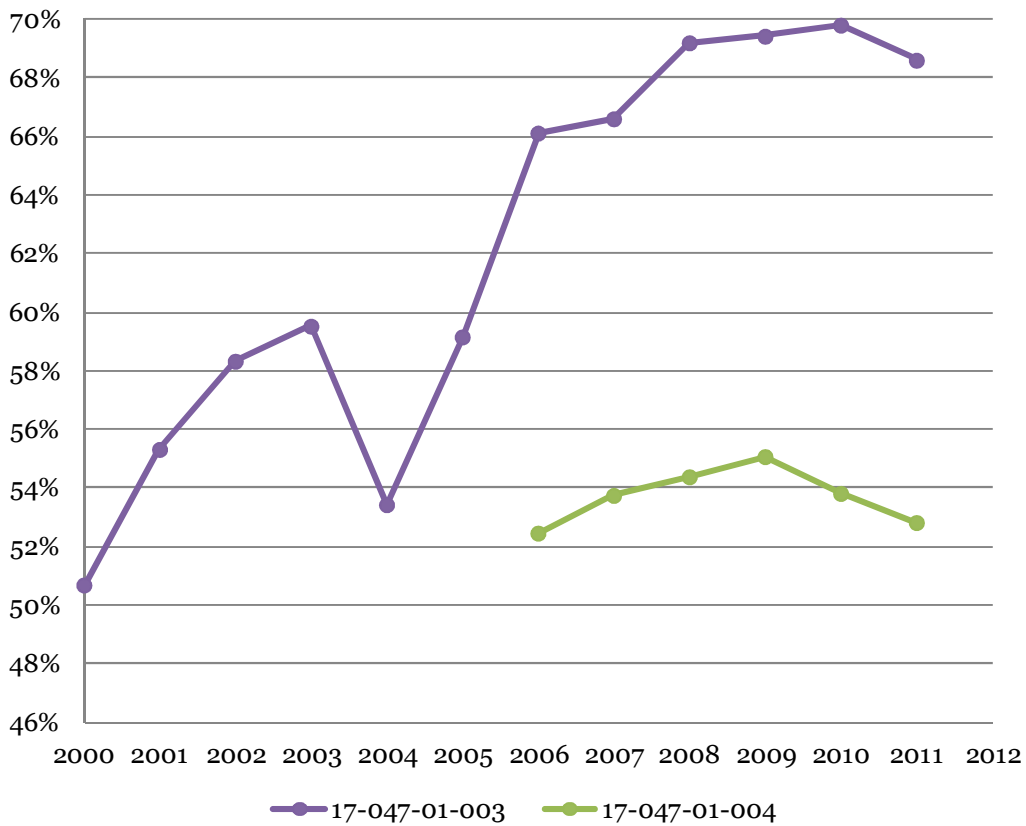
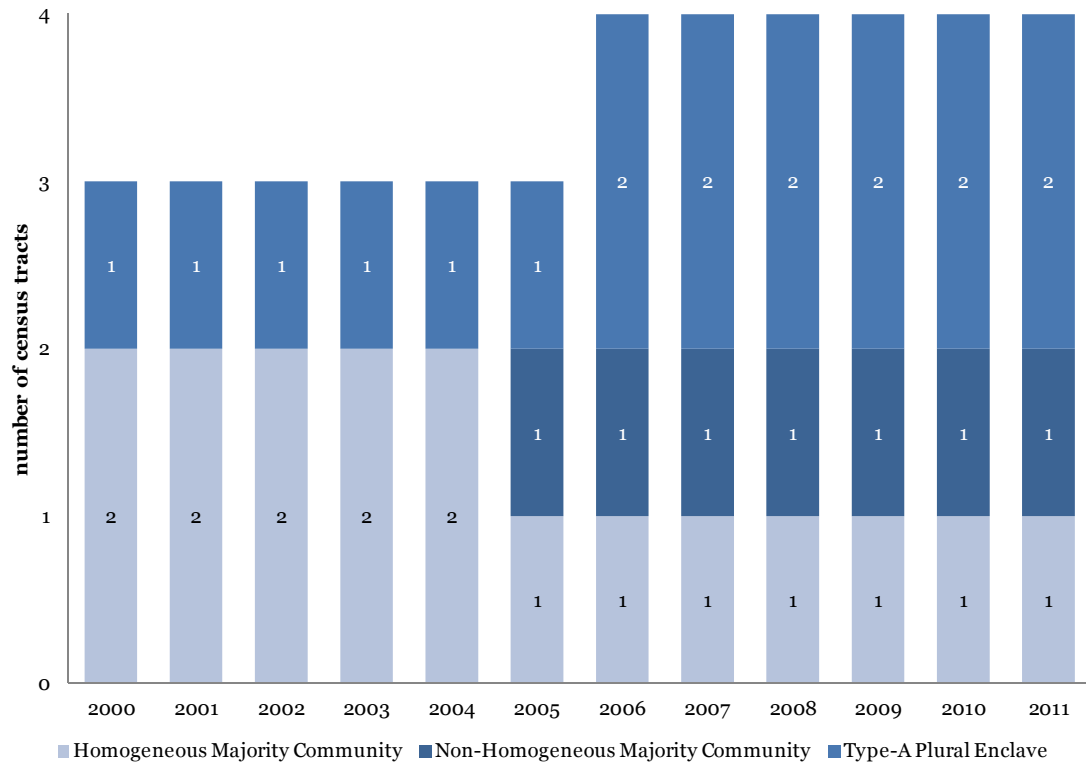


Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

4.3. Growth due to both the local Spanish-born population and the foreign-born population

We can find the oldest ethnic enclave of those we have identified in the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries in the Alt Empordà. In tract 003, which lies within district 01, the number of foreign-born residents had been more than 50% of the total population since 2000, with a clear pre-eminence of Eastern Europeans (Graph 5). The population growth in this tract made it necessary to divide it in 2006. Thus, the city went from having three to four census tracts. What is more, the most recent tract (01-004) was "born" as an ethnic enclave. The town's total population went from 6,200 people in 2000 to almost 12,000 in 2011. This growth was caused by the steady increase in not only the foreign-born population throughout the entire period but also in the Spanish-born population. In this sense, the decline in the relative proportion of people born outside Spain in both ethnic enclave tracts is the outcome of this twofold process: first, the growth in the number of people born in Spain and secondly the loss of foreign residents from all groups, except those born in Eastern Europe, since 2009.

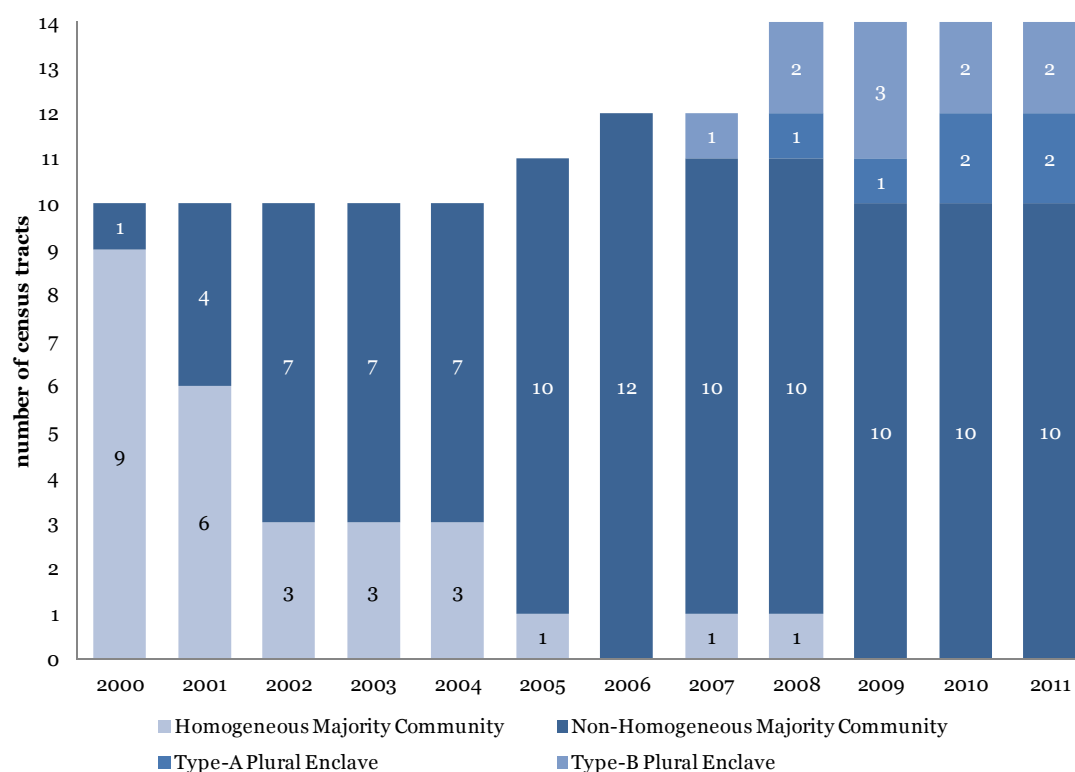
Graph 5. Evolution of the residential concentration on the census-tract scale (Castelló d’Empúries 2000-2011)

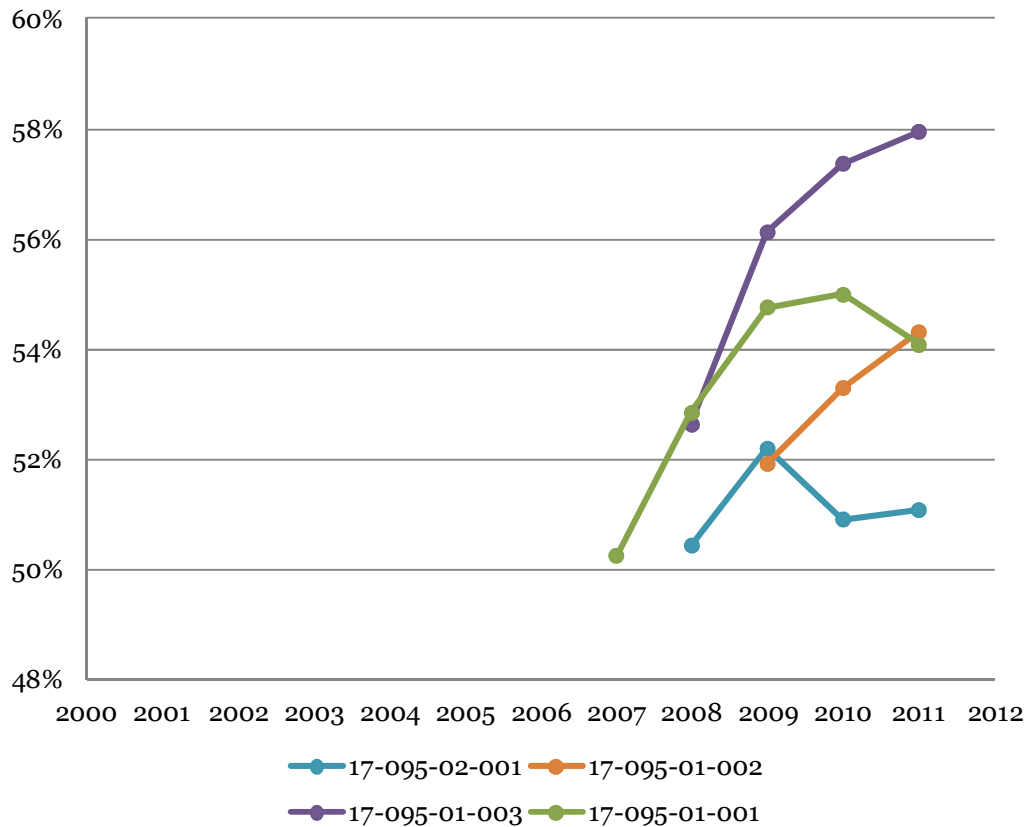


Source: Authors’ own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d’Habitants, INE).

The town of Lloret de Mar, also in the Alt Empordà, underwent even greater changes in terms of both its division into census tracts (from 10 to 14) and the composition of its population. At the beginning of the period, the number of residents was around 20,000 people, 13% of whom had been born abroad, with Western Europeans accounting for almost one-half (45%) of this sub-group. In 2011, the total population of the town reached 40,000 people. The cause for this spectacular growth was primarily people born in Spain, with 5,000 more than in 2000, but even more importantly people born abroad, whose numbers had risen by 15,000. Furthermore, the majority presence of residents born in Western Europe had been replaced by Eastern Europeans and Latin Americans, in addition to growth in the number of Africans and Asians living in the town. These population transformations led to the disappearance of homogeneous majority communities and the appearance of four ethnic enclaves – two Type A and two Type B (Graph 6). These four tracts kept moving towards increased concentration, primarily because of the increase in the number of residents born in Eastern Europe, as well as in both Africa and Asia. Regarding the population born in Latin America, 2009 signalled a turning point after which the numbers dropped in both the four ethnic enclave tracts and the town as a whole.

Graph 6. Evolution of the residential concentration on the census-tract scale (Lloret de Mar 2000-2011)





Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

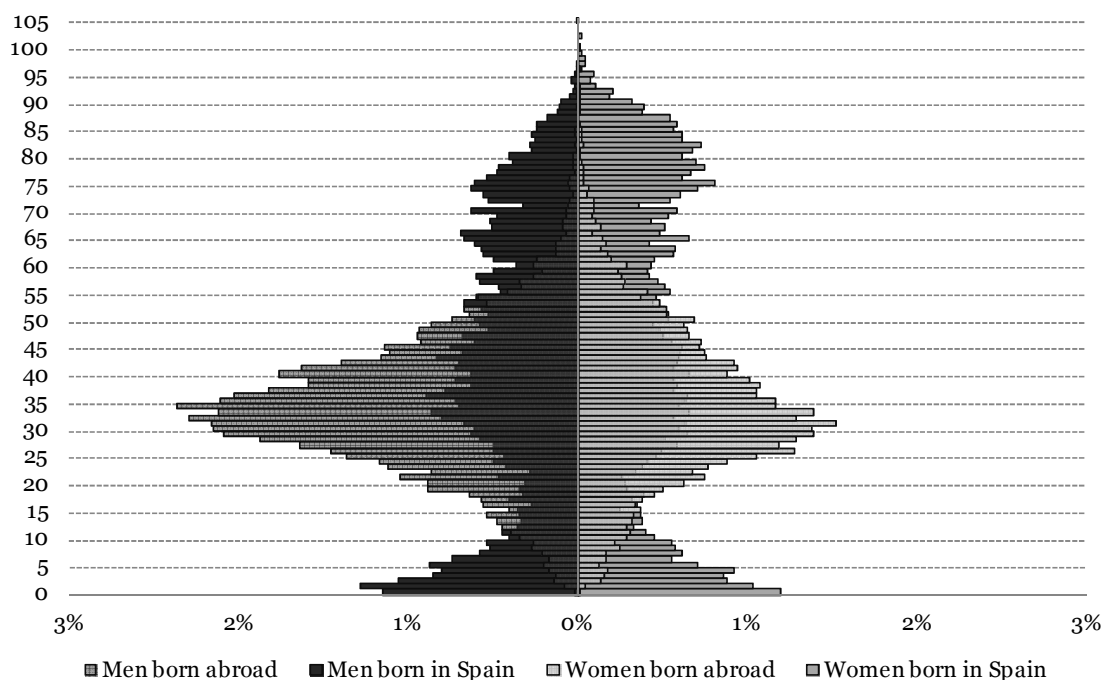
5. Demographic features of the people living in the enclaves

In terms of population, we can see that 4.6% of the 1,322,566 born abroad and residing in Catalonia in 2011 lived in some kind of ethnic enclave, and only 0.75% of those born in Spain (Table 2 in the Appendix). If we break this percentage down by continental origins, we can find on the one extreme Latin Americans, the most numerous group (523,844 people), with more than 2.4% of their population living in enclaves, and on the other extreme the Asian-born population, the least numerous group (136,070 people), with 13% of their population living in these enclaves. In the middle are the Western and Eastern Europeans – both with 4.3% of their populations living in ethnic enclaves, and the population born in Africa, with 5.2% of their 297,000 total population living in ethnic enclaves.

To capture the diversity of demographic profiles of the people who live together in ethnic enclaves, owing to space limitations, here we shall limit ourselves to presenting the basic traits, namely sex and age, of the main populations registered as residing in the 15 ethnic enclaves in the city of Barcelona located in El Raval neighbourhood. The sum of these census tracts is what makes this entire neighbourhood an ethnic enclave. The three leading nationalities found there, except Spanish, are Philippine, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, meaning that this neighbourhood is a reference for those populations living in Barcelona (even though some of members of these groups live in the census tracts of other neighbourhoods).

In 2011, the tracts that could be regarded as enclaves accounted for 1.4% of the 1,061 tracts comprising the city. A total of 35,591 people lived in these plural Type-A enclaves (2.2% of the total population), 57.4% of whom were born abroad. If we examine the structure of the local and foreign-born population living in all the ethnic enclaves in El Raval by sex and age (Figure 1), the first thing that stands out is the ageing of the former compared to the latter. We should recall that we are working with the population by place of birth, which explains matters such as the fact that at the base of the pyramid the percentage of people born in Spain is disproportionately large for a population which, as mentioned above, is ageing; this is due to the children of immigrants born in Spain, many of whom were quite likely born in El Raval neighbourhood. In relative terms, Spanish-born residents of El Raval account for 1.2% of the total population registered in the city (1,273,594 people); their mean age is 43.6 years old – which would rise if we subtracted the children of immigrants – and their masculinity index is 97.7 men for every 100 women. Even though the brief space we have requires us to summarise the features of the 15 enclaves, we should note that diversity is one of their most salient features: diversity both in their countries of birth (130) and in the proportion of sexes and ages between the population born in Spain and born abroad. Despite this, for the whole, we can first highlight the age difference between the immigrants and locals: the 20,424 foreign-born people who live in enclaves account for 5.8% of the total foreign population (341,854 people). Furthermore, these immigrants' interest in insertion in the job market is clear if we look at both mean age (34.4 years old) and composition by origin, where the Philippines (4,639 people) is the leading country of birth, followed by Pakistan (4,562 people) and Bangladesh (1,396 people). Secondly, we can find a higher presence of men among natives of other countries, which can be explained by the massive presence of people born in both Pakistan and Bangladesh. Thus, for the foreign population as a whole, there are 144 men for every 100 women.

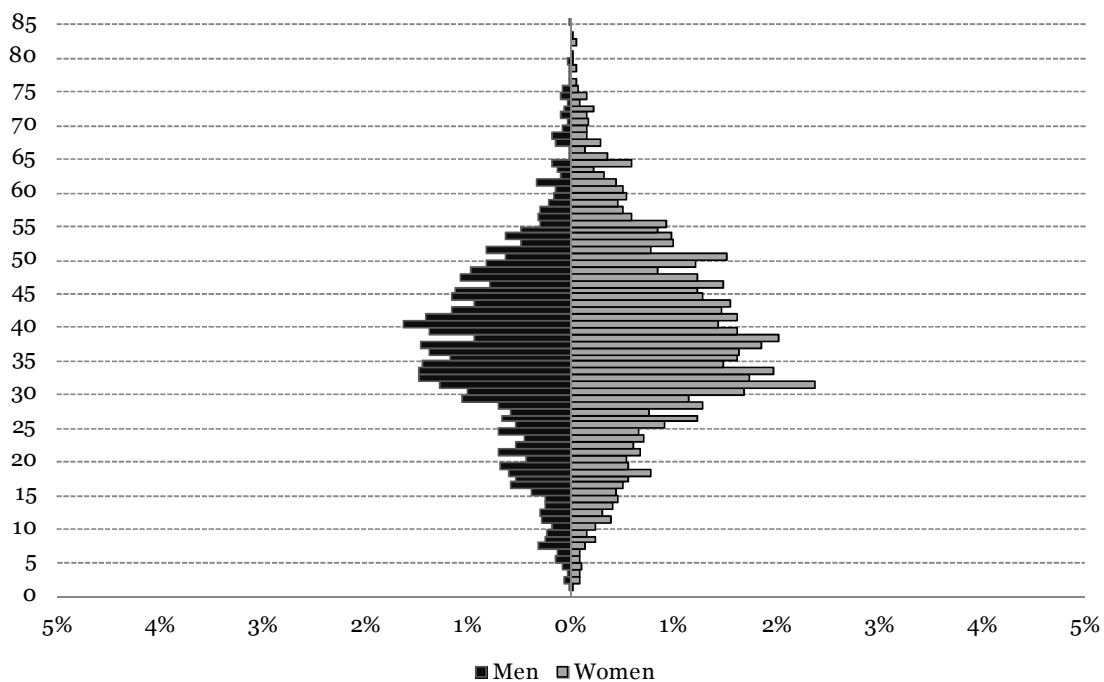
Figure 1. Superimposed pyramids of the populations born in Spain and abroad living in the ethnic enclaves in El Raval neighbourhood (municipality of Barcelona 2011).



Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

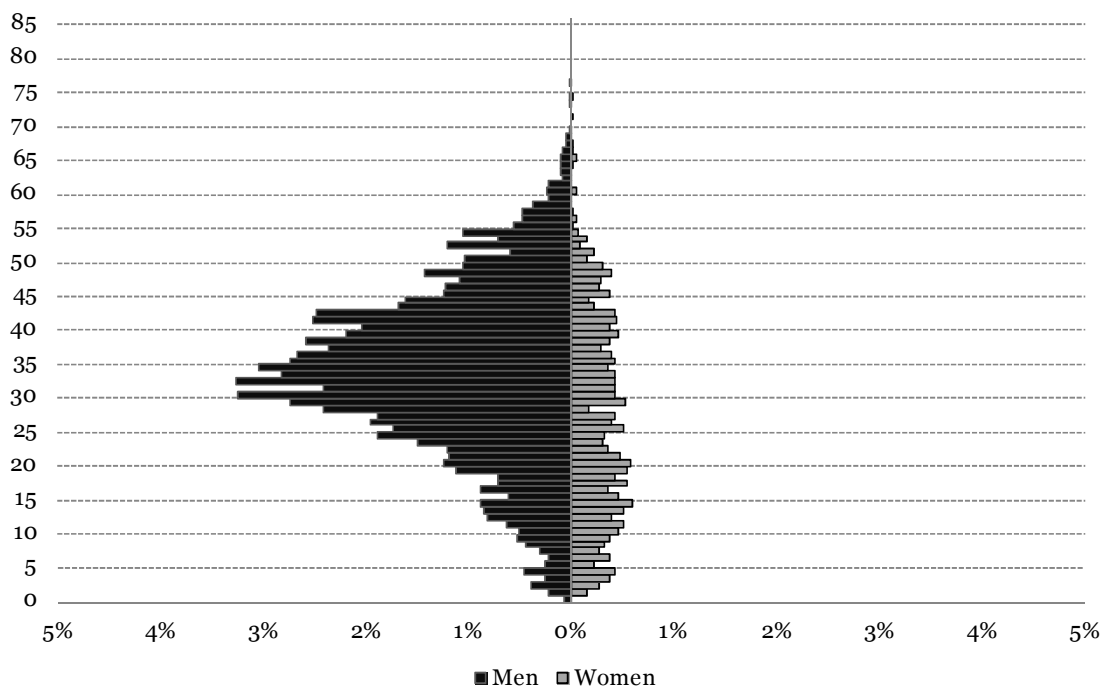
When we break down the foreign population into its three major components (born in the Philippines, Pakistan and Bangladesh; Figures 2, 3 and 4), the picture changes considerably. On the one hand, we can see a higher presence of women among the Philippine natives (with a masculinity index of 74 men for every 100 women), as well as the heavily male composition of the Pakistani (405 men for every 100 women) and Bangladeshi (445 men for every 100 women) contingents. On the other hand, we can also see the higher mean age among the Philippine natives (37.4 years old) compared to their counterparts from Pakistan (31.8 years old) and Bangladesh (29.1 years old). With the data available to us, it is impossible to disentangle among the Spanish-born population under the age of 18 those who are the children of unions among the first three nationalities analysed, even though the more family-oriented and older Philippine settlement makes it a candidate for the circumstance that a higher proportion of these minors have parents born in the Philippines.

Figure 2. Pyramid of the population born in the Philippines living in the ethnic enclaves in El Raval neighbourhood (municipality of Barcelona 2011).



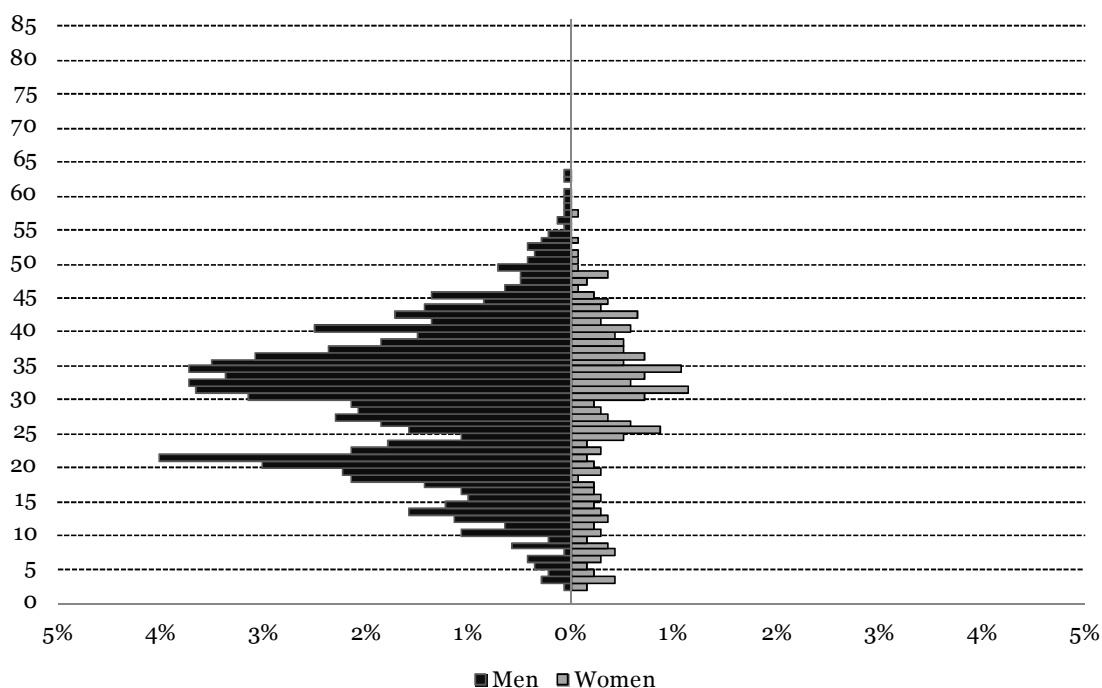
Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

Figure 3. Pyramid of the population born in the Pakistan living in the ethnic enclaves in El Raval neighbourhood (municipality of Barcelona 2011).



Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

Figure 4. Pyramid of the population born in the Bangladesh living in the ethnic enclaves in El Raval neighbourhood (municipality of Barcelona 2011). (municipi de Barcelona 2011)



Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

6. Conclusions

Based on this initial examination of the formation and evolution of ethnic enclaves in Catalonia, we can extract a few tentative conclusions. Even though, as noted above, the kind of information available means that we end up underestimating the concentration of the immigrant population and therefore the number of ethnic enclaves, they are extraordinarily rare in the country as a whole. This relative scarcity and the low concentration of those that do exist compared to other autonomous communities around Spain – such as Valencia, where there were 74 ethnic enclaves in 2011 (Domingo et al., 2013) – is compounded by the noticeably late appearance of the laws which determined the migratory flows (primarily regulations and especially the normalisation of 2005) or at least the emergence of the population officially registered in the municipal census. This does not mean that the number of census tracts that have become majority non-homogenous in recent years may end up becoming enclaves, which will depend on the short- and middle-term evolution. It is also meaningful that the transformation of a given tract into an ethnic enclave is due to both the increase in the foreign-born population and in the decrease in the Spanish-born population (mostly due to emigration, even though in some cases it is also due to death, given the degree of ageing of the residents who still live in

these census tracts, as discussed above). In this sense, we should note that the sex and age profile of the people belonging to a census tract by place of birth leads us to believe that the relationships between locals and foreigners might be mediated by generation; that is, for the time being, they might be characterised not only by place of origin but also by age and the intergenerational relations which may be forged. Even though the majority of the enclaves have experienced a process of deconcentration which can be associated with the departure of people with foreign nationalities from some of these municipalities due to the economic crisis, we should bear in mind that in the forthcoming years the birth rate of the immigrant population may gain ground.

This means that for future analyses, it is essential to make a detailed examination of the natural growth components in the number of foreign residents whose demographic structure is characterised by more births than deaths in each group. Even though international and internal migration may become less important in some places in the near future, we should still bear them in mind either as part of “chain migration” processes or as elements of selection in terms of the inflow and outflow of migration. Therefore, we can expect that the population dynamic among both locals and foreigners will have consequences on the population concentration and dispersion trends around the territory. This, in turn, has clear implications when designing public policies related to the settlement of immigrants and territorial planning regarding not only the population volume but also the variety of socio-demographic profiles, which in turn diversifies the demands on the populations living in ethnic enclaves (regardless of their place of birth).

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Statistical Appendix

Table 1. Evolution in the number of census tracts by province

Year	Barcelona	Girona	Lleida	Tarragona	Catalonia
2000	3,847	474	388	498	5,207
2001	3,892	491	390	513	5,286
2002	3,829	492	390	510	5,221
2003	3,828	495	390	518	5,231
2004	3,834	495	388	520	5,237
2005	3,838	504	389	520	5,251
2006	3,863	511	389	521	5,284
2007	3,921	513	390	521	5,345
2008	3,971	523	390	526	5,410
2009	3,984	525	390	531	5,430
2010	3,563	525	390	530	5,008
2011	3,577	525	391	526	5,019

Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

Table 2. Population living in ethnic enclaves by continental groups

Catalonia 2011	Population of enclaves	Total population	Percentage
Spain	47,218	6,217,052	0.76%
Latin America	12,420	523,844	2.37%
Western Europe	7,399	171,468	4.32%
Eastern Europe	7,838	183,793	4.26%
Africa	15,335	297,427	5.16%
Asia	17,596	136,070	12.93%
Other	272	9,964	2.73%
Total foreigners	60,860	1,322,566	4.60%

Source: Authors' own based on figures from the Continuous Population Census (Padró Continu d'Habitants, INE).

