The Spread of Gentrification Processes in Southern Europe: Analyzing Socio-Spatial Reconfiguration in the Largest Spanish Urban Cores.

Carlos Sanz Pérez

csanz@ced.uab.es

Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics, Spain

ABSTRACT:

This study addresses the under-researched phenomenon of gentrification in Spain, focusing on its ten largest cities over the last decade, which has been dubbed the 'decade of gentrification' due to its spread into previously untouched neighbourhoods. While existing research has focused mainly on Madrid and Barcelona, and to a lesser extent on cities such as Granada, Seville and Palma, there is a notable lack of comprehensive research covering Spain's largest urban centres. We take advantage of the recent release of the 2021 census data to study the changes in the socio-spatial configuration of the population in the inner cities during the 2010s, especially in dynamics associated with gentrification.

A set of socio-demographic indicators are used to assess gentrification, which are compared between the 2011 and 2021 population and housing census. These indicators include age distribution, population origin, educational attainment, occupation, household composition, or tenure patterns, while complementary data sources are used to analyse the evolution of the housing market. In our approach, we descend to a fine-grained scale, the census tract or the neighbourhood. In addition to comparing the different indicators across neighbourhoods and cities, the study proposes the development of a composite gentrification index. Preliminary results suggest that gentrification have also penetrated into medium-sized cities that had not previously experienced this phenomenon. In large cities, gentrification have expanded intensively beyond the historic centers, which had been the main gentrified spaces until the last decade.

Keywords: Gentrification index, neighbourhood change, residential mobility, social stratification,

1. INTRODUCTION

In Spain, most research on gentrification has focused on the country's two main cities - Madrid and Barcelona (López-Gay et al, 2021; Sorando and Ardura, 2021) - and has been joined, albeit to a lesser extent, by others such as Granada, Seville and Palma. For the most part, research has focused on case studies of specific neighbourhoods. Although efforts have been made to analyse different cities (López-Gay et al, 2021; Sorando and Ardura, 2018), there is a lack of research that studies the main Spanish cities as a whole during the last decade, which has been defined as the decade of gentrification in Spain due to its extension to neighbourhoods that were previously unaffected by it. Therefore, what we propose here is to carry out an analysis of the ten

main Spanish cities: Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, Zaragoza, Malaga, Murcia, Palma, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and Bilbao.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Since Glass's first contribution on this process, different efforts have been made to make the issue more complex. On the one hand, some have tried to theorise this process in a unified way, alluding to its globality or to the process as a generalised strategy of neoliberal urbanism for unequal development that acts at all scales (Smith, 2002). On the other hand, the differences in the contexts of each city and each country have been highlighted as fundamental elements in the analysis of the causes and effects of gentrification, as well as in its form of development (Maloutas, 2011). In Spain, the importation of the wave model of gentrification proposed by Smith and Hackworth (2001) and continued by other researchers (Lees et al, 2008; Aalbers, 2019), has proved somewhat problematic given the country's different starting conditions. Sorando and Ardura (2018) have been responsible for this nuanced adaptation, highlighting the importance of some particular elements of the Spanish case, such as the historical hegemony of the tenure model or the lower degree of abandonment of historic centres compared to Anglo-Saxon cities. These and other aspects have led to a later arrival of gentrification processes in the main Spanish cities, which have intensified in the last decade.

3. METHODOLOGY

Given the scarcity of aggregate quantitative research on Spanish cities, the research questions we propose here are the following:

- How has the process of gentrification progressed in the top 10 Spanish cities during the decade 2011-2021?

- What similarities and differences do we find between the processes in the different cities?

The variety of socio-demographic elements involved and the difficulty of measuring displacement, one of the main consequences of gentrification (Easton et al, 2020), have made it difficult to study gentrification quantitatively. However, the literature has been defining a series of social, demographic and urban categories that characterise gentrification processes. The operationalisation of these categories allows us to construct indicators and indices that serve our purpose.

Taking advantage of the recent publication of the Population and Housing Census, for this study we will take the last two census years: 2011 and 2021. This source provides us with relevant information on people, dwellings and households that allows us to define socio-demographic profiles of the population. Given that gentrification is a process whose impact is better appreciated the smaller the unit of analysis, we will go down to the highest level of territorial disaggregation that the data allows. Although many data are available at a very low level - the census tract - statistical confidentiality protects certain tracts with a small number of cases for some variables, so we will opt to

use the neighbourhood as the spatial unit of analysis when it is not possible to use the census tract. In addition to the comparison of the calculated indices between neighbourhoods and cities, it is proposed to create a composite gentrification index for easier comparison.

| Categoría	Índice	Fuente
Age	% population between 25-49	Spanish population and housing census
Population origin	% population from with high HDI countries	Spanish population and housing census
Household composition	% single-person households % shared flats	Spanish population and housing census
Educational level	% high level education population over 25	Spanish population and housing census
Ocuppation	% profesional occupation categories	Spanish population and housing census
Real state market	Rental price €/m^2	Portal Idealista/MITMA
Tenancy regime	% main rental housing	Spanish population and housing census
Intramunicipal migration	Number of entries and exits by level of studies, nationality and age	Residential Variation Statistics

4. FINDINGS

Although the research is in an initial stage, we expect the results to show the advance of gentrification processes in 2021 towards areas that in 2011 were alien to this phenomenon. A first exploratory result of this process in the two main cities of the country - Madrid and Barcelona - shows us how the presence of the population with higher education over 25 years of age has spread between 2011 and 2021. First four figures show the spatial distribution in both cities at different years; the last two represent the percentage difference for each census tract between 2011 and 2021.

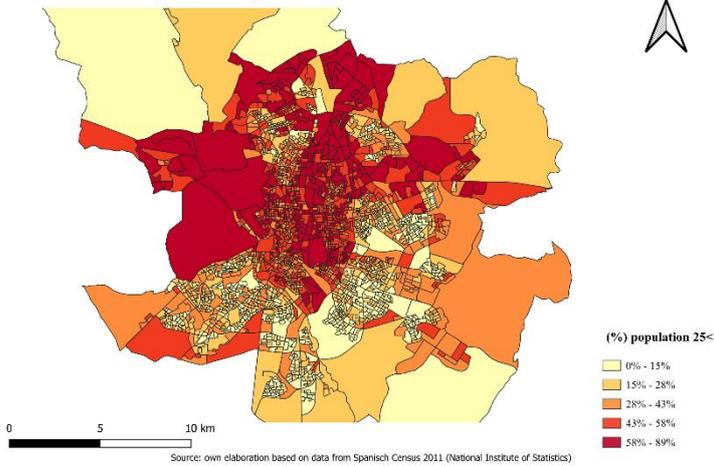Population 25< with higher education (%) in the city of Barcelona. Year 2011.
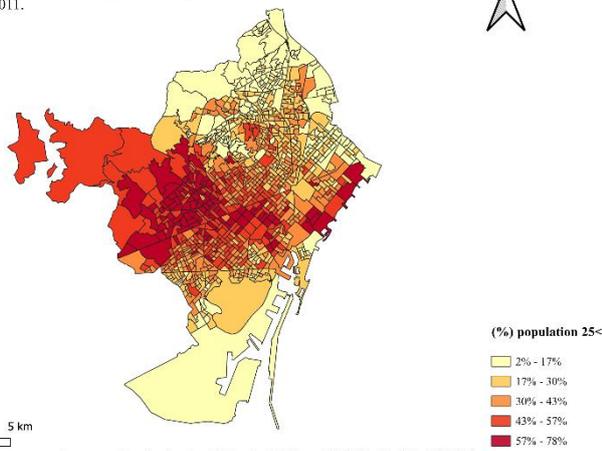
(%) population 25<
2% - 17%
17% - 30%
30% - 43%
43% - 57%
57% - 78%

0   2,5   5 km

Source: own elaboration based on data from Spanisch Census 2011 (National Institute of Statistics)

Population 25< with higher education (%) in the city of Barcelona. Year 2021.
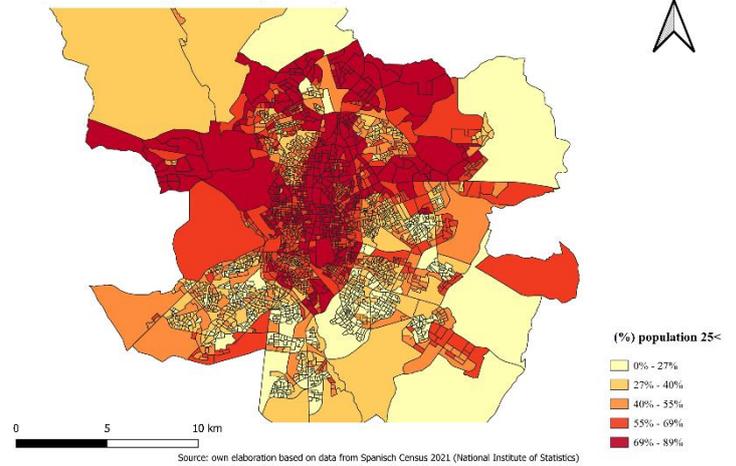
(%) population 25<
12% - 31%
31% - 43%
43% - 54%
54% - 65%
65% - 80%

0   2,5   5 km
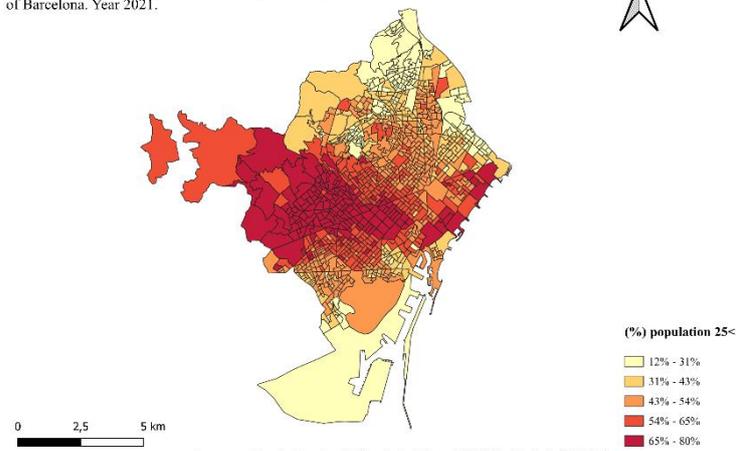
Source: own elaboration based on data from Spanisch Census 2021 (National Institute of Statistics)

Population 25< with higher education (%) in the city of Madrid. Year 2011.

Population 25< with higher education (%) in the city of Madrid. Year 2021.

(%) population 25<
- 0% - 15%
- 15% - 28%
- 28% - 43%
- 43% - 58%
- 58% - 89%

Source: own elaboration based on data from Spanisch Census 2011 (National Institute of Statistics)

(%) population 25<
- 0% - 27%
- 27% - 40%
- 40% - 55%
- 55% - 69%
- 69% - 89%

Source: own elaboration based on data from Spanisch Census 2021 (National Institute of Statistics)

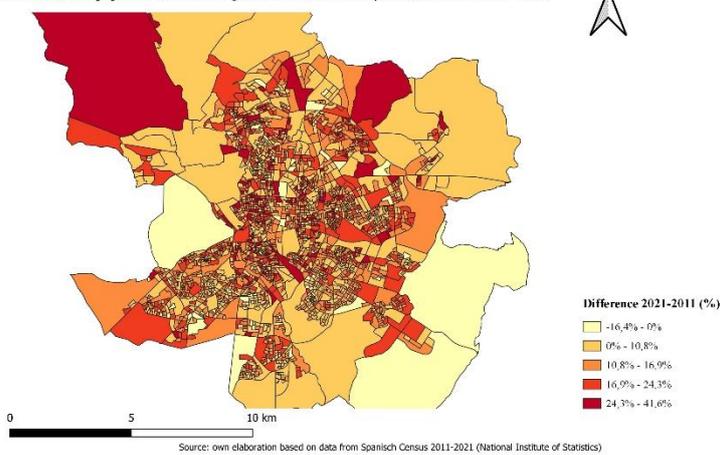% difference on population 25< with higher education in the city of Madrid. Year 2011-2021.

% difference on population 25< with higher education in the city of Barcelona. Year 2011-2021.

Difference 2021-2011 (%)
- -16,4% - 0%
- 0% - 10,8%
- 10,8% - 16,9%
- 16,9% - 24,3%
- 24,3% - 41,6%

Source: own elaboration based on data from Spanisch Census 2011-2021 (National Institute of Statistics)

Difference 2021-2011 (%)
- -16,4% - 0%
- 0% - 10,8%
- 10,8% - 16,9%
- 16,9% - 24,3%
- 24,3% - 41,6%

Source: own elaboration based on data from Spanisch Census 2011-2021 (National Institute of Statistics)
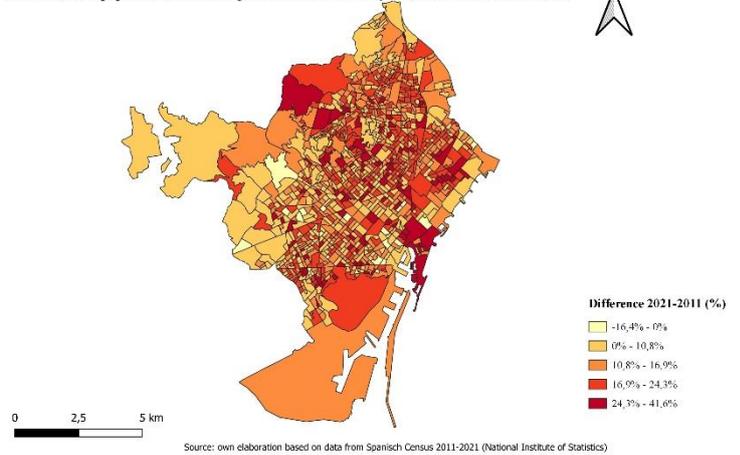
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