Abstract. In this article we study the evolution of foreign migration and residential mobility in Valencia City and Cabanyal neighborhood during the period 2004-2016, in connection with vulnerability and cadastral value. Using data provided by the National Statistical Office of Spain and microdata from the Residential Variation Statistics provided by the Statistical Office of the Valencia City we analyze the vulnerability of the areas, the cadastral values and demographical profile of the migrants, in order to identify the socio-demographical changes. The results indicate a progressive loss of Spanish population and a substitution of immigrants external to the European Union with the ones coming from European Union.

Keywords: residential mobility, foreign migration, cadastral value, vulnerability, prolongation project, economic crisis

1. INTRODUCTION

Mobility is a very complex concept, due to the multiple dimensions that it involves, to its diverse causes and consequences and the multitude of fields that it can affect. It is a process directly related to the urban structure – characteristics of the neighborhood (Hasan et al., 2013), characteristics of the dwellings – and individual characteristics, such as life cycle, job opportunities, income level, family status (Coulton et al., 2012), education level, age (Kang et al., 2010). Based on these variety of causes, it determines people of different culture, ethnicity, race, education level, income level etc. to get to live in the same territory, contributing to the increase of segregation level (Asfaw et al., 2010) or generating a good inter-cultural coexistence and communication. Segregation can be defined as the socio-territorial separation between different social categories, according to different racial, ethnic, cultural and socio-professional attributes (Pasztor, 2013). However, segregation is not always a consequence of mobility, but also a cause, if self-segregation is considered, due to the fact that immigrants tend to choose a specific destination if there are more people with the same characteristics as them (Mionel, 2010). The two processes, mobility and segregation, are therefore connected, as far as one of them can generate the other and vice versa.

Spain is one of the relatively new destination countries in terms of migration, as it doesn’t have the long migration tradition as France, Germany, United Kingdom, United States of America or Canada. Migration process in Spain was characterized by three different phases: during the years 50’-60’ the immigrants of the big cities were coming from the poor regions of the country; during the years 70’-80’ these movements started to
Mobility and segregation in Valencia city. Case study: Cabanyal Neighborhood

decrease in order to let the foreign immigrants to come during the 90’ decade (Torres Pérez, 2007). The last tendency continues until the period previous to the crisis, making Spain the second country of OCDE in terms of immigrants’ reception (Torres et al., 2015). However, the segregation process in Spain is not automatically associated to the mobility, as long as not all of the immigrants have the same image and representation in the Spanish society. Here the fact of being an immigrant from the European Union or from outside of the European Union makes the difference (Torres Pérez, 2007). Also, the income level is one key element in the attitude of the receiving society against the immigrant, as long as a rich person will be easier accepted than a poor person, who will be associated to problems, criminality and space degradation. Therefore, migration leads to a major structural and social complexity of the receiving cities (Cucó Giner et al., 2013), which justifies the necessity of analyzing the changes in the migration process, in order to identify the characteristics of the movements, the generating factors and the migration profile.

The purpose of this article is to identify the socio-demographical changes in migration process and the links between migration and vulnerability and between migration and cadastral value in order to establish if the segregation level in Valencia City and Cabanyal neighborhood is increasing or decreasing. Therefore, the next chapter is dedicated to a short presentation of Valencia City and Cabanyal neighborhood in order to understand the premises that contributed and influenced the migration process, while in the third chapter the objectives and the methodology will be presented. The fourth chapter is represented by the results, which will be divided in two parts, according to the two analyzed spaces. The article will end with a chapter of conclusions, where the main findings of the investigation will be highlighted.

2. VALENCIA AND CABANYAL – MAIN CHARACTERISTICS

Valencia City is situated on the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula and Spain (see fig. 1), on the banks of the Turia river, in an area of alluvial plains with low altitudes. Its latitude and longitude position places the city in the area of Mediterranean climate, characterized by mild temperatures, which pass by 25°C during summer, while in winter get easily below 10°C. An important aspect is that Valencia is an area with a high degree of urbanization which can change the climate characteristics, contributing to the apparition of “urban climate”, that can generate situation of climatic discomfort. An important element of Valencia City is also Turia river, that has contributed to the city economic evolution since the roman period, when it was used for navigation (Hermosilla Pla et al., 2009). Even if the major flood of 1957 led to the reconfiguration of the river and its diversion to the south of the city (Carmona González, 1997), it still remains an important component of the Valencian landscape.

The geographical position of Valencia City has contributed to the socio-economic development of the city, by favoring the connection with the other Spanish cities, but also with the other countries through the port. It is nowadays the capital of the Valencian Community and Province (see fig. 1) and the third city of Spain according to the number of inhabitants in 2016, after Madrid and Barcelona. Its population represents 1,7% of the country’s population, 15,93% of the population of the Valencian Community and 31,06% of the population of the Valencian Province (values calculated based on the data provided by the National Statistical Office), values that indicate its importance at local, regional and national level. Thus, Valencia became a major center in fields like services, science,
workforce, culture etc. The economic field is well represented by agriculture, which was the main activity of the Valencian Community until the middle of XX century; industry – the main sectors being ceramics, metal products, chemical industry, textile industry, furniture, cars, building materials and footwear (Soler et al., 2009) – and services, which is the main strength of Valencia nowadays, in the context of economic tertiarization, modernization of the production systems, raising living standards and economic progress. An important activity of Valencia City and Spain in general is the real estate sector, which was one of the key elements that attracted immigrants during the real estate boom. Valencian Community was the third of the Spanish communities, according to the number of dwelling built during the period 1997-2006, with an increase of 36% (Burriel de Orueta, 2009). Last, but not least, Valencia is one the main touristic centers of Spain, quality that increases the reputation of the city. Another important sector that also contributes to the migration process, is the transports, taking into account that Valencia has an airport at 10 kilometers, a port and is situated at the convergences of one high-speed rail (www.adif.es) and six rails of regional and local importance (www.renfe.com), six highways and five roads of national and regional importance (www.habitatge.gva.es).

![Fig.1. Localization of Valencia City in the Valencian Community](Data source: www.gobiernoabierto.valencia.es/es/)
An important aspect in Valencia’s evolution is the focus on large-scale projects and mega-events, trying to position itself on the world’s map as an elitist city and, thus, attract resources and tourists from the global market. The main projects were: Congresses Palace (El Palacio de Congresos) and the new stadium Mestalla, Sociopolis, Valencia Litoral, the Marina Real Juan Carlos I Port, the City of Arts and Sciences, which became a symbol of Valencia and appeared on the first pages of tourist guides (Cucó Giner et al., 2013). The mega-events from Valencia are included in the category of sports and cultural events and are represented by America’s Cup, Valencia Street Circuit, Global Champions Tour, Valencia Open 500, MTV Winter Festival, V Encuentro Mundial de la Familia (Santamarina Campos, 2014). For these events and projects, new infrastructures have been built, public money has been invested in space planning, laws have been amended; everything in order to promote Valencia as an elite city, a city capable of development and innovation.

![Fig.2. Localization of Cabanyal neighborhood in Valencia City](Data source: www.gobieroabierto.valencia.es/es, www.ine.es)
Cabanyal is one of the 87 neighborhoods of Valencia and one of the 5 neighborhoods of Poblados Marítimos District. It is located in the east of Valencia, on the Mediterranean coast (fig. 2) and includes three sectors: Cabanyal, Canyamelar and Cap de França. Even if the documents prove its existence from the XV century, the recent history of the neighborhood starts in the XIX century (López Nicolás, Bodi Ramiro, 2009). During 60 years it was an independent municipality called Poble Nou de la Mar, until 1897, when it became a Valencian neighborhood. Despite of this annexation, the neighborhood is still known as an old settlement of fishermen and farmers, who still keeps its traditional structure, architecture and customs (Cucó i Giner, 2013). Some of the above mentioned projects and events affected the neighborhood during the last two decades, contributing to its physical and social degradation.

The project with the highest impact on its evolution was the prolongation of Blasco Ibáñez street, which was supposed to join Valencia City to the beach, in order to ensure the proper accessibility and the main flows – people, cars, tourists, economic flows, informational flows (Herrero García, Fernández Morote, 2014). However, this project was supposed to divide the neighborhood in two parts and to destroy the center of the neighborhood, its structure, 1651 dwellings and two symbolic buildings (www.cabanyal.com). Therefore, there were a lot of social movements in order to protect the neighborhood and to stop the project, but the fight against the political decisions took a long time. During 20 years the neighborhood was in an uncertain situation, which had a strong impact on its social, economic, architectural and urbanistic characteristics. Only from 2015, with the change of the dominant political party, the trends of the neighborhood have changed, passing from a phase of negligence and deliberate degradation to a phase of urban renovation and regeneration (www.vacabanyal.org). However, this project also influenced the migration process in the neighborhood and for solving all the problems generated during 20 years, a long period of mutual consensus and collaboration is needed.

3. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The objective of this article is to identify the migration patterns in Valencia City and to establish the links between migration and neighborhoods’ vulnerability and between migration and value of the land. For this purpose, we used three data sources:
- for the number of immigrants and country of provenience we used data provided by the National Statistical Office for the period 2004-2016. Based on this data, we calculate percentages of foreign population at district level and also percentages of main nationalities at city level;
- for data related to vulnerability, we used the Atlas of Vulnerable Areas realized by Valencia City for the year 2016. In this analysis, vulnerability is calculated based on three indicators: equipment, demographic indicator and socio-economic indicator. Every indicator is divided in different specific variables, calculated for the year 2015 or for a period of time at the level of a census section. The average of the three indicators represents the global indicator of vulnerability, which allows the delimitation of vulnerable areas (the lowest values until the 10% of the total) and potentially vulnerable areas (the lowest values, between 10% and 20% of the total). We calculated these indicators at neighborhood level and expanded the analysis to no vulnerable areas;
Mobility and segregation in Valencia city. Case study: Cabanyal Neighborhood

- for data related to land value, we used the cadastral values available on the city’s website for the period 2004-2015 and calculated an average at neighborhood level.

For Cabanyal neighborhood the objective is to recognize the migration patterns and the demographical profile of the migration that occurred during the period 2004-2016 in order to identify to which degree the prolongation project of Blasco Ibañez street contributed to the social and physical degradation of the neighborhood and, thus, to the increase of segregation level. For this purpose, we used microdata from the Residential Variation Statistics provided by the Statistical Office of Valencia City for the period 2004-2016 which contains information related to the nationality of the person that changes its residence: Spanish, from the European Union or from outside of the European Union. The residential variations are registered through 7 types of movements: inputs based on immigration, inputs based on childbirths, inputs based on other reasons, outputs based on emigration, outputs based on deaths, outputs based on other reasons and changes of residence, but for the present study we used only three categories: inputs based on immigration, outputs based on emigration and changes of residence.

Due to the fact that the neighborhood passed through many events during the mentioned period, we decided to divide it into four intervals: 2004-2007 – previous to the economic crisis; 2008-2009 – between the emergence of the crisis and the moment when the town hall refused to grant rehabilitation and construction permits; 2010-2013 – period of economic crisis; 2014-2016 – period of slow revitalization and changes in the territorial politics. For every interval we calculated the inputs, the outputs, the migratory balance and the annual rates of immigration, emigration and balance taking as reference the total population at the beginning of the interval. All the data was calculated at the level of a census section, in order to identify the territorial patterns of migration.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Valencia City has registered, during the period 2004-2016 a general tendency of demographic growth, interrupted in 2007 and in the period of economic crisis. However, the Spanish population doesn’t respect the same pattern, as it shows a continue decrease until the economic crisis, followed by a period of contrasts and then a slight increase. The massive demographic growth from 2004-2006 occurred due to the migration process, as long as the percentage of immigrants has grown in this period with almost 4%. This value characterizes the growth percentage of the entire period 2004-2016, taking into consideration that this tendency was continuous until 2009, the beginning of the economic crisis, when the number of immigrants was the highest registered (15.06% - 122,528 persons) (fig. 3).
The migration pattern shows at the beginning of the period a concentration of the immigrants in the districts: Rascanya (11.21%), La Saïdia (10.71%), Camins al Grau (10.52%) and L’Eixample (10.12%), while at the beginning of the economic crisis the peripheral districts start to have a higher importance. If at the beginning of the period a relative concentration of immigrants can be observed, at the end of the period a dispersion is obvious, as immigrants are distributed all over the Valencian territory, except the district Pobles d’el Nord, which is less urbanized (see fig. 4). It is easily observable that some districts have a longer tradition in reception of immigrants, for example, Rascanya, Camins al Grau, La Saïdia, L’Olivereta and Ciutat Vella. However, not all the neighborhoods that compose these districts follow the same rules. The district with the highest change in terms of immigrants’ percentage is Poblados Marítimos, which was affected by a growth of 6.62% of its foreign composition due to the strategies elaborated at neighborhood level.

The period 2004-2016 doesn’t show only a general growth of immigrants’ percentage, but also a change in the migration profile. At the beginning of the immigration tradition, the majority of the persons that chose Valencia City as a destination were from South America, due to the cultural and linguistic similarities, that made their integration easier. In this context, in 2006, South-American immigrants represented more than 40% of the immigrants of Valencia, the ones from Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia and Argentina being majority. At the end of the period, these are partially replaced by the European immigrants, represented mainly by Romanians and Italians and Asian immigrants, represented by Chinese and Pakistanis (see table 1). This situation happened due to the fact that the economic crisis affected the most vulnerable people, which were, at that moment, the South-American immigrants, causing their return home or their re-migration. In that period, the East-European people were new in the migration process, so the flows were higher. Another possible explanation can be a statistical one, due to the fact that in this analysis we
considered the nationality as the main element, but many South-American immigrants already obtained the Spanish nationality, even though their country of origin is not Spain.

Fig. 4. Evolution of immigrants’ percentage in Valencia City at district level, 2004-2016
Data source: www.ine.es
Table 1. Nationality of the immigrants in Valencia City, 2006 and 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Proportion of the total of immigrants (%)</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Proportion of the total of immigrants (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>18,60</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>12,83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>10,33</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>6,95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>8,31</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>6,94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>6,02</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>6,49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>4,56</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>5,99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3,78</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>5,72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3,68</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>4,89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>3,31</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>3,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>2,93</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>3,16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1,79</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>2,47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data source: www.ine.es

In terms of vulnerability, 18% of the city’s population is in a situation of high vulnerability, with 60 census sections being vulnerable and other 60 potential vulnerable. An important characteristic is the higher demographical vulnerability (almost a quarter of the population is vulnerable) compared to the equipment vulnerability (19.9% of population is vulnerable) and the socio-economic vulnerability (19.5%). According to the percentage of population in vulnerable situation, the most vulnerable districts are Pobles del Nord, Rascanya and Poblados Marítimos, with almost half of the population being vulnerable. If the first two ones present contrasts between their neighborhood, the third one indicate a generalized tendency. On the other side, the most resilient ones are the central districts, Ciutat Vella, L'Eixample and Extramurs, together with Benimaclet (see fig. 5a).

The equipment indicator is calculated as the necessary time to cross by foot the distance between the center of the census section and the analyzed equipment, the equipment being divided in 5 categories: health, transport, education, population in risk and others. According to this indicator, the most vulnerable districts are Pobles del Nord, Pobles del Sud and Pobles de L'Oest, which were recently annexed to Valencia City and are still in transition from rural conditions to urban modernity. L’Olivereta district is the least vulnerable and is the best equipped, 100% of the population having access to institutions and features necessary for a safe living (see fig. 5b).

The demographical indicator places in the category of vulnerable districts L'Eixample, Extramurs and L'Olivereta, due to the demographic aging process, high dependency rate and increasing proportion of population from outside the European Union. Compared to the districts L'Eixample and L’Olivereta, which include extremely vulnerable neighborhoods, but also less vulnerable ones, the Extramurs district presents a uniformity of the demographical indicator, all the neighborhoods being classified as potentially vulnerable. On the other side, the peripheral districts Pobles del Nord, Pobles del Sud and Pobles de L'Oest are less vulnerable, due to their relatively youth as part of Valencia City (see fig. 5c).

The last indicator, related to socio-economic situation, indicates a random spreading of vulnerable areas, the most vulnerable being Rascanya, Poblados Marítimos and Pobles de L'Oest. Even if the vulnerable areas are spread in the city, there is a relative concentration of them in the peripheral districts, even though there are also isolated
Mobility and segregation in Valencia city. Case study: Cabanyal Neighborhood

Vulnerable neighborhoods. On the other side, the least vulnerable districts are the central ones: Ciutat Vella, L’Eixample, Extramurs and El Pla del Real, followed by the peripheral district Pobles del Nord (for this one, there is no information available for three of its neighborhoods, which may distort the results) (see fig. 5d).

![Fig. 5. Vulnerability indicators in Valencia City, 2016](source: www.valencia.es)

The analysis of cadastral values shows, for the period 2004-2015, that the most expensive lands (>400 €/m²) are located in neighborhoods from the city center, in the districts Ciutat Vella, L’Eixample, El Pla del Real and Camins al Grau (the third one being the most expensive at district level), while the least expensive (<150 €/m²) belong to the peripheral districts. Pobles del Nord, which is also the least expensive at district level and Pobles del Sud, which registered the highest increase during the analyzed period (with 20,17 €/m²) (see fig. 6).

A synthesis of the three indicators shows that immigrants tend to concentrate in areas with more accessible dwellings, in order to be able to support the living costs. Even if the cadastral value is not a direct indicator of the dwellings’ prices, it can sketch a general tendency of the prices. Thus, most immigrants are located in areas with medium to lower cadastral values. An exception is represented by the central district, where its advantages of localization, accessibility and services prevail. In terms of vulnerability, there is not a clear pattern of migration, while immigrants choose their destination not according to the vulnerability but based on its facilities and services. However, there is a slight preference for vulnerable areas from the socio-economic point of view and for less vulnerable areas from the equipment point of view.
Cabanyal is a miniature representation of the Valencian pattern but worsen by the local conditions imposed by the prolongation project. It is classified as a potentially vulnerable Valencian neighborhood and is the most vulnerable neighborhood from Poblados Marítimos district, with 61% of its population being vulnerable. The highest vulnerability level is shown by the socio-economic field, while according to equipment and demographical profile it presents a medium vulnerability. The major problems of the neighborhood, based on socio-economic terms, are: the high number of persons with low
Mobility and segregation in Valencia city. Case study: Cabanyal Neighborhood

education level and the touristic activity, followed by the dwelling characteristics and the economic capacity. The neighborhood is not well equipped in terms of health centers, social service centers and green areas, fact illustrated by superior time (compared to the city average), to get to this kind of facilities. The demographical profile shows an advanced aging process indicated by the high proportion of persons older than 80 years old, which contributes to the vulnerability increase. In terms of cadastral values, Cabanyal forms part of the neighborhoods with lower values, being the 76th of the 87 Valencian neighborhoods. The cadastral value here is with almost 100 €/m² lower than the city’s average and with 20 €/m² lower than the district’s average. Furthermore, the neighborhoods with lower values are from peripheral districts, ex-rural areas or are located near the City of Arts and Science, which show its negative impact against certain areas.

Taking into consideration these characteristics, Cabanyal is a favorable neighborhood for receiving immigrants and this fact is also proved by statistical data. The migratory balance was always positive and in continuous growth until 2013. From this moment on, a slight decrease is produced. The movements originated outside of Valencia are the ones that contribute to this positive tendency, as the changes of residence, associated to internal movements, have registered a negative balance (see fig. 7). In this context, the local population, that leaves the neighborhood in order to avoid its problems, is replaced by a new population that initially searches for cheap dwellings and finds in Cabanyal the proper conditions.

But this substitution is not the only one that characterizes the neighborhood. Similar to Valencia city, there is also a substitution of the immigrants from outside of the European Union, which are majority at the beginning of the period, with the ones from the European Union. The migration patterns are different according to the nationality: Spanish
population leaves the neighborhood, especially in the interval 2004-2007, when the problems were more visible and the economical situation allowed the change of residence; immigrants from European Union prefer this neighborhood, especially during the economic crisis, when the higher number of immigrants come to Cabanyal; immigrants from outside of European Union leave the neighborhood, especially during the economic crisis, when they are the most vulnerable (see fig. 8). Thus, in 2006 immigrants were mainly from South America (Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina), while in 2016 Romanians, Italians and Bulgarians are predominant. An important fact is that Romanian immigrants represent almost a half of the neighborhood’s immigrants (see table 2), which shows that Cabanyal was an attractive destination for low-income immigrants.

In order to identify to which degree did the prolongation project contribute to the changes in migration pattern, an analysis of the territorial distribution of the migration balance is significant enough. Thus, even if the migration balance of the neighborhood was always positive, at census section level the pattern is not the same. The central-east part of the neighborhood, which represents the area directly affected by the prolongation project of Blasco Ibáñez street, was affected by a loss of population. Furthermore, the contrasts imposed by this project can be observed through the census sections of the affected area, where adjacent sections register minimum and maximum values of the migratory balance (see fig. 9).
Mobility and segregation in Valencia city. Case study: Cabanyal Neighborhood

Table 2. Nationality of the immigrants in Cabanyal, 2006 and 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country of origin</td>
<td>Proportion of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>total of immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>14.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>11.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>România</td>
<td>10.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>9.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italia</td>
<td>4.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>4.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maroc</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franța</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data source: www.ine.es

Fig. 9. Annual migration balance in Cabanyal at census section level, 2004-2016
Data source: www.valencia.es
5. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, Spain has been affected by a massive migration inflow since the end of XX century and it continues also in the actual period. This process affected especially the big cities and Valencia, as one of the most important Spanish cities, with favorable conditions and attractive characteristics received a high number of immigrants in a relatively short period. In Valencia, the migration dynamics, the political decisions and the economic crisis had a strong impact on the territory and on the population, influencing the coexistence and the lifestyle.

Valencia, as other European and Spanish cities, has a lot of internal contrasts between neighborhoods, which make them more or less attractive for immigrants. Thus, the cadastral value can be an indicator of dwellings prices and proves that the immigrants tend to choose the residence destination in neighborhoods with medium to lower cadastral values. However, central areas are also preferred, not for the dwelling prices, but for the facilities that they ensure. The degree of vulnerability can also be a decision factor, even though immigrants don’t analyze this aspect before moving to a certain place (but they take into consideration factors that contribute to the increase or decrease of vulnerability level). Thus, immigrants prefer vulnerable areas from the socio-economic point of view, as they are easily accessible and less vulnerable areas from the equipment point of view, as they need equipment for a proper life.

Cabanyal is an area where political decisions were a key factor in the neighborhood’s evolution. During the period 2004-2016 has increased not only due to the migration dynamics that characterized the entire city, but also to the situation that the prolongation project of Blasco Ibáñez street and its paralysis generated. If the spatiality of the project determined territorial differences in the migration patterns, the economic crisis and the temporality of the project determined temporal differences in the migration process. Thus, the area directly affected by the prolongation project registered a loss of population and internal contrasts between the census sections that compose it. The economic crisis determined, on one side, changes of tendencies and, on the other side an increase in the existing trends. In the temporality of the project, a moment of maximum importance was the moment when the town hall refused to grant rehabilitation and construction permits, when the degradation of the neighborhood started to become unstoppable and the future unclear. In this context, Cabanyal was affected by a loss of Spanish population, while immigrants started to occupy the vacant dwellings. Furthermore, the immigrants from outside of the European Union were partially replaced by those from European Union, similar to the city’s trends, but with a higher intensity in this neighborhood. That is why the prolongation project has contributed to the increase of segregation level, by favoring the settlement of social groups with more accentuated segregation dynamics, with different customs and traditions, which maintain few social relations with the local population, tracing a perceptible limit in the territory.
Mobility and segregation in Valencia city. Case study: Cabanyal Neighborhood

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