



Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

**RECENT IMMIGRATION AND RESIDENTIAL CHANGE
IN SPAIN**

Juan Antonio MÓDENES
Jordi BAYONA

348

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Una versió d'aquest treball es presentarà a la revista
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2009

Resum.- *Immigració recent i canvi residencial a Espanya.*

A Espanya, la immigració recent precedent de l'estranger ha esdevingut un dels processos sociodemogràfics més importants. Està afectant a diferents qüestions socials, incloent-hi la interrelació entre habitatge i població. L'article analitzarà les pautes d'inserció residencial de la immigració recent. Més de 3 milions de persones han arribat durant els darrers 10 anys, i han estat responsables de la formació de la meitat de les noves llars creades des del 2001. La responsabilitat de la immigració en la dinàmica demogràfica i el predomini d'un model residencial basat en la propietat, justifiquen l'interès de l'estudi. Es planteja la següent qüestió: Quines són les característiques residencials dels immigrants (grandària de la llar i tipus de tenença), tenint en compte que fa poc de la seva arribada al país? Les nostres conclusions apunten a l'inici d'un nou sistema residencial, més heterogeni, a causa d'un dèficit d'assimilació de les llars d'origen immigrant en el comportament majoritari. La informació estadística prové principalment dels censos espanyols de població i habitatge de 1991 i 2001.

Paraules clau.- Habitatge, immigració exterior, sistemes residencials, Espanya, Cens de 2001.

Resumen.- *Inmigración reciente y cambios residenciales en España.*

En España, la inmigración reciente precedente del extranjero se ha convertido en uno de los procesos sociodemográficos más importantes. Está afectando a distintas cuestiones sociales, incluyendo la interrelación entre vivienda y población. El artículo analizará las pautas de inserción residencial de la inmigración reciente. Más de 3 millones de personas han llegado durante los últimos 10 años, y han sido responsables de la formación de la mitad de los nuevos hogares creados desde 2001. La responsabilidad de la inmigración en la dinámica demográfica y el predominio de un modelo residencial basado en la propiedad, justifican el interés del estudio. Se plantea la siguiente cuestión: ¿Cuáles son las características residenciales de los inmigrantes (tamaño del hogar y tipo de tenencia) teniendo en cuenta su corta residencia en el país? Nuestras conclusiones apuntan al inicio de un nuevo sistema residencial, más heterogéneo, debido a un déficit de asimilación de los hogares de origen inmigrante en el comportamiento mayoritario. La información estadística proviene principalmente de los censos españoles de población y vivienda de 1991 y 2001.

Palabras clave.- Vivienda, inmigración exterior, sistemas residenciales, España, Censo de 2001.

Abstract.- *Recent Immigration and Residential Change in Spain.*

Recent foreign immigration has become the most important socio-demographic process in Spain. It impinges on many different social aspects, including the interrelationship between housing and population. The article will analyse the patterns of residential insertion of recent immigration; more than 3 million people have arrived over the last 10 years, and have been responsible for about half the number of new households created since 2001. The degree to which Spanish demographic change is due to immigration, as well as the predominance of a housing model based on homeownership, justify the interest of the study. There is one question to be answered: What are the residential characteristics (e.g., household size and type of tenancy) of immigrants, taking into account their recent arrival? Our conclusions point towards the beginning of a new heterogeneous Spanish residential system due to a lack of assimilation on the part of households of immigrant origin. Data has been provided mainly by the 2001 and 1991 Spanish Population and Housing Censuses.

Keywords.- Housing, foreign immigration, housing system, Spain, 2001 Census.

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RECENT IMMIGRATION AND RESIDENTIAL CHANGE IN SPAIN

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1.- Introduction

Two exceptional phenomena characterise the current relationship between immigration and residence in Spain: around 90% of main residences are owner occupied and more than 3 million immigrants have arrived in the country over the last 10 years. Other processes have played a part, such as the rapid growth in the number of housing units due to the incredible number of new houses (920 thousand houses were started in 2006 according to the Council of Architects Colleges in Spain), or the leaving home process of the cohort born during the fertility boom of the sixties and first seventies. The number of housing units for rent has suffered a slow but steady decline over the past 50 years (these represented 51.4% of all housing units according to the census in 1950). And all this in a country, which only 30 years ago, was still sending emigrants to Northern Europe.

This paper aims to examine one of the most striking cases at an international level. There are three interesting questions to be posed: a) what has been the model of residential insertion adopted by the oldest immigrants in a Spanish residential system based on homeownership; b) what is the impact of recent immigration on the structural functioning of the Spanish residential system; and c) what can be said about the future role of current immigration in the Spanish residential system. In this article we will look at the first question in depth and at the end we will suggest ways of addressing the last two questions.

2.- The residential insertion of immigrants: theoretical aspects

There are two main frameworks to explain the residential insertion of immigrants in western societies: new stratification and assimilation (Alba & Logan, 1992). New stratification happens when, after a period of intense immigration, a reorganisation of the residential system takes place, in which immigrants occupy new and differentiated positions in the resulting structure. These positions may be hierarchically subordinated, but do not necessarily have to be so. According to the focus of assimilation, over time an undifferentiated integration of the immigrants into the host society takes place.

Access to home ownership is both an instrument and a functional indicator of these immigrant stratification or assimilation processes. Home ownership is moreover the main instrument of financial investment of families. It tends to be associated with achieving social, family, and housing stability, in a housing stock with less location restrictions for immigrants than rental accommodation, offering immigrants access to neighbourhoods with more desirable characteristics. It is thus useful as a means of (objective and subjective) social insertion of immigrants (Painter et al., 2000). As an indicator of residential insertion, the index of overcrowding is also often calculated (Myers & Baer, 1996; Myers & Lee, 1996, Basavarajappa, 1998; Clark *et al.*, 2000) or, as we calculate below, the size and structure of households (Glick *et al.*, 1997; Glick & Van Hook, 2002; Van Hook & Glick, 2007). By means of an analysis of overcrowding we can identify those immigrants who live in households which are too large for the housing unit they occupy, or those who live in family structures significantly larger than those of the host country. From a long-term perspective, we can understand that, pointing to assimilation, the first indicators to be tackled are those of overcrowding or household structure, while homeownership can be tackled later.

Overcrowding exists due to the joint or separate action of two factors, the size of household and the surface area of the housing unit. In the case of immigration, the highest levels of overcrowding occur in the first years after arrival, when small and marginal housing units are occupied by households composed of a large number of individuals, or even several households living together. In case these levels are serious, they should be

monitored as an indicator of precariousness, although the threshold is variable depending on the evolution of the general residential system (Myers & Lee, 1996). Lower levels, but still higher than the average for the population of the host country, are normal because the housing unit surface area tends to be smaller than the average for the housing market as a whole, although the size of household may be standard. Additionally, mutual support of the family network may lead to extended families tending to live together in relatively large houses, perhaps as a reflection of residential trends in their countries of origin (Dureau, 1999) or as a direct effect of the migratory process (Domingo *et al.*, 2002; Van Hook & Glick, 2007).

According to the stratification interpretation, we should find *significant* differences in residential conditions depending on migratory status, that is to say controlling all other socio-economic and geographical variables, which are *long-lasting over time*, that is to say which remain longer than the initial phase of adaptation to the new society and which are even transmitted to subsequent generations. According to the assimilation interpretation, the differences between immigrants and the native population can be explained by structural differences between groups, in relation to lower levels of income of immigrants in the first years. This interpretation highlights the positive association between duration of residence in the host country and the proportion of homeownership, while stratification highlights the temporary differences which are neither explained by duration nor by other individual socio-economic variables.

To explain whether the integration of immigration can be viewed as being either a case of stratification or assimilation it is necessary to study the process in a time perspective, by means of the use of demographic techniques. First, we have to compare, over time, a homogeneous group in terms of the period of arrival. If the initial differences remain this would point to the existence of stratification. On the contrary, if they are eliminated or tend to diminish sharply, then this would point to assimilation. But at the same time, immigrants are also subject to the positive influence that age and life cycle have on homeownership, and this is a question that has to be controlled. This double membership over time of the immigrant (to an immigrant cohort and to a birth cohort) is the basis of the so-called double cohort approach, probably the best exponent of the use of demographic methodology for the study of the residential insertion of immigrants (Myers & Lee, 1996,

1998). Immigrants are followed over time depending on their year of birth (which allows us to observe the influence of life cycle on the trend in homeownership, as well as possible differences between birth cohorts) and on their year of arrival (isolating generational differences between various different groups of arrivals).

The double cohort approach assumes that residential decisions taken by a birth cohort are dependent on those adopted in the past and takes into account the fact that the same persons occupy successive age groups at different moments in time. This means we can follow the behaviour of a group over time, as they grow older, if we have a series of observations over time, such as those that are offered by successive population and housing censuses. The identification of continuities in the cohort over time is important because inertia in the cohort allows us to make predictions of future residential behaviour (Pitkin & Simmons, 1996; Pitkin, 2001). If in one age group there is a high number of owner occupiers at a given moment, it is reasonable to think that in the future they will continue being owner occupiers as they grow older. If at various moments in time in the past the cohort shows accumulative homeownership behaviour, as they get older it is reasonable to suppose that this behaviour will continue in the future.

Our main objective is to calculate, by means of double cohort methodology, the main descriptive indicators of residential insertion by immigrants' age and year of arrival in Spain. Given that most of these immigrants have arrived over the last few years, an analysis of the 1991 and 2001 Censuses can only constitute the beginning of a long term study, but it may provide relevant information on the future residential insertion of a large number of immigrants who have arrived in the country. We analyse immigrants' behaviour in terms of residential insertion which can be seen in both censuses (those whom we may term pioneers, having arrived before 1991) compared with that of those who arrived during the nineties (the initiators of the current flow). It is interesting to collect evidence on whether the pioneering immigrants have adopted residential behaviour which may be termed assimilation or whether they have tended towards a differentiated stratification of the Spanish residential system depending on their migratory status. This will allow us to begin to interpret a little better the future evolution in our residential system of the three million immigrants, grouped in around 1 million households who have arrived in the last 10 years (for the United States see Masnick, 2002 or Myers *et al.*, 2002).

3.- Immigration and housing in Spain: background

In recent years, Spain has become one of the countries in Europe with the greatest flow of immigrants, growing from a proportion of foreign residents of only 0.9% and 353,367 persons in the 1991 Census, to 4,482,568 and 9.9% in the Continuous Register at 1 January 2007. This growth has acquired significant intensity since the end of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century, as shown by the sharp growth since the 2001 Census, when there were 1,572,013 foreigners, 3.8% of the total population. Due to this recent growth, the variable nationality, rather than country of birth, has been used. In the latter case the figures do not vary much from those of foreign residents, although it still shows a high proportion of children born abroad to Spanish emigrants who have returned. As a result of the enormous recent growth in international immigration, the relationship between this and residential insertion is a topic which is still emerging in Spanish scientific literature, which has adopted two distinct approaches (Bayona, 2007). The first centres on trends in spatial location in urban areas, where housing constitutes a filter in the processes of residential distribution or segregation (Arbaci, 2004; Bayona & Blanco, 2004; Domingo *et al.*, 2004; Martori & Hoberg, 2004; Leal, 2005a; Fullaondo & Roca, 2006; Bayona, 2007) or in rural areas (Fernández & Checa, 2003). Secondly, housing is analysed as an indicator of the living conditions and the social position of immigrants, as an approach to the integration of the foreign population (Leal & Mayeur, 1996; Martínez, 1999; Costa *et al.*, 2003; Colectivo IOÉ, 2005; Leralta, 2005; Aranda, 2006). In this article we will follow this second perspective. A third way has been the analysis of the impact of the residential dynamics of foreigners in the Spanish residential system as a whole (Bayona, 2007; Módenes, 2007).

In the case of Spain, access to homeownership has not been, over the last decades, a useful indicator of a household's social position and hence of the processes of social heterogeneity (Cabré; Módenes, 2004). As almost 85% of households are owner occupied, any household, whatever its social or demographic characteristics, can be a home owner. In 2004¹ 74% of households which said they were going through severe financial difficulties

¹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Continuous Survey of Household Budgets, annual data, 2004

were owner occupied; in 2005² 75% of the social group with the lowest incomes were owner occupiers or 60% of households headed by a person under 30 were also owner occupiers. The expansion of homeownership in the second half of the 20th century (Cortés, 1995) and the rapid access to homeownership of young households (Ahn, 2001; Jurado, 2001; Holdsworth & Irazoqui, 2002; Cabré & Módenes, 2004) are some of the main features of the so called southern European residential systems (Allen *et al.*, 2004), along with the intense participation of the family network in residential strategies (Iglesias de Ussel, 1993), the low level of public sector participation in housing and the existence of housing policies which favour homeownership (Trilla, 2001; Eastaway & San Martín, 2002; Sánchez & Plandiura, 2003; Leal, 2005b) or the high level of second homeownership (López Colás & Módenes, 2005; Módenes & López Colás, 2007a, 2007b). Nevertheless, given the universal character of homeownership in Spain, the entry into this type of tenure does not totally guarantee quality residential insertion. According to the synthetic indicator of habitability calculated by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística based on information on residential quality from the 2001 Census, on a scale from 0 to 100 owned housing stock presented a score of 63.8, not very different from the value achieved by rental stock (59.2)³. Therefore, in Spain to become a homeowner is not as much a success in the residential course as an approach to the norm.

The level of effort, that the Spanish residential system puts on immigrants to reproduce homeownership behaviour, is higher than in other places. There will not be complete assimilation as long as rates of homeownership are lower than those of the native population, even lower than those on the lowest income levels,. In fact, in 2005 only 21.6% of households headed by a single person of non-European nationality were owner occupiers, in comparison with 85% of the households headed by a person holding Spanish nationality, with the figures for other Europeans in an intermediate position (49.1%)⁴. In the big cities, the proportion of home owners among immigrants from Third world countries falls to below 15% according to the estimates of Colectivo IOÉ (2005). Recent

² Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Survey of Living Conditions, annual data, 2005.

³ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Census of Population and Housing 2001.

⁴ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida, datos anuales, 2005.

immigrants have a long way to go before they can integrate on equal terms in the Spanish residential system.

As immigration is so recent in Spain, from the point of view of behaviour related to housing it is interesting to focus on how people co-reside. In fact, the residential insertion of immigrants in Spain would follow three stages (Colectivo IOÉ, 2005): emergency housing, transition housing and stable housing. At the moment of arrival the immigrants use to establish themselves in a friend's or a relative's house, in a guest house or in another type of precarious situation, which will not always be picked up in a Census due to the high level of precariousness. Once the initial emergency period has passed, they tend to share a rented flat by subletting (part of the flat or a room) or to live in their employer's house (domestic servants in the case of women). Only when their employment and legal situation becomes more stable, the family group can gain access to independent rented accommodation or even, eventually, buy a house. According to Aparicio and Giménez (2003) and Colectivo IOÉ (2005) over 50% of immigrants that live in the large urban regions would still be in the stages of emergency or transition housing, because most of them have only arrived very recently in Spain. The residential path indicated by Colectivo IOÉ implies a progressive decrease in the level of co-residence with persons who are not members of the nuclear family, though not necessarily an important increase in homeownership rates. Therefore, the size of household can show us whether the immigrants who have been here longer have progressed between 1991 and 2001 towards a higher level of stability, which will help us to discuss the future evolution of the most recent immigrants

In summary, the size of household points to immigrants' level of *residential stability*, while the homeownership indicator approaches their level of *residential assimilation*. If there is stability but not direct access to homeownership, we may be faced with a process of new socio-residential stratification. At the same time, we should analyse whether access to housing, in a system mostly based on homeownership, might force up indicators of homeownership for foreigners, and leave family stability in the background.

4.- Data and methods

In this article we examine residential insertion of the cohort of immigrants who arrived in the eighties. This is the most recently arrived cohort that can be studied over time from the statistical sources available. Their behaviour is compared with that of those who arrived during the nineties and with the Spanish. We use the last two editions of the population Census, 1991 and 2001, the only source which allows us to analyse the *temporal evolution* of the residential characteristics of the immigrant population in Spain, while at the same time controlling for nationality, year of arrival and age. Given the recent nature of the phenomenon of immigration in Spain, it is only recommendable to study those who arrived after 1981. We have divided them into a first cohort of arrival, during the eighties, and a second group, those who arrived in the nineties, a more numerous group which constitutes the beginning of the current flow. We can follow the first group, those who arrived in the eighties, with the data contained in the 1991 and 2001 Censuses. For the second group we can only use the 2001 Census. For the cohort of arrival between 1981 and 1990 we can reconstruct cohort trajectories from cross-sectional data obtained in both censuses with a lapse of 10 years, combining the data on age groups that come from the same birth cohort and arrived during the same period in Spain. The double combination of membership by birth and by arrival period in the longitudinal study of census information is what we have referred to as the double cohort method.

The unit of analysis is the household, identified by the age of the reference person. We have studied households headed by a foreign, non-European national (we set aside the analysis of European immigration which has strong non-employment motives), who last arrived in Spain between 1981 and 1990 or between 1991 and 2001⁵, and included on the 1991 and/or 2001 census. From these households we have selected the following characteristics: year of last arrival in Spain, age at the time of Census, size of household and housing status when they were included on the census. As a control group for their residential behaviour we have analysed the households headed by Spanish nationals in both censuses, selecting the same variables, except for the year of last arrival in Spain.

⁵ In the 1991 census, dated 1 March, we can take the date, for simplification, as 1 January. In the 2001 census, with a census date of 1 November, we can take the date as 31 December.

Regarding the cohort of arrival between 1981 and 1990, we should take into account that between 1991 and 2001 there were households which drop out due to the death of the reference person and households which join as the reference person acquires the condition of householder after 1991. There is also a small flow of householders who belong to the cohort 1981-1990 leaving Spain between 1991 and 2001, and who logically appear on the census in 1991 but not in 2001. We also have to take into account the flow of householders who acquired Spanish nationality between 1991 and 2001 and who, therefore leave the cohort of non-Spaniards. There were some 9,500 naturalisations (of foreigners who arrived at any time) on average during the nineties. We consider that these difficulties do not substantially affect the comparability of the indicators calculated. But we have to admit that our final conclusions are only an initial approach to the question. Neither have we, for questions of space, considered territorial location in Spain, a factor which may be relevant in terms of access to homeownership (Borjas, 2002).

In 1991 in Spain 58,290 households headed by an individual of non-European nationality appeared on the census (table 1). Of these, 25,303 (43%) were headed by an immigrant who had arrived between 1981 and 1990, in the previous 10 years. Some households headed by non-European foreigners did not correctly enter the year of their last arrival in Spain when filling out the census questionnaire in 1991. Specifically, 16,114 households, 27.6% of the total. Their age distribution indicates that this problem is not only concentrated in the period of arrival 1981-1991, although the relatively high amount means that we cannot calculate trajectories with absolute figures between 1991 and 2001 by cohort of arrival, although we can calculate trajectories with relative values.

In 2001 the situation was quite different. The number of households headed by non-Europeans was over a quarter of a million (275,636), almost 200 thousand headed by someone who had arrived in Spain since 1991. The households headed by someone in the cohort of arrival 1981-1991 were, in 2001, 38,893. This justifies our reference to the cohort of arrival between 1981-1991 as pioneers and to the 1991-2001 cohort as the initiators of the current flow.

Table 1.- Households headed by a non-European national by age, birth cohort and year of last arrival to Spain.

1991 Census		Year of last arrival to Spain					Total
Birth cohort	Householder's age 2001	No response	Before 1961	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	
1966-75	15-24	442	-	60	340	1799	2642
1956-65	25-34	3368	299	1021	1420	10686	16793
1946-55	35-44	4698	1202	1604	2742	7010	17256
1936-45	45-54	3153	1639	860	742	2764	9158
1926-35	55-64	2004	1041	400	480	1643	5569
1916-25	65-74	1427	1160	201	399	1021	4209
Before 1916	75 and above	1022	940	140	182	380	2664
Total	Total	16114	6281	4286	6306	25303	58290

2001 Census		Year of last arrival to Spain					Total
Birth cohort	Householder's age 2001	Before 1961	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2001	
1976-85	15-24	-	-	6719	3365	21647	31731
1966-75	25-34	-	2776	6140	8462	90654	108032
1956-65	35-44	1680	4011	2134	17204	61010	86039
1946-55	45-54	2737	664	3200	7331	19603	33535
1936-45	55-64	2055	667	1231	1532	3915	9400
1926-35	65-74	1282	331	456	592	1452	4113
Before 1926	75 and above	1147	227	323	407	682	2786
Total	Total	8901	8676	20203	38893	198963	275636

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2001

In table 2 we compare the households of the 1981-1990 cohort of arrival as were recounted in 1991 and 2001. The data has been organised by birth cohort. Due to the problem of comparability stated before, the temporal evolution of the number of households, and their relative increase or reduction, is only indicated as a reference framework. There is also a strong dynamic of creation of new households by young immigrants who were family dependants in 1991, as well as a trend towards dissolution in older ages.

Table 2.- Temporal evolution of households by age and birth cohort of householder. Spain, 1991 and 2001 censuses

Households headed by a Spanish national

Birth cohort	Householder's age 1991	Households	%	Householder's age 2001	Households	%	Household variation during 90's	Negative variation in 90's as % 1991	Positive variation in 90's as % 2001
1976-85				15-24	247597	1.8%	247597		100.0%
1966-75	15-24	187186	1.6%	25-34	1926685	14.1%	1739499		90.3%
1956-65	25-34	1798308	15.4%	35-44	2899702	21.2%	1101394		38.0%
1946-55	35-44	2242245	19.2%	45-54	2568909	18.8%	326664		12.7%
1936-45	45-54	2076196	17.8%	55-64	2151512	15.7%	75316		3.5%
1926-35	55-64	2349392	20.1%	65-74	2119807	15.5%	-229585	-9.8%	
Before 1926	65-74	1853340	15.9%	75 and above	1774555	13.0%	-1248871	-41.3%	
	75 and above	1170086	10.0%						
Total	Total	11676754	100.0%	Total	13688767	100.0%	2012013		14.7%

Households headed by a Non-European national who last arrived between 1981 and 1990

Birth cohort	Householder's age 1991	Households	%	Householder's age 2001	Households	%	Household variation during 90's	Negative variation in 90's as % 1991	Positive variation in 90's as % 2001
1976-85				15-24	3365	8.7%	3.365		100.0%
1966-75	15-24	1799	7.1%	25-34	8462	21.8%	6.663		78.7%
1956-65	25-34	10686	42.2%	35-44	17204	44.2%	6.518		37.9%
1946-55	35-44	7010	27.7%	45-54	7331	18.8%	321		4.4%
1936-45	45-54	2764	10.9%	55-64	1532	3.9%	-1.232	-44.6%	
1926-35	55-64	1643	6.5%	65-74	592	1.5%	-1.051	-64.0%	
Before 1926	65-74	1021	4.0%	75 and above	407	1.0%	-994	-70.9%	
	75 and above	380	1.5%						
Total	Total	25303	100.0%	Total	38893	100.0%	13.590		34.9%

Households headed by a Non-European national who last arrived between 1991 and 2001

Birth cohort	Householder's age 2001	Households	%	Ratio arrivals 90's/ arrivals 80's
1976-85	15-24	21647	10.9%	6.43
1966-75	25-34	90654	45.6%	10.71
1956-65	35-44	61010	30.7%	3.55
1946-55	45-54	19603	9.9%	2.67
1936-45	55-64	3915	2.0%	2.56
1926-35	65-74	1452	0.7%	2.45
Before 1926	75 and above	682	0.3%	1.68
Total	Total	198963	100.0%	5.12

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2001

The dependent variables used are the size of household and the percentage of homeownership. The variable homeownership is treated in a similar way in both censuses. In this case we have summed the three existing options (outright homeownership, homeownership with pending payments – mortgage - and homeownership due to donation or inheritance) to simplify treatment. The variable size of household has substituted the variable overcrowding, which would have combined the size of household and the surface area of the dwelling. But due to problems of incoherence in the results obtained from surface area in the two censuses used, we have opted to study the forms of family organization directly with a more basic demographic and comparable variable, the size of household.

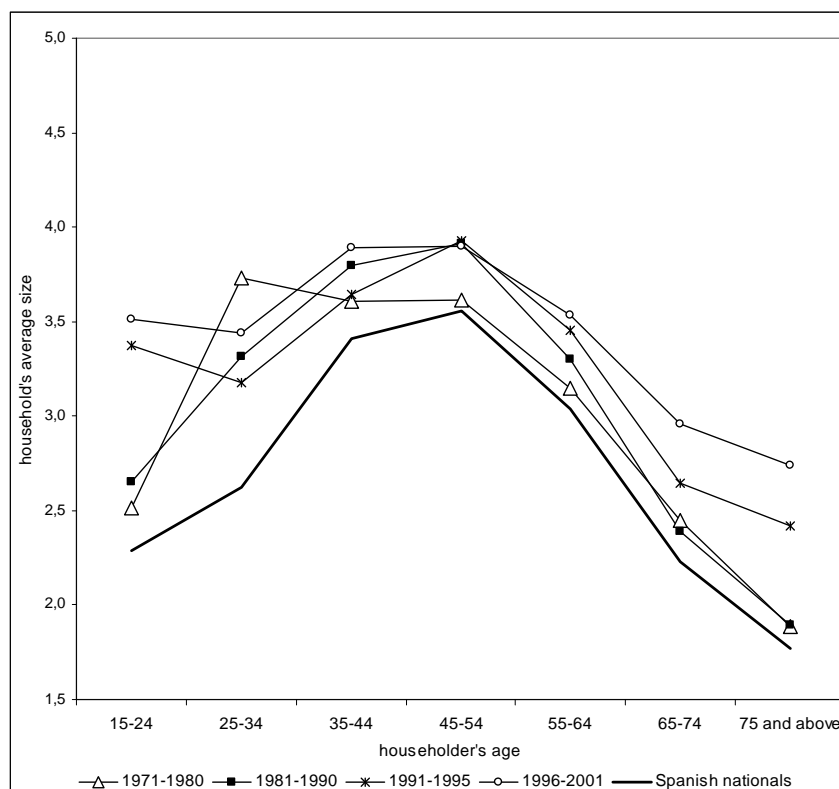
5.- Results

In this section we look at the trajectory of the size of pioneer households, those who belong to the cohort of arrival between 1981-1990, detailed by birth cohort, along with the behaviour of those who arrived more recently, between 1991 and 2001. The comparison of the evolution between 1991 and 2001 of households headed by Spaniards will enable us to measure the degree of stabilization of pioneer immigrant households. Then we will carry out the same exercise with the percentage of households which are owner occupied. From this we should be able to discover aspects which either point to the existence of assimilation or stratification of pioneer immigrants in the Spanish residential system.

5.1.- Residential stability: the evolution of household size

In 2001 the size of households headed by non-European immigrants was significantly larger than that of households headed by Spaniards, irrespective of the date of arrival in Spain (figure 1). The difference was greatest in the age group 25-34, due to the greater number of non-nuclear households among immigrants and the lower number of children among the Spaniards. Looking specifically at the pioneer cohort (1981-1990), we systematically observe a larger size, above all in the younger age groups. Additionally the average size for those who arrived in the nineties is larger than that of the Spaniards.

Figure 1.- Average size of household by age group, nationality and year of last arrival to Spain of the householder. Spain, 2001



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population and Housing Census 2001

The figure shows that the process of family stabilization, just started among the most recent immigrants, have not concluded for those who arrived before 1991.

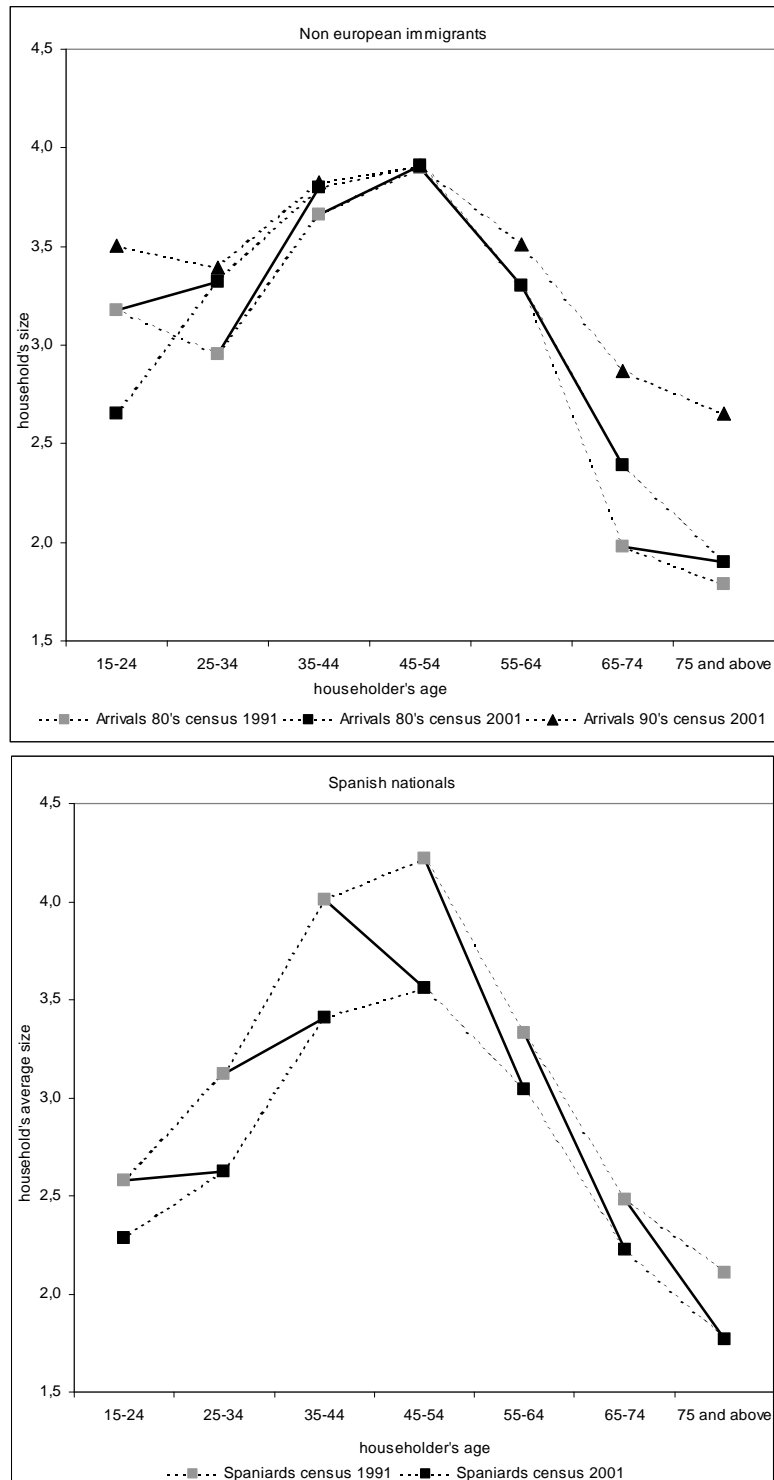
In figure 2 we have represented the cohort trajectories of the evolution between 1991 and 2001 of household size for Spaniards. During this period the average size of Spaniards' households declined sharply, which can be clearly seen in the trajectories drawn. On the one hand young households hardly increased in size at all during the nineties. Among the 15-24 and 25-34 age groups the trajectory shows, above all, the late entry of new households, due to children leaving home at a later age (Holdsworth, 2000). Among the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups the households only slightly increased in size, probably due to the fertility crisis over the decade (Castro, 1992; Delgado & Livi-Bacci, 1992; Miret &

Cabré, 2005). The trajectory of the 35-44 to 45-54 and older age groups shows how the leaving home process has clearly reduced the paternal households' size. Also the appearance of divorce in the life cycle of many households is a contributing factor. See as an example the trajectory of the 45-54 to 55-64 age groups: this cohort of households declined in average size by 1.3 members in 10 years. Hence, Spaniards radically changed their model of family co-residence during the period under study (Cabré & Menacho, 2007).

The sizes of household's trajectories by birth cohort of the pioneer immigrant cohort (1981-1991) are less remarkable. The young households grew more sharply in size. In the mature household the appearance of the "empty nest" stage does not have so much impact. These immigrants apparently do not change their family model. The cross-sectional curves by age for the 1991 and 2001 censuses are very similar. This means that the immigrants who arrived in the 80's show certain insensitivity to the family transformations that affected Spaniards. As a result the distance between the pioneer immigrants regarding to Spaniards increased greatly in these years (figure 3).

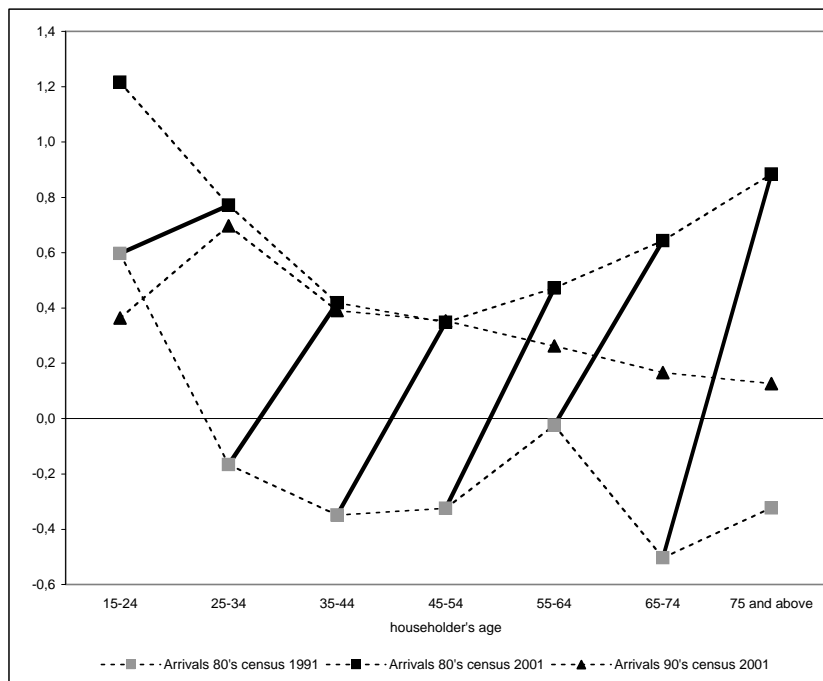
In 1991 the average size of households headed by an immigrant who had arrived between 1981 and 1991 was smaller than the Spanish household's size. If we look at the young-mature households, the most numerous, their average size varied between 0.2 and 0.4 members fewer than a Spanish household of the same age. Ten years later all the households, irrespective of their age, were larger than those headed by Spaniards. The positive differential was greater than 0.4 members. The distance was greater in young households (headed by those who, mainly, had arrived in Spain as children, that is, those who could be considered second generation) and in elderly households.

Figure 2.- Average size of household trajectories between 1991 and 2001 by age group of the householder. Spain, 1991 and 2001 censuses



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2001

Figure 3.- Differential trajectories for average size of household between 1991 and 2001 of non-European nationals of 1981-90 arrival cohort and of 1991-2001 arrival cohort in relation to Spanish national's households by householder age group



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2001

The evolution shown by pioneer cohort may be due to several factors. Firstly we have to take into account that at this time Spaniards were transforming their family structure, leaving behind large households and moving towards much smaller ones. Immigrant households could not regularise their behaviour so easily while the model of integration was changing so radically. We could imagine that they continue in the same family structure, not very different from that of the Spaniards in 1991. But several factors make us go further. Young householders of immigrant origin head more complex households than Spaniards, just as elderly householders do. Households in the transition stage to the "empty nest" decline in size very slowly on average, while in 1991 they were of a very similar size to those of Spaniards. All this leads us to suppose that pioneer households have remained in complex situations of co-residence with other persons, which are not explained by the demographic evolution of the life cycle. Very likely they have also been affected by the great flow of immigration which began in the nineties. These households have received

recent immigrants, have taken part in family regrouping and hosting in the initial stages, which has impeded or hindered their stability in comparative terms with Spaniards. In fact in 2001 the immigrants arrived between 1991 and 2001 represent 28% of the members of households headed by a pioneer immigrant.

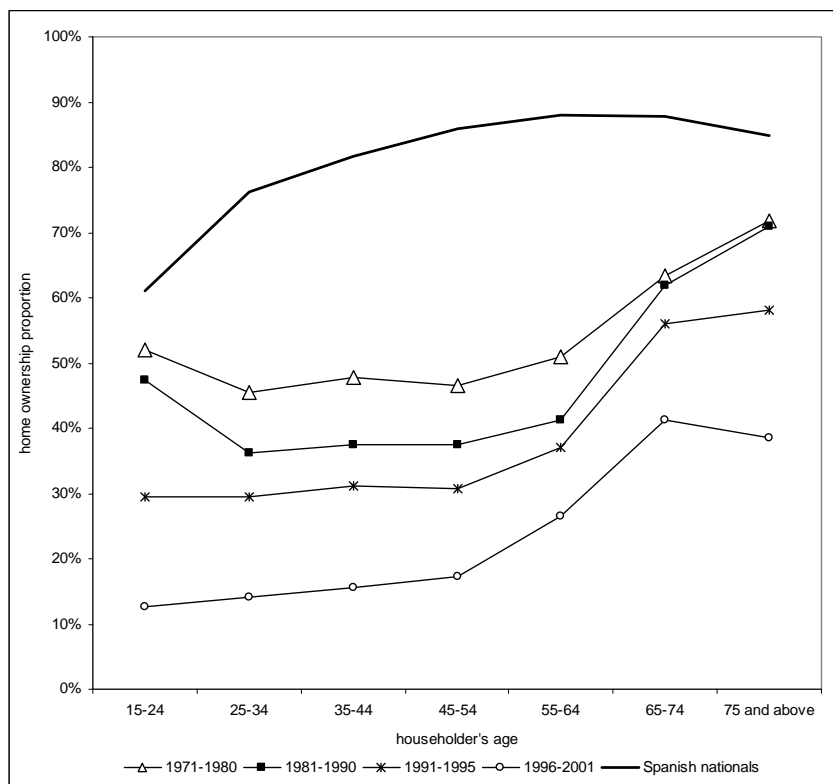
Households headed by immigrants arrived later in the nineties virtually reproduce the situation of the cohort which arrived earlier, at least in the more numerous age groups (adults and adults-youths). In this case, recent immigrants tend to form relatively large households. Therefore, what is most remarkable is that the households of the 1981-1990 cohort continue reproducing a behaviour which maybe is more typical of the initial stages of the process of immigration, showing that their way to stability has not yet concluded because the interference of a persistent and growing flow of immigrants.

5.2.- Residential assimilation or stratification? Evolution of the percentage of homeownership

The differential in the proportions of homeownership between Spaniards (who define the standard residential system) and immigrants is significant, whichever arrival cohort the immigrants belong to (figure 4). The homeownership rate of households headed by individuals who arrived in the seventies is at least 30 percentage points lower than in their Spanish peers of central age groups. Moreover, in certain age groups, such as the 45-54 group, there is a greater difference between the Spaniards and the oldest immigrants than between these and the more recent ones.

The trend by age for the Spaniards is typical of the Southern European residential model, as was mentioned above. Home purchase constitutes, in many cases, a *prior transition* to the beginning of the household's life, and is not, for most, a final goal in their residential trajectory. From this point on, the homeownership rate increases, as an effect of age, because many households that began life in rented or in loaned housing pass to homeownership when getting older. The age group 55-64 reaches a maximum, with almost 90% of home owners. In older households homeownership rate decreases, by a cohort effect, because old rental agreements with indefinite term and frozen rents are frequent.

Figure 4.- Home ownership by age group, nationality and year of last arrival in Spain of the householder. Spain, 2001



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population and Housing Census 2001

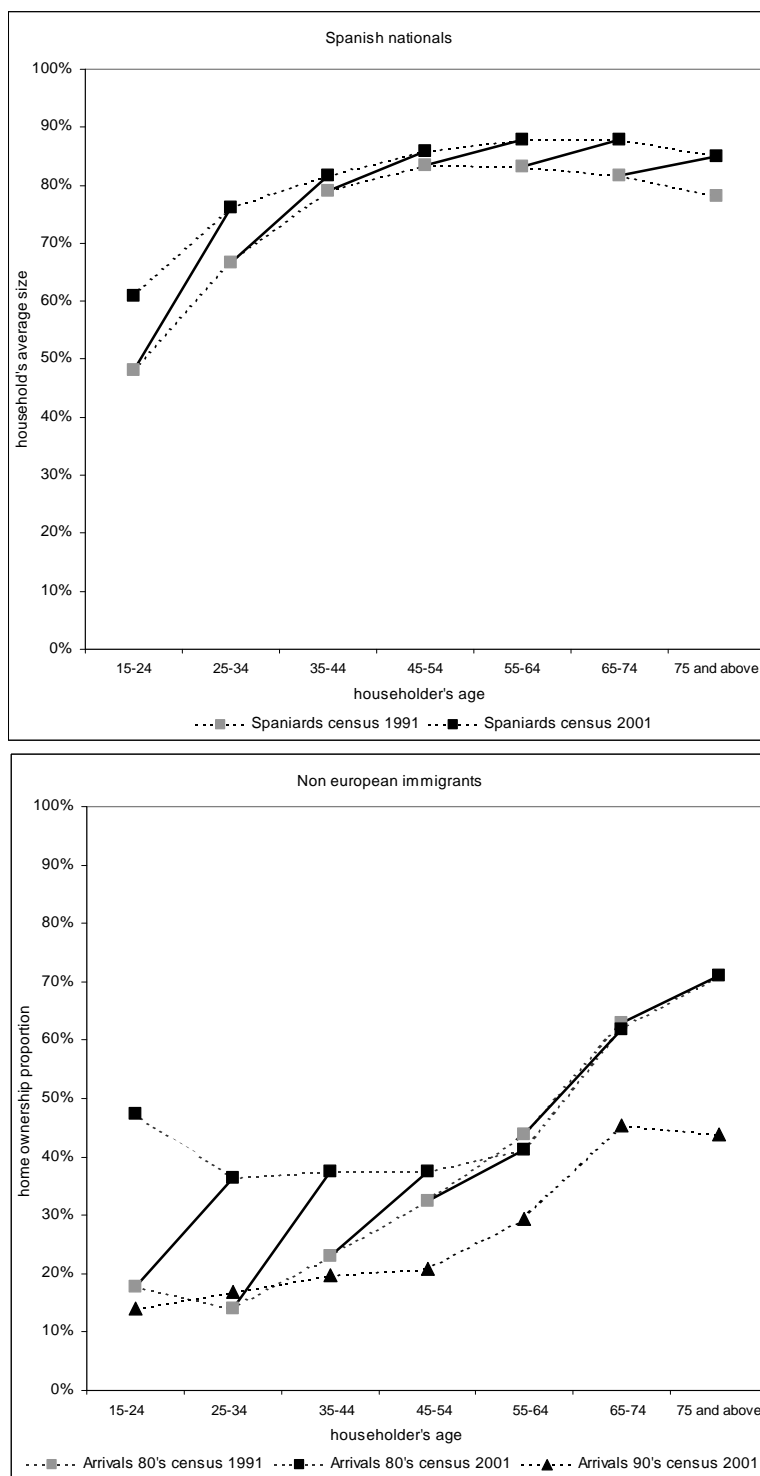
In the case of immigrants the expected result that duration of residence is a positive factor that helps the access to homeownership is upheld. In addition there is a clear difference between households headed by the young and adults (the majority) and households headed by the elderly (a minority). The latter present a higher propensity towards homeownership, due to the fact that they have more rapid ways of insertion available to them than young households. The higher proportion of home owner households among elderly immigrants is independent of their year of arrival, as can be seen in the figure 4, and also of their country of nationality or the size of household. All the elderly immigrants who head a household are more likely to be owner occupiers. This statement deserves further in-depth analysis in future contributions.

Although homeownership is the main form of access to housing in Spain, the values scored by foreigners are similar or even lower than those in other countries with lower levels of homeownership (Borjas, 2002, in the case of the US), if year of arrival in the country is controlled. The residential divergence between foreigners and the rest of the population is therefore in Spain greater than in other countries.

The evolution of homeownership trajectories by birth cohort for Spaniards shows that in the nineties the percentage of home owners increased *across all age groups* (figure 5). This means that we are dealing with, once again, an unstable system which is changing towards a higher degree of universal homeownership. In the older birth cohorts some households are still in transit from renting to homeownership, or there may be a selective survival of home owner households. As Doling and Horsewood (2003) point out, owner households in advanced stages of the life cycle enjoy, by virtue of owning their homes, a type of special income, both monetary and in terms of residential stability. Additionally in the nineties, at younger age groups the simultaneous access to homeownership and to household independence increased.

Immigrants joined a residential system that was changing due to the intensification of its most distinctive feature, homeownership. Immigrants enter with low initial levels of homeownership but show a growing trend between 1991 and 2001, at least in the case of the 1981-1990 arrival cohort. All birth cohorts in this arrival cohort shows a greater percentage of home owners in 2001 than in 1991. Progress is especially remarkable in young households. The trajectory of the 25-34 to 35-44 groups goes from around 15% to almost 40% of home owners. The residential situation of elderly households also evolves very strongly towards homeownership. Nevertheless, some 15 years on average after arriving in Spain the differential with respect to Spaniards is very high: almost 40 points in some central age groups. Households arrived in the nineties had, in 2001, similar proportions than the values of the 1981-1991 cohort in 1991. This is especially true in the younger age groups, not so much in the older ones, where the situation was even worse. Apparently we are dealing with the same type of behaviour as that shown for the previous arrival cohort, but the difference in relation to Spaniards is now greater.

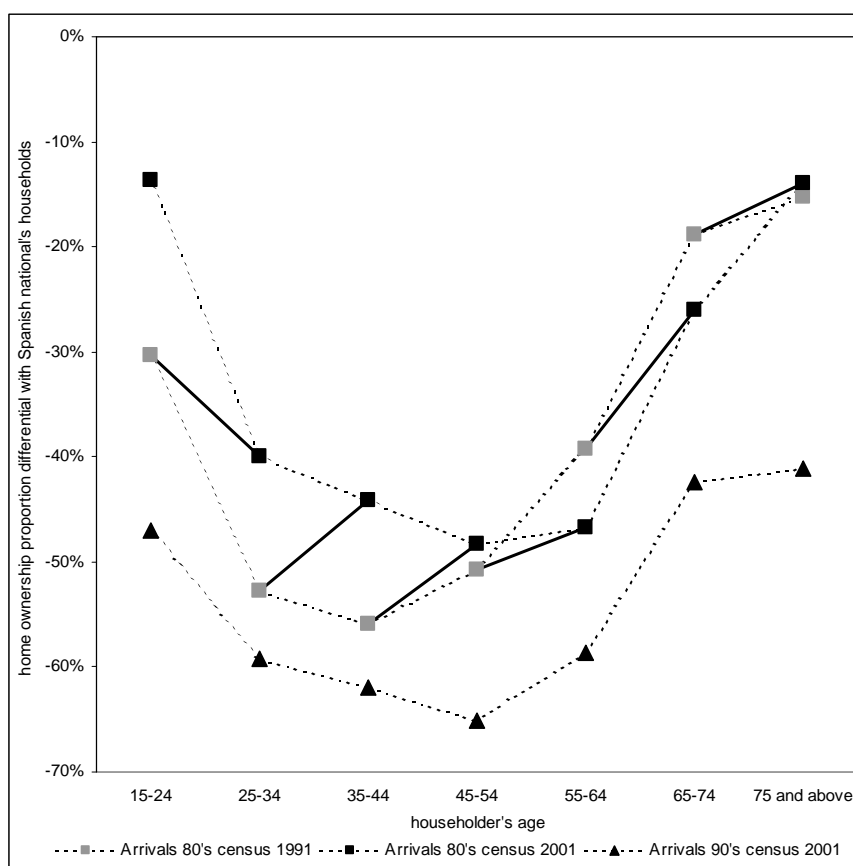
Figure 5.- Home ownership proportion trajectories between 1991 and 2001 by age group of the householder. Spain, 1991 and 2001 censuses



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2001

In fact, while immigrants' households begin to adapt to the Spanish residential system and initiate their own trajectories into homeownership, the households headed by Spaniards continue increasing their rates of homeownership. The result of this double dynamic can be found in figure 6. In the central age groups there is a decline of around 10 percentage points in the negative differential of the 1981-1990 arrival cohort with respect to Spaniards. Thus, a gradual convergence with the standard model is active, but it is too slow to be considered a process of assimilation. When the pioneer households catch up with the behaviour of households headed by Spaniards, their life cycle will be near its end, if we extrapolate into the future what we have observed in the nineties.

Figure 6.- Home ownership proportion differential trajectories between 1991 and 2001 of non European nationals of 1981-90 arrival cohort and of 1991-2001 arrival cohort in relation to Spanish national's households by age group of the householder



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2001

Immigrants arrived in the nineties, the most numerous group, have seen how the relative conditions of access have deteriorated. The differential with regard to the same Spanish age groups in 2001 is significantly higher than the differential of the pioneer cohort with respect to the Spaniards in 1991. They show similar percentages of owner occupiers, but the Spaniards have moved still further on. If the most recent arrival cohort reproduces the trajectories into homeownership of the pioneer arrival cohort, then the process of convergence with the Spanish pattern will never be met during the life of these households, not even in the life of the youngest.

Faced with these results it is difficult to speak about a clear process of assimilation. In the personal experience of immigrant households, most of their life will follow non-standard behaviour, within a positive, but certainly too much slow dynamic. Most will comply with the aim of assimilation to general behaviour, by buying their homes, even if it is later in the life cycle. Seen as a group, probably the most recent immigrants cannot be categorised as being assimilated into the population as a whole. And the analysis that we have carried out here points to the fact that the second generation runs the same risk of having different trajectories than most Spaniards.

6.- Discussion and conclusions

The article has described the residential insertion of recent immigrants in Spain using the analytical - descriptive methodology of the double cohort of birth and of arrival in Spain. To this end, we have described the residential evolution of the cohort of non-European foreigners who arrived in the eighties, based on data gathered from the 1991 and 2001 censuses. Their behaviour has been compared, on the one hand, with the evolution of Spaniards in both censuses and with that of non-European foreigners who arrived in the nineties and were observed in 2001. The simultaneous consideration of age at both points in time allows us to analyse the residential trajectories of different birth cohorts.

The residential variables considered have been the average size of household, which allows us to evaluate the evolution of the immigrants' family structure, and the proportion of homeownership in order to analyse the residential integration. The size of household allows us to observe the degree of *stability* in the relationship of the group with housing,

and identify transitory questions (co-residence with other people, etc.). Access to homeownership leads us to the question of whether immigrants enter a process of *assimilation* to generalised behaviour or whether we are faced with a *restratification* of the system, in that immigrants go through a non-standard residential experience. We should emphasise the difficulties in measuring the adoption of general behaviours by immigrant households, when the reference models (in our case, family structure and, to a lesser degree, housing tenure) suffer significant modifications. It is a theoretical and methodological challenge that needs to.

Immigration to Spain has been a very intense but quite recent phenomenon. The current process of immigration dating from the end of the 20th and early 21st centuries, which has brought over 4 million new residents to Spain (rising to 4,482,568 foreigners at the beginning of 2007, 9.9% of the population), has also affected earlier immigrants as well as the native Spanish population. We have highlighted a few dimensions of interaction in this article. The process to residence stability for the households headed by immigrants who arrived in the eighties has not yet finished. In the nineties, the family structure of the pioneers moved considerably away from the standard dynamic model represented by Spaniards. The role of refuge for more recent immigration that these households have played, being part of family networks, is an explanation to be considered. In 2001 28% of co residents in households headed by immigrants who arrived in the eighties had arrived in Spain in the nineties. This percentage rises to 35% in those households headed by persons in their 50's.

As regards Spaniards the most evident impact has been seen in the transformation of the type of housing available and, possibly, their residential preferences. There has been an intensification of the homeownership rate in households headed by those under 35 and a parallel decline in young tenant households. In fact the total number of houses in the rental sector declined by 10% between 1991 and 2001 according to the 2001 Census; although, according to the Ministry of Housing in Spain, rental housing units have increased by 18% once again between 2001 and 2005. Immigrant households occupy a large number of these housing units. In 2001 11.5% of rented housing had a household headed by a non-European foreigner, while the figure was hardly 2% 10 years before. Of all households headed by those under 35 who lived in rented accommodation according to the 2001

Census, non-European immigrants headed 22%. More recent estimates put the figure at over 40% of the total number of rented housing units occupied by immigrants. The increase in demand for rented accommodation due to immigration has led more young Spanish households to be home owners to the detriment of rented accommodation. Between 1991 and 2001 there was an increase of 9 percentage points in the homeownership proportion in households headed by Spaniards between 25-34 and a simultaneous decline of 9 percentage points in the proportion of tenants. In fact there are 33% fewer young Spanish tenants under 35 years, while the number of households in this age group has increased by 10%. It is worthy of further research to know if there is really a causal interaction between the recent massive arrival of immigrants and the change in how young Spaniards gain access to the housing market; or whether we are simply faced with a evolution of the Spanish housing system initiated over 50 years ago of which the new immigration has taken advantage.

Another question that will need attention in future research is the role that the large non-main housing stock (secondary and without any type of occupation) has played in the residential accommodation of recent immigrants and, for example, in the recent increase in rented housing. According to 2001 Census, there were 6.8 million housing units not permanently occupied by a household, of which 3.3 million were identified as secondary and 3.4 million appear without any defined residential use. Of these, over 1 million housing units were located in cities of over 100 thousand inhabitants, where there were approximately 600 thousand secondary housing units. Possibly, the use of these housing units in informal rental markets or other transactions has helped the rapid insertion of many immigrants.

The impact of international immigration on the local housing market can be even more considerable. Degraded urban historical centres, with a large number of housing units to rent, housing estates from the sixties comprising housing units of below average standard, and intensively exploited tourist areas with high levels of seasonal rents, become the main areas of settlement for international immigration. This leads us to call for the addition of geographical variables to our approach in the future.

Clearly we have found great differences between the family structure of immigrants arrived in the eighties and that of Spaniards. One reason is the support and accommodation provided for immigrants who came later. Therefore, we can say that the maintenance over time of a significant flow of immigration directly impacts on the residential integration of relatively elderly immigrants. Besides, we should consider the relationship between a stable household size and a higher degree of access to homeownership. If we consider this relationship either as stabilisation or assimilation, it might point to the fact that access to a housing market dominated by homeownership will lead to lower levels of stabilisation, as a strategy of access from a position of lower financial resources.

We have also found, as regards homeownership, that the vital trajectories of non-European immigrant households are showing a slow but steady growth in the percentage of home owners. So far, we cannot determine, however, if the remaining differences are due to the net effect of the immigration factor (and hence we should conclude that stratification exists) or rather that it is a mere question of socio-economic structure (due to the initial social fragility of the immigrants). There is a need for more sophisticated statistical methods in new contributions on the issue. Nevertheless, we have found that the rate of assimilation to the homeownership standard level in Spain is too slow for current immigrants as a whole. Assimilation will be difficult over what is left of their life cycle. Even more, it does not seem that young second-generation households will be able to make the same effort at the beginning of their family trajectory to homeownership as young households headed by Spaniards. Therefore, a new type of residential trajectory has arisen in which homeownership is a final aim, but cannot be considered as a starting point. The incorporation of a large quantity of foreign origin population surely faced the Spanish society with a future of deep diversity in terms of access to homeownership, and in general of residential insertion, which up to now seemed of little importance in the Spanish case.

Finally we should point to the need to provide elements of reflection on the future role of immigration in the Spanish residential system. On the one hand, due to the low rate of growth of the Spanish population and to the progressive size reduction of the cohorts entering emancipation ages, immigration will increasingly become a determining factor in the Spanish housing market in the years to come. Three processes ought to be analysed: a) the continuing flow of new immigrants entering the country; b) the stabilisation of those

foreigners already in the country and the formation of new households due to the dissolution of the complex forms associated with the first stage of migration; and c) the change in access to housing by those who live in rented accommodation. On the other hand, after verifying the link between growth in homeownership with longer stays in the country and the maintenance of size of household among foreigners, we can expect an increase of residential exclusion. This will be seen in an increase in overcrowding, whatever the regime of homeownership may be. Mass generalised access to homeownership, and the market trend to favour it may exacerbate the situation. As some of the latest studies have pointed out, a steady, strong flow of immigration with an intense real estate inflation, may well worsen residential insertion for the most recent foreigners, who arrived in Spain after the 2001 Census. This and other aspects highlighted above should be studied with special attention, especially in terms of its effect on the processes of integration in the long term.

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