

# **Possibilities and limitations of comparative quantitative research on immigrant's housing conditions**

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## Summary

Access to decent and affordable housing constitutes a clear aspect in the successful integration of immigrants in European societies. It has a direct impact on quality of life, health, social interactions and incorporation in other domains, such as education and the labour market. There is a general consensus in the European literature verifying the disadvantage faced by immigrants and minority groups, in general, in housing, both in social housing and the private housing market. Indeed, it is widely acknowledged that immigrants are at greater risk of exclusion from the housing market (EC, 2005; Ratcliffe, 2004). Despite some positive advances, the importance of exclusion and discrimination in this domain are persistent in nature, revealed in the similarities that occur across different European countries. This is a circular process as disadvantage in this domain is a result of socio-economic exclusion, but at the same time contributes to it, reinforcing and reproducing patterns of social and economic inequality (Harrison, Law & Phillips, 2005; Somerville & Steele, 2002). There are other factors at play complicating the picture, such as socio-economic differentiation, different family and age structures and the complexity of tenure and location patterns, differing forms of discrimination and racism, different migration histories as well as different policy contexts, diversity agendas and social support.

### Definitions and measures of the housing situation of immigrants

Based on a review of the literature, in summary, the kind of data needed to assess housing performance and residential patterns of immigrant and minority groups can be summarised by the following topics:

#### *Access to housing*

Housing is considered a basic human need and access to it is necessary to ensure integration in other domains not to mention to secure an individual's wellbeing and state of health. Evidence suggests that, in general terms, migrant and minority groups, given their more vulnerable position, continue to experience difficulties in accessing all tenures of housing. Various obstacles hindering access to housing have been documented. Both housing supply and affordability are undoubtedly central to this debate, yet other aspects such as direct or indirect discrimination on the part of landlords, agents, housing professionals, local authorities, banks etc and 'racial steering' or 'red lining' are also fundamental aspects (Ratcliffe, 2009). Further constraints include physical threats or harassment (*ibid.*). Other structural constraints that may limit access include resources and income, which are inextricably related to labour market position (Mulder, 1993; Ozuekren & Van Kempen, 2003). Likewise, policy contexts and practices may influence access, for example, long waiting lists for social housing or lack of entitlement (Bosswick et al., 2007), as well as the characteristics of the stock. Generally, the fact that the volume of social housing stock has declined and is more market driven makes the necessity for data to monitor this phenomenon even more crucial as even less support will be available to migrants when accessing the market.

A key factor in measuring the possible discrimination of immigrant groups in access to housing is a comparison with the majority population. In this instance, it may be naïve to assume that differences between the two groups are attributable to citizenship, country of birth or ethnicity alone, it is important to consider other factors. This necessitates that other variables such as those measuring socio-economic status are available by nationality or immigrant group.

#### *Affordability*

Affordability is a fundamental prerequisite for access to suitable and, indeed, available housing and has emerged as an important aspect in general housing problems encountered in Europe, in particular, in city regions. Indeed, Bosswick et al. (2007: 102) observe that the majority of countries have experienced a decline in cheap housing in both public and private rented housing sectors. In particular, vulnerable groups, in which migrants and minorities are included, are most at risk from social exclusion in the housing market. This can be related

with the privatisation of social housing and the fact that access to housing has become more market driven (Caritas 2006). However, it is not only due to housing market dynamics, changes in welfare regimes and housing policy or in prices of rents and mortgages, but also with the weaker socio-economic position and lower income of migrant and minority groups in general. Data that allows for the comparison between the cost of housing and the ability of immigrants to pay for it is a vital to enhance our understanding of the affordability of housing for the said group.

#### *Suitability*

Suitability measures the size and layout of the dwelling in comparison to the size and composition of the household. The suitability of a dwelling for families' needs is an important indicator in this domain given the fact that overcrowding is frequently an important issue. This is related both with the suitability of stock and with affordability of housing in general. From both a policy and market perspective this is an important supply issue. Overcrowding is related with the younger age structure of migrant households and the fact that households are often comprised of extended families. Another cause is the subletting of rooms among new labour migrants. The latter trend is difficult to quantify as it occurs in the informal private rental market.

#### *Adequacy*

It is clear in the literature that housing conditions for immigrant groups are on average problematic, and in general of poorer quality than the native population. Poor housing conditions have a direct impact on integration in other domains and on general health. Conditions can be summarised here as state of repair, including damp, poor insulation etc, as well as basic amenities such as heating, running water, electricity, a kitchen, a flush toilet and a bath and a shower.

#### *Tenure*

Understanding tenure patterns is imperative to our understanding of the housing trajectories of immigrants, which often reflect social trajectories, and the extent to which immigrants are integrating. In particular, a comparison of the tenure patterns of the majority population and those of the immigrant population allow us to a certain degree to infer levels of access to various housing sectors and to measure integration. For example, in countries where owner occupancy predominates, higher percentages of immigrant home owners may indicate higher levels of integration. Of course, one must be careful in the interpretation of such trends as in the UK, for example, homeownership among particular ethnic groups is often associated with poor living conditions and barriers to accessing the social rented sector.

#### *Housing type*

Another issue that may be related with tenure is house type or type of dwelling. The distinction between at least classic/conventional and non-classic/unconventional dwellings is important given the continuing, albeit overall diminishing, presence of immigrants living in clandestine housing, especially in Southern Europe, and the incidence of Roma and travelling communities living in non-permanent housing in other European countries. Thus, this variable can provide an indicator of some of the most precarious housing situations.

#### *Residential Location/Segregation (concentration versus dispersal)*

Spatial segregation in its most general sense has been assumed as negative. This is related to the contention that it is representative of lack of choice and opportunity in the housing market and in other domains on one hand, and on the other that it has negative effects on processes of integration. However, this premise has been questioned and research has proved it is an ambivalent trend, which encompasses both positive and negative factors and consequences. Clustering may have many positive outcomes, evident in extended social and cultural relations and networks and strong communities, which may act as a coping mechanism against inequality and discrimination. In addition, the concentration of minority ethnic groups allows religious institutions and specialist retail outlets to exist and remain economically viable, thus helping to overcome, to some extent, marginalisation in the labour market. Nonetheless, there is a clear relationship between residential segregation and deprived neighbourhoods, poor housing, and marginalisation in the labour market.

### *Residential mobility trends after initial settlement*

To a large degree, the aforementioned indicators consider the positions of migrant and minority groups in one snap shot in time. A temporal dimension is absent from the picture, despite the fact that evidence suggests that the process of integration into the housing market and urban structure is an evolving and dynamic process. Özüekren and Van Kempen argue that, “in order to evaluate the housing situations of households, we need to know about the stages in their housing careers” (2002: 366). Given that it has been clearly documented by studies in several European countries that in general minority and migrant groups tend to occupy the least sought-after segment of the housing market, it is import to understand the processes and constraints that have resulted in this situation. In the words of Bolt and van Kempen, “a career approach is necessary to explain these less favourable housing conditions because the present situation cannot be seen separately from decisions taken earlier” (2002: 401). From this perspective, studying the housing careers of these groups enables the dynamics involved over an individual’s or group’s life course and the interaction of this with wider social and structural process to be understood.

### **Comparability of data and possibilities for cross-comparative research**

All countries, according to that registered in the PROMINSTAT database, provide some data on the housing situation of migrants and minority groups meaning that in the most part there are possibilities to study housing outcomes and overall patterns of ethnic geography. It should be noted that overwhelmingly so the data available refers to legal third country nationals and minority groups that are longer settled. There is a clear lack of data on refugees, asylum-seekers, new labour migrants and other important minorities such as Travellers and Roma, this is even the case in countries where data is particularly strong such as the UK.

In general terms, the data available is more conducive to studying housing situations rather than changes over time or market processes and their impact on processes of social exclusion, inequality, discrimination or access to housing, to name a few. There are some exceptions to this rule, such as the housing surveys conducted in the Netherlands and France that provide more ‘experience-related’ variables. Despite the clear predominance of the type of variables that measure housing outcomes, such as tenure, house conditions, house type, numbers of rooms, etc, these variables are frequently inconsistent across PROMINSTAT countries. Thus, whilst studies can be conducted at the national level in each country direct comparison of particular variables is oftentimes very difficult.

Indeed, particular indicators crucial for any assessment of the housing position of migrants and minorities are missing. Indicators measuring *access to housing* appear to be largely absent and in the majority of countries this can only be inferred by comparisons between the tenure statuses of the majority and migrants or minority groups, which is insufficient. Furthermore, data on *affordability*, a crucial factor determining access and performance in other domains such as the labour market, is absent in the data available in most countries. Some countries collect information about this through surveys such as Sweden, and the Netherlands and Portugal among a few others collect information about costs in the census. *Residential mobility* is also a particularly difficult area to research, and information on this is scarce, due to the lack of longitudinal micro data. The possibility of linking datasets in Denmark and the Netherlands is more conducive to the kind of data needed to study the aforementioned indicator. Certainly, the fact that data in these countries are reported to be up-to-date and allow for linking with other datasets means there are greater opportunities to produce longitudinal statistical data. Similarly, the breadth of background variables available in these countries allow for important comparisons along the lines of different differentials and not merely the particular background variable that defines an individual as a migrant or member of a minority group.

Many countries rely solely on the census which has advantages due to the fact that it is easily accessible and subject to quality testing and procedures that are increasingly defined both at the European and International level. Furthermore, it is possible to make comparisons over time of the situation of migrants in general and of particular groups of migrants, depending on the variables used to characterise them. Importantly, due to coverage a good sample size and

representativeness can be assured. However, there are clear drawbacks to the over reliance of the majority of countries on census data. To summarise, the first and most universal problem relates to the frequency with which censuses are conducted, the shortest intercensal period recorded was every six years in Ireland. Other countries have established register-based censuses to try to overcome this problem, but in this instance normally the data available is very limited and additional housing variables are much fewer in number in comparison with traditional censuses. The result of the aforementioned is that data becomes quickly out of date. Often there are problems of undercounting, especially of immigrant groups, an example of an extreme case is the Czech Republic where it is estimated that 60% of the foreign population were undercounted in the last census (CR-Czech Republic: 1). It is also common that data is made available in aggregate form making it very difficult in many instances to gain access to information on smaller groups. In the same vein, census data only provides a snapshot in time. Importantly, as highlighted by Harrison et al. (2005), census data is designed to enumerate the population and allow for relationships to be identified between different phenomenon and situations, however, no causality can be inferred from census data. Other types of data and methods of investigation are necessary to provide explanations for these relationships. In particular, Poland, Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, Belgium, Slovakia, Luxembourg and Hungary are examples of countries that rely overly on census data. Indeed, in the aforementioned countries no other reliable data sources were recorded that allow for the documentation of the housing situation of migrant groups. This is particularly problematic in some cases, for example, the recent influx of migrants into Malta and Cyprus are not covered in this data. It is important to note that comparability of census data is set to improve across countries due to the fact several countries such as Germany, Norway Austria, Belgium, and Sweden are changing to register-based censuses in 2011.

The majority of PROMINSTAT countries have population or alien registers. Absent from this majority is, for example, the UK. In terms of the utility of these registers in studying the housing situation of the target group in question, we may at best denote them as limited. Indeed, the only purpose to which they can be applied, when accessible, is the mapping of settlement patterns of different migrant and minority groups. The potential for direct comparability of these registers is restricted due to the fact that the data is available at different spatial scales, largely depending on the specific administrative units employed in differing national contexts. There are exceptions to this in the case of the Netherlands, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Denmark. To take Denmark as an example, the Central Personal Register (CPR) is linked to Statistics Denmark meaning that the Statistical Population Register can be updated on a daily basis. Individuals can be uniquely identified by their cpr-number meaning it is possible to get very good personalised data from other administrative registers. Statistics Denmark collects the data in this way from administrative registers and correct, edited and combine it to make statistics (CR-Denmark: 4-5). For the study of housing and residential patterns the Country Report states that the data for housing and residential patterns are very good (CR-Denmark: 14). The Netherlands, similarly, produce statistics based on register data. They frequently combine register data with survey data to overcome the limitation of variables included in administrative registers. One example outlined in the Netherlands country report is the Permanent Living Situation Survey (POLS) conducted annually. The remaining three countries produce annual housing statistics by linking the population registers to data on buildings and dwellings. In these countries the quality of the data is obviously closely linked to the quality of the data collected for the administrative registers. It may be concluded that quality in Denmark and the Netherlands is on average much superior to the other countries under study and can be classified as high. This is true both due to the fact data covers the total population, meaning it possible to draw representative samples of migrants and minorities. Sweden and Norway produce the same register based statistics, however, as yet the population registers cannot be linked to housing data, this is currently being developed, however, and will be possible in the near future (2013 and 2011, respectively – Country Reports).

For the theme in question surveys provide an important source of information in several countries, although quality and availability varies immensely in each case. Indeed, in countries such as France surveys constitute the principal means to collect data on housing. Other countries, such as the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, produce high quality survey data that clearly complements registers in the former and the traditional census in the

latter. Other countries, such as Denmark, rely more on administrative registers due to the high cost of surveys. Clear advantages include the type of data that can be collected by surveys. This pertains first to background variables and second to thematic variables that measure the housing and residential position/patterns of migrant and minority groups. Earlier the fact that available data measures housing outcomes rather than processes and experiences was mentioned. However, surveys can provide the former data that is not possible with administrative data. Good examples include: the Permanent Living Situation (POLs) in the Netherlands which collects information on experiences of renting and dealing with banks, for instance; in the same country the Housing Needs Survey (*Woningbehoefteonderzoek*) is the main source for housing data and is conducted every four years, as well as housing outcome variables it includes others such as residential aspirations and motivations for moving; and the Housing Survey in France, that as well as basic indicators includes information on access to social housing. In short, surveys can complement registers that are created purely on the basis of administrative needs.

Despite the comprehensiveness at the national level of some of the surveys undertaken in PROMINSTAT countries, it is impossible to compare them across countries. In general terms, it is impossible due to inherent differences in coverage, quality and definitions. General problems outlined in the country reports relate to the sample size, which is often acute when the proportion of migrants and/or minority groups of the overall sample is considered. Furthermore, if this sample is to be broken down further and segmented according to region, sex, age or income, for example, then this problem becomes even more pertinent. In many instances, the sample size is simply not sufficient to allow for analysis of subgroups or at different geographical scales. This is the case even with the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions - EU-SILC, which is the survey with the greatest potential for comparative studies across PROMINSTAT countries. This is documented clearly in the country reports; an extreme case is the Czech Republic, where the said data is impossible to use due to the fact the sample size of foreigners only numbers 150 persons, which is approximately 1.2% of the total sample (CR-Czech Republic: 15). The situation is worse again in Malta, where it is impossible to use the data for statistical ends as the sample size of foreigners is around 50 persons (CR-Malta: 13-14). The reliability of this data is also questioned in Hungary (CR-Hungary: 17). The same is noted in Poland (CR: 18-19). The Portuguese Country Report recommends that caution be exercised when using the data for the same reason (CR-Portugal: 3). Similarly, there is a problem with representativeness in Slovakia (CR-Slovakia: 2).

Another general drawback of surveys is the risk of non-response, seen clearly in some of the surveys described on the PROMINSTAT website. Other factors include the fact that some surveys do not provide questionnaires or interviews in the immigrants' mother-tongue, which can result in both a high non-response rate among immigrants and a bias in the sample toward "better educated and well integrated migrants" (CR-Austria: 18). This is true of the EU-SILC, as questionnaires are only available in the majority language. Indeed, it is noted in the Slovenian Country Report as resulting in the exclusion of migrants (CR: 11).

## **Recommendations and conclusions**

In light of the analysis undertaken we can conclude that internationally comparative research on housing and residential patterns is difficult. To summarise, this is generally the case due to the inconsistencies in definitions and variables employed to measure housing positions and outcomes. Furthermore, there is a problem in some instances with the up-to-datedness of the data as well as data coverage. In many cases, relevant survey data cannot be used due to problems with the representation of migrant and minority groups. However, there is evidence that this will only improve as time progresses, in the light of both European and international attempts at ensuring comparability and harmonising topics. Undoubtedly, however, this demands commitment from the part of government and official institutions.

The need for the harmonisation of statistics relating to international migration, in order to facilitate international comparability of data from various EU countries has been highlighted by several institutions, namely the UN, OCED and the EU. For too long the recommendations

produced by experts from many international organizations have been ignored by national governments. However, in recent years some worthwhile initiatives have been developed to tackle this problem. As a means to make definitions more uniform, permanent comparable housing topics in the population census of each Member State may be considered to improve the overall comparability of data. Regulation (EC) No 763/2008 of the European Parliament and of the Council on population and housing censuses obliges all EU countries to conduct a population census in 2011. Precise topics (derived and non-derived) are specified in the aforementioned regulation. A strategy to ensure that census data is more useful in the domain of housing and immigration is to include such topics permanently in all future censuses conducted by Member States. There are of course other disparities at the national level such as the frequency with which the census is conducted and the methodology applied. The latter point is probably the most challenging given that there is no scope to add additional variables to register-based censuses, this could be achieved by a complimentary survey or through the collection of more ample information in administrative registers. This is particularly pertinent given the tendency observed in several countries to change data collection practices to be register based. On a positive note, this evolution is likely to result in higher quality and more representative data. The importance of accessibility is important to outline here, more efforts should be made to provide anonymised micro data to researchers that can be cross tabulated with other variables collected.

A further recommendation is in reference to the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC.) This data source has the potential to produce comparative European data on the theme under study. The quality and breadth of this data is notable, however, there are some gaps, important from a policy perspective, which this survey could seek to address. For example, access to housing can only be determined by a comparison of tenure patterns between native and immigrants which is not reliable or at all conclusive, direct questions on this issue should be added. Potential information on mobility or direct impacts of any of the collected variables on propensity to move is also lacking. However, more importantly is the question of sampling if this survey is to be taken advantage of for the current theme under study. Indeed, many of the surveys described in this study suffer from the problem of small sample sizes of migrants and minorities to the point that the data is redundant. One obvious solution may be the oversampling of migrants and minority groups. Some surveys have already oversampled migrant groups with successful outcomes. The development of more surveys specifically targeting migrants and minorities is another option, but only in the instance that a comparative majority sample is included in the study.

Another important issue involves addressing the gap in our knowledge of how housing conditions, outcomes and careers evolve through the collection of more and more consistent longitudinal data. Without undermining the utility of cross-sectional data, which is essential in understanding current housing and residential patterns of immigrants, much of what needs to be studied in this domain relates to change over time. Integration is a dynamic process, and if researchers intend to use housing and residential patterns as a way to measure integration, longitudinal data is essential. Data owners may consider establishing partnerships both within and across countries to analyse the possibility of linking datasets.

Relating to the types of immigrants covered it is obvious in almost all countries that more attention needs to be paid to the production of good quality data on other groups, such as the Roma population, refugees and asylum seekers and more challenging on illegal migrants.

Although detailed and frequent longitudinal surveys are ideal to supplement census data, this may not be immediately possible or practical given the limitations that policy-makers and researchers face in collecting reliable and representative data. Thus, after the analysis of information available and the gaps in information that exist, box 1, organised according to the key indicators presented in section C, represents a list of core variables, which would enable us to assess immigrants housing conditions. Such data if collected in all countries would provide a reasonable minimum to measure housing performance and outcomes of migrant and minority groups across Europe.

### Box 1 Minimum core variable to measure housing conditions and outcomes

- Access to housing
  - Experience when buying or renting house
    - ◆ Unsuccessful Attempts to access particular housing market sectors
- Affordability
  - Housing costs
    - ◆ Rent/mortgage payments
    - ◆ Maintenance
    - ◆ Insurance
  - Household income
    - ◆ Work
    - ◆ Benefits
- Suitability
  - ◆ Useful floor space/ number of rooms
  - ◆ Number of occupants
  - ◆ Occupancy by number of households
- Adequacy
  - State of repair
    - ◆ Damp
    - ◆ Insulation
    - ◆ Construction materials
    - ◆ Year of construction
  - Basic amenities
    - ◆ Kitchen (availability of)
    - ◆ Bathing facilities – bath/shower
    - ◆ Toilet
    - ◆ Water supply
    - ◆ Electricity supply
    - ◆ Heating
- Tenure
  - ◆ Type of ownership
- Housing type
  - ◆ Type of dwelling (permanent/non-permanent)
  - ◆ Dwelling by type of building
- Residential location/segregation
  - ◆ Location (actual address)
  - ◆ Location 1 year and 5 years previous
  - ◆ Intention to move

## Table of Contents

Summary.....	3
<b>A. Introduction.....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>B. Overview of research on immigration and housing in Europe .....</b>	<b>11</b>
B.1 Housing tenure.....	12
B.2 Housing Situation of Immigrants in Europe: Conditions .....	16
B.3 Access to housing: Constraints and discrimination .....	18
B.4 Housing Careers .....	20
B.5 Segregation.....	22
<b>C. Definitions, concepts and the key indicators .....</b>	<b>24</b>
C.1 Definitions and measures of housing situation of immigrants.....	24
C. 2 Definitions and specifications of topics.....	28
<b>D. Comparative analysis of the availability and reliability of data .....</b>	<b>31</b>
D.1 Sources of data.....	31
<b>E. Comparability of data and possibilities for cross-comparative research</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>F. Recommendations and conclusions.....</b>	<b>58</b>
Annex 1 - Population registers .....	69
Annex 2 PROMINSTAT Country Reports consulted for the study.....	71

## **A. Introduction**

Access to decent and affordable housing constitutes a clear aspect in the successful integration of immigrants in European societies. It has a direct impact on quality of life, health, social interactions and incorporation in other domains, such as education and the labour market. There is a general consensus in the European literature verifying the disadvantage faced by immigrants and minority groups, in general, in the housing market (EC, 2005; Ratcliffe, 2004). Despite some positive advances, exclusion and discrimination in this domain are persistent in nature, revealed in the similarities that occur across different European countries. This is a circular process as disadvantage in the housing market is a result of socio-economic exclusion, but at the same time contributes to it, reinforcing and reproducing patterns of social and economic inequality (Harrison, Law & Phillips, 2005; Somerville & Steele, 2002). There are other factors at play complicating the picture, such as socio-economic differentiation, different family and age structures and the complexity of tenure and location patterns, differing forms of discrimination and racism, different migration histories as well as different policy contexts, diversity agendas and social support.

This paper presents an overview of data availability and data collection practices of data specifically relating to housing and migrants and minority groups in PROMINSTAT countries. The report focuses particularly on labour migrants and poor ethnic minorities.

The study began with a review of the European literature on the housing performance and outcomes of labour migrants and poor ethnic minorities in Europe. This is not exhaustive given the dimension of the task and the number of countries involved, and examples are not provided for all countries. Despite this, the ensuing review of the literature provides a reliable overall picture on the housing situation of the group under study. This also enabled the identification of domains, sub-topics and methodological approaches being neglected in recent research. Finally, it confirmed the kind of data necessary to research the different dimensions of this topic in fuller detail.

The following task involved a systematic search for variables pertaining to the housing of migrants in all the datasets described at that moment in the PROMINSTAT database. This resulted in a list of relevant datasets by country. Relevant variables for particular datasets were extracted for the most recent year available, to enable a comparison of the information available across countries. The next step involved gathering information on frequency, sampling, accessibility and quality of each of these data sources from the description of the data sets on the PROMINSTAT website. The next recourse was the country reports, which provided us with information on the quality of particular data as well as inherent characteristics, which may have changed over time, thus, affecting comparability. Information was also gathered from EuroStat, UNECC and national statistical institutes. Further to this, additional information and clarifications were provided when necessary from the authors of the country reports.

## **B. Overview of research on immigration and housing in Europe**

In general terms, the housing literature can be divided into two main topics, with one body of research on housing conditions and actual housing situations and another on segregation. However, there are very few studies that consider the relationship between both (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2003). Overall, there has been less research conducted on mobility and housing careers. The evidence across Europe can be best described as being patchy. This is most likely a direct result of the difference in data available across member states. 'Many Member States,' write Harrison, Law and Phillips (2005: 3), 'lack an institutionalised framework for monitoring ethnic or national origin and measuring housing performance, and thus do not have the evidence base necessary for informed policy-making'.

## B.1 Housing tenure

Most European countries have adopted a market approach to housing provision, clearly favouring home ownership and complementing it by different measures for low income households (Edgar et al, 2004). Policy in some countries is characterised by housing provision supplemented by rental allowances (for example, France, the UK and Sweden), others by policies that have practically no subsidised provision (such as Belgium, Spain and Portugal) or distinct are the former communist bloc countries that are in transition to a market-led system (such as Hungary and Slovakia) (*ibid.*; see EC, 2005). Close to two-thirds of households in Europe are now home owners, in most countries it is the prevalent tenure, except in Germany, Austria and Switzerland where renting has a strong tradition (Atterhog, 2005). Evidence suggests that home ownership rates are higher in the twelve countries that joined the EU in 2004, than in EU-15 countries, which on average in 2001 were 76 per cent and 63 percent, respectively (Norris and Sheils, 2004). Edgar et al. (2004) report in their study that in countries where home ownership dominates, rather than be correlated with tenure differences immigrant or minority groups are correlated with poor housing. Certainly, some groups of immigrant background are over represented in the owner-occupied sector. For example, Indians and Pakistanis in England and Wales are disproportionately represented in this sector, 79% of the former group and 70% of the latter (whether they own outright or with a mortgage or loan) (Philips, 2005). However, Pakistani households are much more likely to live in poor quality or unfit housing and in over-crowded conditions (Harrison et al., 2005). Clearly, owner occupancy is not always related with upward residential mobility, indeed in Spain, some immigrant households buy their homes on an individual basis or in groups; however, it is not uncommon that they sub-rent parts of the house to another family. The contribution helps to pay mortgage repayments, but often leads to situations of overcrowding. The authors contend that this creates situations of double exclusion (Pereda et al., 2005). Although tenure differences between countries are clear, on the whole across Europe minority ethnic groups and immigrants are disproportionately represented in the rented sector, in particular in low cost and poor quality segments (Ozuekren & Van Kempen, 2003; Edgar et al., 2005). For example, in the 1990s, in Sweden 98 per cent of Turkish households lived in the aforementioned sector, the same was true for 92 per cent of the same group in the Netherlands and the respective figure was 85 per cent in France and Belgium (Ozuekren & Van Kempen, 2003). Thus, the more recent overall decline in the rented sector is likely to impact immigrant groups (Edgar et al., 2005). More specifically, Whitehead and Scanlan (2007) in study of nine European countries assert that immigrants tend to live disproportionately in the social rented sector often on large estates.

In countries where social housing is residual and a larger proportion of stock is owned (for example Spain, Belgium, Portugal, Hungary, Slovenia, Greece and Italy) immigrants often resort to the private rented sector. This sector is notoriously difficult to research and indeed monitor. Pereda et al. (2005) report that immigrants living in Spain have to resort to the private rented market as a result of the residual nature of the social housing sector. However, some immigrants who arrived in earlier migration flows lived in the private rented sector initially, and began to consider owner occupancy when their migration project was established – this was also the case with some PALOP households in Portugal (Fonseca, 2009). Another example is immigrants in Ireland, who are concentrated in the private rented sector in large urban areas, but most particularly in Greater Dublin (Whitehead and Scanlan, 2007). The increasing percentage in France of foreign-born households in social housing is reflective of the difficulties they face in gaining access to the private rented sector (Levy-Vroelant, 2007). Still, private rented housing in some instances serves as a 'quasi-social housing' for poor and migrant households, depending on the pressure on the local housing market, which is linked to the dimension of social housing provision (Levy-Vroelant, 2007: 41). Normally, these households can be found in the worst private rented housing, at times paying very high rents (*ibid.*; ANAH, 2004). Likewise, in Austria, as a result of problems of access for both immigrants and indeed the very poor, cheap private rented dwellings with poor conditions act as a form of 'quasi-social housing' for these groups (Whitehead & Scanlan 2007: 20).

There is little comparative data on overall tenure patterns among immigrant groups in the literature and the literature available often provides out of date data. Furthermore, there is a particular gap concerning Eastern European countries, as studies on this issue are practically non-existent. The country reports on housing by national contact points used as the basis for

Harrison, Phillips and Law's comparative study for the EUMC provide information on tenure patterns for EU-15 countries; however, the quality and the extent to which this data is up-to-date varies considerably between countries. To give a brief overview this information is summarised below by country.

In France, over 50 per cent of families were reported as owning their own home, 25 per cent as being private renters and 14 per cent social renters, while 1.4 per cent lived in rooms in furnished flats or hostels (NFP, 2003). Ownership rates vary dramatically by nationality, with less than 10 per cent of Turks, Africans and Moroccans reported as living in this sector, 12 per cent of Tunisians, 15 per cent of Algerians and 20 per cent of Asians (ibid.: 26). A larger number of French Speaking North Africans (41.4 per cent) and Tunisians (around 45 per cent) rented private housing, followed by 41 per cent of Turks, around 36 per cent of Moroccans and Portuguese and 30 per cent of Algerians and Asians (ibid: 26). More Asians, Algerians, Moroccans and Turks (around 44 per cent) rented social housing, whereas a lesser number of French Speaking North Africans and Tunisians were found to do so (around 35 per cent) (ibid: 26). Also, renting of rooms in hostels or furnished flats was found to be significant among Algerians and French Speaking North Africans, 7.7 and 8.3 per cent respectively (ibid: 26).

The Finnish report, with much less detailed data, accentuates the fact that although homeownership rates stood at over 60 per cent among the total population that renting is much more common among immigrants. For instance, 75 per cent of immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 1998 were reported as living in rented housing (Mikkonen & Karkkiainen, 2003: 29 cited in NFP, 2003).

In Denmark, immigrants and their descendents were reported as living in the majority in social rented accommodation, namely 60.8 per cent compared with only 17 per cent of the Danish population, mainly in low cost housing areas (NFP, 2003). However, the situation was not uniform across regions, but this was principally the case in regions with a large public stock and not so in municipalities with a limited share. Representation also varied not only by region but by immigrant group, with 36 per cent of Bosnians, 78 per cent of Somalis, 56 per cent of Lebanese and Palestinians and 64 per cent of Turks living in this sector (Togebj & Moller, 1999: 36 cited in NFP, 2003). This is reflected in disparities in the owner-occupied sector. Whilst 67 per cent of the Danish population aged between 15 and 66 were reported as being owner occupiers, the equivalent figure for immigrants was over three times lower (18 per cent and 13 per cent for refugees).

Considerable regional differences in the tenure status of foreigners were reported in Austria. Overall, the rented sector or tenancies were found to be much more important for foreigners than Austrians (NFP, 2003).

In Belgium, distinct regional differences were reported in the structure of the housing market and availability of literature also varies along these lines. Kesteloof et al.'s (1999) study on Flanders was drawn upon in the Belgium report (NFP, 2003), the authors categorised housing into six types/sectors including the residual renting sector, the medium renting sector and the primary renting sector, the same taxonomy was used for the owner-occupied sector. They found the predominant sector for the Belgian population to be the 'primary buying' sector (housing with comfort built after 1945) and similarly for renters the 'primary renting' sector (housing with comfort built after 1945). In 2000, 75 per cent of Flemish citizens owned their own home, 17.5 per cent rented and 3.6 per cent lived in social housing (NFP, 2003: 4). The renting sectors were found to be dominant among the Turkish population. However, the 'secondary' (housing with some comfort but built before 1945) and 'residual buying' (housing lacking some of the basic amenities) sectors were also important. The situation was reported as being similar for Moroccans. However, they were more represented in the 'residual' and 'secondary renting' sectors than the Turks. In general, it was established that Turks and Moroccans were underrepresented in the small social rented sector, yet there continues to be a dearth of data on this. Due to the fact that owner occupancy increased in importance since the 1980s, related with the decrease in 'residual renting' homes, prices have risen in the private rented sector pushing some migrants and minority groups into owner occupancy, namely the 'residual buying' sector. These instances have been described as 'emergency

purchases' (NFP, 2003: 30). After buying these poor quality properties, often buyers lacked money to refurbish them. This situation was more common among Turks than Moroccans, suggested to be due to a stricter abidance to borrowing rules (ibid.).

In Germany, 42 per cent of German households were reported as being homeowners compared to 12.2 per cent of non-Germans. Despite this, the proportion of non-German households increased in the sector from 8 per cent in 1985 to 13 per cent in 1998. Clark and Drever (2001; 21 cited in NFP, 2003: 16) reported this as being most apparent among Turkish nationals, whose presence increased from 2 per cent to 13 per cent over the same period. According to the Representative Survey, this is true in general for all migrant groups, but to a lesser extent than the figures presented by Clark and Drever. The same survey found 8 per cent of both Turkish and Yugoslavians to be owner occupiers. It is important to note that while this may be a sign of integration it is also reflective of the constraints to accessing the private rented sector and at times purchases may be made out of necessity (Haußermann & Siebel, 2001: 22 cited in NFP, 2003: 17). In regards to the rental market, 83.8 per cent of non-Germans compared to 55.8 per cent of Germans were represented in the sector, while 4 per cent of the former group were subtenants compared to 2.1 per cent of the latter (ibid.: 47, table 20). The 2001 Representative Survey found 24.8 per cent of Yugoslavians and 18 per cent of Turks to live in public housing; this represented a decrease of 7 per cent among the latter. In general, cuts in subsidies and a decrease in public housing stock in the drive toward privatisation, as well as the re-development of parts of the rental sector into owned properties has made it increasingly difficult for migrants and other low income household to acquire adequate housing (ibid.: 24).

The Portuguese report draws on the results of a survey conducted by OlhoVivo in 2000, rather than more comprehensive census data. The sample survey, which included 700 immigrants in the main cities of residence found 7.3 per cent to live in owner-occupied housing, 43.9 per cent in a rented dwelling, 23.6 per cent in a rented room, 4.2 per cent in boarding houses, 8.6 per cent in shanties, 10.1 per cent in the workplace and all other under 1 per cent (OlhoVivo, 2003 cited in NFP, 2003). Although 2001 Census data indicates that the percentage of foreign nationals from non-EU15 and North-American countries resident in classic owner-occupied dwellings is significantly superior to that reported by the Associação OlhoVivo, and confirms significant tenure differences between migrant groups and the native population. Actually, 77.1 per cent of the Portuguese citizens living in classic dwellings own their own homes, but only 61.6% of non EU 15 and North American nationals living in Portugal are homeowners.

According to the 2001 Italian census, 72.8 per cent of Italians own their own homes and 18.8 per cent rent. The tenure differences between immigrants and Italians are stark as on a national level only 5 per cent of the latter own their own homes. In some cities this percentage is higher, for instance in Milan 8.9 per cent of immigrants are homeowners (NFP, 2003: 4-5). The private rented sector is thus the main source of housing for immigrants considering the residual provision of social rented housing.

The Greek report offers little information on tenure patterns, other than the fact that 51.5 percent of low income Greek households live in owner-occupied housing compared to 91.8 per cent of migrants who rent housing (NFP, 2003: 40, table 1). Likewise, data provided by the UK Sweden, Luxembourg, Spain the Netherlands and Ireland is extremely limited with little information on minority ethnic groups in the social rented or private (both rented and owner occupied) sector (NFP, 2003: 36).

The countries, namely England, Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, France, Denmark, Hungary and Ireland included in Whitehead and Scanlan's recent (2007) study have social rented sectors which vary in size. In countries with large social rented sectors, as Edgar et al. (EC, 2005: 5) write, 'the government has a controllable policy instrument. The key in these countries is to ensure allocation policies are transparent and fair'. The situation is, of course, different in countries such as Belgium or Spain, where the social rented sector accounts for less than 15 per cent of total stock (Edgar, 2004) or, indeed, Portugal where it only accounts for 4.4 per cent (Malheiros and Vala, 2004).

In Austria, where social housing represents 25% of total housing stock, over 20 per cent of immigrants live in this sector, not dissimilar to the equivalent figure for Austrians, 19 per cent. However, there are great variations across federal states, for instance in Vienna, as a consequence of its esteemed tradition of municipal housing, 53% of Austrians and 17% of non-Austrian citizens are housed in social housing. In Upper Austria, the equivalent figures are 19 and 37 per cent, respectively. Until 2006, it was impossible for immigrants to access social housing as only Austrian citizens could apply for social housing. Indeed, even the entry of naturalised immigrants into the sector caused tensions in some social housing estates in the 1990s. In general, immigrants are not distributed in the same way across the stock and tend to be over represented in old buildings. An increasing demand has been reported from this group (Whitehead and Scanlan, 2007).

The percentage is higher in the Netherlands, where 51 per cent of non-Dutch (defined as those born abroad or with one of both parents born abroad) live in social housing (*ibid.*). In total, they occupy 34% of social rented stock compared to 25% of all stock (Elsinga & Wassenberg, 2007). Non-Dutch can be found in concentrations in post-war estates with low-rise buildings, in high rise flats, such as Biljmermeer in Amsterdam and in pre-war neighbourhoods with old buildings. These estates are often seen as problematic, due to higher levels of crime, unemployment and segregation (Whitehead and Scanlan, 2007). The high percentage in the Netherlands is, however, also in line with the large dimension of the social rented sector, which represents over 35% of total stock (Elsinga & Wassenberg, 2007).

In Sweden, there is great variation between regions; however, over 30 per cent of social housing is occupied by immigrants in metropolitan areas and 15 per cent in other areas, most likely reflecting the distribution of stock (Whitehead and Scanlan, 2007). A dispersal policy has been implemented for asylum seekers and refugees. These groups are allocated social housing in low demand and the most undesirable areas throughout the country, where they are often trapped in unemployment (*ibid.*). The tenure share of social rented stock was 18% in 2005, falling from 21% in 1995 (Turner, 2007).

Likewise, there are significant variations between regions and cities in Germany; however, in particular, there are high proportions of immigrants in West Berlin and Munich. There are no official statistics in Germany on the number of immigrants in social housing (Droste & Knorr-Siedow, 2007). However, studies at the estate level show that they are concentrated in highest numbers in high-density and run-down areas (*ibid.*). Indeed, in some large estates in Berlin and Western Germany, there are some social housing estates where 30-45 per cent of residents are immigrants (Whitehead and Scanlan, 2007). Droste and Knorr-Siedow (2007) provide examples of some cities, namely, Bremen, Hamburg, Dortmund and Berlin, where immigrant households have moved in increasing numbers to large housing estates with cheap rents after better-off German families moved out. This has served to increase socio-spatial segregation. The dimension of the social housing sector in Germany is, however, decreasing rapidly, with the number of units almost halving between the end of the 1980s and the early 2000s (Droste & Knorr-Siedow, 2007). This privatisation of social housing has implications on the quality of stock as low-quality dwellings continue to be rented rather than sold, meaning immigrants, as well as poorer households rely on a diminishing number of social housing units, which tend to be in bad neighbourhoods (*ibid.*)

In France, 30% of the foreign-born population are resident in social housing (Whitehead and Scanlan, 2007), compared to 14% of the non-immigrant population (Levy-Vroelant, 2007). Although representing 9.5 per cent of the total population in 2002, they occupied 22 per cent of social rented stock. There are clear variations between foreign-born groups, for instance, Turkish, Maghreb-born people and black Africans are represented in much higher percentages than the average, namely 44, 48 and 38 per cent respectively (*ibid.*). Large concentrations can be found on the peripheries of some cities, which have come under media and political scrutiny due to recent unrest.

Similarly, in Denmark, where social housing, owned by housing associations accounts for 20% of total stock, 61 per cent of immigrant families live in public rental accommodation in urban municipalities, compared to 17 per cent of Dutch families (Harrison et al., 2005). This high level of representation is a recent trend, as between 1994 and 2002, the percentage of

minority ethnic groups rose from 12 per cent to over 20 per cent (Whitehead and Scanlan 2007). They are mainly concentrated on large deprived urban estates, some of which, with over 50% non- ethnic Danes, have been branded as 'ghettos' both by the government and media (*ibid.*).

In England, around 8 per cent of households have a household reference person from a black or minority ethnic group (BME) compared to an average of 12.5 per cent in social housing. Once poverty, employment status and household status are controlled this still shows an under representation in this sector (Whitehead 2007). Furthermore, inter-ethnic group differences are stark, with few Indian and Chinese households in the sector (*ibid.*). In England and Wales, according to 2001 census data, Bangladeshi, Caribbean and African households are over represented in social rented housing, mainly high-rise flats, 48%, 40% and 50%, respectively (Phillips 2005; Edgar et al., 2005).

To conclude this brief overview, there are clear variations between groups within countries depending on the tenure structure of the housing market and different group opportunities and strategies. For instance, in Portugal, where the social rented sector is small, most immigrants are found in private rented housing. Immigrants from Portuguese Speaking African countries (PALOP), who were previously over represented in shanty housing, were a principal group to benefit from the recent slum clearance and re-housing programme. The later arrival of other immigrant groups, such as Eastern Europeans and Asians, alongside the fact that the provision of social housing is related heavily with re-housing, has meant they have difficulty in accessing this sector and are significantly absent from it.

## **B.2 Housing Situation of Immigrants in Europe: Conditions**

In general terms, immigrants and minorities, in comparison to the majority population, are more likely to found to be living in overcrowded housing with poor conditions and of poor quality in deprived and unpopular neighbourhoods and be subject to a higher cost of housing relative to their income (Ozuekren & Van Kempen 2003; EC, 2005). Indeed, there has been a strand of literature that has given special attention to this issue (see, for example, Ozuekren 1992; Kesteloot et al., 1997; Ozuekren & Magnusson, 1997; Glebe, 1997; Kearns, 2002; Ozuekren & Van Kempen, 2002; Harrison & Phillips, 2003; Phillips, 2005; Van Kempen, 2005; Bolt et al., 2008, Bolt et al., 2010). Still, the situation is not uniform, and in a recent report Harrison, Phillips & Law (2005) document the fact that indicators of housing conditions differ considerably across EU Member States. Further to this, evidence and data availability also differs, confirmed in the present report, which complicates greatly any comparative study of the housing conditions faced by minority and migrant groups. Likewise, the evaluation of the quality of housing occupied poses a serious difficulty in studying housing conditions in an international context (Ozuekren and van Kempen, 2003: 166). Different standards are applied across countries and different subjective understandings of quality have influence upon the ways in which quality levels may be interpreted (*ibid.*).

Harrison, Phillips & Law (2005) identify common themes which arise in EU-15 countries, despite the diversity in terms of tenure, conditions and strategies that exist. In summary, migrants and minority groups experience a greater incidence of homelessness and tend to live in poorer neighbourhoods. In general, they can be said to be more vulnerable and exposed to very serious housing conditions such as overcrowding, a lack of basic amenities, market exploitation and presence in shanty-town dwellings. It is important to highlight that there is evidence of improvements in housing conditions over time and that some minorities and migrants are able to adapt their own strategies, with many overcoming barriers they may face to opportunities (*ibid.*).

The authors importantly underline the correlation that appears to exist between poor quality housing conditions and problems of overcrowding, high housing costs, poor neighbourhood amenities, constrained choices and insecurity. Some of the examples they provide based on the aforementioned national housing reports are summarised in the current paragraph. In

Belgium<sup>1</sup>, Germany<sup>2</sup>, Austria<sup>3</sup> and Luxembourg<sup>4</sup>, migrants and minorities were reported as being over-represented in poor quality and over-priced rented dwellings. In Germany, this is accompanied by insecure rental contracts, poorer residential environments and overcrowding; migrants are also less likely to be owner occupiers. Migrants and minorities living in Austria are also disproportionately represented in pre-1918 properties, many without basic amenities, when compared to the Austrian population, 70 per cent and 27 per cent, respectively. Furthermore, according to micro census data, Turks pay approximately 24 per cent more rent per square metre than Austrians. Immigrants in Sweden, particularly Africans and West Asians, most notably Iranians, are also concentrated in low quality rental housing in poor quality areas. Özüekren and Van Kempen (2003: 166), however, highlight the Swedish case as an exception, as Turks generally live in residential dwellings not entirely unlike the nationals, and generally have a high standard of living. In France<sup>5</sup>, Algerians, Tunisians, Moroccans and Turkish households experience the lowest levels of access to basic amenities and, simultaneously, the highest levels of overcrowding. Moreover, immigrant families in general face over representation in poor housing conditions, including older dwellings and overcrowding (see also Edgar et al., 2005). In the Netherlands, minority and migrant groups are in the majority concentrated in the urban areas of the four main cities and have higher levels of overcrowding and live in lower quality housing, in particular flats, than the Dutch (see also Bolt et al., 2008). In the UK, particular minority groups, namely those with Bangladeshi and Pakistani backgrounds are more likely than other migrant groups to live in below tolerable standard and over-crowded housing. In the UK and Ireland, Gypsies and Travellers are particularly vulnerable, in the latter country, in 2000, 25 per cent of Traveller families were reported as living without basic amenities. Likewise, in Finland<sup>6</sup>, one fifth of the Roma population lives in 'inadequate conditions' (Harrison, Phillips & Law, 2005: 60).

The situation appears to be worse in Southern European countries, with a proportion of immigrants being reported as occupying abandoned or wrecked buildings and shanty dwellings. Furthermore, severe housing conditions were reported in Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece. For example, in Italy, 73 per cent of legal migrants, according to a national sample lived in over-crowded housing, and other studies have highlighted a lack of basic facilities. In Spain, the presence of immigrants was confirmed in dwellings in poor condition, sometimes ruins, lacking proper ventilation and basic amenities. In all of these countries, the Roma population is extremely disadvantaged in terms of housing, to the extent where in Greece their housing conditions were described as a 'humanitarian emergency'<sup>7</sup>.

The authors also importantly highlight the diversity of experiences and change within and between migrant and minority groups. For instance, in Portugal<sup>8</sup> the housing conditions of African migrants have improved due to the re-housing process, under which the number of shanty dwellings greatly diminished (see also Fonseca et al., 2009). Although African migrants continue to be over represented in slums and shanty towns, they have experienced little increase in homeless, compared to Eastern Europeans, who are more likely to live in temporary accommodation or be homeless (*ibid.*).

Much less is known about the situation in Eastern Europe, literature is certainly scarce in this domain, relating partly to the more recent arrival of immigrant groups and their smaller size in these countries. Nonetheless, some sparse evidence may be gathered from the literature. In a survey implemented in Slovakia by Divinský (2005, cited in Bargerová, Zuzana & Boris Divinský, 2008), respondents reported a lack of access to cheaper (for instance, 'social') housing. Interviewees reported the quality of social housing in Slovakia to be very low, and prices for tenements very high, as well as highlighting the disparity between the distribution of housing and jobs (*ibid.*). In Hungary, for example, Günther (2002) underlines the social consequences of housing privatization. The weight of the public rental sector in the overall

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<sup>1</sup> NFP Belgium, *Housing Report*, 2003, pp. 3, 17-19, cited in Harrison et al., 2005.

<sup>2</sup> NFP Germany, *Housing Report*, 2003, pp. 2-3, 13-17, *ibid*

<sup>3</sup> NFP Austria, *Housing Report*, 2003, pp. 36-41, *ibid*

<sup>4</sup> NFP Luxembourg, *Housing Report*, 2003, p. 44, *ibid*

<sup>5</sup> NFP France, *Housing Report*, 2003, pp. 19-26, *ibid*

<sup>6</sup> NFP Finland, *Housing Report*, 2003, p. 23, *ibid*

<sup>7</sup> NFP Greece, *Housing Report*, 2003, p. 32, *ibid*

<sup>8</sup> NFP Portugal, *Housing Report*, 2003, p40, *ibid*

housing market decreased from 20 per cent to four per cent between 1989 and 2003 as a consequence of privatisation. Despite initial low prices after 1990 followed by tax benefits and subsidies strongly favouring owner-occupied housing, some households with multiple disadvantages, such as those with no regular income, disabled, families with many children, and Roma families remain in the residual public stock (CECODHAS). Furthermore, Bernat and Fabian (2008) contend that in terms of housing integration, in European terms, Hungary has above average rates of housing without basic facilities and in need of structural repair. Edgar et al. (2005) also found that in Hungary and Slovenia, where numbers of migrants are low, the Roma minority suffer from poor housing conditions and residential segregation in poor urban areas (cf. EC, 2005).

#### *Homelessness*

Growing numbers of immigrants and changes in European housing markets have had an obvious effect on the vulnerability of immigrants to homelessness. Voluntary organisations have reported high numbers, in comparison to their relative weight in the population, of immigrant and minority ethnic people living in homeless shelters across EU-15 countries (Edgar et al, 2005). Furthermore, there is evidence that this is increasing particularly among new immigrants (*ibid.*) One of the most comprehensive studies addressing this issue is that by Edgar, Doherty and Meert (2004), based on national reports to the European Observatory on Homelessness, it usefully assesses recent changes in European housing markets, in particular those related with privatisation and the impact this has had on homelessness among immigrant groups. Harrison, Phillips and Law (2005) draw particular attention to the fact that the incidence of homelessness in Spain, Greece and Italy is also reported as being considerable. For instance, in Italy<sup>9</sup>, 40.7 per cent of those with no fixed abode were 'foreigners'.

### **B.3 Access to housing: Constraints and discrimination**

Immigrant groups, in general terms, have been widely reported in the European literature as having difficulty accessing all tenures of housing. This is reflective of the fact that access to both affordable and decent housing is generally more complicated for more vulnerable groups (Bosswick, Luken-Klaßen and Heckmann, 2007). There are numerous ways in which access to housing is made difficult and discrimination in this domain takes several forms. The character of housing supply and affordability are undoubtedly fundamental aspects in accessing housing for immigrant groups (*ibid.*). However, over and above this, immigrant groups and those of immigrant background, particularly those easily identifiable by physical characteristics, may experience direct discrimination, whereby they are treated differently to national or 'native' citizens. On the other hand, indirect discrimination, which occurs when mainstream practises or policies serve to exclude, marginalise or limit immigrants or minorities, has also been found to have an impact on immigrant's access to housing across tenures. Other types of constraints include structural ones, such as resources and income, which are inextricably related to labour market position (Mulder, 1993; Ozuekren & Van Kempen, 2003) and other policy contexts which may influence options or opportunities (Harrison et al., 2005). These forms of discrimination and constraints serve as exclusionary forces which marginalise immigrant groups in the housing market. Still, it is important to draw attention to the diversity of experiences among immigrant groups and the different strategies that such households adopt to avoid victimising or stereotyping groups.

In some countries, like the UK, direct discrimination and institutional discrimination is considered to have less significance now than in the past (Harrison et al., 2005; Harrison et al., 2005b-CIH), due to advances in legislation and strict monitoring environments. However, minority ethnic groups (measured by ethnicity) are widely documented as facing structural or indirect discrimination. In other countries, the case still remains that immigrant groups are subject to overt or direct discrimination, even if this is notoriously difficult to prove at times (Bosswick et al., 2007). Harrison et al (2005) relay examples that were originally provided in housing reports prepared by EU-15 countries for the EUMC. For instance, in Spain there were instances in two regions of landlords and agents of landlords, in the private rented sector, who stated in advertising that only nationals need apply and that they did not lease to non-EU

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<sup>9</sup> NFP Italy, *Housing Report*, 2003, pp. 19-20, *ibid*

foreigners<sup>10</sup>; similar advertisements were reported in Germany, in Berlin<sup>11</sup>, in Austria<sup>12</sup> and in Ireland, alongside illegal evictions<sup>13</sup>. There was evidence from Belgium<sup>14</sup> and France of refusals by private landlords, housing organisations and real estate agents to let properties to groups of immigrant background, in the former case particularly Moroccans and Turkish and in the latter, particularly Black Africans (Whitehead and Scanlan, 2007). Similar kinds of discrimination, namely refusals to rent or sell dwellings on the basis of ethnic background, were also reported in Finland against Roma, Somalis and Arabs<sup>15</sup>. A study conducted by telephone in Italy found that 75 per cent of applicants with Nigerian, Albanian or Moroccan backgrounds were discriminated against in the private rented sector<sup>16</sup>. This highlights the role of “gatekeepers” that has been given attention since the late 1970s in the literature (Pahl, 1977; Ozuekren & Van Kempen, 2002), which focused mainly on the role of housing officers in the allocation of housing in the social rented sector and landlords or sellers/estate agents in the private-rented and owner-occupied markets. This has led to some migrants being forced to either buy or rent unsatisfactory housing (Ward & Sims, 1981; Van Hoorn & Van Ginkel, 1986; Akkaya, 1996; Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2003). For instance, it is for this reason that Pakistani households were forced to buy substandard low-demand housing in the UK, in which they are reported to disproportionately experience poor housing conditions, overcrowding and problems of affordability (Sarre et al., 1989; Harrison et al., 2005b).

Direct discrimination can also, of course, be institutional in nature. A clear and recent example of this is in Vienna, Austria, where until 2006 non-nationals were directly excluded from city-owned social housing (Whitehead & Scanlan, 2007). This led to immigrant groups relying solely on the private rental market, where they had to pay more on average than natives (Giffinger, 1998). Bosswick et al (2007) also report cases whereby strict implementation of anti-segregation quotas can lead to cases of direct exclusion on an individual basis. To illustrate this, the authors provide the example of Stuttgart where available housing has not been allocated to migrants due to quota regulations, and subsequently they have been by-passed on the waiting list.

Other more subtle forms of direct discrimination, clearly impacting access to the housing market, were found in other countries. In Portugal, for example, for immigrant groups or those of immigrant background to rent a property or secure a bank loan there were reports of agents and banks requiring a Portuguese guarantor (Harrison et al., 2005). In Austria, France and Spain there were reports of landlords saying that flats had already been rented when this was not the case, and in Denmark and the Netherlands of agents either taking into consideration discriminatory demands of landlords or local residents (*ibid.*). There were also reports of immigrants in several other countries having to pay higher rents and being housed in poorer quality dwellings and the use of quotas in social housing, including Germany. Bosswick et al (2007) also found in their study of 20 European cities that potential tenants of immigrant background have been refused housing due to the fear that their presence may negatively influence house prices. This was also highlighted by Akkaya (1996) in the German context.

A structural barrier, besides income, to accessing suitable housing is the lack of dwellings that meet the housing needs of immigrant households on the local housing market, whether this is in terms of price, house type, size, tenure or quality (Özüekren & van Kempen, 2003). The authors also importantly highlight the influence that these constraints have on spatial patterns. Policies that affect the supply of public housing have a significant bearing on the potential success of allocation policies in providing access to housing that is both desirable and suitable. The privatisation and de-regulation of public housing and low rates of new building in several European countries have resulted in a decline in the quality and quantity of dwellings available. For example, in the UK the small size of existing apartments, with the majority of larger accommodations being sold under right to buy, has created a mismatch between

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<sup>10</sup> NFP Spain Housing Report 2003: 32

<sup>11</sup> NFP Germany Housing Report 2003: 36

<sup>12</sup> NFP Austria Housing Report 2003: 56, 66

<sup>13</sup> NFP Ireland Housing Report 2004: 30

<sup>14</sup> NFP Belgium Housing Report 2003: 4, 28

<sup>15</sup> NFP Finland Housing Report 2004: 3, 40

<sup>16</sup> Rete d'Urgenza contro il razzismo (2001): Rapporto Annuale [www.unimondo.org/reteurg](http://www.unimondo.org/reteurg)

existing stock and minority ethnic needs (MacEwen et al., 1994). Using the example of Glasgow, Binns (2002) draws attention to a survey by Glasgow City Council that found ethnic minority applicants for council housing most commonly to be families in need of larger accommodation due to larger family sizes. Evidence from the same survey suggested that the majority of those still waiting for council housing (which was in fact the majority of the minority ethnic applicants) were often unsuccessful due to the profile and location of the stock. Further to this, Özüekren and Van Kempen (2003), stress the function that the changing role of the welfare state and housing policies in general play in issues of affordability and access, as costs rise, subsidies decrease and demolishing programmes in social housing are implemented.

Another important structural barrier is affordability, given the aforementioned tendency for minority ethnic or immigrant households in some European countries to pay more for lower quality housing in the private rented sector. Ability to pay also has obvious effects on accessing the owner-occupied market. For example in Spain, one report states that on average households should not spend more than one third of their monthly income on housing, but that often immigrants end up paying significantly more than this (Pereda et al., 2005). Other housing needs related to cultural or religious norms should also be mentioned here, such as attitudes towards mortgages among Muslim groups (Edgar et al., 2005) and the need for feasible alternatives.

There are other barriers to access housing that constitute indirect discrimination. Drawing again on the examples provided by Harrison et al., (2005: 71) from national housing reports across EU-15 countries, we are given many and varied examples of how this is manifest. Length of residence requirements for the allocation of social housing often work against immigrant households due to recent migration, this was reported in the Netherlands and Spain. Other requirements were reported, such as the criterion in Denmark to speak Danish and the accrual of points in the allocation system in Italy, for Italian citizenship. Immigration and citizenship policy and the subsequent legal statuses it produces may influence access to housing, and may even prevent it; Austria being the most notable example of this in the literature (Harrison et al., 2005; Giffinger, 1998; Giffinger & Reeger, 1997). In the private rented sector, requirements such as the need to make available contracts or pay cheques may act as an exclusionary force, given that more migrants work in precarious situations without contracts (for example, see Spain<sup>17</sup>, *ibid.*) Other barriers include access to information and knowledge of the local housing market; here language can be an obstacle (Bosswick et al., 2007; Ozüekren, 1992).

## **B.4 Housing Careers**

It is widely regarded that within housing research, in general, as well as that related to migrant and minority groups that housing careers is an under-researched topic (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2002). However, there are several reasons that render this topic significant. To a large extent, the topics presented thus far in the review of the literature consider the positions of migrant and minority groups in one snapshot in time. A temporal dimension is absent from the picture. Still, research shows that the insertion of migrant and minority groups into the urban structure and their position in the housing market is dynamic rather than static (Phillips et al., 2003, Musterd & DeVos, 2007). Özüekren and Van Kempen argue that, “in order to evaluate the housing situations of households, we need to know about the stages in their housing careers” (2002: 366). Given that it has been clearly documented that in general minority and migrant groups tend to occupy the least sought-after segment of the housing market, it is important to understand the processes and constraints that have resulted in this situation. In the words of Bolt and van Kempen, “a career approach is necessary to explain these less favourable housing conditions because the present situation cannot be seen separately from decisions taken earlier” (2002: 401). Furthermore, from a recent policy perspective, the housing careers of minority ethnic or migrant groups have come under consideration. Implicit in policy rationales underlying social mix policies, but ironic from the point of view of desegregation, is the idea that the provision of more diverse types of housing

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<sup>17</sup> NFP Spain Housing Report, 2003: 31

tenures and types will enable upwardly mobile residents to remain in the neighbourhood and maintain neighbourhood and community attachments as they follow their housing career (Musterd & van Kempen 2007; Bolt et al., 2009; Bolt et al., 2010).

Pickles & Davies (1991: 466 cited in Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2002) define a housing career as “the sequence of dwellings that a household occupies during its history”. This definition implicitly links life-course events and housing mobility to study housing careers from a longitudinal perspective (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2002). Understanding the decision-making process necessitates insight into household preferences in the context of particular constraints and opportunities (Mulder, 1993). In this debate, more macro-developments cannot be overlooked such as the role of demographic changes, the welfare state and socio-cultural and economic developments (cf. Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2002: 371-374). The main causes of residential mobility can be summarised as the following. First, life course events (such as completion of schooling, entry into the labour force, marriage, divorce, childbirth and retirement; people may also move closer to their family members to exchange care or to maintain contact ). Second, related to economic factors (people tend to move in order to improve their well-being in the pecuniary and non-pecuniary sense. This can occur in various forms. People can move for a (better) job. They may be willing to adjust their housing quality according to the improvement in their socioeconomic position by moving to a more comfortable home in a better neighbourhood. Also, moving from a rented to an owner-occupied home can be classified under this category since buying a home is usually regarded as a saving instrument. Third, neighbourhood characteristics (people may move to a neighbourhood with a higher level of prosperity and facilities, or a lower concentration of disadvantaged (immigrant) people).

Research on this topic is generally limited; however, it has been given attention more recently some such studies are summarised below. The editorial of a special issue of *Housing Studies* on the issue concluded that, “the housing careers of minority ethnic groups on average show a progressive pattern” (ibid.: 375). Bolt & van Kempen (2002) in the Netherlands and Abramsson et al. (2002) in Sweden, show that residential mobility is largely limited to the social rented sector and moves to owner-occupied homes, though occurring, are not frequent. Other authors have noted movement from poor urban inner-city concentration areas to mixed suburban areas with better quality housing in the UK (Phillips et al, 2003; McGarrigle, 2010). Bolt & van Kempen (2002), studying the housing careers of Turks and Moroccans in Utrecht in the Netherlands, found that whilst some improvements had been made, the vast majority lived in housing conditions below the native population. In particular, they highlight not only the importance of housing decisions, but also labour market ones. Indeed, the weak socio-economic position of these groups explained to a large degree their limited housing career progress. A study on the former group in Sweden, also found that higher income and growth in the size of the household had a positive relationship with moves to larger homes and sometimes from rented into owner-occupied housing (Magnusson & Özüekren, 2002). Although this reflects the general mobility literature, the Turkish immigrants were found to be much less likely to follow this course. Indeed, they were much more likely than natives to remain in areas of ethnic concentration in social rented housing due to the impact of income. Several authors have also highlighted the importance of other differentiations besides income in affecting the course of the housing career. Tomlins et al. found factors related to the ethnicity of the Vietnamese sample in their study to be important, as well as their refugee status and high rates of economic activity. Whilst Bowes et al (2002) found that the housing careers of their Pakistani sample were distinguished by other factors that “cross-cut ethnic differences” (2002: 396). This highlights the importance of other individual characteristics and intra-group differences.

It is generally thought that the path of a housing career is hierarchical (e.g. from social housing to owner occupied housing or from multi-family housing to single-family housing) (ibid.). However, Bowes et al (2002) and Tomlins et al. (2002) found that this progression may be obstructed by stereotyping and discrimination, resulting in sideways moves.

## B.5 Segregation

Segregation has been defined in various ways, observe Asselin *et al.* (2006: 142), “from ‘the residential segregation of groups within a broader population’ (Özüekren & van Kempen, 1997: 22) to ‘the spatial translation of social inequality’ (Frassman, 2002: 14)”. In fact, it was originally adopted by the Chicago School in the 1920’s as an impartial term of analysis for spatial demarcation within cities, according to class, ethnicity or life cycle (Droogleever Fortuijin *et al.*, 1998). Since then the positive and negative results it produces have been debated widely (Ireland, 2008), with some arguing that there are forces of exclusion and inclusion at play (Phillips, 1998). Similarly, there has been disagreement in the academic debate with some believing that it serves to “predict levels of demographic and socio-economic segregation” and others, “migrant integration” (Ireland 2008: 1333). Indeed, some authors have underscored various positive aspects of segregation, including social capital (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993) and ethnic entrepreneurship (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003; Bowes *et al.*, 2002), and the protection it offers against wider exclusionary forces or discrimination (Tomlins *et al.*, 2002; Ozuekren & van Kempen, 1998; Phillips, 1998; Peach, 1998; van Kempen & Ozuekren, 1998). On the other hand, much of the literature has underlined the negative effects of ethnic segregation as well as of the urban poor (Bolt *et al.*, 2010). In various urban contexts the relationship between segregation and exclusion has been established - see Andersen’s (2002) study in Denmark and Harrison with Phillips (2003) and Somerville and Steele (2003) for examples in the UK. Other studies, cited in Bolt *et al.* (2010a), focussing on ‘neighbourhood effects’, have shown how limited job opportunities, local resources and social networks limit opportunities to escape poverty and exclusion (Musterd, 1998; Kearns & Parkinson, 2001). In political terms, segregation has been long represented as negative (Bolt *et al.*, 2010a; Ireland, 2008; Phillips, 2007).

The American experience has, to a large extent, steered the debate on the causes of urban segregation, offering competing cultural-ethnic and socio-economic explanations (Andersson, 1998: 406). On the other side of the Atlantic, the European debate has also traditionally been somewhat polarised. Models explaining segregation have been strongly influenced by the choice and constraint debate. The former choice-based strand is based on the rationale that individual actors make informed choices, related to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds and/or to their reason for migrating, about where they settle (Dayha, 1974; Ballard & Ballard, 1977; Lewis, 1994). This has been revisited to some extent by politicians in Europe, who whilst regarding segregation as a problem, have tended to focus on the idea that ethnic or immigrant groups are choosing to separate to preserve social, ethnic or religious identities (Cantle, 2001; Ouseley, 2001; Phillips, 2006; Schonwalder 2007; see also Mitchell, 2004). Increasingly so, there is a perception that lack of integration is related with residential segregation. Still, the idea that this relationship is always negative or clear even has been questioned in the literature (see Phillips, 2006; Musterd & Vos, 2007; McGarrigle & Kearns, 2009).

Those favouring the constraint explanation of segregation highlight the consequences of a weak housing and labour market position (Rex & Moore, 1967; Smith, 1989; Sarre *et al.*, 1989) or racism (Andersson, 2007; Brama, 2006), discriminatory policies, housing market dynamics and the characteristics of the housing stock (Musterd & Fullaondo, 2008). More recently, the dialectic relationship between choice or agency and structural constraints has been given due attention, as has the importance of other forms of difference and multiplicities of identities in influencing housing processes (Ratcliffe, 2004; Harrison & Davis, 2001). Besides both of these dynamic aspects, it is also important to highlight the fact that explanations for segregation across cities and points in time are likely to differ in light of the heterogeneity of patterns and processes within Europe (Droogleever Fortuijin *et al.*, 1998; Musterd & Fullaondo, 2008).

Within the European political arena, segregation has become a growing concern related with the fear that it will increase and threaten social cohesion and successful migrant integration (Droogleever Fortuijin *et al.*, 1998; Musterd & De Vos, 2007). In the UK and Germany, for example, immigrants have been described as withdrawing into mono-cultural communities resulting in ‘parallel societies’ or ‘parallelgesellschaften’. Similar debates have characterised political and policy discourses in other European countries, resulting in many cases, such as France, the UK, Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden, to name a few, in a range of housing and

urban policies to engineer or promote social and ethnic mixing (Blanc, 2010; Phillips & Harrison, 2010; Bolt & van Kempen, 2010; Loopmans et al., 2010; Andersson et al., 2010). For a recent summary of policy rationales for such interventions see Bolt et al. (2010). Such measures have been adopted in the Netherlands, where within the framework of 'urban restructuring', desegregationist projects have targeted ethnic neighbourhoods to engineer more mixed neighbourhoods (Musterd, 2002; Musterd & Ostendorf, 2007; Bolt & van Kempen, 2010). Policy responses in Sweden have included anti-segregation measures in various cities (Andersson, 2007). However, the latter have resulted in exclusionary practices within the housing market and minorities have been refused housing within concentrated neighbourhoods in the name of social mixing (Anderson et al., 2010). This was also reported by Loopmans et al. (2010) in Belgium. More problems have been identified with such measures 'rarely meet(ing) policy expectations' (Bolt et al., 2010a: 132; Bolt et al. 2010b). As such the same authors write, 'desegregation and mixing policies are 'united in their failure to bring about a significant drop in the level of ethnic segregation...they can also lead to negative effects, such as the break up of communities and constraints on housing choice' (*ibid*: 130).

The political debate often overlooks actual levels of segregation, which in most European cities tend to be lower than in North American cities. In this vein, Ireland (2008: 1333) writes that 'local European policy-makers have not all worried about ethnic segregation to equal degrees and that their attitudes have not always been proportionate to its extent'. Most migrants, in European metropolises, live in mixed residential areas. In the British context, Johnston et al. (2002) found that the majority of minority ethnic groups live in areas where the white British population is the majority. In the Dutch case, due to the increasing weight of ethnic groups in the population of the four largest cities, the average ethnic minority now lives in a district with a lower share of Dutch than was true a few years ago. However, despite this, the level of ethnic segregation is stable and in some cases declining (Bolt et al. 2010b). Within Western European metropolitan areas, some degree of socio-spatial segregation between immigrants and the autochthonous population is usual whereas a complete residential mix can hardly be found (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 1997a: 22). Ethnic segregation in European cities tends to occur more on the level of houses and blocks; it more seldom occurs at the scale of city districts (White, 1987; Kohlbacher & Reeger, 2003). Especially in the new immigration countries and cities of Southern Europe, the presence of immigrants in peripheral areas tends to be more relevant than in Northern European and North-American cities and levels of segregation lower (Malheiros & Vala, 2004). Arbaci (2008: 591), however, demonstrates how 'low levels of ethnic 'spatial' segregation conceal a real problem of 'social' residential marginalisation'. Certainly, in general terms, the relationship between levels of spatial concentration and integration is less clear in the European case than in North America. Indeed, in spite of the continued concentration of some minority ethnic and migrant groups some studies on the dynamics of ethnic residential change have noted the movement of these groups in different urban contexts toward integration in terms of housing patterns (for an example in the UK see Phillips et al., 2003; and in the Netherlands Musterd & Vos, 2007). Despite this, Arbaci (2008) importantly points out that within processes of desegregation or residential dispersal forms of marginalisation are embedded and hidden, offering examples of North Africans and Albanians in Milan and Athens and Colombians in Madrid. The assumptions attached to dispersal as a sign of integration and equally so concentration as a sign of exclusion are fraught with difficulties, seen in the complexity of Southern European cities where levels of segregation tend to be lower than in Northern Europe (Arbaci, 2008).

Although the previous paragraph generalises to a large extent, few cross-national comparative studies have been conducted (Ireland, 2008). This is undoubtedly related with the fact that comparisons are inherently difficult given the sensitivity of indexes to scale and differences in administrative statistical units across countries, not to mention differences in processes explanations and causes.

## C. Definitions, concepts and the key indicators

### C.1 Definitions and measures of housing situation of immigrants

Given the brief review of the literature presented in the previous section we may conclude that the kind of data needed to assess housing performance and residential patterns of immigrant and minority groups can be summarised by the following topics:

#### *Access to housing*

Housing is considered a basic human need and access to it is necessary to ensure integration in other domains not to mention to secure an individual's wellbeing and state of health. Evidence suggests that, in general terms, migrant and minority groups, given their more vulnerable position, continue to experience difficulties in accessing all tenures of housing. Various obstacles hindering access to housing have been documented. Both housing supply and affordability are undoubtedly central to this debate, yet other aspects such as direct or indirect discrimination on the part of landlords, agents, housing professionals, local authorities, banks etc and 'racial steering' or 'red lining' are also fundamental aspects (Ratcliffe, 2009). Further constraints include physical threats or harassment (*ibid.*). Other structural constraints that may limit access include resources and income, which are inextricably related to labour market position (Mulder, 1993; Ozuekren & Van Kempen, 2003). Likewise, policy contexts and practices may influence access, for example, long waiting lists for social housing or lack of entitlement (Bosswick et al., 2007), as well as the characteristics of the stock. Generally, the fact that the volume of social housing stock has declined and is more market driven makes the necessity for data to monitor this phenomenon even more crucial as even less support will be available to migrants when accessing the market. A key factor in measuring the possible discrimination of immigrant groups in access to housing is a comparison with the majority population. In this instance, it may be naïve to assume that differences between the two groups are attributable to citizenship, country of birth or ethnicity alone, it is important to consider other factors. This necessitates that other variables such as those measuring socio-economic status are available by nationality or immigrant group.

#### *Affordability*

Affordability is a fundamental prerequisite for access to suitable and, indeed, available housing and has emerged as an important aspect in general housing problems encountered in Europe, in particular, in city regions. Indeed, Bosswick et al. (2007: 102) observe that the majority of countries have experienced a decline in cheap housing in both public and private rented housing sectors. In particular, vulnerable groups, in which migrants and minorities are included, are most at risk from social exclusion in the housing market. This can be related with the privatisation of social housing and the fact that access to housing has become more market driven (Caritas 2006). However, it is not only due to housing market dynamics, changes in welfare regimes and housing policy or in prices of rents and mortgages, but also with the weaker socio-economic position and lower income of migrant and minority groups in general. Data that allows for the comparison between the cost of housing and the ability of immigrants to pay for it is a vital to enhance our understanding of the affordability of housing for the said group.

#### *Suitability*

Suitability measures the size and layout of the dwelling in comparison to the size and composition of the household. The suitability of a dwelling for families' needs is an important indicator in this domain given the fact that overcrowding is frequently an important issue. This is related both with the suitability of stock and with affordability of housing in general. From both a policy and market perspective this is an important supply issue. Overcrowding is related with the younger age structure of migrant households and the fact that households are often comprised of extended families. Another cause is the subletting of rooms among new labour migrants. The latter trend is difficult to quantify as it occurs in the informal private rental market.

### *Adequacy*

It is clear in the literature that housing conditions for immigrant groups are on average problematic, and in general of poorer quality than the native population. Poor housing conditions have a direct impact on integration in other domains and on general health. Conditions can be summarised here as state of repair, including damp, poor insulation etc, as well as basic amenities such as heating, running water, electricity, a kitchen, a flush toilet and a bath and a shower.

### *Tenure*

Understanding tenure patterns is imperative to our understanding of the housing trajectories of immigrants, which often reflect social trajectories, and the extent to which immigrants are integrating. In particular, a comparison of the tenure patterns of the majority population and those of the immigrant population allow us to a certain degree to infer levels of access to various housing sectors and to measure integration. For example, in countries where owner occupancy predominates, higher percentages of immigrant home owners may indicate higher levels of integration. Of course, one must be careful in the interpretation of such trends as in the UK, for example, homeownership among particular ethnic groups is often associated with poor living conditions and barriers to accessing the social rented sector.

### *Housing type*

Another issue that may be related with tenure is house type or type of dwelling. The distinction between at least classic/conventional and non-classic/unconventional dwellings is important given the continuing, albeit overall diminishing, presence of immigrants living in clandestine housing, especially in Southern Europe, and the incidence of Roma and travelling communities living in non-permanent housing in other European countries. Thus, this variable can provide an indicator of some of the most precarious housing situations.

### *Residential Location/Segregation (concentration versus dispersal)*

Spatial segregation in its most general sense has been assumed as negative. This is related to the contention that it is representative of lack of choice and opportunity in the housing market and in other domains on one hand, and on the other that it has negative effects on processes of integration. However, this premise has been questioned and research has proved it is an ambivalent trend, which encompasses both positive and negative factors and consequences. Clustering may have many positive outcomes, evident in extended social and cultural relations and networks and strong communities, which may act as a coping mechanism against inequality and discrimination. In addition, the concentration of minority ethnic groups allows religious institutions and specialist retail outlets to exist and remain economically viable, thus helping to overcome, to some extent, marginalisation in the labour market. Nonetheless, there is a clear relationship between residential segregation and deprived neighbourhoods, poor housing, and marginalisation in the labour market.

### *Residential mobility trends after initial settlement*

To a large degree, the aforementioned indicators consider the positions of migrant and minority groups in one snap shot in time. A temporal dimension is absent from the picture, despite the fact that evidence suggests that the process of integration into the housing market and urban structure is an evolving and dynamic process. Özüekren and Van Kempen argue that, "in order to evaluate the housing situations of households, we need to know about the stages in their housing careers" (2002: 366). Given that it has been clearly documented by studies in several European countries that in general minority and migrant groups tend to occupy the least sought-after segment of the housing market, it is important to understand the processes and constraints that have resulted in this situation. In the words of Bolt and van Kempen, "a career approach is necessary to explain these less favourable housing conditions because the present situation cannot be seen separately from decisions taken earlier" (2002: 401). From this perspective, studying the housing careers of these groups enables the dynamics involved over an individual's or group's life course and the interaction of this with wider social and structural process to be understood.

From this perspective, studying the housing careers of these groups enables the dynamics involved over an individual's or group's life course and the interaction of this with wider social and structural process to be understood.

The need for the harmonisation of statistics relating to international migration, in order to facilitate international comparability of data from various countries has been highlighted by several institutions, namely the UN, OCED and the EU. For too long the recommendations produced by experts from many international organizations have been ignored by national governments. However, in recent years some worthwhile initiatives have been developed to tackle this problem. The UN's Principles and Recommendations for Population and Housing Censuses (2007) gives detailed standards and guidelines for the collection and tabulation of census data relevant to international migration, such as country of birth and country of previous residence. In 2007, the European Parliament and the Council of the EU adopted Regulation (EC) No. 862/2007 on migration and international protection statistics. Under this regulation, EU Member States must supply Eurostat with harmonized statistics on asylum, migrant stocks and flows (inflows and outflows), acquisition of citizenship, and measures against unauthorized migration. In what concerns housing conditions the UN recommendations for Population and Housing Censuses –Revision 2 (2008) as well as the Regulation (EC) No. 763/2008 on population and housing censuses statistics gives detailed standards and guidelines for the collection and tabulation of census data on population and housing characteristics. The principal direct units for gathering data on housing conditions for any population subgroup are living quarters. The second, direct, units of enumeration are households occupying living quarters. For each household, it is often useful to collect information on characteristics of the head or reference person, tenure in the housing unit and other relevant characteristics. The final units of enumeration are individuals or members of household (Table 1).

**Table 1 - Housing census topics by unit of enumeration**

No.	Topic	Living quarters		Buildings	Households
		Housing units	Collective living quarters		
1.	Living quarters—type of	□	◆		
2.	Location	□	◆	□	□
3.	Occupancy status	◆			
4.	Ownership—type of	◆			□
5.	Rooms—number of	◆			□
6.	Bedrooms—number of	○			○
7.	Useful floor space	○	○		○
8.	Water supply system	◆	○		□
9.	Drinking water—main source of	◆	○		□
10.	Toilet—type of	◆	○		□
11.	Sewage disposal	◆			□
12.	Bathing facilities	◆	○		□
13.	Kitchen—availability of	◆	○		□
14.	Fuel used for cooking	◆			□
15.	Lighting and/or electricity—type of	◆	○		□
16.	Solid waste disposal—main type of	◆			□
17.	Heating—type and energy used for	○			○
18.	Hot water—availability of	○			○
19.	Piped gas—availability of	○			○
20.	Use of housing unit	○			○
21.	Occupancy by one or more households	□			◆
22.	Occupants—number of	◆	◆		□
23.	Building—type of			□	
24.	Construction material of outer walls	□		□	
25.	Year or period of construction	○		○	
26.	Dwellings in the building—number of	○		○	
27.	Construction material of floors, roof	○		○	
28.	Elevator—availability of	○		○	

No.	Topic	Living quarters			
		Housing units	Collective living quarters	Buildings	Households
29.	Farm building	○		○	
30.	State of repair	○		○	
31.	Age and sex of head or other reference member of household				◆
32.	Tenure				◆
33.	Rental and owner-occupied housing costs				○
34.	Furnished/unfurnished	○			○
35.	Information and communication technology (ICT) devices—availability of				◆
36.	Cars—number of				○
37.	Durable household appliances—availability of				○
38.	Available outdoor space				○

Legend:

- ◆ Core topic
- Core topic, derived
- Additional topic

Source: UN, 2008: 188-189.

## Box 2 Housing: topics to be covered in Population and Housing Censuses (Regulation No. 763/2008 (EC))

### 2. Housing topics

#### 2.1. Obligatory topics for the geographical levels: NUTS 3, LAU 2

##### 2.1.1. Non-derived topics

- Type of living quarters,
- location of living quarters,
- occupancy status of conventional dwellings,
- number of occupants,
- useful floor space and/or number of rooms of housing units,
- dwellings by type of building,
- dwellings by period of construction

##### 2.1.2. Derived topics

- Density standard

#### 2.2. Obligatory topics for the geographical levels: national level, NUTS 1, NUTS 2

##### 2.2.1. Non-derived topics

- Housing arrangements,
- type of living quarters,
- location of living quarters,
- occupancy status of conventional dwellings,
- type of ownership,
- number of occupants,
- useful floor space and/or number of rooms of housing units,
- water supply system,
- toilet facilities,
- bathing facilities,
- type of heating,
- dwellings by type of building,
- dwellings by period of construction

##### 2.2.2. Derived topics

- Density standard

## C. 2 Definitions and specifications of topics

To ensure comparability of statistical data on housing topics indicated by UN recommendations for Population and Housing Censuses –Revision 2 (2008), as well as Regulation No. 763/2008 (EC), the indication with precision of all the indicators utilised is indispensable. In the following paragraphs some of the definitions used by the aforementioned institutions are presented (UN, 2008: 189 - 214; COMMISSION REGULATION (EC) No 1201/2009 of 30 November 2009).

**Living quarters** - Living quarters are structurally separate and independent places of abode. They may:

- (a) Have been constructed, built, converted or arranged for human habitation, provided that they are not at the time of the census used wholly for other purposes and that, in the case of non-conventional housing units and collective living quarters, they are occupied at the time of the census; or
- (b) Although not intended for habitation, actually be in use for such a purpose at the time of the census.

**A housing unit** is a separate and independent place of abode intended for habitation by a single household, or one not intended for habitation but occupied as living quarters by a household at the time of the census. Thus it may be an occupied or vacant dwelling, an occupied non-conventional housing unit or any other place occupied as living quarters by a household at the time of the census. This category includes housing of various levels of permanency and acceptability and therefore requires further classification in order to provide for a meaningful assessment of housing conditions.

**A conventional dwelling** is a room or suite of rooms and its accessories in a permanent building or structurally separated part thereof which, by the way it has been built, rebuilt or converted, is intended for habitation by one household and is not, at the time of the census, used wholly for other purposes. It should have a separate access to a street (direct or via a garden or grounds) or to a common space within the building (staircase, passage, gallery and so on).

**Collective living quarters** include structurally separate and independent places of abode intended for habitation by large groups of individuals or several households and occupied at the time of the census. Such quarters usually have certain common facilities, such as cooking and toilet installations, baths, lounge rooms or dormitories, which are shared by the occupants. They may be further classified into hotels, rooming houses and other lodging houses, institutions and camps.

### **Occupancy status of conventional dwellings**

'Occupied conventional dwellings' are conventional dwellings which are the usual residence of one or more persons at the time of the census. 'Unoccupied conventional dwellings' are conventional dwellings which are not the usual residence of any person at the time of the census.

### **Type of ownership**

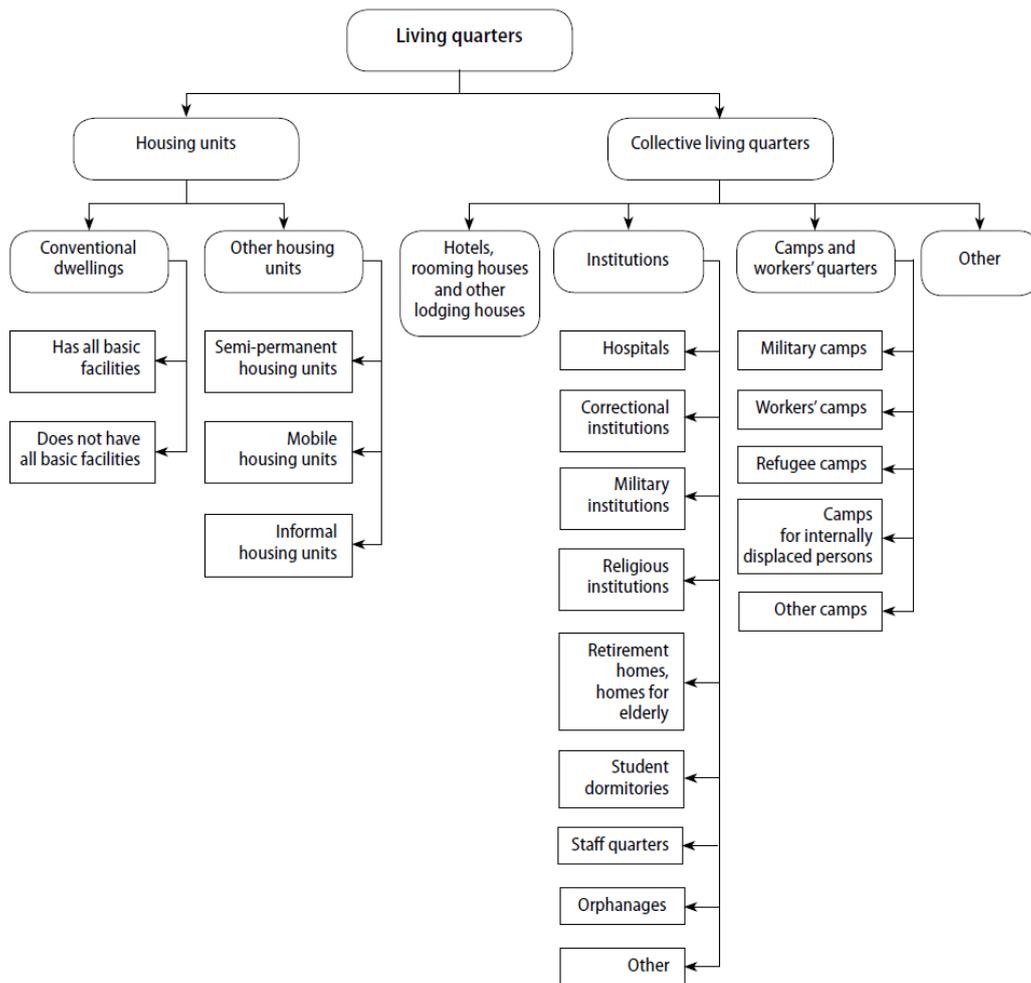
The topic 'Type of ownership' refers to the ownership of the dwelling and not to that of the land on which the dwelling stands.

'*Owner-occupied dwellings*' are those where at least one occupant of the dwelling owns parts or the whole of the dwelling.

'*Cooperative ownership*' refers to ownership within the framework of a housing cooperative.

'*Rented dwellings*' are those where at least one occupant pays a rent for the occupation of the dwelling, and where no occupant owns parts or the whole of the dwelling.

**Fig. 1 – Type of living quarters**



Source; UN, 2008: 191.

***Tenure status of households***

The topic ‘Tenure status of households’ refers to the arrangements under which a private household occupies all or part of a housing unit.

***Number of occupants***

The number of occupants of a housing unit is the number of people for whom the housing unit is the usual residence.

***Useful floor space and/or Number of rooms of housing units***

*Useful floor space* is defined as:

- the floor space measured inside the outer walls excluding non-habitable cellars and attics and, in multi-dwelling buildings, all common spaces; or
- the total floor space of rooms falling under the concept of ‘room’.

A ‘room’ is defined as a space in a housing unit enclosed by walls reaching from the floor to the ceiling or roof, of a size large enough to hold a bed for an adult (4 square metres at least) and at least 2 metres high over the major area of the ceiling.

***Density standard***

The topic ‘Density standard’ relates the useful floor space in square metres or the number of rooms to the number of occupants, as specified under the topic ‘Number of occupants’.

Both the UN and the EU Commission agree that the information on housing topics should be cross-tabulated with individual information on the place of birth, country of citizenship, and place of residence either one or five years prior to the census, for each person enumerated. Thus, it would be possible to assess the housing situation and residential patterns of immigrant and minority groups.

The list of recommended tabulations *on housing characteristics*, for population and housing censuses, proposed by the UN (2008), are the following:<sup>18</sup>

- H1-R Persons, by broad types of living quarters and number of roofless\*
- H2-R Persons in collective living quarters by type
- H3-R Households in occupied housing units, by type of housing unit\*
- H4-R Conventional dwellings by occupancy status
- H5-R Occupied housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by type of ownership of the housing units
- H6-R Housing units, by number of rooms, cross-classified by type of housing unit and number of occupants per housing unit
- H7-R Occupied housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by water supply system\*
- H8-R Occupied housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by main source of drinking water\*
- H9-R Occupied housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by type of toilet and type of sewage disposal\*
- H10-R Occupied housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by type of bathing facilities
- H11-R Occupied housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by availability of kitchen and fuel used for cooking
- H12-R Occupied housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by type of lighting and/or use of electricity
- H13-R Occupied housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by main type of solid waste disposal
- H14-R Households in housing units, by type of housing unit occupied, crossclassified by number of households per housing unit
- H15-R Conventional dwellings by type of building, and construction material of outer walls
- H16-R Housing units by type and construction material of outer walls
- H17-R Households, by type of living quarters, cross-classified by sex and age of head or other reference member of household\*
- H18-R Households in housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by tenure of household and, for tenant households, ownership of housing unit occupied\*

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<sup>18</sup> An asterisk (\*) represents a basic/essential tabulation.

H19-R Households in housing units, by type of housing unit, cross-classified by information and communication technology devices and access to Internet

In addition to the tabulations, the EU Commission also agrees that it would be highly desirable for National Statistical Offices to make anonymous data on individuals available to researchers (Tomas, Summers and Clemens, 2009).

## **D. Comparative analysis of the availability and reliability of data**

### **D.1 Sources of data**

This section presents an overview of the key data sources available on housing and residential patterns of immigrants in the 27 countries participating in the PROMINSTAT project. It aims to provide a summary of the nature of statistical information, which in relation to housing and residential patterns is primarily census data, surveys and population registers. The key variables pertaining to the theme of this study which are available will be presented and the key gaps in datasets identified. The quality of this data, accessibility and possibility for comparison across countries will also be given attention.

#### **Censuses**

In general terms, the census represents the main and most complex data source in relation to the housing and residential patterns of migrant or minority groups. In the majority of the 27 countries, comprehensive data is available on the population as a whole and is collected using one of three methods: traditional census methods; a combination of traditional and register-based methods; and solely register-based methods. Besides the aforementioned differences, other distinguishing methods include the “rolling” census conducted over time rather than within a fixed period or according to a reference date and the combination of a traditional or register-based census with a sample survey. The traditional census is by the far the most frequent method used in PROMINSTAT countries. Of the most recent 23 censuses conducted in PROMINSTAT countries since 2001, 14 were traditional, 8 were combination and one was register-based (FI).

The benefits of census data are clear in that they cover the entire population of residents and are normally relatively accessible. Furthermore, due to the wide-ranging data produced on different socio-economic indicators it is possible to cross-tabulate with other characteristics. There are, however, limitations to the use of census data to study the housing situation of migrants. One of the main problems with the census is the frequency with which it is conducted, as data even though in most part reliable becomes quickly out of date. Indeed, the majority of countries conduct censuses every 10 years. However, there are some exceptions and others countries such as Estonia conduct a census every 11 years, and Ireland approximately every 6 years. A few census producing countries have responded to this problem, examples being the French rolling census and the Finnish register based census. Other problems specific to register-based censuses include the restriction of variables to those included in registers, oftentimes meaning that information on household composition, for example, will not be included. Traditional censuses, on the other hand, often collect additional information. Finally, the data collected across countries is in the most part not directly comparable due to the different variables collected and different definitions adopted both of the thematic and the target group.

The following 23 countries conducted censuses in the years between 2001 and 2006: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, the UK and Finland. The latter is only a population census, however, Statistics Finland produces annual housing statistics (CR-Finland: 12). Census data was also produced, in 2001, in Denmark and the Netherlands, however, neither of the official statistics institutes regard the register census as a data-collection exercise in its own right, rather it is produced for international purposes (i.e. for Eurostat, UNECE). In the case of Denmark, there

have been no traditional censuses conducted since 1981. The register based census produced by Statistics Denmark in 2001 was produced by combining data from different statistical registers held by the said institute for administrative purposes. Data from these different registers are connected using a CPR number (personal identification number) and an address code. Similarly, in the Netherlands, the last traditional census was conducted in 1971, since then for the 1981 and 1991 census rounds Statistics Netherlands drew demographic data from the Population Register and socio-economic data from the Labour Force Survey (Linder 2004: 243). A new approach was adopted for the Census 2001 Programme (Eurostat 1999 cited in Linder 2004: 244). Due to advances in the 1990s, socio-economic information can now be acquired from administrative registers and linked at the micro level with demographic data drawn from a diverse number of administrative registers and surveys. On the basis of this, Statistics Netherlands established the Social Statistical Database (SSD), which holds information on individuals, households, employment, and social benefits. The SSD was used for the 2001 Virtual Dutch Census (Linder 2004: 244); however, does not hold any information on housing, other than location and place of residence one year prior to the census. Census data in Sweden<sup>19</sup> is currently out-of-date, the last being in 1990; however, there are preparations in course to change from a traditional census to the first register-based census in 2012. This is also the case for Germany, where the last census was conducted in 1987. They will, however, take part in the EU-wide census round to be conducted in 2011.

In the aforementioned 23 countries that conducted censuses between 2001 and 2006, on average, the census represents the most extensive and exhaustive statistical information relevant to housing.

**Table 2 Overview of census producing countries, year of last census and type of census**

Country	Name of census	Year of last census	Type of census
Austria	Building and Housing Census	2001	Combination
Belgium	General Social and Economic Survey	2001	Combination
Cyprus	Census of Population	2001	Traditional
Czech Republic	Population and Housing Census	2001	Traditional
Denmark	Register Based Census	2001	Register
Estonia	Population and Housing Census	2001	Traditional
Finland	The Finnish Population Census	2001	Register
France	Population and Housing Census	2004	Rolling
Germany	Census	1987	Traditional
Greece	Population and Housing Census	2001	Traditional
Hungary	Population and Housing Census	2001	Traditional
Ireland	Census of Population	2006	Traditional
Italy	14 <sup>th</sup> General Population and General Housing Census	2001	Traditional

<sup>19</sup> In line with this, Sweden has developed an individual based register of occupation and household and dwelling statistics. The register of occupation was introduced for the first time in 2003 and the data, previously collected through the census, is, from the said date, register-based.

Latvia	Population and Housing Census	2001	Combination
Lithuania	Population and Housing Census	2001	Traditional
Luxembourg	General Population Census	2001	Traditional
Malta	Census of Population and Housing	2005	Traditional
The Netherlands	The Dutch Virtual Census	2001	Register
Norway	Population and Housing Census	2001	Combination
Poland	National Population and Housing Census	2002	Combination
Portugal	Population and Housing Census	2001	Traditional
Slovakia	Population and Housing Census	2001	Traditional
Slovenia	Population Census	2002	Combination
Spain	Census of Population	2001	Combination
Sweden	Population and Housing Census	1990	Combination
Switzerland	Federal Population Census	2001	Traditional
UK	2001 Census	2001	Traditional

*Official concepts and categorisation to identify the target group*

The most important aspect to render the data gathered for the census useful for migration research is the ability to identify immigrants or minorities in the dataset. The latter are most commonly identified by citizenship or nationality, place of birth and ethnicity. The lack of differentiations within these groups and the differences in variables leads to problems with the comparability of data. The most common official category used to identify the target population in the censuses studied here is citizenship. This is true for all countries other than the UK, who only include information on ethnicity and place of birth. The majority of countries provide information additionally by place of birth, except Hungary, Spain, Sweden<sup>20</sup> and Switzerland, who only have data on citizenship. Latvia did not include questions on citizenship or country of birth only “ethnic nationality”, however, this information was collected using the PIN from the Population Register (CR-Latvia: 9). Cyprus and Estonia, in addition to citizenship, include information on ethnicity. Switzerland and Norway also provide data on the basis of immigration category or type of resident permit held. France and Italy also have information on former citizenship and dual nationality is recorded by the Czech Republic, Poland and Switzerland – see table 3.

**Table 3 Official concepts and categorisation to identify the target group**

Country	Citizenship	Country of birth	Nationality	Ethnicity	Dual Nationality	Previous Citizenship
Austria	+					
Belgium	+	+				
Cyprus	+			+		
Czech Republic	+				+	

<sup>20</sup> This information is out of date, as the last census was conducted in 1990.

Denmark	+	+				
Estonia	+			+		
Finland	+	+	+			
France	+	+				+
Germany						
Greece	+				+ <sup>21</sup>	
Hungary	+					
Ireland	+	+		+		
Italy	+	+				
Latvia			+			
Lithuania	+	+		+		
Luxembourg	+	+				
Malta	+ <sup>22</sup>	+				
The Netherlands						
Norway	+	+				
Poland	+	+	+		+	
Portugal	+	+				
Slovakia	+		+			
Slovenia	+	+	+	+		
Spain	+	+				
Sweden						
Switzerland	+	+			+	
UK		+		+		

#### *Thematic variables*

This section aims to describe the nature of census data pertaining to particular indicators pertinent to understanding the housing and residential patterns of migrant and minority groups– see table 4.

#### *Spatial patterns and ethnic geography*

All censuses provide information on the actual residential location of immigrant households,<sup>23</sup> meaning that ethnic geography can be mapped from the census data in all countries that produce it. The all important factor in such an exercise is of course scale given the internal dynamics of any given region, city or smaller area. The scale at which this can be mapped varies according to country and constitutes one of the principal challenges in terms of comparability across PROMINSTAT countries. However, in most cases it is possible to define at least patterns of both urban and rural settlement and settlement patterns within urban areas. The scale at which data on the location of migrant and minority groups is available in turn influences the scale at which levels of segregation can be calculated. This has notable influence on the accuracy of measured levels of segregation, as the larger the spatial unit used to measure them the greater the likelihood that patterns at the local level remain hidden. For example, at the municipality level migrant and minority groups may appear to be relatively well dispersed or may represent a representative proportion of the total population, whilst at the local or neighbourhood level they may be over-represented and live in clusters or enclaves.

<sup>21</sup> Only if one of the nationalities is Greek.

<sup>22</sup> If Maltese census question reads, 'Do you have Maltese Citizenship?'

<sup>23</sup> 'Immigrant group' is used here as a broad term to categorise the population in question; however, in some cases this is not the official category by which information is made available, but rather by ethnic group etc. - see section *Official concepts and categorisation to identify the target group*.

### *Adequacy*

There is a clear lack of uniformity in terms of variables that provide an indication of adequacy. Only the Maltese census asks directly about the condition of the dwelling, asking the respondent to assess if their building is in a good state of repair, needs minor repairs, needs moderate repairs, needs serious repairs or is dilapidated. This type of question, despite being subjective is useful in measuring perceptions about housing condition. The most common indicator that gives insight into housing condition or adequacy is that of amenities and facilities. All countries excepting Slovenia and Switzerland have some information in differing degrees. All censuses, with the exception of Spain have information on if the dwellings have bath/showers and flushing toilets, only a few specify if the toilet is inside the dwelling or to the contrary. All countries provide information on water supply, except in the cases of Malta, Norway and the UK; however, it is often possible to gauge the availability of water in a dwelling with reference to other amenities, such as a flushing toilet, shower etc. Complementary to information on if the dwelling has a water supply some other countries record information on the availability of hot water. Information on the supply of electricity to individual dwellings is collected in very few countries, namely Estonia, Greece and Portugal. Again, in a few other countries it is possible to infer from the presence of other electrical appliances; however, inconclusively so, as other temporary solutions other than electricity from the grid or alternative energy sources may be relied upon to power appliances. The presence of a kitchen is another useful indicator of housing condition standards or the adequacy of a dwelling, this information is available in all census countries except in Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Spain and the UK. Although all countries, other than Estonia and Switzerland, provide some information in varying degree on amenities and facilities available in an individual dwelling, comparison across countries is extremely difficult due to considerable differences in variables collected and definitions adopted. Other indicators of condition include the year of construction of a dwelling, which may in some contexts denote a type of dwelling or even the quality of that dwelling. This variable is, however, not directly comparable as local histories differ, but may be used on an individual country base with other variables to provide a general overview of condition. This information is available in Belgium, Estonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Portugal, Poland and Slovakia and Spain. A few other countries, namely Austria, Belgium, Italy and Norway collect information on renovations, normally structural, that individual dwellings have undergone usually over the past ten years. While Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Portugal collect data on building materials used.

### *Tenure, type of accommodation and access*

Information on tenure patterns is also important to enhancing our understanding of the housing trajectories of immigrants, which may also reflect social trajectories, and the extent to which immigrants are integrating. In particular, a comparison of the tenure patterns of the majority population and those of the immigrant population allow us to a certain degree to infer levels of access to various housing sectors and to measure integration, for example, in countries such as Portugal or Spain where owner occupancy predominates, higher percentages of immigrant home owners may indicate higher levels of integration. All countries with up-to-date census data provide information on tenure patterns of immigrants except Austria, Switzerland, Finland, and Cyprus. Another issue that may be related with tenure is house type or type of dwelling. Not all census producing countries provide information on type of dwelling, namely Austria, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, Slovakia and Slovenia. Although this variable is inconsistent across countries and largely incomparable, those censuses which collect information on dwelling type allow us in the majority to distinguish at least between classic/conventional and non-classic/unconventional dwellings. Indeed, the continuing, albeit diminishing, presence of immigrants living in clandestine housing, especially in Southern Europe, and the incidence of Roma and travelling communities living in non-permanent housing in other European countries, means that this variable can provide an indicator of some of the most precarious housing situations.

A key factor in measuring the possible discrimination of immigrant groups in access to housing is a comparison with the majority population. In this instance, it may be naïve to assume that differences between the two groups are attributable to citizenship, country of birth or ethnicity alone, it is important to consider other factors. This necessitates that other variables such as those measuring socio-economic status are available by nationality or

immigrant group. It appears that specific comparisons between, for instance, the majority and immigrant population of the same class are only partly possible across census producing countries.

#### *Suitability*

Information is collected in the majority of census producing countries that enables an assessment of the suitability of the dwelling; by this we mean the size and layout of the dwelling in comparison to the size and composition of the household. In all census producing countries, with the exception of Slovenia, data is collected on dwelling characteristics, which provides information on either floor space or number of rooms. This information when combined with the size of the household, or the number of persons living in the dwelling allows us to calculate the occupancy rate of a given dwelling, providing us with a measure of 'fit'. This indicator is important considering the higher instance of immigrants or those of immigrant background living in overcrowded housing conditions across European countries.

In a similar vein, other censuses gather information on shared households, namely, Belgium, Norway, Portugal and Spain and less frequently on shared facilities between households (UK). This data is relevant given the cultural practices of some groups of immigrants related with living in extended family households, and also due to the fact that labour migrants often share dwellings or rooms in dwellings upon their arrival.

#### *Affordability*

In terms of affordability of housing for immigrants, the census in general across countries provides little comparable information. In fact, the majority of countries do not even collect information on housing costs at all and those that do overwhelmingly collect it solely on rental costs and not on costs relating to owner occupancy, namely Belgium, Denmark, Ireland and Luxembourg. Portugal is the only country that collects information on housing costs in both public and private housing sectors. This is problematic and constitutes a clear gap in information as there is extensive evidence on the difficulty experienced by immigrants in owner occupancy and the private rented sector, with housing costs and affordability constituting a key element of this precariousness.

#### *Residential Mobility*

Some censuses provide at least some indication of mobility. Such information is almost always on the respondent's address either one year prior to the census (Cyprus, Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Malta, Norway, Portugal and the UK) and sometimes additionally, five/six (Greece, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal, Switzerland) to ten years (Spain) prior to the census, at the time of the previous census (Estonia) or previous address (Poland, Spain). The Polish 2001 Census has the most comprehensive and complete information on mobility of any of the censuses. It holds information on previous place of residence (abroad, voivodship, community), length of residence in previous place of residence, motivation for moving, intent to move in the future and motivation for this intent. The last Slovenian Census also holds information on the reason for moving to the current locality. The information currently available on mobility provides us with little comparative information on residential mobility among immigrants across Europe, owing principally to the different points in time adopted and the fact that several countries do not collect any information on this at all, namely, Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Hungary, Slovakia and Lithuania.

The only census producing countries that collect information on length of residence in the current dwelling are France, Poland, Malta, Luxembourg and Spain.

**Table 4. Overview of census data on housing topics**

		A T	B E	C Y	C Z	D K	E E	F I	FR	D E	G R	H U	I E	I T	L T	L T	L U	M T	NL	N O	PL	P T	S E	S K	S I	E S	C H	U K
a. Access to Housing / d. Tenure and type of accommodation	Type of dwelling			+		+	+		+	-	+	+	+		+	+		+		+		+	-			+		+
	Tenure		+	+		+	+			-		+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	+	+		+
b. Adequacy	Building characteristics		+	+		+	+			-	+	+			+					+	+	+	-			+		
	Dwelling Characteristics	+	+	+		+	+		+	-	+	+	+		+	+	+			+	+	+	-			+	+	+
	Basic facilities and amenities	+	+	+		+	+		+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+		+		+
	Other indicators of house condition (e.g. year of construction, renovations)	+	+	+		+		+		-	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	-	+				
c. Suitability	Household		+	+		+	+		+	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
	Shared households		+			+	+													+		+	-			+		+
e. Affordability	Housing costs		+			+				-			+									+						
f. Residential location and segregation	Spatial patterns and ethnic geography	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
g. Residential mobility	Length of residence in dwelling								+	-											+					+		
	Mobility			+		+	+			-	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+

## Quality

Quality is a central aspect in the production of statistics that has gained increasing prominence in recent years due to various initiatives. The most prominent initiative relating to the census is the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe's recommendations for the 2000/1 census round in the ECE region, which was developed in the ambit of the 2000 World Population and Housing Census Programme adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the UN (19 July 1995). This 'urged' Member States to conduct population and housing censuses in the period between 1995 and 2004, whilst taking into account international recommendations (UN, 1998: 4). The ECE's recommendations were produced in partnership with the Statistical Office of the European Communities and drawn up at joint ECE and Eurostat meetings held throughout 1995/6 (UN, 1998: 4). The same recommendations were adopted by Eurostat for EU countries (UN, 1998: 4). All PROMINSTAT countries, with the exception of Sweden and Germany took place in this census round, and in principle followed the UNECE/Eurostat recommendations. These recommendations specify lists of 'core' topics that the census should cover and 'non-core' topics to consider, as well as a basic tabulation programme. They do not include detail on the 'definition and essential features of a census; the planning organisation and administration of a census; or the use of sampling' (UN, 1998: 5).

In general, except the following of such recommendations in the carrying out of a census, the quality of a census in the post-enumeration/ production phase is measured and tested in several ways and tests normally aim to measure census coverage and content error (Coelho & Casimiro, 2008). The means adopted to control the quality of data collected varies across countries, but mainly according to the type of census. In the case of traditional censuses or combination censuses, several census producing countries conduct post-enumeration surveys to measure and correct under enumeration. For instance, Cyprus conducts such a survey one week after the census is completed, based on a representative sample of 4.1 per cent of the total household population. The UK conducts a Census Coverage Survey (CCS), which includes face-to-face interviews with a sample of 320,000 households in every local authority area in the UK. Similarly, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Malta, Portugal (telephone interviews with a sub sample of 10 per cent) and Switzerland also conduct traditional censuses followed by post enumeration surveys, albeit with different representativeness to verify data quality as well as coverage. This is in line with the European Statistics Code of Practice and internationally established standards. Other countries, whose censuses are combined rather than traditional, namely Poland and Slovenia also conduct post-enumeration surveys. In Switzerland, quality is further controlled by comparing the census to the population register and using it to complete missing information. Likewise, in Malta, despite the lack of a population register, other registers such as water, electricity and identity cards were used as well as the post-enumeration survey to estimate under-enumeration and correct it. The only countries who produce traditional censuses and solely use registers to verify coverage are the Czech Republic and Italy. This method of verifying, improving the coverage and correcting census data using population registers, is of course more common with combination registers, due to their nature, and was adopted in Lithuania, Latvia (alongside the building and tax register) and Spain.

### *Overall Quality*

It is somewhat difficult to generalise on the quality of data, which in itself points to the need for more harmonised data collection and verification practises. However, despite this, we may broadly conclude that the quality of data is of course improved by the application of the aforementioned quality controls. Of note are those countries who do not implement any kind of post-survey check, whether through surveying a representative sub sample or verifying with other existing registers. Another generalisation that can be made relates to the dependency of register based censuses on the quality of the actual registers upon which they are based. The authors of several country reports accentuate this problem; for example, in Finland, there was an undercount in the last census due to presence of people in country who were not registered in the population register. Indeed, in terms of coverage of the censuses there are huge variations between countries; however, the general trend is one of undercounting immigrant and minority ethnic groups.

To the contrary, in Denmark, there was a general problem of over coverage in the last “census” due to people leaving the country and not informing the local authorities. Whilst on the other hand, those on short term permits were only counted if they were included in the population register. The Finnish census, also being register-based, may have undercounted the foreign population due to the presence in the country of individuals who are not recorded in the population register. Nonetheless, due to the reliability of the administrative registers since 1980 census data can be produced almost annually (CR-Finland). For other reasons, census data in Belgium does not reflect the size of the population with a foreign background or the impact of migration as data is collected by citizenship and Belgian law is very liberal concerning the acquisition of citizenship (CR-Belgium: 6). The Czech Republic reports a similar problem with the undercounting of immigrants in general due to language barriers and the fact they were in illegal employment or housing situations, data on households is also limited (CR-Czech Republic: 17). Besides this problem, the information collected on foreigners is also incomplete (ibid: 14). Likewise, it is estimated in Spain that the foreign population was undercounted by as much as 20-40 per cent in the last census (Meta information PROMINSTAT website). Thus for studies on migration the Spanish census is not a reliable source, this remains the case in 2001, even though the census was checked with the municipal population registers. The Greek census has major gaps in its coverage of immigrants and minority ethnic groups (CR-Greece: 13), whilst in general the total population was over counted, as many internal migrants and emigrants stay registered in their villages of birth, as do their descendents, which serves to inflate the population in areas that are in actual fact depopulated (ibid: 8). The Italian census significantly undercounted the foreign population (CR-Italy: 10). In Slovakia, there is a problem with coverage seen through the difference in census results and the routine statistical survey on population change conducted in the intercensal period. Problems of coverage largely result from the fact that the census data is collected by self-enumeration and often respondents fail to fulfil their reporting responsibilities (CR-Estonia: 11). In Luxembourg, there is a slightly different problem of coverage, whereby individual communes are responsible for their own censuses, rather than being centralised, which has led to problems with comparability and reliability between communes. The Portuguese authorities made a concerted effort with the 2001 Census to ensure that quality estimates should be rigorous due to the under coverage of the 1991 Census, the count was 5% below INE’s population estimates (Coelho & Casimiro, 2008). The post enumeration survey (PES) uncovered net coverage rates per statistical unit of close to 100%, sometimes exceeding this value, pointing to slight over coverage in some instances (UN, 2007). The errors uncovered in the data are not corrected (Meta Information). Similarly, the quality of census data in the UK is very good and through the Number One Census, which includes the combined results of the traditional census with the post-enumerative Census Coverage Survey (CCS) the resident population was estimated to a high level of precision, namely +/- 0.2 per cent. Similarly, in line with the accession of Malta to the EU in 2004, their data collection practises were improved, hence the 2005 Census represents a reliable source of information on population stocks and characteristics (CR-Malta: 5). The quality of census data in Switzerland is considered to be good (CR-Switzerland: 14) as coverage errors are corrected through both population registers and the PES. The 2000 Latvian census has also improved in quality due to the use of an identity code which allows the linking of individual data from different registers. Quality of data on citizenship was also improved in Estonia in the 2000 Census, as for the first time a question was added rather than being recorded from official documents. This was also the case in Ireland in 2006 as questions on ethnic and cultural background were included (CR-Ireland: 6).

### **Accessibility**

Access to data varies considerably across all countries, seen clearly in table 5. In general, access is granted to aggregate data and the official statistical institute in each country process data at a cost to the researcher. Access to the complete dataset and samples of it vary substantially depending on national rules. In the vast majority of cases, access is granted by the institution owning the data; however, selected aggregate data are available on the institutes’ websites.

**Table 5. Access to data**

Country	Access to complete dataset	Access to samples of the dataset	Access to aggregate data	Access to Eurostat data
AU	-	-	+c	+A
BE	+c	+c	+	-
CY	+c	+c	+	-
CZ	- <sup>24</sup>	-	+	+
DK				
ES	+DP	+DP	+c	+M
F	+DP	-	+c	+A
FR	-	+MDP	+	-
DE			+c	
GR	-	+DP <sup>25</sup>	+	+McA
HU	-	+	+	+A
IE	+	+	+	+A
IT	+Cdp	+ <sup>26</sup> c	+	+
LV	-	-	+	+
LI	-	-	+DP	+
LU	+	-	+	+
M	-	-	+c	+
NL	+	-	-	-
NO	-	+	+	+A
PL	+c	-	+	+
PT	+c	-	+	+
SK	+DPc	+c	+c	+
SI	+	-	+	+
ES	-	+c <sup>27</sup>	+	+
SE	+c	+c	+	+A
CH	+DPc	+	+	+
UK	+	+	+	

+A - aggregate data available

+c - available at a cost

+M - micro data available

+ - data available subject to data protection and confidentiality regulations/legislation

## 2. Surveys

There are few surveys that offer comparative data across PROMINSTAT countries on the housing and settlement patterns of migrants and minorities. In fact, the **European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU- SILC)** is the only data source with detailed information on housing that is available in all countries and designed with comparability across Member States as a core objective. However, as will be discussed later there are serve problems with sample sizes of immigrant groups to the extent that this data cannot be used in several countries. The **European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU MIDIS)** implemented in all 27 countries, includes a question on the experience of discrimination of access in the public and private housing sectors.

<sup>24</sup> Anonymous micro data is available by condition of individual request

<sup>25</sup> Access to 10% sample size permitted.

<sup>26</sup> Access to 3 different kind of file standards:

1. Persons, 2% of the whole population at provincial level and in some case sub-provincial
2. Households, 1% of the whole population at regional level
3. Dwellings

<sup>27</sup> Access to 5% of households available online free of charge. It is also possible to request specific samples subject to a fee.

Other surveys exist in some PROMINSTAT countries that provide some information on the housing conditions and residential patterns of migrants and minorities, but they are few in number and are unique to particular countries or implemented in a small select number of countries. These will be mentioned briefly in the current section.

## European level surveys

### 1. European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions - EU-SILC

The EU-SILC is the most useful survey for cross-comparative research across EU countries, this owes largely to its primary objective, which is to provide annual comparable cross-sectional and longitudinal (four year trajectories) micro-data for EU countries on living conditions, social exclusion, income and poverty ([eep.eurostat.ec.europa.eu](http://eep.eurostat.ec.europa.eu)). It is very important to note, however, that despite the relevance and comprehensiveness of the variables collected there is a problem related with using this data to study the theme under analysis among immigrant groups. In many cases the sample of migrants or minorities is small and not representative. This project was initiated in 2003 in six Member States (Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg and Austria) and Norway, to follow on from the European Community Household Panel Survey (ECHP) under Regulation no.1177/2003 ([www.unicef-irc.org/datasets/SILC\\_matrix.pdf](http://www.unicef-irc.org/datasets/SILC_matrix.pdf)). In 2004, the aforementioned countries as well as Estonia, Spain, France, Italy Portugal, Finland Sweden and Iceland implemented the survey. By 2005, the survey was implemented in the aforementioned 15 countries plus the Czech Republic, Germany, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, and the United Kingdom. In 2007, besides the 27 aforementioned countries it was implemented in Switzerland, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey (Jones, 2006; [eep.eurostat.ec.europa.eu](http://eep.eurostat.ec.europa.eu)).

Although the aim is to harmonise concepts through common primary target variables and indicators (derived variables), which are disseminated to all countries, in methodological terms countries have flexibility to implement their own methods, albeit receiving recommendations from Eurostat (Jones, 2006). This flexibility in terms of sampling design means that cross-sectional and longitudinal data can come from various sources; micro-data may come from two or more national surveys or registers, one or more national sources, which may or may not be combined with a survey, or a new survey design to meet EU-SILC requirements (Eurostat, 2008: 16). Indeed, it is recommended that the instrument be integrated into national statistical systems. The household and personal data for cross-sectional and longitudinal components have to be linkable (*ibid.*).

In terms of data collection methods, two groups of countries are identifiable. The first group, including Denmark, Finland, Norway, The Netherlands, Sweden and Slovenia, is comprised of those countries who acquire most income and demographic data from administrative registers, and the remaining information from interviews. The remaining countries obtain information through surveys ([www.unicef-irc.org/datasets/SILC\\_matrix.pdf](http://www.unicef-irc.org/datasets/SILC_matrix.pdf)). In most countries comprising the latter group the requirements of EU-SILC are integrated into another pre-existing national survey, for example, the UK has integrated the EU-SILC into their household panel survey (Jones 2006).

The **primary target variables**, which are collected every year, broadly cover five main areas: basic data; income; social exclusion, labour market data; and housing (*ibid.*; [www.unicef-irc.org/datasets/SILC\\_matrix.pdf](http://www.unicef-irc.org/datasets/SILC_matrix.pdf)). In terms of information on the housing and residential patterns of immigrant groups there are particular variables that should be distinguished, summarised in the table 6.

**Table 6 EU-SILC primary target variables relevant for housing and residential patterns of immigrants**

Key indicators	EU-SILC questionnaire sections	Variables
e. Affordability/ a. Access to housing	Household data	Income
		Rent
		Income from rental of a property or land
		Housing allowances
		Interest paid on mortgage
	Housing and non-housing arrears	Arrears on mortgage or rent payments in last 12 months
		Outright owner or rent free during past 12 months
Ability to make ends meet	Arrears on utility bills	
	Total housing cost is a financial burden	
b. Adequacy	Physical and social environment	Problems with dwelling -
h. Neighbourhood		Light
		Noise (neighbours, street)
		Pollution/other environments problems
	Crime violence/vandalism	
d. Tenure and type of accommodation	Dwelling type, tenure status, housing conditions	Dwelling type
c. Suitability		Tenure status
		Number of rooms
		Year of contract, purchase, installation
		Leaking roof, damp walls/floors/foundation or rot in window frames or floor
b. Adequacy		Heating
e. Affordability		Housing costs
	Total housing costs (including electricity, water, gas and heating)	
b. Adequacy	Amenities in the dwelling	Bath or shower
		Indoor flushing toilet
Variables to identify the target group	Demographic data	Country of birth
		Citizenship

Source: Adapted from Eurostat 2003

Over and above these primary target variables there are also **secondary target variables** included in specific modules, which differ each year, in the cross-sectional part of the survey. In 2007, the module addressed housing conditions and the secondary target variables included the following:

**Table 7 EU-SILC secondary target variables from the 2007 module**

<b>Secondary target variables</b>
Shortage of space in the dwelling
Adequate electrical installations
Adequate plumbing/water installations
Dwelling equipped with heating facilities
Dwelling comfortably warm during winter time
Dwelling equipped with air conditioning facilities
Dwelling comfortably cool during summer time
Overall satisfaction with dwelling
Accessibility of grocery services
Accessibility of banking services
Accessibility of postal services
Accessibility of public transport
Accessibility of primary healthcare services
Accessibility of compulsory school
Change of dwelling
Main reason for change of dwelling

Source: Eurostat 2007

#### *Quality*

At the time of writing the only document available on quality of the EU-SILC is the Comparative Final EU Quality Report 2005 (Version 2 September 2008). This document provides an overview of sampling errors, non-sampling errors, including coverage, measurement and processing and non-response errors for the 2005 operation. Some specific points from the report can be mentioned here. The relevance of the data proved to be very high and it is widely regarded as the main source of comparable indicators on living conditions and social cohesion in the EU (Eurostat, 2005: 4). Dissemination is reported to be a 'weak aspect of the project'. Moreover, as already mentioned several times there are problems in some countries with the use of data on migrants as their sample size is in some instances too small.

#### *Accessibility*

Aggregated data in predefined or multidimensional tables can be accessed free of charge on the Eurostat website. However, data cross tabulated with citizenship is not available online. Due to its confidential nature, access to anonymised microdata is only possible through a research contract with Eurostat. The microdata are released to researchers on CD-ROM; however, there are conditions and costs attached (Eurostat 2005). Individuals are not granted direct access and access is restricted to research institutions, universities, national statistical institutes, central banks of EU member state and the European Central Bank. Access is difficult for organisations other than the aforementioned within the EU or for organisations/institutions outside the EU, and involves a written request to the Committee of Statistical Confidentiality, the processing of which takes approximately 6 months. A first purchase of either the cross-sectional or longitudinal users data base (UDB) costs 500€ and any subsequent purchase 250€. There are annual subscriptions for researchers interested in the cross-sectional and longitudinal users databases, in the first instance this costs 1000€ and 750€ for any following purchase. More information can be found at [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PGP\\_DS\\_MICRODATA/PGE\\_DS\\_MICRODATA\\_01/EU-SILCTAB/EN-EU-SILC-WEBSITE-PDF%20PART.PDF](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PGP_DS_MICRODATA/PGE_DS_MICRODATA_01/EU-SILCTAB/EN-EU-SILC-WEBSITE-PDF%20PART.PDF). In this respect, the costs of data for academic researchers have been criticised as being too high (Verma, 2007: 290). The same author also criticises the fact that too much information was withheld for the sake of confidentiality. Data can also be accessed at the national level.

### *Comparability*

The comparability of data between member states is obviously a key priority for the Commission, indeed, the EC Regulation No 1177/2003 refers to it as being a 'fundamental objective' (cited in Eurostat, 2005: 24). There are two dimensions to comparability that should be assessed owing to the fact that data needs to be comparable both across member states and across time in line with the longitudinal component. There are different 'tools' implemented to assess the comparability of EU-SILC: intermediate and final quality reports; methodological studies on key issues for comparability; and task forces (Eurostat 2005).

Although the EU-SILC is by far the most comparable survey generating data on the housing of migrants and minorities, due to the very nature of its development, there are some problems that have been identified that impact on the precision of its comparability. The following aspects refer to the 2005 survey and are based on the aforementioned quality report which was updated in 2008. Standard EU-SILC definitions are provided as one way to ensure comparability. There is a certain amount of flexibility with regards to this; however, countries must provide an account in the national quality report on divergences from these common standards and estimate the impact that they will have on data outcomes (Eurostat, 2005). There is an issue related with sample selection that may potentially affect comparability between 'register' and 'survey' countries. In 'register' countries, one person from each household is selected from the register in question to answer non-income related questions, whereas income information is taken for the whole household from the registers. On the other hand the whole household is selected in 'survey' countries. It is thought that the selection process of individuals on one hand and households on the other may impact data quality and subsequently comparability (Eurostat, 2005: 25).

Furthermore, the same report highlights the impact that differences in reference periods may have on comparability; however, considers these to be minor. Another aspect to which attention is drawn includes differences in fieldwork, namely between 'one shot' fieldwork and fieldwork which is spread evenly throughout the whole year and the subsequent impact this has on income reference periods and the lag between the end of an income reference period and the interview. The lag time differed between countries from 0 to over 6 months (*ibid.*). Similarly, the method of data collection may have influence on comparability as this varies among countries, specifically in the case of self-administered questionnaires (Eurostat, 2005: 33). Another aspect that may potentially influence comparability is the definitions used, for example, for the reference population, private household or household membership. In 2005, four countries, namely Germany, Italy, Austria and the UK, used a somewhat different private household definition and seven, namely Spain, Portugal and Slovenia in addition to the aforementioned, used a different definition of household membership. However, the same report concludes that generally speaking there should be little impact on comparability as the majority adopted standard definitions (Eurostat, 2005: 29). The different data sources from which income data are obtained has an impact on estimated income distribution and on comparability (Eurostat, 2005: 33). Further to this, income distribution is not comparable before 2007, as not all countries collected gross components before this time (*ibid.*).

Finally, of note is the impact that the difference between the model used by survey countries, whereby all individuals over 16 are panel members, and the selected respondent model used by register countries may have. In the latter, only the selected individual is a panel individual and will be followed in successive waves. Thus this has consequences in the instance of a household split. The specific weighting systems employed makes certain that the panel continues to be representative of the target population; however, the sample size could decrease (Eurostat, 2005: 31). In response, the sample size for the selected respondent data model was increased in the Framework Regulation (*ibid.*).

2. The **European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU MIDIS)** is the only comparable data collected across PROMINSTAT countries on the discrimination experienced by minority ethnic and migrant groups. The aforementioned groups are surveyed systematically across the EU using a standard questionnaire. In 2008, 23,500 immigrant and ethnic minority people were interviewed across Europe. Furthermore, to enable a comparison with the majority a further 5,000 people were interviewed in 10 countries. To allow the use of random sampling the largest minority groups (minimum size of 5%) were identified in each

country. These also had to meet the criteria of being represented in other countries to allow for the creation of cross-country aggregate groups. The survey included a question on discrimination “when looking for a house or apartment to rent or buy, by people working in a public HOUSING agency, or by a private landlord or agency”. This is important as there is no other comparable data on barriers to access to the housing market.

### Other surveys conducted in more than one PROMINSTAT country

**The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES)** survey, implemented in 2007, focuses on the integration of the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia, and Morocco in fifteen European cities<sup>28</sup> in eight countries, namely Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. The survey was implemented in response to the fact that little comparable data has been collected in Europe on the integration of the second generation. The total sample across all countries numbers 10,000. A native comparison group is also included.

The survey collects several variables of importance for the current theme in “Module F” on “Housing and neighbourhood”, namely type of house, owner of house, household and family composition, age and reason for moving out of parents house, place of residence of parents and relatives, length of residence, period of construction of house, number of rooms, neighbourhood perception, ethnic composition of neighbourhood (including preference), neighbourhood attachment and satisfaction (physical and social environment) and neighbouring.<sup>29</sup>

**The Survey of Health, Aging and Retirement (SHARE)** collects micro data on health, socio-economic status and social and family networks. The sample is comprised of 45,000 individuals aged 50 or over. SHARE began in 2004 with 11 countries, namely Denmark, Sweden, Austria, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy and Greece. The Czech Republic, Poland and Ireland joined SHARE in 2006 and participated in the second wave of data collection in 2006-07. The third wave (2008-9) covers sixteen countries. Variables include tenure, house type, number of rooms housing costs (renting and ownership, affordability, length of residence (house and area), housing debt, subletting, house value, second homes, income from properties and adaptability for disabled persons. Multi-stage random sampling is used (municipalities followed by households) potential respondents are also screened for age-eligibility. This data set is important considering the increasing relevance of aging within migration studies.

### Other housing surveys or surveys with a housing component unique to specific countries

In different PROMINSTAT countries national and small-scale surveys have produced further data on the housing and settlement patterns of migrant and minority groups. Despite the fact these surveys are largely unique to specific countries and therefore not comparable across PROMINSTAT countries, it is worth mentioning them in brief.

**Table 8 Overview of surveys with a housing component unique to specific countries**

Country	Survey name	Frequency/ years available	Relevant variables	Variables to identify target group
Germany	Microcensus	Annual	Shared households, housing tenure, income from real estates, benefits from renting, receipt of	Citizenship (including of parents)*

<sup>28</sup> The cities included in the TIES survey were the following: Stockholm, Berlin, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Strasbourg, Madrid, Barcelona, Vienna, Linz, Basle and Zurich.

<sup>29</sup> The TIES questionnaire is available at:

[http://www.tiesproject.eu/component/option,com\\_docman/task,cat\\_view/gid,133/Itemid,142/](http://www.tiesproject.eu/component/option,com_docman/task,cat_view/gid,133/Itemid,142/).

			housing benefits, last place of residence.	
<b>Germany</b>	BBR Survey	Annual	Satisfaction, housing conditions	
<b>Germany</b>	Generations and Gender Survey (GGS)			
<b>Germany</b>	German Socio-Economic Panel	Annual (since 1984)	Satisfaction with dwelling, tenure, property ownership (type, number, value, financial burden).	Nationality, Citizenship, Place of birth (only if Germany or not).
<b>Hungary</b>	Microcensus	10 years between censuses	Tenure, dwelling type, dwelling characteristics (number of rooms, floor space), year of construction, basic amenities and facilities and the type of neighbourhood	Place of birth of mother
	Socio-demographic research on foreigners immigrating to Hungary	1995	Following variables for house lived in before emigrating and current house. Kind of settlement, number of rooms, number of people, relationship between household members, house type, tenure and amenities.	Citizenship, nationality
<b>Austria</b>	Microcensus	Quarterly	Year of construction, building characteristics and use, floor space, facilities and amenities, dwelling characteristics, tenure, housing costs and contract information.	Country of birth and citizenship
<b>Netherlands</b>	Housing Needs Survey	4 years	Tenure, household size, subletting, shared households, housing costs, kind of housing, building use, building characteristics, year of construction, area, suitability of house for disabled persons, quality and conditions, housing benefits, 'fit' of house, housing and neighbourhood satisfaction, physical and social environment, neighbourhood services, neighbouring, previous housing, motivations for moving, future residential aspirations, housing needs, income, household finances and house value.	-
<b>Netherlands</b>	Housing Experience Survey	2001	House type, tenure (including tenure preference), dwelling characteristics (no. of	Country of birth (including of parents), Ethnic group

			rooms), housing costs, house value, residential aspirations (including location, ideal neighbourhood, house type and characteristics and tenure) and motivations, lifestyle, neighbourhood services and source of help elicited for housing related needs.	
	Permanent Living Situation (POLS)	Annually since 1997	Housing costs, receipt of benefits, housing finance, experience of renting/dealing with bank, number of persons/household composition, tenure, number of rooms	Nationality, country of birth
	Social Position and Use of Resources (allochthones)	Every 3 or 4 years since 1988	Ethnic composition of neighbourhood, neighbourhood satisfaction, intent and motivation to move.	Country of birth, country of birth of parents
	Social Economic Panel survey (SEP)	1895, 1989, annually since 1991	Length of residence, reason for moving, house type, number of rooms, year of construction, amenities, house condition, neighbourhood problems, tenure, housing costs, housing debt, house value, housing benefits.	Nationality, country of birth
<b>Norway</b>	Living conditions among immigrants	1982, 1996 and 2005/2006	House type, tenure, discrimination in access to housing, number of rooms, house suitability, physical condition, environmental conditions, ethnic composition of neighbourhoods, second home, household composition, mobility aspirations, local inter-ethnic relations.	Country of birth
<b>France</b>	Housing Survey	4 years (Since 1955)	Type of neighbourhood, period of construction, type of dwelling, type of building, type of residence, household characteristics, length of residence, shared households, dwelling characteristics (no. of rooms, floor space), subletting, suitability of dwelling, basic amenities and facilities, house condition and quality, security and environment, tenure, repairs, housing and running costs, housing	Country of birth (including of parents), Citizenship

			benefit, affordability, housing finance and value, access to social housing, future residential mobility aspirations, evolution of household composition, place of residence 4 years previous.	
<b>France</b>	Continuous Survey on Household Living Conditions (EPCV)- Health, Housing and Financial Situation	Annual (1996-2003)	type of neighbourhood, type of housing, number of rooms, amenities such as bath and shower, heating, toilet, hot running water, problems with dwelling, second homes, including other socio-economic indicators.	Country of birth, Citizenship
<b>France</b>	Continuous Survey on Household Living Conditions (EPCV)- Residential Environment and Neighbourhood	Annual (1996-2003)	type of neighbourhood, type of housing, noise pollution, environmental pollution, basic amenities and recreational facilities close to home, transport links, safety measures, crime, facilities lacking in neighbourhood and problems with neighbourhood	Country of birth, Citizenship
<b>France</b>	Geographical Mobility and Social Integration	1992	House condition, household composition, motivation for coming to France, rent and running costs, housing benefit, neighbourhood amenities and satisfaction, satisfaction with dwelling, applications to social housing and knowledge of process, number of dwellings lived in, length of residence, location and characteristics of previous dwellings, discrimination in the private rented market, housing benefits, affordability,	Country of birth (including for parents), Citizenship (including for parents)
<b>Ireland</b>	Quarterly National Household Survey	Quarterly since 2007	House type, number of rooms, amenities, year of construction, tenure, housing costs, renovations.	Nationality, country of birth
<b>Italy</b>	Regional Observatory for Integration	Annually since 2001	Kind of accommodation, household composition, number of persons, residential mobility aspirations.	Citizenship
<b>Estonia</b>	Household Income and Expenditure survey	-	-	-

<b>Finland</b>	Living conditions of immigrants in Finland	-	-	-
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Survey on migrants' experiences of racism and discrimination	2005	Discrimination in access to rented or owned property.	Nationality (1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> )
<b>Switzerland</b>	Swiss Household Panel	Annually since 1999	Composition and type of household, ear moved to area and current house, house and neighbourhood satisfaction, house condition, house type, number of rooms.	Nationality (1 <sup>st</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> )
<b>Slovakia</b>	Microcensus	2003	Household size, number of persons in dwelling, costs; housing (including energy bills), maintenance, property tax.	-
<b>Spain</b>	National Survey of Immigrants	2007	Household, housing trajectory since moving to Spain, including the localities they resided in and the type and tenure and cost of the housing they lived in each locality.	Country of birth, Nationality
	Household Budget Survey	2006 Annually	Household/size composition, tenure, house type, number of rooms, year of construction, amenities (cost), type of residential zone.	Citizenship
<b>Sweden</b>	Household Finances	Annually since 1975	Real estate assets/portfolio, property tax, housing benefits, other housing related costs.	Country of birth, Country of birth of parents, Citizenship
<b>United Kingdom</b>	Citizenship Survey	Every two years since 2001	Length of residence in neighbourhood, neighbourhood perceptions (attitudinal), neighbourhood satisfactions, ethnic composition of neighbourhood, tenure, landlord.	Ethnicity, Country of birth, Country of birth of parents
	General Household Survey (GHS)	Annually		
	Integrated Household Survey	Annually		Citizenship, Country of birth, Ethnicity
	Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities			Ethnicity, Citizenship

These surveys can be categorised into three types:

**1) Surveys specifically on housing, conducted frequently.**

A good exemplar is **The Housing Needs Survey** (*Woningbehoefteonderzoek*), in the Netherlands. This is an extremely detailed survey and undoubtedly one of the best examples found, in terms of its breadth and relevance to housing related issues. It is a large-scale survey, with a sample of 117,569 (53%) individuals in 1998, which has been conducted every four years since 1975 (CR-Netherlands: 5b), by Statistics Netherlands. Two staged (municipality and person) stratified (size of municipalities) random sampling is used, with national coverage. It covers the population over 18 and living independently. Access is granted to the complete dataset, but not to samples or aggregate data, and is dependent on permission being granted from the Central Committee of Statistics (CCS).

A similar survey, the **Housing Survey**, though with a much smaller sample size, can be found in France it has also been conducted every four years since 1955 by the National Statistical Institute. It includes information on largely the same indicators as the Dutch survey, but importantly it is one of the only surveys found that has information on access to social housing and processes of application, including their outcomes. Stratified random sampling is also used. The sample in 2006 covered 42702 dwellings. Access is granted to the complete dataset by INSEE (National Statistical Institute), subject to a justification of the purpose for which it will be used.

A further survey is conducted in France - the **Continuous Survey on Household Living Conditions (EPCV)** under the responsibility of the National Statistical Institute. This is a random survey conducted annually (1996-2003). There are three parts to this survey, two of which are relevant to the housing situation of migrants and minorities: the first, Health, Housing and Financial Situation; and the second, Residential Environment and Neighbourhood. It is important to note that the samples for each part are drawn separately, thus all of the indicators are not available for each sampling unit. Access to the complete data is granted for research purposes only and on the basis of certain data protection rules.

The **German Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning (BBR)** conducts an annual nationwide survey; however, the focus is on satisfaction with housing conditions, and variables are not available for other indicators such as housing tenure.

**2) Smaller specific surveys, sometimes infrequent or one off specifically targeting immigrant groups.**

The French **Geographical Mobility and Social Integration – Immigrants Survey (MGIS)**, is a one off survey conducted by INED, in 1992, for which 4 different samples were drawn for the survey: immigrants residing in normal households; immigrants residing in community households; persons born in France from immigrant parents; persons born in France of French origin. The net sample of 8,522 persons included immigrants from Africa, Algeria, Spain, Morocco, Portugal, Turkey, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. A comprehensive list of housing related indicators were included covering a relatively wide range of topics, from affordability to satisfaction and discrimination as well as more basic variables on tenure, etc. Access is granted to the full data set upon request to INED.

A further example is the Dutch **Housing Experience Survey** - a one off survey conducted in 2001 by The SmartAgent Company, specifically targeting the foreign population (using stratified sampling at the municipal level and snowball sampling), in particular Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese residents. The sample was stratified by municipality following which snowball sampling was used. The total sample was 1,117 persons. There are problems with gaining access to this survey.

Also, the **Generations and Gender Survey (GGG)** of the Federal Institute for Population Research, in Germany, as an international panel survey covered Turkish migrants in 2006 and allowed for a comparison between Germany and Turkish home owners and tenants in Germany.

The Spanish **National Survey of Immigrants 2007**, conducted by the National Institute for Statistics (INE), included a special module on housing issues (CR-Spain: 13), in particular retrospective data on the housing career. The target population was specified as persons born outside Spain who were 16 years or older and had been resident in Spain for more than one year. Three-stage sampling was used, with stratification of first stage units, namely census sections, the second stage units were family dwellings followed by the individual. The total net sample achieved was 15,500 individuals. Access is granted to aggregate and micro data on the institution's website free of charge.

The **Socio-demographic research on foreigners immigrating to Hungary** survey was conducted in 1995. This survey besides being out of date has a small sample of 679 individuals at the national level. Basic housing indicators are included for the house and living situation before emigrating and in the destination country. Stratified multi-stage random sampling was used. The target population was foreigners who applied for naturalisation in Hungary in 1993. Access is granted to micro data at a fixed rate and upon request to the TÁRKI Social Research Centre. Aggregate data or samples of the dataset are unavailable.

The **Regional Observatory for Integration** is an annual survey, which has been conducted since 2001, in the Lombardy region of Italy. It includes a very limited number of housing indicators, including type, household composition and mobility aspirations. The sample is comprised solely of foreigners, the gross sample in 2007 numbered 8,000, information on the net sample or on non-response or non-contact is not available. Access is only granted through the institution (ISMU foundation) to aggregate data, however, selected outputs are also available online.

The **Social Position and Use of Resources (allochthones)** is a survey which has been conducted every three or four years, since 1998, in the Netherlands by the Institute for Sociologic-Economic Research (ISEO) at the Erasmus Universiteit. Although including a very limited number of variables, they are interesting from the point of view of residential mobility. The sample, in 2003, included approximately 8,000 persons of Afghani, Iraqi, Iranian, former Yugoslavian and Somali background. The complete data set and entries are available online. Aggregate data or samples of the data are not available.

The survey entitled **Living conditions among immigrants** in Norway was conducted in 2005/6 and previously in 1982 and 1996. Immigrants from ten countries, namely Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Somalia and Chile are included in the sample. Respondents were resident in Norway for at least two years and in municipalities where more than 1 per cent of the target population are represented.

The one-shot **Survey on migrants' experiences of racism and discrimination** conducted in 2005, in Luxembourg, collected information on discrimination in access to rented or owned property. The sample is comprised of Belgian, Portuguese, Cape Verdean and former-Yugoslavian individuals, aged between 18 and 59 years. The net sample size is 1,383. Access to the complete data set is only possible through CEPS/INSTEAD, the institution owning the data, however, some aggregate data are available online free of charge.

**3) Surveys, conducted frequently, not specific to housing related issues that collect some information on housing and migrants, such as the German Socio-Economic Panel or the Microcensus.**

The **German Socio-economic Panel (GSOEP)** is one of the biggest surveys in Germany. It is a longitudinal study of private German households, which has been conducted annually since 1984 by the DIW (the Germans Institute for Economic Research). All samples of GSOEP are multi-stage random samples which are regionally clustered. It also provides some information on the housing situation, for instance, on rent and share of expenditures for rent of immigrants. Access is granted to the whole data set, but only for institutions inside the EU and for scientific purposes and subject to strict data protection standards. Samples can be accessed for research and teaching purposes by universities and research institutes outside

the EU, but at a cost and again subject to strict data protection standards, including the signing of a contract. Aggregate data is available online on the institutions website.

The **Microcensus** is worth mentioning here in the specific cases of Austria, Germany and Hungary, as providing good housing indicators for each respective country. The **German Microcensus** provides nationwide statistical information on the housing tenure, income from real estates, benefits from renting and receipt of housing benefits of non-nationals in Germany. However, this information is only differentiated by nationality i.e. Germans and non-Germans, and those with a migration background cannot be identified. This 1% household survey has been conducted annually since 1957 in West Germany and since 1991 in East Germany, employing multi-stage random sampling. Access is not granted to the full data set; however, GESIS-ZUMA performs analysis on request for a fixed cost of €95 for universities and other scientific institutions, for others a price is negotiated depending on effort needed. Access is granted to samples of the dataset, and for scientific use only access is granted to the de facto anonymised micro data, which represents 70% of the regular individual database and about 200 variables at a fixed cost of €95. Access is more limited for general public use. Aggregate data is available for online access and access to microdata is also possible through Eurostat at a cost.

The **Austrian Microcensus** includes a household questionnaire. There are other variables of particular importance to the theme in question, namely year of construction, building characteristics and use, floor space, facilities and amenities, dwelling characteristics, tenure, housing costs and contract information. There are some limitations to this survey with regards the sample size and the representativeness of migrants and those with migrant background (CR-Austria: 22). The main advantage of this data is its frequency; it is collected quarterly. Stratified random sampling is used and selected households remain in the survey for five quarters meaning that 20 per cent of the households are exchanged with every survey. Access is also granted upon request by Statistics Austria to the full data set for scientific purposes and is processed to the user on CD. This involves costs for the researcher, namely €350 quarterly and €750 for the whole year. Access is also granted upon request to samples of the dataset for scientific purposes and is free of charge. Access to microdata and aggregate data is also granted through Eurostat but at a cost.

The **Hungarian Microcensus** has been carried out in every period between two censuses since 1960, starting with a sample of 1% which later increased to 2% (CR-Hungary: 2). In terms of sampling, stratified and multi-stage random sampling is employed. The last Microcensus was conducted in 2005 and includes information on tenure, dwelling type, dwelling characteristics (number of rooms, floor space), year of construction, basic amenities and facilities and the type of neighbourhood. Access is not granted to the data, whether to the whole data set, samples or aggregate data.

The **Swiss Household Panel** has been conducted annually since 1999. Although containing a very limited number of housing related variables, it is an important source of data before the inclusion of Switzerland, in 2007, in the group of countries conducting the EU-SILC. Stratified random sampling is used, the sample is proportional to the population and no over-sampling of migrants is employed. Access is granted to the data through the Panel Suisse de Ménages (PSM) subject to the signing of a data protection contract and a justification of research purposes.

The **Quarterly National Household Survey** of Ireland has been conducted quarterly since 2007. Previously, it was the Irish Labour Force Survey, which was conducted with the same frequency since 1975. The housing related variables are very limited in comparison with those collected in the EU-SILC. Stratified multi-stage area sampling is used with a two-stage sample design. Households are asked to take part in the survey for five consecutive quarters and are then replaced by other households in the same block (first stage sampling unit). This results in one fifth of the households being replaced each quarter. There is an 80% overlap between consecutive quarters and a 20% overlap with the same quarter in consecutive years. The sample size was 39,000 in 2007. The Central Statistics Office grants access to the complete dataset whether aggregate (some outputs are available online) or samples of the data upon the completion of a data contract form with no costs for the researcher. Data

processing is charged at an hourly rate. Anonymised second quarter micro data for a limited number of variables (60) is available on the Irish Social Science Data Archive (ISSDA - <http://www.ucd.ie/issda/>), for access by researchers.

The Dutch **Permanent Living Situation (POLS)** has been conducted annually since 1997 and includes a limited number of housing related variables; the Housing Needs Survey is undoubtedly more useful. Two staged (Municipalities and persons) stratified (Municipalities) random sampling is used. Access to the dataset is solely granted at the institution which owns/distributes the information, which involves costs for researchers at a fixed rate. Central Bureau Statistics also conduct the Social Economic Panel Survey (SEP) on a yearly basis. Two staged (municipalities and addresses) random sampling is used. It is a rotating panel survey with 5 percent of the very small sample replaced each year. Access is granted to some of the data but not all for reasons of confidentiality.

The Spanish **Household Budget Survey** is conducted annually and collects some basic housing variables such as tenure, house type, etc, as well as the cost of amenities. Multi-stage random sampling is used adopting census sections as primary units and dwellings as secondary units. One half of the sample is renewed every year, meaning the maximum time a household cooperates is for two years. To give an example of the dimension, the sample size was 24,000 persons in 2006. Free access is granted, on INE's website, to aggregate data, but samples of the dataset are not available.

The Swedish **Household Finances** survey, conducted annually since 1975, collects data on real estates assets or complete portfolios as well as housing related costs, tax and benefits. Stratified random network sampling is used with the Total Population Register as the sampling frame. Network sampling means that all members of the respondent's household are included in the total sample. In 2006, the gross sample was 17,000 persons. Access is granted to select outputs of aggregate data on Statistics Sweden's website and to the complete dataset or samples of it at a fixed rate. Anonymised micro data is accessible for research purposes upon request to Statistics Sweden and in accordance with the Secrecy Act.

The UK's **Citizenship Survey** collects data less related specifically to housing and more to neighbourhood aspects such as ethnic composition, satisfaction and other attitudinal questions. It has been conducted every two years since 2001. Multi-stage stratified random sampling is employed. The sample is nationally representative and the weight of minority ethnic respondents in the sample is enhanced using direct screening and focused enumeration. The total net sample in 2005 was 14,081, 4,390 of which were from a minority ethnic background.

In the UK, the **Integrated Household Survey (IHS)** will constitute an important source for data on housing. It is a "composite survey" that combines data collected in a number of Office for National Statistics (ONS) social surveys. This information is then used to produce a dataset of "Core" variables. It is also known as the Continuous Population Survey (CPS). As well as comprising approximately 100 questions individual survey modules taken from the following surveys are combined to produce important intercensal data: General Lifestyle Survey (GLF); Living Cost and Food Survey (LCF); Opinions (OPN); English Housing Survey (EHS); Labour Force Survey (LFS); Annual Population Survey (APS); and Life Opportunities Survey (LOS). The quality of the data is considered to be high and it allows for high levels accuracy at a lower geographic level than other ONS Social Surveys. Further advantages include the large sample size, as well as the frequency and up-to-date nature of the data (released six months after the survey). The practical outputs of the survey are to include a series of annual rolling quarterly datasets. It is planned that the first quarterly dataset will be released in March 2010, due for publication in September 2010.

## Registers

The final sources of data considered to be relevant to this thematic study are population registers- see Appendix 1 for a tabular summary of these per country. In the majority of cases, this data rather than provide detailed information on housing merely provide information on population stocks and location. This allows for patterns of settlement to be

identified and potentially levels of concentration to be analysed depending on the spatial scale at which data is available. While in some other countries with a register-based system, the population register is central to the production of statistics and the main source of information on housing.

Not all PROMINSTAT countries, however, the vast majority, have these kinds of registers, thus it cannot be considered a good overall comparable source, still, important in many cases. Moreover, the differences in administrative statistical units used between countries complicate the possibility for direct comparison further. Besides these difficulties related with comparability, there are drawbacks highlighted in the PROMINSTAT country reports in relation to this data source. One problem relates to the fact that deregistration is often not recorded, for example, in Austria and Slovakia. In addition, in some instances, access is difficult if not impossible, for example, in the Czech Republic and Malta.

Those countries that rely upon a register-based system for the production of population and household and dwelling statistics as well as those who may also conduct a census but produce some annual housing statistics will be summarised briefly below. The most notable are Denmark, the Netherlands and Finland as this system has substituted the traditional population and housing census in the first two and the housing census in the latter.

In Denmark, the **Statistical Population Register** is produced by Statistics Denmark by collecting individual data from administrative data, principally the **Central Population Register**. This is comprised of data collected locally in Denmark's 98 municipalities. A direct link was established between the CPR and Statistics Denmark, meaning the Statistical Population Register can be updated daily. This data can be linked to other personalised data as individuals can be identified by their cpr-number, meaning personalized data can be got from many administrative registers, including the **Building and Dwelling Register**, also produced by Statistics Denmark. All buildings and dwellings in Denmark are included in the register. Dwellings are identified using exact address codes, which are also used to indicate place of residence in the Population Register. This renders the data on housing and residential patterns to be considered to be very good (CR-Denmark: 14) as well as accessible. Census data was produced, in 2001, from these registers for international purposes (i.e. for Eurostat, UNECE) which included the following housing related variables: address, the exact address one year earlier; conventional dwelling; type of building; number of rooms; number of square metres; kitchen or kitchenette; heating installation; flush toilet; fixed bath or shower; construction year; and ownership. The **Demographic Events Register** also holds information on residence, length of residence in current place of residence and previous address and is available since 1975.

The **Municipal Population Registers** in the Netherlands contain information on all people legally residing in the country and are the basis of the **Population Register**. In general, Dutch population statistics are based on the 443 municipal population registers, which are comparable and have contained the same variables since 1995 (CR-Netherlands: 1), including place of birth, nationality, place of birth of parents, address, previous country of residence and residence status (through a link to the Aliens Register). It can also be linked to other registers through a PIN. Municipalities annually report the size of their housing stock, tenure structures and the number of rooms per dwelling (ibid: 5b). The Population Register is micro-linked with other registers and sample surveys, including the Housing Survey (WBO) described in the previous section, to create the Social Statistical Database (SSD), which was used to produce data for the 2001 Dutch Virtual Census, for example.

In Finland, the **National Population Information System** is an important source of data as most population statistics on migrants are produced from this source (CR-Finland: 2). Local Registers, of which there are 37 nationally, register and update the information in the system. This data can also be linked to other data through a PIN or equivalent. Indeed, Statistics Finland produces annual housing statistics (ibid: 12), which describe the situation on the last day of the year using data contained in the Population Information System. The statistics describe existing stock through variables like tenure status, type of building, number of rooms, amenities and housing conditions. Access is granted to the full data set but subject to the restrictions in the Population Information Act (1993) and negotiable costs.

The Latvian Ministry of the Interior has collected information on all persons legally residing in Latvia in the form of the **Latvian Residents Register** since 1992. This information is first collected at the municipality level and then transferred through the regional (rajon) offices online. It is updated regularly and is a reliable source for population stocks and distribution (CR-Latvia: 15). In addition, The Central Statistics Bureau links this register to building and dwelling statistics to produce annual housing statistics. The types of variables comprise type of building, tenure, number of rooms, amenities, structure, and stage of life and age of household members.

Similarly, the **Lithuanian Population Register** has been in operation since 1992 and is a centralised database, containing information on all residents legally residing in the country. Statistics Lithuania produces annual housing statistics by linking this to dwelling stock data. The variables available to describe housing conditions include tenure, type of building, number of rooms, amenities, structure, stage of life and age of household members. Furthermore, Statistics Lithuania also has a database on persons (families) who are in need of social housing (CR-Lithuania: 14).

Although Sweden has a register-based system, the possibility to link the **Total Population Register** to household and dwelling statistics is currently not possible. However, it is important to note that there are plans to accomplish this no later than 2012.

Similar endeavours are being undertaken in Norway. The **Norwegian Central Population Register (CPR)**, under the responsibility of the Office of the National Registrar, is the foremost source for migration statistics and indeed, all population statistics produced by Statistics Norway are based upon the CPR (CR-Norway: 1). It includes all residents with a valid permit and intent to stay in Norway for six months or more. A Personal Identification Number (PIN) is attributed to each individual enabling the register to be linked to other administrative registers (ibid: 3). Attempts have been made to establish a register which links all residents to a dwelling; it is currently under development and expected to be in operation by the 2011 Census.

## **E. Comparability of data and possibilities for cross-comparative research**

All countries, according to that registered in the PROMINSTAT database, provide some data on the housing situation of migrants and minority groups meaning that in the most part there are possibilities to study housing outcomes and overall patterns of ethnic geography. It should be noted that overwhelmingly so the data available refers to legal third country nationals and minority groups that are longer settled. There is a clear lack of data on refugees, asylum-seekers, new labour migrants and other important minorities such as Travellers and Roma, this is even the case in countries where data is particularly strong such as the UK.

In general terms, the data available is more conducive to studying housing situations rather than changes over time or market processes and their impact on processes of social exclusion, inequality, discrimination or access to housing, to name a few. There are some exceptions to this rule, such as the housing surveys conducted in the Netherlands and France that provide more 'experience-related' variables. Despite the clear predominance of the type of variables that measure housing outcomes, such as tenure, house conditions, house type, numbers of rooms, etc, these variables are frequently inconsistent across PROMINSTAT countries. Thus, whilst studies can be conducted at the national level in each country direct comparison of particular variables is oftentimes very difficult.

Indeed, particular indicators crucial for any assessment of the housing position of migrants and minorities are missing. Indicators measuring *access to housing* appear to be largely absent and in the majority of countries this can only be inferred by comparisons between the tenure statuses of the majority and migrants or minority groups, which is insufficient. Furthermore, data on *affordability*, a crucial factor determining access and performance in

other domains such as the labour market, is absent in the data available in most countries. Some countries collect information about this through surveys such as Sweden, and the Netherlands and Portugal among a few others collect information about costs in the census. *Residential mobility* is also a particularly difficult area to research, and information on this is scarce, due to the lack of longitudinal micro data. The possibility of linking datasets in Denmark and the Netherlands is more conducive to the kind of data needed to study the aforementioned indicator. Certainly, the fact that data in these countries are reported to be up-to-date and allow for linking with other datasets means there are greater opportunities to produce longitudinal statistical data. Similarly, the breadth of background variables available in these countries allow for important comparisons along the lines of different differentials and not merely the particular background variable that defines an individual as a migrant or member of a minority group.

Many countries rely solely on the census which has advantages due to the fact that it is easily accessible and subject to quality testing and procedures that are increasingly defined both at the European and International level. Furthermore, it is possible to make comparisons over time of the situation of migrants in general and of particular groups of migrants, depending on the variables used to characterise them. Importantly, due to coverage a good sample size and representativeness can be assured. However, there are clear drawbacks to the over reliance of the majority of countries on census data. To summarise, the first and most universal problem relates to the frequency with which censuses are conducted, the shortest intercensal period recorded was every six years in Ireland. Other countries have established register-based censuses to try to overcome this problem, but in this instance normally the data available is very limited and additional housing variables are much fewer in number in comparison with traditional censuses. The result of the aforementioned is that data becomes quickly out of date. Often there are problems of undercounting, especially of immigrant groups, an example of an extreme case is the Czech Republic where it is estimated that 60% of the foreign population were undercounted in the last census (CR-Czech Republic: 1). It is also common that data is made available in aggregate form making it very difficult in many instances to gain access to information on smaller groups. In the same vein, census data only provides a snapshot in time. Importantly, as highlighted by Harrison et al. (2005), census data is designed to enumerate the population and allow for relationships to be identified between different phenomenon and situations, however, no causality can be inferred from census data. Other types of data and methods of investigation are necessary to provide explanations for these relationships. In particular, Poland, Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, Belgium, Slovakia, Luxembourg and Hungary are examples of countries that rely overly on census data. Indeed, in the aforementioned countries no other reliable data sources were recorded that allow for the documentation of the housing situation of migrant groups. This is particularly problematic in some cases, for example, the recent influx of migrants into Malta and Cyprus are not covered in this data. It is important to note that comparability of census data is set to improve across countries due to the fact several countries such as Germany, Norway Austria, Belgium, and Sweden are changing to register-based censuses in 2011.

The majority of PROMINSTAT countries have population or alien registers. Absent from this majority is, for example, the UK. In terms of the utility of these registers in studying the housing situation of the target group in question, we may at best denote them as limited. Indeed, the only purpose to which they can be applied, when accessible, is the mapping of settlement patterns of different migrant and minority groups. The potential for direct comparability of these registers is restricted due to the fact that the data is available at different spatial scales, largely depending on the specific administrative units employed in differing national contexts. There are exceptions to this in the case of the Netherlands, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Denmark. To take Denmark as an example, the Central Personal Register (CPR) is linked to Statistics Denmark meaning that the Statistical Population Register can be updated on a daily basis. Individuals can be uniquely identified by their cpr-number meaning it is possible to get very good personalised data from other administrative registers. Statistics Denmark collects the data in this way from administrative registers and correct, edited and combine it to make statistics (CR-Denmark: 4-5). For the study of housing and residential patterns the Country Report states that the data for housing and residential patterns are very good (CR-Denmark: 14). The Netherlands, similarly, produce statistics based on register data. They frequently combine register data with survey data to overcome

the limitation of variables included in administrative registers. One example outlined in the Netherlands country report is the Permanent Living Situation Survey (POLS) conducted annually. The remaining three countries produce annual housing statistics by linking the population registers to data on buildings and dwellings. In these countries the quality of the data is obviously closely linked to the quality of the data collected for the administrative registers. It may be concluded that quality in Denmark and the Netherlands is on average much superior to the other countries under study and can be classified as high. This is true both due to the fact data covers the total population, meaning it possible to draw representative samples of migrants and minorities. Sweden and Norway produce the same register based statistics, however, as yet the population registers cannot be linked to housing data, this is currently being developed, however, and will be possible in the near future (2013 and 2011, respectively – Country Reports).

For the theme in question surveys provide an important source of information in several countries, although quality and availability varies immensely in each case. Indeed, in countries such as France surveys constitute the principal means to collect data on housing. Other countries, such as the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, produce high quality survey data that clearly complements registers in the former and the traditional census in the latter. Other countries, such as Denmark, rely more on administrative registers due to the high cost of surveys. Clear advantages include the type of data that can be collected by surveys. This pertains first to background variables and second to thematic variables that measure the housing and residential position/patterns of migrant and minority groups. Earlier the fact that available data measures housing outcomes rather than processes and experiences was mentioned. However, surveys can provide the former data that is not possible with administrative data. Good examples include: the Permanent Living Situation (POLS) in the Netherlands which collects information on experiences of renting and dealing with banks, for instance; in the same country the Housing Needs Survey (*Woningbehoefteonderzoek*) is the main source for housing data and is conducted every four years, as well as housing outcome variables it includes others such as residential aspirations and motivations for moving; and the Housing Survey in France, that as well as basic indicators includes information on access to social housing. In short, surveys can complement registers that are created purely on the basis of administrative needs.

Despite the comprehensiveness at the national level of some of the surveys undertaken in PROMINSTAT countries, it is impossible to compare them across countries. In general terms, it is impossible due to inherent differences in coverage, quality and definitions. General problems outlined in the country reports relate to the sample size, which is often acute when the proportion of migrants and/or minority groups of the overall sample is considered. Furthermore, if this sample is to be broken down further and segmented according to region, sex, age or income, for example, then this problem becomes even more pertinent. In many instances, the sample size is simply not sufficient to allow for analysis of subgroups or at different geographical scales. This is the case even with the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions - EU-SILC, which is the survey with the greatest potential for comparative studies across PROMINSTAT countries. This is documented clearly in the country reports; an extreme case is the Czech Republic, where the said data is impossible to use due to the fact the sample size of foreigners only numbers 150 persons, which is approximately 1.2% of the total sample (CR-Czech Republic: 15). The situation is worse again in Malta, where it is impossible to use the data for statistical ends as the sample size of foreigners is around 50 persons (CR-Malta: 13-14). The reliability of this data is also questioned in Hungary (CR-Hungary: 17). The same is noted in Poland (CR: 18-19). The Portuguese Country Report recommends that caution be exercised when using the data for the same reason (CR-Portugal: 3). Similarly, there is a problem with representativeness in Slovakia (CR-Slovakia: 2).

Another general drawback of surveys is the risk of non-response, seen clearly in some of the surveys described on the PROMINSTAT website. Other factors include the fact that some surveys do not provide questionnaires or interviews in the immigrants' mother-tongue, which can result in both a high non-response rate among immigrants and a bias in the sample toward "better educated and well integrated migrants" (CR-Austria: 18). This is true of the EU-

SILC, as questionnaires are only available in the majority language. Indeed, it is noted in the Slovenian Country Report as resulting in the exclusion of migrants (CR: 11).

## **F. Recommendations and conclusions**

In light of the analysis undertaken we can conclude that internationally comparative research on housing and residential patterns is difficult. To summarise, this is generally the case due to the inconsistencies in definitions and variables employed to measure housing positions and outcomes. Furthermore, there is a problem in some instances with the up-to-datedness of the data as well as data coverage. In many cases, relevant survey data cannot be used due to problems with the representation of migrant and minority groups. However, there is evidence that this will only improve as time progresses, in the light of both European and international attempts at ensuring comparability and harmonising topics. Undoubtedly, however, this demands commitment from the part of government and official institutions.

The need for the harmonisation of statistics relating to international migration, in order to facilitate international comparability of data from various countries has been highlighted by several institutions, namely the UN, OCED and the EU. For too long the recommendations produced by experts from many international organizations have been ignored by national governments. However, in recent years some worthwhile initiatives have been developed to tackle this problem.

As a means to make definitions more uniform, permanent comparable housing topics in the population census of each Member State may be considered to improve the overall comparability of data. Regulation (EC) No 763/2008 of the European Parliament and of the Council on population and housing censuses obliges all EU countries to conduct a population census in 2011. Precise topics (derived and non-derived) are specified in the aforementioned regulation. A strategy to ensure that census data is more useful in the domain of housing and immigration is to include such topics permanently in all future censuses conducted by Member States. There are of course other disparities at the national level such as the frequency with which the census is conducted and the methodology applied. The latter point is probably the most challenging given that there is no scope to add additional variables to register-based censuses, this could be achieved by a complimentary survey or through the collection of more ample information in administrative registers. This is particularly pertinent given the tendency observed in several countries to change data collection practices to be register based. On a positive note, this evolution is likely to result in higher quality and more representative data. The importance of accessibility is important to outline here, more efforts should be made to provide anonymised micro data to researchers that can be cross tabulated with other variables collected.

A further recommendation is in reference to the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC.). This data source has the potential to produce comparative European data on the theme under study. The quality and breadth of this data is notable, however, there are some gaps, important from a policy perspective, which this survey could seek to address. For example, access to housing can only be determined by a comparison of tenure patterns between native and immigrants which is not reliable or at all conclusive, direct questions on this issue should be added. Potential information on mobility or direct impacts of any of the collected variables on propensity to move is also lacking. However, more importantly is the question of sampling if this survey is to be taken advantage of for the current theme under study. Indeed, many of the surveys described in this study suffer from the problem of small sample sizes of migrants and minorities to the point that the data is redundant. One obvious solution may be the oversampling of migrants and minority groups. Some surveys have already oversampled migrant groups with successful outcomes. The development of more surveys specifically targeting migrants and minorities is another option, but only in the instance that a comparative majority sample is included in the study.

### Box 3. Minimum core variables to measure housing conditions and outcomes

- Access to housing
  - Experience when buying or renting house
    - ◆ Unsuccessful Attempts to access particular housing market sectors
- Affordability
  - Housing costs
    - ◆ Rent/mortgage payments
    - ◆ Maintenance
    - ◆ Insurance
  - Household income
    - ◆ Work
    - ◆ Benefits
- Suitability
  - ◆ Useful floor space/ number of rooms
  - ◆ Number of occupants
  - ◆ Occupancy by number of households
- Adequacy
  - State of repair
    - ◆ Damp
    - ◆ Insulation
    - ◆ Construction materials
    - ◆ Year of construction
  - Basic amenities
    - ◆ Kitchen (availability of)
    - ◆ Bathing facilities – bath/shower
    - ◆ Toilet
    - ◆ Water supply
    - ◆ Electricity supply
    - ◆ Heating
- Tenure
  - ◆ Type of ownership
- Housing type
  - ◆ Type of dwelling (permanent/non-permanent)
  - ◆ Dwelling by type of building
- Residential location/segregation
  - ◆ Location (actual address)
  - ◆ Location 1 year and 5 years previous
  - ◆ Intention to move

Another important issue involves addressing the gap in our knowledge of how housing conditions, outcomes and careers evolve through the collection of more and more consistent longitudinal data. Without undermining the utility of cross-sectional data, which is essential in understanding current housing and residential patterns of immigrants, much of what needs to be studied in this domain relates to change over time. Integration is a dynamic process, and if researchers intend to use housing and residential patterns as a way to measure integration, longitudinal data is essential. Data owners may consider establishing partnerships both within and across countries to analyse the possibility of linking datasets.

Relating to the types of immigrants covered it is obvious in almost all countries that more attention needs to be paid to the production of good quality data on other groups, such as the Roma population, refugees and asylum seekers and more challenging on illegal migrants.

Although detailed and frequent longitudinal surveys are ideal to supplement census data, this may not be immediately possible or practical given the limitations that policy-makers and researchers face in collecting reliable and representative data. Thus, after the analysis of information available and the gaps in information that exist, box 3, organised according to the key indicators presented in section C, represents a list of core variables, which would enable us to assess immigrants housing conditions. Such data if collected in all countries would provide a reasonable minimum to measure housing performance and outcomes of migrant and minority groups across Europe.

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## Annex 1 - Population registers

Country	Name of Register	Variable used to identify the target group
Austria	Central Register of Residents	Place of birth, Citizenship
	Central Population Register (POPREG)	Place of birth, Citizenship
	Alien Information File	Place of birth, Citizenship, Legal Status
Belgium	National Population Register	Place of birth, Citizenship
Belgium	Database of the Immigration Service	Place of birth, Citizenship, Legal Status
Cyprus	Aliens Register	Nationality, Country of birth, Legal Status
Czech Republic	Population Register (ISEO)	Place of birth Citizenship
	Alien Information System (CIS)	Place of birth, Nationality, Nationality at birth, Legal Status
Denmark	Statistical Population Register	Place of birth, Citizenship
	Central Population Register	Place of birth, Citizenship
	Demographic Events Register	Place of birth, Citizenship, Previous citizenship
	Population Status Data (1975-2007)	Place of birth, Citizenship
Estonia	Population Register	Place of birth, Citizenship, Legal status.
	State Register of Residence and Work Permits	Place of birth, Citizenship, Previous citizenship
Finland	National Population Information System	Place of birth, Citizenship
	Alien Register	Country of birth, Citizenship, Nationality
Germany	Municipal registers	
	Central Foreigners Register	Place of birth, Nationality, Legal status
Greece	Residents Permit Register	Country of birth, Citizenship, Nationality
Hungary	Register of Personal Data and Addresses	Citizenship, Country of birth
Ireland	GNIB Register of non-EEA nationals	Country of origin, Nationality, Legal status
Italy	Municipal Registers	
Latvia	Residents Register	
Lithuania	Residents Register	Citizenship, Place of birth, Nationality
	Aliens Register	Citizenship, Place of birth, Nationality
Luxembourg	Population Register	Place of birth, Citizenship
	Repertoire	Place of birth, Citizenship
Malta	Resident Permit Database	Nationality, Former nationality, Country of Birth
The	Municipal Population	Country of birth, Citizenship,

Netherlands	Register	Nationality
	Central Aliens Register	Nationality, Country of birth, Legal status
Norway	Central Population Register	Place of birth, Citizenship (including of parents)
	Aliens Register	Citizenship, Ethnicity, Place of birth, Legal status
Poland	Electronic System of Population Registration (PESEL)	Citizenship, Place of birth, Legal status
Portugal	Integrated System of Information (SEF)	Legal status, Citizenship and Place of birth
Slovakia	Register of Population	Country of birth, 'Ethnic nationality'
	Register of Foreigners	Country of birth, 'Ethnic nationality'
Slovenia	Central Population Register	Citizenship, Place of birth
	Register of Foreigners	Citizenship, Place of birth
Spain	Municipal Population Register of Spain (Padron Municipal)	Nationality, Place of birth, Legal status
Sweden	Total Population Register	Citizenship (including of parents), Former citizenship, Country of Birth, Foreign background (parents)
	Central Aliens Database	
Switzerland	Central Aliens Register	Legal status, Citizenship, Place of birth, Nationality of mother

## Annex 2 PROMINSTAT Country Reports consulted for the study

	Country	Author(s)	Date of publication
1	Austria	Albert Kraller, Christina Hollomey and Alfred Woeger	May 2009 (updated December 2009)
2	Belgium	Nicolas Perrin and Quentin Schoonvaere	April 2009
3	Czech Republic	Dušan Drbohlav and Lenka Lachmanová-Medová	May 2009
4	Cyprus	Martin Baldwin-Edwards	February 2010
5	Denmark	Anita Lange and Thomas Michael Nielsen	April 2009
6	Estonia	Université catholique de Louvain	April 2009
7	Finland	Sirkku Wilkman	April 2009 (updated February 2010)
8	France	Tatiana Eremenko and Xavier Thierry	April 2009
9	Germany	Mario Peucker and Stefanie Reiter	June 2009 (updated December 2009)
10	Greece	Martin Baldwin-Edwards	February 2010
11	Hungary	Éva Gárdos and Judit Juhasz	February 2010
12	Italy	Domenico Gabrielli, Salvatore Strozza and Enrico Todisco	April 2009
13	Ireland	Ann Singleton and Audrey Lenoel	February 2010
14	Latvia	Rita Zukauskiene	June 2009
15	Lithuania	Rita Zukauskiene	June 2009
16	Luxembourg	Quentin Schoonvaere and Nicolas Perrin	April 2009
17	Malta	Albert Kraller and David Reichel	April 2009
18	Norway	Vebjørn Aalandslid and Lars Østby	April 2009
19	Poland	Dorota Kupiszewska	May 2009
20	Portugal	Maria Lucinda Fonseca, Alina Esteves, Dora Possidónio and Jennifer McGarrigle	April 2009
21	Slovakia	Mária Katerinková, Danuša Jurčová and Ferenc Csatari	March 2009
22	Slovenia	David Reichel	April 2009
23	Spain	Amparo González-Ferrer	June 2009
24	Sweden	Mirjam Hagström	April 2009
25	Switzerland	Marco Pecoraro	April 2009
26	The Netherlands	Jeroen Doomernik	August 2009 (updated February 2010)
27	United Kingdom	Audrey Lenoël, Ann Singleton, Olga Gora and Lynnmarie Sardinha	January 2010

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