Delclós, Carlos (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.). «The burden of the border : precarious citizenship experiences in the wake of the Spanish housing crash». European Urban and Regional Studies, Vol. 30 Núm. 3 (2023), p. 248-260. 13 pàg. DOI 10.1177/09697764221136092

The Burden of the Border: Housing precariousness, displaceability and citizenship in Spain[1]

Carlos Delclós

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Abstract

Beginning in the late 1990s, Spain experienced major changes in both its population structure and housing market. Between 1998 and 2008, the country's immigrant population increased nearly tenfold, from half a million foreign-born residents to five million, with the share of immigrant workers jumping from 2% of all working-age people to 16%. During this period, immigration accounted for the vast majority of Spain's population growth, and this was reflected in the housing market by significant increases in the construction of new dwellings. However, the situation changed dramatically after the housing crash in 2008.

In the wake of the global financial crisis of 2008 and the collapse of the country's housing bubble, a massive wave of evictions made housing precariousness and displacement salient sociopolitical issues in Spain. Through multiple regression analyses of data from the Spanish Living Conditions Survey, this study shows that households headed by non-EU citizens were significantly more likely than those headed by Spanish citizens to experience higher levels of housing precariousness and displacement pressure, net of housing arrears and other relevant factors. Non-EU citizens were also significantly more likely to experience rent overburden and were found to pay higher rents than Spanish citizens for similar dwellings. By putting these results in dialogue with the ethnographic and theoretical literature on housing struggles and everyday bordering, this article argues that the differentially precarious citizenship status of migrants in Spain facilitates housing practices that multiply and thicken urban borders and facilitate rent extraction.

Keywords: bordering, housing precariousness, displaceability, citizenship, immigration

[1] Paper accepted in *European Urban and Regional Studies*.

Introduction

The collapse of the Spanish housing bubble in 2008 sparked unemployment, financial ruin, social conflict and housing distress on a dramatic scale. Though social movements had denounced a seemingly paradoxical lack of affordable housing throughout the preceding boom, a massive wave of evictions made housing precariousness an urgent sociopolitical issue in the ensuing crisis. After years of outpacing neighbouring countries in the construction of new dwellings, Spain came to lead Western Europe in foreclosures and evictions, registering nearly 600,000 of the former and almost 400,000 of the latter between 2008 and 2014 (CGPJ 2015). This wave of evictions gave way to a massive civil disobedience movement against foreclosures, which spread throughout the country through the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (PAH). Tellingly, however, the first protests against rising evictions were organized by Ecuadorian migrants through the *Coordinadora Nacional de Ecuatorianos En España* (CONADEE) (Gonick 2015).

The unequal impact and sociopolitical implications of the Spanish housing crash have received considerable scholarly attention. Long-term unemployment, housing distress (Laparra Navarro & Pérez Eransus 2012) and further impoverishment of low-income households (Mari-Klose & Pérez 2015) were just some of the major consequences of the ensuing Great Recession, which in turn gave way to a major political crisis (Alexandri and Janoshka 2018) and insurgent acts of citizenship (García-Lamarca 2017). Meanwhile, Gonick (2021) has shed considerable light on precarity experienced by Andean immigrant homeowners and their key role in catalysing dissent against mortgage-related foreclosures. Yet little is known about the differential exposure of households to specific forms of housing distress and exploitation in the wake of Spain's housing crash. This study examines the conditions under which households experienced displacement pressure, housing precariousness and rent extraction in Spain. By doing so, we not only respond to the question posed by Alexandri and Janoshka (2018) of who wins and who loses in a housing crisis, but also engage with theoretical and ethnographic literature on housing and social vulnerability in Spain, identifying the role of citizenship and property relations in the bordering of bodies and landscapes in the so-called "real estate and finance complex" (Palomera 2014). Specifically, we argue that the greater displaceability and differentially precarious citizenship status experienced by migrants in Spain facilitates housing practices that multiply and thicken urban borders and facilitate rent extraction.

The article is structured as follows. The next section briefly introduces the broader context of Spain's housing and migration situation around the time of the global financial crisis, while Section 3 lays out the main concepts examined in this study. Section 4 then describes the data and methods used, while Section 5 presents the results of quantitative analyses. Finally, the article concludes with a discussion of the study's theoretical implications, limitations and potential lines of future research.

Housing and migration to Spain

Beginning in the late 1990s, Spain experienced unprecedented changes in both its population structure and housing market. Between 1998 and 2008, the country's immigrant population increased from roughly 640,000 foreign nationals to 5.3 million, with the share of immigrant workers jumping from 2% of all working-age people to 16%. During this period, immigration accounted for the vast majority of Spain's population growth, and it was accompanied by significant increases in the construction of new dwellings. González and Ortega (2013) estimate that, between 1998 and 2008, population inflow led to the construction of around 2 million new housing units, with immigration accounting for 37% of the total residential construction activity over the period.

The links between housing and migration in Spain were visible in the demand for housing and the supply of labour during the bubble. Migrant workers were disproportionately employed in the construction sector, often with highly precarious contracts. According to the Spanish Labour Force Survey, when the bubble burst in 2008, 20.7% of immigrant workers were employed in construction, compared to 10.6% of Spaniards. By 2012, these figures had fallen to 8.3% and 6.4%, respectively, amounting to a 70.4% drop in migrant construction workers in just four years, compared to a 47.6% drop in Spanish construction workers. Similarly, while the overall unemployment rate rose from 9.6% at the beginning of 2008 to 25.8% at the end of 2012, it rose from 14.7% to 36.5% among immigrant workers during the same period. As a result, the number and share of foreign nationals declined sharply after the crisis. Between 2011 and 2017, Spain's immigrant population fell by over 20%, from 5.8 million people (12.2% of the population) to 4.6 million (9.8%).

Housing distress may have played a major role in pushing immigrants out of Spain in the wake of the housing crash. Prior to the crisis, non-Spanish citizens (with the notable exception of those from rich countries) were more likely to live in rental housing than Spaniards, more likely to live in overcrowded, poor-quality dwellings, and more likely to have a heavier housing cost burden (Leal and Alguacil 2012; Iriondo Mugica and Rahona Lopez 2009). In the aftermath of the crisis, foreclosures in several Catalan municipalities were disproportionately concentrated in neighbourhoods with more non-EU citizens (Gutiérrez and Delclòs 2016; Gutiérrez and Domenech 2019). A similar spatial trend was found in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Parreño-Castellano et al 2021). Indeed, almost half of the eviction proceedings that took place between 2007 and 2013 were concentrated in six of the seven provinces with the largest number of foreign residents (Méndez Gutierrez del Valle and Plaza Tabasco 2016). Finally, in the context of Europe's so-called "refugee crisis", Ribera et al. (2020) found alarmingly high rates of rough sleeping and residential mobility among recent asylum seekers in Catalonia. This finding is particularly striking because it was observed during a period of sustained economic growth, suggesting a structural dynamic of bordered dispossession. However, it should be noted that the characteristics of asylum seekers are likely to differ substantially from the rest of the immigrant population. While the "push" factors driving their migration trajectories are typically rooted in war, disasters or political persecution, other international migrants are generally assumed to move primarily in search of better economic opportunities.

Bordering, citizenship and precariousness

The higher prevalence of foreclosures in migrant neighbourhoods and the precarious housing trajectories of asylum seekers suggest the presence of bordering dynamics within Spain's formal political borders. While bordering typically refers to the creation, re-creation and contestation of socio-spatial distinctions at the formal and everyday levels (Scott and Sohn 2019), it is also an *embodied* process. Amoore (2006: 347-8) argues that, through the deployment of biometric technologies, migrant bodies have become "the carrier of the border as it is inscribed with multiple encoded boundaries of access." Though referring to increasingly securitised practices at external borders, the techniques of risk profiling, predictive identity-based assumptions, authorisation and surveillance Amoore associates with biometric bordering are present in the everyday bordering practices found in local housing markets (Yuval Davis et al 2019). The increasingly digitalised screening practices of real estate agents and private landlords (Delclós 2020) or ‡he exclusion criteria deployed in social housing policies (Bulpett 2002) are rooted in ideologies of citizenship and national belonging that border by, as Yuval-Davis et al

(2019) put it, “[delimiting] the area in which equality legislation and policies extend equal rights to specific categories of people” on the basis of how citizenship and immigration intersect with racialised and gendered identities.

In Western countries, this is particularly evident in how the notion of “citizenship” is often used interchangeably with “nationality”, both in common parlance and in official data sources, such as the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions used in this study. Through such everyday and administrative bordering practices, immigrants frequently experience “forms of incomplete citizenship”, typically with some degree of social citizenship but no formal political citizenship (Bulpett 2002). As a result, immigrants in Western countries are more often treated as the objects of social policy than as autonomous or empowered political subjects. Meanwhile, citizenship restrictions themselves produce racial meanings and inequalities through racializing practices that contain, govern and select migrants in detention and para-detention sights (de Noronha 2019) or expose them to various forms of informality and illegality (Stumpf 2006; Bazurli and Delclos 2021). What results is a continuum between “the ‘lightness’ of legality/approval/safety and the ‘darkness’ of eviction/destruction/death”, which is “neither integrated nor eliminated, forming the pseudo-permanent margins of today’s urban regions,” referred to by Yiftachel (2009: 243) as a *gray space* in which residents are “permanently temporary” and *displaceable* (Yiftachel 2020).

Yiftachel’s theoretical contributions have typically been advanced within the framework of urban citizenship, yet the stratification described above is also inscribed in the broader notion of *precarious citizenship*. As conceived by Lafleur and Mescoli (2018), precarious citizenship is characterised not (exclusively) by “the absence of rights, but by ambivalent status and limited and unstable rights maintained or granted at the whim of the authorities through a highly arbitrary process". While the consequences of precarious citizenship extend into various domains, here we are interested in whether and how, as a determinant of displaceability, one's citizenship status might extend precariousness into the housing experiences of immigrants in Spain or expose them to a dynamic of *predatory inclusion*, defined by Taylor (2019) as the granting of access to conventional real estate practices and mortgage financing, but on more expensive and comparatively unequal terms.

Clair et al. (2019) recently developed a novel measure of housing precariousness for Europe, which they define as:

> A state of uncertainty which increases a person's real or perceived likelihood of experiencing an adverse event, caused (at least in part) by their relationship with their housing provider, the physical qualities, affordability, security of their home, and access to essential services.

This conceptualisation is useful for several reasons. First, it lays out four measurable dimensions of housing precariousness: affordability, quality, security and access to essential services. Meanwhile, its emphasis on uncertainty signals that housing precariousness exists within a disputed dynamic of risk allocation between interested parties, a framing that is very much in line with the broader shift towards the "world risk society" outlined by Beck (1992) as well as the centrality of risk profiles in Amoore's biometric borders. Yet, despite breaking new ground, the study by Clair et al. (2019) mainly describes the degree of housing precariousness among specific groups, without disentangling possible interrelationships through regression analyses. Moreover, its analyses do not examine the relationship between housing precariousness and citizenship, which we expect to play an important role in shaping displacement pressure.

Precariousness is best understood as a multidimensional continuum, with its most extreme manifestations in the area of housing including displacement, eviction and homelessness. Let us first consider the notion of residential displacement, specifically as it emerged from early attempts to study gentrification. In their review of quantitative approaches to residential displacement, Easton et al. (2020) refer to a definition rooted in the US Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act of 1970, which involved the forced relocation of residents from their residential housing unit. From there, they move on to the definition by Grier and Grier (1978), who point out the difficulty in distinguishing between voluntary and involuntary moves. Meanwhile, their account emphasises the role in displacement played by the conditions affecting the dwelling or its immediate surrounding, the household's lack of control over those conditions, previous compliance with established conditions of occupancy, and the household's ability to safely and affordably maintain occupancy. Finally, Easton et al. outline the significant conceptual contributions advanced by Marcuse (1986), which include the distinction between direct and indirect displacement and the notion of *displacement pressure*.

As thorough as it is, Easton et al.'s review poses some questions and limitations. On the one hand, the definitions of displacement they employ tend to hinge on its equivalence with forced relocation. Previously, authors have claimed that this approach may risk conflating voluntary or involuntary moves rooted in urban regeneration projects with the residential disruptions caused by natural disasters, ethnic conflicts or war, which are the focus of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement established by the United Nations (Kearns and Mason, 2013). However, this distinction does not necessarily affect how we define the phenomenon of residential displacement so much as how we interpret its causes, scale and consequences in a given context. On the other hand, and somewhat related to the previous point, the review by Easton et al. (2020:286) refers exclusively to displacement in the context of gentrification, leading them to conclude that commonly deployed statistical techniques "struggle to provide meaningful estimates of the number of individuals and households displaced by gentrification" and tend to lack an adequately granular temporal and spatial scale. While this is true, and the relationship between displacement and gentrification is critical, much remains unknown about how national-level dynamics might shape the distribution of displacement pressure.

Indeed, while research on residential displacement and eviction has grown in recent years, few studies have examined their social determinants at the individual or household level. A notable exception is the work of Desmond and Gershenson (2017), who use a novel longitudinal dataset to identify determinants of tenant eviction in Milwaukee between 2009 and 2011. They find that, net of missed housing payments, other significant and robust predictors of eviction include family size, job loss, network disadvantage and neighbourhood crime rates. Surprisingly, they found no significant effects for income, race or educational level, and did not examine the citizenship of survey respondents.

Data & methods

This study uses Spanish data from the 2012 European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC), which includes an ad-hoc module on housing conditions. The module coincides fortuitously with a peak year of evictions in the aftermath of Spain's housing crash, facilitating the examination of housing precariousness and displacement pressure at a crucial moment in the country's property regime. While the total sample includes 12,713 households, the analyses below restrict the study sample to only those with ongoing housing payments, or 4,619 households. These include homeowners, market-rate tenants and reduced rate tenants, excluding homeowners with no remaining mortgage payments and respondents in free accommodation.

Descriptive analyses focus on a selection of objective and subjective indicators of housing precariousness coded dichotomously. Objective indicators include facing monthly rental or mortgage payments exceeding 30% of household earnings and the presence of overcrowding based on Eurostat's official definition. Subjective measures include perceptions of a shortage of space, heavy financial burden of housing costs, inadequate electric installations, inadequate plumbing, inadequate heating, inadequate cooling, and overall dissatisfaction with the dwelling.

The main explanatory variables used in regression analyses include household characteristics and the individual characteristics of "Person 1 responsible for the dwelling". The household covariates analysed include tenure status, degree of urbanisation, household income and the presence of arrears on housing payments over the previous year. Individual characteristics of the person responsible for the dwelling include the age at the time of the survey, binary sex, citizenship status and educational level. Citizenship status distinguishes between Spanish citizens, EU citizens and non-EU citizens, while educational level was coded dichotomously to indicate a completed university degree.

Regression analyses were carried out for three outcomes. The first is a binary indicator of *residential displaceability* constructed using items from the housing conditions module. Households were characterised as having experienced displacement pressure if the respondent expected to be forced to leave the dwelling in the next six months due to eviction or financial difficulties, or if the person responsible for the household had changed dwellings for these reasons during the previous five years. The second outcome is the *degree of housing precariousness*, captured through an ascending four-point scale based on the the indicator developed by Clair et al. (2019) to capture four dimensions of housing: security, affordability, quality and access to services. The index used in this study has one key modification, namely the replacement of the subjective burden of housing costs as an indicator of unaffordable housing with the objective indicator of spending over 30% of household income on monthly mortgage or rental payments. This more conservative approach leads to a lower percentage of households reporting at least one dimension of housing precariousness in the weighted sample (48.3%) than if the subjective indicator had been used (74.9%). Finally, the third outcome examined was the total amount of monthly rental payments, which limited the subsample for this specific analysis to 1,358 tenant households[2].

The quantitative analysis consists of three stages, beginning with a descriptive weighted analysis comparing exposure to displacement pressure and housing precariousness by the citizenship status of the person responsible for the dwelling, as well as their sex, tenure status and income. Variation was examined using Pearson chi-square tests to identify statistically significant differences in these indicators. Those showing no statistically significant relationship above the 95% level included: (1) sex in the case of displacement pressure, objective overcrowding, subjective housing burden and the ability to keep the home cool in the summer; (2) degree of urbanisation in the case of displacement pressure, housing precariousness, adequate electrical installations, adequate plumbing, and the

[2] For specific characteristics of the unweighted study sample, see Supplementary Table 1

ability to keep the home cool in the summer; and (3) tenure status in the case of the subjective housing burden.

The second stage of analysis uses various regression models to identify correlates of displacement and housing precariousness. Because displacement pressure is coded as a dichotomous variable (whether the householder has been or expects to be displaced), logistic regression models were used to estimate its associations with selected covariates. In contrast, the ordinal indicator of housing precariousness was analysed through ordered logistic regression models. Finally, the third stage of analysis examines monthly rental payments through multiple linear regression. Since this requires more attention to the specific properties of the dwelling, additional covariates include the type and size of the dwelling, average rent in the region, an indicator of poor housing quality, the number of household members and a dummy variable indicating reduced rent households. All analyses were performed using Stata 16, applying household cross-sectional weights provided by the EU-SILC dataset.

Results

Table 1 below depicts the weighted prevalence of selected precarious housing characteristics by the citizenship status of the person responsible for the dwelling. Citizens of non-EU countries experienced over three times more objective overcrowding than citizens of Spain or other EU countries. However, differences between these groups were considerably smaller in terms of their subjective experience (i.e., the perception of a shortage of space in the dwelling). A similar pattern exists for objective and subjective indicators of the financial burden of housing payments. Over four times as many non-EU citizens and over three times as many EU citizens were paying 30% or more of monthly household income on housing alone compared to Spanish nationals, yet differences in perceptions of excessive housing costs were notably smaller. Meanwhile, inadequate electrical installations, plumbing, heating and cooling were most frequently perceived by households headed by non-EU citizens, followed by EU citizens (except in the case of inadequate plumbing). Accordingly, overall dissatisfaction was highest among Non-EU citizens, followed by EU citizens and finally Spanish citizens.

Table 1. Selected housing characteristics by nationality of the person responsible for the dwelling. Percentages of households with ongoing rent or mortgage payments in Spain [weighted]. Source: EU-SILC, Spain 2012 [n=4,619].

	Spain	EU	Non-EU
Subjective shortage of space	15.9	17.8	22.1
Objective overcrowding	3.8	3.3	11,6
Subjective high financial burden of total housing cost	61.6	59.6	70.6
Monthly rent or mortgage principal payments >30% of income	10.4	33.3	43.8
Inadequate electrical installations	3.9	6.8	10.3
Inadequate plumbing	4.1	4.1	8.8
Insufficient heating in winter	15.9	19.6	28.8
Insufficiently cool in summer	24.1	35.1	41.7
Overall dissatisfied with dwelling	13.0	19.7	23.0

These results suggest a citizenship gradient in housing precariousness, wherein the further from Spanish citizenship the person responsible for the dwelling is, the more precarious the housing conditions are. Compared to Spanish households, experiences of displacement were over seven times as prevalent among those headed by non-EU citizens, affecting just over one out of every five of these households in our weighted sample[3].

[3] See Supplementary Table 2

Meanwhile, eleven per cent of households where the person responsible for the dwelling was a citizen of another EU member state experienced displacement pressure, just over four times more than those headed by Spanish nationals. Residential displaceability was also much more common among market-rate tenants than among reduced rate tenants or mortgaged homeowners, among households headed by people under the age of 30, people with no university degree, and people with arrears in housing payments as households in the bottom quintile of household income.

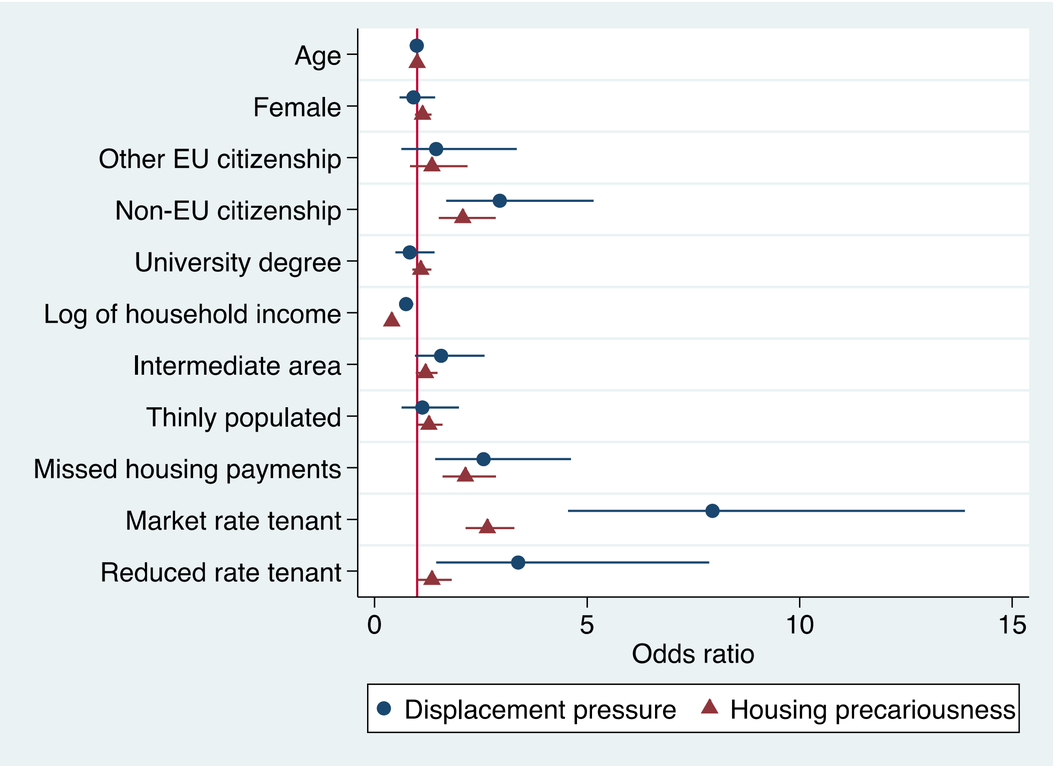
Housing precariousness follows a fairly similar gradient, as the mean score for the households of non-EU citizens was 2.5 times greater than for Spanish households. Meanwhile, housing precariousness was much higher among market-rate tenants, households headed by someone under age 30, households headed by someone with no university degree, households in arrears and households in the bottom income quintile. It is also worth noting that, unlike residential displacements, housing precariousness scores are modestly higher for households headed by women and increase as the degree of urbanisation decreased. Taken together, these results beg the question of whether the differences in housing precariousness observed between non-EU, EU, and Spanish citizens might be due to their unequal distribution by tenure status or income level. More detailed analysis found that households headed by non-Spanish citizens had higher average housing precariousness scores across tenure types and income quintiles than those headed by Spanish nationals, with non-EU households consistently reporting the highest housing precariousness scores[4]. These more intersectional dynamics are captured in greater detail by the regression results described below.

[4] Results available upon request.

Figure 1 below displays the odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals resulting from our regression estimates on displacement and housing precariousness by selected covariates. Even after accounting for tenure status, household income and the presence of missed housing payments, there is a significant positive association between displaceability and the citizenship status of the person responsible for the dwelling. Net of these factors, the odds of having experienced residential displacement pressure were approximately three times higher for non-EU citizens than for Spanish citizens (OR=2.95; 95% CI=1.68-5.15). Tellingly, the magnitude of this association was somewhat greater than that between displaceability and missed housing payments (OR=2.56; CI=1.42-4.62). Since the indicator of displaceability refers to both the next six months and the previous five years, to ensure that its association with citizenship status was not attributable to the move that brought the respondent to Spain in the first place, analyses were performed using a dummy variable to indicate whether the respondent had arrived at the country within that timeframe and results did not differ in any substantive way. In terms of their magnitude, the strongest significant association with displaceability was with the tenure status of the household, as the odds of experiencing residential displacement were nearly eight times higher for market-rate tenants than for mortgaged homeowners (OR=7.95; CI= 4.55-13.89). In comparison, the odds were just over three times higher for reduced rate tenants (OR=3.38; CI=1.45-7.87).

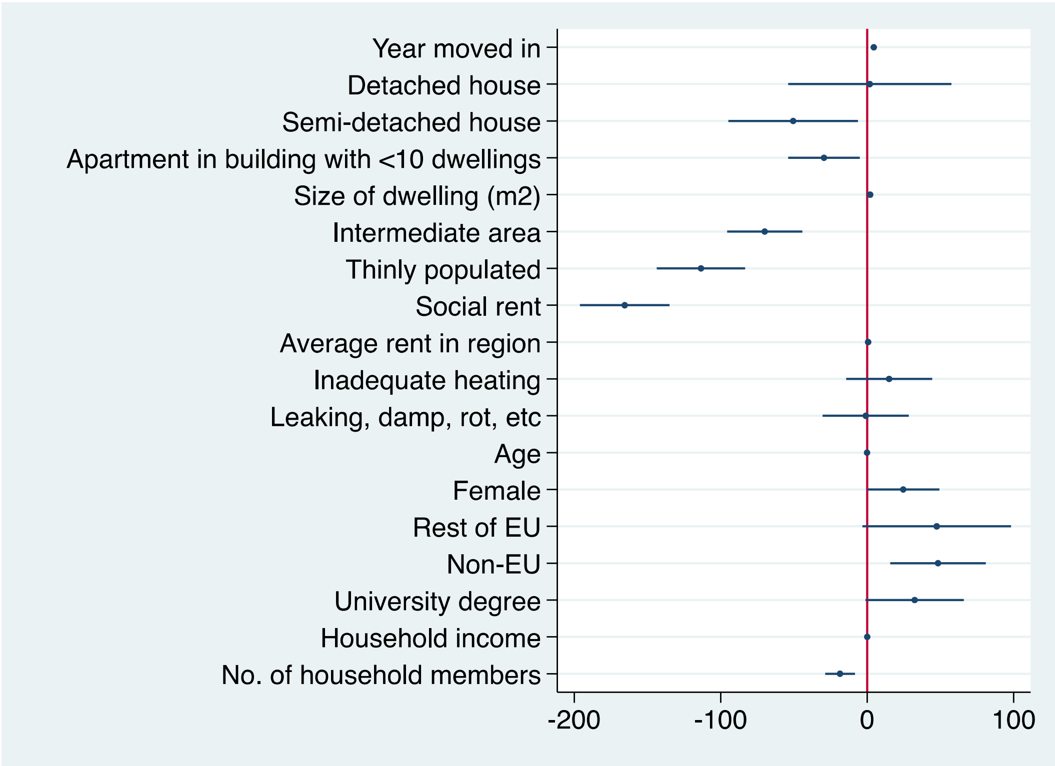
In terms of housing precariousness, a strong positive association was also found with non-EU citizenship (OR=2.07; CI=1.51-2.85) after accounting for age, sex, degree of urbanisation, completed university studies, tenure status, household income and missed housing payments. As in the analysis of housing displacement, a strong positive correlation was also found with household tenure status. After accounting for other factors, market-rate tenants had substantially higher odds of experiencing greater levels of housing precariousness than homeowners (OR=2.65; CI=2.14-3.29), as did reduced rate tenants, albeit to a lesser extent than the former (OR=1.35, CI=1.01-1.81).

Figure 1. Covariates of displacement pressure and housing precariousness among households in Spain with ongoing mortgage or rental payments. Source: EU-SILC, Spain 2012 [n=4,619].



Finally, Figure 2 below displays the results of multiple linear regression for the dependent variable of monthly rental payments in euros. The overall regression was statistically significant [R^2 = .75; F(18, 1318) = 215.93; p < .001]. After controlling for the characteristics of the dwelling and household, as well as the age, sex and educational level of the main person responsible for the dwelling, we find a significant, positive correlation between monthly rent and non-EU citizenship (ß = 48.31; CI = 15.62-81.00) and a correlation of similar magnitude with other EU citizenship (ß = 47.44; CI = -3.32-98.21), equivalent to roughly 48 euros more per month than Spanish citizens. Howevever, in the latter case, the association was only significant at the 90% level (p=.067).

Figure 2. Multiple linear regression estimates of associations between selected variables and monthly rent. Source: EU-SILC, Spain 2012 [n=4,619].



Discussion

Housing markets played a central role in sorting the winners from the losers of the global financial crisis of 2008. Alexandri and Janoshka (2018) argue that, in Greece and Spain, the winners were real estate companies, international investors and hedge funds, as they were able to transform private debts from real estate speculation into public debt. The losers, in their view, were the state and citizens. While the former suffered a loss of sovereignty and democratic legitimacy, the latter were dispossessed of their rights, homes and livelihoods. Their analysis, however, draws primarily from the experiences of homeowners and refers to “citizens” in the broadest sense. Our study elaborates on their argument by zooming in on the Spanish case and analysing the conditions of tenure and citizenship under which households were differentially exposed to residential displacement pressure, housing precariousness and rent extraction in the wake of the housing crash. Compared to Spanish citizens, EU and non-EU citizens in Spain faced a higher prevalence of objective and subjective indicators of housing precariousness, including overcrowding, structural damage, high financial burden of housing costs, inadequate plumbing and inability to maintain proper temperatures. Regression analyses show that displacement pressure and higher degrees of housing precariousness were systematically more likely to be experienced by non-EU citizens after controlling for age, sex, educational level, income, tenure status and missed housing payments. Non-EU citizens were also found to pay significantly more rent than Spaniards for similar dwellings.

The study has some crucial limitations, largely related to the data used. While EU-SILC provides a great level of detail on income and living conditions at the individual and household levels, to date only the 2012 ad hoc module on housing provides enough cases and information to adequately examine residential displacement. While the retrospective items it contains are helpful and the year it took place is fortuitous (since it coincides with a peak in housing distress), its cross-sectional nature limits our capacity to examine changes over time and identify causal mechanisms. Another significant limitation is that the data only includes the three categories of citizenship depicted in our analyses, obscuring a great deal of heterogeneity between countries of origin. Nor does the dataset include information on the race or ethnicity of respondents. As a result, it does not allow us to account for the role of racialisation or post-colonial dynamics in shaping displaceability or exposure to housing precariousness, beyond broad classifications of “Europeanness”. This shortcoming is especially relevant in the case of non-EU respondents who, though primarily from the global South, may nonetheless include a few respondents from North America, whose experiences of housing distress likely differ considerably from citizens of African, Asian or Latin American countries, for instance.

Nevertheless, these limitations provide ample room for future research. For instance, a range of precarious housing and citizenship pathways can be identified through longitudinal quantitative analyses of displacement, housing precariousness and citizenship status. Meanwhile, qualitative and mixed-methods research are necessary to identify the causal mechanisms underlying not only displacement and housing precariousness but also variegated experiences of citizenship concerning housing. Interdisciplinary mixed-method approaches would also be helpful in the development of an integrated theoretical framework identifying the pathways of housing distress and the mechanisms of its distribution among citizens. Finally, comparative cross-country research on whether and how residential displacement and housing precariousness are differentially experienced by gender, race, ethnicity, citizenship and tenure status would shed light on the role of property regimes, population structure, labour markets and public policy in shaping and addressing these problems.

Its limitations aside, this study’s findings have critical theoretical implications. By identifying the main covariates of displacement pressure, it marks a shift in the focus of research on housing distress from the *act* of displacement to the *condition* of displaceability, following the recent call by Yiftachel (2020). The main findings fall along what Yiftachel identifies as the two main axes of displaceability, namely property and identity. The strong association of displacement pressure with tenure status, particularly among market-rate tenants, entails that residential displaceability in Spain is primarily shaped by the housing property relationship, in addition to factors such as household income. Meanwhile the fact that, net of all other observed factors, non-EU citizens were roughly three times as likely as Spaniards to experience or expect a forced move in the aftermath of the housing crash suggests that non-European identity is a determinant of displaceability, independently of tenure status or even the presence of missed housing payments. Yet, while Yiftachel refers to displaceability as "a framing condition of urban citizenship", this study finds no statistically significant association between displaceability and the degree of urbanisation. This does not necessarily mean that displaceability is not intrinsically linked to the urban, but it does suggest that, in the aftermath of the Spanish housing crisis, it was not disproportionately experienced in high-density municipalities. Instead, it was distributed across municipality types, varying foremost by household tenure, income and citizenship status.

Insofar as they share strong and similar associations with the same set of covariates, displaceability and housing precariousness are found to be deeply intertwined. It is not unreasonable to infer that it is precisely displacement pressure which structures differential exposures to housing precariousness and facilitates the rent extraction experienced by different types of citizens. This supports Baker's (2020) notion of "eviction as infrastructure", wherein the law, bureaucracy and the use of force construct a "disposition towards displacement", developing differential capacities-to-act and diminishing the ability of some people to resist. For Palomera (2014), this exploitative dynamic is rooted in the dispossession of migrant workers' citizenship rights through immigration law, mainly as a result of their dependence on a formal labour contract (of any quality) to secure legal residence and the benefits of homeownership in demonstrating the local rootedness necessary to avoid or delay deportation when legal residence expires.

For Lund (2017), property and citizenship are "intimately related in their constitution", with the "core element" of these rights being *recognition*. While struggles over the property relationship seek the recognition of rights to access resources, those over citizenship seek recognition of the very right to have rights in a body politic, with formal national citizenship being just one of many configurations of socially constructed collective subjectivities. Nevertheless, our findings suggest that recognition is hardly a binary question of inclusion or exclusion. The stepwise inclusion[5] of factors such as tenure status, income and the presence of arrears in our regression models yielded varying magnitudes of association between citizenship, displacement pressure and housing precariousness, reflecting a structure of *differential inclusion* that "gradates the space of national citizenship" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). Considering the perverse lending practices and conditions described by Palomera (2014), one might even argue that large subsets of non-EU migrants were the objects of *predatory inclusion* (Taylor 2019) during the housing bubble in Spain. Though Taylor developed the latter notion in relation to Black homeownership in the United States, our findings on the differential exposure of non-EU citizens to excessive rental burdens and higher rental costs for similar properties suggest the presence of this dynamic in Spain's private rental market.

[5] See Supplementary Tables 3-5

Nevertheless, displaceability can be disputed through acts of citizenship. García-Lamarca (2017) highlights the insurgent practices of the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (PAH), who challenged a massive wave of mortgage-related evictions and the model that created it through horizontal, assembly-based politics. Tracing out the movement's roots in earlier attempts to address housing problems during the bubble, García-Lamarca points out that, though successful in organising youth, the PAH's precursors were unable to reach the immigrants and low-income households who were facing the bulk of housing distress at the time. Yet Gonick (2015; 2020) recounts how Andean migrants in Spain challenged evictions and abusive mortgages, organizing the first anti-eviction protests in the wake of the housing crash and catalyzing social mobilisation on a broad scale. Over time, Ecuadorian migrants and those from other regions would become a major part of the PAH. As a result, what was once perceived as an "immigrant problem" became a "Spanish problem", thereby challenging not only housing precariousness and displacement but existing notions of citizenship. Indeed, Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) have pointed out how crucial the agencies of "strangers, outsiders and aliens" are to the development of citizenship, reshaping, contesting and redefining its borders by acting as citizens independently of their administrative status and exercising their right to claim rights.

The differentially precarious citizenship status of non-EU citizens in Spain facilitates housing practices that not only multiply and thicken urban borders and facilitate rent extraction, but are ultimately extended to Spanish citizens. Yet the broad socialization of differentially experienced social problems and the subsumption of migrant demands by a national movement carries the crucial risk of obfuscating the oppressions specifically faced by immigrants in Spain. This risk is most evident in the discursive strategies of housing movements when they demand enforcement of Article 47 of the Spanish Constitution, which guarantees the right to decent housing for all Spaniards, who are defined specifically in Article 11 by their nationality. Thus, any attempt to guarantee equal housing rights through legal reform must either extend the right to housing beyond Spanish nationals or redefine the notion of Spanish citizenship.

References

Alexandri G and Janoschka M (2018) Who Loses and Who Wins in a Housing Crisis? Lessons From Spain and Greece for a Nuanced Understanding of Dispossession. *Housing Policy Debate* 28(1): 117–134. DOI: 10.1080/10511482.2017.1324891.

Baker A (2020) Eviction as infrastructure. *City* 24(1–2). Routledge: 143–150. DOI: 10.1080/13604813.2020.1739417.

Bazurli R & Delclós C (2021). Crimmigration and solidarity in the global city: The case of Barcelona's street vendors. In: D. della Porta & E. Steinhilper (Eds.), *Contentious migrant solidarity: Shrinking spaces and civil society contestation* (pp. 63–82). Routledge.

Beck U (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage Publications.

Benach J, Vives A, Amable M, et al. (2014) Precarious Employment: Understanding an Emerging Social Determinant of Health. *Annual Review of Public Health* 35(1). Annual Reviews: 229–253. DOI: 10.1146/annurev-publhealth-032013-182500.

Clair A, Reeves A, McKee M, et al. (2019) Constructing a housing precariousness measure for Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy* 29(1): 13–28. DOI: 10.1177/0958928718768334.

CGPJ (Consejo General del Poder Judicial) (2015) *Datos sobre el efecto de la crisis en los organos judiciales desde 2007 hasta segundo trimestre de 2015* [Data on the effect of the crisis on judicial authorities from 2007 until the second trimester of 2015]. Consejo General del Poder Judicial, Sección de Estadística Judicial, Madrid.

De Noronha, L (2019) Deportation, racism and multi-status Britain: Immigration control and the production of race in the present. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(14): 2413–2430. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2019.1585559.

Desmond M and Gershenson C (2017) Who gets evicted? Assessing individual, neighborhood, and network factors. *Social Science Research* 62: 362–377. DOI: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2016.08.017.

Easton S, Lees L, Hubbard P, Tate N. Measuring and mapping displacement: The problem of quantification in the battle against gentrification. Urban Studies. 2020;57(2):286-306. doi:10.1177/0042098019851953

García-Lamarca M (2017) From Occupying Plazas to Recuperating Housing: Insurgent Practices in Spain. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 41(1): 37–53. DOI: 10.1111/1468-2427.12386.

Gonick S (2015) Indignation and inclusion: Activism, difference, and emergent urban politics in postcrash Madrid. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 34(2). SAGE Publications Ltd STM: 209–226. DOI: 10.1177/0263775815608852.

Gonick S (2020) Dispossession and dissent: migrant activism against mortgages in Madrid. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 8(4). Routledge: 478–495. DOI: 10.1080/21622671.2019.1705887.

Gonick SL (2021) *Dispossession and Dissent: Immigrants and the Struggle for Housing in Madrid*. Stanford University Press.

González L and Ortega F (2013) Immigration and Housing Booms: Evidence from Spain. *Journal of Regional Science*, 53(1), 37–59. DOI: 10.1111/jors.12010

Gutiérrez A and Delclòs X (2016) The uneven distribution of evictions as new evidence of urban inequality: A spatial analysis approach in two Catalan cities. *Cities* 56: 101–108. DOI: 10.1016/j.cities.2016.04.007.

Gutiérrez A and Domènech A (2018) The mortgage crisis and evictions in Barcelona: identifying the determinants of the spatial clustering of foreclosures. *European Planning Studies* 26(10). Routledge: 1939–1960. DOI: 10.1080/09654313.2018.1509945.

Iriondo Mugica I and Rahona Lopez MM (2009) Vivienda y condiciones de vida de los inmigrantes en España. *Revista del Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración*, 80: 269-291.

Kearns A and Mason P (2013) Defining and Measuring Displacement: Is Relocation from Restructured Neighbourhoods Always Unwelcome and Disruptive? *Housing Studies* 28(2). Routledge: 177–204. DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2013.767885.

Laparra Navarro M & Pérez Eransus B (Eds.) (2012) *Crisis y fractura social en Europa. Causas y efectos de la crisis*. Barcelona, Spain: Obra Social la Caixa. Available at: https://fundacionlacaixa.org/documents/10280/240906/vol35_es.pdf/81a9963e-642f-4996-8199-234373467683

Leal J and Alguacil A (2012) Vivienda e inmigración: las condiciones y el comportamiento residencial de los inmigrantes en España. *Anuario CIDOB de la Inmigración*, pp. 126-56. Available at: https://www.raco.cat/index.php/AnuarioCIDOBInmigracion/article/view/354080

Lafleur J-M and Mescoli E (2018) Creating Undocumented EU Migrants through Welfare: A Conceptualization of Undeserving and Precarious Citizenship. *Sociology* 52(3): 480–496. DOI: 10.1177/0038038518764615.

Lund C (2017) Rule and Rupture: State Formation through the Production of Property and Citizenship. In: Lund C and Eilenberg M (eds) *Rule and Rupture*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, pp. 1–29. DOI: 10.1002/9781119384816.ch1.

McKee K, Soaita AM and Hoolachan J (2020) 'Generation rent' and the emotions of private renting: self-worth, status and insecurity amongst low-income renters. *Housing Studies* 35(8). Routledge: 1468–1487. DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2019.1676400.

Marcuse P (1986) Abandonment, gentrification and displacement: The linkages in New York City. In: Smith N and Williams P (eds) *Gentrification of the City*. Boston: Allen and Unwin, pp. 153–177.

Marí-Klose P & Pérez AM (2015) Empobrecimiento en tiempos de crisis: Vulnerabilidad y (des) protección social en un contexto de adversidad. *Panorama Social*, 22: 11–26.

Mezzadra S and Neilson B (2013) *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Méndez Gutierrez del Valle R & Plaza Tabasco J (2016) The Housing Crisis and Foreclosures in Spain: A Geographical Approach. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 71: 481-486. Available at: https://bage.age-geografia.es/ojs/index.php/bage/article/view/2276/2162

Palomera J (2014) How Did Finance Capital Infiltrate the World of the Urban Poor? Homeownership and Social Fragmentation in a Spanish Neighborhood: Homeownership and social fragmentation in a Spanish neighborhood. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38(1): 218–235. DOI: 10.1111/1468-2427.12055.

Parreño-Castellano JM, Domínguez-Mujica J & Moreno-Medina C (2021) Etnificación, desahucio por impago de alquileres y desplazamiento residencial en una ciudad turística insular (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria - España). *Estudios Geográficos*, 82 (291), e081. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3989/estgeogr.202192.092

Ribera-Almandoz O, Delclós C and Garcés-Mascareñas B (2020) *«Casa nostra, casavostra»? Condicions i trajectòries d'accés a l'habitatge de sol·licitants d'asil i refugiats a Catalunya.* Monografías CIDOB 77. Barcelona: CIDOB. Available at: https://www.cidob.org/es/publicaciones/serie_de_publicacion/monografias/monografias/casa_nostra_casa_vostra_condicions_i_trajectories_d_acces_a_l_habitatge_de_sol_licitants_d_asil_i_refugiats_a_catalunya (accessed 16 October 2020).

Stumpf, Juliet P., The Crimmigration Crisis: Immigrants, Crime, and Sovereign Power (2006). American University Law Review, Vol. 56, p. 367, 2006, Lewis & Clark Law School Legal Studies Research Paper No. 2007-2, Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=935547

Taylor K-Y (2019) *Race for Profit*: *How banks and the real estate industry undermined black homeownership*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Vives A, Amable M, Ferrer M, et al. (2010) The Employment Precariousness Scale (EPRES): psychometric properties of a new tool for epidemiological studies among waged and salaried workers. *Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 67(8): 548. DOI: 10.1136/oem.2009.048967.

Yiftachel O (2009) Critical theory and 'gray space': Mobilization of the colonized. *City*, 13(2-3): 246-263. DOI: 10.1080/13604810902982227

Yiftachel O (2020) From displacement to displaceability, *City*, 24: 151-165. DOI: 10.1080/13604813.2020.1739933

Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G., & Cassidy, K. (2019). *Bordering*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Supplementary Table 1. Characteristics of the study sample. Frequencies and percentages of total households, EU-SILC Spain 2012 [unweighted].

	Citizenship of person1 responsible for the dwelling							
Characteristic	**Spanish**	**%**	**EU**	**%**	**Non-EU**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Degree of urbanisation								
Densely populated	2,185	53.01	59	41.55	191	53.80	**2,435**	**52.72**
Intermediate area	990	24.02	33	23.24	83	23.38	**1,106**	**23.94**
Thinly populated	947	22.97	50	35.21	81	22.82	**1,078**	**23.34**
Tenure status								
Owner, with mortgage	3,141	76.20	37	26.06	83	23.38	**3,261**	**70.60**
Market rate tenant	688	16.69	97	68.31	260	73.24	**1,045**	**22.62**
Reduced rate tenant	293	7.11	8	5.63	12	3.38	**313**	**6.78**
Age of person 1 responsible for dwelling								
Under 30	203	4.92	16	11.27	37	10.42	**256**	**5.5**
30-39	1,135	27.54	59	41.55	138	38.87	**1,332**	**28.8**
40-49	1,368	33.19	42	29.58	115	32.39	**1,525**	**33.0**
50-59	792	19.21	19	13.38	46	12.96	**857**	**18.6**
60-64	216	5.24	5	3.52	13	3.66	**234**	**5.1**
65+	408	9.90	1	0.70	6	1.69	**415**	**9.0**
Sex of person 1 responsible for dwelling								
Male	2,477	60.09	87	61.27	235	66.20	**2,799**	**60.60**
Female	1,645	39.91	55	38.73	120	33.80	**1,820**	**39.40**
Educational level of person 1 responsible for dwelling								
No university degree	2,720	65.99	101	71.13	288	81.13	**3,109**	**67.31**
University degree or higher	1,402	34.01	41	28.87	67	18.87	**1,510**	**32.69**
Household income								
1st quintile	860	20.86	61	42.96	178	50.14	**1,099**	**23.79**
2nd quintile	922	22.37	29	20.42	91	25.63	**1,042**	**22.56**
3rd quintile	947	22.97	26	18.31	65	18.31	**1,038**	**22.47**

4th quintile	836	20.28	13	9.15	19	5.35	**868**	**18.79**
5th quintile	557	13.51	13	9.15	2	0.56	**572**	**12.38**
Housing arrears in the last 12 months?								
No	3,750	91.11	125	88.03	284	80.23	**4,166**	**90.19**
Yes	366	8.89	17	11.97	70	19.77	**453**	**9.81**
Forced move in the last 5 years or next 6 months?								
No	4,023	97.60	124	87.32	287	80.85	**4,434**	**95.99**
Yes	99	2.40	18	12.68	68	19.15	**185**	**4.01**
Housing precariousness score								
0	2,810	68.17	72	50.70	113	31.83	**2,995**	**64.84**
1	1,064	25.81	46	32.39	154	43.38	**1,264**	**27.37**
2	222	5.39	19	13.38	65	18.31	**306**	**6.62**
3+	26	0.63	5	3.52	23	6.48	**54**	**1.17**
Total	**4,122**	**89.24**	**142**	**3.07**	**355**	**7.69**	**4,619**	**100**

Supplementary Table 2. Housing precariousness and displacement by selected characteristics of the person responsible for the dwelling. Households with ongoing rent or mortgage payments in Spain [weighted]. Source: EU-SILC, Spain 2012 [n=4,619].

Householder characteristics	Forced to move (%)	Precariousness score (mean, SD)
Degree of urbanisation		
Densely populated	4.9	.460 (±.692)
Intermediate area	6.5	.504 (±.727)
Thinly populated	5.7	.561 (±.731)
Tenure status		
Owner, with mortgage	1.3	.318 (±.556)
Market rate tenant	15.5	.890 (±.862)
Reduced rate tenant	5.0	.571 (±.687)
Age		
Under 30	11.1	.706 (±.788)
30-39	5.0	.479 (±.715)
40-49	6.3	.494 (±.718)
50-59	4.7	.414 (±.646)
60-64	0.9	.538 (±.683)
65+	2.7	.491 (±.683)
Sex		
Male	5.7	.469 (±.696)
Female	5.1	.528 (±.730)
Nationality		
Spain	2.7	.393 (±.625)
Other EU	11.0	.772 (±.866)
Non-EU	20.6	.994 (±.878)
Educational level		
No university degree	6.5	.555 (±.746)
University degree or higher	3.5	.372 (±.618)
Household income		
1st quintile	12.1	.966 (±.872)

2nd quintile	4.9	.455 (±.636)
3rd quintile	3.6	.307 (±.526)
4th quintile	1.7	.255 (±.486)
5th quintile	0.5	.175 (±.410)
Housing arrears in last 12 months?		
No	4.6	.445 (±.675)
Yes	12.8	.880 (±.853)
Overall	**5,5**	**.492 (±.710)**

Supplementary Table 3. Odds ratios of logistic regression estimates on residential displacement pressure by selected characteristics of householders in Spain. Source: EU-SILC, Spain 2012.

Householder characteristics	**1**		**2**		**3**		**4**	
Age	.994		.994		.993		.992	
Sex								
Male [ref.]	1		1		1		1	
Female	1.020		1.042		1.044		.916	
Nationality								
Spanish [ref.]	1		1		1		1	
Other EU	3.565	***	3.540	**	3.278	**	1.449	
Non-EU	7.182	***	7.196	***	6.913	***	2.946	***
Educational level								
No university degree [ref.]	1		1		1		1	
University degree or higher	.734		.752		.788		.829	
Log of household income	.625	***	.624	***	.643	***	.741	**
Degree of urbanization								
Densely populated [ref.]			1		1		1	
Intermediate area			1.300		1.340		1.565	
Thinly populated			1.120		1.122		1.124	
Housing arrears in last 12 months?								
No [ref.]					1		1	
Yes					2.071	*	2.564	**
Tenure status								
Owner, with mortgage [ref.]							1	
Market rate tenant							7.950	***
Reduced rate tenant							3.379	**
Constant	**4.357**	*******	**3.873**	*******	**2.599**	*******	**.305**	*******
Pseudo R^2	**.153**		**.154**		**.164**		**.2308**	
N	**4573**		**4573**		**4566**		**4566**	

Supplementary Table 4. Odds ratios of ordered logistic regression estimates on housing precariousness. Source: EU-SILC, Spain 2012.

Householder characteristics	**1**		**2**		**3**		**4**	
Age	1.004		1.004		1.003		1.002	
Sex								
Male [ref.]	1		1		1		1	
Female	1.142		1.159		1.120		1.127	
Nationality								
Spanish [ref.]	1		1		1		1	
Other EU	2.152	**	2.137	**	1.412		1.350	
Non-EU	3.375	***	3.421	***	2.198	***	2.074	***
Educational level								
No university degree [ref.]	1		1		1		1	
University degree or higher	1.030		1.055		1.040		1.089	
Log of household income	.356	***	.357	***	.390	***	.406	***
Degree of urbanization								
Densely populated [ref.]			1		1		1	
Intermediate density			1.107		1.177		1.197	
Thinly populated			1.216		1.287	*	1.277	*
Tenure status								
Owner, with mortgage [ref.]					1		1	
Market rate tenant					2.536	***	2.654	***
Reduced rate tenant					1.346	*	1.351	*
Housing arrears in last 12 months?								
No [ref.]							1	
Yes							2.137	***
Pseudo R^2	**.126**		**.127**		**.143**		**.1499**	
N	**4573**		**4573**		**4573**		**4566**	

Supplementary Table 5. Beta coefficients of multiple linear regression on monthly rent. Source: EU-SILC, Spain 2012.

Householder characteristics	**1**		**2**	
Year moved in	5.255	***	4.478	***
Type of dwelling				
Apartment in building with 10+ dwellings				
Detached house	147.988		1.736	
Semi-detached house	-58.073	*	-50.565	*
Apartment in building with <10 dwellings	-36.496	*	-29.492	*
Size of dwelling (m^2)	4.283	**	1.977	***
Degree of urbanization				
Densely populated [ref.]	-		-	
Intermediate density	-130.403	***	-69.975	***
Thinly populated	-160.817	***	-113.471	***
Reduced rent	-179.521	***	-165.559	***
Average rent in region	.891	***	.604	***
Housing quality				
Inadequate heating	-40.876	**	14.957	
Leaking, damp, rot, etc.	-16.871		-1.003	
Age			-.122	
Sex				
Male [ref.]			-	
Female			24.605	
Nationality				
Spanish [ref.]			-	
Other EU			47.444	
Non-EU			48.309	***
Educational level				
No university degree [ref.]			-	
University degree or higher			32.390	
Household income			.007	***
Members of the household			-18.579	***
Constant	**-10686.680**	***	**-9031.849**	***
R^2	**.442**		**.7468**	
N	**1337**		**1337**	