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The residential choices of foreign families living in Italy

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Abstract: At the close of 2007, about 4 million foreign people were living in Italy (20 years ago, the same could be said of only a few thousand), the majority of whom were employed in low paying of jobs refused by Italians. As the housing situation in Italy since 1975 has been predominantly characterized by homeownership, the purchase of a house for both Italian and foreign families has become a matter of both survival and "citizenship". In this paper, we use an exploratory approach to describe the housing arrangements of foreign families who have settled in Italy; we compare their situation to that of Italians, distinguishing by country of origin. Data come from the ITAGEN2, a statistically representative survey of students aged 11-13, living in 44 Italian provinces during the 2005-06 school year (10,537 Italians and 6,368 foreigners). Six pairs of multilevel logistic regression models (for both Italians and foreigners) are fitted to the data – clustering pupils by the 228 junior high schools – where the response-variables are: homeownership, spaciousness, and proximity to relatives. Parents of Italian children are often able to combine these three housing objectives while the few Italians who rent, on the other hand, frequently have to make due with smaller houses located far from their relatives. The foreigner, who decides to take the huge "leap" into buying a home, often has to give up living close to his/her relatives or is forced to be content with a very small house. This situation is particularly evident among the Asian community; almost 50% of those who have lived in Italy for more than 10 years own the house they live in. Foreigners who continue to rent more often turn to close relatives for support, or – as in the case of the Albanians – live in more spacious homes.

Keywords: immigration, immigrant assimilation, homeownership, proximity to relatives, spaciousness.

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1. Introduction

Since the 1800s, Italy has been a country characterized by considerable out-migration (toward the Center-North of Europe, the United States, and Australia), accompanied by equally significant interregional movements of Italians (from the Center-Northeast to the Northwest and from the South to the North). Beginning in the mid-1980s, however, migration patterns completely changed. Italy rapidly became a host country, in many cases definitive, to millions of people. Initially in-migration was moderate, and consisted mostly of immigrants from North Africa, several Sub-Saharan countries, and the Philippines. With the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, and the arrival of numerous individuals from ex-communist European countries (especially Albania and Romania), migration into Italy reached significant levels. At the beginning of 2008, the number of foreigners (including illegal immigrants without residence permits), who were living within the nation's borders was estimated at 4 million (ISMU 2007). In addition, during the 15 year period from 1993-2007 (taking into account the number of births from foreign couples as well), foreigners grew at least 250 thousand in number annually. During the same period, 500 thousand children were born each year to couples with at least one Italian parent; meaning that one third of Italy's demographic renewal occurred thanks to immigrants, who have also slowed the ageing of the population.

Almost all of the immigrants who live in Italy are employed in jobs that Italians prefer to avoid (more dangerous, little remunerated and exhausting work). This trend is accentuated by the configuration of Italy's production system, based on small and tiny businesses and inadequate legislation. As a result, immigrants are often forced to spend more or less lengthy periods of time illegally, placing them in a fragile position in the labor market. Numerous immigrants live in the wealthy regions of the Center-North, while the largest concentrations of foreigners are to be found in urban contexts (above all Rome, Milan, and Turin). Almost all of the Center North, even in non-urban areas (given agriculture and industrial activity), sees the presence of immigrants. The less rich regions of the South tend to be passing-through areas for migrants, although in some enclaves and cities of the South there is a consolidated presence of immigrants.

This veritable "demographic revolution" has meant the profound modification of many aspects of Italian social organization. Even the impact on the housing market has been quite significant. Initially, most immigrants were single or arrived without their partners and/or children; they made do with a room for rent or leased older housing together with other immigrants from the same country. A number went to work as domestic servants, living in the homes of Italians. A second phase in Italy's recent in-migration history saw the continued arrival of new (and numerous) immigrants, coupled with "older" migrants who began to start families. During the 2006-07 school year, more than 500 thousand children between the ages of 6-18 enrolled in Italian schools were born of foreign parents (both). This number is indicative of 20% annual growth over the course of the 21st century. For many foreign families, access to decent housing is a sign of successful immigration, the possibility of transforming a tentative migratory beginning into an established presence. The analysis of the housing strategies employed by immigrant families is thus an essential part of studying the integration of foreigners in Italy.

International literature on the housing strategies of immigrants is quite vast and well developed (Bourassa 1994; Laryea, 1999; Borjas, 2002; Haan, 2005; Sinning, 2006). Studies on this topic in Italy, on the other hand, are still at an early stage (Tosi, 1993; Bernardi and Poggio, 2004; Billari and Mulder, 2006). This article endeavors to further understandings of immigration in Italy through the study of housing conditions at the beginning of 2006 for families of children between 10-13 years of age who have at least one foreign parent. Our approach – while taking into account the interpretations suggested in the literature – is predominantly descriptive. We "explore" the housing strategies of immigrant families in order to prepare the foundations for more elaborate research projects.

We begin with a description of the principal characteristics of the Italian housing market and the contribution of immigrants to the former over the last decade (part 2). We then delineate several points that guide our descriptive analysis (part 3). This is followed by a presentation of the database used, ITAGEN2, the first national statistically representative survey of children of foreign parents living in Italy. We also discuss the methodological tools employed (part 4). We dedicate the last two sections to a discussion of the results and, garnered from these, several considerations for future housing policies.

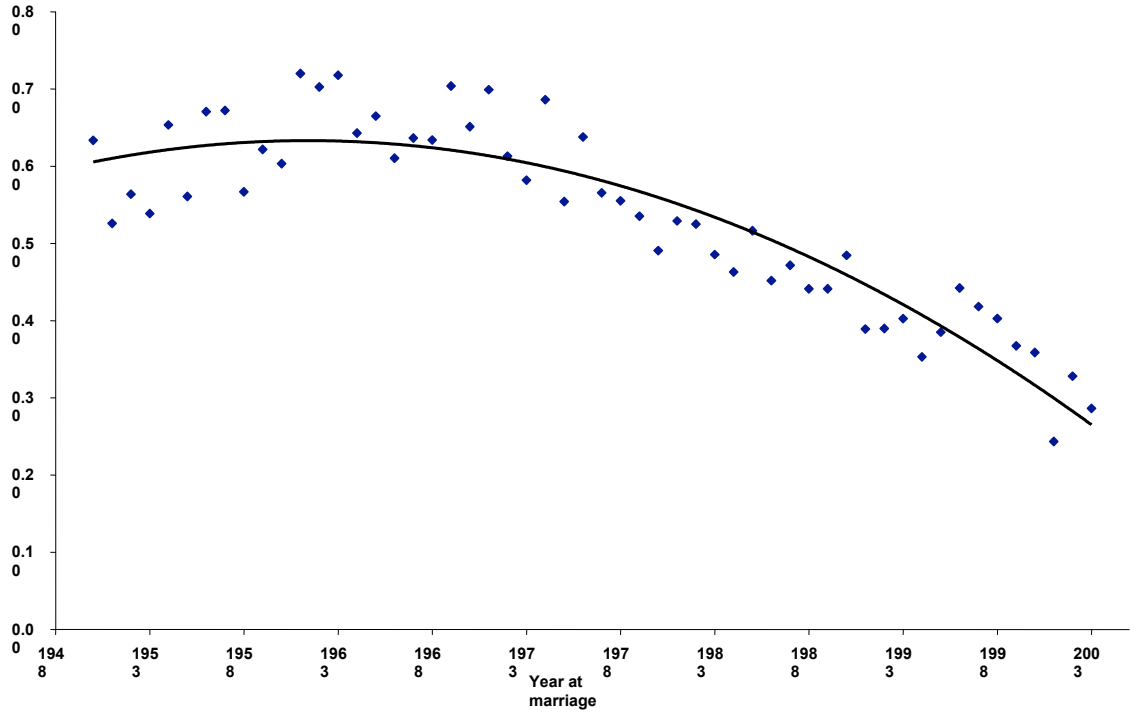
2. Italian family housing strategies and the contribution of immigrants

Indispensable to an analysis of the housing conditions of foreigners with young children is a review – necessarily succinct - of the strategies and housing constraints experienced by Italian families with young children over the last few decades. These can be summarized in three points.

(1) Beginning in the 1970s, Italy saw an *out-and-out race for home ownership* among young Italian couples. Figure 1 shows the proportion of couples who – just following marriage – rented a home, beginning with marriages celebrated in the early 1950s. After 20 years of growth - accompanied by a post war boom in public housing plans and mass internal migration (from the South to the North, the countryside to the cities, and the mountains and

hills to the plains and coasts) - the proportion of renters rapidly decreased; halving (30%) for the couples who married at the beginning of the 21st century with respect to their parents (married around the year 1970). This "rush to home ownership" spread among all of the social classes and throughout the Italian regions. The increase in home ownership has continued up to the present today. In 1996, the number of contracts for the purchase of residential units also began to increase, almost doubling in number for the period 2001-2005 compared to 1991-1995. As we will see, this was in part caused by purchases made by foreigners. In addition, Italians tend to change homes infrequently, due both to elevated fixed-costs in transactions related to property, as well as to the fact that once the objective of finding housing near one's relatives has been achieved (see also point 3), moving occurs only for the gravest of reasons. This tendency to remain in the same place has also been influenced by recent legislative provisions which, with great success over the last decade, have facilitated the restructuring of older building and the cession to families of public and private patrimonial real estate. Finally, the prevalence of homeownership has been accompanied by the *increasingly marginal role of public residential construction.* The quota of national revenue invested in this sector is among the lowest in Europe (0.6% in the period of 2000-06 compared to the EU average of 1.0% and the even higher value of 3.0% in countries like Sweden, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands – Scenari Immobliari, 2007, Tab. 1)

Figure 1. Proportion renting a house just after marriage. Couples who did not lived in a parental home just after the marriage. Italy 1950-2003



Source: Istat (Italian National Statistics Institute): Retrospective question from the Multipurpose Survey of 2003. Our elaboration of the micro-data. The proportions are interpolated with a parable.

(2) *Today, Italian families live in large and comfortable homes.* Population surveys show that the average number of inhabitants per room in occupied housing decreased from 1.3 in 1951 to 0.6 in 2001 (table 1). The dramatic decrease in this indicator is the combined result of two trends: the increase in the average size of houses (from 3.3 rooms in 1951 to 4.2 in 2001) and, especially, the decrease in the average size of families (from 4.0 members in 1951 to 2.6 in 2001). The search for a spacious home reflects the general tendency to

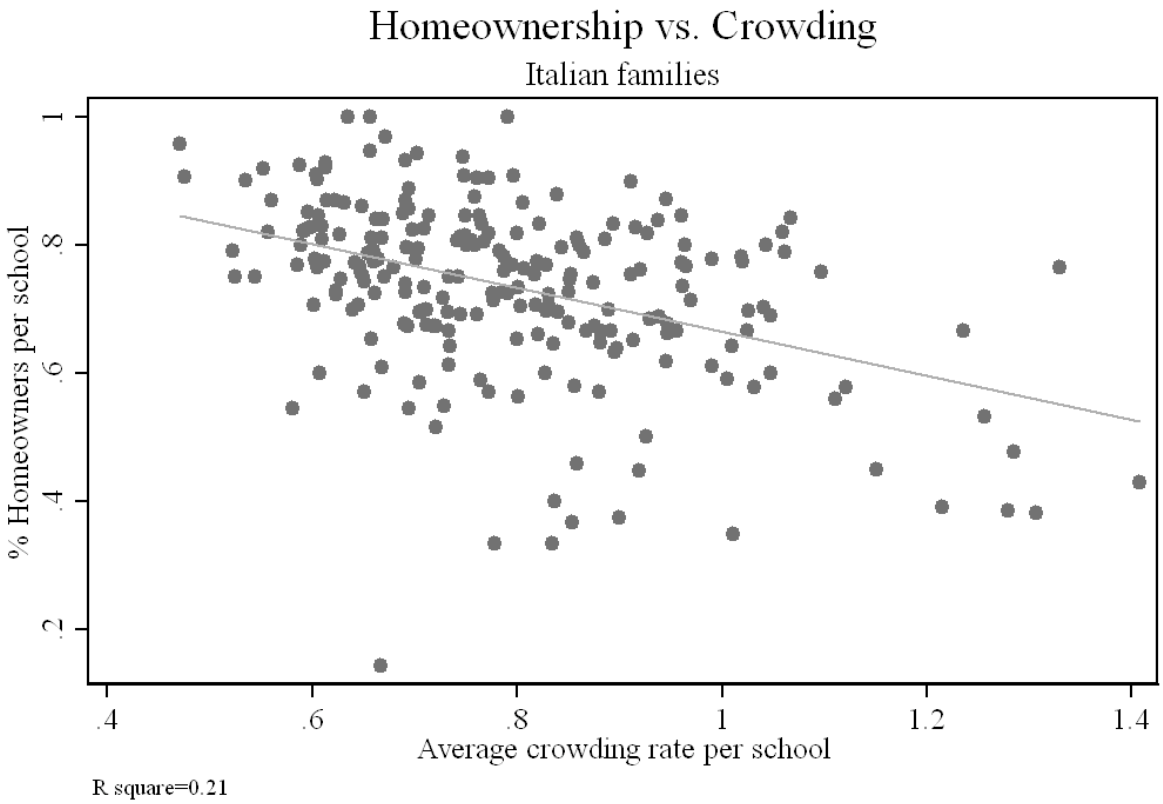
significantly invest in the quality of domestic space. The sizeable amount of time dedicated to domestic work is another sign of this trend. For example, at the turn of the 20th century, couples in Italy without children in which the woman was less than 45 years of age dedicated a total 38 hours weekly to unpaid housework, compared to 32 hours in France, 30 in the USA, and 20 in Sweden (Anxo et al., 2007). The search for a spacious house does not come into conflict with the desire to own a home, but rather the opposite is true. Figure 2 shows families of students age 11-14 whose parents are both Italian. These students were interviewed at the beginning of 2006 for the ITAGEN2 investigation, and constitute the empirical base of this paper. The graph clearly demonstrates that the areas with a greater proportion of homeowners are those with the most spacious houses.

Table 1. Average number of occupants per room in inhabited houses. Italy, censuses after WWII

1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
1.35	1.16	0.96	0.77	0.66	0.62

Source: Istat, Population Censuses

Figure 2 – Comparison of two housing indices from the 228 schools of the ITAGEN2 survey



Source: ITAGEN2

(3) *Italians have maintained the habit of living nearby their closest relatives.* This characteristic – which brings life to the notion of the "modified extended family" (Rosenmayr, 1977) – strongly differentiates southern European countries from those in the Center and North of Europe (Mulder and Kalmijn, 2005, and see table 2). Italian family proximity is best understood in light of the extremely intense bidirectional exchanges – of every sort – between parents and Italian children which continue to take place long after their (tardy) departure from the parental home (Glaser and Tomassini, 2000; United Nations, 2005). Take, for example, couples who have just been married. The proportion of these couples who go and live less than one kilometer from the parental home of either the bride or groom only slightly decreased among couples married in 1970 compared to 1950 (65% as opposed

to 75%). This percentage has remained practically the same for more recent marriages (Barbagli et al., 2003, cap. 4). Certainly it is not possible to understand the "race to home ownership" which has taken place over the last thirty years without taking into consideration the strong ties which weave generations of Italians together (Reher, 1998). Finally, 50% of couples married in the late 1990s declared that they had received a considerable amount of financial help from their parents for the acquisition of a new home (Barbagli et al., 2003, cap. 4). The most lavish contribution usually comes from the parents of the partner who live closest to the future home of the newly married couple.

Table 2. Residence characteristics of parents and children in some industrialized countries during the 1980s.

	UK	*USA*	*Australia*	*Germany*	*Austria*	*Hungary*	*Italy*
Proportion % of parents who live with at least …							
… one adult son	32	21	30	40	39	37	60
… one adult daughter	29	14	25	26	25	30	58
Proportion % of adult children not living with parents whose mother lives at a distance of …							
… 15 minutes or less	32	27	24	38	37	43	57
… 15 minutes – 1 hour	40	31	33	30	35	35	26
… 1 – 5 hours	19	19	20	22	23	19	8
… 5 hours or more	9	23	23	9	4	4	4
Proportion % of adult individuals living near their mother (1 hour or less) and who see her every day	11	16	7	20	17	32	32

Source: Jowell et al. (1989)

We complete this picture with a brief comment on the housing market over the last two decades (data from ISTAT - Italian National Statistics Institute), presented in the *Reports* of the *Scenari Immobiliari* agency (*real estate scenes;* www.scenari-immobiliari.it)). After having diminished during the early 1990s, the price of residential homes steadily increased over the following decade. At constant prices, the average cost per square meter in 2006 was 30% higher compared to 1996. Rental prices for residential homes increased even more dramatically: in 2006, the average rate per square meter (again at constant prices) was 74% higher than ten years earlier. Over the same period, interest taxes on property loans remained relatively contained. The combination of rising housing prices and, especially, rent, and low interest rates pushed an ever greater number of Italians to purchase a home; some to go live in, others as an investment, perhaps with the thought of one day passing the property on to their children.

An economically favorable context for buying a home drew the participation of foreigners as well (table 3). In 2006, compared to 2004, sales deeds for homes signed by an immigrant buyer increased to 19 percent. Even greater was the growth in the value of homes purchased, which increased 50% from 2004 to 2006, passing from 10.2 to 15.2 billion Euros (current prices). The last fiscal year (2007) concluded with a further increase of 8.4% with regard to transactions, and 14.4% with regard to value, arriving at 17.5 billion Euros, or more than 1% of the Italian national revenue. Even in relative terms, the demand on the part of immigrants enhanced the total volume of real estate exchanged. In 2006, sales deeds signed by an immigrant worker made up 16.3 percent of the total transactions closed in the Italian housing market. Within the next two years, according to estimates from *Scenari Immobiliari*, one sales deed out of five will be signed by an immigrant.

Notwithstanding growth, the immigrant housing market remains relatively poor with rather low prices, although they are on the rise. For most immigrants, the prospect of buying a home remains strictly linked to the possibility of obtaining a loan from a bank. Between 2004 and 2006, the percentage of the buying price covered by a loan increased from 70% to 86%, and the trend for the future seems to be further increase. Immigrant families (as we address below) are often larger than Italian ones, yet in 2006 the purchase of homes on the part of the latter was concentrated in the

small to medium size, and this tendency is expected to continue in the years to come. The average surface area of houses bought in 2006 was 55 square meters, down from 58 in the preceding year. In 2008 the average dimension of homes bought by immigrants is expected to be about 52 square meters. Purchases on the part of immigrants have progressively moved toward areas which offer lower prices (small towns far from the cities, less urbanized provinces, etc). This is due to the combined effect of both a significant rise in prices observed in urban centers and the hinterland, as well as the scarcity of low quality homes at contained prices. In addition, the dispersion of immigrants, paired with the scant propensity to move on the part of Italians (especially if they own they home they live in), has meant that ethnic ghettos rarely form, even in the communes and neighborhoods where immigrants make up a considerable proportion of the resident population.

Table 3. Housing transactions concluded by non-EU immigrants. Italy, 2004-2007

Year	n° of purchases	annual variation%	Total turnover (millions of Euro)	Annual variation %
2004	*110,000*	-	*10,200*	-
2005	*116,000*	*+5.4*	*12,000*	*+17.6*
2006	*131,000*	*+12.9*	*15,300*	*+27.5*
2007 (estimate)	*142,000*	*+8.4*	*17,500*	*+14.4*

Source : Scenari Immobiliari: Osservatorio Nazionale Emigrati e Casa, Rapporto 2007 (edited by P. Bellardo)
http://www.stranieriinitalia.it/news/Rapporto_Immigrati_e_casa-Marzo_2007.pdf

3. A guide for the descriptive analysis

After having delineated the general dynamics of the Italian housing market, we now turn our attention to the housing choices of immigrants with children. Indeed, the latter are becoming ever more important protagonists in the "rush to home ownership". Rather than setting forth complete hypotheses, we present several ideas in order to give direction to our exploration of this phenomenon. In fact, it seems of little usefulness to begin with elaborate theories, seeing as how research on this topic in Italy is still in its infancy.

(1) Immigrants with children will probably try to buy a house. In fact, everything points to the fact that having a child in Italy (by birth or family reunification) commonly goes hand and hand with the stabilization of the family's housing situation. In a housing market such as the Italian one, stabilization translates into the purchase of a home. Thus, the proportion of homeowners should increase with the *time spent in Italy since immigration* (Alba and Logan, 1992; Myers and Lee, 1998). Moreover, to obtain a housing loan in Italy, the usual requirement consists of proof of steady employment in the form of a permanent contract; in addition to demonstrating legality (i.e. permit to stay). The length of time since immigration could also condition dynamics such as the proximity of relatives, as seen above (Boyd 1989). In other words, when a housing situation becomes more stabile, it is possible that the relatives might move closer (Oh, 2004), consolidating migratory links and following the housing style of the Italian family. Indeed, the large majority of immigrants come from countries where kinship ties form the foundation of social organization, and they could like to re-build their network of relatives in the new country.

(2) The process of buying a home should be accelerated by improved *economic means* (Stryuk and Marshall, 1974; Haurin et al. 1996; Myers and Park, 1999).

(3) In various ways, family size could influence the purchase of a home (Krishnan and Krotki, 1993). For example, a family with *many children* might be motivated to buy or rent a larger home. On the other hand, a big family could diminish the available income, as in Italy

public monetary transfers for families with children (direct or provided through facilitated access to services) are among the lowest in Europe.

(4) Housing choices could also be influenced by the *characteristics of the place of arrival* (Haurin et al., 2003; Myers et al., 2005). Immigrants who settle in an area in which a number of houses are available to rent at low prices might be less interested in buying a home. On the contrary, those who end up living in areas where most people own their homes might be motivated – by economic factors and the tendency to imitate the most prevalent behavior – to purchase a house. An additional element which might facilitate the investment in real estate could be linked to living in an area where the networks between Italian relatives are less developed, and are thus less likely to capture available housing.

(5) The decision to buy a house could be conditioned by the cultural heritage of immigrants' country of origin. Immigrants *who come from different countries* may enact diverse housing strategies (Jackman and Jackman, 1980; Massey, 1985; Krivo, 1995; Coulson, 1999; Constant et al*.,* 2007). The same might apply to the propensity of settling near one's relatives (Clark, 1992).

Using these ideas as a basis from which to work, and thanks to the available data, it is possible to construct a descriptive picture of immigrant housing in Italy.

4. Data and methods

4.1. Strengths and weaknesses of the ITAGEN2 survey

Data were drawn from the ITAGEN2, a survey of students aged 11-14 living in Italy during the 2005-2006 school year. This is the first nation-wide extensive survey on children with at least one foreign parent, and focuses on the determinants of social integration. The sample contains 6,368 foreigners and 10,537 Italians included as a control group[*]. The subjects live in 44 provinces, and attend 228 junior high schools. The schools were randomly chosen among those with a foreign student body consisting of +10% of the total (in five of the Central and Northern regions: Lombardy, Veneto, Tuscany, Marche and Lazio) and +3% of the total (in four of the Southern regions: Campania, Puglia, Calabria and Sicily). In each school three entire classes were interviewed (one from each level of junior high school) as were all of the foreigners in attendance. In schools with more than 60+ foreign students, data for a greater number of classes were collected in order to improve the sample of natives. For each school, a mean of 64 Italians and 51 foreigners were interviewed.

Data were weighted (separately) in order to make the frequencies representative of the Italian and foreigners living in the 44 provinces, attending junior high schools with a +10% (+3% in the South) foreign student body. The weights are $\mathbf{N_{jF}/n_{jF}}$ (Foreigners) and $\mathbf{N_{jI}/n_{jI}}$ (Italians), where **N** is the number of pupils attending the junior high school in the province **j** with +10% (+3% in the South) of foreign students, and **n** is the same quantity for our sample.

Data were collected through means of a 30-40 minute questionnaire filled out by the pupils during a school lesson, under the surveillance of a researcher and their teacher. In the few cases where pupils had just arrived in Italy, and were not able to read in Italian, the questionnaire was completed with the help of a classmate from the same country of origin. Distributing the survey in schools meant that there was practically no unit-non-response. In addition, non-responses to single questions were rare, and have been corrected for through use of the usual statistical methods.

[*] The complete sample includes the Emilia-Romagna region (2,154 foreigners and 1,636 Italians more). This group is not considered here because data relative to the proximity of relatives were not collected.

It should be pointed out that students, rather than their parents, were interviewed. Consequently, several *caveats* should be taken into account for a correct reading of the results. First, this sample does not consider all of the foreign people living in Italy, but rather only families with children aged 11-13; or those at a particular stage in their life-course. Certainly there is a selection factor, in that we do have data on the housing situation of single individuals and/or families who (after having spent a short or long period of time in Italy) returned to their country of origin without having children aged 11-14. The "successes" will thus be over-estimated, and the picture of immigrant housing decisions drawn from the ITAGEN2 may underestimate several problematic areas. Second, the statistical units are pupils, thus parents with more than one child are over-sampled (Lavallée, 2002). In other words, the frequencies here presented are appropriate for children but not for parents (e.g. the crowding index employed below would likely be lower if parents rather than children were sampled). Third, all of the variables are necessarily "filtered" through the eyes of the children (Giraldo and Dalla-Zuanna, 2006) consequently neither direct data on income nor data on housing-history were collected. This last weakness weighs particularly heavily, in that only panel data or – at least – retrospective data may fully illuminate the complexity of the housing life-course (Courgeau and Lelièvre, 1985; Courgeau, 1985; Dieleman et al., 1994; Myers, 1999; Fejiten and Mulder, 2002). In our opinion cross-sectional data from the ITAGEN2 are rich enough for exploratory purposes. Future studies, however, will need to collect more sophisticated data in order to garner in-depth explanations.

4.2. Methods

As seen above, the desire to own a large and comfortable home near one's parents and/or siblings has guided the housing strategies of a large part of new Italian families since 1970 (often becoming a '*raison d'être'*). We examine the behavior of foreign families using the same criteria, in order to understand whether the latter employ similar or different strategies. Data from the ITAGEN2 survey include information concerning homeownership, number of rooms, the number of family members, and the distance at which the closest grandparent or aunt/uncle lives. Through use of this data we constructed three indicators:

	Foreigners	**Italians**
% living in owned homes	**29.9**	**77.4**
% living in crowded homes	**16.7**	**11.1**
% <1 km from the nearest relative	**39.7**	**70.9**

We consider as "over-crowded": the homes of foreigners where p/r>1.5, the home of Italians where p/r>1.0, where p equals the number of people living in the home and r equals the number of rooms – bathrooms and kitchen included (Myers, 1996). Relatives may be grandparents, aunts, or uncles.

Two approaches were used in the statistical analysis of these three indicators. First of all, estimations were done separately by group - Italians and foreigners – in order to give an immediate idea of the differences according to several key variables (i.e. when they arrived in Italy, number of children, and several income proxies). The simple frequency tables which result are not, however, sufficient to identify a "pure" relationship between the three indicators under examination and the other variables, given that the former are closely linked. For example, simply calculating the three indicators according to country of origin does not take into account the fact that foreigners of diverse nationalities often arrive in quite different types of migratory waves. For example, the proportion of owners of Indian origins is quite low because migration from this country is relatively recent, while the contrary is true of immigrants from Ghana.

In order to measure the relationship between each response variable and each single explanatory variable, while controlling for the other variables included in the model, we constructed six (three for Italians and three for foreigners) logistic regression models. These models were built using a multilevel logistic (Lee and Myers, 2003; Huang and Clark, 2002), in which we take into account both the individual-unit and the school-unit. This approach allows us to obtain two

objectives: on the one hand, the association between the individual variables was purified of possible cluster effects (or the fact that in each micro-area, identified by the school attended, the relationship between variables can take on particular characteristics); on the other hand, it was possible to include variables in the model concerning the school, such that we could evaluate if the purchase of a home, living in crowded house, or near relatives depends on the characteristics of the place of arrival (see point 4 in section 3).

We now briefly describe the characteristics of the logistic regression models. The response variables are:

Homeownership (0: not owner, 1: owner);
Crowding (0: house not crowded according to above specified parameters; 1: crowded house)
Proximity (0: >1 km from closest the grandparent or aunt/uncle, 1: <1 km)

We group the explanatory variables in four categories:

(a) For both Italian and foreigners: variables which reflect the second and the third ideas in section 3: income proxies and number of siblings.

(b) For both Italians and foreigners: the other two response variables. For example, in the model in which the response variable is ownership, we insert as explanatory variables the indicators of crowding and proximity. In this way, we are able to verify whether similar associations exist on both the school level (see figure 2) and the national level.

(c) For foreigners only: time of arrival of the parent who first arrived in Italy; country of origin of their parents (or the country of origin of the foreign parent, in families with only one parent, or mixed couples; the country of origin of the mother in the very few cases in which the parents are both foreign, but from different countries). For the few children without parents, we asked them to indicate the adult male and/or female reference in his/her life. The possibility of investigating in detail aspects related to country of origin was conditioned by the sample number. 18 countries or group of countries are considered.

School level variables

(d) For foreigners only, we take into consideration four characteristics of Italians who attend their same school: the three indicators used as response variables (ownership, crowding, and proximity) as well the as the proportion of fathers who do manual labor. Our intention – as mentioned above – is to observe whether the characteristics of the area of arrival condition the housing of immigrants. These indicators are inserted in the logistic model as continuous variables.

In the Appendix we provide the frequencies of the variables just described, both for Italians and foreigners (see table 14 and 15), as well as indicators of the statistical performance of the 3+3 logistic models (see table 16).

5. Results

In this section we review the five ideas set forth in the third section, describing how the time of arrival, income, number of children, place of arrival, and country of origin intertwine with the housing situation of immigrants (ownership, crowding, and proximity to relatives).

5.1. Strong differences by time of arrival

As the amount time spent in Italy increases, so does the proportion of immigrant homeowners (16% among those who have been in Italy from 1-4 years, 37% among those in Italy for more than 10 years). The proximity to relatives also tends to increase, after a slight decrease in the months that immediately follow the date of arrival. Among those that have been in Italy for more than 10 years, this number becomes considerable, even if much lower than that observed among Italians (see tables 4 and 5). The same can not be said about crowding, which does not vary over time; excluding the small group of immigrants who have just arrived in Italy, and whose relatives or friends probably provide a temporary roof. This result is in line with evidence from the National Observatory of Immigrants and Housing (*Osservatorio Nazionale Immigrati e Casa*), cited in the second part. When Italians buy homes they can often aim for more spacious real estate; immigrants, on the contrary, must often make do with small quarters in order to make such a purchase.

Table 4 – Indices of housing for Italians and for foreigners. Duration of migration

	Time since arrival of the parent who immigrated earliest					
	10+ years	**5-9 years**	**1-4 years**	**<1 year**	**Foreigners**	**Italians**
% Homeowners	36.6	23.2	16.2	13.8	29.9	77.4
% Overcrowded homes	15.9	17.3	16.6	23.9	16.7	11.1
% Living <1 km from at least one relative	41.5	37.7	35.0	37.6	39.7	70.9
Row-proportion	*57.0*	*28.0*	*12.6*	*2.4*	*100.0*	---

Source: ITAGEN2

Table 5 – The multilevel logistic regression models for foreigners. Time spent in Italy by the parent who arrived earliest

	Response variables								
	Homeownership			**Crowding**			**Proximity**		
	Coeff.	**SE**	**p**	**Coeff.**	**SE**	**p**	**Coeff.**	**SE**	**p**
10 years or more	0			0			0		
5-9 years	-0.62	0.08	**	0.14	0.09		-0.14	0.07	*
1-4 years	-1.00	0.12	**	0.11	0.12		-0.27	0.09	**
1 year or less	-0.97	0.27	**	0.27	0.24		-0.15	0.20	
Unknown	-0.13	0.16		0.02	0.19		0.08	0.15	

** $p < 0.01$ * $0.01<p<0.05$

Source: ITAGEN2

5.2. A matter of money

As mentioned above, it was not possible to obtain direct information from children on their family's income. However, a series of questions do give indirect information concerning their material wellbeing (table 6 and 7). The results were similar for both foreigners and Italians, even if the average levels of the three indicators varied between the two groups: the richest families where often homeowners, lived in large house, and lived near their relatives. While results regarding the first two indicators were foreseeable, outcomes concerning the third have perhaps less immediate implications. To this regard, the Spanish proverb cited by Reher (1998) comes to mind (1998): "He that is truly poor is the man who has no family". On the one hand, the perception of poverty may be less intense when one lives in a context of strong collaboration between relatives. On the other hand, poorer families may well be those that, over the course of time, have received less economic aid from their parents and siblings. In fact, transfers *inter vivos* tend to be substantial and numerous – together with non-monetary types of support – between relatives who live close to one another (Barbagli et al., 2004).

Table 6 – Indices of housing for foreigners. Two proxies of income

	CHILD'S PERCEPTION OF FAMILY WEALTH				
	Very rich	**Quite rich**	**Neither rich nor poor**	**Poor**	**Total**
% Homeowners	35.2	38.1	27.4	22.0	29.9
% Overcrowded home	17.9	13.8	16.7	30.0	16.7
% Living <1 km from at least one relative	47.3	40.9	39.4	31.0	39.7
Row-proportion	*4.3*	*22.3*	*69.2*	*4.1*	*100.0*
	NUMBER OF OBJECTS IN THE FAMILY (*)				
	9	**7-8**	**5-6**	**<5**	**Total**
% Homeowners	37.3	38.2	25.6	15.0	29.9
% Overcrowded home	16.7	13.2	17.9	22.1	16.7
% Living <1 km from at least one relative	43.8	40.0	39.5	36.6	39.7
Row-proportion	*11.6*	*37.8*	*33.9*	*16.7*	*100.0*

(*)The nine objects are: dishwasher, microwave oven, digital camera, videotape recorder, personal computer, washing machine, scooter or motorbike, car, bike.
Source: ITAGEN2

5.3. The relationship between number of children and housing differs for Italians and foreigners

As might be expected, among both groups the level of crowding increases along with the number of children. The relationship between homeownership and number of children, however, differs for Italians and foreigners. When the former have many children, they often rent the home they live in. Among the latter, on the other hand, there is no observable difference; the proportion of homeowners remains similar regardless of the number of children. Among only children, things are slightly different, in that the proportion of those living in owned homes is rather rare. This is most likely due to the fact that these children often have very young parents, or are being raised by single mothers.

Even the relationship between the number of children and proximity to relatives is different for Italians and foreigners. When Italians have many children, they more rarely live near their parents or siblings. This housing situation, however, may be more the result of constraints than true choice. Among foreigners, on the other hand, the number of children doesn't seem to make much of a difference in this regard.

Table 7 – The multilevel logistic regression models. Proxies of income

	Response variables								
	Homeownership			Crowding			Proximity		
	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff	SE	p
Foreigners									
School level of the most educated parent									
Less than 10 years	0			0			0		
10-14	0.09	0.15		-0.42	0.14	**	-0.08	0.12	
15-19	0.16	0.14		-0.71	0.14	**	-0.15	0.12	
20-25	0.25	0.15		-0.82	0.16	**	-0.24	0.13	
More than 25	0.45	0.17	**	-0.76	0.19	**	-0.11	0.15	
Job of father									
Bourgeois	0.31	0.14	*	-0.23	0.21		-0.20	0.14	
Technical, clerk	0.08	0.11		-0.25	0.15		-0.01	0.10	
Tradesmen	-0.21	0.10	*	-0.04	0.12		-0.03	0.09	
Craftsmen, specialized workmen, farmers	-0.17	0.09		0.16	0.11		0.02	0.08	
Generic workmen	0			0			0		
Unqualified professions	-0.57	0.15	**	-0.04	0.15		0.26	0.12	
Number of working parents									
One or none	0			0			0		
Both	0.30	0.07	**	-0.30	0.08	**	0.13	0.06	*
Perception of family's wealth									
Quite/very rich	0.36	0.07	**	-0.13	0.09		0.15	0.06	*
Neither rich nor poor	0			0			0		
Quite/very poor	-0.27	0.18		0.48	0.16	**	-0.20	0.14	
Number of objects owned by the family									
Less than 5	0			0			0		
5-6	0.45	0.11	**	-0.16	0.10		0.06	0.08	
7-8	0.88	0.11	**	-0.35	0.11	**	0.14	0.08	
9	0.89	0.13	**	-0.16	0.14		0.35	0.11	**
Italians									
School level of the most educated parent									
Less than 10 years	0			0			0		
10-14	0.38	0.14	**	-0.32	0.16	*	0.11	0.14	
15-19	0.58	0.14	**	-0.59	0.16	**	-0.13	0.14	
20-25	0.63	0.15	**	-0.79	0.18	**	-0.29	0.15	
More than 25	0.53	0.16	**	-0.50	0.19	**	-0.33	0.16	*
Job of father									
Bourgeois	0.61	0.10	**	-0.72	0.14	**	-0.15	0.09	
Technical, clerk	0.50	0.09	**	-0.36	0.11	**	0.04	0.08	
Tradesmen	0.01	0.09		0.03	0.12		0.07	0.09	
Craftsmen, specialized workmen, farmers	0.12	0.09		0.13	0.11		0.10	0.09	
Generic workmen	0			0			0		
Unqualified professions	-0.29	0.15		0.16	0.19		-0.08	0.15	
Number of working parents									
One or none	0			0			0		
Both	0.04	0.05		-0.21	0.07	**	0.05	0.05	
Perception of family's wealth									
Quite/very rich	0.43	0.06	**	-0.03	0.07		0.12	0.05	*
Neither rich nor poor	0			0			0		
Quite/very poor	-0.40	0.18	*	0.61	0.20	**	-0.55	0.17	**
Number of objects owned by the family									
Less than 5	0			0			0		
5-6	0.60	0.11	**	-0.52	0.13	**	0.22	0.11	
7-8	1.04	0.11	**	-0.81	0.12	**	0.30	0.11	**
9	1.13	0.12	**	-0.63	0.14	**	0.51	0.12	**

** $p < 0.01$ * $0.01<p<0.05$

Source: ITAGEN2

Table 8 – Indices of housing for foreigners. Number of siblings

	0	1	2	3	4+	Total
Homeowners	24.9	31.2	28.9	30.1	32.3	29.9
Overcrowded home	8.1	9.6	19.5	20.9	36.9	16.7
Living <1 km from at least one relative	38.9	42.2	39.2	36.8	36.6	39.7
Row-proportion	*11.0*	*38.4*	*26.1*	*12.4*	*12.1*	*100*

Source: ITAGEN2

Table 9 – The multilevel logistic regression models. Number of siblings and age of the oldest parent

	Response variables								
	Homeownership			Crowding			Proximity		
	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p
Foreigners									
Number of siblings									
0	0			---			0		
1	0.29	0.11	*	---			-0.01	0.09	
2	0.22	0.12		---			-0.04	0.10	
3	0.31	0.14	*	---			-0.06	0.12	
4+	0.41	0.15	**	---			-0.08	0.12	
Age of the oldest parent									
Less than 40	0			0			0		
40-44	-0.11	0.08		-0.08	0.09		-0.06	0.06	
45-49	-0.09	0.09		0.18	0.10		-0.25	0.08	**
50 or more	-0.08	0.12		0.10	0.13		-0.15	0.10	
Italians									
Number of siblings									
0	0			---			0		
1	0.20	0.07	**	---			-0.06	0.07	
2	0.08	0.08		---			-0.09	0.08	
3	-0.13	0.12		---			-0.32	0.11	**
4+	-0.47	0.12	**	---			-0.47	0.11	**
Age of the oldest parent									
Less than 40	0			0			0		
40-44	0.35	0.07	**	-0.12	0.09		0.11	0.07	
45-49	0.53	0.07	**	-0.15	0.09		-0.02	0.07	
50 or more	0.51	0.08	**	-0.09	0.10		-0.12	0.07	

** $p < 0.01$ * $0.01<p<0.05$

Note. The variable *number of siblings* is not included in the crowding model because the association with the response-variable is too strong.

Source: ITAGEN2

5.4. The importance of the place of residence

The ITAGEN2 survey gathered data on all of the foreigners and of a statistically representative sample of Italians for each of the 228 schools included in the total sample. Consequently, it was possible to observe if and to what extent the three indicators related to the housing choices of foreigners are influenced by the place of arrival (identified by the school attended, see table 10).

As several effects are statistically significant, we can confirm that immigrant housing choices (or constraints) are conditioned by the place of arrival. The proportion of foreign homeowners is lowest in the areas in which Italians have more kinship clusters and in those inhabited predominantly by blue collar workers. Immigrants tend to inhabit more crowded housing when they live in areas where also Italians have relatively small homes. Finally, foreigners have a tendency to live closer to their relatives when they inhabit areas where adult Italians also live near their parents and siblings.

The meaning of these results should be further investigated with more sophisticated data than those currently available. However, these preliminary results do strongly suggest that the area of arrival has an effect on the housing situation of foreigners, both in terms of constraints and the imitation of Italian behavior.

Table 10 – The multilevel logistic regression models for foreigners. School-level analysis

School-level variables for Italians	Response variables								
	Homeownership			Crowding			Proximity		
	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p
% Homeowners	2.22	0.55		*-0.44*	0.53		0.37	0.31	
% Crowding >1.0	1.11	0.66		2.95	0.64	**	0.56	0.38	
% Proximity <1km	-2.60	0.54	**	-0.08	0.53		0.68	0.32	*
% Blue Collar	-0.91	0.44	*	-0.98	0.54		0.05	0.26	

** p < 0.01 * 0.01<p<0.05

Source: ITAGEN2

5.5. Differences between countries of origin

As mentioned above, the migratory histories of foreigners from different countries can be quite diverse: in terms of composition according to the length of time spent in Italy, the tendency to specialize in certain work sectors, or the concentration of certain ethnicities in particular areas of residence. Consequently, in order to observe the "pure" effect of country of origin on housing, we use only the results from the three logistic regression models on foreigners. These take into account all of the other explanatory variables, including those generated by the fact of living in the same area (identified by school attended).

Housing strategies vary considerably in terms of country of origin (table 11 and figure 3), suggesting a veritable trade-off between ownership of a large house and proximity to relatives. The two extreme ends of this spectrum are represented by foreigners from Albania and Asia (table 12). We consider the behavior of immigrants who have been in Italy for at least 10 years, those who have likely overcome the initial shock of living in a new country. Albanians aim less at home ownership (33%) than living in a spacious house (less than 6% in crowded homes) and near relatives (57% less than a km). Foreigners from Asia, on the other hand, decidedly prefer to own a home (46%), even if this means accepting crowded conditions (21% crowded) and living far from relatives (only 40% of the children live less than a km away from a grandparent or uncle/aunt). The situation is more critical for immigrants from Tunisia and Morocco; a low proportion of home owners (30%) combined with high indexes of crowding (17%) and low proximity to relatives (40%).

Table 11 – The multilevel logistic regression models for foreigners. Parents' country of birth

	Response variables								
	Homeownership			Crowding			Proximity		
	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p
Albania	0			0			0		
Macedonia	-0.46	0.20	*	0.50	0.21	*	-0.39	0.14	**
Serbia-Montenegro	0.37	0.18	*	0.70	0.22	**	-0.59	0.16	**
Romania	0.06	0.15		0.01	0.18		-0.67	0.12	**
Other Socialist	0.05	0.27		-0.02	0.20		-0.93	0.13	**
Morocco	0.29	0.14	*	0.68	0.16	**	-0.76	0.12	**
Tunisia	0.42	0.21	*	0.60	0.23	**	-0.81	0.17	**
Ghana	-0.08	0.26		0.02	0.36		-0.97	0.23	**
Others from Africa	0.32	0.15	*	0.44	0.18	*	-1.19	0.14	
China	0.46	0.14	**	0.06	0.19		-0.74	0.11	**
Bangladesh	1.36	0.23	**	0.89	0.25	**	-0.79	0.20	**
India	1.17	0.17	**	0.58	0.20		-0.86	0.15	**
Philippines	0.31	0.19		0.91	0.20	**	-0.27	0.16	
Others from Asia	0.90	0.17	**	1.06	0.19	**	-0.98	0.16	**
Ecuador	0.38	0.19	**	0.83	0.21	**	-0.61	0.17	**
Peru	0.27	0.21		0.34	0.24		-0.50	0.18	**
Others Latin America	0.05	0.18		0.00	0.21		-0.67	0.14	**
Developed countries	1.13	0.27	**	-0.88	0.61		-0.78	0.25	**

** p < 0.01 * 0.01<p<0.05

Note. If only one parent is foreign, his/her country of birth was considered. If the two parents were born in different countries, the mother's country of birth was considered. *Source: ITAGEN2*

Table 12 – Indices of housing for three foreign groups defined by country of origin. Time spent in Italy of the parent who arrived earliest

	Time since arrival of the parent who immigrated earliest					
	10+ years	**5-9 years**	**1-4 years**	**<1 year**	**Foreigners**	**Italians**
			Albanian families (n=1,083)			
Homeowners	32.8	19.7	5.8	0	29.9	77.4
Overcrowded home	6.2	15.4	18.8	15.9	16.7	11.1
Living < 1 km from at least one relative	56.8	51.7	46.6	31.9	39.7	70.9
Row-proportion	*52.8*	*34.5*	*10.4*	*2.3*	*100*	---
			Asian families (n=1,541)			
Homeowners	45.8	26.0	24.5	24.2	29.9	77.4
Overcrowded home	21.0	18.1	23.5	20.4	16.7	11.1
Living < 1 km from at least one relative	39.9	33.3	30.8	39.8	39.7	70.9
Row-proportion	*59.2*	*30.1*	*8.7*	*2.0*	*100*	---
			Tunisian and Moroccan families (n=851)			
Homeowners	30.8	19.7	26.1	13.6	29.9	77.4
Overcrowded home	18.7	29.0	28.7	45.5	16.7	11.1
Living < 1 km from at least one relative	36.8	38.6	35.9	18.2	39.7	70.9
Row-proportion	*81.8*	*11.5*	*5.9*	*0.8*	*100*	---

Source: ITAGEN2

5.6. Similar or different?

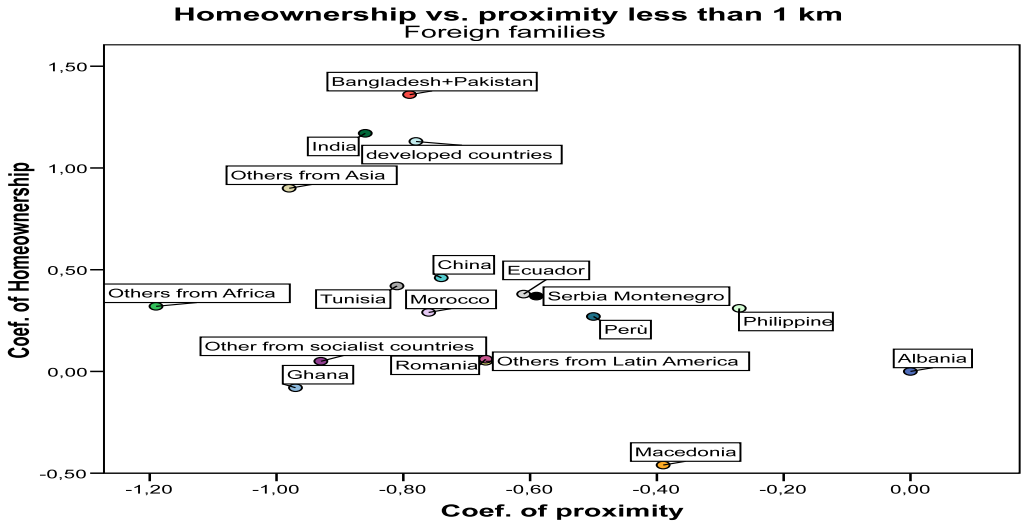
The inverse relationship between homeownership and crowding among Italians is strong and statistically significant: children who live in owned homes also live in larger houses. This association, observed for Italians at the school level (figure 2), also exists at the individual level, controlling for all of the variables included in our regression models. The direction of the association is similar for foreigners, although less intense. The relationship between proximity to relatives and homeownership, on the other hand, is strong and positive for Italians, but practically nonexistent for foreigners. Finally, while foreigners who live near their relatives must make do with more crowded housing conditions, this trade-off does not exist for Italians.

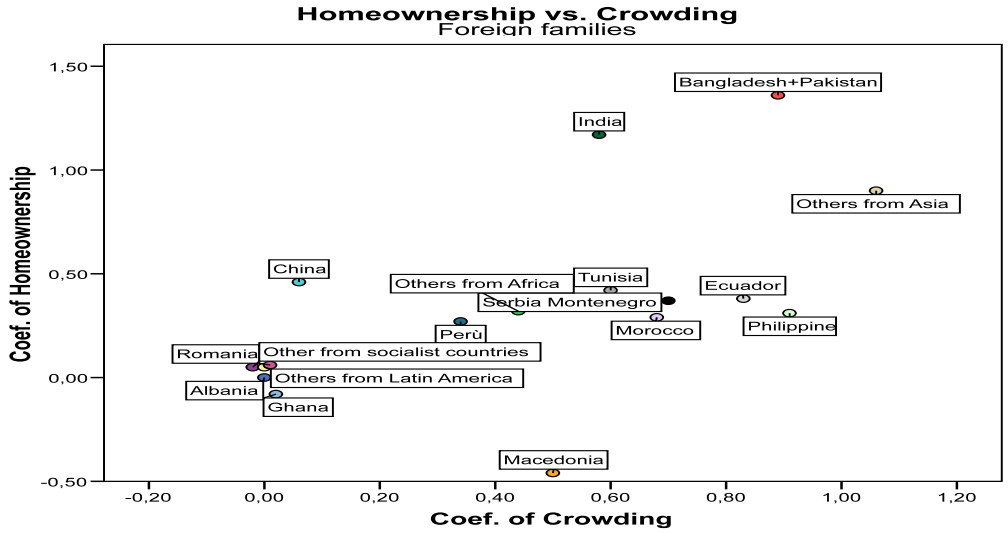
Table 13 – The multilevel logistic regression models: connections between the response variables

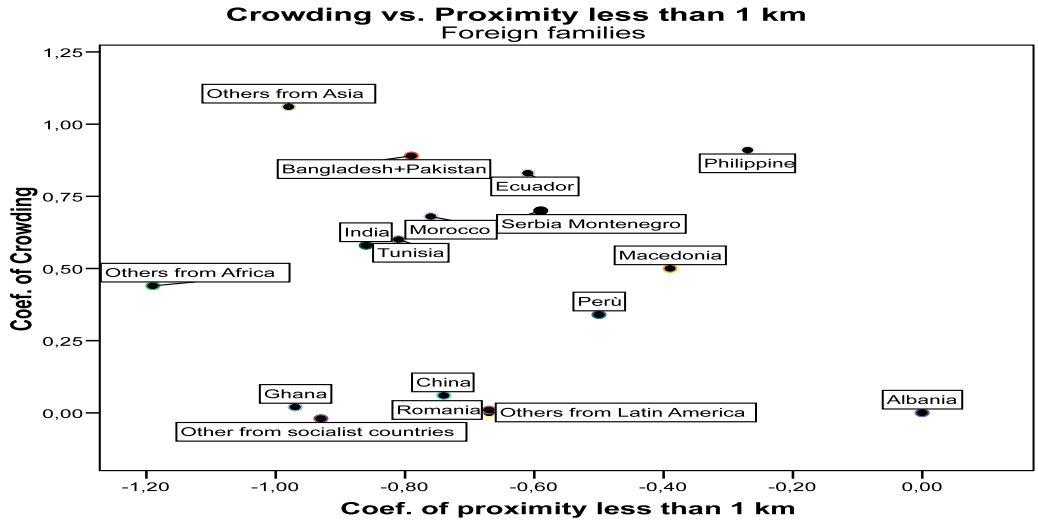
	Response variables								
	Homeownership			**Crowding**			**Proximity**		
	Coeff.	**SE**	**p**	**Coeff.**	**SE**	**P**	**Coeff.**	**SE**	**P**
				Foreigners					
Homeownership		---		-0.21	0.09	*	0.11	0.06	
Crowding	-0.21	0.09	*		---		0.22	0.07	**
Proximity	0.10	0.06		0.20	0.07	**		---	
				Italians					
Homeownership		---		-0.52	0.07	**	0.53	0.05	**
Crowding	-0.41	0.07	**		---		0.07	0.07	
Proximity	0.53	0.05	**	-0.03	0.07			---	

Source: ITAGEN2

Figure 3. Some indices of housing for foreigners: the net effect of country of origin







Source: see table 11

6. Conclusions

The association just mentioned provides an excellent starting point from which to begin a summary of our results. The parents of Italian children interviewed for the ITAGEN2 survey are often able to reconcile three housing aims. In other words, they live in spacious houses that they own, located near to close relatives. The few Italians who rent, on the other hand, often have to make do with smaller homes, located far from relatives. The housing situation is different for foreigners. The immigrant who makes the great "leap" towards purchasing a house often has to give up living near relatives and is forced to be content with a small home. These conditions are quite evident among the Asian community, where almost 50% of those who have lived in Italy for over 10 years own the (often small) house they live in. Immigrants who instead pay rent can often take advantage of support from close relatives, or – as with the Albanians – live in more spacious dwellings.

Despite these differences, however, Italians and foreigners share two important characteristics. The first is a "rush to home ownership". Even among the groups who are more reticent to buy (i.e. Albanians, Macedonians, Romanians, and Ghanaians), as time spent in Italy lengthens the proportion of homeowners rapidly increases. This fact – in our opinion – is not necessarily positive, in that the purchase of a home becomes somewhat of a compulsory 'choice'. That said, however, sharing such a constraint could become an important element in the economic and cultural integration between Italians and people of diverse origins.

The second characteristic common to both Italians and foreigners is the strong association between economic possibilities and housing variables. In the almost total absence of public construction polices, Italy has seen a growing number of families drawn into a terribly vicious circle: the growing lack of financial means has made the purchase a home impossible for many, forcing families to rent a house far from their close relatives. This distancing in turn affects their economic situation, in that the possibility of receiving informal aid (i.e. child care) is reduced. The sharp rise in rental rates over the last few years has put an increasing number of families in crisis (especially those with children), for whom paying exorbitant rent can mean falling into poverty. New public construction polices could ease these problems, together with legislation providing strong incentives to rent at lower prices. Unfortunately – at the time this article was written – such policies in Italy are nowhere in sight. On the contrary, the 2008 budget law drastically reduced the communal tax on real estate (ICI) and further extended tax relief for building reconstructions, thus favoring homeowners and leaving only the crumbs as incentives for the development of a rental market at moderate prices.

In conclusion, foreign families who wish to settle in Italy are "forced" to buy a house. Those who have the means to do so, make a decisive step towards integration, as they choose to share a "*raison d'être"* which over the last three decades has guided the decisions of millions of Italian families. Those, on the other hand, for whom this is not a possibility, risk sharing the same housing malaise as other Italians, which recent evolution of the housing market has made evermore alarming.

Appendix

Table 14 – Some characteristics of the sample

Variables ad categories		Weighted frequencies (column percentage)		Percentage homeowners		Percentage overcrowded home		Percentage proximity less than 1km.	
		Italians	Foreigners	Italians	Foreigners	Crowding>1 Italians	Crowding>1.5 Foreigners	Italians	Foreigners
Characteristic of the children and their parents									
Age of the oldest parent	Less than 40	17.3	34.1	67.8	31.3	16.0	16.9	71.7	42.1
	40-44	35.5	36.0	77.8	30.0	10.4	15.2	74.0	41.1
	45-49	28.1	19.7	80.7	31.7	8.6	19.4	68.8	36.9
	More than 50	19.1	10.1	80.6	31.2	11.1	20.2	67.4	37.5
	Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*77.4*	*30.9*	*11.0*	*17.1*	*70.9*	*40.3*
Time spent in Italy by the parent who arrived earliest	10 years	-	55.0	-	36.6	-	15.9	-	41.5
	5-9 years	-	27.0	-	23.2	-	17.3	-	37.7
	1-4 years	-	12.3	-	16.2	-	16.6	-	35.0
	Less than 1 year	-	1.7	-	13.8	-	23.9	-	37.6
	Unknown	-	3.6	-	34.8	-	21.1	-	43.6
	Total	-	*100.0*	-	*29.9*	-	*16.7*	-	*39.7*
Age at leaving the school of the most educated parent	Less than 10 years	1.3	4.3	50.5	24	29.3	35.5	75.8	44.9
	10-15	18.7	12.3	71.9	27.5	16.4	19.4	77.4	41.4
	15-19	30.6	26.3	81.0	30.8	8.8	13.0	71.4	41.8
	20-25	16.2	14.4	85.1	34.4	6.1	14.3	68.5	36.7
	More than 25	8.5	6.6	85.5	40.8	7.8	12.1	65.0	39.4
	Unknown	24.7	36.1	72.2	29.8	13.5	19.2	69.5	39.7
	Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*77.8*	*30.9*	*11.1*	*17.1*	*71.1*	*40.3*
Job of father	Bourgeois	18.4	5.6	87.5	44.6	5.4	9.4	66.5	34.5
	Technical, clerk	33.7	11.5	82.5	36.8	8.3	13.8	71.3	37.4
	Tradesman	14.8	20.1	69.9	29.1	14.0	16.8	72.0	39.5
	Craftsman, specialized workmen, farmers	15.7	27.5	72.1	25.9	14.3	16.3	74.4	42.2
	Generic workmen	10.8	26.9	72.2	33.5	13.2	15.0	70.9	39.9
	Unqualified professions	2.5	8.5	59.2	18.2	20.7	22.7	71.5	43.0
	Unknown	4.1	10.8	59.2	27.5	24.9	23.1	69.1	36.2
	Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*77.3*	*30.0*	*11.1*	*16.7*	*70.9*	*39.7*
No. of working parents	None or one	34.2	42.1	65.2	24.8	21.5	23.6	71.9	38.7
	Two	65.8	57.9	79.9	32.9	8.8	13.5	70.6	41.4
	Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*78.0*	*31.2*	*11.0*	*16.9*	*71.1*	*40.1*
Child's perception of family's wealth	Very rich	4.7	4.3	79.2	35.2	10.9	17.9	73.8	47.3
	Quite rich	30.9	22.3	86.1	38.1	8.4	13.8	72.9	40.9
	Neither rich nor poor	63.2	69.2	73.2	27.4	12.2	16.7	69.9	39.4
	Quite poor	1.0	3.4	58.1	21.3	21.5	27.7	57.5	30.8
	Very poor	0.2	0.7	29.8	25.0	27.1	47.4	54.4	32.1
	Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*77.3*	*29.9*	*11.1*	*16.7*	*70.9*	*39.7*
No. of siblings	0	14.4	11.0	78.3	24.9	2.9	8.1	71.6	38.9
	1	53.1	38.4	80.0	31.2	6.9	9.6	71.0	42.2
	2	22.2	26.1	76.2	28.9	15.6	19.5	72.6	39.2
	3	6.0	12.4	68.6	30.1	30.6	20.9	67.3	36.8
	4 or more	4.0	12.1	57.6	32.3	39.3	36.9	63.7	36.6
	Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*77.3*	*29.9*	*11.1*	*16.7*	*70.9*	*39.7*
Number of objects in the family (*)	Less than 5	3.5	16.7	49.0	15.0	28.3	22.1	66.3	36.6
	5-6	24.1	33.9	68.3	25.6	15.1	17.9	69.3	39.5
	7-8	54.4	37.8	80.7	38.2	8.9	13.2	71.1	40.0
	9	18.0	11.6	84.3	37.3	8.9	16.7	73.3	43.8
	Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*77.3*	*29.9*	*11.1*	*16.7*	*70.9*	*39.7*

We consider as "over-crowded" the homes of foreigners where p/r>1.5, the home of Italians where p/r>1.0, where p equals the number of people living in the home and r equals the number of rooms – bathrooms and kitchen included
Source: ITAGEN2
(*)The nine objects are: dishwasher, microwave oven, digital camera, videotape recorder, personal computer, washing machine, scooter or motorbike, car, bike.

Table 15 – Some characteristics of the foreign sample: parents' country of birth

Country of origin	Weighted frequencies (column%)	Percentage homeowners	Percentage overcrowded homes	Percentage proximity less than 1 km.
Developed countries	1,1	51,9	5,2	38,1
Albania	15,1	14,4	10,9	53,4
Macedonia	5,2	25,1	16,8	50,2
Serbia-Montenegro	4,1	30,3	19,1	38,0
Romania	8,3	21,2	11,1	36,1
Other Socialist	6,6	21,8	10,7	31,6
Morocco	10,5	30,1	20,9	37,1
Tunisia	3,1	26,7	19,2	37,7
Ghana	1,8	30,8	10,4	31,4
Other from Africa	6,7	39,8	16,2	29,3
China	10,0	31,3	13,7	38,1
Bangladesh and Pakistan	2,1	44,7	27,8	34,2
India	5,0	48,0	17,0	34,1
Philippine	4,4	33,4	28,9	50,4
Other from Asia	4,2	39,5	31,8	30,5
Ecuador	3,4	37,7	27,1	41,9
Peru	3,1	36,8	20,4	43,3
Others Latin America	5,3	22,3	13,5	36,0
Total	*100,0*	*30,0*	*16,7*	*39,7*

Source: ITAGEN2

Table 16 – The multilevel logistic regression models: some general indices

	Response variables								
	Homeownership			Crowding			Proximity		
	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p
Foreigners									
Intercept	-2.02	0.55	**	-0.98	0.54		-0.95	0.34	
Random intercept	0	0.58	**	0	0.54	**	0	0.20	**
Intraclass correlation coefficient	0.09			0.08			0.12		
Log-likelihood		-3322.2			-2676.2			-4141.8	
Italians									
Intercept	-1.33	0.20	**	-0.27	0.21		-0.33	0.19	
Random intercept	0	0.51	**	0	0.66	**	0	0.44	**
Intraclass correlation coefficient	0.07			0.12			0.05		
Log likelihood		-5350.6			-3649.7			-6328.1	

** $p < 0.01$ * $0.01<p<0.05$
Source: ITAGEN2

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