Otros contenidos disponibles en [Revistes UPC](#)

ACE | Architecture, City and Environment

<https://doi.org/10.5821/ace.20.59.13500>

Examining Housing Exclusion among Women in Spain (2010-2021)

Análisis de la exclusión residencial de las mujeres en España (2010-2021)

Jordi Bosch-Meda ^{1*}

Recibido: 2025-02-05 | Versión final: 2025-10-15

Abstract

Keywords:
right to housing;
housing policy;
gender perspective;
housing exclusion

The aim of this article is to analyse the violation of the right to housing among women in Spain during the period 2010–2021. A multidimensional analytic framework structured in three areas – economic, physical, and psychosocial – is used to examine the exclusion of women from housing. Women's right to adequate housing and the necessity for more appropriate policies in this regard are recognised at both national and international levels. However, a considerable gap exists between this recognition and reality. The results of the analysis indicate the existence of a gender gap in the fulfilment of the right to housing in Spain. In the economic dimension (unaffordable housing), the statistical evidence regarding the greater difficulties women face in meeting housing costs in Spain is unquestionable. In the physical dimension (inadequate housing), the study corroborates the lower housing conditions of female-headed households. In the psychosocial dimension, on the one hand, the high levels of violence suffered by women in the home imply that for many it no longer performs the essential function of offering a safe haven (unsafe housing) and, on the other hand, women have a greater risk of experiencing housing instability and insecurity (insecure housing). To sum up, in Spain women are more likely to experience housing exclusion than men. To address these inequalities, it is necessary to go beyond the mere political and legal recognition of the right to housing and equality between men and women, and to implement effective policies that substantively narrow the gender gap in housing.

E-ISSN: 1886-9751

Resumen

Palabras clave:
derecho a la vivienda;
política de vivienda;
perspectiva de género;
exclusión residencial

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar la vulneración del derecho a la vivienda de la mujer en España durante el periodo 2010-2021. Para ello, se utiliza un marco analítico multidimensional estructurado en tres áreas: económica, física y psicosocial. El derecho de la mujer a una vivienda adecuada y la necesidad de políticas más adecuadas en este sentido están reconocidos tanto a escala nacional como internacional. Sin embargo, existe una gran distancia entre este reconocimiento y la realidad. Los resultados confirman la existencia de una brecha de género en el cumplimiento del derecho a la vivienda en España. En la dimensión económica (vivienda inasequible), la evidencia estadística sobre las mayores dificultades de la mujer para satisfacer los costes residenciales en España es incuestionable. En la dimensión física (vivienda inadecuada), el estudio corrobora las inferiores condiciones residenciales de los hogares encabezados por una mujer. En la dimensión psicosocial, por un lado, los altos niveles de violencia que sufre la mujer en el hogar hacen que para muchas ya no cumpla la función esencial de ofrecer un refugio seguro (vivienda insegura) y, por otro lado, la mujer tiene un mayor riesgo de experimentar inestabilidad e inseguridad residencial (vivienda inestable). En resumen, en España las mujeres tienen más probabilidades de padecer exclusión residencial que los hombres. Para corregir estas desigualdades, es necesario ir más allá del mero reconocimiento político y jurídico del derecho a la vivienda y de la igualdad entre hombres y mujeres y desarrollar políticas eficaces que reduzcan la brecha de género en vivienda.



Citation: Bosch-Meda, Jordi. (2025). Examining Housing Exclusion among Women in Spain (2010–2021). *ACE: Architecture, City and Environment*, 20(59), 13500. <https://doi.org/10.5821/ace.20.59.13500>

¹ Ph.D. Architect, Assistant Professor, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya. * Contact e-mail: jordi.bosch@hotmail.es

1. Introduction

The necessity for gender mainstreaming in urban policies, and more specifically in housing policies, to address their disadvantaged position in the housing markets, has been a long-standing priority on the international political agenda, as evidenced by numerous global agreements. These include, among others, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979, the Beijing Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the United Nations international conferences on Human Settlements, more commonly known as Habitat, or the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted in 2015.

Within the European context, there are numerous references in Community legislation to the principle of equality between men and women. The principle was enshrined in labour matters in the founding Treaty of Rome of 1957. The 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam adopted a more comprehensive approach, assigning the European Union the mandate to foster equal opportunities between men and women. To this end, the Treaty called upon the European Union to incorporate this principle into all its policies and programmes. A decade later, the Lisbon Treaty specified that one of the values common to all Member States was equality between women and men. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which has been binding on member states since 2009, further elaborates on this commitment by stating that equality between men and women must be ensured in all areas (European Union, 2000).

However, the international initiatives that have most fully addressed the issue of women's housing needs have emerged around the role of local governments in human rights and urban policies. The 2000 European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City is a case in point. Endorsed by approximately 360 local governments across Europe, Article XVI on the Right to Housing acknowledges that 'All citizens have the right to decent, safe and healthy housing' (United Cities and Local Governments, 2012).

This charter has been followed by numerous similar initiatives such as, for example, the World Charter for the Right to the City proposed by the social movements gathered in Porto Alegre at the first World Social Forum in 2001, the Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities of 2007, the Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City of 2010, or the Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City promoted by the United Cities and Local Governments Global Platform and adopted in Florence at the end of 2011.

In February 2019, the Global Platform for the Right to the City presented its Manifesto for Women's Right to the City, which calls for, among other aspects: (i) the implementation of measures (regulatory, urban, economic and social) to combat all forms of discrimination against women and girls; (ii) the promotion of women's full and effective political participation and equal opportunities; (iii) the establishment of a city free from any form of violence against women; (iv) their protection in any context (including in armed conflicts); (v) the realisation of the right to adequate housing, with security of tenure, access to safe drinking water, sanitation, and hygiene; (vi) the recognition, valuation and redistribution of the work involved in the care of dependent persons and community care; (vii) women's equitable and affordable access to goods, public services, and opportunities; (viii) the promotion of women's economic autonomy; (ix) and women's participation in the planning, design, production, use and occupation of urban space.

Despite the extensive recognition of women's rights to housing and the associated obligation to enhance its efficacy, women's housing exclusion remains a prevalent issue in numerous countries. Reports by the UN Special Rapporteur on women's right to adequate housing (Kothari, 2003, 2005, 2006), and by subsequent rapporteurs on adequate housing as an integral element of the right to an adequate standard of living (Rolnik, 2013; Farha, 2015), as well as those published directly by the UN (UNCHS, 1999; UN-Human Rights, 2012; UN-Habitat, 2014) and those relating to regional consultations on this issue (UN-Habitat, 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006; Emanuelli, 2004; ODESC, 2006) denounce that women suffer discriminatory treatment in all spheres essential to the enjoyment of adequate housing because of a host of interrelated factors, including: (i) women's unequal access to education and sources of income; (ii) their inferior position in labour markets; (iii) their higher rates of poverty and social exclusion; (iv) the frequent legal and social barriers to access land, property, inheritance, credit and housing subsidies; (v) and the absence of national programmes to redress this discrimination.

Furthermore, these reports identify specific groups of women who are particularly vulnerable regarding housing due to the intersection of multiple axes of exclusion, including single-parent households, women victims of domestic violence, older women, disabled women, refugees, widows, women belonging to ethnic minorities, migrant workers, sex workers, lesbians and transgender women, separated and divorced women, and victims of forced evictions.

Numerous studies conducted outside the United Nations sphere concur with this diagnosis, including those undertaken in Latin America (e.g. CLADEM/ACCD, 2008; COHRE, 2010), Australia (e.g. Stokes & Nelson, 2005; Tually, Beer & Faulkner, 2007; Stone *et al.*, 2024), Europe (Domergue *et al.*, 2015), or others with a global scope (e.g. Westendorp, 2007; Kennett & Kam, 2010).

In this context, the aim of this article is to analyse the violation of women's housing rights in Spain in comparison to men over the period 2010-2021. However, the present article does not address all aspects of gender inequality in housing. At a technical level, gender mainstreaming in public policies implies considering and attempting to eradicate inequality between men and women in all dimensions and in each of the phases of the policy-making process.

This inequality manifests in four main dimensions: (i) the social dimension, which encompasses the social construction of gender differences in terms of hierarchy and subordination; (ii) the economic dimension, that is, women's unequal access to economic resources; (iii) the dimension, considered as the legal discrimination against women; and (iv) the political dimension, fundamentally consisting of women's lower representation and participation in all related political processes. Consequently, within this conceptual framework, this research employs exclusively a gender-based approach in the diagnosis of the housing problems that women face in comparison to men.

2. Theoretical Framework

To undertake a rigorous analysis of this field, it is imperative to establish a definitive definition of the requirements that a dwelling must meet to be considered decent and adequate. This issue has been the focus of several studies and organisations. In 1991, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) developed the concept of adequate housing contained in Article 11 of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (United Nations, 1991).

The concept of housing adequacy, as outlined by the CESCR, encompasses the following seven aspects: (i) legal security of tenure, ensuring protection against arbitrary forced evictions, harassment, and other threats; (ii) availability of basic services; (iii) affordability; (iv) habitability; (v) accessibility; (vi) a location that facilitates access to employment, educational, health, and social services in an unpolluted environment; and (vii) cultural adequacy in its design and construction.

The theoretical framework of habitability, as developed by Hernández and Velázquez (2014) on the basis of the definition formulated by Landáruzi and Mercado (2004), comprises two fundamental dimensions: a physical-spatial dimension related to the satisfaction of objective needs, and a psychosocial dimension linked to subjective needs.

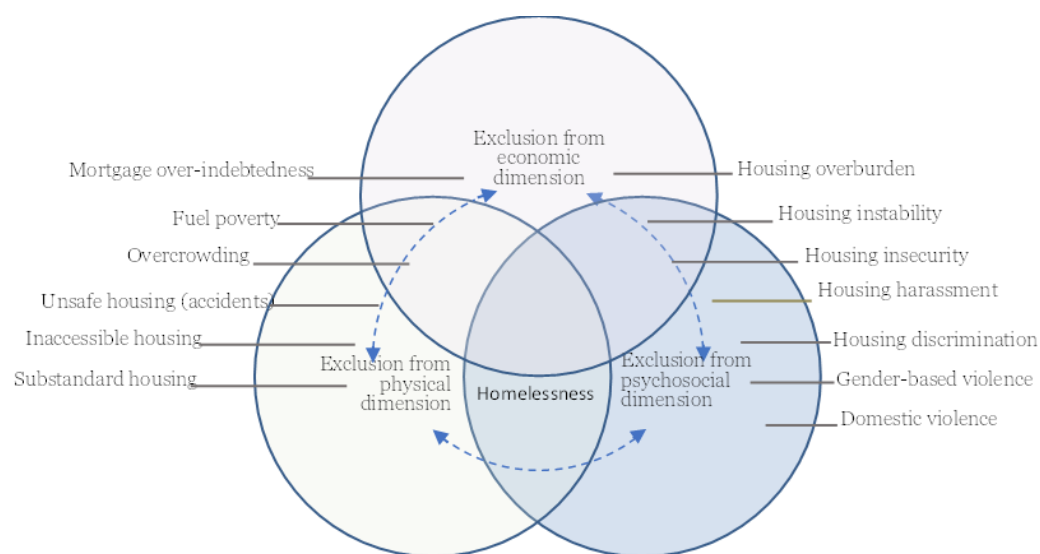
Cortés (2004) considers that housing exclusion occurs when housing does not meet any of the following four requirements: (i) affordability in relation to household income; (ii) stability in its use; (iii) adequacy in regard to the changing needs of the household's members and their life cycles; and (iv) habitability, understood as the minimum quality requirements for the building, services and environment in which it is located.

To define and classify different forms of housing exclusion including homelessness, Edgar (2009) states that decent housing is that which (i) meets the needs of all household members (physical domain); (ii) guarantees privacy and the enjoyment of social relations (social domain); and (iii) is legally occupied, thereby giving exclusive possession and security of occupation (legal domain). Based on this approach, FEANTSA (Fédération Européenne d'Associations Nationales Travaillant avec les Sans-Abri) has developed the so-called ETHOS (European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion) classification that today is not only the most widely used standard at European level but is also a worldwide benchmark for studies in this field.

Considering the theoretical development and the specific problems that women face in relation to housing, this research is based on a theoretical analytic framework of housing exclusion articulated in three interrelated conceptual dimensions: economic, physical and psychosocial (Figure 1).

The economic dimension relates to the commodification of housing and, more specifically, to its affordability, that is, the ability of households to meet housing costs. Consequently, exclusion in this dimension (unaffordable housing) occurs when the household is unable to meet housing-related expenses or does so to the detriment of adequately meeting other basic needs such as food, clothing, education, or transport.

Figure 1. Multidimensional conceptual framework of housing exclusion from a gender perspective



Source: Own elaboration.

The physical dimension refers to the functional, constructional, and material adequacy of the dwelling to the changing needs of its occupants. This dimension (inadequate housing) includes deficiencies such as a lack of space, lack of natural light, inaccessibility, the absence of adequate safety measures (e.g. to prevent fire or accidents), inadequate acoustic or thermal insulation, and the absence of basic facilities, services and equipment, as well as poor building maintenance.

The psychosocial dimension is derived from the role that housing should provide as (i) a safe and stable shelter, and (ii) a place where occupants can enjoy privacy, control of space, tranquillity, protection, and security from any physical, psychological, and legal persecution.

From a gender perspective, the main problem in this dimension is the existence of violence against women within the home (unsafe housing), although exclusion from this dimension also includes other situations (insecure housing) such as the lack of legal property titles, living under the threat of eviction (not only due to non-payment or squatting, but also due to expropriation without any right to relocation), the residential instability of households forced to move due to financial difficulties (frequent movers), usually in search of more affordable housing, real estate harassment (e.g. by landlords towards tenants whose rental agreements are subject to rent control legislation with unlimited durations and rents frozen at far below market prices), and housing discrimination (e.g. by landlords, real estate agents, lending agents or state officials in accessing accommodation or loans required to access accommodation). About the latter, discrimination may even have a legal basis, for example, in access to property, a rental agreement or a mortgage loan, or in matters of inheritance law (UN-Human Rights, 2012).

Logically, there are multiple links between the three conceptual dimensions mentioned above. Exclusion in the economic dimension, on the one hand, limits women's options in the housing market to the most affordable available supply, usually housing with lower standards of quality and facilities (physical dimension); and on the other hand, it is a key element of housing instability and insecurity (psychosocial dimension).

Indeed, any form of exclusion in the physical and economic dimensions undermines the perception of housing as safe, stable, and adequate shelter, which is directly or indirectly linked to the psychosocial dimension.

Because of these multiple links between dimensions, some manifestations of housing problems are the result of exclusion in more than one dimension (Figure 1). For example, while fuel poverty is directly related to household income (economic dimension), it tends to occur in buildings with poor thermal insulation (physical dimension). Similarly, overcrowding can be defined as a lack of space (physical dimension) but is often used as a strategy to reduce housing costs (economic dimension).

3. Methodology

At a methodological level, this research is based on several statistical sources: (i) the annual Living Conditions Survey (LCS) of the National Statistics Institute (INE), harmonised at European level through the European Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) of EUROSTAT (LCS data for the period 2020–2021 has been grouped together for greater statistical robustness); (ii) the Survey on Integration and Social Needs (EINSFOESSA Survey, years 2018 and 2021) carried out by Foessa Foundation; (iii) statistics on women who are fatal victims of gender violence produced by the Government Delegation against Gender Violence (Ministry of Equality) (period 2010–2021); and (iv) statistics on domestic violence and gender-based violence generated by the INE (period 2011–2021).

The definition of the analysis period (2010–2021) is due to three factors. Firstly, statistical reasons necessitated the aggregation of different waves of the Living Conditions Survey to enhance the robustness of the results. Secondly, statistics on domestic violence and gender-based violence were established by the INE in 2011. Thirdly, it was during this period that, after the housing bubble burst, the most serious housing crises in Spain's recent history occurred, namely, the mortgage crisis (2010–2014), the rental market crisis owing to rising rental prices during the economic recovery (2014–2020) and culminating in the crisis caused by the pandemic of 2020 (2020–2021).

4. Results

4.1. *The Economic Dimension of Housing Exclusion: Unaffordable Housing*

As in almost all Mediterranean countries (Allen *et al.*, 2004; Allen, 2006), the Spanish housing system is characterised by (i) a high rate of home ownership (and hence a low proportion of renters); (ii) a liberal legal framework that has traditionally favoured private developers in aspects such as land ownership, urban planning and residential development; and (iii) the limited scope of housing policy and public resources allocated to housing. This last point explains the underdeveloped nature of the housing benefit system (both in terms of budget and the number of rented households benefiting from it) and the tiny size of the social rented sector, which accounts for only 2% of the total housing stock. By contrast, the social rented sector is much larger in most European countries, reaching an average of 9% across the European Union and over 20% in countries such as Denmark (21%), Austria (24%) and the Netherlands (30%) (Pittini *et al.*, 2019). EUROSTAT data (European System of Integrated Social Protection Statistics, ESSPROS) confirms the structural weakness of Spanish housing policy. Between 2010 and 2021, social protection expenditure on housing per inhabitant as a percentage of GDP in Spain ranged from 20% to 45% of the EU average.

In this context, one of the emerging problems of the Spanish housing system is the affordability in the rental market. According to the results of the EU-SILC survey, during the period 2010–2021, Spanish rented households spent on average 31.7% of their disposable income on rent, the highest percentage of all EU-27 countries and about eight points above the EU average (23.8%).

Table 1. Indicators of the economic dimension of housing exclusion by sex, Spain 2010–2021 (average annual rates)

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Housing Cost Overburden Rate (total population)	9.6%	10.0%	+0.4
Median of the housing cost burden distribution (share of household disposable income dedicated to housing costs, total population)	11.5%	12.0%	+0.5

Source: European Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC), EUROSTAT.

This affordability crisis is even more severe among women. Compared to men, women are less well integrated into the labour market: lower wages and activity rates, higher rates of unemployment, more temporary and part-time jobs than men, as well as greater hardship when attempting to reconcile work, domestic tasks, and family care (Bosch, 2020). Thus, women face greater difficulties in meeting housing costs as they spend a higher proportion of their income on housing and are more likely to be in a situation of housing cost overburden (Tables 1, 2 and 3).

Table 2. Indicators of the economic dimension of housing exclusion by sex of a household's primary income earner (breadwinner), Spain 2018

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Households with excessive housing costs (1)	8.5%	11.5%	+3.0
Households that consider that they do not have enough money to meet housing costs (mortgage, rent or utilities).	11.4%	13.5%	+2.1
Households that have had to reduce expenditure on water, gas or electricity	20.9%	25.8%	+4.9
Households threatened with having their electricity, water or telephone cut off due to non-payment in the last 12 months	6.7%	7.8%	+1.1
Households unable to keep their home at an adequate temperature	14.8%	20.1%	+5.3

Note: (1) Households whose income, net of housing costs, is below the severe poverty line (defined as 40% of the median equivalised household income). Source: 2018 EINSFOESSA Survey.

It should be noted that the latter indicator measures the percentage of the population living in households whose housing financial burden exceeds 40% of their income. This threshold was set because if the cost of housing exceeds this proportion of household income, the household is likely to have insufficient financial resources to meet other basic needs, especially among the population in the two lowest income quintiles.

In addition, all fuel-poverty-related indicators such as the inability to keep the home at an adequate temperature, the need to reduce energy consumption, being in arrears on utility bills, or threats of having utilities cut off, illustrate the greater difficulties that female-headed households have in meeting energy costs (Tables 2 and 3).

This finding, that is, the feminisation of the economic dimension of housing exclusion, is consistent with other studies conducted in recent years in this field (e.g. González, 2017; ODESC & PAH, 2018; Delgado & López, 2020) and third sector reports such as those published by Caritas Española (e.g. Sánchez & Galindo, 2022) and by Cruz Roja Española (e.g. Cruz Roja Española, 2021; Romera, Grané & Gil, 2021) based on the profile of the people they attend. Likewise, the analyses carried out in Catalonia on the profile of applicants and recipients of housing allowances schemes confirm the growing feminisation of housing exclusion, which is particularly high in the case of measures to deal with housing emergencies and in cases of energy poverty (e.g. Bosch, 2021).

Table 3. Indicators of the economic dimension of housing exclusion by sex of a household's primary income earner (breadwinner), Spain 2021

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Households with excessive housing costs (1)	12.2%	17.5%	+5.3
Households that have had to reduce expenditure on water, gas, or electricity	16.1%	17.8%	+1.7
Households in arrears on utility bills in the last 12 months	10.1%	11.9%	+1.8
Households threatened with having their electricity, water or telephone cut off due to non-payment in the last 12 months	6.1%	7.0%	+0.9

Note: (1) Households whose income, net of housing costs, is below the severe poverty line (defined as 40% of the median equivalised household income). Source: 2021 EINSFOESSA Survey.

4.2. The Physical Dimension of Housing Exclusion: Inadequate Housing

Another feature of the Spanish housing system, also related to the limited scope of housing policy in the country, is the significant rehabilitation deficits of part of the housing stock. A good example of this fact are the results of the study carried out by Ahrendt *et al.* (2016) on the costs of inadequate housing in the EU Member States. According to the estimates made in this study, the total direct and indirect costs of the impact of inadequate housing on health in Spain exceed €22.35 billion per year, one of the highest amounts in the EU-28, higher only in the UK and Poland.

From a gender perspective, the lower socio-economic situation of women is also the main factor contributing to their housing exclusion in the physical dimension, as their lack of resources means that they are restricted to the most affordable dwellings, which are generally of lower quality, often preventing them from carrying out maintenance or improvements to their dwellings. Despite the limitations of the available statistics on the physical dimension of housing exclusion in Spain, the results indicate that female-headed households are more likely to live in darker, noisier, less accessible, and less healthy dwellings than male-headed households (Tables 4, 5 and 6).

However, the incidence of overcrowding does not follow the same pattern and, on the contrary, is slightly higher among men (Tables 5 and 6). This is probably due to a statistical bias in the overcrowding results analysed by the sex of the reference person. Because of the presence of numerous adults in these dwellings, it is logical to find a higher percentage of male-headed households in overcrowding conditions, which does not directly mean that this problem affects a smaller number of women.

Table 4. Indicators of the physical dimension of housing exclusion by sex of a household's reference person, Spain 2010–2020 (average annual rates)

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Households that consider their dwelling too dark	5.2%	6.1%	+0.9
Households that consider that they suffer from noise from neighbours or from the street	16.2%	17.4%	+1.2

Note: The household's reference person is the member of the household in whose name the accommodation is owned or rented or is otherwise responsible for the accommodation. Source: European Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC), EUROSTAT.

Table 5. Indicators of the physical dimension of housing exclusion by sex of a household's primary income earner (breadwinner), Spain 2018

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Households in dwellings with sanitation problems (dampness, dirt, odours)	6.1%	8.1%	+2.0
Households in dwellings with severe architectural barriers for people with disabilities	2.9%	5.3%	+2.4
Households in dwellings in need of renovation	4.3%	7.1%	+2.8
Households in multi-family dwellings without a lift	25.8%	29.7%	+3.9
Households in severe overcrowding (less than 15 m ² per person)	3.9%	2.5%	-1.4
Households that due to financial difficulties share the dwelling with other unrelated persons	1.2%	1.9%	+0.7
Households that due to financial difficulties rent out a room	0.7%	1.3%	+0.5

Source: 2018 EINSFOESSA Survey.

Table 6. Indicators of the physical dimension of housing exclusion by sex of a household's primary income earner (breadwinner), Spain 2021

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Households in dwellings with sanitation problems (dampness, dirt, odours)	6.4%	8.6%	+2.2
Households in dwellings in need of renovation	7.2%	7.1%	-0.1
Households in severe overcrowding (less than 15 m2 per person)	4.7%	4.4%	-0.3
Households that due to financial difficulties share the dwelling with other unrelated persons	1.8%	1.8%	0.0
Households that due to financial difficulties rent out a room	1.3%	1.4%	+0.1

Source: 2021 EINSFOESSA Survey.

4.3. The Psychosocial Dimension of Housing Exclusion: Insecure and Unsafe Housing

Although Spanish official statistics are very limited in terms of sex-disaggregated data on housing insecurity and instability, the results of the EINSFOESSA survey are conclusive in this regard: female-headed households are more likely to be in mortgage or rent arrears, to be evicted and to be frequent movers (Tables 7 and 8). This is closely related to their higher levels of housing exclusion in the economic dimension, given the causal link between housing insecurity, housing instability, and low income.

Table 7. Indicators of housing instability and housing insecurity by sex of a household's primary income earner (breadwinner), Spain 2018

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Households in arrears on mortgage or rent payments in the last 12 months	5.3%	6.8%	+1.5
Households under threat of eviction from their dwelling (imminent or not)	1.8%	2.4%	+0.6
Households that due to financial difficulties have been forced to move to another house	1.6%	2.6%	+1.0

Source: 2018 EINSFOESSA Survey.

Table 8. Indicators of housing instability and housing insecurity by sex of a household's primary income earner (breadwinner), Spain 2021

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Households in arrears on mortgage or rent payments in the last 12 months	5.2%	8.0%	+2.8
Households with precarious housing tenure (provided for free by other persons or institutions, re-renting, squatting)	4.2%	4.5%	+0.3
Households under threat of eviction from their dwelling (imminent or not)	2.2%	2.3%	+0.1
Households that due to financial difficulties have been forced to move to another house	2.0%	2.7%	+0.7

Source: 2021 EINSFOESSA Survey.

The distribution of households by tenure status and sex of the primary income earner corroborates these findings (Tables 9 and 10). The proportion of renters, who in Spain tend to be at higher risk of housing insecurity and instability and have more housing affordability problems than homeowners due to rent increases (e.g. Asociación Provivienda, 2019; Ayala & Pérez, 2019), is higher among female-headed households. In this sense, the higher rate of outright homeownership among woman can simply be attributed to their longer life expectancy.

Numerous studies carried out in Spain over the last decade based on other sources and using different methodologies also highlight the greater risk of housing instability and insecurity for women, particularly in terms of evictions due to foreclosure or non-payment of rent (e.g. ODESC & PAH, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2018; Sunderland, 2014; Sánchez, 2014; Amnistía Internacional España, 2017; Bosch, 2017, 2020, 2021; García & Etxezarreta, 2018; Observatorio Vasco de la Vivienda, 2019; Delgado & López, 2020).

Regarding unsafe housing, violence against women is one of the most serious manifestations of their unequal status in society. The consequences of this violence are multiple in both the public and private spheres, causing physical, sexual, and psychological harm and suffering, economic damage, and social exclusion. Furthermore, gender-based violence and women's housing exclusion are strongly linked (e.g. Jasinski *et al.*, 2010; Mayock, Bretherton & Baptista, 2016; FEANTSA, 2019; Matulič *et al.*, 2019a, 2019b; Pérez de Madrid, 2019; Botija *et al.*, 2022).

Table 9. Percentage of households by tenure status of the dwelling and sex of a household's primary income earner (breadwinner), Spain 2018

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Outright homeownership	50.0%	52.6%	+2.6
Homeownership with mortgage payments	22.7%	18.3%	-4.4
Rental	24.8%	27.1%	+2.3
Others	2.5%	1.9%	-0.6

Source: 2018 EINSFOESSA Survey.

Table 10. Percentage of households by tenure status of the dwelling and sex of a household's reference person, Spain 2010–2021 (annual average rates)

	Men (M)	Women (W)	Gender Gap (W-M)
Homeownership	78.1%	76.2%	-1.9
Rental at market price	13.3%	13.8%	+0.5
Rental below market price	2.3%	3.4%	+1.1
Others	6.3%	6.6%	+0.3

Source: Living Conditions Survey (LCS) (National Statistics Institute, INE).

Although official data on gender-based and domestic violence are available from the National Institute of Statistics and can be used to examine the extent of the problem, caution should be exercised given the limitations of these sources. One way of estimating the extent of the problem is using administrative data collected through reporting and recording procedures by institutions such as the police, prosecutors' offices and courts. This is the method used by the National Institute of Statistics. Obviously, due to the high number of cases in which no police or judicial action is taken, these sources represent only a fraction of the real extent of this phenomenon (reported violence). Another way of exploring this issue is through surveys that include specific questions on gender-based violence. This is known as disclosed violence (or subjective violence), but again it only reveals part of the problem, as not all victims admit to having suffered violence, sometimes because they do not identify certain situations as violent. A third way is through opinion polls on the subject, although their purpose is not so much to quantify the scale of the problem as to measure social perceptions and attitudes towards the phenomenon. In short, the actual prevalence of gender-based violence in any of its forms will always be greater than what is statistically recorded (EIGE, 2019).

The number of women victims of gender-based violence (officially defined in Spain as any act of physical or psychological violence, including attacks on sexual freedom, threats, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, perpetrated against a woman by a man who is or has been her husband, intimate partner or who is or has been linked to her by a similar affective relationship, even without cohabitation) in Spain in 2011-2021 is around 323,000, with a particularly high prevalence in the 25-44 age group (Table 11).

In addition, the number of women who were fatal victims of gender-based violence in the period 2010-2021 is 698, in this case with a high incidence among women aged 41-64 (Table 12).

The database on domestic violence (officially defined in Spain as any act of physical or psychological violence or any form of abuse of power by either a man or a woman against any member of the family) shows (i) that women are at greater risk of victimisation than men (Table 13); (ii) that the incidence among women is similar in all age groups (it ranges from 60% to 65%) (Table 13); and (iii) that there is a wide range of types of relationship between the victim and the reported person (Table 14). In summary, the results suggest that domestic violence is a widespread problem that is deeply rooted in Spanish society.

Table 11. Women victims of gender-based violence with protection orders or cautionary measures by age group, Spain 2011–2021

	Number	Percentage
Below 18 years	6,621	2.0%
18–24 years	47,876	14.8%
25–44 years	202,020	62.5%
45–64 years	60,341	18.7%
65 or more years	6,205	1.9%
Total	323,063	100.0%

Source: Statistics on domestic violence and gender-based violence (National Statistics Institute, INE).

Table 12. Women fatal victims of gender-based violence by age group, Spain 2010–2021

	Number	Percentage
Below 18 years	6	0.9%
18–30 years	135	19.3%
31–40 years	192	27.5%
41–64 years	284	40.7%
65 or more years	81	11.6%
Total	698	100.0%

Source: Government Office for Gender-based Violence.

Table 13. Victims of domestic violence with protection order or cautionary measures according to cases reported by sex and age group, Spain 2011–2021

	Number	Percentage	Percentage of women victims
Below 18 years	18,298	22.4%	59.0%
18–24 years	7,035	8.6%	65.4%
25–44 years	17,811	21.8%	60.1%
45–64 years	23,743	29.0%	63.5%
65 or more years	14,861	18.2%	64.9%
Total	81,748	100.0%	62.2%

Source: Statistics on domestic violence and gender-based violence (National Statistics Institute, INE).

Given the high levels of violence experienced by Spanish women, since the beginning of the twenty-first century housing plans and programmes have progressively included measures with a gender perspective. However, the development of gender perspective in Spanish housing policy is minimal.

Existing measures basically consist in: (i) the recognition of victims of domestic violence and single-parent households as priority groups for access to social housing and to certain housing benefits; and (ii) the inclusion of victims of gender violence and single-parent households that meet certain income and family composition requirements among the target households of some legal measures to protect mortgage debtors (e.g. Pareja-Eastway & Sanchez-Martinez, 2010; Pacheco, 2015; Bosch, 2017, 2020; Alonso, Paleo & Diz, 2022). Moreover, the effectiveness of many of these measures is determined by the shortage of social housing and the limited development of the Spanish housing benefit system.

Table 14. Victims of domestic violence with protection order or cautionary measures according to cases reported by sex, age group and relationship of the victim to the reported person. Spain, 2011–2021 (annual average rates)

Female victim	Victim (and relationship to the reported person)						Total
	Father Mother	Son Daughter	Brother Sister	Grandfather Grandmother	Grandson Granddaughter	Other relative	
Below 18 years	0.0%	78.6%	5.8%	0.0%	2.3%	13.3%	100%
18–24 years	0.0%	52.4%	19.9%	0.0%	0.7%	26.9%	100%
25–44 years	30.9%	15.3%	19.4%	0.0%	0.6%	33.7%	100%
45–64 years	73.8%	4.9%	8.1%	0.9%	0.0%	12.3%	100%
65 or more years	84.3%	0.0%	0.8%	8.5%	0.0%	6.3%	100%
Male victim							
Below 18 years	0.0%	82.5%	5.3%	0.0%	1.4%	10.7%	100%
18–24 years	0.0%	48.4%	20.2%	0.0%	0.5%	30.9%	100%
25–44 years	6.4%	12.5%	22.1%	0.0%	0.1%	59.0%	100%
45–64 years	51.7%	3.3%	11.7%	0.3%	0.0%	33.0%	100%
65 or more years	80.8%	0.0%	1.2%	5.6%	0.0%	12.5%	100%

Source: Statistics on domestic violence and gender-based violence (National Statistics Institute, INE).

5. Conclusions

This analysis of the violation of the right to housing in Spain from a gender perspective using a multidimensional analytical framework divided into three areas (economic, physical, and psychosocial) confirms that women had greater difficulties than men in accessing decent and adequate housing in the period 2010–2021. The gender perspective should therefore become a fundamental axis in the design, planning, implementation, and evaluation of housing policy programmes.

Regarding the economic dimension (unaffordable housing), the statistical evidence of women's greater difficulties in meeting housing costs is beyond doubt. Mainly because of the multiple forms of discrimination they experience in the labour market, women spend a higher proportion of their income on housing costs than men and are therefore more likely to experience fuel poverty and housing cost overburden, and to be unable to pay for other basic needs. Regarding the physical dimension (inadequate housing), the housing conditions of female-headed households are systematically lower in terms of acoustic insulation, accessibility, sanitation, and natural light. Conversely, overcrowding rates are slightly higher among men probably due to a statistical bias in the results given the presence of many adults in these dwellings. Regarding the psychosocial dimension (unsafe and insecure housing), the high levels of violence suffered by women in their homes, not only from intimate partners (gender-based violence) but also from family members (domestic violence), mean that for many their homes no longer fulfil the essential function of providing a safe place to live, which reinforces their risk of social exclusion. In addition, female-headed households are more likely to experience housing insecurity and housing instability given its strong causal link to housing affordability and low income.

In this context, the high level of housing exclusion among women in Spain cannot be understood solely as a matter of social inequality. It is a systemic issue that plays a crucial role in perpetuating patriarchal structures, and in reinforcing the processes of social exclusion experienced by women due to the importance of housing in our lives. There is vast evidence of the adverse impact of all forms of residential exclusion on physical and mental health, as well as on integration into the labour market.

For example, women who are under financial strain due to housing costs tend to suffer more frequently from physical and mental health problems associated with distress and are often forced to move to more affordable dwellings, usually in peripheral neighbourhoods with poorer connections to public services and workplaces, which limits their employment opportunities and their ability to balance family and work life. Consequently, this issue needs to be addressed comprehensively in all its complexity. Urban and housing policies can and should contribute to reducing and mitigating the negative effects of housing exclusion on women, but they will never be able to eliminate these inequalities on their own.

Finally, a better understanding of how housing exclusion affects women in Spain is needed to develop more effective and efficient housing policies. This study provides a first approach to the issue, but further research is needed, for example, on differences between age groups, types of female-headed households, women's housing trajectories, or the situation of Spanish women in comparison to other EU countries. However, there are numerous statistical limitations to conducting more ambitious quantitative studies in this field. Reducing this gender data gap is essential to advancing in this field, both academically and in terms of monitoring housing exclusion and housing policies from a gender perspective.

Conflict of interest: Author declares no conflict of interests.

6. Bibliography

- Ahrendt, D., Dubois, H., Jungblut, J. M., Roys, M., Nicol, S., Ormandy, D., Ezratty, V., Fox, T., Sennett, J., Pittini, A., Anderson, R., Faller, P., Vandamme, J. & Welsh, M. (2016). *Inadequate housing in Europe: Costs and consequences*. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/system/files/2016-08/ef1604en_0.pdf
- Allen, J. (2006). Welfare regimes, welfare systems and housing in Southern Europe. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 6, 251–277. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616710600973102>
- Allen, J., Barlow, J., Leal, J., Maloutas, T. & Padovani, L. (2004). *Housing and Welfare in Southern Europe*. Blackwell Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470757536>
- Alonso, A., Paleo, N. & Diz, I. (2022). Políticas de vivienda con perspectiva de género: análisis comparado del marco normativo autonómico. *Política y Sociedad*, 59(3), e69327. <https://doi.org/10.5209/poso.69327>
- Amnistía Internacional España (2017). *La crisis de vivienda no ha terminado. El derecho a la vivienda y el impacto de los desahucios de viviendas de alquiler sobre las mujeres en España*. Amnistía Internacional España. https://www.es.amnesty.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Inf.Vivienda_FIN2.pdf
- Asociación Provivienda (2019). *Cuando la casa nos enferma II. Impactos en el bienestar social y emocional*. Asociación Provivienda. <https://www.siiis.net/documentos/ficha/547051.pdf>
- Ayala, L. & Pérez, B. (Coord.). (2019). La evolución de la Exclusión en España. In Fundación FOESSA (Ed.), *VIII Informe sobre exclusión y desarrollo social en España* (pp. 205–302). Fundación FOESSA and Cáritas Española. <http://www.plataformatercersector.es/sites/default/files/20190612%20VIII%20Informe-FOESSA-2019-completo.pdf>
- Bosch, J. (2017). Politiques d'habitatge amb perspectiva de gènere: un anàlisi des de la crisi. In B. Serrano-Lanzarote, C. Mateo-Cecilia, & A. Rubio-Garrido (Eds.), *Gènere i política urbana. Arquitectura i urbanisme des de la perspectiva de gènere* (pp. 79–110). Instituto Valenciano de la Edificación. https://biblioesp.gva.es/publicos/tcop/documentos/mig/genere_i_politica_urbana_2017.pdf
- Bosch, J. (2020). El derecho de la mujer a la vivienda en España (2008–2017). *Revista Estudios Feministas*, 28(1). <https://doi.org/10.1590/1806-9584-2020v28n154148>
- Bosch, J. (2021). Género en las políticas de vivienda de la Generalitat de Cataluña. In Instituto Valenciano de la Edificación (Ed.), *Género y vivienda* (pp. 74–84). Instituto Valenciano de la Edificación.
- Botija, M., Caravantes, G., Galán, A., Gallén, E. & Carbonell, A. (Coord) (2022). *Inclusión residencial: lo importante no es contar personas, sino que las personas cuenten*. Dykinson. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv36k5bt2>
- CLADEM/ACCD (2008). *Sistematización de Estudios Nacionales sobre Derechos Habitacionales y DESC de las mujeres en Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, México, Panamá, Paraguay, Perú, República Dominicana y Uruguay*. Comité de América Latina y El Caribe para la Defensa de los Derechos de la Mujer (CLADEM), Agència Catalana de Cooperació al Desenvolupament (ACCD). <http://biblioteca.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r25610.pdf>

- COHRE (2010). *Un lugar en el mundo. El derecho a una vivienda adecuada como elemento esencial de una vida libre de violencia doméstica. Los casos de Argentina, Brasil y Colombia*. Center on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE).
- Cortés, L. (2004). Indagaciones sobre la Exclusión Residencial. *Arxius de Sociologia*, 10, 39–55.
- Cruz Roja Española (2021). *El impacto de la COVID-19 en la población atendida por Cruz Roja a través del Plan RESPONDE*. Departamento de Estudios e Innovación Social, Boletín sobre vulnerabilidad social, 20. https://www2.cruzroja.es/documents/5640665/13549052/Boleti%CC%81n_CruzRoja_Vuln_20+Interactivo+%281%29.pdf/b1688d72-c928-c53a-da71-749998342507?t=1616755630307
- Delgado L. & López, D. (2020). *Emergència habitacional, salut i pobresa energètica. Informe de la inseguretat residencial a Barcelona 2017–2020*. Observatori DESC, Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca de Barcelona, Agència de Salut Pública de Barcelona, Enginyeria Sense Fronteres, Aliança contra la Pobresa Energètica. https://observatoridesc.org/sites/default/files/publication/files/informe-emergencia-habitacional-pobresa-energetica-salut-barcelona-2017-2020-cat_4.pdf
- Domergue, M., Derdek, N., Vaucher, A. C., de Francieu, L., Owen, R., Robert, C., Spinnewijn, F. & Uhry, M. (2015). *An Overview of Housing Exclusion in Europe 2015*. Foundation Abbe Pierre. https://www.feantsa.org/download/fap_eu_gb2861057678142834491.pdf
- Edgar, B. (2009). *2009 European Review of Statistics on Homelessness*. FEANTSA. <https://www.feantsaresearch.org/download/6-20098376003316223505933.pdf>
- EIGE (2019). *Gender-based violence. Understanding intimate partner violence in the EU: the role of data*. Publications Office of the European Union, European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE). <https://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/mh0218660enn.pdf>
- Emanuelli, M. S. (Ed.). (2004). *Vivienda con rostro de mujer: mujeres y derecho a una vivienda adecuada*. Social Watch, Coalición Internacional para el Hábitat, Oficina Regional para América Latina (HIC-AL), Red Mujer, Hábitat América Latina. <https://hic-al.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Vivienda-con-Rostro-de-Mujer.pdf>
- European Union (2000). *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf
- Farha, L. (2015). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context*. Human Rights Council. <https://www.refworld.org/es/ref/infortem/cdhonu/2015/es/108990>
- FEANTSA (2019). *Women experiencing violence and homelessness: interlinked and unaddressed gender specific needs*. FEANTSA. https://www.feantsa.org/public/user/Resources/Position_papers/FEANTSA_background_paper_Women%27s_Homelessness_and_GBV.pdf
- García, A. & Etchezarreta, A. (2018). Un estudio de caso de los desahucios a nivel local: el caso de stop desahucios Araba. *Revista de Economía Crítica*, 25, 26–46. <https://www.revistaeconomiacritica.org/index.php/rec/article/view/178/158>
- González, I. (2017). *Desigualdad de género y pobreza energética*. Un factor de riesgo olvidado. Asociación Catalana de Ingeniería Sin Fronteras. <https://esf-cat.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/ESFeres17-PobrezaEnergeticaIDesigualdadGenero.pdf>
- Hernández, G. & Velázquez, S. (2014). Vivienda y Calidad de Vida. Medición del Hábitat Social en el México Occidental. *Bitácora Urbano Territorial*, 1(24), 149–166. <https://biblat.unam.mx/hevila/Bitacoraurbanoterritorial/2014/vol1/no24/15.pdf>
- Jasinski, J. L., Wesely, J. K., Wright, J. D. & Mustaine, E. (2010). *Hard Lives, Mean Streets. Violence in the Lives of Homeless Women*. Northeastern University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1086/659432>
- Kennett, P. & Kam, C. (Eds.). (2010). *Women and Housing*. Taylor & Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203818930>
- Kothari, M. (2003). *Women and adequate housing. Study by the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and the right to non-discrimination*. Commission on Human Rights, United Nations. <https://www.refworld.org/reference/themreport/unchr/2003/en/18707>
- Kothari, M. (2005). *Women and adequate housing. Study by the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living*. Commission on Human Rights, United Nations. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/543365/files/E_CN.4_2005_43-EN.pdf?ln=es
- Kothari, M. (2006). *Women and adequate housing. Report by the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination*. Commission on Human Rights, United Nations. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/569780/files/E_CN.4_2006_118-EN.pdf?ln=es

- Landáruzi, A. M. & Mercado, S. J. (2004). Algunos factores físicos y psicológicos relacionados con la habitabilidad interna de la vivienda. *Medio Ambiente y Comportamiento Humano*, 5(1-2), 89–113. https://mach.webs.ull.es/PDFS/Vol5_1y2/VOL_5_1y2_e.pdf
- Matulič, M. V., Boixadós Porquet, A., de Vicente, I., Abella, P. & Caïs, J. (2019a). *Dones sense llar a la ciutat de Barcelona*. Célebre editorial.
- Matulič, M. V., De-Vicente, I., Boixadós, A. & Caïs, J. (2019b). Las mujeres sin hogar: realidades ocultas de la exclusión social. *Trabajo Social Global – Global Social Work*, 9(16), 49–68. <https://doi.org/10.30827/tsg-gsw.v9i16.8198>
- Mayock, P., Bretherton, P. & Baptista, I. (2016). *Women's Homelessness and Domestic Violence: (In)visible Interactions*. In Mayock, P. & Bretherton, J. (Eds.), *Women's Homelessness in Europa* (pp. 75–102). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54516-9_6
- Observatorio Vasco de la Vivienda (2019). *Informe del acceso a la vivienda en Euskadi desde la perspectiva de género*. https://www.etxebide.euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/ovv_mujer19/es_ovv_ana/adjuntos/genero2019.pdf
- ODESC & PAH (2013). *Emergencia habitacional en el estado español: la crisis de las ejecuciones hipotecarias y los desalojos desde una perspectiva de derechos humanos*. Observatorio Derechos Humanos DESC & Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca. https://afectadosporlahipoteca.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/2013-Informe_habitatge-17Dic.pdf
- ODESC & PAH (2015). *Emergència habitacional a Catalunya. Impacte de la crisi hipotecària en el dret a la salut i els drets dels infants*. Observatorio Derechos Humanos DESC & Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca. https://pahbarcelona.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/informe_emergencia_habitacionat_catalunya_2015.pdf
- ODESC & PAH (2016). *Exclusión residencial en el mundo local. Informe de la crisis hipotecaria en Barcelona (2013–2016)*. Observatorio Derechos Humanos DESC & Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca. https://observatoridesc.org/sites/default/files/informeodesc_web_cast.pdf
- ODESC & PAH (2018). *Radiografies de la situació del dret a l'habitatge, la pobresa energètica i el seu impacte en la salut a Barcelona. Informe II. Perspectiva de gènere sobre el dret a l'habitatge i la pobresa energètica a Barcelona*. Observatorio Derechos Humanos DESC & Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca. <https://pahbarcelona.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Estudi-Genere-ASPB-ODESC-ESF-alta.pdf>
- ODESC (2006). *Mediterranean Regional Consultation on Women's Right to Adequate Housing*. Observatorio Derechos Humanos DESC. http://www.hlrn.org/img/documents/Consulta_Ing.pdf
- Pacheco, M. N. (2015). Evolución y situación actual en España del derecho preferente de acceso a vivienda protegida de las mujeres víctimas de violencia de género. *Aequalitas: Revista jurídica de igualdad de oportunidades entre mujeres y hombres*, 36, 6–14. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/5508157.pdf>
- Pareja-Eastway, M. & Sanchez-Martinez, T. (2010). Social Change and Housing Systems. In P. Kennett & C. Kam (Eds.), *Women and Housing* (pp. 71–95). Taylor & Francis.
- Pérez de Madrid, A. (Coord.) (2019). *Mujeres invisibles. Una mirada a las violencias y la exclusión. Informe ejecutivo*. Asociación para la Inclusión Residencial y Social (AIRES). <https://airesasociacion.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Informe-Final-Mujeres-Invisibles.pdf>
- Pittini, A., Dijol, J., Turnbull, D. & Whelan, M. (2019). *The State of Housing in the EU 2019*. European Social Housing Observatory, CECODHAS. <https://www.housingeurope.eu/file/860/download>
- Rolnik, R. (2013). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context*. Human Rights Council. <https://www.refworld.org/es/ref/infortem/cdhonu/2013/es/96736>
- Romera, R., Grané, Á. & Gil, P. (2021). *El impacto de la COVID-19 en la población atendida por Cruz Roja a través del Plan RESPONDE II*. Departamento de Estudios e Innovación Social, Boletín sobre vulnerabilidad social, vol. 23. https://www.eapn.es/ARCHIVO/documentos/documentos/1647330218_boletin-vulnerabilidad-n-23-el-impacto-de-la-covid-19.pdf
- Sánchez, M. & Galindo, S. (2022). *Un trabajo, una habitación y un gato. Las mujeres en situación de sin hogar en España atendidas por Cáritas*. Cáritas Española, Colección Estudios e Investigaciones, vol. 24. <https://www.caritas.es/main-files/uploads/2023/03/CARITAS-estudios-e-investigaciones-24-Interactivo.pdf>
- Sánchez, M. (2014). Sinhogarismo de las familias monomarentales. In *Libro de Actas del Congreso universitario internacional investigación y género 2014, Aportaciones a la investigación sobre mujeres y género* (pp. 214–225). Universidad de Sevilla, SIEMUS (Seminario Interdisciplinar de Estudios de las Mujeres de la Universidad de Sevilla). https://idus.us.es/bitstream/handle/11441/40579/Pages%20from%20Investigacion_Genero_14-1-6.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

- Stokes, A. & Nelson, A. (2005). *Women and Housing Policy and Research*. Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI).
- Stone, W., Sharam, A., Goodall, Z., Reynolds, M., Sinclair, S., Faulkner, D., James, A. & Zhang, T. (2024). *Gendered housing matters: toward gender-responsive data and policy making*. Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI). <https://doi.org/10.18408/ahuri5129901>
- Sunderland, J. (2014). *Sueños rotos. El impacto de la crisis española de la vivienda en grupos vulnerables*. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/spain0514sp_ForUpload_0.pdf
- Tually, S., Beer, A. & Faulkner, D. (2007). *Too Big to Ignore: Future Issues for Australian Women's Housing 2006-2025*. Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI). <https://web.archive.org/web/20110411012506/http://www.socsci.flinders.edu.au/ahuri.src/docs/toobigtoignoreReportFINAL2.pdf>
- UNCHS (1999). *Women's Rights to Land, Housing and Property in Post-Conflict Situations and during Reconstruction: A Global Overview*. United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2023-04/Women%27s_Rights_to_Housing_Global_Overview_1999_EN.pdf
- UN-Habitat (2002). *African Regional Civil Society Consultation on Women and Adequate Housing*. United Nations Human Settlements Programme. https://mirror.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/1557_49017_ARCSC.pdf
- UN-Habitat (2004a). *Proceedings of the Asia Regional Consultation on the Interlinkages between Violence against Women and Women's Right to Adequate Housing*. United Nations Human Settlements Programme. https://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/housing/docs/interlinkages_VAW_RAH.pdf
- UN-Habitat (2004b). *Women's Right to Adequate Housing and Land. Middle East/North Africa Proceedings of the Alexandria Consultation*. United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Housing and Land Rights Network, Habitat International Coalition. <https://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/housing/docs/alexandriaconsultations.pdf>
- UN-Habitat (2005). *Report on the Central-Asia/Eastern Europe Regional Consultation on Women's Right to Adequate Housing. The interlinkages between multiple discrimination and Women's Right to Adequate Housing*. United Nations Human Settlements Programme. https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ohchr.org%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Fenglish%2Fissues%2Fhousing%2Fdocs%2FSRAH_Budapest_Consultation_Final.doc&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK
- UN-Habitat (2006). *Proceedings of the Pacific Regional Consultation on Women's Rights to Adequate Housing and Land. Our Land, Our Homes, Our Culture, Our Human Rights*. United Nations Human Settlements Programme. https://www.hlrn.org.in/documents/Fiji_Report.pdf
- UN-Habitat (2014). *Women and Housing: Towards Inclusive Cities*. UN-Habitat. https://habnet.unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/documents/Women_and_Housing_Book.pdf
- UN-Human Rights (2012). *Women and the right to adequate housing*. The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/publications/WomenHousing_HR.PUB.11.2.pdf
- United Cities and Local Governments (2012). *European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City*. UCLG Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights. https://uclg-cisdp.org/sites/default/files/documents/files/2021-06/CISDP%20Carta%20Europea%20Sencera_baixa_3.pdf
- United Nations (1991). *The right to adequate housing, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), General Comment no 4 on Adequate Housing by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, E/1992/23, 1991*. https://www.hlrn.org.in/documents/CESCR_General_Comment_4.pdf
- Westendorp, I. (2007). *Women and Housing: Gender Makes a Difference*. Intersentia Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.26481/dis.20070601iw>