Executive Summary Potential victims' perception of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin 2020



Consejo para la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial o Étnica





MINISTERIO DE IGUALDAD SECRETARÍA DE ESTADO DE IGUALDAD Y CONTRA LA VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO

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Presentation

One of the powers of the Council for the Elimination of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination (CEDRE) enunciated by Royal Decree 1262/2007 is the preparation and publication of autonomous and independent reports on racial or ethnic discrimination. This has been one of the main tasks of the Council carried out mainly through its Study and Reports Working Group. In 2011 the Council in Spain published the first report on the situation of discrimination due to racial or ethnic origin, this report was followed by a second study in 2012 and a third in 2013 entitled: Perception of the discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin by their potential victims. Since then, there has been a pause in the production of this type of general scientific and informative documents. This void has been covered by other publications such as the Report of the Service for Attention to Victims of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination, or the different CEDRE publications on strategies and recommendations.

Faced with this impasse of several years, the publication of the report "Perception of possible victims of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin", which includes surveys carried out in the current year 2020, should be considered an even more relevant result. It is the product of the reactivation of the Council promoted by its former President, Prof. Ángeles Solanes Corella, with the invaluable support of the General Directorate for Equal Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity of Spain, chaired by Rita Bosaho Gori.

The report is the most exhaustive of the four carried out, since it proposes a longitudinal analysis of the different discrimination and exclusion markers with respect to previous studies. It should be noted that the context of confinement and restrictions due to the Coronavirus / Covid 19 pandemic has forced, on the one hand, to partially modify the methodology of face-to-face surveys of previous reports. And on the other hand, it has revealed an increase in cases of discrimination on housing and other aspects of Living Together, an historical reality that has been studied, the historical fact that social crises aggravate pre-existing problems. This is a situation that reveals the need to closely monitor racism, a changing phenomenon that has a double character, constant and explosive.

A total of 1,624 interviews have been carried out in all the Autonomous Communities of the Spanish State. They have been answered by people who are part of the eight population groups present in the previous studies. A significant effort has been made to modify certain designative terminologies of communities present in previous reports that do not correspond to their self-identifications or to the current recognized designative lines. This has only been possible in part since it was necessary to make this requirement compatible with giving continuity to the data. Likewise, greater attention has been paid to reflecting the dual reality of the participating communities so as not to fall into focusing only on migration. Racism has affected in the past, and affects today, to both foreign citizens and Spanish citizens.

Thanks to the effort of the Red2Red research team and its scientific excellence, the study we present contains important qualitative improvements that allow us to search for explanations of the discrimination phenomena in most of the areas of study, especially in the Employment, Training and Housing Areas. In future reports, a more participatory methodology will be used that will allow communities in the fight against racism to participate in the analysis of their situation, investigate the causes and proactively contribute with proposals for improvement. The next objective is to leave the objectifying ontology, stop being considered "objects of study" and be considered collaborating communities and individuals. Understand our dimensions: think, act, participate, transform, as historical subjects.

The report analyses Institutional racism in different aspects and confirms its persistence and apparent immutability, even when the administrative situation (Nationality) of the respondent's changes. In this sense, it is alarming that there has been no progress in many of the areas included, except on the Workplace and Policing ones. Likewise, the level of underreporting of cases of racism is alarming, since mistrust towards the system is based on the low number of judicial sentences that consider racism as a crime or as an aggravating factor. All the above abounds in the need to confront Institutional racism because it hinders any progress on Rights and Freedoms.

The report's conclusions are very direct and speak of the degree of exclusion that exists in Spain, due to the different forms of racism embedded in society, among which institutional racism is the most insidious of all. The situation manifests itself in serious invisibility, lack of representation and a social barrier effect that has consequences for job promotion and full enjoyment of rights. These barriers are historical and persistent. It is necessary to recognize the long duration of the phenomenon in Spain and, in a general framework, its links with modernity, with slavery and colonialism, as international organizations such as the United Nations have warned in the current International Decade of People of African Descent 2015-2024, as well as being a consequence of the conformation of contemporary Nation-States. Witnesses to these challenges are the long struggle for the recognition of the Roma People, the African communities and the Abya Yala communities in Spain, all of them decisive in the history and future of the country, a fact that, because it is not recognized, fosters the process of exclusion.

Scientific instruments such as statistics are critical for understanding situations of discrimination that create barriers to the full enjoyment of rights in a context that is obliged by its own reason of existence to promote equal opportunities. Studies must have a quantitative and a qualitative aspect, such as the one we present here, that allow us to approach the detail of the situations and establish interrelationships between the exclusion phenomena in order to advance in strategies to confront them. This study also allows us to consider the need for census statistics of the existing social diversity. In much of Europe, doubts have been raised over this type of data, due to the history of persecution of social groups on this continent. However, we believe that it is time to put these preventions aside and to understand that, with the necessary guarantees of anonymity and voluntariness, the implications of knowing in detail and in their totality our pluralities and the challenges we face can only be positive.

Antumi Toasijé

Historian, President of the Council for the Elimination of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination.

1. Introduction

This is the **executive summary of the study** entitled "Potential Victims' perception of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin." This study is the result of an initiative of the **Council for the Elimination of Racial and Ethnic Discrimination**, a collegiate body of the General State Administration attached to the Ministry of Equality through the Directorate-General for Equal Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity. It is not part of the Ministry's hierarchy.

The study's main goal is to gain insight into how potential victims perceive racial or ethnic discrimination and how this has evolved over time in terms of extent and intensity, and to identify the areas, circumstances and specific manifestations of discrimination, with a special focus on the field of employment and training for employment. Employment and training are of particular interest as this is one of the areas where higher levels of discrimination were detected in the latest editions of this report.

Our aim is to address how the prevalence of discrimination based on ethnic origin has evolved during 2010, 2011 and 2013 —especially as reported in the last two studies among the eight previously defined groups. We want to further our understanding of this phenomenon by analysing the extent to and intensity with which people experience discrimination in Spain. To that end, a representative survey was conducted nationally covering Spain's 17 autonomous communities and two autonomous cities.

Discrimination based on different factors is a phenomenon that has historically plagued Western societies. One of these factors is ethnic origin. Migratory processes and the ensuing increase in cultural diversity have been identified as factors that apparently exacerbate racial or ethnic discrimination, particularly in countries such as Spain where immigration is relatively recent¹.

The III World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance held in Durban (South Africa)² helped explain the historical origins of ethnic discrimination and racism and identify the main groups targeted by such discrimination.

While the concept of discrimination would appear self-evident, it is not always easy to prove since a large portion of discriminatory behaviour is invisible, i.e. subtle and implicit.

^{1.} Reports published in Spain indicate that discrimination is a real phenomenon: Raxen Annual Report, the reports published by the NGO Movement against Intolerance, the periodic reports of the Roma Secretariat Foundation and those published by the Spanish Observatory against Racism and Xenophobia.

^{2.} Declaration and Programme of Action of the III World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, held in Durban (South Africa): <u>https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/DurbanDecProgAction_sp.pdf</u>

To overcome this difficulty, regulatory frameworks now differentiate between direct and indirect discrimination³.

People perceive discrimination as being treated differently or negatively. Hence, discrimination encompasses a wide array of behaviours that can range from body or verbal language to violence.

As in previous editions of this report, and to provide continuity to this longitudinal study, information was gathered from the same eight population groups of diverse ethnic and territorial origins with a view to gaining insight into how they perceive discrimination. The groups are: Afro-Caribbeans and Afro-Latin-Americans (Afro-descendants), non-Mediterranean Africans, Indians-Pakistanis, Eastern Europeans, Maghrebis, Asians, Andean-Latin-Americans and Roma.

Importance was attached to structural discrimination affecting both migrants of African origin who have come directly from Africa and the descendants of the transatlantic slave trade. Although they have different origins, both groups suffer from structural barriers that keep them from fully exercising their rights in Spain, impacting different areas (UN, 2020)⁴. The intention here is to acknowledge the value and diversity of Africans' and Afro-descendants' cultural heritage while stressing the importance of ensuring their full integration into social, economic and political life with a view to facilitating their active participation at all levels of the decision-making process.

^{3.} Legally speaking, direct discrimination implies that a person is treated less favourably than others in similar circumstances due to some condition. Indirect discrimination, on the other hand, implies that an apparently neutral practice, measure, procedure or action puts a person at a disadvantage, based on some condition, unless that disadvantage can legitimately be justified.

^{4.} https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/pad_spanish.pdf

2. Methodology

This study has adopted a mixed methodology which, on the one hand, employs a powerful and reinforced quantitative methodology with which to gain a longitudinal perspective and put together a diagnosis on the extent to which these people are affected for simply being different, the prevalence of such treatment, the areas and circumstances in which it is most frequent and the consequences that this has on their lives and, on the other hand, a qualitative perspective aiming to gather a greater wealth of information to add value to this discrimination analysis.

2.1. Quantitative methodology

We decided to continue using the same survey approach as in previous studies to continue with the longitudinal analysis. We therefore used the 2013 questionnaire with the same **modular structure**, although **some new questions** were **added** in order to achieve all the research objectives and compare the different hypotheses, always taking the potential for comparability, i.e. how peoples' perception has evolved, between the different studies into account.

To determine how discrimination is perceived, information was collected on the **eight population groups of diverse ethnic and territorial origin** as defined in previous editions to continue the longitudinal analysis. While there is no direct correspondence between **nationality or country of origin** and ethnic group, these variables were used to help quantify the study's potential target group. We are, however, aware of the drawbacks involved. To limit the universe from which survey participants were chosen, we selected foreign nationals from Africa, Asia and America, descendants of foreign nationals who had emigrated to Spain, and Spanish and foreign Roma. All those surveyed must have been residing in Spain for at least six months.

As in previous studies, to overcome identification difficulties and multiple identification, in some cases self-identification was considered in addition to nationality and country of origin variables.

Non-probability (quota) sampling was used with more relative weight given to population groups that were proportionally less representative. The following table illustrates a technical sheet summarising the main survey characteristics:

2020 edition					
Sample	1624 surveys				
	Eastern Europe	Andean American			
	non-Mediterranean Africans	Spanish and Eastern European Roma			
Population groups by geographical origin	Maghreb	Afro-latino and Afro-Caribbean (people of African Descent)			
	East Asia	India-Pakistan			
Geographical scope	All national territory including Ceuta and Melilla.				
Sample error	2.48% overall, 95.5% confidence level, p=q				
Sampling procedure	Stratified sampling by population group and Autonomous Community.				
Other approximate parameters	Age, gender, employment status and city/town size				
Information collection method	Face-to-face and telephone interviews based on a questionnaire lasting 20-30 minutes				
Sampling procedure	Stratified sampling by ethnic group and Autono- mous Community				

This year's interviews were affected by an exceptional situation worldwide, the COV-ID-19 pandemic, which has caused a socio-health crisis of such dimensions that a State of Alarm was declared in Spain on 14 March 2020 that lasted for 99 days⁵. This situation greatly limited the possibility for face-to-face encounters which, up to that date, had accounted for two-thirds of the interviews (1,032). We chose to continue conducting interviews by telephone with authorisation from the Directorate-General for Equal Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity.

2.2. Qualitative methodology

The study was **supplemented and the results of the survey compared** through a series of **in-depth interviews** with people from different population groups of diverse ethnic and territorial origin and with experts:

- Two interviews per population group were conducted, i.e. 16 interviews. These in-depth interviews allowed us to collect people's spontaneous, direct and uninterrupted thoughts about their personal experiences in this regard.
- We then conducted a further eight interviews of representatives of social entities and research groups specialised in the study's target population. These interviews with experts provided a deeper understanding and put the phenomenon of ethnic discrimination in context enabling us to reach more robust evidence-based conclusions reinforced by those who are most familiar with it.

^{5.} Free movement of citizens was curtailed except under exceptional circumstances, force majeure or pressing need.

3. Main results

3.1. Social representations and perceived discrimination

The image the different population groups feel the majority population have of them.

More than half of those surveyed (59%) used negative or pejorative adjectives to characterise the image which they think the majority population in Spain has of their group of origin. This result, like that of 2013 (only two percentage points higher), nevertheless projects a less negative image than those of the first editions of the study.

Table 1. Changes in the proportion of negative adjectives purportedly used by the majority population to refer to the different population groups

2010	2011	2013	2020
77% negative adjectives	67% negative adjectives	57% negative adjectives	59% negative adjectives
(n=556)	(n=865)	(n=1.670)	(n=1.624)

Source: created in-house based on previous editions.

- The Roma and Maghreb populations are the ones that believe they are seen in the worst light. The perceived image of the Maghreb group has worsened in comparison with the 2013 report.
- Those responsible for this negative image are primarily believed to be a small number of group members themselves. The media and some political parties are also believed to play a role (these two were not mentioned in the previous report).



Source: in-house data. N = 954 (those who mention at least one negative attribute).

Stability in the perception of the degree of racism of the majority population (those who do not belong to any group that is a frequent target of racism)

Perception of the **degree of racism** in Spanish society stands at 4.59 out of 10, slightly down from the 2013 figure (5.26).

The degree of perceived racism rose in the view of the most discriminated population groups and, out of all the groups, the Roma population perceives the highest degree of racism (5.71).





Source: in-house based on previous editions.

- People who were born in Spain and/or have Spanish nationality perceive higher levels of racism and this perceived level decreases as the number of years spent in the country increases.
- As for where most racist behaviours are perceived, a higher percentage of those surveyed believes that the majority of the population is more bothered by having to work with immigrants or Roma than by having them as neighbours or friends of their children.
- Regardless of their group of origin, all people consider that the non-Spanish European Roma population (54%) is the ethnic minority most poorly treated by Spaniards, followed by the Spanish Roma population (45%) and, in third place, immigrants from the Maghreb (40%).

3.2. Understanding of discrimination and the gap between the different population groups' awareness and experience of discrimination

Understanding discrimination

• Discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin is mainly related to verbal aggression and hostile and derogatory treatment. Such situations are also linked to insults on the grounds of 'race' or colour and a disrespectful attitude towards other cultures and religions. A closer look at the concrete experiences of those who have suffered discrimination shows similar situations as those mentioned in previous editions of the study.

Main behaviours associated with discrimination and racism

32% Poor treatment, disparaging treatment, unequal, acting superior
29% Insults, verbal violence (especially due to skin colour or physical traits)
25% Disrespect towards other cultures, religions or customs
16% Discrimination at the workplace
11% Distancing, marginalisation and social exclusion
11% Belief that all people in the group are bad, criminals, terrorists
10% Diminished rights and opportunities, less financial support and social assistance
7% People distancing themselves in public places, on public transport, etc.

Spontaneous perception of discrimination

In 2020, perceived **spontaneous discrimination increased** compared to the previous study. This refers to the number of people who report having suffered or witnessed discriminatory situations in the last year. In this most recent report, **3 out of 10 people surveyed claimed to have suffered discrimination**.

Table 2. In the last 12 months, have you witnessed a discriminatory or racist situation towards yourself or a family member / person close to you?

2011	2013	2020
32,7%	20,9%	30,7%

Source: in-house based on previous editions.

- The groups that perceive the highest levels of discrimination are non-Mediterranean Africans and Spanish Roma. However, perceived spontaneous discrimination rose in all groups, especially the two mentioned above and the East Asian population. The increase in this latter group, from 14% to 35%, seems to be related to COVID-19 and the fact that at the beginning of the pandemic this group was criminalised because the of the virus' origins in Asia.
- The main reasons for discrimination indicated are skin colour or other physical traits and cultural practices, customs and behaviours. In comparison with the previous edition, experiences of discrimination motivated by religious beliefs and attire (type of clothing or wearing a veil) increased, especially among the Maghreb, Indian-Pakistani and the Non Mediterranean African populations.

Figure 3. Do you believe you have been discriminated against for: Skin colour and physical traits, cultural customs and behaviours, religious beliefs or attire?



Source: in-house data. N = 499 (only people who claim to have been witnesses or victims of a discriminatory situation in the last 12 months).

The study reveals **multiple discrimination**, i.e. people who experience different types of discrimination, especially women. This phenomenon is complex and often involves acts of **intersectional discrimination** where specific stereotypes about certain groups of origin are mixed with personal characteristics such as gender and levels of education or income.

28% of those who have suffered discrimination based on racial origin, culture and/or religion, have also suffered discrimination due to their gender; while only 15% have felt discriminated against for being a man or a woman and not based on origin or culture.

While discrimination figures based on **sexual orientation and disability** are not as extreme, a phenomenon of multiple discrimination has been detected. Those who have felt discriminated against because of their racial origin, religion or culture, were also more likely to be discriminated against because of their sexual orientation or identity and because they suffer from some type of disability. Figure 4. Percentage of people who have been discriminated against based on sex, sexual orientation, sexual identity or disability, according to the prevalence of discrimination based on racial, religious or cultural origin



Source: in-house data. N = 499 (only people who claim to have been witnesses or victims of a discriminatory situation in the last 12 months).

Gap between the spontaneous perception of discrimination and possible discriminatory experiences

The study again asks about the perception of documented discrimination (percentage of people who have experienced at least one instance of discrimination in different areas of their lives during the last year). 52% indicate having felt discriminated against in at least one of the situations mentioned in the survey.



Source: in-house data. N= 1,624.

- Again, one of the most interesting results of the survey is the comparison between spontaneous and documented discrimination. A comparison with 2013 results shows a rise in the perception of spontaneous discrimination and a decline in documented discrimination. In other words, there is a smaller gap between the two, presumably indicating that people are becoming better at detecting discriminatory processes.
- 39% of those who indicated they had not suffered spontaneous discrimination were subject to some of the specific experiences of discrimination described (workplace, housing, police treatment, training, education, health, local government, public premises and/or in the neighbourhood).

• The areas with the widest gap between the two types of discrimination are employment, public establishments and premises, and housing.



3.3. The experience of discrimination in different areas

3.3.1. Experiences of discrimination in different public services

Perceived discrimination levels are the lowest in public services over the last year based on the different possible situations described, except for those occurring in the neighbourhood and during job training.

The areas of local government and healthcare, both with the lowest rates of discrimination, rose slightly or remained flat compared to 2013, while discriminatory experiences in the area of education rose sharply compared to that same year (from 13% to 20%). In contrast, results have improved in terms of **policing**: the percentage of people claiming to have experienced discrimination in this area decreased from 28% to 19%.



Figure 5. Discrimination rates in areas related to various public services

Not all the population groups analysed claim the same level of perceived discrimination. The **main differences** emerge in the following areas:

- In the health-care sector, the Roma population perceives the greatest discrimination followed by Afro-Caribbeans, Andeans, East Asians and Eastern Europeans. Rates rose in all those cases. The most frequent occurrences were poor treatment of people or their families and the perception that people were making the process of obtaining a health card unnecessarily difficult.
- Discrimination in education rose sharply from 13% to 20%. The groups that feel most affected by this type of situation are the Roma, Andean, East Asian and non-Mediterranean African populations. These two latter groups show the sharpest rise compared to 2013. Discrimination in the field of education typically takes the form of being made fun of, insults and harassment by other students and exclusion from games and activities. It should be noted that the East Asian population perceived greater difficulty in enrolling in school.
- In dealings with the local government, the discrimination rate remained flat at around 8%, the East Asian population being the group most affected, although this group uses local government services less frequently than any other. Discrimination in this area takes the form of unpleasant treatment and having to face more difficulties than others when processing papers.
- Discriminatory treatment by the police fell sharply from 28% to 19%. The ones most affected in this area are the non-Mediterranean African, Maghreb, Roma and the Indian-Pakistani populations. Discriminatory experiences relate to police inspection and control and are less prevalent when filing complaints or paperwork. It is worth noting that men and young people perceive the greatest degree of police discrimination.

Discriminatory situations in education and policing are strongly influenced by **stereo-types** relating to social class and level of education.

Difficulties with language are the cause of discriminatory treatment for between 9% and 12% of those surveyed in the four areas relating to public services.

3.3.2. Experiences of discrimination in other public and private spaces

Of all the areas analysed, discrimination rates are the highest in access to housing and establishments and places open to the public.



Discrimination perceived from one's neighbours is among the lowest.

The main findings regarding these areas:

• The discrimination rate in access to housing stands at 31%, the highest of all areas and double the rate recorded in the previous edition.

50% of those surveyed from non-Mediterranean Africa and the Maghreb have experienced discrimination when trying to gain access to housing and their situation has worsened significantly compared to 2013. The Roma population is the third most discriminated against in this area.

Evidence shows that discrimination in access to housing is a multidimensional phenomenon which starts with real estate and housing agencies and continues with home-owners associations which band together to keep certain groups out of their residential paces or to expel them. These situations are caused by stereotypes about certain groups and lead to vulnerability that can trigger overcrowding, crime or a decrease in the value of one's own home.

- Discrimination by neighbours was 8%, on a par with 2013. The people who feel the most discriminated against in their neighbourhood are Roma, non-Mediterranean Africans and those from the Maghreb.
- Discrimination based on ethnic group or race in **public establishments or places and in access to goods and services stands at 31%**. This area and housing are the ones where the highest level of discrimination is experienced. This was also verified in the in-depth interviews and was the area most spontaneously mentioned by those surveyed.

As in the areas of housing and neighbourhood, the groups most discriminated against in this area are Roma, Africans and those from the Maghreb.

Discriminatory treatment is most frequent in public establishments and open places.

Those interviewed affirm that this type of discrimination is hard to detect and again bring up the issue of **stereotypes**, **physical traits and the way one looks** as elements triggering perceived discrimination.

3.3.3. Perceived consequences of discrimination and of social integration

In the 2020 report, the percentage of people who do not acknowledge any consequences arising from experiences of discrimination rose from 3% to 27%.

The consequences that are acknowledged typically relate to psychological effects, distrust, feelings of rage and anger and strengthening and reasssertion of one's identity. Many consequences also lead to feelings of isolation and difficulty in adapting and these have a negative impact on integration processes.

Main consequences arising from experiences of discrimination

27% None, it does not bother or affect me

- 24% Sadness, depression, psychological consequences
- 13% Distrust
- 9% Feelings of rage, anger, indignation
- 8% Reassertion, increased determination to be respected in these situations
- 6% difficulty adapting

- The consequences of experiences of discrimination vary due to many factors and are perceived in different ways by different groups. These can affect not only job opportunities and life decisions, but also mental health.
- Experiences of discrimination are difficult to detect and often end up being regarded as normal. Consequences depend on the type of experience, the person's background and his/her capacity to detect them.

As for integration, most of the people surveyed do feel integrated in Spain. This is especially true of the Roma population which nevertheless is one which endures the most discriminatory treatment. In contrast, Africans and people from the Maghreb perceive the lowest degree of integration, both groups facing high rates of discrimination.

A determining factor of integration processes is one's **relational capital**. This is the degree of isolation of a group or how frequently it interacts with the majority of the population. Results show that **people who habitually interact only with people from their own population group**, **feel less integrated** in Spain.



Figure 7. Level of integration in Spain, by ethnic group

Source: in-house data. N= 1,624.

- The influence of other factors has been observed. The longer one lives in the country, the more integrated he or she feels and the same holds true for Spanish nationals. People with jobs also feel more integrated than those who are unemployed or inactive.
- This year's survey follows the same trend observed in 2013: people who have felt discriminated against at some point are more likely to feel only somewhat or not at all integrated, and those who have never felt discriminated against in the area in question are more likely to feel very integrated.

Figure 8. Perceived degree of integration based on responses to a question about the people with whom one relates on a regular basis



■ Very integrated ■ Somewhat integrated ■ Slightly integrated ■ Not at all integrated

Source: in-house data. N= 1,624.

3.4. Perception and experience of discrimination in the field of employment and training

3.4.1. The precarious socio-labour situation of population groups in Spain

The final section of the questionnaire asks people for a series of classification variables that provide information about the employment situation in which interviewees find themselves.

The following tables summarise the main features of the sample with respect to the labour market:

UNEMPLOYMENT:

- → 23% of those surveyed were unemployed. This figure decreases to 10.7% in the case of Spanish nationals of foreign descent.
- → The highest unemployment rates correspond to the Roma (34%), sub-Saharan African (31%) and Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Latino (27%) population groups. On the other end of the spectrum, Asian-Orientals had the highest employment rate (6% unemployment).

The shorter the period of time spent in Spain, the higher the unemployment rate, reaching 53% in the case of those who have been living in the country for six months to a year and 34% for those who have been here for one or two years.

Unemployment is higher among women than men; 54.5% of women are unemployed.

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION:

→ 39% of those surveyed have employment contracts, 63% of whom have permanent contracts. Permanent contracts are more common among older people; in fact, less than half of contracted workers between the ages of 16 and 24 have permanent contracts.

Among employees, some groups have less stability: sub-Saharan Africans (49%), Afro-Caribbeans and Afro-Latinos (39%) and those from the Maghreb (42%) are more likely to be given temporary contracts.

→ 7% of respondents reported that they were working without a contract. Twothirds of this latter group are women.

→ 11% of respondents are self-employed and these are mostly men (14% compared to 8% women). The East Asian and Indian-Pakistani populations account for the largest proportion of this group and in many cases work in family businesses.

BUSINESS SECTORS:

- → 24% of those surveyed work in the retail and repair sector, 22% in accommodation and food service, 12% in education and social-health and 8% in services and business.
- → 13% of those surveyed are domestic workers. This activity is mainly comprised of women (23% of the women compared to 1.9% men), with a proportionately higher number of people from Eastern Europe, the Andean region and the Afro-Caribbe-an-Afro-Latino communities.
- 7% of those surveyed work in Construction (predominately men). The same applies to the retail and repair sector.
- People working in agriculture livestock raising and domestic service have the lowest wages: 64% and 51% respectively have incomes of up to € 1,000 per month (net monthly income of the family unit living in Spain).
- Some sectors are characterised by greater job instability with a high percentage of temporary contracts. This is particularly the case in the agriculture and livestock raising (74%) and education and the service sector (40%). This also applies to domestic workers (41%) who, as already mentioned, are mainly women who also have the highest rate of part-time contracts (55%) followed by the hotel and food service sector (27%).

OCCUPATIONS:

→ 17% of those surveyed work as waiters, cooks or mechanics, and 13% as sales clerks, shop assistants or cashiers.

 \rightarrow 10% work in unskilled positions such as labourers or support personnel.

Among Spanish nationals of foreign descent, 14.2% work in the field of education as teachers or giving private classes while 13.7% work as a mid-level technicians: computer technicians, nurses, etc. while only 6.9% work as unskilled labourers.

MAT	MATCH BETWEEN LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND JOB POST:				
>	14% of those surveyed completed primary school, 37% secondary school (12 to 16 years of schooling), and 24% engaged in vocational training.				
→	3.1% of Spanish nationals of foreign descent went only as far as primary school, 36.6% completed secondary studies, 27.1% engaged in vocational training and 33.1% have university studies.				
→	The groups with the lowest level of education (no studies or only primary school education) are Roma (45%), Sub-Saharan Africans (28%) and people from the Maghreb (27%).				
→	The women surveyed have a higher level of education than their male counterparts: 22% with university studies compared to 13% of men with those same qualifications.				
→	21% of those surveyed believes that they are over-qualified for their job post. This figure rose to 28% in the case of people from Eastern Europe, 31% in the Andean population and 25% in the Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Latino group.				
→	The women surveyed had higher levels of education and there was also a mis- match between job and qualification level (26% believed that they were over- qualified for the job they were doing compared to 15% of men).				

3.4.2. The perception of discrimination in the labour market

The employment discrimination rate decreased significantly in this year's study, from 34% in 2013 to 26% in 2020.



2	2011	46.7%
	2013	34.0%
	2020	25.8%

Source: Created in-house. N = 1,217 (only those who have worked in the last year).

- The more populated the city, the higher the prevalence of labour market discrimination, rising to 30% of the people living in municipalities with over 200,000 inhabitants.
- Perceived discrimination at the workplace correlates with one's **occupational situation** in as much as higher levels are reported among groups that are unemployed and those who are working without a contract. Young people also perceive more discrimination.

Africans, Afro-Caribbeans / Afro-Latinos, people from the Maghreb and Roma are the groups perceiving the highest levels of discrimination in the workplace. The figures for the first three are the same or just slightly higher than in 2013.

They are followed by the Andean and East Asian groups whose numbers have changed significantly since the last survey. The discrimination rate perceived by the Asian population rose from 13% to 20% while that of the Andean group fell from 40% to 27%.

The lowest levels of discrimination at work were found among people from Eastern Europe and India-Pakistan: both groups with 50% lower rates than in 2013.

Figure 9. Perceived discrimination rate at the workplace based on



Yes. Did feel discriminated against in at least one of the instances (workplace)

■ No. Did not feel discriminated against in any of the instances (workplace

Source: in-house. N = 1,217 (only those who worked or have been working during the last year).

- As for SEEKING AND GAINING ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT, 7% of those surveyed indicate that they were ignored when seeking employment or were rejected during the job interview due to their ethnic or racial origin. The groups most discriminated against in these two situations were Africans and the Roma population. Those who perceived discrimination in this sub-area stated that they have developed job search strategies such as not providing photographs, covering up their accent and, in the case of the Roma population, not letting others know that they belong to this ethnic group.
- Regarding discrimination in EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS AND LABOUR RIGHTS, the most frequent situations were having the worst working hours and the toughest jobs (5.7%), earning less than other people who do the same job (5.2%), refusal to provide an employment contract (4.7%), and being obliged to perform tasks unrelated to their job description (4.1%). Those who encounter the most discriminatory treatment in this regard are Africans and those from the Maghreb. Moreover, people with no academic credential or who have only a basic education are more frequently affected by working conditions and labour rights.

 Regarding PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE WORKPLACE, 6.8% said they were subjected to more oversight and monitoring than their workmates, 5% said they had been insulted or humiliated or had arguments with peers or managers, and a further 5% said that they were mistreated by customers or suppliers. In addition, 4% of those surveyed said that they had been harassed at work and 2% that they have been forced to remove a religious or cultural symbol.

Lastly, it was concluded that discrimination at the workplace has become **normalised** and is invisible as many people decide to simply accept this type of treatment with a view to keeping their job.

3.4.3. The experience of discrimination in the field of training for employment

15.3% of those surveyed **attended an employment training course during the last year**. Typically, the people that attend these courses have **higher levels of education**; nevertheless, those with lower educational levels are increasingly taking part as well.

People who attend training courses do not report much discrimination (under 2%):

- 0.6% believe that they were unfairly excluded from a course offered by the Public Employment System or other public entity due to their racial or ethnic origin.
- 0.6% claimed that they were excluded from participating in a course offered by a private entity.
- When asked if teachers treated them differently in class because of their ethnic origin, only 1.3% claimed to have suffered this type of discrimination.

However, 9.1% of those surveyed did feel left out due to language difficulties. This is higher than in 2013 when 6.6% felt discriminated against due to language.

3.4.4. Consequences of employment discrimination and equal opportunity in access to employment

More people who have suffered employment discrimination said that they experienced greater negative consequences in their lives, mainly psychological effects (47%), feelings of rejection and distrust towards Spanish society (38%), and have isolated themselves, refusing to go to public places (27%), than those who did not suffer this discrimination.

Table 4. Have you experienced any of these consequences in your life? (In the area of employment)

2	Employment discrimination		
	Yes	No	
Psychological effects (more stress, anxiety, depression)	47,3%	32,1%	
Feel more rejection towards Spanish society, distrust	38,1%	21,6%	
Isolation, you stay at home, refuse to go to public places	26,9%	9,8%	
You want to leave Spain	12,8%	8,2%	
You do not use public services (physician, school, etc.)	13,1%	12,4%	
Physical effects of agrression (illness or disability)	9,2%	5,0%	

Source: in-house data. N= 375.

- Discrimination processes are apparently becoming the norm in the workplace to the extent that people tend to not complain about or report discriminatory treatment as they do not want to risk losing their job and hence their source of income and life plans.
- Employment discrimination does appear to have an impact on integration into Spanish society: 12.4% of people who experienced ethnic discrimination at work claimed to feel only somewhat or not at all integrated into Spanish society; this figure fell to 5% in the case of those who had not suffered from employment discrimination in the last year.
- Language skills are fundamental to integration processes in Spain and this is even more true in the workplace. Hence, people from Spanish-speaking countries or who were born in Spain encounter less difficulty accessing the labour market than those who are learning the language.

Equal opportunity

According those surveyed, the **Roma population** is the group most affected by a lack of equal opportunity in the workplace: 74% believe that they are not given the same opportunities as others. 60% believe that the **immigrant population** and 55% believe that **transsexuals** face this same inequality.

A slight majority or close to half of the following groups believe that they do enjoy equal opportunity: women (52%), people with disabilities (48%) and homosexuals (40%).

Figure 10. Do you think that in Spain there are equal employment opportunities for ...?



Source: in-house data. N = 1,217 (only labour market).

3.4.5. Variables accounting for different levels of discrimination

Following the same logic as previous studies, we looked at the influence of various socio-demographic variables of the people surveyed in determining the differences in their perception of unequal and/or discriminatory treatment.

Perception of discrimination based on gender

Gender is a factor that affects perceived treatment, especially in public places and establishments and in policing. Men perceive more discriminatory treatment than women, not only in these two areas but also in specific situations such as job seeking and labour market access and labour rights. Women perceive more discrimination in the way they are treated in the healthcare sector, in housing rental and workplace relationships.

Table 5. Perceived discrimination rate based on race or ethnic origin in the areas under analysis by gender

	Women	Men	Total
HEALTHCARE	13%	10%	12%
HOUSING	31%	30%	31%
PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS*	27%	35%	30%
POLICING*	9%	32%	19%
EDUCATION	21%	19%	20%
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	7%	9%	8%
NEIGHBOURHOOD	8%	8%	8%
EMPLOYMENT	26%	25%	26%
TRAINING	2%	4%	3%

Source: in-house data.

Differences as a function of age

Age is a differentiating factor in the perception of discrimination, especially in dealings with the police, education, and in public places and establishments. Young people perceive themselves to be the most discriminated against in these areas. This could be because young people are more sensitive to these issues and therefore perceive discrimination with greater intensity. Also, in contrast to adults, young people tend to spend more time with people of different origins which can increase the likelihood of being subjected to acts of discrimination.

Table 6. Perceived discrimination rate based on race or ethnic origin in the areas under analysis by age

	Age 16-24	Age 24-40	Age 41-75	Total
HEALTHCARE	10%	14%	11%	12%
HOUSING	32%	34%	25%	31%
PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS*	42%	32%	22%	31%
POLICING*	25%	19%	15%	19%
EDUCATION	30%	17%	17%	20%
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	10%	7%	8%	8%
NEIGHBOURHOOD	8%	8%	8%	8%
EMPLOYMENT	29%	27%	23%	26%
TRAINING	3%	3%	3%	3%

Source: in-house data.

The size of one's home community

The **size** of one's urban or rural place of residence is key to understanding discriminatory experiences. **Discrimination rates are higher in more densely populated areas**. This could be because in towns and small cities people know one another and this direct contact among inhabitants decreases the likelihood of discrimination.

It should be noted that in **housing** this factor is irrelevant, suggesting that discrimination in this area is a **cross-cutting problem** affecting rural areas as well as small and large cities.

	/ /	· · ·		
	Municipality of less than 20,000 inhabitants.	Municipality between 20,001 and 200,000 inhabitants.	Municipality of more than 200,000 inhabitants.	Total
HEALTHCARE	8%	11%	14%	12%
HOUSING	33%	26%	33%	31%
PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS*	21%	29%	36%	30%
POLICING*	12%	18%	22%	19%
EDUCATION	12%	15%	29%	20%
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	6%	6%	10%	8%
NEIGHBOURHOOD	4%	7%	10%	8%
EMPLOYMENT	20%	24%	30%	26%
TRAINING	1%	2%	5%	3%

Table 7. Perceived discrimination rate based on race or ethnic origin in the areas under analysis by home community

Source: in-house data.

Perception of discrimination as a function of how long one has lived in Spain

For those born abroad, the **amount of time one has been living in Spain** is also a key factor in the perception of discrimination. People who have **been living in Spain for less time** experience more discriminatory treatment.
Table 8. Proportion of foreign nationals who have felt discriminated against due to racial or ethnic origin in at least one of the situations described in the areas of analysis by length of time living in Spain

	From 6 months to 1 year	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 5 years	From 5 to 10 years	10 or more years	Total)
HEALTHCARE	27%	15%	18%	15%	9%	12%
HOUSING	27%	33%	49%	20%	28%	30%
PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS*	41%	41%	31%	21%	23%	26%
POLICING*	18%	21%	27%	15%	17%	18%
EDUCATION	11%	13%	39%	16%	17%	18%
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	9%	16%	15%	13%	4%	8%
NEIGHBOURHOOD	8%	7%	8%	7%	7%	6%
EMPLOYMENT	40%	26%	35%	21%	23%	25%
TRAINING	8%	3%	2%	3%	2%	2%

Source: in-house data.

Perception of discrimination based on occupation

One's occupational situation status is an equally relevant factor in explaining perceived levels of discrimination. Unemployed people experience the most discrimination. In the light of this finding, it follows that unemployment may be causing a series of social difficulties causing people to feel more disadvantaged in different spheres.

Table 9. Perceived	discrimination	rate based	on race o	r ethnic origin
in the areas under	analysis by oc	ccupation		

	Employed person	Unemployed person	Inactive person	Total (N= 1.624)
HEALTHCARE	12%	14%	10%	12%
HOUSING	27%	49%	22%	31%
PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS*	25%	41%	34%	30%
POLICING*	17%	26%	14%	19%
EDUCATION	17%	23%	25%	20%
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	7%	11%	8%	8%
NEIGHBOURHOOD	7%	11%	7%	8%
EMPLOYMENT	21%	43%	31%	26%
TRAINING	2%	6%	3%	3%

Source: in-house data.

3.5. Complaint mechanisms used

3.5.1. Reaction to discrimination: the filing of complaints or reports

The number of complaints filed in response to discriminatory acts remains very low: **only 18.2% of the total number of people** who have experienced some act of discrimination during the past year spontaneously said that they filed a complaint or claim compared to 10.2% in 2013. The phenomenon of racial and ethnic discrimination is thus invisible, even though it has nearly doubled compared to the previous report.

- There is a clear relationship between gender, discrimination and filing complaints: more than half of the people who filed complaints were women (59.3%).
- Age is also an important factor: younger people perceive discrimination more intensely and therefore tend to file more complaints (56.1% of those who claimed to have filed a complaint were between the ages of 25 and 40).
- The longer the period spent in Spain, even though perceived discrimination is less prevalent, the greater the level of awareness of the problem and the higher the complaint rate. This would also appear to correlate with the greater availability of information and resources in Spain.

Most of the complaints were filed at the **police station or court** (10.4% of the 499 people who experienced discrimination did so in this way) while 9.0% filed theirs through other public services.



Figure 11. If you experience another discriminatory situation, would you report it

Regarding the complaint process, 54.9% of the sample felt that they were treated well or very well, compared to 41.1% who felt they were treated poorly or very poorly.

75.5% of those surveyed would report again if they were to experience another act of discrimination.

Of the 21 people who filed a judicial complaint, 27.5% (14 people) did so with the support of an entity or association (30.4% in 2011).

The main reason why some victims of discrimination decided not to file a complaint is that they feel it is useless in compensating for the effects of the discriminatory experience (22%). Others minimise or justify the situation (25%).

Main reasons for failing to report

25.4 % said that "these things are normal", it is not important, this always happens. 22% said that it is useless

11% did not know how to file a complaint or did not speak Spanish.

10% fear of reprisals or that it would cause problems in their place of residence, paperwork and legalization process.

6% said that it was too complicated (bureaucracy, expenses)

3% were ashamed to admit that it had happened.

3.5.2. Awareness of entities that work in the field of discrimination

20% of those surveyed said that they know of entities or organizations that work to protect rights and address issues of discrimination. This percentage is very similar to that of 2013 and indicates that the surveyed population is quite unaware of associations in a position to help them.



Source: in-house data

Of the 20% that are familiar with some institution, 64% named national NGOs, 32% associations of foreign nationals, 23% local NGOs, 18% public institutions and 13% associations specifically focused on certain population groups.

4. Main conclusions and challenges arising from the study

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into how the perception of possible victims of discrimination due to racial or ethnic origin has evolved over time in Spain. This is a continuation of the studies conducted in 2010, 2011 and 2013. The uniqueness and added value of the study lies in the fact that ethnic and racial discrimination is addressed based on potential victims' subjective perception. This study aspires to be a unique tool to be used throughout Spain to measure how discrimination, a particularly complex phenomenon, is perceived.

The following are the main conclusions and findings obtained from all the information analysed which pose the main challenges for the future:

- A negative image of the groups studied prevails among the majority of the population. In most cases this is caused by a "small number of group members" and disseminated by the media and certain political discourse. This holds especially true for the Roma, Maghreb and Afro-descendant population groups. It occured in a context in which racist hate speech focusing on specific groups is emerging and being promoted by social media through the spread of fake news.
- The perceived degree of racism in Spanish society has remained at the levels of the previous study and is most acutely perceived by the Roma and Afro-descendant populations. People who were born in Spain and/or have Spanish nationality perceive higher levels of racism than those born outside Spain and this perceived level decreases the longer they live in Spain.
- Persons belonging to the main population groups present in Spain are more aware than in 2013 of what discriminatory behaviours based on ethnic origin imply and are better equipped to identify them as such and describe them.

The perception of spontaneous discrimination increased from 20.9% to 30.7% (10 percentage points), while documented discrimination, based on specific situations, decreased by 6 percentage points (from 57.9% to 51,8%). The smaller gap between "spontaneous" and "documented" discrimination indicates that the surveyed population is better prepared to identify discriminatory behaviour occurring in the different areas analysed.

However, the boundaries of detection and perception of discrimination are blurring while "micro-racism" is becoming more and more evident. This means that blatant discriminatory behaviour and hate crime coexists with other subtler and less noticeable attitudes and behaviours.

• Physical features and skin colour are the main motives for discriminatory behaviour, followed by cultural elements and religious beliefs and practices at a considerable distance but gaining relative importance.

The groups perceived to suffer the most discrimination based on skin colour and physical features are non-Mediterranean Africans (82%) and Roma (71%). These are the groups that perceive the highest levels of discrimination.

Discrimination based on religion and religious attire has increased considerably and especially affects those from the Maghreb (56%) and, to a lesser extent, the Indian-Pakistani population (45%). This could be due to a growing stigmatization of these groups associated with terrorist acts and Islamophobia.

It is worth noting that among people of African origin, there is a growing **perception of Afrophobia**⁶ or racism against black people, which is not perceived with the same intensity by people of African descent (Afro-Caribbean or Afro-Latino).

- The study shows that many people suffer from multiple discrimination and, in some cases, what has been called intersectional discrimination: when specific stereotypes about certain ethnic groups are compounded by personal characteristics such as one's gender, level of education and income. Examples include discourse that sexualizes women from certain groups, or the difficulties certain subgroups have in finding employment because they are seen as unfit for certain jobs.
- With respect to 2013, discrimination based on **"documented facts" has varied substantially in some areas**. As the following figure indicates, discrimination increased in the areas of housing, education, establishments and public places and healthcare, and decreased in the workplace and in dealings with the police.



Figure 13. Discrimination rates in all areas, 2013 and 2020

Source: created in-house based on previous editions.

^{6.} Relating to a specific form of racism, including any acts of violence or discrimination, fuelled by historical abuses and negative stereotypes, and leading to the exclusion and dehumanization of people of African descent (<u>Resolution of the European Parliament on the fundamental rights of People of African descent in Europe</u> 2018/2899 (RSP))

The areas in which people perceive the most discrimination due to their ethnic origin are housing (31%), establishments or places open to the public (30%), and the workplace (26%).

• There are multiple variables that explain the differences in how people perceive discrimination. Age and time spent in Spain are inversely related to one's perception of discrimination: the younger the person or the less time a person has lived in Spain, the greater the discrimination perceived.

The size of one's town or city is also an important factor: people living in large cities perceive more discrimination than those living in small cities or rural areas. The only area where this does not apply is housing, demonstrating that access to housing is a cross-cutting problem in both urban and rural areas and, as indicated earlier, housing is the area with the highest discrimination rate. Nationality and country of birth also explain some of these differences to the extent that both variables are related to the degree of one's integration.

- The proportion of people for whom discrimination has no consequences, or who are unable to identify them, has increased (from 3% to 27%). Many forms of discrimination are hard to detect and are sometimes even considered normal. Discrimination in employment has greater consequences in terms of psychological effects, feelings of rejection towards society, and isolation. This is an area subject to normalization. This is because detection and reporting could affect one's economic stability and life projects if one were to lose his or her job.
- Experiences of discrimination have an impact on one's **integration in society**: people who have not suffered discrimination in any area feel more integrated.

The degree to which one is **isolated from the rest of the population** and frequency of **contact with the native population** also determine one's perception of integration. People who interact with the majority population are highly integrated while those that associate only with people from the ethnic groups under study, whether foreigners or not, feel less integrated.

- Among the groups analysed, various integration processes were detected, many of which were based on assimilation which involves losing cultural traits, customs, etc. to gain acceptance by the majority group. The groups studied engage to different degrees in integration, assimilation and intermediate processes depending on their personal conditions, context, mode of emigration and other factors.
- There was a notable increase (8 percentage points) compared to 2013 in the proportion of people who report incidents of discrimination, although this figure remains low (18%). Three out of four people who reported such incidents said they would do so again. The proportion of people who believe that reporting discrimination is useless fell, now standing at 22% of the people who failed to report their experience of discrimination.
- The work carried out by organizations and public institutions fighting discrimination is still not very well known. Important work is being carried out at national level and by NGOs and associations to disseminate and support human rights and support the complaint process. However, we should question the effectiveness of these initiatives judging by the fact that in 2013, only 2 out of 10 people had heard of any of these institutions.

Lastly, the following table summarises the main indicators of discrimination perceived by the different population groups under study:

Table 10. Main indicators of the perception of discrimination by ethnic groups

		Total	Eastern Europe	Maghreb	Andean	Afro-Carib- bean and Afro-Latino	African	Asian - Oriental	Indian-Paki- stani	Roma
Perceived racism	level of	4,59	4,07	4,47	4,61	4,85	5,14	4,29	4,01	5,71
Spontane discrimina		21%	16%	36%	34%	34%	44%	35%	18%	43%
Documented discrimination rate		52%	33%	64%	51%	53%	71%	41%	39%	72%
	Healthcare	12%	10%	10%	13%	13%	14%	14%	7%	16%
	Housing	31%	19%	46%	29%	30%	48%	24%	10%	30%
y area	Public establish- ments and spaces	30%	12%	39%	21%	27%	56%	26%	16%	58%
ation b	Treatment by Police	19%	9%	26%	18%	17%	37%	8%	22%	24%
crimin	Education	20%	14%	21%	25%	18%	23%	31%	15%	26%
Rates of documented discrimination by area	Local administra- tion	8%	7%	6%	4%	12%	9%	18%	3%	10%
	Neighbour- hood	8%	5%	10%	8%	6%	12%	9%	3%	11%
ites of a	Labour	26%	15%	34%	27%	34%	41%	20%	12%	30%
Ra	Training	3%	2%	4%	3%	4%	4%	1%	2%	3%
Perceptior discrimina employm	tion in	26%	15% Low prevalence of discrimina- tion. Main problems include being the brunt of insults, being humiliated and fights with peers or bosses.	34% Problems in seeking and procuring employ- ment, poor working conditions, inadequate labour rights and poor relation- ships at the workplace	27% Given the worst working hours and the hardest jobs. Insulted or humiliated by co-workers and poor treatment from customers	34% Problems such as: refusal to offer a work contract and co-exis- tence issues at the workplace	42% More problems in seeking and procuring employ- ment, poor working conditions, inadequate labour rights and very poor relation- ships at the workplace	20% Forced to do work not corre- sponding to his/her job post; dismissed for no reason. High percentage of self-em- ployed workers.	12% Low discrimina- tion rate. The biggest issues are feeling they are given the hardest jobs and co-exis- tence issues at the workplace. High percentage of self-em- ployed workers.	30% Problems in seeking and procuring employ- ment, poor working condi- tions, inade- quate labour rights and poor relation- ships at the workplace
Explanato of discrim	ory factors iination	55% skin colour and physi- cal fea- tures	18% skin colour and physical features	56% religious beliefs and cultural customs	59% skin colour and physical features	57% skin colour and physical features	82% skin colour and physical features	69% skin colour and physical features	55% skin colour and physical features	71% skin colour and physical features

Source: in-house data.



Consejo para la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial o Étnica



MINISTERIO DE IGUALDAD SECRETARÍA DE ESTADO DE IGUALDAD Y CONTRA LA VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO

DIRECCIÓN GENERAL PARA LA IGUALDAD DE TRATO Y DIVERSIDAD ÉTNICO RACIAL