IMPACT OF RACISM IN SPAIN

Executive summar

Perception of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin in Spain by potential victims in 2024



CONSEJO PARA LA ELIMINACIÓN DE LA DISCRIMINACIÓN RACIAL O ÉTNICA



MINISTERIO DE IGUALDAD

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1. Introduction to the framework of analysis

The initiative for this study belongs to the Directorate General for Equal Treatment and Non-Discrimination and against Racism together with the Council for the Elimination of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination (hereinafter CEDRE), which is attached to the Ministry of Equality, through this Directorate General.

The research on the perception of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin in Spain by potential victims is part of the promotion that both the Directorate General for Equal Treatment and Non-Discrimination and against Racism and the CEDRE have been carrying out to improve social knowledge in this field. The present edition, the fifth, therefore corresponds to a series that began in 2010 and continued in 2011, 2013 and 2020¹.

Racial or ethnic discrimination refers to unequal —prejudicial or preferential— treatment of individuals or groups based on the notion of race or ethnicity. It is based on prejudices and stereotypes towards certain racial or ethnic origins that lead to significant inequality in the opportunities and well-being of different affected groups and that nullify or impair their fundamental rights and freedoms.

The main objective of the study is to find out about the evolution over time of the perception of discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic origin experienced by women and men in the potential victims in terms of its extent, intensity, as well as in the areas, circumstances and concrete forms or manifestations in which it occurs.

This study focuses on the main areas of discrimination identified in previous reports (education, local public administration, health, access to goods and services, public spaces, with the addition of a dimension relating to public and private security and gender-based violence) and, in particular, on those where discrimination is most prevalent (employment and access to housing). It also emphasises explanatory variables for possible differences identified, related to sex/gender, age, place of residence, economic situation, or other concurrent factors that may lead to a possible discriminatory situation.

The aim of the present edition is to ascertain the evolution over time of this perception and to adapt the approach to the most current perspectives on the subject. However, a considerable effort has been made in this study to broaden the scope and dimension of the study (sample, dimensions of analysis, ethnic groups), and some methodological changes have also been made (calculation of the universe and measures of discrimination).

This new edition covers the different typologies of expression of racial or ethnic discrimination. In some cases, it is differentiated by the direct source of discrimination. This could be individual, institutional or structural (Pincus, 2000)² or individual, institutional or cultural (Jones, 1972)³. At other times it is differentiated by the way in which it manifests itself: directly, indirectly or subtly. Another blatant manifestation of racial discrimi-

In addition, there are two more specific studies: «Aproximación a la población africana y afrodescendiente en España: identidad y acceso a derechos» (Dirección General para la Igualdad de Trato y Diversidad Étnico Racial, 2021)», and «Estudio sobre la discriminación racial en el ámbito de la vivienda y los asentamientos informales (Dirección General para la Igualdad de Trato y Diversidad Étnico Racial, 2022)».

^{2.} Pincus, F. L. (2000). Discrimination comes in many forms: Individual, institutional, and structural. American Behavioral Scientist, 40(2), 186-194.

^{3.} Jones, J. M. (1972). Prejudice and Racism. Reading: Addison-Wesley

nation are hate crimes; these are acts that directly or indirectly encourage, promote or incite hatred, hostility, discrimination or violence against a specific group or persons because of their membership of a particular group, and is understood as an expression of hate speech that is illegal and can be criminally prosecuted (OBERAXE, 2024)⁴.

Finally, in this new edition, special attention has also been paid to the cross-cutting adoption of the gender perspective, which involves the process of systematically comparing and taking into account the different concerns and experiences of women and men. Thus, in this edition, new questions have been included in the questionnaire on sexual violence in the public, work and educational spheres, and on sexual and reproductive health, and this issue has been addressed in the discussion groups held with the groups most affected by discrimination.

Racial and ethnic discrimination usually operates alongside other forms of discrimination that take other types of characteristics as grounds for exclusion, such as, inter alia, disability, gender, sexual orientation, social class, geographical origin, age or religious denomination, exacerbating the disadvantages faced by those affected by discrimination. Therefore, in order to properly understand how racial and ethnic discrimination works, an intersectional approach has been adopted, and a distinction has been made between multiple discrimination and intersectional discrimination as set out in Law 15/2022 of 12 July. Intersectional discrimination refers to when different causes concur or interact, generating a specific form of discrimination to the sum of experiences of discrimination; while multiple discrimination refers to when a person is discriminated simultaneously or consecutively by two or more causes or, in other words, it is «discrimination that occurs for more than one reason» (Cea and Valles, 2021)⁵.

To achieve the objectives of this study, a mixed methodological approach was employed, combining quantitative and qualitative techniques. A questionnaire was administered to a nationally representative sample of 2,200 people belonging to nine ethnic and racial groups. In addition, focus groups were carried out with a sample of participants selected on the basis of socio-demographic and identity variables, where issues related to the main areas in which discrimination is most prevalent were discussed. The methodology is explained in more detail at the end of this report.

^{4.} OBERAXE (2024). Monitoring of hate speech in social networks. Informe anual 2023. Madrid: Ministry of Inclusion, Social Security and Migration.

^{5.} Cea D'Ancona, M. A., and Valles Martínez, M. (2021). Aproximación a la población africana y afrodescendiente en España. Identity and access to rights. Madrid: Ministry of Equality.

2. Main results

2.1. Social representations and perceived discriminations

The negative image that the various population groups consider themselves to have among the majority population continues to prevail

In 2024, the proportion of people using negative or pejorative adjectives increased by 4 percentage points (p.p.) to almost 63% of people.

Table 1. Evolution of the proportion of negative adjectives used by the majority population in Spain to describe the different population groups

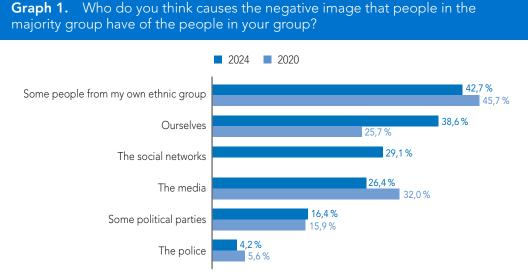
2010	2011	2013	2020	2024
77 %	67 %	57%	59%	63%
(n = 556)	(n = 865)	(n = 1.670)	(n = 1.624)	(n=2.200)

Source: Prepared by the authors based on previous editions of the study *Perception of discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic origin by potential victims.*

The groups with the highest perceptions of an unfavourable image continue to be the Roma and the Arab and Amazigh/North African non-Arab populations. All groups, except the Native American population, consider that their image has worsened, although the evolution varies substantially between groups, with the increase being very high (between 15 and 20 p.p.) in the case of the White Mediterranean, African, Arab/ Amazigh/North African and Afro-descendant populations, while it improves in the case of the Native American population.

As in previous editions, there is a certain acceptance of this negative image by a large part of the population, since slightly less than half of the surveyed population (46%) disagrees with the image that in their opinion the majority population has of their group. While most groups are around this percentage, disagreement increases markedly among the groups that consider that they have a worse image in the majority population in Spain: the Roma population (86%) and the Arab/Amazigh/Non-Arab North Africans (56%) disagree with this projection.

While the main actors responsible for this negative image they consider the majority ethnic group to have «some people from the ethnic group itself» (43%), when asked in this new questionnaire about this possible responsible factor, 29% consider that social networks play a considerable role in it, a greater weight than that attributed to the media.

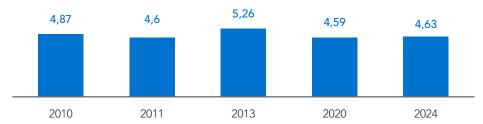


Source: own elaboration. N= 2,200 (NC= 0).

Perceptions of the degree of racism and xenophobia among the majority population remain unchanged

The perception of the degree of racism of the majority ethnic group in Spanish society remains in an intermediate position and practically unchanged compared to 2020.

Graph 2. Evolution of the degree of racism on a scale of 1 to 10 (degree of agreement with the statement «people belonging to the majority ethnic group (whites, non-gipsy/s) are racist towards people of other ethnic origin»).



Source: own elaboration based on previous editions of the study *Perception of discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic origin by potential victims*. N= 2,200. Note: excluding the white Latin American respondents, the level of racism in 2024 would be 4.79.

- As in previous editions, the degree of perceived racism is higher among the most discriminated population groups: the Roma/Roma population, black African population and the Afro-descendant population, while in the rest of the groups it either remains the same (the two Asian groups) or decreases slightly (0.2 points), as in the case of the white Mediterranean population.
- Nationality seems to be one of the determining factors in the perception of the level of racism. In this sense, those with Spanish nationality perceive a higher degree of racism (5.1) than the rest of the people with another nationality (4.5) or with dual nationality (4.3). In this sense, the sensitivity to racism of the majority population also increases among people born in Spain, with the degree of perceived racism being considerably higher (5.3) than that perceived by people born in other countries (4.5). On the other hand, it increases among people with lower incomes, which reveals a socio-economic class component underlying their perception.

Respondents do not differentiate in their assessment of the perception of xenophobia of the majority ethnic group in Spanish society, which they rate in the same way. Despite identifying different degrees of discrimination in society, the respect of Spanish people for human rights is rated positively.

There is consensus around the idea that the greatest misgivings about the proximity of people of other origins on the part of the majority population occur in the private sphere (neighbourhood) and in those affecting their children (around half of the people surveyed show a high level of agreement with the idea that people from the majority ethnic group are bothered by the proximity of people from other ethnic groups in these areas).

Regardless of ethnic group, all people consider the black African population (37%) to be the ethnic minority worst treated by society in Spain, followed by the Roma population of other origin (35%) and, in third place, the Spanish Roma (32%). In all cases there has been a decrease in the consideration of this mistreatment and an increase in doubt in the consideration.

2.2. Knowledge and the gap between awareness of discrimination and experience of discrimination among different population groups

The most common perceived forms of discrimination are verbal insults and violence, discrimination at work and ill-treatment and/or derogatory treatment

Respondents commonly associate discrimination with situations such as insults and verbal violence, discrimination at work and mistreatment and/or derogatory treatment, accounting for 34.5% of the total. Compared to the 2020 survey, mention of disrespectful attitudes towards other cultures, religions and customs is lower.

For the surveyed population, discrimination at work is manifested in fewer opportunities, poor conditions and violation of rights. Discrimination is also associated with certain stereotypes, prejudices and generalisations that people from the ethnic groups analysed hear, such as, for example, that they are criminals, terrorists or ignorant, or that they are involved in illegal activities, generating a feeling of inferiority.

Spontaneous perception of discrimination is slightly increased (2 p.p.)¹

Table 2. In the last 12 months, have you witnessed or experienced any situationof racial discrimination towards a family member, friend, other person or yourself?Answer «yes»

2011	2013	2020	2024
32,7 %	20,9%	30,7 %	32,8%

Source: Prepared by the authors based on previous editions of the study *Perception of discrimination on the basis* of racial or ethnic origin by potential victims.

The highest spontaneous perception of experience of racial or ethnic discrimination (direct or to close third parties) is reported by the East or South-East Asian population,

^{1.} The concept of spontaneous perception of discrimination refers to the spontaneous response of respondents to the direct question on the possible experience of specific situations of discrimination, either in the first person, as a witness or both.

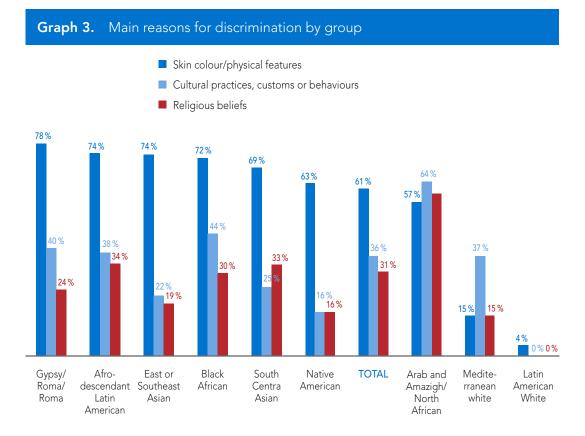
with 70%². This is followed by Black Africans (56%) and Arab, Amazigh and non-Arab North Africans (49%).

Compared to the previous study, these groups, together with Afro-descendants and South-Central Asians, show an increase in the perception of spontaneous discrimination, while the percentage of perceived discrimination decreases in the Roma and White Mediterranean population.

Experiences of discrimination based on skin colour and/or physical features are increasing, and the proportion of those who have experienced discrimination on the basis of culture and/or religion is decreasing

Skin colour or physical features is the main reason for discrimination in most groups. Compared to the previous edition, all groups show an increase in the rate of discrimination on this ground, except for the black African population.

The Arab, Amazigh and non-Arab North African population, together with the white Mediterranean population, are the only groups where experiences of discrimination based on cultural practices, customs and behaviours and religious beliefs are on the rise.



Source: own elaboration. N=722 (only people who claim to have witnessed or been victims of a discriminatory situation in the last 12 months).

It is possible to observe that people who have been discriminated against because of their ethnic or racial origin and culture have a higher prevalence of the other types of discrimination. Thus, of those who have experienced discrimination because of their

^{2.} The explanation for this high proportion in this edition in this population seems to lie in the fact that the majority of the surveyed population in this group is younger than in previous editions (37% are under 25 years old), which leads to a higher spontaneous perception of discrimination than in the older generations, which were more present in the sample in previous editions.

skin colour and physical features, 23% have also experienced discrimination because of their cultural practices, customs and behaviour, 20% have experienced discrimination because of their religious beliefs, and 19% have also been discriminated against because of their economic situation. In the latest edition, while experiences of discrimination attributed to religious beliefs decreased, experiences of discrimination based on sex, gender identity and/or sexual orientation increased.

Physical disability, gender, sexual orientation, and foreign origin are also factors that increase racial discrimination and, as the victims themselves report, accentuate situations of vulnerability and even harassment and violence. The stereotypes and prejudices of the population also permeate people's relationship with these racialised people, contributing to their stigmatisation.

> «Both in high schools and in the street, they told me: 'even useless people come here. Seeing my skin colour on several occasions when I was waiting for my mother outside the supermarket, they even gave me coins, and I found it surprising (...) Before, I used to look a lot at the way they looked at me when I went out in the street. Well yes, for being a woman, a Latina, for being Ecuadorian, a lot, telling you everything they have said to me, and then because of the disability, twice as much».

> > (Focus group participant of persons with disabilities

3% of victims of discrimination in the last 12 months have suffered physical aggression, threats, harm or insults carried out publicly; this contrasts with the 52% of people who then document cases of hate crime in the different areas of analysis

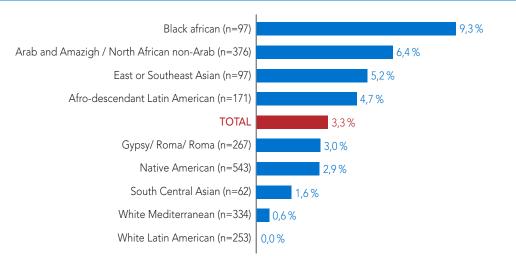
The spontaneous perception of hate crime is understood as the percentage of people who answer whether in the last year they have suffered any physical aggression, threats, damage, insults or other crime committed because of racist prejudices. This percentage contrasts with the percentages of responses to the specific situations of hate crime consulted in each area of analysis (work, education, health, etc.).

The groups proportionally most affected by this type of hate crime are black Africans (17%) and Arabs, Amazigh and non-Arab North Africans (13%). Young people (under 24 years old) and older people (over 65 years old) are the most affected by this type of discrimination.

The areas where hate crime is most frequent are the workplace and education. In both cases, the most frequent type of hate crime is insults, mockery or humiliation of people's ethnic origin³.

^{3.} It is considered a hate crime according to the offence of art. 510.2.a) PC, the humiliation, contempt or discrediting of the dignity of persons. This article encompasses, in turn, two types of conduct. The first subsection contains an offence of result such as «harming the dignity» of certain groups or persons, for discriminatory reasons. The same subsection also contains a formula similar to that provided for in Article 510.1.b) PC, i.e. the manufacture or making available to third parties, but referring to material that is «suitable for injuring the dignity» of these same groups or persons.

Graph 3. Have you ever been physically assaulted, threatened, harmed, publicly insulted or otherwise subjected to racist prejudice? By ethnic group



Source: own elaboration. N=722 (only people who claim to have witnessed or been victims of a discriminatory situation in the last 12 months).

2.3. The experience of discrimination in different areas

The experience of discrimination in public services varies according to the area, being most notable in education and police treatment

Again in 2024, institutional discrimination continues to operate in a more or less subtle and/or explicit way, operating through the practices and policies of society's social, financial and political institutions (public or private), contributing to systematic disadvantages for certain ethnic groups. However, the levels of discrimination in the public services analysed, apart from the mentioned above areas, are lower than those perceived in public spaces.

In the area of police treatment and in education, two of the situations of discrimination based on ethnic origin are experienced by a higher proportion of the population: 20% of people have been asked for their documents in the street unjustifiably because of their ethnic origin; and 16% of people who have attended school or college or studied in the last year have been teased, insulted, harassed by other students.

• Perceptions of discrimination in the area of healthcare remain practically stable compared to 2020, although, on average, there has been a slight increase of 2 percentage points in the proportion of the population that has experienced the various situations raised in the area of healthcare.

The perception of discrimination is significantly higher than average in the Afro-descendant Latin American population group, with 27% of people who have felt discriminated against when being treated in a medical centre in the last year in at least one of the situations indicated.

The most frequently mentioned type of situation refers to personal or family abuse (7.8%).

• Around 11% of racialised women report having experienced some form of discrimination on racial or ethnic grounds when attending gynaecological consultations the last year. This is also one of the least prevalent areas. The women who have experienced the most discrimination are Arabs (16.8%), women of African descent (15.9%) and Roma women (13.6%). By ethnic groups, the women who most recognised having been treated badly in mammography or other gynaecological check-ups were women of African descent (7.3%) and gypsy women (7.5%). In the rest of the cases, the percentages are equally anecdotal.

- The vast majority of respondents who have attended school or high school in the last year, or have had their children studying in Spain, attend schools with a high level of concentration of students from diverse backgrounds (66.5% report attending schools where at least half of the students belong to ethnic minority groups and around 18% study in schools where the majority of the population belongs to these groups), which reveals a high level of school segregation. Black Africans (30%) and slightly further away, Arabs and South-Central Asians (around 24%) are the populations that attend the highest proportion of schools where the majority of pupils belong to minority ethnic groups.
- Some of the highest levels of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity are found in education. Perceptions of discrimination in this area have increased slightly: on average, there has been an increase since 2020 of 2 percentage points in the proportion of the population experiencing the various situations raised in education. It is Native Americans and people of African descent who report having experienced the most discrimination on the basis of their origin.

The situation of discrimination in education most frequently mentioned by respondents, as in 2020, is having been *bullied* by other students (16.1%); but the situation that has increased the most since 2020 is the worst treatment by teachers (experienced by 7.6% of respondents, which represents an increase of 5 percentage points), an experience in which the highest proportion of Roma people stand out. Also noteworthy is the 12% of respondents who report that their children (or themselves) have been excluded from activities or games.

Of particular concern in the participants' accounts is the perceived stigmatisation and prejudicial attitudes of teachers towards pupils from different ethnic groups, which can contribute to chronic situations of inequality and self-exclusion.

• Discrimination in the area of Local Public Administration is also one of the lowest of those detected. As in all areas, however, there has been an increase of 2.2 percentage points on average, with an increase of 7 percentage points in situations of unpleasant treatment.

In this edition, it is the white Mediterranean population that feels most affected by situations of discrimination in this area, mainly related to unpleasant treatment by civil servants (12%), the only situation in which the number of people reporting discrimination has increased since 2020, and to the additional difficulties encountered in carrying out formalities. Here again, people of African descent from Latin America and Native America perceive discrimination in local public administration to be high. However, the perception decreases among the East Asian population, being in this edition a younger population, predictably with fewer language difficulties.

Both the survey and the experts point to persistent discrimination in the framework of the Local Public Administration in the registration procedures (although in the survey, this situation is included among the items relating to housing, due to the role that landlords can also play in this regard) due to the difficulties for people from different ethnic groups to register in the census. This leads to a concatenation of major problems for these people, as registration is the means of access to various public services.

• The perception of discrimination in the area of **Police Treatment** according to the different situations has experienced, on average, an increase of 4.3 percentage

points. As in previous editions, black Africans and gypsies were the people who experienced the greatest proportion of these situations.

Men, as well as lower income and less educated groups, have felt most discriminated against in this respect.

- The increase of 7 percentage points in the number of people who continue to report that the police have asked them for their documents in the street for unjustified ethnic or racial reasons (reaching 20.2% of people) is very significant, as is the 12.5% who say that the police have searched their suitcase, bag or the goods they were carrying for no apparent reason. Despite the many efforts made by the different administrations in terms of protocols, training, etc., experts and participants insist that this is still a recurrent type of action.
- This case points to a situation of institutional discrimination, which can be blamed on the legal framework regarding foreigners, particularly the Aliens Act, as the main cause of institutional racism, with police forces being responsible for its application. Added to this is the perception that public opinion has a preconceived idea that a non-white person does not have the presumption of innocence, which unequal treatment and detention in public spaces.
- Experience of discrimination in other public and private services is very high and growing especially in access to housing

In the public spheres of access to housing, to establishments open to the public, to the supply of goods and services, to coexistence with the neighbourhood, and with regard to the treatment of women in society, high levels of discrimination based on ethnic origin can be observed.

• This edition includes an analysis of the treatment by **Private Security**. By far the most affected ethnic group is the Roma population, followed by Afro-descendant Latinos and black Africans.

The most frequent situations, reported by around 10-11% of the people surveyed, are having experienced problems or being prevented from entering a public place, being followed or watched in a commercial establishment, being searched in a shop for no reason. The proportion of Roma who have had to face these situations for racial reasons is 25 and 26%.

- Access to housing is a basic social right of citizenship, and it is here that the situations of discrimination that are reported by the highest percentage of the population occur; this is also one of the areas where there is a greater increase in the average prevalence of discrimination in the situations raised (5 p.p.).
- Discrimination is also manifested here in terms of spatial segregation and therefore of a structural nature: the vast majority of respondents live in neighbourhoods or areas where there is a high concentration of people belonging to the various ethnic minority groups (65% indicate that they live in mixed neighbourhoods or areas where half would be part of the various ethnic groups and 18.3% live in neighbourhoods where the majority are people from these ethnic groups).

The Afro-descendant, Arab and black African populations are the ones that in the highest proportion claim to have suffered discrimination in any of the items observed.

The most frequent situations of discrimination based on ethnic or racial origin are the fact that «they were not rented housing» (27.5%), «they have received obstacles or extraordinary requirements to rent housing» (24.1%) and that «they are not allowed to register» (22.3%). All these situations aggravate the already very difficult access to housing for these population groups in view of their socio-economic conditions.

- On the other hand, 14.2% of those surveyed said that they had experienced rejection from their neighbourhood at some point in the last year, a rejection that takes the form of «having experienced insults, scorn, threats, exclusion». This proportion is twice as high as in 2020. The people who have suffered most from this type of discrimination are Roma (22.5%), as was the case in 2020.
- Discrimination experienced on ethnic or racial grounds in **establishments or spac**es open to the public is one of the most frequent. It is the Afro-descendant and black African population, together with the Roma population, who have experienced at least one of the above-mentioned situations in a higher proportion than average.

In evolutionary terms, the average increase in population experienced in comparable situations of discrimination based on ethnic origin is 3.7 percentage points.

Among the situations in which the highest proportion of people who have been discriminated against is that of «having felt that they have been looked at badly in shops or shopping centres» (22.1% say this, an increase of 15 p.p.). Also note-worthy is the 15.1% of people who say they have had problems opening an account or getting a bank card.

 In this edition, women were asked about possible episodes of sexual and gender-based violence on ethnic or racial grounds. The intersectionality faced by these women, as well as socio-economic factors, which increase vulnerability, aggravate the experiences of sexual aggression and violence, as opposed to sexual violence.

24.1% of the women surveyed reported having experienced at least some of the situations related to racially or ethnically motivated sexual violence. White Latin American women were the most likely to report having experienced some of these situations.

The most prevalent situation refers to having received offensive compliments, jokes, sexual jokes or obscene looks, reported by an average of 8.9% of women.

Of all women who have experienced some form of sexual assault, only 12.6% decided to seek help or file a complaint.

2.4. The perception and experience of discrimination in the field of employment and training

The socio-occupational situation of the people surveyed has improved significantly compared to the situation they experienced in the 2020 edition⁴

- 2% of the people interviewed said they were unemployed. Thus, their unemployment rate is at the same levels as those of the population as a whole, according to the EPA for the first quarter of 2024 (12%). The ethnic group with the highest unemployment rate is the Roma or Gypsy ethnic group (27%), followed by people of African descent from Latin America (17%) and the Arab and Amazigh population (13%).
- This improvement also translates into an improvement in the situation of regularity and stability. 74% of the respondents were working at the time of the fieldwork.

^{4.} It should be noted that the previous edition of the study coincided with the start of the COVID-19 pandemic.

54% of the total are working with a contract (15 p.p. above 2020). 54% of the total are working with a contract (15 p.p. above 2020). The proportion is highest among the Native American (63%), White Mediterranean (61%) and Black African (60%) groups. They have remarkable stability, although somewhat below average (67% of those in employment are employed on a permanent contract, compared to 72% for the population as a whole), somewhat higher among women, as is the case in the labour market as a whole today.

- People who were working without a contract accounted for 8% of those interviewed, a similar percentage to the previous edition. As in the 2020 study, people of African descent from Latin America are the most likely to be working in the informal economy (12%).
- Self-employed people represent 12% of the survey population. These percentages increase among the Asian population surveyed. Thus, the East or South-East Asian ethnic group has the highest percentage of people who are self-employed, either as self-employed (26%) or helping in a family business (12%).
- The sectoral radiography continues to show the predominance of a type of employment in sectors involving low qualifications. The employed surveyed population is concentrated in the sectors of commerce and repairs (20.3%), construction (20%) and hotels and restaurants (17.3%); with a significant increase compared to the 2020 survey with respect to the construction sector (14 p.p.).

Central-South Asians (43%), East or South-East Asians (39%) and Roma (38%) are mainly employed in the trade and repair sectors, while White Mediterranean and non-Arab Arabs and North Africans are mainly employed in the construction sector (50%). In the hotel and catering sector, there is less difference between the groups, with the majority being around the average.

The majority of respondents have at least secondary education (54%), a similar level to that surveyed in the 2020 study (58%). The populations with the lowest levels are the Roma/Gypsy ethnic groups (73%), South-Central Asians (71%) and Black Africans (66%). Forty-six per cent of the surveyed population have completed vocational or university education. The most educated groups are East or South-East Asians (66%), white Latin Americans (64%) and white Mediterranean people (60%).

- 50.8% of migrants have not had their foreign qualifications validated in Spain, which limits their access to jobs in line with their training and reduces their job stability and security (people with non-validated qualifications report greater difficulties in obtaining formal employment).
- 20% say they are overqualified for their current job, similar results to the 2020 study. Roma is the most likely to be overqualified for their jobs (31%), followed by Native Americans (24%).
- The weight of domestic employment, especially among Native American women, is very important (32% and 16% of all employed women); stigmatisation pushes them into this type of employment. Despite some progress, working conditions in domestic service remain precarious, with a high proportion of women working without a contract (22%, 14 p.p. above the average), especially domestic workers, and facing difficulties in regularising their administrative status. In addition, they report a high work overload, which contributes to the vulnerability of these workers and perpetuates discrimination and sexism in this sector.
- The level of perceived discrimination in the workplace is high, especially among people of African descent, Arabs and non-Arab North Africans, and Native Americans

The area of employment brings together a wide variety of situations of discrimination in the workplace (17 items). This trend holds for almost all ethnic groups, with the population groups with the highest levels of discrimination in the workplace being Afro-descendants, Arabs and non-Arab North Africans, and Native Americans.

Domestic workers experience discrimination on the basis of their racial ethnic origin to a greater extent in 13 of the 17 situations analysed.

In all of the situations considered, there has been an average increase of 5.4 percentage points in the number of people who have experienced these situations of discrimination in employment, this being one of the areas in which the population discriminated against has grown the most.

Regarding situations of discrimination in job search and access to jobs, 11% of the people interviewed indicate that they have not been listened to when looking for a job, while 13% state that they have been rejected during an interview because of their ethnic or racial origin. The Afro-descendant and white Mediterranean groups are the ones who have experienced the most of not being listened to when looking for a job because of their racial or ethnic origin. While 18% of Native Americans and 16% of the Roma population have been rejected during a job interview.

Among the situations of discrimination related to **employment conditions and labour rights**, respondents point to some situations of discrimination related to their employment conditions, which may be in violation of labour rights. The most common are the refusal to give them an employment contract or to register them with the Social Security (13%), being assigned to do work that does not correspond to the job (13%), having the worst working hours and the hardest jobs (13%), and being paid less than other people doing the same job (12%). People of African descent, Black Africans, Arabs and North Africans, and Native Americans are the most likely to have experienced discriminatory treatment in employment conditions and labour rights. In addition, men and people born outside Spain are more affected by situations related to these types of situations.

Another of the sub-areas analysed in the area of work has to do with experiences of **relationships in the workplace**. 12% of the people surveyed stated that they had felt more control and surveillance than others in their work, 10% indicated that they had been insulted or humiliated, while another 9% indicated that they had suffered ill-treatment from clients or suppliers. On the other hand, 5% of people indicate that they have been harassed at work, and 3% that they have been forced to remove religious or cultural symbols or have been falsely accused of stealing. It is evident that people of African descent, black Africans and Arabs or North Africans are the most affected in all these situations of discrimination.

Compared to the 2020 edition, it can be seen that the perception of discrimination increases in all situations, i.e. the percentage of respondents who report having experienced different situations of discrimination in the workplace increases.

There remains a low level of perceived discrimination in the area of employment training

22% of the survey population have attended a training course in the last year. This represents an increase of around 7 percentage points compared to the 2020 survey. Attendance at such courses is mainly among people with secondary education or vocational training, coming from or with ancestry from Latin American countries.

As in other areas, discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin has also increased in employment training (2 p.p. on average). Access to employment training courses is more limited for Afro-descendant and Black African respondents, with 7.3% reporting that they have been prevented from attending these courses because of their racial or

ethnic origin. On the other hand, 11% of Native American participants in such courses report being insulted or humiliated by colleagues and teachers.

2.5. Perception of the consequences of discrimination

The reported consequences are varied: many people experience an impact on their mental health, some develop distrust, while others remain indifferent to these events

People who have acknowledged having experienced discriminatory treatment because of their racial or ethnic origin were asked openly about the consequences this has had on their lives, in order to capture spontaneous responses.

The most common personal consequences of experiences of discrimination based on ethnic or racial origin are still psychological consequences such as sadness and depression, with values similar to the 2020 study. At the same time, the percentage of people who are indifferent to these events and for whom these events have not had any consequences decreases, which would mean that there are more people who have been affected to some degree by these discriminatory events.

Main consequences of discriminatory experiences

- Sadness, depression, pysocholigical consequences (23%).
- None/I don't care, it doesn't affect me (20%).
- Mistrust (13%).
- Reaffirmation, empowerment to quin respect (10%).
- Powerless or frustation (8%).

Other less frequently mentioned consequences are related to the immediate attitude towards this type of situation. 4.7% reported having avoided dangerous situations or provocations, 4.5% admitted having feelings of rage, anger or indignation, and another 3% resigned themselves to the discriminatory situation.

The consequences of experiences of discrimination are perceived in different ways by ethnic groups: East or Southeast Asians report the greatest sadness (30.3%); White Latin Americans are the most indifferent (50%); White Mediterranean people stand out as those who are most empowered to gain respect in these situations (37.5%); and, South Central Asians report the greatest degree of resignation (14.3%).

On the other hand, women are somewhat more indifferent as a result of the discriminatory situations they experience firsthand (22.4%) compared to men (17.8%). But also, women feel more sadness, depression and other psychological consequences than men (23.5% and 22.3%, respectively).

When a closed ended question was posed to identify the potential consequences experienced, the results aligned with the previous findings in terms of the most frequently mentioned categories:

 47.6% of interviewed people who have experienced discrimination in the last year acknowledge that these experiences have had psychological effects, such as stress, anxiety or depression, a considerable increase compared to the results of the previous wave (8 p.p.).

- Compared to 2020, there is an increase from 23% to 37.1% which indicates that they feel more rejection and/or distrust towards the majority ethnic group.
- To a lesser extent, but also increasing, is the feeling of isolation, rising from 14% to 17.8%.

Through personal accounts, other consequences of ethnic or racial discrimination were also highlighted, such as assimilation with the majority group through the «neutralisation» of physical or cultural traits of ethnic groups. The reaction varies depending on socio-economic conditions and educational and cultural capital; among those with more favourable situations, it is often the case that, over time and with increased awareness of racism, a process of empowerment and recovery of pride in their heritage takes place.

2.6. Explanatory variables for different levels of discrimination

Perceptions of discrimination vary according to gender, attributable to patterns that respond to the different roles traditionally associated with each of the sexes

Thus, men experience more situations of discrimination based on ethnic or racial origin in areas associated with public spaces. In this sense, men are more likely to say that they have been refused entry to discotheques, bars, restaurants and other public spaces (12.5%), and, above all, they are the ones who have most often perceived disapproving looks in shops or shopping centres (24.2%). They are also the ones who have been most insulted in the street (15.9%).

However, women identify them to a greater extent in areas more related to private spaces, such as housing, and/or services or spaces related to care, such as education or health, as well as in the educational sphere. This association leads us to speak of situations of intersectionality.

It is the younger groups who perceive themselves to be more discriminated against in areas such as treatment by private security and police

Age explains some of the differences in the perception of discriminatory treatment in open spaces and in relation to law enforcement, where younger people tend to experience more discrimination. However, in certain situations, it is older people who report more discriminatory situations (treatment in the administration, or receiving insults in the street).

The size of the habitat of residence is one of the most important factors in explaining differences in perceptions of discrimination in housing and neighbourhood relations

The smaller the people's place of residence, the higher the rates of discrimination in access to housing.

	Municipality with more than 200,000 inhabitants	Municipality between 20,001 and 200,000 inhabitants	Municipality with less than 20,000 inhabitants	Total
He was not shown a property he wanted to rent or buy	19,7%	23,8%	24,7 %	21,8%
Not allowed to register	20,2%	19,3%	34,4 %	22,1%
They did not rent housing for him	24,1%	34,3%	23,9%	27,3%
They gave you more requirements for renting a flat.	24,2%	23,0%	26,1 %	24,1%
They did not make a rental contract	14,4%	16,3%	35,2%	18,3%
You have come across an advertisement written in discriminatory/exclusionary terms.	7,5%	4,5%	3,9%	6,0%

Table 3. Perception of discrimination in the housing domain items by size of municipality of residence

Source: own elaboration.

The smaller the size of the municipality, the higher the prevalence of rejection or negative treatment in spaces open to the public, as smaller municipalities have a higher proportion of disapproving looks in shops and shopping centres, as well as a higher proportion of situations related to insults in the street, which are hate crimes.

On the contrary, the larger the size of the municipality, the more discriminatory circumstances arise in the field of local public administration.

The length of time spent in Spain is a variable that determines the perception of discrimination in many of the areas analysed

In the areas of establishments or spaces open to the public, police, education, health and job training, it is observed that, in general terms, the shorter the time spent in Spain, the greater the probability of having experienced discriminatory situations in the last year. However, there are areas that require a certain degree of permanence in order to perceive discriminatory situations to a greater extent, such as in the field of education, where more people who have been in Spain between 2 to 5 years have reported at least one item in this area (58.3%). In any case, discriminatory situations do not seem to diminish until people born outside Spain have been living in Spain for at least 5 years.

2.7. Complaints and grievance mechanisms

There is an increase of 4 percentage points in the number of victims of discrimination who file a complaint and report, however, the levels of reporting remain low (22.4%)

Slightly less than one in four people who spontaneously reported having experienced some kind of discriminatory situation in the past year claim to have filed a complaint, claim and/or report. The results for 2024 show an increase in the proportion of people filing complaints by more than 4 percentage points compared to 2020 and 12 percentage points compared to 2013. These indicate show that people from diverse ethnic

groups have progressively lower cultural, psychological or social barriers to filing a claim, complaint or report.

- The most common type of complaint is the reporting of hate crimes to the police, the Public Prosecutor's Office or the Court of Instruction (12% of the 722 people who have experienced discrimination have done so in this way). In second place would be claims or complaints for administrative infringements in public services (8.9%), which would be similar to the figures for 2020. The use of the CEDRE service for victims of discrimination and the 021 service is very low.
- 47% of black Africans who have experienced discrimination have filed a complaint of some kind, the group with the highest prevalence among the different ethnic groups. This is followed by white Mediterranean people, 36% of whom have filed complaints.
- Among the persons who have suffered some kind of discriminatory situation and who have filed a complaint, differences are observed according to their administrative situation: those who do not have a residence permit are proportionally the ones who file more complaints with associations or NGOs.
- On the other hand, it is observed that the longer the length of residence in Spain, the higher the proportion of people who file complaints or reports. The probability of filing a complaint also increases among people who were born in Spain; in both cases, this would be due to their greater knowledge of the mechanisms for filing a complaint, awareness and lower language barriers than other groups.

There is a high degree of satisfaction with the reporting process and experience

Most of the complaints filed by the persons surveyed ended in administrative infringement proceedings without sanction (47.1%). 16.7% are still in judicial or administrative proceedings and 15.8% of the complaints or claims filed were not admitted for processing. Among those that were admitted and conclusive, 15.1% ended with a guilty verdict and 5.3% with an acquittal.

The results of the complaints or claims filed vary according to their nature and the place where they were filed (although the results have to be analysed taking into account the small sample size of 163 persons): more judgements were won when the complaints were filed with labour inspectorates, for claims or complaints for administrative infringements in public services and for complaints with the police or judicial bodies.

63% of people report feeling very good or good during the reporting process and afterwards, an increase of almost 8 percentage points compared to 2020. In contrast, 26.2% report feeling bad or very bad about the treatment (almost 15 percentage points less than in 2020).

Graph 5. Perception of treatment during and after the report								
🗖 Very good 🔳 Wel 📕 Bad 📕 Very bad 🔳 NS/NC								
27,6 %	35,4 %	20,3 %	5,9 % 10,9 %					

Source: own elaboration. N= 163

Of the total number of people who filed a legal complaint, 32.8% (53 people) reported having received support from some public institution or body, a proportion that is more than 5 percentage points higher than in 2020. On the other hand, 30.4% (50 persons) also received support from some entity or association.

People were also asked whether they would repeat their experience once the judicial process was over and whether they would report it again if they experienced any kind of discriminatory situation. The rate of people in favour of repeating the experience was 74.5% (121 people), which is line with the figure from 2020.

Some normalisation of discrimination based on ethnic or racial origin continues to be observed among different groups, partly due to a lack of accessibility and confidence in the judicial system, as well as a lack of knowledge

The results confirm, as in the previous edition, that the main reasons why these individuals decide not to report are based on mistrust of different institutions or because these discriminatory situations are relativised or normalised:

Main reasons for decidign not to report

- Reporting would serve no purpose (20,6%).
- It was a minor thing (18,6%).
- It is normal for these things to happen (18,3%).
- Not kowing where or how to do it (13,6%).
- It was not necessary to do so (13,4%).

The Native American group is the most fearful of possible reprisals for reporting (51.4%), as well as the one that most recognises that shame is the first impediment for not reporting (64.7%). The group that recognises having the most language barriers is the Arab and Amazigh group (53.9%), as well as the group that admits that they may suffer tensions in the place where they live in the event of reporting (52%). It is also the ethnic group that most acknowledges not knowing how to file a complaint or claim, preventing them from doing so (30.2%).

The Arab and Amazigh ethnic groups, on the one hand, and the Roma, on the other, are the most distrustful of the police in filing a complaint (24.8% and 23.8%, respectively). The latter group, the Roma, is the one with the most normalised discriminatory situations (28.7%), followed by the East and Southeast Asian population (25.3%). The Native American, Arab and Amazigh and Roma groups have the least confidence in the judicial system

In addition, 46.7 % of the population surveyed considered that justice in Spain is worse for people from different ethnic minority groups.

The proportion of the population reporting that they know entities or services working in the field of support for people experiencing discrimination on the basis of their ethnic or racial origin is decreasing

About 13% (7 p.p. less than in 2020) say they know some kind of institution or associations that can help them in case of such a situation.

- As in previous editions, 59.4% of the total number of people aware of associations that fight against discrimination are women. The older they are and the longer they have been in Spain, the greater their knowledge of this type of organisation.
- 45% of those who knew some kind of organisation said they have knowledge of national NGOs, followed by associations linked to specific population groups (25.2%) and associations run to support various foreign population groups (12.9%). Of this group, local NGOs are the least known (9%).

• In this new edition, people were asked about their knowledge of the CEDRE's Service for Assistance and Guidance to Victims of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination⁵, and about the 021 telephone service⁶: one out of ten people said they knew about them.

2.8. Proposal for measures to curb discrimination

- Respondents consider that the most important measures to curb discrimination are preventive measures from childhood onwards.
- Respondents prioritise preventive action from childhood onwards, insisting on the need to raise awareness in schools about equality and the prevention of discrimination based on ethnic or racial origin. On the other hand, a high priority is also given to restorative measures.
- Both the potential victims participating in the study and the experts interviewed provided valuable reflections on possible lines of intervention to curb discrimination based on ethnic or racial origin:
 - In the field of education, the importance of prioritising the reduction of discrimination at school is highlighted. In this regard, it is considered essential to provide compulsory training for educational staff on the factors that contribute to structural discrimination, anti-Gypsyism and the rights of the Roma community. Having teaching staff trained and committed to diversity management, as well as classrooms with students from different ethnic groups, avoiding segregation, guarantees generations that know and live together in diversity, which means early prevention in the generation of stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes. On the other hand, work must continue on the development and application of protocols for action in schools; and reinforcing a school curriculum that advances towards inclusive education and eradicates stereotypes, which delves into Spanish colonial history, slavery and the persecution of the Roma people.
 - The public administration also points to the need to train and sensitise the staff of the different services with higher levels of interaction with people, not only on the factors that contribute to structural discrimination, anti-Gypsyism and the rights of the Roma community, but also to reinforce moral values based on empathy.

Specifically, it also points to the need to develop specific protocols to ensure that Roma women receive equal and respectful treatment in medical consultations and during childbirth.

And, given the importance of the growing psychological consequences of discrimination based on ethnic or racial origin, it is necessary to create health and social resources that include the specific circumstances of the racialised population, in order to attend to their mental health problems.

• In terms of legal protection, the experts called for greater efforts on the part of public authorities in several areas: laws and regulatory changes to prevent racists from going unpunished for their actions, with the resulting civil, administrative or educational consequences.

^{5.} https://igualdadynodiscriminacion.igualdad.gob.es/menured/servicio-de-asistencia-a-victimas-de-discriminacion/

^{6. 021} telephone number to assist people who suffer, have suffered or know of situations of racial or ethnic discrimination. Launched in May 2023.

In this sense, it points to the need to update the Law on Foreigners; the development of actions that contribute to improving the socio-economic situation of racialised people in order to curb economic intersectionality; and the need to promote a greater presence of representatives of the various ethnic groups in public bodies and institutions through systems such as quotas.

- An effort must be made by the bodies and institutions working in the field of anti-discrimination to share **the information and data** generated in order to provide evidence and improve the construction of more effective public policies. It is also necessary to strengthen the research effort in this area.
- It is essential to address the role of the media due to their significant influence on shaping the collective imagination. In this sense, the media should incorporate more people from different ethnic groups in their campaigns, programmes, etc., in order to contribute to the normalisation of their presence and the generation of referents that disassociate them from negative stereotypes.

It also aims to continue fostering meeting spaces at all levels to promote interculturality.

3. General conclusions

This study has addressed the objective of analysing the perception and experiences of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin and other related forms of intolerance among potential victims in Spain in 2024, as well as its evolution over time, focusing primarily on the comparison with 2020 while establishing some connection with the previous editions of 2010, 2011 and 2013.

This new edition of the study has introduced a series of methodological changes of various kinds, resulting in a substantial improvement in the approach to the object of study and laying the foundation for a more complete, rigorous and robust analysis in the future. These changes, as outlined in the methodological chapter, pertain to the reference universe, the extension and modification of the ethnic groups considered, the enhancement and expansion of the questionnaire, and the survey application method. For this reason, in this new edition of the study, priority has been given to the in-depth analysis of the different situations of discrimination in the different areas for the longitudinal analysis, discarding other types of indicators that have lost their comparative functionality in this framework due to the methodological changes¹.

In this sense, it should be noted that the overall data may vary slightly depending on whether or not the white Latin American population group is taken into account, a group that, in general terms, is perceived as less discriminated against, which lowers the perception of discrimination in the surveyed population as a whole by an average of 2 percentage points.

The main conclusions of the study are presented below in a synthetic and global manner, responding to the main objectives of the study.

- ► In general terms, it can be observed that there has been an increase in the number of people who report feeling discriminated against because of their racial or ethnic origin in our country compared to the previous edition of the report (2020). This increase in spontaneous discrimination is estimated to be around 2 percentage points (from 31% to 33%), while the average for documented discrimination (based on experience in specific situations) is between 1 and 5.4 percentage points on average².
- Spontaneous perceived discrimination. One in three people of various ethnic origins spontaneously perceive situations of discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic origin in the last year, i.e. they generally report having experienced or witnessed discriminatory situations.

The groups perceiving the highest levels of discrimination in this edition are East or South-East Asian, Black African and Arab/North African populations, with the perception among the Roma population decreasing in this edition.

^{1.} This is the case of the discrimination rate by domain and overall, used in previous editions, which is no longer a useful instrument for longitudinal comparison, but not for comparison between domains, due to the extension of situations raised in the questionnaire for the different domains, the change in the wording of some of them and the considerable reduction in non-response in the 2024 edition compared to the 2020 edition, due to the fact that in that edition it was necessary to use a telephone survey for a large part of the sample and in the context of the onset of the pandemic.

^{2.} This gap increases, on average, by around 3 percentage points if the white Latin American population, a population group not considered in previous studies and the population group reporting the lowest levels of discrimination based on ethnic origin in the study, is not included.

The main grounds for discrimination

The study provides evidence to support what theoretical analyses suggest, namely that structural discrimination experienced by people is constructed through the superimposition of different social factors that generate systemic inequalities. In this sense, it is observed that people suffer discrimination because of their ethnic origin, which they consider to be mostly motivated by their skin colour or physical features (61%), and to a lesser extent by their customs or cultural practices (36%), which, as the experts point out, is gaining weight in recent years in the increase of racial hate speech.

Other grounds for discrimination such as economic status (30%) and gender (27%) are also reported. In the latest edition, while experiences of discrimination attributed to religious beliefs decreased, those motivated by sex, gender identity and/ or sexual orientation increased.

- From the data of the survey and the focus and discussion groups, it is possible to identify frequent situations of multiple discrimination that people report having experienced on different occasions, mainly attributable to their economic situation and their gender. In addition, situations of intersectional discrimination are observed, where specific stereotypes about certain groups of diverse ethnic or racial and territorial origin are mixed, especially with personal characteristics such as gender and socio-economic status, which would point to aporophobic behaviours that would add to the ethnic component of discrimination.
- The study also reveals that people from ethnic minority groups in our country who have disabilities are subject to intersectional discrimination that aggravates their vulnerability in various circumstances.

The different forms and manifestations of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin

Structural discrimination

The survey data support the existence of significant structural discrimination, based on rules, norms, attitudes and behaviours in institutions and other social structures that hinder people from certain ethnic groups from accessing the same rights and opportunities as others, and contribute to less favourable outcomes than for the majority of the population. This is produced and reproduced through various more or less symbolic and explicit elements.

In particular, it is evident in both residential and educational segregation experienced by people on the basis of their racial or ethnic origin. Eighty-four percent of the people surveyed live in neighbourhoods or areas where half or more than half of the population belongs to ethnic minority groups in our country, which reveals a high level of residential segregation and reinforces the structural discrimination experienced by people from the various ethnic groups analysed.

At the same time, this is a population that mostly attends schools with a high concentration of people from ethnic minority groups in the country, which reveals a high level of school segregation (84% of the people surveyed who bring their children or attend an educational centre are also enrolled in centres where half or more than half of the people belong to ethnic minority groups in Spain). This segregation and ghettoisation, which is sometimes nurtured by the families themselves and constitutes a protection mechanism against the rejection of the majority group in the classroom, nevertheless contributes to deepening the inequality of opportunities for these populations.

These institutional and normative barriers, which deepen this structural discrimination, are evident through other types of manifestations: 62% of the people surveyed percei-

ve a lack of equal opportunities and unequal treatment compared to other population groups in the labour market; 46.6% of the people surveyed consider that the police treat people from different ethnic groups worse than people from the majority group; and in addition to this, 50% of the people surveyed consider that justice in Spain is worse for people from different ethnic minority groups.

Subtle discrimination

The situations of potential discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin raised in the consultation respond to different forms and manifestations of discrimination, including subtle discriminatory practices, which are less explicit, where the intentionality is not clear, and which go more unnoticed, sometimes characterised as «micro-aggressions». However, as reported by those who have experienced them, these types of recurrent attitudes can have a very negative impact on individuals, leading to negative psychological consequences for individuals and undermining fundamental rights.

As shown in the table below, the situations that the people surveyed reported having suffered the greatest include: 22.1% reported having felt that they had been looked at poorly in shops or shopping centres, experiencing the greatest growth of all situations since 2020 (15.5 p.p.).

«It's also noticeable because it's the way it is. I don't know if it happens to others. It's when you introduce yourself somewhere. It's the way they look at you, the way they look at you, how they look at you and then, uh, how they nod, how they say something just by looking at you, not as if they're saying you don't belong here. I don't know what you do, you don't have so many rights or that's the feeling you have. Although other people say it directly to you».

Change % 2024 **FIELD** Situations (p.p.) He was not rented housing 27,5% +6,7 They gave you more requirements for renting a flat. 24,1% +4,0 22,3% Not allowed to register Have you ever felt that you are looked down upon in Public Sp. 22,1% +15,4 shops or shopping centres? He was not shown a property he wanted to rent or 21,9% +4,2He has been asked for his documents in the street Police 20,2% +7,2 18,4% They did not make a rental contract They have been teased, insulted, harassed by other 16,1% +2,2students (OD). They made it difficult for you to open an account or Public Sp. 15,1% +11,3get a bank card at the bank. Experienced rejection from the neighbourhood Neighbourhood 14,2% +6,3 (insults, scorn, threats, exclusion) (OD)

(Focus group participant persons with disabilities)

Table 4.Situations in which a higher proportion of people feel discriminatedagainst because of their ethnicity or race

FIELD	Situations	% 2024	Change (p.p.)
Public Sp.	He has been insulted in the street (DO)	13,8%	+3,8
Employment	You have been assigned work that does not correspond to the duties of your position.	13,4%	+9,3
Employment	You have not been given a contract / you have not been registered with the social security system.	13,3%	+8,6
Employment	You have been rejected or treated negatively during a job interview.	13,3%	+6,3
Employment	He has been given the worst working hours and/or the toughest jobs.	13,3%	+7,6
Police	Your suitcase/bag/goods have been searched for no reason.	12,5%	+3,5
Public Administration	You have been treated in an unpleasant manner	12,2%	+7,6
Education	Education Pupils have excluded you (or your child) from activities or games.		+3,3
Employment	Charge less than others doing the same job	12,0%	+6,8

Hate crimes

Various sources point to an increase in recent years in hate crimes due to racist prejudice (the increase in investigation proceedings according to the State Prosecutor's Office was 300% in 2023). According to the survey, 52% of the people surveyed have experienced at least one situation in the last 12 months that can be qualified as a hate crime in different areas, in that they have suffered some physical aggression, threats, damage, insults made publicly or some other crime committed because of racist prejudice. However, the spontaneous perception of this type of situation drops to 3% of people, which reveals a widespread ignorance of the discrimination component of racist prejudice involved.

The table above shows that many of these situations of potential hate crime are among those that have experienced the highest percentage of the population in the last year, with an increase in all cases compared to 2020: 16% have suffered mockery, insults, harassment from other students; 14% have experienced rejection from their neighbourhood (insults, scorn, threats, exclusion), a situation that has increased by 6.3 percentage points; 14% have been insulted in the street, with an increase of 3.8 percentage points.

Behind the increase in this type of discrimination is the rise of extreme right-wing ideologies that spread racist and xenophobic discourse and generate increasingly uncomplicated attitudes and behaviour in certain sectors of the population, focused on racial factors. These hate crimes are more frequent among the black, Arab and Amazigh populations.

Other explicit situations of discrimination

As can be seen in the table above, in addition to these types of situations, the most common manifestations of racial discrimination perceived by the surveyed population are explicitly manifested as an attack on fundamental rights such as the right to housing, with four of them forming part of the five most prevalent situations in this area; the most common being the fact that 27.5% of the population perceives that they were not rented housing because of their ethnic or racial origin.

Among the most frequent are also other situations that violate access to financial resources; for example, 15% say that they had problems opening a bank account or getting a bank card.

They also occupy a relevant place in terms of prevalence in a block of situations that in all cases are perceived by around 13% of people from the different ethnic groups, which refer to more or less explicit situations in the field of employment, such as rejection in a job interview, or the perception of being assigned worse working conditions; but which also, in other cases, violate the regulations in force by not even giving them an employment contract.

Finally, among the situations most identified by the population are also those related to police treatment, apparently subtle, but aggravated by the power relationship they imply and the presumption of guilt that underlies them, such as the request for documentation (20%), with an increase of 7 percentage points, or searches for no apparent reason (12%).

Discrimination in specific situations («Documented Discrimination»)

- The tables below provide an overview of the areas where more and less discrimination on the basis of ethnic or racial origin is found in 2024, how this change compares to 2020, and the different levels of discrimination experienced by different ethnic groups.
 - On the one hand, the situations in which people feel most discriminated against (maximum prevalence in the area) and in which the highest minimums are detected (minimum prevalence in the area) are considered in each area. In this case, it can be seen that the situation in which most people report feeling discriminated against occurs in the area of housing 27.5%), in public spaces (22%) and the police (20%). On the other hand, the situations reported by the smallest proportion of people in each area with the highest figures (minimum prevalence) are also found in the area of housing (6.3%) and the police (4.1%). All this, together with the previous review of the items with the highest prevalence rates, leads us to conclude that housing is by far the area in which the population of the different ethnic groups perceives discrimination to a greater extent. In second and third place come the area of public spaces and police treatment.

On the other hand, the lowest levels of discrimination are found in newly explored areas such as gynaecological consultations, job training and health care.

 In order to carry out the longitudinal comparative analysis by area, an analysis is made in relation to the average variation in the prevalence of the situations considered in each area, which allows us to indicate, on average, the evolution over time of discrimination by area. The highest growth in discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin occurs in the areas of neighbourhood (6.3 p.p.), employment (5.4 p.p.) and housing (5 p.p.).

Although discrimination would have increased in all areas comparable to the situation in 2020, this increase is smaller in the case of health (1.1 p.p.), in the rest it exceeds 2 percentage points.

Table 5.Perceived discrimination by area of analysis in 2024 and evolutioncompared to 2020

	Maximum prevalence of discrimination in the field of employment and occupation	Minimal prevalence of discrimination in the field of employment and occupation	Average variation
Sanitary	7,8%	1,0%	1,1 p.p.
Gynaecological consultations	4,5%	0,7 %	
Housing	27,5%	6,3%	5,0 p.p.
Public spaces	22,1%	2,6%	3,7 p.p.
Police treatment	20,2%	4,1%	4,3 p.p.
Private security	11,7 %	7,1%	
Education	16,1 %	3,1%	2,2 p.p.
Local Public Administration	12,2%	0,4%	2,6 p.p.
Neighbourhood	14,2%		6,3 p.p.
Labour	13,4%	2,0%	5,4 p.p.
Training	5,2%	1,4%	2,0 p.p.
Gender-based violence	8,9%	2,6%	

Source: own elaboration. N= 2.200.

Table 6.Percentage of people from each ethnic group who have experienced atleast one of the situations of discrimination described by area in 2024

	Afro-descendant Latin American	Black African	Arab and Amazigh / Non-Arab North African	Native American	East or Southeast Asian	South Central Asian	Gypsy / Roma / Roma	Mediterranean white	Latin American White
Sanitary	27,0%	17,3%	14,7 %	17,8%	11,3%	4,9%	7,9%	11,4%	10,0%
Gynaecological consultations	15,9%	7,3%	16,8%	6,9%	1,8%	0,0%	13,6%	11,4%	13,4%
Housing	88,1%	82,0%	83,7 %	73,4%	42,5%	55,3%	76,7%	73,7%	56,0%
Spaces open to the public	88,9%	80,2%	75,3%	69,1%	52,6%	48,4%	77,1%	36,7 %	33,3%
Police treatment	53,8%	60,8%	54,6%	51,7%	11,3%	32,3%	59,2%	32,2%	25,0%
Private security	46,2%	45,4%	39,3%	31,5%	8,2%	22,6%	62,5%	12,3%	8,2%
Education	50,0%	43,6%	46,3%	56,0%	42,1%	35,0%	43,7%	30,1%	27,3%
Local Government	25,2%	19,6%	18,9%	18,7%	19,4%	12,5%	22,9%	33,9%	15,9%

	Afro-descendant Latin American	Black African	Arab and Amazigh / Non-Arab North African	Native American	East or Southeast Asian	South Central Asian	Gypsy / Roma / Roma	Mediterranean white	Latin American White
Neighbourhood	15,8%	19,6%	16,2%	15,3%	12,4%	6,5%	22,5%	10,5%	4,4%
Labour	90,8%	84,8%	89,2%	89,1%	55,7%	40,0%	73,3%	78,3%	66,4%
Training	16,7 %	16,7 %	12,2%	13,6%	0,0%	0,0%	10,3%	7,4%	5,1%
Gender-based violence	12,3%	28,6%	21,4%	22,6%	21,8%	4,5%	26,4%	25,3%	36,9%

Source: own elaboration. N= 2.200.

• As can be seen in the table above, where the two ethnic groups with the highest percentages of people experiencing at least one of the situations of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin in each of the areas are shaded by area, it is the black and Afro-descendant population, either from black Africa or from groups of black Latin American people, who would have experienced a higher proportion of discrimination in more areas in 2024. While the black African population group was also one of the groups that reported higher levels of discrimination in 2020, in the case of the Afro-descendant Latin American population, the number of people who reported feeling discriminated against because of their racial or ethnic origin seems to have increased substantially, making them the most discriminated against population in this edition.

In third place is **the Roma population** (with the highest figures in three areas), which is not one of the two most discriminated groups, as it has been in previous editions, something that could be attributed to the location of the Roma sample, centred in areas with high segregation, which tends to reduce their interaction with other groups and thus reduce the likelihood of experiencing discrimination on ethnic or racial grounds.

The Arab and Amazigh populations, and the Native American population are the populations that also show high levels of discrimination in at least two of the areas.

The least discriminated groups, in terms of specific manifestations, are once again the Asian population, whether from the centre-south, east or southeast³, and, on the other hand, the white Mediterranean population group (which is the most discriminated against in the area of Local Public Administration) and the white Latin American population, incorporated in 2024 (which shows the highest levels in the area of gender-based violence).

• The main socio-demographic variables that explain to a greater extent the variations in the perception of discrimination are gender, age, size of habitat of residence and length of time spent in Spain. Thus, men and women perceive discrimination to a greater extent in different areas; younger people tend to be those who perceive discrimination in public spaces and in their relationship with the security forces; and while in rural areas certain situations of discrimination related to housing and neighbourhoods seem to be accentuated, it is in larger cities

^{3.} Although this group is one of the groups that spontaneously states that it is more discriminated against, when asked about specific situations, unlike the rest of the groups, it reports feeling discriminated against in specific situations to a lesser extent than the rest of the groups; it could be concluded that there is a smaller gap or greater adjustment than in other groups between their spontaneous perception of discrimination and the documented one.

where the prevalence increases in the relationship with the Local Public Administration. In general terms, discrimination is more intense among people who have been in Spain for between one and two years.

The consequences of discrimination

- The most common personal consequences of experiences of discrimination based on ethnic or racial origin are still psychological consequences such as sadness and depression, with values similar to the 2020 study. On the other hand, there is a decrease, compared to 2020, in the percentage of people who say that the discriminatory situations they have experienced have not had any consequences.
- A very common reaction to situations of discrimination is still, especially at younger ages, the attempt to assimilate with the majority group through the «neutralisation» of physical or cultural traits of ethnic groups. The reaction varies according to socio-economic conditions and educational and cultural capital; among those with greater social and cultural capital, a process of empowerment and regaining pride in their origins often occurs with the passage of time and increased awareness of racism.

Grievance and complaint mechanisms

The levels of reporting of discriminatory situations remain low, although they have experienced a slight upturn in 2024 (4 p.p.): only 22.6% of the total number of people who have experienced a discriminatory situation in the last year and spontaneously, stated that they had filed a complaint, claim or report.

This is despite the fact that most people who reported experiences of discrimination had a positive experience doing so. However, a series of images prevail among this population related to the distrust of the usefulness of reporting, which is rooted in an even deeper distrust of the judicial system; on the other hand, the minimisation and/or normalisation of situations of discrimination among the most vulnerable groups continues to hold back their attitude of vindictiveness and denunciation.

However, the survey reveals that in the 2024 sample, the proportion of people who say that they know of an institution and/or association that works in the field of associations has fallen from 20% to 13%.

Proposals for action

In view of the serious consequences of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin and the low level of complaints, it is still necessary to strengthen and innovate in the development of new lines of action combining the efforts of the various public and private entities working in the field of anti-discrimination.

The main lines of action prioritised by the potential victims themselves, as well as by experts, focus on: early intervention in the educational sphere (teacher training and awareness-raising, diversity in the classroom, protocols and inclusive school curriculum); training and awareness-raising of Local Public Administration staff, and the creation of social and health resources to deal with mental health problems; updating and strengthening regulatory frameworks to protect victims and prosecute discrimination; strengthening the presence of people from diverse backgrounds in public institutions and bodies; normalising the presence of people from diverse backgrounds in the media; strengthening efforts to protect and redress victims.

Annex: Methodology of the study

This new edition has once again combined a powerful and reinforced quantitative methodology, which makes it possible to obtain a longitudinal view of the perception of potential victims, with a qualitative perspective, developed in parallel, with the aim of expanding the wealth of information and providing added value from the analysis of the discourse of people who experience discrimination and of experts. This study therefore adopts a mixed methodological perspective, combining quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques, as explained below.

Methodological development of the survey

The main tool of the quantitative analysis was the survey developed for potential victims of ethnic origin discrimination, a tool already used in previous editions, which has been transformed according to the areas and objectives of interest and previous experience.

In this new edition of the study, there is an important change in the configuration of both the universe and the sample.

The research universe is made up of all persons who are potential victims of discrimination on grounds of ethnicity and/or race in Spain. For the delimitation of the universe from which the study sample has been constructed, the following populations have been considered:

- All those persons residing in our country whose country of birth is a country of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and part of the countries of the former Eastern Europe, which, according to previous studies, means an increase in the possibilities of being victims of racial or ethnic discrimination.
- The descendants of people who arrived in Spain, originating from the mentioned above regions, who were born in Spain and may or may not be full Spanish citizens (with Spanish or foreign nationality), but who are nonetheless potential victims of discrimination on the basis of their origin and/or membership of an ethnic group.
- The ethnic minority historically settled in Spain, the Roma population.

In order to delimit the study universe statistically in this new study, the main weight is placed on the variable of country of birth and, to a more residual extent, on nationality, variables that are included in the statistical records in our country.

The nationality variable used in previous studies for this purpose has become increasingly incomplete over the years, given that, as the data show, more and more people from different ethnic minorities have acquired Spanish nationality. It is for this reason that the use of the birth variable has been considered a priority. However, both concepts are interrelated and sometimes overlap. Therefore, in order to delimit the size of the starting universe, the nationality of the persons will also be considered, including those persons who, having been born in Spain, have the nationality of their parents' countries of origin, which is a clear indication that they belong to the ethnic groups considered¹.

^{1.} The only population group potentially susceptible to experiencing some kind of discrimination on the basis of their ethnic origin that could not be statistically quantified in this way is that of persons who,

On the other hand, as in previous studies, the universe and, therefore, the sample will be made up of people who have been living in Spain for at least 6 months, which is considered a minimum period to be able to have a perception of possible discrimination.

In this 2024 edition, the ethnic groups delimited for the analysis are based on those delimited in the document of the Directorate General for Equal Treatment and Non-Discrimination and against Racism² (2023), Consensual proposal to introduce a question on ethnic origin in statistics, studies and surveys in Spain³. However, in order to be able to carry out a longitudinal comparative analysis of the information on the different ethnic groups, some categories have been adapted. Thus, the ethnic groups considered in this new edition are those detailed below:

- The group established by CEDRE of *black/African/Afro-descendant/Afro-Span-ish/African Spanish/black African population* in this new study has been subdivided into two groups, taking into account, on the one hand, the diversity of the population that this category comprises and the different experience of discrimination that previous studies have detected that they experience, and the need to enable longitudinal comparison with previous studies. Thus, two groups are considered in this study: the Afro-descendant Latin American population, which in previous studies corresponded to the Afro-Latin or Afro-Caribbean population (population from Spanish-speaking countries); and, on the other hand, the black African population, in previous studies referred to as sub-Saharan or non-Mediterranean African.
- The population group referred to in previous editions as Maghrebi, in this new edition, although it is broken down into two categories, as the CEDRE does: Arab people and Amazigh/North African non-Arab people, in order to allow the self-identification of people, for the analysis both categories have been unified into one, as we do not have statistical information that allows us to quantify the weight of each population⁴, which also allows us to carry out a comparative longitudinal analysis, as in previous editions these populations were agglutinated under the same category.
- The ethnic group that in previous editions was called Andean American this edition becomes, as stated in the CEDRE proposal: *Native American/Indo-American/ Indigenous/Abya Yala* population.
- The *East or Southeast Asian* population proposed by CEDRE corresponds to the population referred to as *East Asian* in previous studies.
- The *South-Central Asian* population group comprises the former Indo-Pakistani population.
- As in previous editions, the category of ethnic group proposed by CEDRE is maintained, which brings together the Roma/Gypsy/Roma, although in terms of self-identification, the differentiation between Roma of Spanish origin and Roma of other origin (Roma) is maintained.
- The so-called Eastern European population in previous editions of the study is now considered as part of the group that CEDRE calls the *white Mediterranean population* in this new study.

having been born in Spain, have Spanish nationality, belonging to one of the groups considered, on the basis of the origin of their parents. However, this approximation is considered to be more accurate and closer to reality than the one that uses only the data relating to nationality, given that in this way all persons who have obtained Spanish nationality in recent decades, despite belonging to these ethnic groups, are left out.

^{2.} Formerly Directorate for Equal Treatment and Ethnic-Racial Diversity.

^{3.} Access to the document.

^{4.} After the survey, as will be seen, the Amazigh/North African group has a very low weight in the sample (34%).

- It also includes a new category proposed by the CEDRE report, relating to *white Latin Americans*, who were not included in previous studies.
- Finally, in order to allow people to self-identify as such, the category of mestizo/ mixed-race people is included in the study. However, as will be seen later, due, on the one hand, to the great heterogeneity of this group, with people of very different ancestries, to the difficulty of quantifying its volume through statistical sources, and, on the other hand, with the aim of guaranteeing longitudinal analysis in the study, each of these people are grouped together for the analysis of the survey with the main groups of ancestry.

Therefore, in this new study, the ethnic groups of analysis have been significantly reconfigured, with several new ethnic groups (white Latin American population and mixed/ mestizo population) and new categories to denominate populations previously considered as well, which allow for the longitudinal analysis pursued.

By origins, the largest group would be the Native American/Indo-American/Abya Yala population (25%), followed, at some distance, by the Arab and Amazigh/North African non-Arab population (17%), and the white Mediterranean population (from Eastern European countries) (15.2%),2%), and, with a lesser weight, is the Afro-descendant population from Latin America, for whose calculation in Spain the proportion of Afro-descendant people has been applied to the population on of the total population in the countries of origin⁵ (8%). The smallest groups are made up of people from the black African population (4.4%), as well as people from the East or Southeast Asian group (4.4%), and finally the population from the South-Central Asian group (3%). To this population should be added the Roma population, which, according to available sources, is estimated at 850,000 people, i.e. 11.5% of this population⁶; and a new group added in 2024, that of white Latin Americans, which would represent 12% of the total.

The change in composition is largely due to the inclusion of the white Latin American population group, which would have a weight of 12% of the total of the reference universe, subtracting the rest of the groups, which despite growing in volume would have a smaller relative weight. On the other hand, the increase in the weight of the Native American/Indo-American/Indigenous/Abya Yal population is very significant, rising from 7.7% of the total to 24.7% (this is explained, in part, by the increase in the number of countries considered, by the inclusion of people with Spanish nationality but born in other countries, (this is partly explained by the increase in the countries, who were not previously considered in the universe, and also by the increase in recent years of the population from these countries, motivated by the improvement of the socio-economic situation in Spain, on the one hand, and on the other, due to the various situations of political and social conflict in many Latin American countries, thus increasing the number of asylum requests in Spain).

On the other hand, it is worth noting that the most significant decreases occur among the white Mediterranean population (formerly Eastern European) by 12 percentage points, and the Roma population, from 18.5% to approximately 11.5%. All other groups have experienced a decline of between 1 and 4 percentage points.

OBERAXE (2022): Study for the knowledge and characterisation of the African and Afro-descendant community https://inclusion.seg-social.es/oberaxe/ficheros/documentos/PDF-16-Estudio-para-elconocimiento-de-la-C-Africana.-ACC_ARN_13.11.20.pdf (p.45).

^{6.} According to the data provided by the National Strategy for the Social Inclusion of the Roma Population in Spain 2012-2020, the Spanish Roma population is currently estimated at approximately 725,000-750,000 people. For its part, the 2015 Study-Map on Housing and the Roma Population, developed by the Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) for the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality, calculates that the Roma population in Spain amounts to 516,863 people; according to this study, the Roma population represents 3.8% of the dwellings inhabited by the Roma population (around 10,160 people).

This change in the composition of the universe, due not only to demographic but also to methodological issues, may have certain implications in the longitudinal analysis of the overall results of the survey, due to the different weight given to each ethnic group in the sample, once their weight has been weighted according to their real distribution in the universe. Therefore, when comparing the data with previous years, it is important to contextualise and take into account this different composition of the reference universe. In fact, throughout the study, the results are sometimes shown without considering the white Latin American population group that was not in previous studies, where this group shows more deviant positions in order to facilitate comparison⁷.

The sample has a size of 2,200 face-to-face surveys. In order to ensure a maximum level of representativeness and reliability for the whole of Spain, it has a confidence level of 95%, assuming a population distribution of maximum indeterminacy in which $p=q^8$ and a sampling error of $\pm 2.09\%$.

The type of sampling has been non-probabilistic by quotas, because there is no census that collects data on ethnicity.

	2024
Sample	2,200 surveys
Ethnic groups	 9 groups or populations (change categories according to CEDRE classification): Afro-descendant Latin American Black African Arab/Amazigh/North African/non-Arab Native American/Indo-American/Indian/I ndigenous/Abya Yala native East or Southeast Asian South Central Asian Mediterranean white Gypsy/Roma Latin American White
Geographical scope	The entire national territory, including Ceuta and Melilla.
Sampling error	2.09% for the whole, confidence level 95.5%, $p=q$
Sampling procedure	Stratified sampling by population groups and Autonomous Communities.
Other approximate quotas	Age, sex and habitat size
Method of data collection	30-minute face-to-face questionnaire (88 questions)

Table 1.Summary fact sheet of the 2024 study

Source: Own elaboration

The questionnaire used in the 2024 edition is based on the one used in 2020 and its modular structure, in order to be able to compare the results and provide a longitudinal

^{7.} In any case, given the decline of the white Mediterranean population, which has been showing lower levels of discrimination, and in parallel that of the Roma population, which is one of the highest reported to experience discrimination, a certain offsetting effect on the overall average is to be expected.

^{8.} Refers to a situation in a binomial distribution where p (the proportion of success) equals q (the proportion of failure), generating the maximum variability in the data and therefore the largest sample size required to ensure accuracy in the calculations. It is used as a «more demanding» case for calculating sample size or margins of error, ensuring that the results are valid.

view of discrimination. The progressive transformation of the questionnaire has been the result of discussions and reflection based on the contributions made by the different actors involved, as well as the conclusions of the meetings held to contrast with CEDRE and the Directorate General for Equal Treatment and Non-Discrimination and against Racism. Existing references from similar surveys have also been used to make decisions on the design.

The result to date is a questionnaire with a total of 88 questions, in which changes have been made, involving expansion, deletion of some questions that were considered not to add value and changes in the language of some of them.

The administration of the questionnaire was entirely face-to-face (unlike in 2020, where due to the pandemic, a third of the surveys had to be conducted by telephone) and lasted around 30 minutes (which meant that the length of the questionnaire was extended, sometimes making it difficult to administer). The survey was conducted between mid-May and mid-July 2024.

Qualitative approach

With the aim of contrasting and deepening the results of the survey of potential victims of racial or ethnic discrimination, two additional qualitative research techniques have been applied, which have allowed, on the one hand, through semi-structured in-depth interviews with experts working in the environment of potential victims from different perspectives and environments; and on the other hand, with the potential victims themselves, focusing on their perceptions and experience through an open and shared dialogue by means of discussion groups and focus groups.

- During the research, 19 experts in the field from different areas of work (institutional representatives, technical staff from social entities and academic researchers) collaborated. Thanks to these people, in a first meeting, contributions were received regarding the design of the questionnaire administered; and in a second, more advanced phase, the conclusions of the statistical analysis were contrasted in order to reach more robust conclusions supported by reinforced evidence (for this purpose, a round of interviews was carried out with these people).
- In addition, a series of focus groups were held with potential victims of ethnic or racial discrimination of different profiles in order to gain a deeper understanding of both the perception of discrimination and the underlying issues.

With these objectives in mind, 5 discussion groups (made up of between 6 and 8 people) and 2 focus groups (more thematically oriented and in this case made up of fewer participants) were carried out. These groups focused on: discrimination against Roma women, domestic employment, black African and Arab men, education, housing, intersectionality of ethnicity and disability, and intersectionality of ethnicity and sexual orientation. In total, around 50 people from diverse backgrounds participated.