EXAMINATION OF THE AFRICAN AND AFRO-DESCENDANT POPULATION IN SPAIN. Identity and access to rights

M.º ÁNGELES CEA D'ANCONA MIGUEL S. VALLES MARTÍNEZ





SECRETARÍA DE ESTADO DE IGUALDAD Y CONTRA LA VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERC DIRECCIÓN GENERAL PARA LA IGUALDAD DE TRATO Y DIVERSIDAD ÉTNICO RACIAL March 2021

PUBLISHED BY:

MINISTRY FOR EQUALITY. General Sub-Directorate for Institutional and International Relations and Publications. Publications Centre

Alcalá, 37 – 28071 Madrid

www.igualdad.gob.es publicaciones@igualdad.gob.es

NIPO: 048-23-049-5 (print edition) NIPO: 048-21-006-2 (online edition) Legal Deposit: M-23200-2023

Publications Catalogue of the Spanish Public Administration https://cpage.mpr.gob.es/

Design, layout and printing: Cimapress





Pre	sentation	5
Intr	oduction. Notes on context, method and acknowledgements	7
١.	Afro associations: adding layers to the map of black diverse associations	9
	1.1. History and location of Afro associations study participants1.2. Self-description, aims and activities of participant Afro associations1.3. Funding and staff	 2 3
2.	Profiles and Identities of the African and Afro-Descendant population in Spain	15
	 2.1. Sociodemographic profiles of the African and Afro-Descendant population responding to the online survey 2.2. Identity and identification	18 21 22
3.	Racism and discrimination in the twenty-first century in Spain: the experience of the black, African and Afro-Descendant communities	23
	 3.1. Perceptions of racism and discrimination	25 27 33 35
4.	Demand for anti-discrimination rights and policies: contributions of black, African and Afro-Descendant communities in Spain	37
	 4.1. Assessment of anti-racism and anti-discrimination actions	39 40 42 43
Co	nclusions	45

>>>> Presentation

In the exercise of its powers to promote and apply the principle of equaly of treatment and nondiscrimination, in 2020 Spain's General Directorate for Equal Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity undertook to make the necessary efforts to examine and obtain data in order to understand how African and Afro-Descendant people living in Spain exercise and enjoy their civil, political, social, cultural and economic rights, as a specific social group and as a potential collective victim of discrimination.

The Examination of the African and Afro-Descendant Population in Spain: Identity and Access to Rights study was designed with this in mind and following the point referring to information gathering in the Programme of Activities for the International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024). María Ángeles Cea D'Ancona and Miguel S.Valles were placed in charge of the study, and I thank them for the enormous effort and academic rigour they have brought to it.

This research represents a first step toward understanding experiences of access to rights and of discrimination in the main areas of life in which these experiences occur. It has also enabled us to examine the identities, self-determination and social discourses of African and Afro-Descendant people based on their own narratives and experiences, as well as to examine the degree of knowledge and assessment of equality and anti-discrimination public policies. It has also allowed us to identify the bodies that this group of people would turn to if they wished to make a complaint or to report a crime.

This is a pioneering study in the public sector in terms of the social group that is its focus. It also helps us to improve demographic data-gathering methods with regard to the composition of our society's population, making it possible to apply and improve the effectiveness of the measures designed to promote recognition of the historical racial and ethnic diversity of our country.

Despite the dual challenge of a limited period of one month for online self-completion of surveys and the current pandemic, participation has been strikingly high, with 1,369 questionnaires completed. There was more participation from women (62%) than men (36%), with 2% of people identifying as «non-binary». 42 African and Afro-Descendant organisations took part in the study, making this the first investigation of this kind to be carried out in Spain. This high level of participation in such a short space of time would not have been possible without the collaboration of organised civil society and the social activists who opened up the path to the increased involvement of this population group. We recognise their essential social and political work, as fundamental actors in the defence and expansion of rights, and hence their contribution to the expansion of our democracy.

We thank all those who have participated and given their support to help this study come into existence. We particularly thank the activists and organisations, each and every individual who has completed a questionnaire, and those who participated in preliminary preparation and consultation meetings, for having dedicated your time, understanding and commitment.

We also thank the Ministry of Equality for its commitment to the real and effective implementation of equality, the Deputy General Director of this Directorate for his commitment and professionalism, and the exceptional researchers who have carried this study out, in addition to Complutense University of Madrid, which has supported and fostered social research —an essential task for the progress of our country.

RITA BOSAHO GORI Director General for Equal Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity

>>>> Introduction

NOTES ON CONTEXT, METHOD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study offers a first examination of the black, African and Afro-Descendant population living in Spain: its sociodemographic profiles, identities, needs and experiences of discrimination, together with the demand for anti-discrimination rights and policies. This research has been promoted and financed by Spain's General Directorate for Equal Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity (State Secretariat for Equality and Against Gender-Based Violence), of the Ministry for Equality. It has been carried out within the scope of the International Decade for People of African Descent, declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations (via resolution 68/237) and running from 1 January 2015 to 30 December 2024. The study aims include raising awareness of (and respect for) the diversity of heritage and culture of Afro-Descendant people and their contribution to the development of societies.

The research has benefited from the inestimable collaboration of numerous entities from the African and Afro-Descendant population in Spain, including the Black, African and Afro-Descendant Community in Spain (*Comunidad Negro Africana y Afrodescendiente en España*, or CNAAE), Afrofeminas (Afro Women), Afrofemkoop, Conciencia Afro (Afro Consciousness), Movimiento Panafricanista de Bilbao (Pan-African Movement of Bilbao), AfroMurcia en movimiento (AfroMurcia in motion) and Alcemos la Voz Africanos (Speak Up Africans) We are also grateful for the involvement of the numerous African and Afro-Descendant people who participated in the dissemination of the two surveys around which the study is structured:

- The Survey of Representatives of Entities or Associations of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EREAAE, 2020, for its initials in Spanish). Owing to the range of issues that it covers, the results of this survey (completed in full by 42 representatives of entities) are set out and analysed in the four chapters of this executive summary.
- The Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020, for its initials in Spanish), whether or not members of African and Afro-Descendant entities or associations. The questionnaire was completed in part or in full by a total of 1,946 people (who we thank for their participation). However, the final valid survey sample amounts to 1,369 completed questionnaires. This is undoubtedly a high and significant figure for this type of survey, particularly when the timeframe for its online self-completion was restricted to a single month for scheduling and deadline reasons.

The fieldwork for both surveys took place from 29 October to 13 November 2020. The email explaining the research and providing links to the two surveys was sent on 29 October 2020 to a total of 230 entities and contact persons, whose email addresses were provided by the General Directorate for Equality of

Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity, which we thank for its valuable contribution to the successful performance of the research. We particularly thank its General Director Rita G. Bosaho Gori and Deputy General Director Nicolás Marugán Zalba. Without their collaboration, it would have been difficult in the extreme to secure the participation levels achieved in both surveys.

To ensure that the entities and representatives of the African and Afro-Descendant population felt involved in the proposed research, the General Directorate for Equal Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity organised an initial virtual meeting with various African and Afro-Descendant experts, in order to obtain their approval of the two questionnaires designed by the research team. This meeting took place on 14 October 2020¹. Following the comments and suggestions received, the final questionnaires were sent to participants in a second virtual meeting also organised by the General Directorate for Equal Treatment and Ethnic and Racial Diversity held on the afternoon of 28 October 2020, the day before the start of the fieldwork. This meeting involved the participation of various representatives of African and Afro-Descendant entities, together with other partners. The study was presented to a total of 89 people (to whom we extend our thanks), with emphasis placed on the importance of encouraging as many people as possible to participate in order to achieve the following fundamental research aims:

- I. Providing an initial examination and quantification of the Afro-Descendant population living in Spain.
- 2. Identifying their most characteristic experiences of inclusion and discrimination, the main areas in which these experiences occur and their types.
- 3. Investigating identities and social discourses of (and about) the Afro-Descendant population.
- 4. Confirming their awareness and assessment of equality and anti-discrimination public policies, and the bodies to which they would turn if they wished to make a complaint or claim.
- 5. Identifying their demands and proposals for anti-discrimination policies.

We are aware that the form of survey applied (online self-completed) does not enable us to cover the whole African and Afro-Descendant population living in Spain. The most vulnerable members of the population are excluded due to their administrative and income situations, which hinder web access and the capacity to complete the survey —which, moreover, is not translated into languages other than Spanish. To cover this population, it would be necessary to design another kind of research and survey, involving greater financial and time costs. However, as will become clear from reading this summary, the two questionnaires that have been administered have enabled us to cover the research aims. We have examined the black, African and Afro-Descendant population living in Spain: its sociodemographic and cultural profiles, its identities, testimonies and discourses, needs, perceptions and experiences of discrimination, together with its demands and proposals for anti-discrimination policies.

I Special thanks to Antumi Toasijé, Esther Mamadou, Ismael Sarmiento, Yeison Fernando García López, Marcos Suka, Patricia Rocu, Simón Nong, Fernando Barbosa Rodrígues and Edmundo Sepa for their contributions.



AFRO ASSOCIATIONS. ADDING LAYERS TO THE MAP OF BLACK DIVERSE ASSOCIATIONS





1.1. HISTORY AND LOCATION OF AFRO ASSOCIATIONS AND PARTNER STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Table 1.1 shows the 40 Afro association or entity study participants, ordered by Region (*Comunidad Autónoma*) and year of creation. Madrid (with 13), followed some way behind by Andalusia (5), Catalonia (6) and Murcia (5), are the Regions with most participant organisations.

TABLE I.I Afro Association or Entity Study Participants by Region and year of creation **Region and Name of Afro Association or Entity Study Participant** No. of associations Year of creation ANDALUSIA 2008 6 AKANIM 2019 Asociación de Nuevos Ciudadanos por la Interculturalidad (Association of New 2009 Citizens for Interculturality) Biznegra 2020 Diapó con África 2015 Red de cooperación académica y empresarial HEKIMA (HEKIMA Academic and 2014 Business Cooperation Network) Voces de África (Voices of Africa) 2008 ARAGON T 2014 Afroféminas (Afro Women) 2014 **ASTURIAS** 2 2003 Asociación de Mujeres Africanas de Asturias (Association of African Women of 2020 Asturias) Comunidad Africana Residente en España (CARE) (Spanish-Resident African Community) 2003 CANARY ISLANDS I 2009 (FAAC) Federación de Asociaciones Africanas en Canarias (Federation of African Associations in the Canary Islands)* 2009 **REGION OF MADRID** 14 1991 África Activa ONG (Active Africa NGO) 2003 Asociación cultural KOTI (KOTI Cultural Association) 2004 Asociación de Juristas Afroeuropeos (Association of Afro-European Lawyers) 2016 1991 Asociación Karibu (Karibu Association) Asociación Limbo Producciones (Limbo Productions Association) 2017 Asociación Mirando por África en España 2011 Asociación Nacional de Afrocolombianos Desplazados (National Association of 1999 Displaced Afro-Colombians) Asociación Universitaria Kwanzaa (Kwanzaa University Association) 2014 Centro Cultural de Arte Internacional Autogestionado La Kúpula (La Kúpula 2013 Cultural Centre of Self-Managed International Art) Centro Panafricano Kituo cha Wanafrica (Kituo cha Wanafrica Pan-African Centre) 2004 Conciencia Áfro (Afro Consciousness) 2016 Save a Girl Save a Generation 2007 Upside África 2015 Zebra Experimental 2016

Region and Name of Afro Association or Entity Study Participant	No. of associations	Year of creation
REGION OF VALENCIA Uhuru	I	2020 2020
CATALONIA AfroFem Koop Asociación Burkineses de Barcelona (Burkinese Association of Barcelona) Hibiscus Asociación de Afroespañolas y Afrodescendientes (Hibiscus Association of Afro-Spanish and Afro-Descendant People) Moviment Afrobanyolí Social (Afrobanyolí Social Movement) Moviment Democratic de Gambia (Democratic Movement of Gambia) Puerta de África - Think-and-do Tank juvenil	6	2015 2020 2015 2016 2016 2016 2020
GALICIA Afrogalegas (Afro-Galicians)	I	2017 2017
NAVARRE Asociación Flor de África (Flower of Africa Association)	I	2010 2010
BASQUE COUNTRY Asociación Maliense de Bizkaia (Benkadi) (Malian Association of Biscay) Azalak Elkartea IRDAS (Iniciativa Retorno por el Desarrollo de África Subsariana) (Return Initiative for the Development of Sub-Saharan Africa) Movimiento Panafricano Bilbao (Bilbao Pan-African Movement)	4	2001 2001 2019 2017 2014
 REGION OF MURCIA Asociación de Ciudadanos de Burkina Faso de la Región de Murcia (Murcia Association of Citizens of Burkina Faso) Asociación Mujeres Kasofor (Kasofor Women's Association) Centro de Estudios de la Unión Áfricana (CEUNA) de Murcia (Murcia Centre of Studies of African Union) Federación de Asociaciones Africanas de Murcia (Federation of African Associations of Murcia)** 	5	2011 2013 2018 2011 2012 2017
General total	42	1991

^{*} This Federation is made up of fourteen associations.

** This Federation is also made up of fourteen associations, which are specified at a later stage.

1.2. SELF-DESCRIPTION, AIMS AND ACTIVITIES OF PARTICIPANT AFRO ASSOCIATIONS

The associations are part of a network or federation that brings various entities together in 65% of cases. In response to the question of what membership of these networks or federations provides/means for the entity, the most frequently chosen answers were the leading response of organisation of activities together with other entities (43%), as well as membership providing increased promotion and dissemination of the activities carried out by the entity (35%).

In the actual fight against **racial discrimination**, the activities that associations most commonly offer to their members are informative (information on rights and bodies to contact in order to make a complaint or claim), which is identified by almost half of the representatives of surveyed associations (46%), followed by support for victims of discrimination (38%) and social support (34%). Legal advice is only offered by 28% of respondent entities. In contrast, these entities identify various activities that are different to those specified in the question, such as awareness-raising activities and campaigns (31%); development of anti-racism platforms, organisation of and participation in demonstrations, anti-racism and anti-xenophobia political advocacy (31%); and conferences and courses on racism, discrimination and social exclusion (15%). Other less common activities are related to the consolidation of an anti-racist protocol (8%), normalisation of Afro-Descendant/ white relationships and demystification of Africa, in the belief that this will also change the view of Afro-Descendant people (8%), and offering work skills training and institutional links to provide more workplace opportunities and gradual entry to the ecosystems of power (8%). Only 4% of respondent entities stated that they did not carry out any specific anti-racial discrimination activities.

Respondents were then asked if there had been any changes to the main activities carried out by their association over the last ten years, which 52% of respondent entity representatives answered in the affirmative. Those respondents were then asked why changes had occurred, and several reasons were given. The three most frequently occurring related to the changes occurring in contemporary society (30%), a lack of funds (22%) and, in contrast, an increase in funds and financing (15%).

At the end of the survey (after questions concerning reporting and experiences of discrimination), entity representatives were asked whether they thought the number of entities with aims or activities similar to theirs has increased or fallen in recent years. The most commonly shared views are that their number has slightly increased (29%) or has remained mor e or less stable (25%). A majority of those respondents holding the opinion that there has been a significant (19%) or slight (10%) reduction in the number of these entities in recent years stated that the main reason for this is a lack of financial resources for the development of the association. Nine out of ten representatives believed this to be the case. The others considered the reason to be a lack of social backing (in terms of partners and volunteers).

1.3. FUNDING AND STAFF

Having more funding and staff affects the activities offered by the different entities or associations of African and Afro-Descendant people (or other study participant partner entities). Of the survey respondents, 62% stated that they have received public funding at some time, and 40% even identified public subsidies or aid as their main source of funding. These sources are followed by income from association activities (27%), together with contributions made by association or entity members (25%). Private donations represented a minority (8%). Far from increasing, there has been a fall in the public subsidies or aid received by associations to carry out their activities in the last ten years, as in the case of other associations. For a majority, access to public resources has fallen significantly (38%) or slightly (23%), as opposed to those for which it has increased slightly (15%) or significantly (7%).

Meetings are held with public authorities by 86% of the representatives of survey respondent entities, while the other 14% state that they do not have such meetings. Of those who do have meetings with public authorities, their average assessment of those meeting is strong approval on a 10-point scale (6.26, with a standard deviation of 2.45); 8 is the most frequently given score (19%), followed by 7 (17%). The entity representatives who gave their meetings a score below 5, amounting to 23% of the 53 entities that had held such meetings, were subsequently asked why they had given such a low, failing mark. The main reason cited is a lack of interest in supporting initiatives or unreceptiveness to requests (45%). Discouragement follows this main reason, with 36% stating that the meetings were not useful. The third criticism attacks a lack of representativeness (9%).

Mixed nationalities predominate, with the term "Afro-Descendant" bringing together people from different nationalities, for example from Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, Colombia and Spain. As a whole, these entities bring together people with different national origins, who mainly unite in order to fight to defend their rights, work together and see themselves being represented (29%), or due to the various activities they offer (20%), with an equal proportion looking to provide advice (legal, psychological or work-related) in terms of support or guidance for procedures or problems that they have encountered relating to factors such as racism, discrimination or gender-based violence (20%). This is closely followed by reasons of intellectual empowerment (18%). Less common reasons are meeting with compatriots (7%) and education, health and work-related training and guidance (5%).

Association populations are stable in the majority of cases (79%). Only two out of every ten entity representatives state that there is unstable membership of their association, with members leaving quickly. When these respondents are asked about the reasons for this instability, the most frequently mentioned responses refer to instability of job situations, administrative irregularity (33%) and difficulties with and lack of financial resources (17%), together with criticisms of use of the association for a specific service and purpose: "once they get what they want, they're unlikely to come back" (25%).



PROFILES AND IDENTITIES OF THE AFRICAN AND AFRO-DESCENDANT POPULATION IN SPAIN





As stated in the Introduction, one of the aims of the International Decade for People of African Descent¹ is to promote a greater knowledge of and respect for the diverse heritage, culture and contribution of people of African descent to the development of societies. The first challenge in fulfilling this aim is to give the African and Afro-Descendant population, together with its sociodemographic and cultural profiles, a visible presence in Spanish society.

Following its visit to Spain from 19 to 26 February 2018, the United Nations Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent² noted with concern that statistics did not record data broken down by ethnic origin or race because this leads to the invisibility of the Afro-Descendant community, hindering the search for effective solutions to the racial discrimination and social exclusion suffered by this group.

There has been a debate regarding whether to include said statistical information in order to make progress in the fight against discrimination and in developing sociological knowledge regarding the different ethnic and racial groups living in Spain, as well as to observe and record their different experiences of discrimination. According to calculations made by African and Afro-Descendant civil society and disclosed to the *United Nations Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent*, their presence may range from 1 to 2 million people. However, there is a significantly lower estimated population according to a recent study published by the Spanish Racism and Xenophobia Observatory (OBERAXE, for its initials in Spanish) (Barbosa et al., 2020a), which states that between 700,000 and 1,300,000 African and Afro-Descendant people are living in Spain, depending on whether people from North Africa are included. The researchers who produced this estimate (Nuria Lores Sánchez and Jesús Migallón Sanz, of CIDALIA) recognise their use of an exploratory statistical approach owing to the lack of official sources and the fact that "for the time being, there is no other possible approach to the phenomenon" (p. 7).

In this respect, we must note a significant limitation on their estimate: it is restricted to people who come from other countries and are resident in Spain. This excludes an increasingly significant proportion not recorded in official statistics. representing the Afro-Descendant population born in Spain, as well as the population that has arrived through international adoption processes. As will be seen in section 2.1, 47% of the 1,369 African and Afro-Descendant people who responded to the online self-completion survey state that they were born in Spain. This does not necessarily mean that this is the proportion they represent of the African and Afro-Descendant people living in Spain.

¹ Declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations via resolution A/68/L34, and running from 1 January 2015 to 30 December 2024.

² Made up of Sabelo Gumedze, Marie-Evelyne Petrus-Barry and Ricardo A. Sunga.

2.1. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF THE AFRICAN AND AFRO-DESCENDANT POPULATION RESPONDING TO THE ONLINE SURVEY

The Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) was answered by 1,369 people, whether or not members of entities of associations of African and Afro-Descendant people, with more female (62%) than male (36%) respondents and 2% of people identifying as "non-binary" in the open question asked regarding "sex/**gender**", explaining that they do not agree with the distinction between men and women. As is common for self-completed online surveys, the majority of the population is young, with an average **age** of 31.9 years (standard deviation of 11.6 years); 78% are aged between 16 and 41 years. The population is also notable for its medium and high level of education. Half of those surveyed have university **qualifications** at intermediate or uncompleted higher level (29%) or completed higher level (21%). Moreover, 16% state that they have completed postgraduate or PhD courses.

Unlike the level of education, on a professional occupation scale the African and Afro-Descendant population surveyed is proportionally located more in the lower-skilled (24%) and medium-skilled (44%) occupations and this is not always coherent with level of education. The respondents from other levels are medium-level professionals (16%) and entrepreneurs and higher-level professionals (16%). With respect to employment status, as the majority of the population is young, with 54% aged under 29 years, it is no surprise that 25% of respondents are still students. Workers on fixed or permanent contracts represent a similar proportion (24%), while those with temporary contracts represent 18% and 15% of respondents state they are unemployed - a proportion, however, that is somewhat lower than among the Spanish population as a whole. The average monthly net household **income** is €1,497 (albeit with a high standard deviation due to the high range of extreme values). One in every three people surveyed declares monthly income between €1,001 and €2,000, and one in four between €601 and €1,000. However, gender differences are observed, most clearly among people with income in excess of €3,000: 12% of men as opposed to 6% of women. It is hence unsurprising that when subsequently asked about their social class, the bulk of respondents place themselves, in similar proportions, in the lower-middle (37%) or middle (36%) class, albeit with gender differences, as can be seen in chart 2.1. None of those surveyed consider themselves to be part of the upper class.



With respect to "**country** of birth", as previously noted and in contrast to estimates of African and Afro-Descendant presence in Spain, **47%** of the surveyed population was born in **Spain**. Moreover, seven out of every ten respondents have Spanish nationality (71%). The 725 people who state that they were born elsewhere (53% of the total sample) are mainly from African countries, and particularly Equatorial Guinea (26%). Some way behind are other countries representing percentages between 2% and 5%: Senegal (5%), Angola (4%), Cameroon (4%), Nigeria (4%), Ethiopia (3%) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (2%). Other African countries such as Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Western Sahara and Sierra Leone each respectively account for around 1% of responses. People from other African countries (Cabo Verde, Gambia, Gabon, South Africa and Tanzania) have a still-smaller presence in Spain and do not even reach this proportion. Together with African countries, the Afro-Descendant population not born in Spain is from Latin American countries, as one might expect. The largest proportions of respondents in this respect are from Colombia (9%), the Dominican Republic (9%), Brazil (5%) and Cuba (4%). Respondents from other countries such as Haiti, Puerto Rico, Panama, Peru, Venezuela and Argentina barely account for 1%.

In terms of the **time** respondents have lived **in Spain**, the average response is 15.8 years (with a deviation of 11.4). Of those not born in Spain, 54% have lived in Spain for up to 15 years, and 77% for up to 20 years. It is hence unsurprising that 71% of respondents state that they hold Spanish **nationality**.

Chart 2.2 shows the different **Regions** in which respondents live on a map of Spain. Madrid is the region with the highest percentage of survey respondents (35%), and Cantabria is the only region not represented in the survey. It should be noted that the map does not include data for four regions that were included in the Excel spreadsheet used to produce the chart: the Basque Country (4%), the Canary Islands (3%), Murcia (2%) and La Rioja (1%), whose data would have to be added to the chart.



TABLE 2.1

Gender-based sociodemographic profiles of the African and Afro-Descendant survey respondents (EPAAE, 2020) (% vertical)

		Male	Female	Total
Age	Under 25	30	40	36
	25-36	37	33	35
	37-49	23	22	22
	50 and over	10	5	7
Qualifications	Secondary and below	7	6	6
	Advanced secondary and vocational	27	27	28
	Mid-level university	26	31	29
	Higher-level university and postgraduate	40	36	37
Occupation	Low-skilled	21	25	24
	Medium-skilled	44	45	44
	Medium-level professional	16	16	16
	Higher-level professional	19	14	16
Employment status	Permanent	27	23	25
	Temporary	17	19	24
	Unemployed	17	11	15
	Student	26	23	25
Income	Less than € 300	8	8	8
	300-600	9	9	9
	600-1,000	24	26	26
	1,001-2,000	30	34	33
	2,001-3,000	17	16	17
	More than 3,000	12	6	9
Social class	Lower	24	15	19
	Lower-middle	33	40	37
	Middle	35	37	36
	Upper-middle	8	8	8
Size of municipal area	Fewer than 10,000 people	10		
	10,000-5,000	15	8	7
	50,001-200,000	18	2	20
	More than 200,000	57	50	52
Religion	None	48	49	49
	Catholic	6	4	15
	Protestant	6	4	15
	Muslim		5	12
	Other	9	8	9
Born in Spain	Yes	35	54	47
	No	65	46	53
Spanish national	Yes	65	75	71
	No	35	25	29
Born elsewhere	Africa	64	56	59
	Latin America	34	37	36
	Europa	2	7	5
Feel Spanish	Yes	38	42	40
	No	62	58	60
Sample size		493	849	1.369

With regard to **housing**, 55% of respondents are resident in rental properties and barely 20% are in owner accommodation. As 57% of the sample is aged between 16 and 30 years and 25% is studying, it is unsurprising that 22% of respondents report that they still live in the home of a family member (mainly, with their parents). In addition to this are 2% who are in some form of foster care at a centre or NGO, and 1% who live in their partner's home.

This section concludes with a classification in table 2.1 below of the gender-based differences for each of the variables analysed, with the exception of region of residence.

2.2. IDENTITY AND IDENTIFICATION

The study also investigates the **identity** of African and Afro-Descendant people resident in Spain. Following the questions regarding Spanish nationality is an open question asking how (apart from by their names) respondents identify themselves or like themselves and the people of their association to be addressed. Chart 2.3 groups the different responses together into twelve generic categories.



The same question is included in the Survey of Representatives of Entities or Associations of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EREAE, 2020), whose responses are set out in chart 2.4.

CHART 2.4

Self-identification of online survey respondent representatives of African and Afro-Descendant entities (EREAAE, 2020) (%)



2.3. SENSE OF BELONGING

In the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020), the foregoing question on identity is preceded by a brief, closed and dichotomous question regarding whether or not the respondent feels Spanish. Although 40% of the 1,369 people surveyed answered in the affirmative, more (60%) answered "no". Those who did so were then asked why not, and given sufficient space to explain the different grounds or reasons for which they did not feel Spanish or part of the country where they lived. A range of answers were given, which were later grouped into ten response categories that are listed in chart 2.5 below according to frequency of mention.

CHART 2.5





RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION IN TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY SPAIN. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE BLACK, AFRICAN AND AFRO-DESCENDANT COMMUNITIES





3.1. PERCEPTIONS OF RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

The Survey of Representatives of Entities or Associations of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EREAAE, 2020) includes a closed question regarding perceptions of the evolution of discrimination in Spain. Respondents are specifically asked whether the discrimination experienced by African and Afro-Descendant people has fallen, remained the same or increased in recent years. Of the 42 survey respondents, 60% considered that there had been an increase in the discrimination experienced by African and Afro-Descendant people in recent years. Barely 10% thought it had fallen, and for 30% of respondents it had remained the same.

In turn, the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) starts with a generic question about perception of discrimination, asking respondents to consider which population groups potentially vulnerable to discrimination they perceive to be most protected by the State. They are specifically asked to state in relation to each of a list of groups whether they believe that group to receive a lot, quite a lot, a little or no protection from the State. A list of 14 groups is provided, starting with young people aged under 30 years and ending with the group under study: African and Afro-Descendant people. Chart 3.1 illustrates the least favourable responses, which express a lack of protection of these groups from the State and its policies. These are the "no" and "little" protection responses, whose frequency would indicate a demand for action to compensate the perceived lack of protection and higher discrimination.

Similarly, chart 3.2 shows the response to the third question on the survey, which directly measures the frequency of grounds for discrimination (or less favourable treatment) by asking respondents to state whether discrimination (or less favourable treatment) on certain grounds is very, quite, not very or not frequent in Spain as a whole.

This question regarding perceived frequency of different grounds for discrimination is the third one in the survey, and is preceded by a more specific question relating to the African and Afro-Descendant population. This question asks whether respondents have more, the same or fewer opportunities to access health, education, housing, job positions and representative positions in comparison with the Spanish population as a whole. The African and Afro-Descendant respondents perceived themselves as having fewer opportunities to access a *representative position* (95%), *job position* (94%), *housing* (91%), *education* (64%) and *health* (65%).

CHART 3.1

Population groups perceived as least-protected by the State according to the surveyed African and Afro-Descendant population (EPAAE, 2020) (%)

Receive little or no protection from the State



CHART 3.2

Discrimination perceived as most frequent by the African and Afro-Descendant population in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) (%)

Discrimination is very or quite frequent in Spain on grounds of...

Ethnic Origin or Skin Tone						:	79		17
Nationality						65			28
Lack of Financial Resources				5	3			35	
Sexual Identity		-		47			;	37	
Physical Appearance			42					44	
Gender			38				44	ł	
Sexual Orientation			37				43		
Mental Disability			36				44		
Religious Belief			35				40		
Chronic or Infectious Illness		29				42			
Physical Disability		28					47		
Āge	19				42				
	Very	Quite	_						

3.2. PERSONAL LIVED EXPERIENCES OF RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

The Survey of Representatives of Entities or Associations of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EREAAE, 2020) and other partner entities includes an open question asking what forms of discrimination respondents most frequently encounter at present, based on their personal and professional experience. A wide range of answers were provided, notably including references to "legislative" discrimination, which raises the most concerns, together with the listing of all kinds of discrimination. The most frequently mentioned types of discrimination referred to by the **representatives** of entities who responded to the survey were: *legislative, workplace, residential, access to other social rights* such as education and healthcare on equal conditions, *police identification checks based on ethnic profile* and *bullying in school* faced by minors due to *anti-black discrimination* as well as verbal assaults in the street and so on.

Respondents are then asked about the reasons for the discrimination and the places where more discrimination against the African and Afro-Descendant population takes place in Spain. The entity representatives pointed out several reasons, which can be summarised as follows: *There is no push for equality of opportunities* for everyone; *bad press regarding immigration; criminalisation* of immigration by both far-right parties and conservatives; State security forces and bodies and members of private security businesses linking black skin tone to criminal tendencies; *European migration policy* of a barrier with Africa; *structural racism; lack of awareness* relating to the racial discrimination that exists in Spain; Spain's long *tradition of anti-Africanism* and the remnants of the country's colonial tradition; *lack of education* and culture, and ignorance of society in general; persisting *stereotypes* and *prejudices; no fear of reprisals* for aggressors, who are not fined and do not face judicial proceedings; *feeling of superiority* and *non-acceptance of the other*, due to having a different skin tone and being black; and "xenophobia and a highly chauvinist mentality".

In order to understand the personal experiences of the African and Afro-Descendant **population** living in Spain and whether they are consistent with the statements of the entities that represent them, the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) includes, along similar lines to other surveys, a closed-form question asking whether the respondent or someone in their environment, such as a family member or friend, has ever experienced or perceived discrimination (being treated differently) for any of the following list of reasons (in this order): sex, age, nationality, skin tone or ethnic features, sexual orientation, sexual identity, political ideology, religious belief, physical appearance, physical disability, mental disability, lack of financial resources, chronic or infectious illness, or culture or customs. Chart 8 shows the percentage of positive references to each ground for discrimination, in decreasing order. The most frequently mentioned form of discrimination experienced is based on skin tone or ethnic features. This form is reported by a majority (78%); that it is the most frequently mentioned form is unsurprising given that the population responding to the survey is made up of black, African and Afro-Descendant people. It is also unsurprising that the second-most frequently mentioned form of discrimination, albeit at some distance behind skin tone or ethnic features, is discrimination based on nationality of origin (47%). In third place is gender (42%), although as might be expected there is a large difference between men (26%) and women (57%), as is also the case in terms of discrimination based on physical appearance, which has a higher impact among women (35%; 11 points higher than men).

CHART 3.3

Direct experiences of discrimination among the black, African and Afro-Descendant population living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) (%)



Respondent (or someone in their environment) has experienced discrimination based on...

3.2.1. Range of experiences of discrimination

This research investigates experiences of discrimination on two or more grounds based on the information obtained in the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020). Table 3.1 describes different combinations of discrimination experienced by the people who have stated they have suffered discrimination based on their skin tone or ethnic features. This group of 1,063 people represents 78% of those surveyed. The table sets out the percentages of those who have faced discrimination over their skin tone or ethnic features in addition to another of the 13 forms of discrimination that the survey lists. The most frequent combination is skin tone together with discrimination on grounds of nationality: 55% of people who have been discriminated against based on their skin tone or ethnic features have also faced discrimination for not having Spanish nationality. In second place is the combination that originated the conceptualisation of intersectional discrimination: skin tone + gender (46%). The fact that it is present in a lower proportion is unsurprising if one bears in mind that 53% of the 1,369 people surveyed were not born in Spain and that 62% are women. The other combinations of discrimination on two grounds involve skin tone being added to: physical appearance (35%); culture or customs (35%); age (31%); and lack of financial resources (26%).

Table 3.2 shows the sociodemographic profiles of the black, African and Afro-Descendant survey respondents who report having experienced the seven most frequently mentioned forms of discrimination. As in previous tables, the highest percentage obtained among the categories for each variable set out in the table is highlighted in bold in order to make it more visible and facilitate interpretation of the data. The table shows that although discrimination on the grounds of *skin tone* or ethnic features is almost universal in the population analysed (78%), it is more commonly reported by people born in another European country (88%), of the Catholic religion (85%), aged between 37 and 49 years (82%), with higher-level or postgraduate university qualifications (81%), a higher-level professional occupation (83%) and an income level in excess of 3,000 euros per month. This profile contrasts with those who report having experienced discrimination based on *nationality*, the second most frequently mentioned (47%) of the fourteen forms of discrimination considered.

TABLE 3.1

Convergences of direct experiences of discrimination among the African and Afro-Descendant population in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) (%)

Combinat	ion of discrimination	%	Combinati	on of discrimination	%	Combinat	tion of discrimination	%
Skin tone or ethnic features +	Nationality Gender Physical appearance Culture Age Lack of financial resources Political ideology Religious belief Sexual orientation Mental disability Sexual identity Physical disability Chronic illness	55 46 35 35 31 26 15 14 13 7 6 5	Skin tone or ethnic features + Nationality	Gender Culture Age Physical appearance Lack of financial resources Political ideology Religious belief Sexual orientation Mental disability Sexual identity Physical disability Chronic illness	32 27 24 24 19 11 11 8 6 5 5 4	Skin tone or ethnic features + Gender +	Nationality Age Physical appearance Culture Lack of financial resources Political ideology Religious belief Sexual orientation Sexual identity Mental disability Physical disability Chronic illness	32 24 22 22 17 11 10 9 5 5 4 4

With respect to the other forms of discrimination, we note the higher presence of women among those to report having experienced discrimination based on *physical appearance* (33%; 11 percentage points more than men) and, obviously, based on *gender* (where they reach the peak of 54%, 32 percentage points more than men). Discrimination based on *gender* is also more commonly mentioned by higher-level professionals (46%), people in temporary employment (50%), those born in Spain (48%) or in another European country (63%) and those who consider themselves to be upper-middle class (52%).

TABLE 3.2

Experiences of discrimination among the black, African and Afro-Descendant population by sociodemographic grounds and characteristics (EPAAE, 2020) (% in each combination)

		Skin tone	Nationality	Gender	Physical appearan- ce	Culture	Age	Being poor
Total		78	47	42	29	29	26	21
Gender	Male	79	47	22	22	27	25	21
	Female	77	48	54	33	31	27	21
Age	Under 25	76	47	44	30	33	26	18
	25-36	81	48	38	26	28	19	18
	37-49	82	43	46	31	23	32	22
	50 and over	76	47	37	30	34	42	44
Qualifications	Secondary and below	74	60	45	29	34	3 I	24
	Advanced sec and vocational	75	46	42	28	33	25	16
	Mid-level uni	77	44	38	22	27	26	19
	Higher-level uni and postgrad	81	47	43	34	27	26	24
Occupation	Low-skilled	80	5 I	40	25	3 I	28	20
	Medium-skilled	78	47	42	30	3 I	25	21
	Medium-level pro	80	41	40	31	23	33	21
	Higher-level pro	83	45	46	28	24	20	20
Employment status	Permanent Temporary Unemployed Student	79 82 83 75	41 50 46 46	38 50 44 38	27 34 31 28	25 33 33 31	23 29 25 23	18 16 26 18
Income	Less than € 300	72	50	37	29	41	22	32
	301-600	82	65	31	22	30	19	23
	600-1,000	76	48	39	25	31	25	19
	1,001-2,000	80	44	45	32	28	29	21
	2,001-3,000	78	45	46	35	26	27	20
	More than 3,000	83	32	42	17	22	28	15
Subjective social class	Lower Lower-middle Middle Upper-middle	81 80 77 72	53 50 42 35	42 42 39 52	30 3 I 26 26	37 31 23 27	27 25 27 28	35 21 16 14
Size of municipal area	Fewer than 10,000 10,000-50,000 50,001-200,000 More than 200,000	78 81 71 80	42 47 47 50	49 46 37 41	28 32 26 29	33 34 26 37	30 23 22 27	25 23 22 19
Religion	None	78	42	48	32	21	27	20
	Catholic	85	49	32	33	29	25	18
	Protestant	80	50	29	19	26	20	13
	Muslim	82	63	41	22	56	29	34
Born in Spain	Yes	78	33	48	32	25	27	17
	No	79	58	36	25	33	25	24
Born elsewhere	Africa Latin America Europe	78 77 88	47 5 I 25	43 38 63	30 28 26	33 24 27	27 22 40	24 15 28

3.2.2. Areas or spaces of discrimination

With respect to the spaces or areas in which the different experiences of discrimination have occurred, those who answer the question of whether they have faced discrimination for any of the reasons listed in the survey in the affirmative are then asked to explain where the discrimination happened. Although this is an open question, it is accompanied by the following specification: "workplace, education, healthcare, access to housing, public establishments or spaces (restaurants, bars, discos, stores, banks), with public authorities, with police or security officers, on public transport, in the neighbourhood, on the street or elsewhere", to help respondents to give as specific an answer as possible. Table 3.3 sets out the areas in which the different discrimination experiences have taken place. Due to the complexity of the table and again in order to facilitate its interpretation, the three most frequently mentioned areas appear in different colours: orange to highlight the most frequently mentioned place, blue to show the second, and green to indicate the third.

		_		-					_					
	Gender	Age	Nationality	Skin tone	Sexual orientation	Sexual identity	Political ideology	Religious belief	Physical appearance	Physical disability	Mental disability	Lack of financial resources	Chronic illness	Culture or customs
Workplace	27	69	12	œ	14	12	16	8	12	29	13	m	6	œ
Education	6	2	9	10	0		=	15	12	=	16	28		12
Healthcare			2								7		21	
Access to housing			m	2								7		
Public establishments	4	2	ъ	œ	10	_		ĸ	10	=	ĸ	=		æ
With public authorities		4	10	2	·			4		2	9	6	4	2
With police or security officers			4	4	·				2		m	2	4	
On public transport				ĸ						7				
In the neighbourhood														5
On the street or in other public spaces	01	7	4	7	15	8	6	=	7	4	12	7	6	4
In all spaces, society in general	40	7	43	34	28	26	40	40	40	6	17	21	27	39
In the family, personal relationships	2	2		2	œ	6	15	7	e		6	7	15	4
Sporting activities										4	ĸ			
A constant in my life	∞	S	10	8	0	17	6	10	4	20	10	8	12	15
Base muestral	541	207	552	953	149	65	177	168	400	45	69	232	52	313

Where experiences of discrimination among the black, African and Afro-Descendant population **TABLE 3.3**

Colour key: orange, most frequently mentioned place; blue, second; green, third.

3.2.3. Specific nature of reported experiences of discrimination

The respondents reporting having experienced some form of discrimination in the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) were asked an open question regarding the form it took. The fact that it was an open question with no word limit enabled respondents to write very lengthy explanations, describing all kinds of discrimination and how they experienced them. The responses were quantified, summarising the most notable aspects of their personal accounts. Refusal of attention or service is the most frequently mentioned form of discrimination (15%), followed by mistreatment (13%), insults (12%), laughter or mockery (9%) and all kinds of mistreatment (9%).

Workplace discrimination

Given the persistent prevalence of workplace discrimination, a further question is added at the end of the *Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain* (EPAAE, 2020). Respondents are specifically asked if they or any family member or friend have felt discriminated against in the workplace in any of a range of situations. The individual can tick all relevant situations, as this is a closed multiple-response question. Of note among the responses are rejection during an interview (37%) and not having access to jobs for which the person is trained (37%); in both cases, this is reported by a higher proportion of women (41%) than men (33%), denoting higher levels of workplace discrimination affecting women. This is also the case for the range of other workplace discrimination experiences: both having worse working hours (20%) and being paid less than others in the same job (19%) are reported by four percentage points more in the case of women than in men.

Discrimination in access to housing

A final area of discrimination that is frequently referred to by the black, African and Afro-Descendant population when they are asked about experiences of discrimination is access to housing. As previously seen, 91% of those surveyed believe that African and Afro-Descendant people have fewer opportunities than the general population in terms of access to housing. Respondents also expressly refer to this area of discrimination when asked to describe their experiences of discrimination based on *nationality, skin tone* and lack of *financial resources* (table 3.3). Therefore, following the specific question regarding particular examples of workplace discrimination and after respondents are asked where they live, those who answer rental housing (55%) or owner accommodation (29%) are subsequently asked if they have been or felt discriminated against in terms of access to housing; 47% of the 1,150 people in this category answer in the affirmative. This is a high proportion, and these respondents are subsequently asked in an open question to provide more specific information regarding why they have felt discriminated against. The different spontaneously given reasons have been grouped into the following answers: for being black (56%), more barriers (15%), racist lack of trust (14%), for being a black immigrant (11%), not having access to housing within their range (2%) and high prices (2%). Based on gender, the highest percentage differences are recorded for the first response (for being black; 66% of men and 47% of women).

3.3. RELUCTANCE TO REPORT DISCRIMINATORY ACTS

In view of the diverse and numerous experiences of discrimination described by the black, African and Afro-Descendant population surveyed, it is surprising that when asked whether they reported the discrimination

to the authorities, only 10% of the 1,042 people who have experienced some form of discrimination state that they did. Nine out of ten respondents, in contrast, did not. Experiences of discrimination reported in surveys are not always a reflection of reality (objective discrimination), and the same is true of reports of discrimination to the authorities. As previously stated, this affects how discriminatory acts are interpreted (Quillian, 2006; Amegashie, 2008), and it causes discrimination to take increasingly subtle and socially acceptable forms (Yoo et al., 2010; Motti-Stefanidi and Asendorpf, 2012; DeSouza, Ispas and Wesselmann, 2017).

In order to contribute to instances of discrimination ultimately being exposed through their being reported, we need to understand why they are not reported. As such, in the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) everyone who states that they have experienced some form of discrimination and not reported it is asked why they did not do so. On this occasion, the question is asked in a closed format with seven response options, as illustrated in chart 3.4. By including the same seven response options as in the Perception of Discrimination in Spain (IMIO-CIS 2016) survey, the chart compares the 2020 responses from the survey conducted in this research with black, African and Afro-Descendant participants with those provided by the general population in the IMIO-CIS 2016 survey (and analysed in Cea D'Ancona and Valles, 2018). The chart shows that while the main reasons for the Spanish population as a whole not reporting discriminatory acts are a sense that it is pointless to do so (42%) and a downplaying of their seriousness (38%), the reasons are more diverse among the Afro-Descendant population. Together with the sense of it being pointless to report discrimination (31%) is the normalisation of the discriminatory act, with a rationalisation that the discrimination is normal or commonplace and there is hence no reason to report it (24%). There are also respondents who did not report discriminatory acts owing to a lack of information — not knowing where or how to do it (12%); this percentage is twice that reported among the general population.

The 115 people who, in contrast, did report discriminatory acts did so predominantly to the police or Civil Guard (39%), followed by a hierarchical superior (25%), a lawyer, public prosecutor or court (15%) and the public ombudsman (7%). Only 10% turned to an NGO or association. Moreover, only 23% of those who reported discrimination stated that they had received support from any entity or association, meaning the majority (77%) did not. This appears consistent with the low proportion of people who stated that they had reported the discriminatory acts to an NGO or association (un 10%).



In the Survey of Representatives of Entities or Associations of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EREAAE, 2020), respondents are asked in this respect whether any of their association members have reported any discriminatory acts to the entity. The proportion of those answering in the affirmative is somewhat higher though also low, amounting to 36% of the entities participating in the survey. These respondents state that they have processed an approximate average of 15.1 complaints (with a standard deviation of 25.2). The main reasons for complaints were racial discrimination in public or private spaces (41%), violence, *police abuse* and institutional mismanagement, inappropriate police checks due to *skin tone*, racial discrimination by security forces (23%), racism from teachers or students (12%), abuse by employers in the form of non-payment of sums agreed before starting a contract (6%), assaults from members of police, security businesses or individuals (6%), not having access to housing and social benefits (6%) and regulatory *breaches* by the authorities and court cases (6%).

There are 29 representatives of entities who state that some of their members have reported discriminatory acts to the entity, of whom 58% also report that they accompanied said members to help them make a formal complaint to the police or the courts. The other 42% give various reasons for not doing so, including not considering it important because such complaints are generally not made (25%). Other explanations are cited, all with the same frequency (13% in each case): complaints are diverted to entities that specifically handle these issues, and representatives accompany victims to those entities, always monitoring the case; the victims of police discrimination and racism do not believe it is appropriate to report it or are in irregular administrative circumstances; many think that it is not worth the trouble to make a complaint; there are no solutions offered by institutions; there is no law protecting "black people"; and the representative is fully available to accompany victims to make complaints if they so wish.

Respondents are then asked to assess their degree of satisfaction with the making of complaints —whether they have been useful or not— on a scale from one (very negative) to ten (very positive). As a whole, satisfaction levels are low, with an average of 3.1 (standard deviation of 1.8). The 75% of entity representatives who have processed a discrimination complaint give a satisfaction rating of 4. The reasons for low satisfaction with the complaint process are as follows, in order of frequency: *lack of response*, being ignored (36%); people are *afraid of reporting* due to potential reprisals or considering that the events are not reportable, meaning many victims feel afraid of reporting (27%); the *administrative procedures* related to immigration are increasingly complicated and difficult for immigrants, with the Immigration Law representing one step forward and three steps back, and Spanish and European authorities have much to do (18%); there are no available resources and reporting can be *problematic for the victim* (9%); and a lack of *empathy* (9%).

Finally, the 115 people who answer in the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) that they have reported acts of discrimination are asked whether they would do so again if they felt discriminated against on another occasion. The majority reply that they would (88%). The 12% who would not do so give responses indicative of disenchantment or disappointment, arguing that it is pointless, a lost battle and a waste of time.

3.4. WHERE AFRICAN AND AFRO-DESCENDANT PEOPLE PLACE SPAIN ON RACISM SCALES

From the constant voluntary references to "racism" in Spanish society that the study reports, accompanying the explanation of different experiences of discrimination, the high level of assessment of Spain as a *racist* country in the *Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain* (EPAAE, 2020) is unsurprising. Respondents are specifically asked to rank Spain on three racism scales (everyday, institutional and structural), from 0 to 10 (where 10 is the maximum). It is on the scale of *structural* racism that Spain is assessed as most racist, with an average of 8.5 (deviation of 2.4); 51% of the 1,369 survey respondents even give it the

maximum score of 10 on the scale. This is followed by **institutional** racism (from public bodies, authorities and entities). In this case, the average assessment is slightly lower at 8.0 (with the same deviation of 2.4). In this case, the maximum score of 10 is selected by 36% of survey respondents. In contrast, **everyday** racism (in daily life, from the population in general) is less prominent, albeit still receiving a strikingly high average score: 7.6 (with a standard deviation of 2.3). The proportion of respondents who give a maximum score of 10 is also lower in this case (26%). The average is higher among women than among men in all cases, which is resonant with their greater experiences of discrimination.


DEMAND FOR ANTI-DISCRIMINATION RIGHTS AND POLICIES. CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK, AFRICAN AND AFRO-DESCENDANT COMMUNITIES IN SPAIN





4.1. ASSESSMENT OF ANTI-RACISM AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION ACTIONS

The survey asks the black, African and Afro-Descendant population to assess the efforts made by the various public authorities to achieve full *equality of rights*. Respondents are specifically asked whether they believe that the various public authorities are (completely, mainly, mainly not or completely not) making sufficient effort to achieve full equality of rights for a list of 10 groups that are vulnerable to discrimination, in the following order: women, gay men, lesbian women, trans people, immigrants, Roma people, Africans or Afro-Descendants, people with physical disabilities, people with mental disabilities and those with other religious beliefs.

Chart 4.1 illustrates the relevant percentages for the two critical answers that denote a demand for more public authority action to achieve full *equality of rights* (completely not and mainly not, in respect of whether public authorities are making sufficient effort to achieve that goal). This chart orders groups from highest to lowest percentage in terms of the response that denotes the least action from the various public authorities (completely not). As might be expected, the two social groups at the top of the chart are again *African* and *Afro-Descendant* people, followed by *immigrants*. In the former case, the perception of a lack of action is almost absolute (89%), with the highest proportion of respondents answering "completely not" (45%). There are similar proportions in the case of immigrants, with 87% as a whole and 39% for the most critical answer of "completely not". At the other end of the scale are those groups perceived as most protected by the State: people with physical *disability, women* and *gay men*.

The previous question is followed by another one referring to the activities carried out within the framework of the *International Decade for People of African Descent*, asking whether respondents are aware of any activities carried out within the framework of that programme. Only 10% of the 1,369 respondents answer in the affirmative, and they are then asked to specify the activities (in open-question form). The main activities identified are the following, in descending order of frequency:

- Talks, seminars or conferences about human rights and how to report abuse or discrimination (23%).
- Afro conscience, Afropunk, Black afro (20%).
- The 2018 UN study (16%).
- Activities implemented by a UNESCO chair focused on slavery and Afro-Descendants (8%).
- The online seminar regarding the legacy of African and Afro-Descendant people for the history of Spain provided by OBERAXE (8%).
- Specific activities by some NGOs, such as the Association of American Studies of the Principality of Asturias (AEAPA, for its initials in Spanish), and the fact that the CENTRE EURO AFRICA association (www.centreuroafrica.org) is organising the 3rd edition of *Afro-Descendants yesterday, today and tomorrow,* scheduled for Autumn 2021 (8%).
- Financial aid and subsidies (7%).

CHART 4.1

Demand for more action from the various public authorities to achieve full equality of rights (EPAAE, 2020) (%)



4.2. POLICE ACTIONS AND THE ROLE OF MEDIA

Police treatment

With respect to *police treatment*, the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) includes a question asking whether the respondent or anyone from their environment (relatives or friends) have been stopped by the police. Half of the survey respondents answer in the affirmative (49%). This is a very high proportion, which confirms the previously mentioned excessive criminalisation of the Afro-Descendant population. Respondents who answer "yes" are then asked to assess how the police treated them. This is a closed question with three response options: the same as other citizens, worse or better. The vast majority of those surveyed answer that they were treated *worse* than other citizens (85%); only 14% state that they were treated *the same*, and only 1% respond better. These data reflect the reporting of racial discrimination by the police in terms of both excessive stopping rates and treating this group worse than other citizens.

To find an explanation, we can examine the sociodemographic profile of the black, African and Afro-Descendant survey respondents who state that they have had some personal or close (family or friend) experience of police stops. Table 4.1 provides the response percentages for each combination of the variable categories. As in previous tables, the highest percentage obtained among the categories for each variable set out in the table is highlighted in bold (unless no category obtained a higher percentages than the others) in order to make it more visible and facilitate interpretation of the data. As may be observed, the percentage is higher among *men* (57%) than women (45%), among young people aged *under 25 years* (53%), among those born in a country in *Africa* (53%), those who do not feel *Spanish* (53%) and those who report having been discriminated against because of their *skin tone* (52%), in clear contrast to those who have not felt discriminated against (34%). There is also a clearly high percentage in variables that shape socioeconomic status: *occupation, income* and subjective *social class*. Discriminant analysis confirms that the most decisive variables are subjective *social class*, experience of discrimination based on *skin tone, occupation,* self-identifying as *Afro-Descendant*, having been born in a country in *Africa* and *income* (although the latter barely has a significant discriminant effect).

TABLE 4.1

Experience of police stops by sociodemographic characteristics of the surveyed population and discriminant model (EPAAE, 2020) (% in each combination)

		Have had experience	Discriminant model		
			Discriminant variables	Structural coefficients	
Total		49	Social class	-0.490	
Sex	Male Female	57 45	Discrimination based on skin tone Occupation	0.398 -0.351 0.334 0.326 0.076	
Age	Under 25 25-36 37-49 50 and over	53 48 49 47	Afro-Descendant African Income		
Qualifications	Secondary and below Advanced secondary and vocational Mid-level university Higher-level university and postgraduate	47 52 54 48	Canonical correlation = 0.373 χ^2 = 39.699 (ρ = 0.000) 65.3% cases correctly classified using cross- validation		
Occupation	Low-skilled Medium-skilled Mid-level professional Higher-level professional	54 52 42 49			
Employment status	Permanent Temporary Unemployed Student	50 50 52 48			
Income	€ 300 302- 600 600-1,000 1,001-2,000 2,001-3,000 More than 3,000	59 54 53 51 44 52			
Subjective social class	Lower Lower-middle Middle Upper-middle	59 54 44 41			
Size of municipal area	Fewer than 10,000 10,000-50,000 50,001-200,000 More than 200,000	52 55 46 49			
Born in Spain	Yes No	50 49			
Spanish nationality	Yes No	50 49			
Born elsewhere	Africa Latin America Europe	53 47 30			
Feel Spanish	Yes No	47 53			
Self-identify as	Black Afro-Descendant Afro-Spanish	59 60 46			
Have experienced discrimination based on skin tone	Yes No	52 34			

42 >>> Examination of the African and Afro-Descendant population in Spain. Identity and access to rights

The Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) also asks how respondents would generally assess police treatment of African or Afro-Descendant people on a scale from one (very negative) to ten (very positive). As might be expected (from the reports of experiencing worse treatment than other citizens), the general assessment of police treatment is negative. The average score is 3.0 (with a standard deviation of 2.1), and the most commonly given score is 1 (36%), with 76% of respondents giving a score of 4 or below on the scale from 1 to 10.

Respondents giving a score below 5 are asked to explain their answer. The different spontaneously given responses are racial prejudice (20%), more hostile treatment (17%), racism (17%), suffering more stops (14%), facing more assaults (9%), being undervalued (9%), police abusing their power (8%), police feeling above the law (2%), lack of training (2%) and treatment depending on the individual officer (2%).

Media

In addition to investigating police treatment, the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) assesses the media's role in the image of and discrimination faced by African and Afro-Descendant people. The assessment of media's treatment of news regarding African or Afro-Descendant people is even more negative than the view of police treatment, with an average score of 2.5 (standard deviation of 1.9). On this occasion, the most negative score of 1 (very negative) is chosen by 45% of respondents, with 76% choosing 3 or lower. All of this shows us that there is practically universal criticism of the media's treatment of news regarding the black, African and Afro-Descendant population by the people it affects.

Those who give a score below 5 (87% of survey respondents) are then asked about the reason for their score, and given space to explain their views. As in the case of police treatment, a wide range of explanations are given with respect to the perception of negative media treatment: only broadcasting negative images (26%), perpetuation of negative stereotypes (18%), distorting reality (17%), using too many stereotypes (9%), dehumanising the black community (8%), not broadcasting positive news (7%), not referring to the black community as Spanish (4%), not showing black role models (3%) and treatment depending on people's status (1%).

4.3. PROPOSALS FOR ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES

In the Survey of Representatives of Entities or Associations of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain and other partners (EREAAE, 2020), respondents who answer that in recent years the discrimination experienced by African and Afro-Descendant people has increased (60%) or remained the same (30%) are asked what, in their opinion, should be done to reduce discrimination. No options are offered for the respondents to choose, as the intention is to ask an open question and obtain spontaneous answers. This means that a wide range of actions are proposed to reduce discrimination against black, African and Afro-Descendant people. Some of the proposals made by the group of 80 representatives of African and Afro-Descendant entities and partners are as follows:

- I. Changing the Immigration Law.
- 2. Supporting positive discrimination policies.
- 3. Policies for equality of opportunities.
- 4. Specific anti-discrimination laws, including a comprehensive anti-racism law.
- 5. Increasing protective mechanisms for people who report discrimination.
- 6. Supporting more inclusive education.
- 7. Providing resources to support African and Afro-Descendant associations in order to stimulate the creation of stronger community networks.

In contrast, for the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) it was decided to adopt the same approach as in the MEDIM II (2017-2019) project, and provide a series of items summarising anti-discrimination proposals obtained during the qualitative phase of the project, so that the survey respondents (on that occasion, teachers and researchers at public and private Spanish universities) can prioritise the actions to be implemented, scoring them on a scale from 0 (completely disagree) to 10 (completely agree) (see Cea D'Ancona and Valles, 2020a, b). Table 4.2 shows the 13 items that summarise various anti-discrimination proposals. They are shown in descending order of agreement, quantified by average score as this is a metric variable. Very high average approval rates are reported in all cases (with outstandingly high scores), to the extent that even the least-supported measure (funding more anti-discrimination awareness-raising campaigns) obtained an average score of 8.06 and 53% of respondents state their complete agreement with the proposal by giving it a score of 10 (on the scale from 0 to 10). This demonstrates a high level of consensus and agreement with each one of the proposed anti-discrimination measures.

TABLE 4.2

	Average	Standard deviation	Most common score
More diversity training for teachers, judges, healthcare personnel, police and so on		2.39	10 (80%)
Anti-discrimination education (textbooks, Institute of African and Afro-Descendant Culture)		2.40	10 (78%)
Development of anti-racism law		2.51	10 (81%)
Improved media treatment		2.33	10 (75%)
Facilitation of formal reporting of any discrimination		2.37	10 (73%)
Development of general anti-discrimination law		2.46	10 (76%)
Banning political organisations whose discourse is based on inciting racial hatred	8.85	2.72	10 (78%)
Providing more information on rights		2.36	10 (68%)
Greater visibility in the form of public or political representation		2.50	10 (70%)
Rewarding companies that foster equality among employees	8.45	2.72	10 (63%)
Subsidising films with socially prestigious roles for African and Afro-Descendant people		2.75	10 (57%)
Rewarding positive action/special measures aimed at African or Afro-Descendant people		2.80	10 (54%)
Funding more anti-discrimination awareness-raising campaigns		2.76	10 (53%)

Anti-discrimination measures ordered from highest to lowest support (EPAAE, 2020)

4.4. THE ROLE OF ASSOCIATIONS IN DEFENDING RIGHTS

Following the question in the Survey of African and Afro-Descendant People Living in Spain (EPAAE, 2020) regarding actions to reduce discrimination and those seeking an assessment of Spain in terms of scales of racism (analysed in section 3.4) is a succinct and direct question asking whether the respondent is a member of any association of African or Afro-Descendant people. Two out of every three survey respondents answer no (67%), leaving 33% who do belong to an association or entity.

Both those who answer that they are part of an entity or association of African or Afro-Descendant people and those who do not are then asked why, in order to investigate the reasons for both *membership* and *non-membership* of such associations. Table 4.3 summarises the reasons given in both cases. The reasons are ordered from highest to lowest percentage in terms of frequency of citation in order to show their corresponding weight as a main reason for belonging or not belonging to an association (bearing in mind that the latter group is twice the size of the former).

TABLE 4.3

Reasons for membership or non-membership of an entity or association of African
and Afro-Descendant people (EPAAE, 2020)

Why a member		Why not a member	%				
Union makes us strong enough to defend ourselves.We need to give each other support, union, brotherhood and sisterhood, protection. The best way to fight for our <i>rights;</i> organisations can develop and push specific actions based on political impact. To <i>empower</i> myself and strengthen my identity. To maintain and not lose my cultural roots. Interest in disseminating knowledge of Africa and its diasporas.		 Don't know about them, don't have information about the organisations or their functions. Don't have the opportunity or chance to register, although have participated in activities. Will join in future. There are none in my area. Would like to join, but there are none in my municipal area of residence. Few organisations and few activities. 					
						Don't have time.	9%
				A meeting place for people who have issues in common. Helps to be with people who are in the same situation and understand you; need to talk with people who understand me and share my experiences; not being alone.		Haven't found any that fulfil my expectations, where I feel represented. Don't like the ones that exist.	7%
Don't like associations. None of them convince me.							
Believe in self-organisation of African and Afro- Descendant people; own conviction; it's necessary to be united. To feel I am among equals. Feeling sheltered, comfortable and supported.		Don't agree with their modus operandi. They're not very helpful.	5%				
		Don't need it. Haven't considered it because haven't suffered racism.	5%				
		Highly disconnected from my African roots.	4%				
To be visible. Important to participate in anti-racist activities and make visible all these examples of injustice experienced by African civilisation, as well as helping its social development. Encourage inclusion in Spanish society.		Other priorities. Not interested.	4%				
		Was a member but was put off. Had a bad experience.	3%				
		There are other more important reasons for asso- ciations regardless of our origins or ethnic features. Am a member of other associations.	2%				
		Mistrust.	۱%				
		Don't want to live in a <i>ghetto</i> . Don't want to pigeon- hole myself.	۱%				

>>>> Conclusions

An initial layer for the *map* (in terms of evolution and production) of black *diverse associations* comprises data on the presence over time and location of Afro entities in Spain. The association movement in African and Afro-Descendant civil society clearly appears to have spread across much of Spain. The number and representation of these groups has been increasing. The older associations among the study participants date from the 1990s, but many respondent entities have been created in the last five years. Of the 42 participating Afro entities, the majority are located in Madrid (with 14), Andalusia (6), Catalonia (6), Murcia (5) and the Basque Country (4). Associations located in Asturias (2), Galicia (1), Navarre (1), Aragon (1), Valencia (1) and the Canary Islands (1) also participated, albeit to a smaller extent.

Some of the entity survey data set out in the eleven charts included in the first chapter are also highlighted below:

- 65% of participating associations are part of a network or federation that brings together various entities. Above all, this means organising common activities, which then receive increased promotion and dissemination. The most frequently mentioned cultural or training activities are open days for cultural co-existence (49%).
- A notable tool in the fight against racial discrimination (among the options offered to association members) is information relating to rights and bodies that can be contacted to make a report or complaint (46%). The same percentage of respondents state that they have had to adjust to the new realities of current society.
- With respect to the evolution of the number of entities, the most commonly expressed perceptions are that there has been a slight increase (29%) and that numbers have remained more or less stable (25%).
- The public aid that entities receive is their main source of income, although this aid has fallen over the last ten years in a majority of cases.
- The main reason that members give for joining an association is to defend their rights (29%). In contrast, the main reason for instability of membership is an unstable employment situation (33%).

The following information obtained from the survey aimed at African and Afro-Descendant people (whether association members or not) can be highlighted:

— The high proportion of respondents born in Spain, who represent almost half of the survey population (47%). This proportion increases to 71% taking into account those with Spanish nationality. Despite this, respondents continue to be seen as foreign owing to their skin tone, increasing the likelihood of discrimination. In some cases, discrimination even becomes a "constant" in respondents' lives. These experiences of discrimination are even more painful for those who were born in Spain or have acquired Spanish nationality, causing them to increase the strength of their assessment of Spain as a racist country.

- More women (62%) than men (36%) answered the survey, and as is common for online self-completed surveys, the sample is relatively young (78% are aged between 16 and 41 years) and with a medium-to-high level of education (16% of respondents even have postgraduate or PhD qualifications). Both characteristics are common for this type of survey, which is less accessible to people who are older and have lower levels of education and income due to its requiring more advanced IT and question-comprehension skills. We hence note that this study does not include the entirety of the black, African and Afro-Descendant population living in Spain, but rather, fundamentally, a population that is less prominent in the collective imagination and which differs from the one represented in the media in news items on illegal immigration, street selling and criminal activity.
- Despite the high level of education in the sample, a striking proportion are located in lower-skilled (24%) and medium-skilled (44%) employment, with an average monthly income of €1,497. This discordance between status or social class indicators is similar to that observed in the immigrant population. It is hence unsurprising that when asked about their experiences of workplace discrimination (chapter 3), the two most frequent answers that respondents provide are not having access to jobs for which they are qualified, and having been rejected during an interview (both in the same proportion of 37%).
- 55% of respondents live in rental housing and only 20% in owner accommodation. It has not been easy to access housing; 47% of the 1,150 people who live in a rented or owned property have felt discriminated against. Reasons given include being black (56%) and not being wanted because of being black, despite being Spanish (chapter 3). In addition to this prejudice, respondents explain that they face higher bureaucratic obstacles when their immigrant status is taken into account: people think they do not have funds, and as a result they face inequality of opportunities and of treatment.
- Almost half of respondents are not religious and the majority self-identify as Afro-Descendant and black, in equal proportions (19% each). African (17%) and Afro-Spanish (12%) are also used, with an emphasis in the latter case on their dual status as Spanish and African. Being of African origin is the variable that has most impact on self-identification as an Afro-Descendant or Afro-Spanish person, together with having had some experience of discrimination based on skin tone. Having Spanish nationality and being on the higher rungs of the occupational scale impact self-identification as Afro-Spanish.
- Although 71% of respondents have Spanish nationality, 60% do not feel Spanish. The main reason given is not being recognised as Spanish (28%) despite being Spanish by birth or nationality: respondents report being continuously reminded that they are not Spanish or having their origin questioned due to the colour of their skin. As a result, respondents report problems in terms of identity and searching for their roots due to experiencing feelings of rejection and discrimination —a sense of not being able to be first-rate citizens when they are treated as second-rate at the same time, or having a clash of identities.

There are few differences between men and women, although there is a greater presence among the men of older respondents, in permanent employment, and those born in an African country, while younger respondents and those of Latin American origin stand out among the women. Nor are there great differences with respect to their experiences of racism and discrimination (chapter 3). The following is of note in this regard, in addition to the foregoing:

- The widely held opinion among representatives of African and Afro-Descendant entities that discrimination aimed at them has increased rather than decreased in recent years (60%). The spread of racist and xenophobic discourses in the media and politics has contributed to this, together with the institutional racism that respondents see in the form of the Immigration Law. Added to this are a lack of public policies to combat or redress against racism and colonialism, the current economic crisis resulting from the coronavirus, a lack of discrimination education among citizens and the increased presence of African people living in the country.
- Respondents perceive themselves as the population group that is most discriminated against, followed by the immigrant population. Almost all respondents agree that they have fewer opportunities to

access representative positions (95%), job positions (94%) and housing (91%). Entity and association representatives also point out "legislative" discrimination, the legal requirements to obtain a visa or to formalise one's administrative position in Spain, which are different depending on the country of origin. Added to this is a lack of political will to find a solution to the problem of accommodation for homeless immigrants and police abuse (police identity checks and/or stops based on ethnic profiling). Respondents blame this on a failure to support equality of opportunities for all people, together with the image of immigration that is broadcast in the media, which links it to violence, terrorism and criminality. Emphasis is also placed on a lack of awareness-raising with regard to racial discrimination, the longstanding anti-African tradition in Spain, lack of education and an excess of stereotypes and prejudices.

- Experiences of discrimination based on skin tone or ethnic features are almost universal (78%), with discrimination based on nationality following some way behind (47%). Women report having experienced more discrimination based on physical appearance (33%) and gender (54%; 11 and 32 points higher than men). Discrimination attributed to culture and customs is more frequently mentioned by those generally perceived as more different: Muslims (56%) and respondents born in Africa (33%). But only 10% of the 1,042 respondents who have experienced some form of discrimination have made a formal report. Nine out of ten respondents have not reported their experience because they think that doing so is pointless (31%) or they have normalised the discriminatory act as something that is normal or commonplace (24%). When respondents have made a complaint, it is because they have considered the discrimination to be serious; above all, reports are made to the police or the Civil Guard. However, their satisfaction with the handling of complaints is generally low (an average score of 3.1 on a scale from 0 to 10), mainly due to respondents stating their complaints are ignored (36%).
- Everyday racism (from the general public) is less prominent (with an average score of 7.6), while *structural* racism is perceived as very prevalent in Spain (with an average score of 8.5, and 51% of survey respondents selecting the maximum score of 10). Unlike *institutional* racism (with an average score of 8, and more identified with laws and public or private institutions), this *structural* racism extends to the whole of society and is connected to experiences of discrimination that extend across society as a whole (all spaces, society in general) and over time (a constant in respondents' lives), as seen in chapter 3.

The assessments and the anti-discrimination proposals set out in chapter 4 are hence unsurprising. The key determinant for the score given to Spain on the *structural* racism scale is precisely the view that the various public authorities are not making sufficient effort to achieve full equality of rights for African and Afro-Descendant people, followed by respondents' experiences of discrimination based on skin tone.

With respect to *police treatment*, it is striking that 49% of respondents report having been stopped by the police at some time (in most cases, to ask them for identification documents). Frequent references to police discrimination are hence unsurprising, with 85% of respondents believing that their group receives worse treatment than other citizens. In this respect, there appears to be a connection between being stopped by police and an individual's socioeconomic position, as well as being of African origin and being a man (as opposed to a woman). Respondents' explanations highlight the persistence of racial prejudices, with statements that police presume them to be guilty or suspicious, engage in constant racial profiling, see them as criminal and never apply the presumption of innocence. These views are consistent with the content of the Report from the United Nations Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, as well as with the statements made in relation to the media.

Media treatment is given an even lower score than police treatment (with an average of 2.5). This is mainly due to the transmission of only negative images (stereotypes) regarding African and Afro-Descendant people (poor, hungry, invading, spreaders of disease) and criminalisation (26%). Respondents perceive the media as accentuating stigmatisation, criminalising African and Afro-Descendant people and transmitting a primitive image of Africa, to which the absence of people of African origin from the media contributes. They describe

the media as perpetuating negative stereotypes (18%), stirring up fear and hatred and distorting reality (17%) in the pursuit of sensationalism, and presenting news in a biased and deficient manner. Respondents cite too many media stereotypes and prejudices (9%) and dehumanisation (8%), noting that the media describes them as if they were not even people. Additionally and as with the police, respondents note a lack of black people in the media and an absence of black role models to contribute to improving their image in society.

The entities representing African and Afro-Descendant people demand changes to the Immigration Law so that it favours integration and participation. They also support affirmative action and positive discrimination policies and working toward real equality of rights, with a comprehensive anti-racism and anti-discrimination law that is effective and the application of which is properly funded. This is not to overlook policies aimed at education, representation and empowerment of the groups that face most discrimination. Respondents highlight a demand for more diversity training aimed at teachers, judges, healthcare personnel and police, together with anti-discrimination education (textbooks, Institute for African and Afro-Descendant Culture) and the development of an anti-racism law. After these anti-discrimination actions comes a demand for improved treatment in the media and facilitation of formal reporting to the authorities of any discrimination; the involvement of entities or associations may contribute to this.

Although two out of every three survey respondents are not part of any association or entity (above all due to lack of information, opportunity or availability), the main reason motivating membership is defence of rights, whether expressed in terms of strength in union (20%) or because associations are the best means of fighting for rights (19%). Reference is also made to the need for empowerment and reinforcement of identity (14%).

This concludes the brief synopsis of the main findings of a study that, insofar as it is based on online selfcompleted surveys, has facilitated the participation of people from different regions and from rural areas, who have responded within a one-month period and offered a great wealth of quantitative and qualitative information, providing extensive details and explanations of their responses to open questions in their own words. As such, it is recommended not merely to read this executive summary, but rather to examine the details set forth in the four chapters that comprise the full study.