

Study of the characteristics and circumstances of people living in slum and substandard housing settlements in Spain

Executive summary

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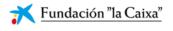
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The **Fundación Secretariado Gitano** (hereafter FSG) is a non-profit intercultural social organisation which has been working for more than 40 years for advancement, equal opportunities and the defence of the rights of the Roma population in Spain and across Europe.

The **Fundación ISEAK** is a centre for research and economic and social transfer, specialising in the analysis of social issues and the evaluation of policy impacts based on data analysis.

This study was funded by the **Ministry of Social Rights and 2030 Agenda** through the 0.7 subsidy for activities of social interest. The main objective of the study is the design of public policies aimed at eradicating slum and substandard housing settlements, and the full enjoyment of human rights for those living in them. The more specific objective of the present study is to analyse the situations of people living in certain types of settlements consisting of slum housing and substandard housing, their ethnic or racial composition, their socio-educational and financial circumstances, their degree of access to rights, the discriminatory situations and hate crimes they face, the level of under-reporting and the demands of those affected.

# 1 Introduction

Even in the second decade of the 21st century, Spain still faces a structural problem: the presence of slum and substandard housing settlements in which families live in situations of extreme vulnerability. The mere existence of these settlements represents a violation of basic rights, with a possible discriminatory element given the overrepresentation of certain social groups. The settlements' continued existence also entrenches the situation of inequality and extreme poverty of their inhabitants. In particular, the presence of large numbers of minors makes it inevitable that these situations of extreme vulnerability will be passed on to the next generation.

For all these reasons, there was an urgent need for a precise analysis of the situation in these settlements, accurately quantifying their residents' vulnerability in various spheres, and analysing their ethnic and racial composition with a view to documenting the existence of structural discrimination. The main objective of this study is precisely this: an analysis of the situation of people living in informal settlements, aimed at understanding specific aspects such as the population's ethnic and racial composition, their socioeducational, employment and financial circumstances, possible violations of their basic rights and the discriminatory situations they face.

The study presents data broken down by sex and age with the aims of identifying whether these situations affect men and women in different ways, and of exploring their impact on children.



The term 'slum and substandard housing settlements' refers to those settlements, usually informal and physically, functionally and socially isolated, where the objective conditions related to poverty, housing and other rights are significantly worse than conditions for the rest of the population.

# 2] Methodology

### 2.1] Sample design and fieldwork

The population examined in the study is the population residing in slum and substandard housing settlements, isolated from the rest of the population, and Roma in the majority. This isolation is not always physical but also social and/or functional. These settlements include non-standardised neighbourhoods. Settlements consisting mainly of vertical substandard housing were therefore excluded from the study<sup>1</sup>. The study therefore does not cover all types of substandard housing settlements in Spain, but only those with the specified characteristics.

The survey was carried out through face-to-face interviews, with researchers travelling around settlements to conduct the interviews planned in each of them. To identify suitable settlements, researchers used the Study-Map on housing and the Roma population, 2015 produced by the Ministry of Health, Consumption and Social Welfare, selecting settlements which met the objectives of the study set out earlier.

Of the settlements identified, those with a minimum of 27 houses were chosen so that a minimum number of interviews could be conducted in each settlement. After this selection process and a series of verifications (see Annex 1 in the full report), the total number of settlements included in the sample was 26, with 3 held in reserve which had characteristics similar to those already selected.

**In total, researchers visited 26 settlements in which they conducted 688 interviews.** Fieldwork<sup>2</sup> was carried out from July to October 2022. The 26 selected settlements were located across 17 provinces of Spain, as shown in the figure below.

26 settlements were selected for the survey, with these two characteristics (isolated, and with Roma residents) and with more than 27 houses (that is, the smallest settlements were excluded).

Based on the sample of 26 slum and substandard housing settlements to be analysed and surveyed, a statistical projection was made to estimate the total population possibly living in such settlements. As the sample was representative of these types of slum and substandard housing settlements, it is believed that the living conditions revealed by the study (in terms of habitability, poverty, barriers, rights violated, discrimination, etc.) can be assumed to be found more generally in all settlements of this kind existing in Spain.

<sup>1</sup> While vertical substandard housing is not the focus of the study, some of the settlements include this type of housing and when fieldwork was carried out, residents of such housing were included in the survey.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed explanation of the methodology, and for the sources of all the data referred to (studies of poverty, studies of the Roma population, statistical studies, etc.) see the full report.

#### Figure 1 Distribution of settlements in the survey

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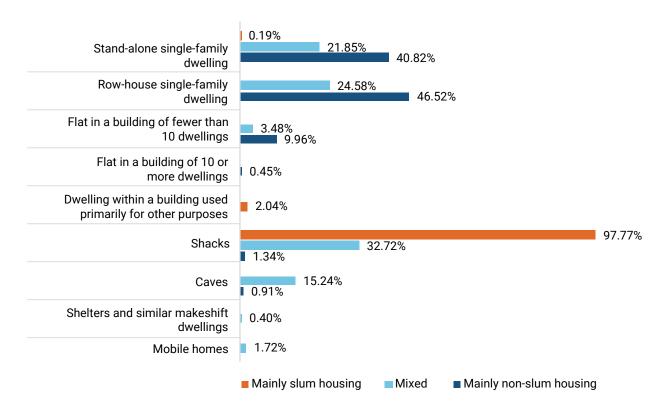
# 2.2 Type of housing

Once fieldwork was carried out, the housing was divided into two categories according to housing type, as shown in *Table 1* below.

		views		
Stand-alone single-family dwelling	189			
Row-house single-family dwelling	190	417		
Flat in a building of fewer than 10 dwellings	37			
Flat in a building of 10 or more dwellings	1			
Dwelling within a building used primarily for other purposes	4			
Shacks	196	271		
Group 2 Caves	60			
Sankis, shelters and similar makeshift dwellings	2			
Mobile homes	9			

*Group 1* includes stand-alone or row-house single-family dwellings as well as flats. *Group 2* mainly includes shacks along with dwellings in caves, shelters and similar makeshift dwellings, mobile homes and dwellings within buildings used for other purposes. In total, of the 688 interviews, 417 were carried out in *Group 1* dwellings and 271 in *Group 2* dwellings.

The **composition of the settlements** in terms of types of dwellings is shown in *graph 1*. This graph shows that the settlements surveyed include dwellings from *Group 1* (single-family dwellings or similar) and *Group 2* (shacks or similar). Given the importance of this categorisation, for the purposes of the present study **settlements have been classified into those containing mainly non-slum housing** (mostly Group 1 dwellings), **mainly slum housing** (mostly Group 2 dwellings) **or mixed housing** (dwellings of both groups).



#### Graph 1 Distribution of dwelling types by settlement type

### 2.3 Generalisability of the results

Taking the *Study-Map on housing and the Roma population, 2015* as a point of reference, the data presented in this study are **representative of the reality of slum and substandard housing settlements in Spain where Roma people live.** Almost all of the settlements in Spain included on the Map which had the required characteristics were included in the survey.

Settlements with mainly non-Roma inhabitants which did not appear on the Map were not included in the study. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the results are not representative of those living in vertical substandard housing; that is, in flats within buildings with several floors.

The survey did include the great majority of slum housing settlements with more than 27 dwellings which exist in Spain today and are included on the Map – that is, those with Roma inhabitants – along with substandard housing settlements which do not contain slum housing, but where residents live isolated from the rest of the population.

Using data from the *Study-Map on housing and the Roma population, 2015,* an estimate was made of the generalisability of the data collected. The Study-Map data include people living in settlements with fewer than 27 dwellings.

# 3] Slum and substandard housing settlements in the study

It is estimated that in Spain in 2022 there were 23 419 people living in 4 584 substandard dwellings with the characteristics included in the study. In particular, it is estimated that there were 5 925 people living in 1 185 slum dwellings. In relative terms, this represents 0.05% of the total population living in Spain, which means that from the political point of view, the issue can realistically be resolved..

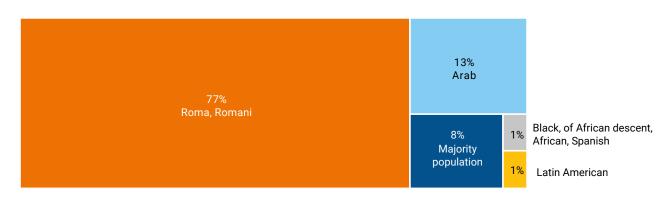
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# 3.1] Who lives in the settlements?

The inhabitants of the settlements included in the study are mainly Roma (77%, graph 2); in second place are Arab people, representing 13%. The general population represents 8% of people living in these settlements. In other words, 92% of people in the settlements belong to ethnic minorities.

In slums, the ethnic minority population is even greater, at 98%. 71% of people living in settlements where slum dwellings are the main form of dwelling are Roma, while the proportion of Arab people stands at 24%, compared with 1% of Arab people in non-slum housing settlements and 12% of people belonging to the general population.

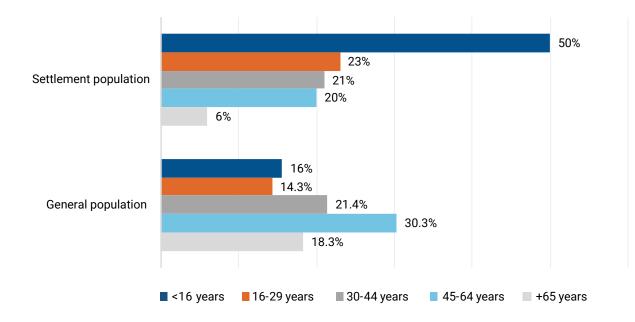


#### Graph 2 Ethnic composition of settlements

These data on ethnic composition are evidence for the existence of structural discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin, specifically anti-Roma discrimination, given that the Roma population is the large majority in all settlements, whether slum housing or substandard housing settlements.

**The predominant population group in the settlements consists of children and adolescents.** Half of those living in the settlements are under 16, while 73% are under 30 (*graph 3*). Of those aged under 16, 40% are under 6 years old, with a strikingly high number of very young boys and girls living in these enclaves. These figures contrast with those for the general population, in which barely 30% are aged under 30. On the other hand, only 6% of the settlement population are aged over 65, compared with 18% of Spain's general population. As for gender, no significant differences were found, with 50% of people in the settlements being women compared with 50.9% outside them, presumably due to differing life expectancies inside and outside the settlements.

These data are particularly significant as they show the enormous impact on children of this situation of vulnerability.

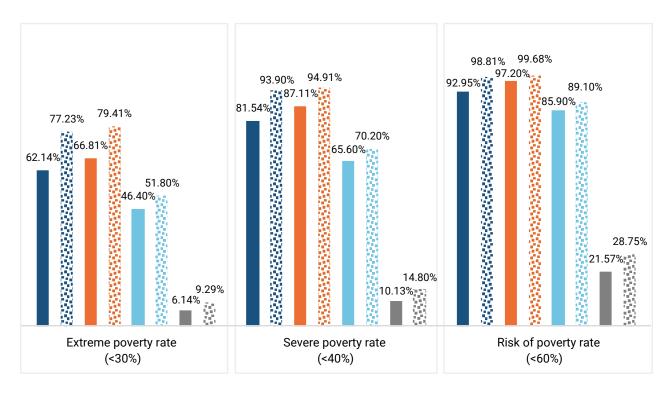


#### Graph 3 ] Distribution of people across age groups

# 3.2] Levels of poverty in the settlements

The great majority of the population living in slum and substandard housing settlements are in a situation of poverty and social exclusion, especially the children. Looking at the figures for those at risk of poverty (with income below the threshold of 60% of median equivalised income), 93% of people in these settlements, including 99% of the children, are in this situation (*graph 4*). If we use the severe poverty threshold (40% of median income) or the extreme poverty threshold (30% of median income), the figures are 81.5% (93.9% among children) and 62.1% (77.2% among children) respectively.

#### Graph 4 ] Poverty rates



- Settlement population Total
- Roma settlement population Total
- Roma general population Total
- General population Total

- : Settlement population Children
- Roma settlement population Children
- 😨 Roma general population Children
- Ceneral population Children

The figures relating to poverty are even worse among Roma people living in these settlements. 93% of all settlement residents are at risk of poverty, but 97.2% of Roma residents. The proportions of Roma people in extreme poverty and severe poverty are 66.8% and 87.1% respectively (and 79.4% and 94.9% among Roma children).

**The Spanish Roma population in general suffers high levels of poverty, but the situation is significantly worse in slum and substandard housing settlements.** In 2018, levels of poverty for the Roma population in general were 85.9% (89.1% among Roma children) at risk of poverty; 65.6% (70.2% among children) in severe poverty; and 46.4% (51.8% among children) in extreme poverty. While these levels of poverty are already significantly higher than those found among the general population, for Roma people living in the settlements, this very serious situation is considerably more severe.

**Levels of poverty in the settlements are higher by some distance than the levels found among the general population.** Among the total population, 21.6% (and 28.8% of children) live at risk of poverty (or child poverty). Levels of poverty in the settlements are approximately 4 times higher (3 times higher among children) than those found elsewhere. Looking at extreme poverty, 6.1% of Spain's population has an income of less than 30% of the median figure, compared with 2 out of 3 people living in the settlements. As for severe poverty, the figures rise to 10.1% of the general population compared with 81.5% of the settlement population, which is 8 times higher.

### 3.3] What role is played by welfare systems?

**60% of households in the settlements do not receive any form of welfare assistance.** Faced with the panorama of poverty in the settlements, there is room for improvement in the social protection and welfare systems. Only 39.5% of the households receive some kind of public monetary assistance, whether in the form of Minimum Income (MI), help with housing costs, money for children, education grants or other forms of monetary aid. As for non-monetary assistance, 13.3% say they receive public assistance to support them with administrative procedures, 7.5% receive assistance with finding employment or training, 4.9% with food and 7.6% with supporting their children in their education.

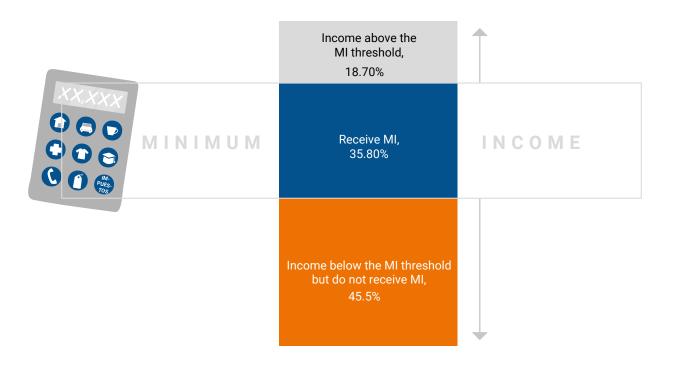
#### 3.3.1. The role of Minimum Income in the settlements

**The MI has greater coverage in the settlements than among people living in poverty in other places.** Specifically, the MI reaches 35.8% of homes in slum and substandard housing settlements (*graph 5*). Compared with the coverage of 18.6% of the general population at risk of severe poverty, in the settlements the MI achieves twice the coverage.

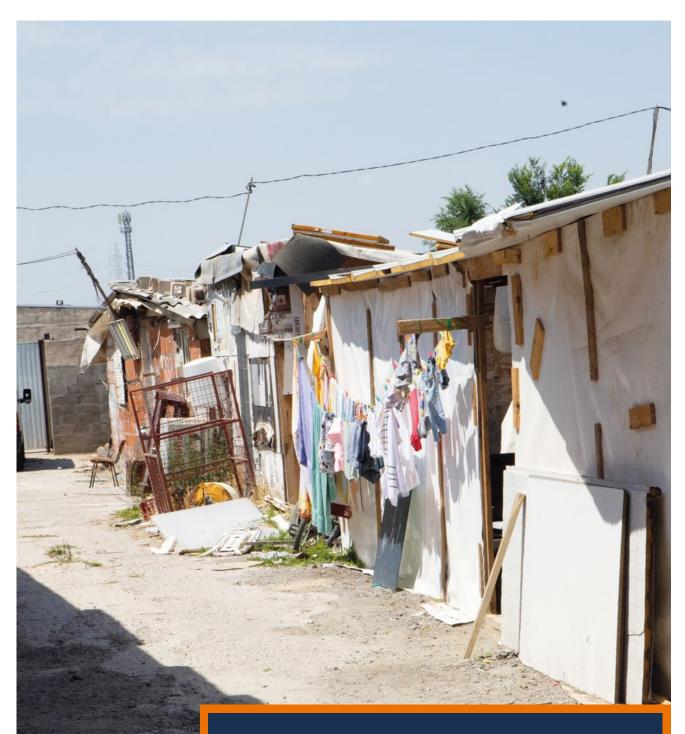
The MI is better known in the settlements than it is elsewhere. One reason why it reaches more settlement inhabitants may be their greater knowledge of this form of assistance. 80.3% of people in these settlements (aged over 16) know about the MI, compared to 43.2% of people in Spain's general population who live in situations of severe poverty.

**45.5% of households in the settlements do not have sufficient income and do not receive the MI.** While 18.7% of households have an income above the MI threshold, almost half have an income below the MI threshold but do not receive it.

#### Graph 5 Relationship between MI and income level



# 4] Violation of human rights



Human rights are basic rights which are essential for a life of dignity. This section will examine whether the human rights of people living in informal settlements have been violated or not.

# 4.1 Right to adequate housing

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all people have the right to adequate housing. Fact Sheet No. 21, The Human Right to Adequate Housing, published by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, sets out exactly what adequate housing means. It highlights the following elements of the definition, which can be observed throughout this report:

- Habitability: housing is not adequate if it does not guarantee physical safety or provide adequate space, as well as protection against the cold, damp, heat, rain, wind, other threats to health and structural hazards.
- Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure: housing is not adequate if its
  occupants do not have safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, energy for cooking, heating, lighting,
  food storage or refuse disposal.
- Security of tenure.
- The right to choose one's residence and determine where to live.

Alongside these rights set out by the High Commissioner, we also highlight the right of access to water and sanitation which was recognised by the United Nations General Assembly in 2010<sup>3</sup>.

This section provides data related to each point.

#### 4.1.1. What problems exist with the housing?

The conditions of habitability across all the slum and substandard housing settlements are notably worse than those found elsewhere, with cracks and problems with damp commonly occurring. 42% of the settlement population have problems with significant cracks which put partition walls at risk. 62% of settlement dwellings have problems with leaks and/or damp, compared with 19% among the general population.

**In settlements predominantly composed of slum housing, the problems are even worse**. 78% of the dwellings have significant cracks in walls or ceilings, while 83% have problems with damp and half have very little natural light.

The population of the settlements suffer problems related to pollution, dirt and noise more frequently than the general population. 50% of the settlement population face problems related to pollution, dirt and other environmental issues, compared to 12% of the general population. Noise affects 30% in the settlements compared to 22% of the population living elsewhere. It is worth noting that the settlement population do not perceive higher levels of crime or vandalism compared with the general population. Furthermore, 32% of people in the settlements suffer risks associated with living close to highways, factories or power lines, while 17% suffer risks associated with rivers flooding.

<sup>3</sup> https://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/index.shtml . In addition, according to the Directive (EU) 2020/2184 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 December 2020, the quality of water intended for human consumption must be assured.

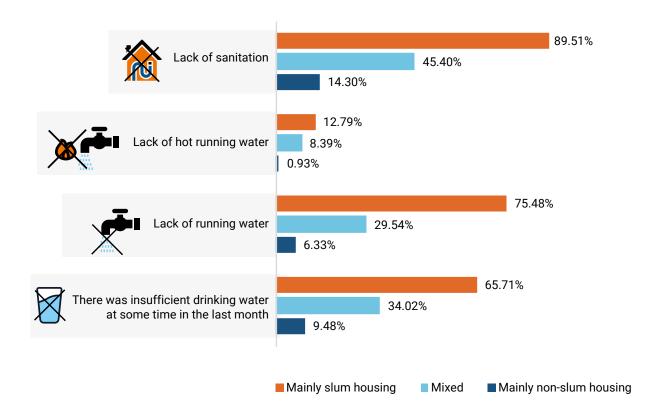
**All these problems are exacerbated in slum housing settlements.** 85% of homes suffer pollution and dirt, 79% suffer risks related to living close to highways, 77% are at risk from pollution and 69% suffer problems with noise. In addition, none of the people living in slums said that they did not have any problems with their neighbourhood or their dwelling, in comparison with 28% of those living in non-slum housing settlements.

#### 4.1.2. What services do the households have? The human right to water and sanitation

**In the slums there is situation of extreme need related to the lack of basic services.** Half of households across all the settlements lack sanitation, while the lack of sanitation in slum housing settlements is 90%. 75% of homes in slum housing settlements lack running water. 66% reported not having had drinking water at some point in the previous month, compared with 34% in mixed settlements and 9% in mainly non-slum housing settlements (graph 6).

This situation represents a serious violation of the human right to water and sanitation.

#### Graph 6 ] Water and sanitation by type of settlement



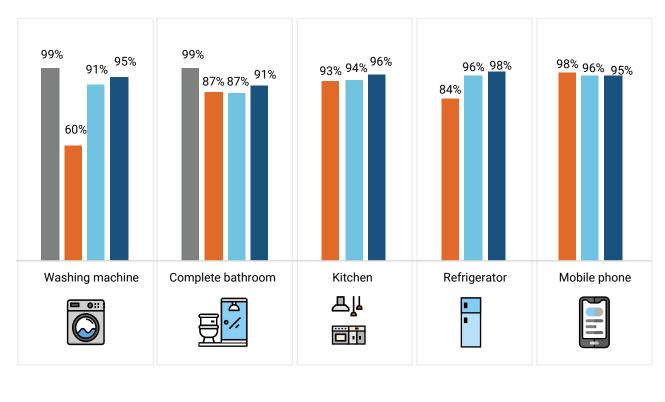
**In half of the homes, the electricity supply is extremely deficient or doesn't exist.** However, this figure varies considerably by settlement type: 69% of homes in slum housing settlements lack electricity, and in 92% of cases they either lack it or have a highly deficient supply, compared with 21% and 5% respectively in non-slum housing settlements.

Problems of temperature regulation are usual in half of the homes. Only 46% can afford to keep the home at a suitable temperature. 44% of homes use firewood as the main source of heat, followed by electric heating (30%). It is important to note that 5% of the homes do not use anything for heating. In slum housing settlements, the percentage with problems of temperature regulation reaches 80%, while those who cannot afford keep their home at a suitable temperature represent 83%.

More than half of households do not have a contract for the supply of water or electricity. 27% of homes have contracts for both, while the rest have only one of the two. Examining the figures by settlement type, it is striking that 96% of households in slum housing settlements do not have either kind of contract.

#### 4.1.3. What equipment do the homes have?

In slum housing settlements, a notable 40% of homes lack a washing machine, while 16% lack a refrigerator (graph 7). While, in general, it is rare not to have a mobile phone, 16% of homes in slums do not have a washing machine compared with 1% in the general population. Likewise, 13% of homes in slums do not have a complete bathroom (compared with 1% in the general population).



#### Graph 7 ] Equipment by settlement type

General population Mainly slum housing

Mixed

Mainly non-slum housing

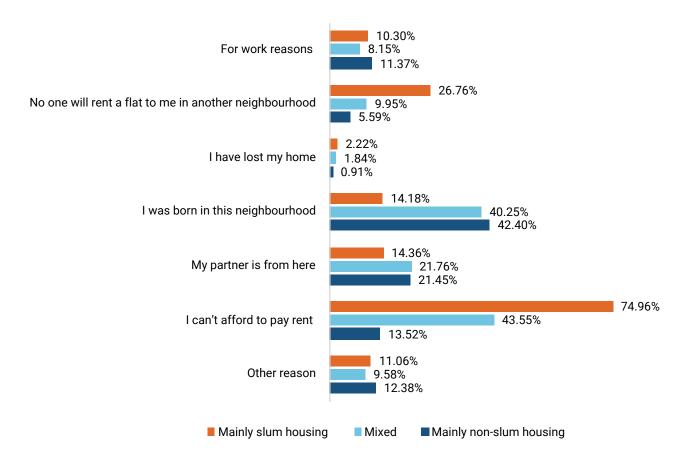
#### 4.1.4. What are the types of tenure of the dwellings?

**Self-construction and ownership are the most common types of tenure.** 46% of the dwellings are in ownership, while 31% live in self-constructed dwellings. 14% of homes have been given free or partly free. Only 8% of families are renting their home (4% in public housing and 4% in private). Oddly, of those receiving assistance with rent, only 6% are renting (in public housing or private).

#### 4.1.5. What are the reasons for living in the settlements?

The inhabitants live in these settlements for various reasons, mainly because they cannot afford to pay rent or because they were born in the neighbourhood. However, the reasons vary considerably by settlement type. 3 out of 4 people living in slum housing settlements live there because they do not have enough money to pay rent, and 27% because nobody will rent a flat to them in another neighbourhood (graph 8). This figure is an indication of the discrimination suffered by people in these settlements, which will be explored in greater depth in section 5. Among those living in non-slum housing settlements, 42% live there because they were born in the neighbourhood. In general, people born in the neighbourhood are a little younger, especially in slum housing neighbourhoods, where the difference is greater.

#### Graph 8 Reasons for living in a settlement, by settlement type



#### 4.1.6. What solutions do the settlements' inhabitants propose?

Preferred solutions depend on the type of settlement. In slums, 91% would accept a home in better conditions in another neighbourhood, but this percentage drops to 50% in the case of mainly non-slum housing settlements. The three most common reasons for not accepting such a home are: (1) being from the neighbourhood (it's their home, it's their neighbourhood, they've been there a long time, they are used to it, they were born there); (2) they like living there, it's peaceful, it's comfortable; (3) because of other people (they have their family close, they know their neighbours).

When the following two options are offered: (i) stay in the same neighbourhood, but with improvements, or (ii) move to another neighbourhood, preferences again vary by type of settlement. 71% of people living in non-slum housing settlements prefer to stay in the same neighbourhood, but with improvements, compared to 47% of people in slum housing settlements. Analysing these preferences by age group, in general not many differences are observed, although younger people are slightly more likely to prefer to leave the neighbourhood.



# 4.2 Right to health

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly recognised the right of all people to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. According to Article 12 of the Pact, the steps which States Parties must take include the creation of conditions which assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness. This section presents data on the health of the population of the settlements and on whether they receive the medical attention they need.

The health of the population of slum and substandard housing settlements is slightly worse than that of the general population. 71% of Spain's general population report that their health is good or very good, compared with 61% of the population of such settlements. Analysing health by age group, it can be seen that health is slightly worse in the population of the settlements than among the general population in every age group. On the other hand, 6.4% of household members have some kind of disability compared with 9.2% in the general population.

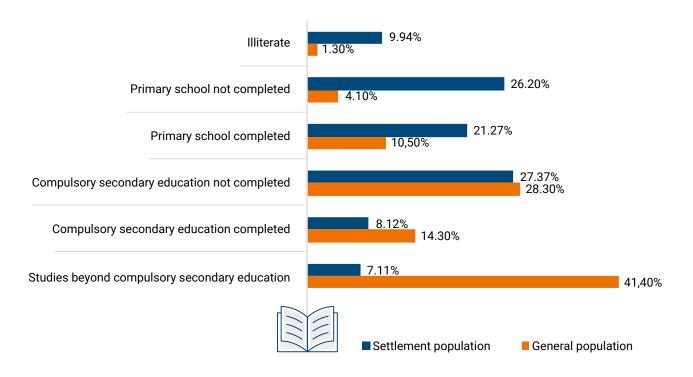
**People in the settlements do not identify any problems in receiving medical attention.** In 97% of cases needing medical attention, the person has gone to a health centre. When answering the question of whether they have received medical attention every time they have really needed it, only 1% of people answered that they have failed to receive such attention on at least one occasion. There are no differences by type of settlement.

### 4.3 Right to a high-quality inclusive education

As set out in the Covenant mentioned above, all people have a right to education. In particular, this pact states that primary education must be compulsory and available free to all, while secondary education must be generally available and accessible to all. This section presents the educational levels of the settlement population as well as comparisons with the general population (using the EPA - the Active Population Survey - as a reference) and with the Roma population not living in settlements (de la Rica et al, 2019).

The educational levels of the population of slum and substandard housing settlements are much lower than those of the general population. Among people aged over 10 in these settlements, 10% are illiterate (a very small proportion of the total population of Spain); likewise, almost 16% of the general population has completed primary education at most, while this figure climbs to 57% in the settlements. Finally, just 15% of people in these settlements have at least reached Compulsory Secondary Education compared with 56% of the general population (*graph 9*). The Roma population of the settlements have slightly lower educational levels than other people in these settlements, with just 2.8% studying beyond the compulsory stage. Looking at the figures by sex, it is worth highlighting that while there are more illiterate women (12.2% of women compared with 7.6% of men), there are also more women educated beyond the compulsory secondary level. 2.4% of women go on to higher levels of education (either vocational training or university) compared with 1.5% of men. In other words, the educational level of women in the settlements is more polarised than that of the men.

#### Graph 9 ] Educational level attained



**In slum housing settlements the educational level attained is even lower than in other settlements.** Educational level varies substantially by settlement type. 85% of people (aged over 16) in slums have primary education at most; this figure contrasts with 44% for people in non-slum housing settlements.

The Roma population living in the settlements have much lower educational levels than those attained by Roma people living in other places. While 17% of the total Roma population has reached (or gone beyond) Compulsory Education, in the settlements this figure stands at 11%.

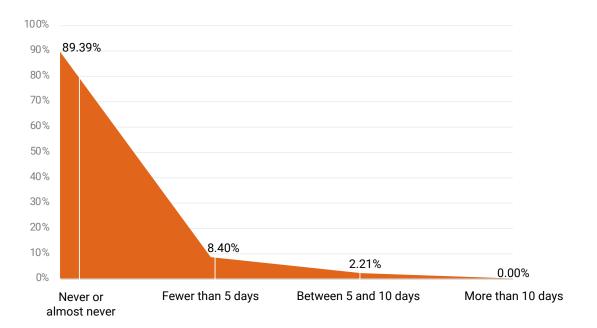
The younger members of the population of slum and substandard housing settlements have attained higher levels of education than the older members, but the figures for school dropout are high. Levels of illiteracy or uncompleted primary education are notably lower among those aged 18 to 30 when compared with the general settlement population. However, the proportion of people who reach or go beyond compulsory secondary education is very similar among the younger members of the population and in the total settlement population. At the same time, it can be observed that only a minority of people in the settlements continue studying after reaching 16 years of age, the percentage being 16% compared with 41% of the general population aged between 16 and 29.

**The rate of school year repetition is markedly higher in the settlements than out of them.** Compared with the figure of 9% in the general population, approximately 1 in 4 of those aged under 16 in the settlements have repeated a school year at some point. This figure is slightly higher for men, at 29% compared with 24% for women.

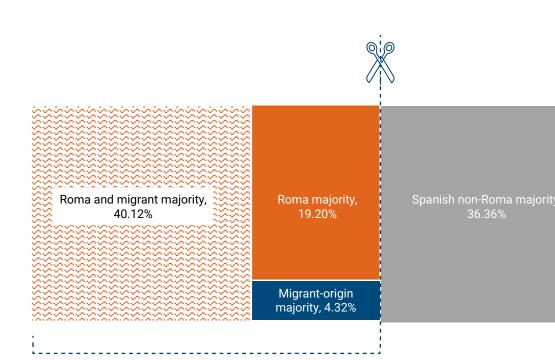
**Levels of school absenteeism in the settlements are low.** The great majority (89%) of those aged under 16 attend their centre of education always or almost always, while just over 8% miss classes on fewer than 5 days per month (*graph 10*). Finally, just 2% fail to attend school on between 5 and 10 days per month.

#### Graph 10 School absenteeism

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**School segregation in the centres attended by the children in the settlements is high**. Two out of three children attend a segregated centre of education: 19% attend centres which are Roma in their majority, 4% attend centres with a majority of migrants, and 40% attend centres with a Roma and migrant majority (graph 11). Just 36% receive their education in centres where the majority are Spanish and non-Roma.



Graph 11 Level of school segregation

Total school segregation: 63,64%

## 4.4] Right to decent work

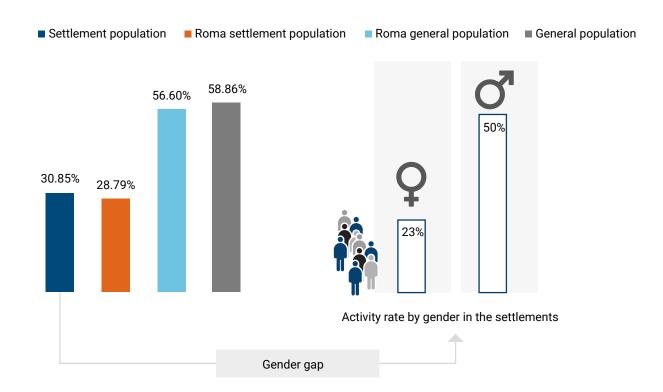
The right to work, as an opportunity for every person to earn their living, is set out in Article 6 of the Covenant mentioned above. Technical and vocational guidance and training are recognised as measures necessary to ensure this right is made effective. At the same time, the right of every person to enjoy just and favourable conditions of work is recognised (Article 7).

This section presents various labour market indicators related to access to employment and quality of employment, as well as the characteristics of unemployment and economic inactivity of the settlement population, and comparisons with the general population (using the EPA as a reference) and the Roma population living elsewhere.

#### 4.4.1. Access to the labour market

The economic activity rate in Spain's general population is twice as high as the rate in the population of slum and substandard housing settlements. Almost 60% of Spain's population aged over 16 is economically active (occupied or unemployed). This rate drops to 31% in the settlement population (graph 12).

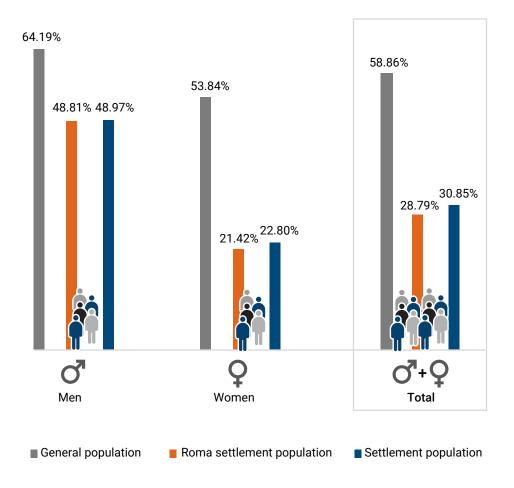
Economic activity is slightly higher among non-Roma people than among Roma people in the settlements. Compared with 31% of the total settlement population, 29% of the Roma settlement population participate in the labour market (being either employed or unemployed). Making comparisons with 2018 data, the economic activity rate of Roma people living outside these settlements is greater than the activity rate of those living in them (56.6%), which is also very similar to the figure for the general population that year (58.9%).



#### Graph 12 Activity rate

**Economic activity is more frequent among men, middle-aged people and people with a higher level of education.** This is true both in the settlements and elsewhere, and among both non-Roma and Roma people in the settlements. The gender gap in particular is striking in the settlements, with an activity rate of almost 50% among men compared with just 23% among women (21% among Roma women, *graph 13*). In terms of education, there is a marked difference between Roma and non-Roma people in the settlements with higher educational levels, with 58% of the former participating in the labour market compared with just 36% of the latter. In fact, for Roma people there are hardly any observable differences in educational level, although differences are apparent for non-Roma people in the settlements or the population outside the settlements. By age, the gap is smaller within the settlements than outside of them, although young people are the ones with the lowest activity levels.

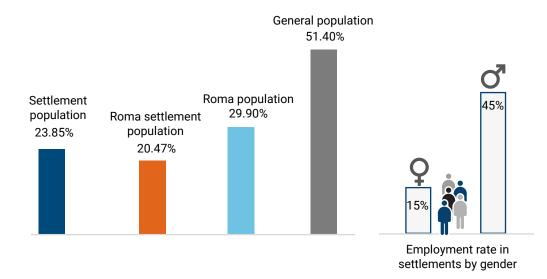
#### Graph 13 Activity rate by gender



#### 4.4.2. Access to and quality of employment

**24% of the population aged between 16 and 65 in slum and substandard housing settlements have a job. This proportion is lower for Roma people, at 21%.** On the other hand, among the general population, 51% of people aged between 16 and 65 are working. That is, the employment or occupation rate in the general population is twice as high as in the settlements. In 2018 (a moment in the economic cycle when employment was slightly lower than it is currently), the Roma population in Spain had an employment rate of 30% (*graph 14*). This figure suggests that outside the settlements, employment rates for the Roma population are higher than they are within the settlements.

#### Graph 14 ] Employment rate



#### In slum and substandard housing settlements, access to employment is better for men, middle-aged people and those with higher educational levels. Likewise, access to employment in the settlements is better for non-Roma people, especially those with more education (as seen with economic activity).

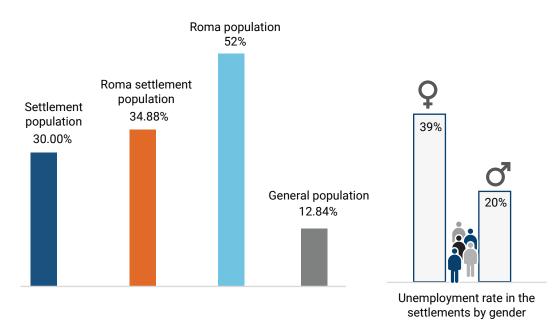
Employment in the settlements stands at a mere 15% of women (and 13% of Roma women) compared with 45% of men (and 42% of Roma men). In other words, there is a significant gender gap. In terms of age, 18% of young people have obtained work, compared with 26.4% of middle-aged people and 24% of those aged over 45, the figures being slightly lower for the Roma population. Finally, it is worth pointing out that the pattern of access to employment by educational level differs when we compare Roma and non-Roma people in the settlements: while 50% of people in the settlements with more than compulsory secondary education are in work, this percentage drops to 30% among the Roma population, very similar to the 27% of Roma people who have only compulsory secondary education. However, only 30% of settlement residents who have only reached compulsory secondary education have a job, this percentage being much lower than that found among people with higher levels of education.

In comparison with the general population, access to employment in the settlements is very far from reaching the same rate. This is particularly true for women, people aged over 30 and people with more education (particularly if they are Roma). While for men the gap is 12 percentage points (57% compared with 45%), for women it is more than 30 percentage points (46% compared with 15%). There is also a marked gap in the case of middle-aged people (more than 50 percentage points) and older people (44 percentage points). The difference by educational level remains fairly constant (around 15 points) except among Roma people who have continued studying beyond compulsory secondary education (where it rises to more than 30 points).

#### 4.4.3. Unemployment and its characteristics

It should be noted that an unemployed person is defined as a person without a job who is actively looking for one. This means that unemployed people who are not actively looking for a job are not included in this section, but in the next section which looks at economic inactivity. The unemployment rate is calculated by dividing the number of unemployed people (actively looking for a job) by this number plus the number of people who are working.

**The unemployment rate in slum and substandard housing settlements is much higher than in the general population** (30% compared with 13%). It is slightly higher again for Roma people in these settlements (35%) (graph 15). In 2018, when the unemployment rate for the Spanish population stood at 14%, the Roma population had an unemployment rate of 52%. The discrepancy with the lower levels found in the settlements may not be due simply to the place of residence, but would be affected by the stage in the economic cycle and, ultimately, by the rarity of active jobseeking among Roma people living in the settlements.



#### Graph 15 Unemployment rate

**Unemployment in the settlements most often affects women, older Roma people and Roma people with a low level of education.** There is a marked gender gap, with unemployment standing at 39% for women and 45% for Roma women, compared with 20% for men and 23% for Roma men. In other words, in these settlements **the female unemployment rate is twice as high as the male rate.** 

In terms of age differences, unemployment is particularly high for Roma people aged over 45 (43%), this figure being higher than that for older people in these settlements (30%). These gaps between Roma and non-Roma people are not found in other age groups. It is people with lower educational levels who face higher rates of unemployment, the rate being 33% for the total settlement population and 36% for Roma people who have not completed compulsory secondary education.

Settlement inhabitants who have completed compulsory secondary education show a level of unemployment very close to that of people with the same educational level who live in other locations, at around 20%. In general, in comparisons with the population living outside these settlements, the difference is striking in the case of women, people aged over 30 and those without compulsory secondary education. This is due above all to high levels of unemployment among women in the settlements and lower levels of unemployment among people aged over 30 living elsewhere.

**The duration of unemployment is much higher for people living in the settlements than for those living outside them.** More than 20% of those seeking employment in settlements have been doing so for more than 10 years. Looking at the other end of the distribution, 32% of people in the general population have been unemployed for less than 3 months, compared with 19% of those in the settlements (and 21% for the Roma population). In total, 50% of unemployed people living in the settlements have been looking for a job for less than a year; this figure climbs to 57% for the general population.

# 4.5] Civil and political rights

Civil and political rights enable citizens to participate politically. In the Spanish context, the right to vote is guaranteed by Article 23 of the Spanish Constitution. This section therefore aims to discover the degree to which this right is exercised by people living in these settlements. The section also aims to identify whether, as well as being a possible barrier to exercising the vote, living in a settlement presents a barrier to socialisation and therefore to participating in society.

### People living in slum and substandard housing settlements are less likely to vote than the general

**population.** 57% of people living in such settlements vote at least sometimes, compared with 86% of the general population. There are marked differences in electoral participation among settlement inhabitants by ethnic group: those in the majority population are more likely to vote than Roma people, while Roma people are more likely to vote than Arab people. In addition, a difference is observed by settlement type. People living in non-slum housing settlements vote more regularly than those living in slum housing settlements.

#### » Social relationships and socialisation

A third of Roma people feel that living in their neighbourhood represents an obstacle to their social relationships. The study results are evidence that living in a settlement may discourage socialising and the forming of relationships with other people, contributing to the chronic nature of isolation and segregation in such spaces. However, this perception is greater for Roma people than for Arab or non-Roma people. The perception is also very different by settlement type: almost half the population of slums feel that living in their neighbourhood presents an obstacle to social relationships, compared with a quarter in other settlements.

# 5] Perception of discrimination and structural discrimination

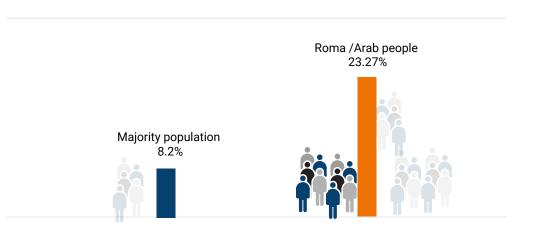
Executive summary

This section will analyse the perception of discrimination. To examine this phenomenon, the questionnaire asked whether respondents had been witnesses to or victims of any discriminatory or racist incident in the previous year.



Almost one in four Roma or Arab people have been witnesses to or victims of a discriminatory or racist incident in the past year (graph 16). The figure drops to 8% among people from the majority population living in these settlements. Of those answering yes to this question, 79% experienced the incident first-hand. This figure (25%) stands in contrast to that obtained in the survey carried out by the Council for the Elimination of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination (CEDRE, 2020), in which 30% of people from minority groups (not living in settlements) said they had suffered discrimination; the figure rose to 43% among the Roma population. One possible explanation for the difference is that people living in settlements have less contact with people from outside the settlements, and therefore their perception of discrimination is less.

#### Graph 16 ] Have you experienced or witnessed a discriminatory or racist incident in the last year?



The rest of this section goes into greater depth regarding the perception of discrimination, focusing on various areas. Where there are statistically significant differences, values are shown for Roma people living in the settlements for the purposes of comparison with Roma people living in other places. It might be expected that there will not be much difference in the perception of discrimination among the different ethnic groups within the settlement population. We have therefore highlighted cases in which differences have been found.

#### Structural discrimination and antigypsyism

Another level of discrimination exists which is related not to perception, to individual cases or to direct discrimination, but to structural realities. The study data indicate that more than 70% of people living in the settlements are Roma and that, in general, the percentage of settlement residents belonging to ethnic minorities is as high as 92%.

This situation can be described as one of structural discrimination with a racial-ethnic component, given that the majority of inhabitants belong to ethnic minorities. The Council Recommendation of 12 March 2021 on Roma equality, inclusion and participation (2021/C 93/01<sup>4</sup>) advocates "reducing structural inequalities faced by Roma by tackling, where relevant, limited access by Roma to clean water, sanitary infrastructure and healthcare services, including vaccination services, and the lack of facilities and digital skills that would enable Roma to actively participate in society, including in distance education, as well as by eliminating the high levels of economic precariousness, overcrowded households, segregated settlements or camps". It is in this structural inequality mentioned by the Recommendation, disproportionately affecting Roma people, that the discriminatory element lies. This Study therefore provides information to help evaluate whether a situation of structural antigypsyism exists.

<sup>4</sup> https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ%3AJOC\_2021\_093\_R\_0001

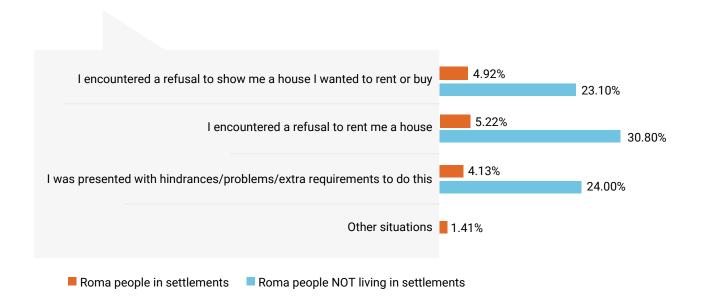
This Study also provides specific data on racial-ethnic origin in line with the EU Antiracism Action Plan 2020-2025<sup>5</sup>, which in its section dealing with **Structural Racism** insists on the need for "Member States, in full respect of their national contexts, to move towards the collection of data disaggregated on the basis of racial or ethnic origin, in order to capture both subjective experiences of discrimination and victimisation and **structural aspects of racism and discrimination**".

### 5.1 Perception of discrimination by area

#### 5.1.1. Housing

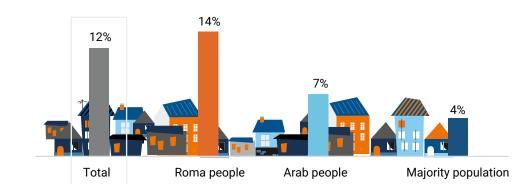
The perception of discrimination in the area of housing is much lower among Roma people living in slum and substandard housing settlements than among Roma people living outside such settlements. According to the CEDRE report (2020), at least 23% of Roma people stated that they have suffered some kind of discrimination in the area of housing (graph 17), compared with 4% or 5% of Roma people living in such settlements. An important point to bear in mind is that the CEDRE report only included Roma people who have rented, bought, sold or gone through some other process in relation to housing. It could be that Roma people living in settlements simply have not taken part in such processes and for this reason their perception of discrimination is less. We should also note that among the settlement population, there are no differences by ethnic group.

#### Graph 17 ] Discrimination in the area of housing



**12% of people in the settlements have felt themselves discriminated against for living where they do.** There are differences by ethnic group, with higher rates among Roma people and lower rates among the general population (*graph 18*).

<sup>5</sup> https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/ racism-and-xenophobia/eu-anti-racism-action-plan-2020-2025\_en



#### Graph 18 ] Those who have sometimes felt discriminated against for living where they do

**On rare occasions, a refusal by a service to come to the home was reported.** The highest percentage was seen for home delivery services (6%) and the lowest was for the fire service (2%). There was no greater proportion of reported refusals to come to the home in slums.

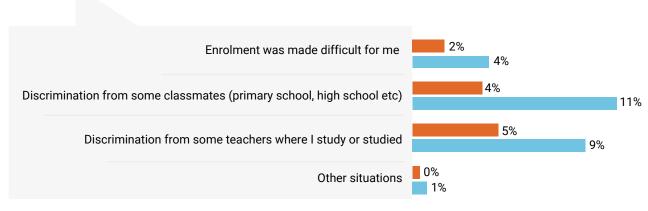
#### 5.1.2. Health

**Cases of perceived discrimination in healthcare are rare in all ethnic groups.** In comparison with the Roma population not living in settlements, the perception of discrimination is similar or lower among Roma people living in settlements. Once again, CEDRE (2020) only includes people who have attended a health centre in the past year, and this may be the reason for the difference found. Among the settlement population, no differences were observed between ethnic groups.

#### 5.1.3. Education

**The perception of discrimination in education is low for all ethnic groups.** Perceived discrimination is less common among Roma people living in settlements compared with Roma people who do not live in settlements (graph 19). Both the CEDRE (2020) sample and the settlement sample include only those who have attended school in Spain or who have children. Among the settlement population, there are no differences between ethnic groups.

#### Graph 19 ] Discrimination in education



Roma people in settlements Roma people NOT living in settlements

#### 5.1.4. Employment

**Cases of perceived discrimination in the labour market are rare, with the rate never exceeding 6%.** Among Roma people not living in settlements, the perception of discrimination is much higher, with 16% reporting discrimination in job interviews from the person conducting the interview. Although the percentage is low, there is a greater perception of discrimination in job interviews among Roma people living in settlements (6%) compared with Arab people or people from the majority population living in settlements (1%). CEDRE (2020) only includes those who have worked and/or have been working in the past year.

#### 5.1.5. Other areas

The perception of discrimination in other areas is less among Roma people living in settlements than among those not living in them. However, 17% of Roma people living in settlements have felt discriminated against in public spaces and 7% by the police. There are differences between ethnic groups in the settlements: 0% of people living in settlements who do not belong to an ethnic minority have felt discriminated against by the police or in public spaces.

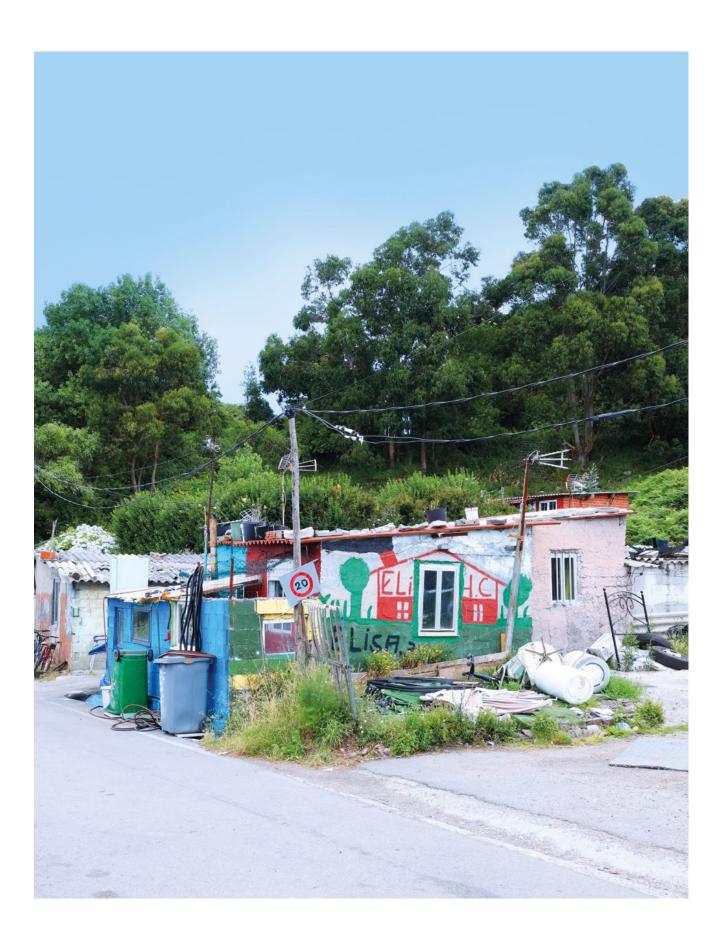
### 5.2] What role is played by the reporting of discrimination?

The great majority of people living in the settlements do not know of any association which can help them if they experience discrimination. 77% of Roma people living in settlements do not know of any such association. Furthermore, of those who have suffered or witnessed discrimination, 11% did not file a report or complaint because they did not know where or how to do so.

The great majority of those who filed a report would not do so again. Only 3% of those who have suffered or witnessed discrimination made a report to the police.

**Approximately half of complaints filed with a court were dismissed.** Moreover, half of those who did not file a report believe that reporting serves no purpose. There were only six reports in total; for this reason, we cannot draw general conclusions from the data.

# 6 Conclusions



# 6.1 Conditions of habitability incompatible with the right to a dignified life

The starting point for this study was the analysis of conditions of habitability in the settlements, which impact on residents' living conditions and, more broadly, on their right to a dignified life. In terms of the characteristics of the dwellings, it is observed that many of them have cracks and damp and lack natural light. In addition, they are highly exposed to problems of pollution, dirt and noise. As for basic services, the situation is especially serious in settlements composed mainly of slum housing: **90% of these homes lack sanitation, while 75% lack running water.** This represents a violation of the human right to water and sanitation. The situation is similar when it comes to electricity: once again, in settlements with the largest proportion of slum housing, as many as **69% of homes have no electricity supply.** As for heating, a very high percentage of homes in the settlements use firewood as their main heat source.

In view of this situation of material deprivation, this study explores the reasons why the settlements' inhabitants live in such spaces. In the case of settlements composed mainly of slum housing, three out of four people say they cannot afford to pay rent and **25% report that no one will rent a flat to them in another neighbourhood** (something which is also indicative of discrimination). In the case of other settlements, the main reason is having been born in that neighbourhood. Looking at possible solutions, **91% of residents of slums would accept housing in better conditions in another neighbourhood.** However, when given the option of staying in the settlement, but with their dwelling repaired, more than half prefer the option of staying, mainly because they feel they have roots there.

### 6.2] Environments of extreme and chronic poverty

Poverty is a chronic condition in the settlements. 93% of people living in settlements live at risk of poverty, a proportion that increases to **99% when it comes to child poverty.** Looking at severe and extreme poverty (that is, with an income of less than 40% or 30% of national median equivalised income), 81.5% and 62.1% respectively of settlement inhabitants live in such situations.

The situation of poverty is even worse for Roma people living in the settlements, with 97% living at risk of poverty, 87.1% in severe poverty and 66.8% in extreme poverty. It is worth remembering that the percentage of the Roma population nationally at risk of poverty is 85.9%, with 65.6% in severe poverty and 46.4% in extreme poverty. These percentages contrast with the percentage of people generally at risk of poverty in Spain, which is 21.6%, with 10.1% in severe poverty and 6.1% in extreme poverty.

# 6.3 Serious limitations on the exercise of other basic rights, especially for women

As well as this deprivation in terms of material conditions, related to the right to housing, this study also examines access to other human rights. In the area of health, it can be observed that the **health** of the settlement population is slightly worse than that of the general population. Even so, 97% state that they have not had problems receiving medical attention.

As for the right to **education**, the educational levels of the settlement population can be seen to be much lower than those of the general population. 10% of settlement residents aged over 10 are illiterate, while illiteracy

affects a very small and diminishing percentage of Spain's general population. Only 15.2% of the settlement population has reached secondary education, while the general percentage of Spain is 55.7%. Looking at the figures by sex, the illiteracy rate is higher among women, at 12.2% compared with 7.6% among men. However, the percentage of women who have studied beyond compulsory secondary education, while still representing a minority, is higher than the percentage among men (2.4% compared with 1.5%). There are high rates of school dropout, with only 15.5% of settlement residents continuing to study beyond the age of 16 compared with 40.8% of the general population. As for the school repetition rate, 26.5% of minors have repeated a year, while the rate in Spain's general population is 8.7%. Turning to school absenteeism, this is at low levels, with 89.4% of those aged under 16 attending their centre of education always or almost always. Finally, it can be observed that the schools attended by people living in settlements are highly segregated: only 36% attend a centre where the majority is non-Roma and non-migrant.

The right to employment is another right which is difficult to exercise for those living in settlements. It is observed that only 24% of the settlement population have a job, compared with 51% of the general population. This figure drops to 20.5% in the Roma population. As for the characteristics of their employment, it is likely to be highly insecure. In the case of Roma women, most have temporary jobs or help with the family business; for men, the most common situation is self-employment. In addition, there is a strikingly high level of chronic unemployment among the settlement population, with more than 20% having been unemployed for more than 10 years. Finally, the main reason for not being economically active is feeling discouraged in the search for a job.

Turning to civil and political rights, the settlement population takes part in elections much less often than the general population: less than 60% of people residing in settlements vote at least sometimes, compared with 86% of the general population. Among those who have a right to vote, settlement residents belonging to the non-Roma majority population vote more often than Roma people, while Roma people vote more than Arab people.

The violation or endangerment of rights described above affect men and women differently. Women and girls living in these settlements encounter more barriers in their access to employment, education, health and other basic rights.



## 6.4 A population composed almost entirely of ethnic minorities

Almost all people living in these settlements (92%) belong to ethnic-racial minorities, with the Roma population predominating (77% of the total), followed by the Arab population (13%).

In the case of people living in slum housing settlements, the percentage of minorities is even higher, representing 98% of the total (24% being Arab people and 71% Roma).

# 6.5] Infrequent individual perception of discrimination in a context of structural discrimination

In relation to the subjective perception of possible discriminatory situations experienced by people living in settlements, the first point to note is that one in four Roma or Arab people living in settlements have personally experienced or have witnessed situations of discrimination. Of those people, 79% have experienced it first-hand. However, the perception of discrimination in each of the areas asked about is infrequent; in particular, **it is much lower than the perception reported by Roma people or other minorities in other studies conducted outside these settlements**. This may be due to the normalisation of discrimination by people in situations of extreme vulnerability. It could also be due to the fact that these are areas where the great majority of inhabitants are from the same ethnic group, so there are fewer chances for them to suffer discrimination at the hands of members of the majority population (given that there is barely any social interaction with these people). This infrequent perception of discrimination may therefore be a consequence of the isolation of the settlement population from the general population, which makes it difficult for its members to identify differences in their treatment compared to the treatment of people with greater financial capacity who live outside these spaces.

As for discrimination connected simply to living in the settlement, 12% of residents have felt discriminated against for this reason, with the Roma population being most commonly affected (up to 14%). In the areas of health, education and work, the perception of discrimination is low, not reaching 6% in any of these cases. What stands out is the perception of discrimination by the police and in public spaces such as bars, shops etc, reported by 7% and 16% of the population respectively. Another important point is that **many of these people** (at least 25%) find themselves obliged to live in a settlement because no one will rent or sell property to them in other neighbourhoods; that is, they experience ethnic-racial discrimination in access to housing.

In terms of the means available to tackle these situations of discrimination, **the great majority of people residing in settlements do not know of any organisation that can help them to deal with these situations.** In the case of reports to the police, of people who have experienced discrimination, 55% have not reported it as they believe reporting would serve no purpose, only 3% have made a report, and 89% of them would not do so again.

This all takes place in a context in which, as mentioned earlier, **almost all the people living in these settlements belong to ethnic-racial minorities**, with the Roma population being predominant, and the presence of people not belonging to ethnic minorities is negligible. Slum housing and substandard housing are therefore phenomena which do not affect the majority population, and which entrench the situation of social vulnerability and exclusion affecting those living in these spaces, increasing their isolation from the rest of society and creating a barrier to the exercise of their human rights.

These data therefore reveal a situation of structural discrimination, in this case of structural antigypsyism. It would be difficult to imagine this highly entrenched situation of rights violation occurring if those living in these

spaces were not from ethnic minorities. It is the inaction or omissions of the public authorities which have permitted the continued existence of these spaces on the margins of citizenship and access to rights. This is the product of a historical situation of structural discrimination affecting Roma people and people from other minorities who live in the settlements examined in this study.

### 6.6 Children comprise half the population of these settlements

To the situation of ethnic discrimination described above, we would add the fact that **approximately half the people living in the settlements are aged under 16** (and 40% of those are aged under 6). As a consequence, the situation of structural discrimination and violation of rights set out here especially affects children.

Living in a settlement constitutes a **situation of vulnerability which begins in childhood**, which becomes persistent over time and which reproduces poverty, perpetuating the social exclusion of these groups over the long term and creating a barrier to equal opportunities.

From a human rights perspective, and applying **the principle of the best interests of the child** enshrined in Spanish and international law, this statistic should lead the authorities to expedite the adoption of the measures set out in point 7, with priority given always to childhood wellbeing.

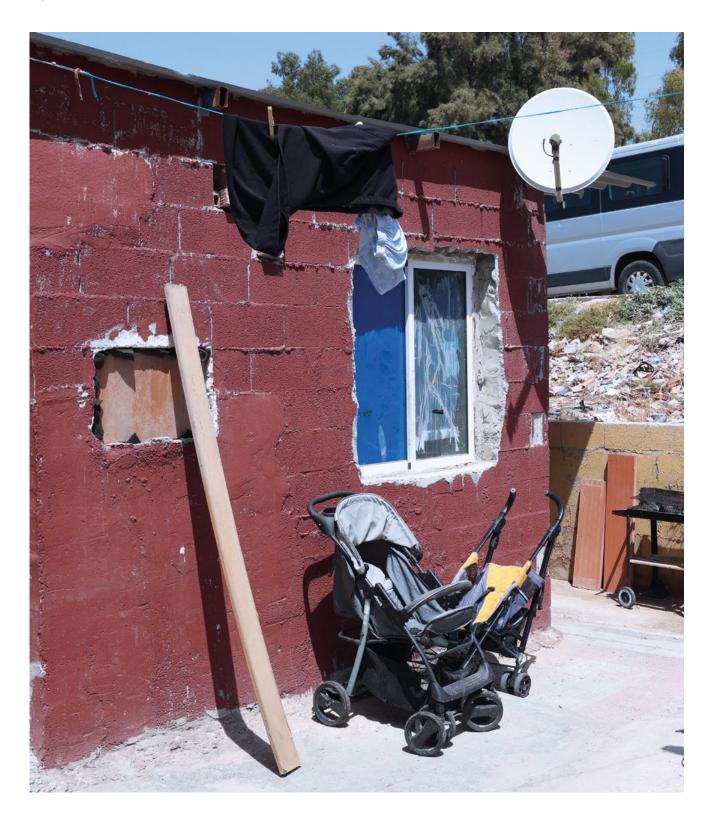
### 6.7 Spatial segregation: enclaves on the margins of society

Finally, turning to the location of these enclaves, in general they are neighbourhoods on the urban periphery, but connected by roads or highways. Although they are usually served by public transport, generally by bus, up to seven settlements lack any means of transport, leading to a high degree of isolation. Other deficiencies are also common such as a lack of street lighting, of a water supply, or of a waste collection service.

Spatial segregation has a complex impact on the lives of people living in these kinds of slum and substandard housing settlements. **Physical isolation makes it difficult for inhabitants to exercise their citizenship**, for example by participating in social, cultural and political activities taking place in cities, towns and villages. Living in these spaces also leads to social stigmatisation, given that the neighbourhoods are often negatively labelled or singled out by the media. Furthermore, the lack of transport to reach other areas makes it difficult to access many public and private services: schools, hospitals, companies etc. It is therefore **important to state the impact of this spatial segregation on the ability to exercise other basic rights.** 

# 7] Proposals

Slum and substandard housing settlements represent a **persistent structural phenomenon** in Spain and, although in quantitative terms it is a small phenomenon, its existence has a serious impact on the **fundamental rights** of settlement inhabitants and on the **values and principles** we hold dear as a society. It represents social exclusion in one of its most extreme forms.



Living in a slum or substandard housing settlement means living in **conditions which are unacceptable in terms of social justice.** First, because material conditions in these settlements are a barrier to living in dignity (adequate housing, safe spaces, access to basic services such as electricity, water, heating and sanitation). Second, because they impede access to other basic rights which define us as citizens: a highquality education, employment opportunities, cultural rights and rights to social participation. Living in a slum or substandard housing settlement prevents people from enjoying the equality of opportunity which exists outside these settlements and blocks off avenues for personal development.

The existence of slum housing and substandard housing **contravenes all the legislation relating to human rights** which defines Spain as a society based on the rule of law. This situation represents a flagrant violation of many European and international laws, such as the European Convention on Human Rights, the European Social Charter, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the international Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and Spain's own Constitution and Comprehensive Law on Equal Treatment and Non-Discrimination.

This phenomenon is **not commensurate with Spain's economic level:** one of the leading economies on the planet, with a GDP which places the country at number 14 in the world ranking. It is incomprehensible that a first-rank power should allow the continued, structural existence of such spaces, which are unworthy of an advanced society such as our own.

An element which defines slum and substandard housing settlements is their persistence over time. **Their entrenchment** over decades has an impact on their populations which means that successive generations inherit the same circumstances of social exclusion, impeding both their personal and their collective development.

At this moment there is a context of opportunity for the funding of actions aimed at eradicating slums and, in particular, for the promotion of the Roma population's integration in society. Sources of finance include the Cohesion Funds, the Recovery, Transformation and Resilience Plan (PRTR) and the State Housing Plan 2022-2025. However, there appears to be **an under-use of these financial instruments** for the eradication of these settlements by the responsible authorities. Given the quantities represented by the settlements and their population, with around 24 000 people estimated to be living in 5 000 dwellings, it is clear that this is a manageable problem in terms of its scale. It would not require an impossible effort in terms of investment by the public authorities, beyond the need for coordination between authorities of different levels and with different areas of responsibility.

So that the objective of eradicating slums can be successfully met, we need **political will to take advantage** of political and funding opportunities over the coming years. It is essential to develop long-term strategies, plans for local action and ways for authorities to work in coordination, taking a comprehensive approach to resettlement processes which combines not just housing policies, but also policies related to education, to supporting labour market inclusion and to social inclusion. The persistence of these settlements denotes a lack of political will on the part of the public authorities which must be overcome in the coming years.

Faced with the human impact and the violation of rights which come with living in slum and substandard housing settlements, representing the ultimate expression of structural racism and socio-residential exclusion, the only appropriate response is to call for commitment at State level to its eradication, as a political objective requiring a robust institutional mandate.

#### We propose:

- 1. The effective application of the **Law on the Right to Housing**, guaranteeing the right to adequate housing in an inclusive environment for all people, and recognising these settlements as creating situations of particular vulnerability and therefore requiring particular attention.
- 2. Approval of a National 2030 strategy for the eradication of settlements, with full respect for legal guarantees and the basic rights of their residents, assuring them of adequate alternative housing and a process of social inclusion.
- 3. **Prioritising actions in settlements which fall within housing plans and urban regeneration and renovation programmes**, using existing funding mechanisms (State Housing Plan 2022-2025, ERDF, Component 2 of the PRTR, etc) and setting out the budget invested specifically in these actions, as established in the Law on the Right to Housing.
- 4. Designation of families who live in slum and substandard housing settlements as a **priority group for access to public and social housing**.
- Application of a children's rights perspective to actions in settlements and fulfilment of the commitments acquired under the National Strategy on Children's and Adolescents' Rights (2023-2030) and the Child Guarantee.
- 6. Guaranteeing an income to combat extreme poverty among families living in settlements, facilitating access to the Minimum Income, extending its coverage and carrying out the adjustments necessary to ensure it is received by the most vulnerable families, and offering opportunities for the social and labour market inclusion of these people.

- 7. Effective application of the Comprehensive Law on equal treatment and nondiscrimination, prohibiting and sanctioning discrimination on the basis of ethnic or racial origin in access to housing.
- 8. A comprehensive, non-sectoral approach to eradication strategies; it is not simply a matter of developing housing policies, but of interventions which include measures to foster both the social and labour market inclusion of the settlement population and the educational success of their children.







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