

National Analytical Study on Housing

RAXEN Focal Point for Spain

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1. Executive summary

When the Spanish Constitution states that all Spanish are entitled to enjoying decent and appropriate housing and when the article 13 of the current Law on Foreigners declares that resident foreigners are entitled to access the public system of housing-related grants on an equal basis with natives, a first gap comes to view: irregular foreign migrants are excluded from enjoying decent and appropriate housing and from the public support which contributes to the fulfilment of this right.

Nevertheless, the access to decent and appropriate housing is not guaranteed either for the rest of the population: the scarce and increasingly lower participation of public Administrations, in the housing sector is leaving things mostly in the hands of the private initiative, which basically builds for its own profit. A number of regional governments have tried to deal with such shortcomings by legislating in favour of social housing or to accommodate populations such as foreign migrants or casual farm workers, many of whom are also foreign migrants.

In Spain there is an acute shortage of the so called¹ council houses and housing for rent, which in this last case is due, among other reasons, to the fact that in recent decades home acquisition has been promoted to the detriment of renting. Ultraliberal policies have been leading to an unprecedented increase of prices which affect purchasing as well as renting. This report provides exhaustive data concerning this aspect as well as in relation to the number of council houses being built, including in some cases comparisons with other European Union countries.

The rate of construction of new blocks of flats intended for renting has been quite low in the last decades, even in the private housing market, resulting in the fact that rented housing has gradually been reduced to offers from small owners of old buildings who have taken advantage of such a situation to demand considerably high rents for dwellings which are often in bad conditions. In urban areas, and in the best of cases, these are the only dwellings which most of foreign migrants are able to occupy, at least in the first stage of the migratory process, which according to some experts lasts for a minimum period of 7 years. During this time, they suffer from even worse situations such as homelessness, the occupation of abandoned or wrecked buildings,

¹ This type of housing units is explained later in this report and there is a definition of them in the glossary at its end.

dependence on social institutions which take care of them, the renting of rooms in legal or illegal boarding houses or the overcrowding of living spaces with other migrants. This report also provides data concerning the situation in different points of Spain.

In addition to the usual requirements which have to be met to access private rented housing, regardless of its quality, which foreign migrants find it more difficult to comply with than natives, members of the non-Spanish population have to face the reluctance of many owners to rent them a flat, which is much more evident in 'normal' buildings and neighbourhoods. In this regard, foreign migrants suffer from a two-fold discrimination which many experts consider to be quite extended and which in some cases is not concealed but absolutely explicit.

The concentration of foreign migrants in many decayed and/or peripheral neighbourhoods leads to the emergence of a phenomenon of urban segregation and of a process of ghettoisation. This is also true for the main Spanish ethnic minority, the Roma population.

The conditions of rural lodgings, occupied by casual farm workers to whom we have already made a reference, are so specific that they must be dealt with separately. In many cases, these conditions are worse than can be imagined. These casual farm workers are sometimes accommodated in spaces which should never be intended for living and which are located in the immediate vicinity of the workplace. In both urban and rural areas it is possible to speak of the existence of a clear exploitation.

In opposition to exploitation and discrimination (which can also be of institutional nature), we have found examples of positive discrimination and good practice among which the most interesting ones are those which link up with a greater number of housing-related dimensions.

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3. Introduction

In order to fulfil its main aim, which is to detect if foreign migrants and ethnic minorities are discriminated in Spain in housing-related matters, this report starts with a description of the legal situation in Spain in the housing sector up to 2003, particularly by collecting regional rules as Autonomous Communities together with local Administrations that are those which are faced more directly with the current state of affairs.

Next, the report deals briefly with the housing situation in Spain and highlights the current difficulties involved in housing access. These difficulties are part of the reasons which account for the existence of regional rules such as those mentioned above which try to facilitate housing access to the most disadvantaged populations. At the same time, this need for Autonomous Communities to legislate in this field questions the practical value of provisions contained in legal texts of higher rank such as the Spanish Constitution and the Law on Foreigners. With regard to this issue, the prevalence of housing ownership above rented housing is of a great significance. Some experts have attributed this prevalence to a distinctively Spanish cultural trait although this point of view remains open to dispute.

The next chapter of the report includes data on issues such as: the prices of flats on sale and for hire in Spain, although rented housing is much more scarce; the average percentage of the household income which must be devoted to buying a flat; the construction of council houses by both public and private promoters; the conditions of rented dwellings, which are those which most foreign migrants occupy, at least in urban areas; and the lodgings in rural areas where casual farm workers, many of whom are foreign migrants, live.

The next chapter collects examples of discrimination suffered by foreign migrants particularly concerning their access to 'normal' rented housing in 'normal' urban areas. These examples add to the exploitation derived from the conditions (and prices) of many rented flats, most of them located in old buildings, whose owners take advantage of the relative and long-time scarcity of newly-built rented flats. All this situation leads to stating that housing is currently in Spain one of the most important mechanisms of social exclusion and segregation which is suffered by a great deal of populations.

The second part of this chapter offers a different view on the current state-of-the-affairs through examples of positive discrimination and good practice by both public and private bodies, which despite their undeniable value are nothing more than a grain of sand to improve such a difficult situation as that of housing in Spain, which results, among other factors, from the lack of adequate public action.

The report ends with a separate chapter where the most significant conclusions are set forth.

4. Concise description of the current legal situation

The first legal text we have to bear in mind is the Spanish Constitution, which states that all Spanish are entitled to enjoying appropriate and decent housing. Next, we have to bring to mind the article 13 of the Organic Law 8/2000 on rights and liberties of foreigners in Spain and their social integration (or Law on Foreigners), which declares that “resident foreigners are entitled to accessing public housing support on an equal basis with natives”. Although this article lays the foundations for equality between native citizens and foreign migrants concerning housing, this is only true, as one can see, for regular or resident foreigners as the text calls them.

In addition, in Spain the State’s participation is much lower in housing-related subjects than in other areas such as education and health, with regard to which it is not exaggerated to say that both of them are open to all people. With regard to housing, however, the State has been gradually giving ground to private initiative and has increasingly limited itself to clearly indirect aspects such as the granting of support for purchasing a flat, so that it is far from guaranteeing what the Constitution expresses. Its participation in the construction of council houses (see the following chapters), for instance, has been steadily decreasing in the two last decades until reaching so low a figure that it can be said that public housing has practically disappeared or is about to be extinguished.

This is particularly true for the central government, which has no absolute powers in the field of housing, which have been transferred to many regional governments. Through the Ministry for Public Works (Ministerio de Fomento), the central government, however, sets the measures concerning the financing of council houses, regulates the distribution of economic support and the granting of loans for this sort of dwellings and can favour the construction of buildings to rented housing. Autonomous Communities manage the housing policy which stems from the central government and may also design their own action plans in the field of council houses. Town councils, finally, play an important role both as promoters and managers of local properties and as in land-related matters through the so called Plans for Urban Action.

Historically, the central government's policy has taken the form of successive Housing Plans², the last of which (2002-2005 Housing Plan, http://www.mfom.es/vivienda/top_plan2002_2005.html) is aimed at:

- ◆ Supporting those people with the lowest incomes as well as those populations encountering more difficulties to purchase a flat;
- ◆ favouring youngsters access to their first flat and increasing the support aimed at households with children for them to be able to have access to bigger flats;
- ◆ improving housing access for families looking after elderly or disabled individuals; and
- ◆ promoting rented housing as a measure supporting labour mobility.

These objectives confirm the indirect approach of such housing plans and the subsidiary position of the central government as far as housing is concerned. These plans establish a number of measures supporting the purchase of a flat (granting of qualified loans and their subsidisation, subsidies and other forms of direct economic support) and include incentives to encourage public and private housing promoters to build council houses, whose shortage is one of the main problems of this sector. As examples of these incentives, housing promoters are allowed to increase the basic cost of land reserved for this sort of dwellings in order to match the price of council houses to municipalities with different standards of living; and the reinforcement of the support aimed at the urbanisation of land devoted to council houses. As this is the main problem with which the construction of council houses is faced, that is, the lack of a policy for land reserve, the 2002-2005 Housing Plan also includes subsidies which reach up to 40% the costs of urbanisation of those sites in which 75% of the total area is being devoted to the construction of this sort of dwellings.

As for rented housing, this Plan reinforces the support to its promotion and limits the maximum monthly rent to 4% the price that any flat would reach if it was for sale.

The I National Action Plan on Social Inclusion of the Kingdom of Spain June 2001-June 2003 also includes measures aimed at facilitating housing access, which encompass promoting an integrated housing policy for all and improving housing policies aimed at disadvantaged areas and populations, among which foreign migrants are not, however,

² Some experts, as for instance Gaspar Mayor, manager of the Local Housing Board of Alicante (Valencia), however, are of the opinion that these housing plans have been used rather as incentives for

explicitly mentioned. These aims appear again in the II National Action Plan on Social Inclusion of the Kingdom of Spain 2003-2005, which in addition adds a number of sub-aims which were not present in the previous one: reserving land for public housing promotion in urban plans; establishing gradual pathways for housing access from the starting point of temporary accommodation; promoting the provision of rented council houses; supplementing initial support for housing access through other measures aimed at the most disadvantaged populations, etc. As we will see later, some of these new targets draw our attention to serious problems that the housing sector in Spain is confronted with.

In 2001, the Institute for Migration and Social Services (IMERSO), which is a public body related to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, had already established co-operation agreements with all the Spanish Autonomous Communities (<http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2001-05-10/sumario.html>). These agreements were aimed at the development of joint actions to support migrants' social integration through a Programme of Basic Reception which was to favour their access to basic social benefits and services and to decent housing and to launch measures for their social and labour integration. In the specific field of housing, these measures included the creation of temporary places of living, of provisional lodgings for casual workers and of host centres for those foreign migrants whose precariousness recommended such a measure, and the adoption of incentives in favour of rented housing.

As for the Autonomous Communities which have enacted housing laws of their own which are explicitly or implicitly related to foreign migration, one has to mention in the first place the Navarra region (Comunidad Foral de Navarra) and its Decree 374/1997, of 15 December 1997 (<http://www.cfnavarra.es/bon/981/98119001.htm>), which regulated the access to social housing as one of the components of a 1998-2005 Combat Plan against Social Exclusion in Navarra (<http://www.cfnavarra.es/BienestarSocial/PLANEX/INDEX.HTML>). The specific purpose of this Decree was co-ordinating the measures and supports which the Government of Navarra had established for the purchase of second-hand dwellings by either individuals who were included in social integration programmes or non-profit making organisations which were taking part in such programmes. In the last case, such organisations have to devote these dwellings to be rented by those individuals and populations which were specially in need of social protection.

the construction sector and therefore to give an impulse to Spanish economy than as tools for social integration.

On 2 October 2002, the Department of Public Works, Housing and Transports of the Region of Murcia issued a Resolution for the submission of applications aimed at the promotion of lodgings for the migrant population, whose text is available through the internet site <http://www.carm.es/borm>. Its aim is the promotion and rehabilitation of buildings and dwellings utilised to accommodate migrants through rental contracts or any other legally recognised form and the construction of lodgings which are half-way structures between individual and collective housing and are consistent with the social integration of their tenants. This type of housing (the so called 'accommodation units') is also mentioned in the 2002-2005 Housing Plan of the central government we have referred to above as a way to accommodate populations such as migrants and the elderly.

As for Andalusia, the legislative tool we have to mention is the Decree 2/2001, of 9 January 2001 (<http://www.andaluciajunta.es/SP/AJ/CDA/Secciones/Boja/visualBoja/verBojaCache/0,18806,bi%253D72710,00.html>), which regulated and established grants aimed at the promotion of rented housing directed to accommodate casual workers (natives and foreigners, but above all the latter) in municipalities of high labour mobility. This Decree was issued in the framework of the third Andalusian Plan of Housing and Land 1999-2002 and its specific aim was the promotion of newly-built accommodation units and dwellings which were half-way structures between individual and collective housing.

Three months later, the Andalusian Government (Junta de Andalucía) issued a second Decree (Decree 106/2001, of 30 April 2001, http://www.defensor-and.es/informes/ftp/aloja-hu.htm#_AnexoD), which extended the deadline for the submission of applications aimed at housing promotion and construction until the last day of that year.

As far as the Catalan Government is concerned, it has legislated to the same end through the Resolution PRE/96/2003, of 24 February 2003 (http://www.gencat.es/diari_c/3841/03058213.htm), which laid the foundations for the submission of applications to achieve co-financing for the construction, rehabilitation, reformation, extension or conditioning of lodgings intended for casual workers.

5. Short overview of the past and current political/cultural situation

The situation of housing in Spain can be summarised in the points below, although the effects of the 2002-2005 Housing Plan still have to be assessed, particularly concerning specific issues such as the promotion of council houses and rented housing:

- ◆ A decline of public housing promotion and an overwhelming prevalence of private enterprises, which in addition are much more concerned about meeting housing demands from the free housing market and fulfilling selective and tourism-related needs than about the construction of council houses; and much more devoted to the construction of new buildings than to the rehabilitation of old houses. This option is incidentally bringing about the decay of certain areas of cities and villages, just those which are gradually being mostly inhabited by foreign migrants and ethnic minorities.
- ◆ A subsidiary role of Public Administrations in all the matters involved: the design of integrated urban plans which take into account the existence of populations in risk of social exclusion in order to prevent the creation of ghettos; the reserve of public land for the construction of council houses (Local Administrations themselves contribute to land speculation and co-finance themselves through it); the rehabilitation of buildings; the granting of incentives to private enterprises for them to build council houses or rented housing at affordable prices; the public construction of council houses, etc. In this regard, it is highly significant that in Spain public resources earmarked for housing only amount to 0,5% the national GDP, whilst the average European percentage is 2%.
- ◆ A broad prevalence of housing ownership in comparison with rented housing, which is consistent with a shortage in the provision of rented housing.
- ◆ A conception of housing as an investment and/or speculation object, as a reputable tangible good rather than as an element for social protection, which in addition contributes to price increase.
- ◆ A steady price increase concerning both flats on sale and for hire due, among other reasons, to the ultraliberal position of Public Administrations and the scarcity of urban land.
- ◆ A remarkable increase in accommodation needs and demands, which have not reached their ceiling yet, owing to migrations, the growth of family breakdowns, the

release of psychiatric patients, a gradual decrease in the occupancy rate of the main home (which is still one of the highest in the European Union), etc.

- ◆ A high percentage of second homes (16%, more than 3.300.000) as well as of unoccupied dwellings (13,9%, nearly 2.900.000). If unoccupied dwellings were put on sale or rented, this operation could cheapen the prices of both options. Spain is at the top of European statistics in this matter: 57 unoccupied dwellings per 1.000 inhabitants and 68 second homes per 1.000 inhabitants.
- ◆ A mistrust of banks towards foreign migrants, which is reflected in their difficulties to have access to mortgage loans. Nevertheless, this mistrust seems based rather on economic criteria (the lack of sound guarantees) than on ethnic prejudices.

As for the dichotomy between housing ownership and rented housing, it is important to point out that rented housing shortage is closely linked to a scarce use of this modality, which is quite below what is usual in other European Union countries, so that it is not easy in principle to know which is the source of the problem: a cultural tradition that would be rejecting non-ownership or the above mentioned scarce provision of rented housing. In any case, it can be stated that the original cause seems to lay in the latter. This can be inferred from the fact that in 1960 41% of the housing stock was devoted to private rented housing so that customers' 'renunciation' to rented housing would be in the best of cases a very recent 'cultural sign'. At present times, only 14% of the dwellings in the free housing market are intended for renting, whilst in other European countries percentages are much higher (Switzerland, 66%; Germany, 41%; Luxembourg, 31%; Belgium, 30%). Such low figures are due to the practical non-existence of newly-built promotions of rented housing since the nineteen-nineties; to the marketing of dwellings which had initially been for renting; and to the reduction of mortgage interest rates (from 15,41% in 1992 to 4,5% in 1999), which encouraged people to purchase a house rather than to rent it. But the problem of rented housing does not limit to quantitative shortage, it also has a qualitative dimension. Given the scarcity of newly built dwellings, rented market housing has been gradually left in the hands of small owners of old houses, who usually ask too high rents for dwellings which do not always meet the minimum requirements³.

³ Although it is generally said that all rented flats have the certificate of fitness for habitation in force, this is not verified in the daily practice. In addition, it is the tenant who has to apply for this certificate and when he sees it denied a percentage of the costs the flat's owner will have to pay to undertake the improvements required will eventually be charged to the tenant through the monthly rent paid, so that asking for this certificate is against tenants' interests. If, on the other hand, it is tenants who on their own accord and after achieving the owner's consent decide to renew a rented flat, they not only will have to pay for this reform but a percentage of the costs involved will also be charged in the monthly rent they

If rented housing is a subsidiary option, it is unnecessary to insist on the fact that provision of the so called social or public rented housing is still much more reduced: in Spain, only 2% of the public housing stock is intended for renting, whilst the average percentage in the European Union is 18% and it is even higher in certain countries such as the Netherlands (35%), Austria (23%) and Sweden (22%).

pay, so that although only exceptionally it may eventually happen that tenants who have embarked in the renewal of the flat where they live cannot afford to continue paying the rent.

6. *Theoretical and methodological approach for analysing data*

This first report on foreign migration and housing that the Spanish NFP has carried out has had to cope with important gaps concerning the existence of official data through which it would confirm its main hypothesis, which is supported by most of the organisations involved in this field and corroborated by a great deal of news appeared on the mass media. According to this hypothesis, foreign migrants and the Roma population, the main ethnic minority living in Spain, are subjected to broad discrimination and exploitation as far as housing is related. But despite these difficulties, we believe that although in an indirect way we have been able to prove our position.

From the great abundance of data concerning the construction of dwellings in Spain it is certainly possible to observe a steady price increase and the extremely low weight of public promotion of housing ownership and rented housing and of the provision of newly-built promotions of rented housing in the free market. Therefore, it is obvious that foreign migrants as well as other disadvantaged populations will encounter important difficulties in relation to housing access and will have to restrict themselves to the reduced and aged private rented housing market.

Statistical information which related to the quality of rented housing is quite scarce. However, it's safe to assume that figures are lower when compared with that of dwellings inhabited by their owners, which is a first data to consider. If one specifically focuses on rented housing occupied by foreign migrants or by members from the Roma population, there are not global data for Spain as a whole, although this is offset by a remarkable amount of local or regional surveys which confirm its bad housing conditions both in urban and rural areas but particularly in the latter.

Such bad conditions, added to prices which have to be considered expensive or to unjustified requirements by housing owners when their customers are foreign migrants, allow us to conclude that foreigners are certainly abused and exploited in housing matters. This abuse and exploitation is facilitated by the discrimination they are subjected to in their attempts to have access to higher standards dwellings and neighbourhoods. Although the existence of such discrimination cannot be proved statistically, there is a great deal of documentary evidence which supports it and this

hypothesis is also backed by the opinion of most, if not all, the experts we have been consulting.

7. Description and analysis of existing and non-existing data and sources

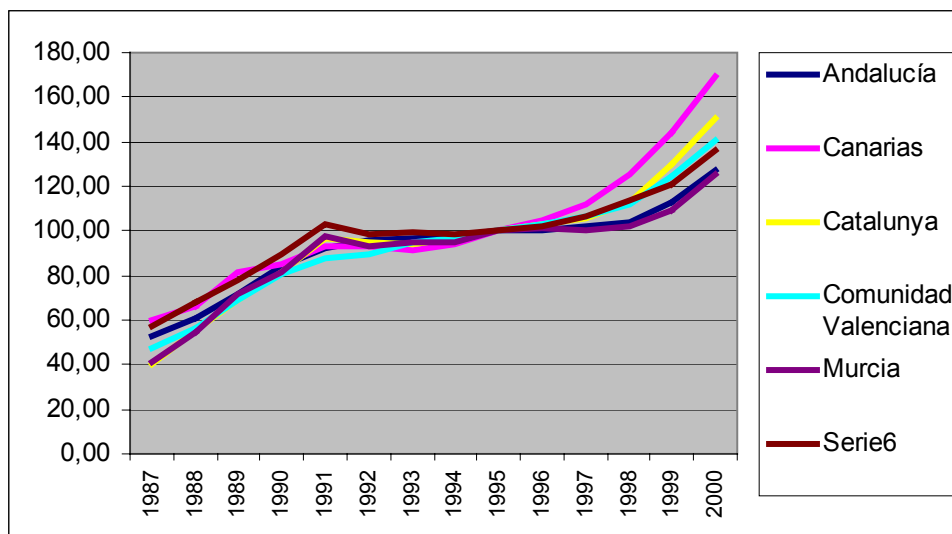
7.1. The Spanish housing market

The website of the Ministry for Public Works provides wide information about the **prices of houses on sale in Spain** through the following internet site http://www.mfom.es/estadisticas/atlas/pdf/cap_precios_vivienda.pdf. If we focus on the price for the square metre from 1987 to 2000 we will see that it has increased from 317,3 Euro in the former year to 906,92 Euro in the latter one (an increase of 286% in 14 years). This increase has been particularly noticeable in the two biggest cities in Spain, Madrid and Barcelona. In the former city, the price for the square metre was around 515 Euro in 1987 and had reached 1558 Euro in 2000 (an increase of 302%). Barcelona has experienced even a greater rise since it started from values close to 400 Euro (1987) to reach values that in the year 2000 amounted to nearly 1650 Euro, an increase of 410%

Table 1. Average prices for the square metre for houses on sale in Barcelona, Madrid and Spain as a whole from 1987 to 2000 (in Euros)

	Barcelona	Madrid	Spain
1987	396,7	515,1	317,3
1988	617,2	712,8	396,7
1989	716,4	914,1	489,2
1990	884,1	1034,3	565,6
1991	1113,7	1267,5	646,1
1992	1018,7	1164,2	637,7
1993	1028,3	1176,2	635,3
1994	1071	1169,6	639,5
1995	1086	1243,4	662,3
1996	1113	1259,7	674,3
1997	1132,3	1241,7	684,6
1998	1202	1256,7	716,4
1999	1401,6	1354,1	792,1
2000	1634,1	1557,8	906,9

Graphic YEAR 1987 = 100



In order to have more updated values it is necessary to consult the same website than before (http://www.mfom.es/estadisticas/top_cifras.html) but selecting in this case the heading “Figures in 2002”, where there are national and regional data. The average price for the square metre had increased to 1.046,91 Euro in 2001 and to 1.220,93 Euro in 2002. In the Region of Madrid this value had already reached 1.973,78 Euro, which means that a standard flat of 72 square metres cost around 142.112 Euro. Last-minute news from the Ministry for Public Works dated on 24 September 2003 showed a new increase in the price for the square metre, which reached 1.402,57 Euro.

Table 2. Average prices for the square metre for houses on sale in Catalonia, the Autonomous Community of Madrid and Spain as a whole in 1991, 2001 and 2002 (in Euros)

	Catalonia	Region of Madrid	Spain
1991	755,76	1.044,20	646,34
2001	1.353,63	1.604,84	1.046,91
2002	1.553,95	1.973,78	1.220,93

Sources such as the Bank of Spain, the Statistical National Institute (INE) and the Ministry for Public Works estimated that in order to purchase a dwelling it was necessary to earmark 45,6% of the average household income in Spain on September 2001. In 2002 this percentage had risen to 47%. In addition it must be stressed that the lower the household income is the greater the percentage that has to be devoted to purchasing a dwelling. This obviously damages modest economies, among which one

has to count migrant families, and is not offset by the fact that they usually resort to small flats, because the price for the square metre only starts to decrease when flats are over 70 square metres. In other words, low income families (regardless of the number of their members) have to opt for small flats in spite of them being more expensive in relative terms than bigger ones.

Table 3. Average percentage of income which Spanish households have had to devote to purchasing a flat from 1990 to 2001.

1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
65,93	68,09	59,77	53,45	43,14	44,11	39,53	33,63	31,89	32,51	38,84	45,60

In the internet site http://www.mfom.es/estadisticas/anuario_2001/tablas/c8/8_10.htm, which is also available through the website of the Ministry of Public Works, there are interesting data with regard to this last question although related to December 2000. On the basis of a standard price of 106.232 Euro for a dwelling of 80 square metres of useful area less than one year old and the average annual interest rate which then was applied to mortgage loans (6,37%), it results a first annual payment of 8.962 Euro. If we correlate this figure with the average annual income of Spanish households in the same period (21.152 Euro), as provided by the INE (<http://www.ine.es>) through the Household Budget Survey, it can be observed that the purchase of a flat in that moment amounted to 42,37% the average annual income of Spanish households. This percentage compared with those in 2001 and 2002 we have supplied in the above paragraph confirms that there is an upward trend in the relative weight of the purchase of a flat on household budgets.

Table 4. Calculation of the percentage of the household income that Spanish families have had to devote to purchasing a flat since 1991 to 2000

	Average housing price (in Euro)	Average annual interest rate	Amount of first annual payment (in Euro)	Average annual income of Spanish households	Percentage of household income devoted to housing
1991	83.602,6	15,21	11.553,0	13.534,3	85,36
1992	76.127,2	15,41	10.621,8	14.590,2	72,80
1993	73.278,4	11,73	8.482,2	15.265,2	55,56
1994	73.933,5	10,26	7.948,8	15.941,3	49,86
1995	75.464,3	11,01	8.399,4	16.814,7	49,95
1996	76.372,4	8,17	7.211,2	17.390,9	41,47
1997	78.877,4	6,25	6.600,5	18.072,6	36,52
1998	84.682,0	5,15	6.591,6	19.391,9	33,99
1999	93.087,2	4,94	7.144,8	20.691,9	34,53
2000	106.232	6,37	8.962	21.151,6	42,37

During the first years of the period covered in tables 3 and 4, Spanish families had to make enormous efforts to purchasing a flat as a result of a period of economic expansion whose starting point had been the integration of Spain into the European Economic Community. But particularly after 1992 an economic crisis began which coincided with a reduction of mortgage interest rates which made it relatively easier for Spanish households to purchase a flat. Since 1999 however and although mortgage interest rates have kept quite low, the increase in housing prices has been so steep that Spanish households have found it increasingly difficult once more to purchase a flat. This recent acute increase in housing prices seems due to a mixture of factors among which the fall of the stock markets which revalued housing as a solid investment and a speculation object; and the announcement of the European currency, which led many people to invest black money in housing property and consequently triggered off housing demand.

Moreover, data from the INE show that housing-related expenses have gradually increased if compared with other household budgetary items such as for instance food, clothing and shoes. Whilst in 1985 housing-related expenditure only amounted to 14,9% the total expenses of Spanish families, in 1990 it had already increased to 15,6% and in 2001 to 25%.

Lastly, the last yearly report of the Economic and Social Committee (CES), very recently published, *España 2002. Memoria sobre la situación socioeconómica y laboral* (Spain 2002, Report on the social, economic and labour situation) confirms that this upward trend in housing prices in recent years, which in 2002 amounted to 16,7%, does not seem to have an end in spite of the enormous housing stock in existence and of the fact that the cumulative increase in the last five years (70%) is the biggest in all the European Union.

This report by the Economic and Social Committee points out that between 1997 and 2001 also **the prices of rented housing** increased up to the point of currently having become one of the highest all over the European Union. As far as this matter is concerned, however, only rough estimations can be made, since the fact that rented flats are essentially in the hands of small owners of old houses makes the calculation of monthly rents quite complex. This question can be approached on the basis that rents are estimated to be around 5%⁴ of housing prices when flats are on sale so that for a dwelling whose price was 180.000 Euro monthly rents could be around 750 Euro (180.000 x 0,05/ 12). It is also interesting to notice that if prices of dwellings on sale and for renting are thus correlated, it is then obvious that when prices of flats on sale increase so prices of rented housing automatically do, which also shows that none of both options remains exactly affordable, on the contrary, both are increasingly more burdensome.

As for the number of households living in rented flats, it has decreased since the period 1981-1995 and has only reached figures as high as those in 2001, which is likely to be due to the incidence of foreign migration. In the Population and Housing Census 2001 (<http://www.ine.es/censo2001/pobcen01menu.htm>), which is under the INE's responsibility, there are 1.615.911 households recorded as living in rented flats (see Table 5 in the statistical annex). When this figure is compared with the number of households living in flats of which they are the owners (nearly 13.000.000), it becomes apparent that the former are much fewer than the latter.

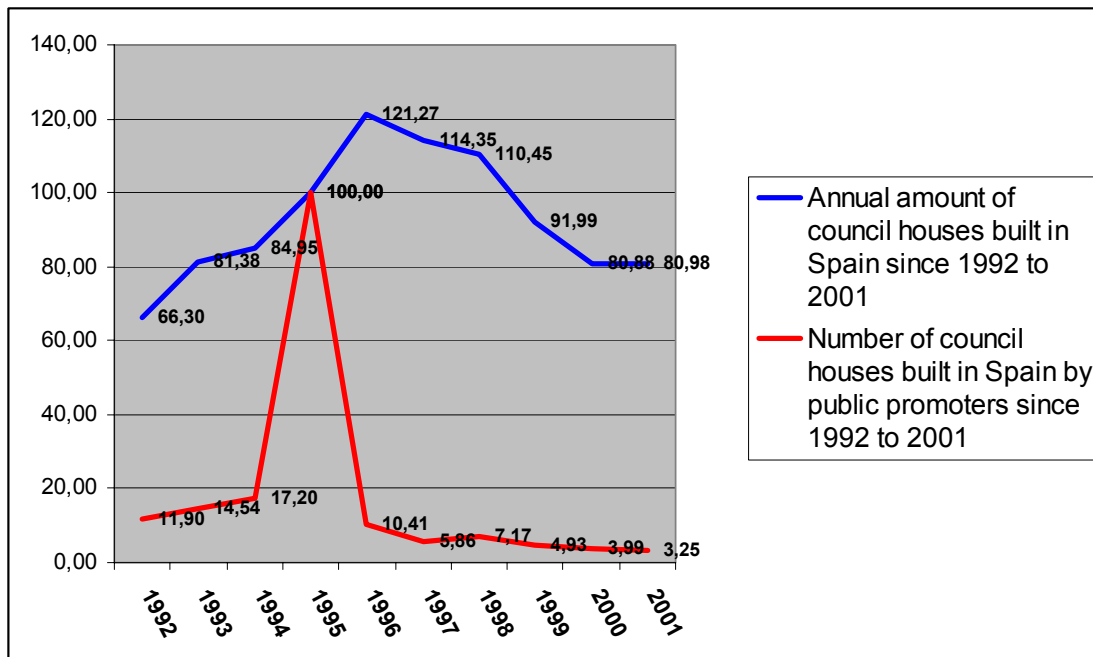
The so called **council houses** (Viviendas de Protección Oficial, VPO) are cheaper dwellings which can be put on sale or rented. Their useful area cannot exceed 90 square metres and are regulated by specific laws. They can be built by two procedures: either through public (central or regional governments) or private promoters. Their

⁴ Although the 2002-2005 Housing Plan reduces this percentage to 4% (see the legal section of this report).

access is restricted to households whose income is less than 5,5 times the Guaranteed Minimum Wage, whose amount in 2003 is 451, 2 Euro, or to other income levels which Autonomous Communities may decide to establish. Large families can also apply for council houses provided that their monthly income is under 541,4 Euro, while regional governments are entitled to raising this ceiling up to 25%.

In 2003, the average price for the square metre for this sort of dwellings was fixed in 636,25 Euro, much lower, as it can be observed, than that of dwellings in the free housing market. Nevertheless, this is only a basic price which regional governments are entitled to increase up to 1,56 times in order to match the particularities of different municipalities and encourage the construction of such dwellings by private promoters.

As far as the annual construction of council houses is concerned, their number is certainly very reduced. According to the internet site http://www.mfom.es/estadisticas/anuario_2001/tablas/c7/7_5.htm, which relates to the Ministry for Public Works, in 1992 43.327 council houses were finished, in 1993 53.181, in 1994 55.514, in 1995 65.350, in 1996 79.428, in 1997 74.726, in 1998, 72.179, in 1999 60.116, in 2000 52.853 and in 2001 52.922 (see Table 6 in the statistical annex). In order to place these figures in a comparative perspective in relation to the total number of dwellings built in Spain, it must be pointed out that the last figure (the number of council houses finished in 2001) was around 10% of the total number of dwellings built that year, a percentage that in the nineteen-eighties had been over 60%. In order to know the figures in 2002, we have had to resort to another statistical source, the INE, which has provided us with a number of 38.900 (<http://www.ine.es>, see Table 7 in the Statistical Annex).



The internet site http://www.mfom.es/estadisticas/anuario_2001/tablas/c7/7_5_1_bis.htm supplies data concerning the number of council houses which were built by public promoters, which are as follow: 7.779 (1992), 9.504 (1993), 11.241 (1994), 7.139 (1995), 6.802 (1996), 3.829 (1997), 4.685 (1998), 3.223 (1999), 2.609 (2000) and 2.121 (2001) (see Table 8 in the statistical annex). All these figures together reveal that the number of council houses has been steadily decreasing since 1996 and confirm the practical extinction, already commented, of public housing and that even council houses are gradually in the hands of private promoters.

7.2. The conditions of dwellings occupied by foreign migrants

The same as with the employment field, with regard to housing there is a process from precariousness to stability which not all foreign migrants are able to complete either. In the early times of their stay in a country other than theirs, foreign migrants are basically concerned about finding a job and having all their papers in order, so that housing plays a subsidiary role in their worries and the first places where they live are usually very provisional and low quality spaces for which they nevertheless had to pay too

much; legal or illegal boarding houses, etc. In a second stage, which is linked to a minimum economic stability, to a greater knowledge of the host society and to the possibility of applying for family regrouping, those foreign migrants who have at least started to adapt themselves to their new environment begin to look for a definite living place which suits better their emerging needs. Pedro José Cabrera, teacher at the “Universidad Pontificia de Comillas”, states in a recent report of his, *El difícil acceso a la vivienda en España (The complex access to housing in Spain)*, that many foreign migrants, however, never reach this second stage, which according to him in the best of cases is never completed in less than 7 years.

In relation to the conditions of rented dwellings, which are those which most foreign migrants will occupy, the only nation-wide data which seem to exist, which come from an aforementioned reliable source, the Economic and Social Committee, show that they have clear disadvantages if compared with dwellings inhabited by their owners, which only confirms the subsidiary role of rented housing in Spain. On average, rented dwellings have a lower size (75 square metres compared with 91,6 square metres of those flats inhabited by their owners). 67% of tenants have expressed that the flat where they live has some problem or other, whilst this is only true for 56% of those who live in a dwelling of their own. 22,4% of rented flats are not spacious enough, suffer from noises coming from other neighbours (18,1%) or from outside the building (30,8%), are not clear enough (22,8%), have been damaged by vandalism (20%), or lack an independent kitchen (2,3%) or running water (3,1%).

In addition, in the Annex 1 of the Second National Action Plan on Social Inclusion of the Kingdom of Spain 2003-2005 (http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2001/jun/annex_es1.pdf) there is a reference to the correlation between poverty and housing tenancy, although related to 1999. This correlation shows that poverty is more frequent (24,1%) among those individuals living in a rented dwelling than among those others who live in a dwelling of their ownership (18,3%).

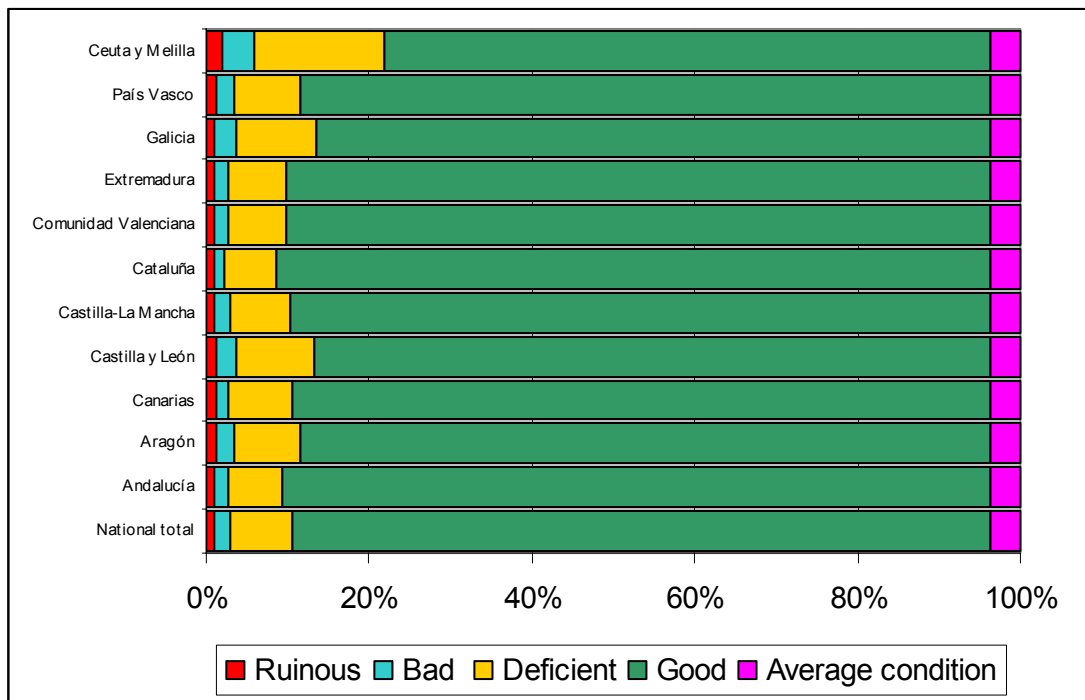
Table 9. Correlation between poverty and living in either an owned or rented flat in 1999

Percentage of poor people	18,9
Percentage of poor men	18,5
Percentage of poor women	19,3

Percentage of poor people living in a flat of their own	18,3
Percentage of poor people living in a rented flat	24,1
Percentage of poor men living in a flat of their own	17,9
Percentage of poor men living in a rented flat	24,6
Percentage of poor woman living in a flat of their own	18,8
Percentage of poor women living in a rented flat	23,6

As far as the conditions of those dwellings occupied by foreign migrants are concerned, there are no nation-wide statistical data despite the Population and Housing Census which the INE undertook in 2001 and which we have recently mentioned. In the internet site <http://www.ine.es/censo2001/pobcen01menu.htm> there is currently a preliminary outcome report which with regard to housing includes as the most relevant items the number of members of household units and the number of rooms; the type of housing tenancy; the useful area; the type of heating; the conditions of buildings; their commodities and services; and the year of construction. Concerning migrants, these data only supply the number of foreigners living in household dwellings but not the conditions of these dwellings.

With regard to the conditions of blocks of flats, they are good in 89,2% of the cases, deficient in 7,8%, bad in 2% and ruinous in 1,1% (see Table 10 in the statistical annex). With regard to their facilities, it is interesting to notice that according to the European Union Household Panel, in 1999 (the most updated available information) 0,4% of dwellings lacked a lavatory with running water; 1,6% of them lacked hot water⁵ and 61,6% lacked individual or central heating. These buildings in deficient, bad or ruinous conditions could relate to the so called sub-standard housing (infraviviendas). In this regard, the Second National Action Plan on Social Inclusion of the Kingdom of Spain 2003-2005 estimates that 250.000 individuals currently live in some form or another of sub-standard housing in Spain.



Despite the non-existence of nation-wide data illustrating the conditions of dwellings inhabited by foreign migrants, there is worth mentioning the existence of a number of local or regional reports which supply data related to different areas of Spain⁵. The paper *Exclusión residencial de los inmigrantes marroquíes en Andalucía (Housing exclusion of Moroccan migrants in Andalusia)* (Checa and Arjona, 2002) supplies data with regard to the quality conditions of rural dwellings (the accommodation units mentioned in the legal section) occupied by migrants from outside the European Union living in the province of Almería. These data are based on the results of a check which 350 of these dwellings were subjected to and that the paper's authors consider are also applicable to other Andalusian areas.

⁵ This percentage is much lower than the one we will find when referring to accommodation units for casual farm workers in Andalusia, the only facility which we have been able to compare.

⁶ It is necessary to bring to mind that local and regional administrations are the ones which have to cope more directly with housing shortage, so that it does not come as a surprise the existence of studies at these levels. An exemplary report, but unfortunately too old, which was published by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in 1997 under the title *Censo y caracterización de las infraviviendas usadas por inmigrantes en la región de Murcia: 1996 (Census and categorisation of sub-standard housing forms inhabited by migrants in the Murcia Region: 1996)*, estimated the number of sub-standard housing units in 1.377.

26% of these dwellings lack electricity, 37% have no partitions between rooms, 40% of them lack floor tiles, a radio set or running water (this percentage must be compared with the average one, 1,4%, we have previously referred to), 42% are not adequately ventilated, 43% have not any television set, 45% have no kitchen, in 48% of them walls are in a bad condition, 49% have no toilet, 53% lack any refrigerator, 57% suffer from extensive dampness, 75% lack hot water, 90% have no washing machine and none of them have a dishwasher. Furniture is scarce as well, there are no wardrobes or they are in very poor conditions, boxes used for fruit harvest serve as chairs, etc.

If comparisons are made with the deficiencies of urban rented flats to which we have made a previous brief reference, many of which are also inhabited by foreign migrants, we can notice that despite such faults these urban dwellings are at least true living spaces. This cannot be said of many of these 'accommodation units', so common in the Andalusian countryside and in other agricultural Spanish areas, which despite their deficiencies are recommended, as we have already seen, in the 2002-2005 Housing Plan. Therefore, foreign migrants recruited as casual farm workers are those who suffer from the worst accommodation conditions, as the temporary nature of their work⁷ is also reflected in a very serious neglect of their living conditions. Those responsible for their accommodation do not seem to take into account that although migrants come one after another the places where they are installed are permanently used.

The Burgos town council (Castilla-León) has also recently promoted a survey called *Condiciones de habitabilidad de las viviendas ocupadas por inmigrantes extranjeros en Burgos* (*Quality conditions of the dwellings inhabited by foreign migrants in Burgos*, whose authors are María Fonfría and María Hortigüela. This study highlights that the 5.296 foreign migrants who are registered in the city occupy 1.958 dwellings, in most cases inhabited by individuals from different nationalities, which shows that most of these migrants are not living with their families. The two main problems which they face in relation to housing access are too expensive prices and social rejection, despite the fact that they are quite broadly distributed within the different neighbourhoods regardless of their nationalities. Most of them are living in old buildings which have no lift, which suffer from structural faults such as dampness and whose flats have no heating of any sort. Monthly rents can reach 500 Euro⁸.

⁷ A temporary nature which is nevertheless very arguable: a very high percentage of casual farm workers, at least those recruited at western areas of the province of Almería usually work from September to next June, that is, nine/ten months per year.

⁸ These rents must be considered an abuse in a city as Burgos and for flats such as those described here. If in 2002 the price for square metre was 1.220,93 Euro, this means that a new standard flat of 72 square

A survey carried out in 1998 among 93 workers from social services and urban departments from different municipalities of the province of Barcelona, which is quoted in the document *Atlas de recursos sobre inmigración extranjera de la provincia de Barcelona (Map of resources for foreign migrants in the province of Barcelona)* (Diputación de Barcelona, 2001) supplies a number of interesting data about the quality level of the dwellings occupied by foreign migrants up to that date: at least in 77 of the 132 municipalities analysed it was detected that migrants were encountering difficulties to have access to decent housing and/or that they were inhabiting different forms of sub-standard housing. In many cases they consisted of dwellings which had been abandoned by native citizens or by previous migrants, which it is a likely proof of their big deterioration. Another interesting outcome is that migrant families had had access to council houses in 28 of the 46 municipalities included in the sample which had promoted this type of housing.

This survey also reported the main views which foreign migrants themselves had made known to the local technicians with whom they had interviewed: 36,6% of them claimed cheaper prices and 34,4% of them an improvement in housing conditions. These were the two more supported positions.

In its annual reports, S.O.S. Racismo also includes some news related to this issue: the deception practised by estate agents towards hundreds of foreign migrants in hiding to them, or minimising the risks attached, that the second-hand flats which they were buying in the neighbourhood of El Turó de la Peira (Barcelona) suffered from a degeneration of the cement used in construction (aluminosis); the subletting into rooms of a flat by the tenant who had rented it in to foreign migrants in Pamplona (Navarra)⁹; or cases such as those of eight Moroccans who were living in a room of 30 square metres in a locality of the province of Granada (Andalusia), or the collapse of a building in Zaragoza (Aragón), which uncovered that in the two floors it consisted of (which amounted to less than 120 square metres and had only one bathroom each), around 30 individuals lived, 28 of whom were foreign migrants, who slept by turns. These permanently slept-in beds have been given the name of 'hot beds' and their monthly price can reach 120 Euro. In some cases, even balconies have been rented for around 90 monthly Euro.

metres cost around 88.000 Euro. If we apply to this amount the percentage of 5% from which rents are usually calculated, we have that new flats such as these could be rented at 366,66 Euro, which is under the figure we provide here for these other old flats.

Another relevant source of information is the Andalusian Ombudsman, who in 2001 published two reports focused on this matter, which relate to the two Andalusian provinces which have developed such an intensive farming that can only be sustained through a great labour force: *El alojamiento y la vivienda de los trabajadores inmigrantes en el poniente almeriense y Campo de Níjar* (Accommodation of migrant workers in the western area of the province of Almeria and the Campo de Níjar), which states among other things that at least between 60% and 80% of the lodgings inhabited by migrants in the province of Almería must be qualified as sub-standard housing¹⁰; and *El alojamiento y la vivienda de los trabajadores inmigrantes en la provincia de Huelva* (Accommodation of migrant workers in the province of Huelva). The latter concludes that the lodgings granted to foreign migrants in this province are in general in a good condition, although there are 'unworthy' exceptions and reporters were not able to verify the conditions of rural housing units. In any case, both the number of sub-standard housing and homeless migrants are on the increase. As for the two main problems involved, they are the quality level of the 'new' accommodation units which are directed to an increasing number of foreign migrants; and their growing overcrowding of the existing dwellings¹¹.

In the Andalusian countryside or in other farm areas in Spain, the overcrowding of foreign migrants may be tolerated or even promoted by the owners or landlords of these properties when the individuals living there are their employees¹². In these cases, housing rents can be established according to the number of inhabitants of each dwelling, to the payment of which all of them will contribute. In other cases, there is a different strategy: owners establish the rent to be paid by each tenant without neither previously deciding nor limiting the number of them, so that the final rent paid by farmhouses ('cortijos') among all of them can even triple the amount it would reach in normal conditions. As a result of this housing shortage and of high housing prices, these farm entrepreneurs thus achieve a second economic profit from the presence of foreign migrants in their lands. In addition, migrants' residential vicinity to the farms where they work allow farmers to resort to them as free of charge watchmen. The data

⁹ This conversion of flats into illegal lodgings seems to be an increasing phenomenon.

¹⁰ Other experts as for instance Juan Carlos Checa Olmos and Ángeles Arjona Garrido estimate that the average percentage for Andalusia as a whole is 75%.

¹¹ Dwellings may be in a good condition, but this does not automatically mean that migrants living in them are well accommodated if the number of those who occupy them exceeds their capacity. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that it is considered to exist overcrowding when the living space for a person is under 15 square metres.

¹² This is the most dependent situation: when employer and housing owner are one and the same person.

mentioned in the statistical section of this report have already allowed us to conclude that the accommodation conditions of occasional farm workers are by far the worst suffered by all foreign migrants in Spain.

Before the El Ejido conflict (Almería, Andalusia, 2000), the living conditions of many foreign migrants were unknown to a great deal of the Andalusian and Spanish population, as farmhouses and all the other forms of rural accommodation are the most extreme example of social isolation and residential segregation. After what had happened in that locality, the central and Andalusian governments accorded to launch programmes of council houses for disadvantaged migrants and natives in order to prevent the appearance of ghettos; and to construct shelters for single casual workers, which cannot be but a provisional solution¹³.

The first action undertaken in the first phase (the construction of council houses) consisted of the building of prefabricated units which area was 13,8 square metres and were intended for 8 migrants which number had to be reduced to 6 on a later stage. As it is obvious, such a measure could not solve the problem of overcrowding, which has incidentally been proved by the fact that 16 of the 42 units that had been built were abandoned only 20 days afterwards and that currently practically all of them are in this situation. The last measure derived from the El Ejido conflict was the approval of the Decree 2/2001 which is commented in the legal section of this report and that does not seemsbring about a definite solution to existing problems (only the municipalities of two Andalusian provinces have made use of it, it does not include subsidies for the purchasing of dwellings, the rehabilitation of buildings or the eradication of sub-standard housing occupied by migrants, etc.).

As far as the Roma population is concerned, a very relevant source is the Fundación Secretariado General Gitano (<http://www.fsgg.org>). The issue number 16, dated October 2002, of its magazine *Gitanos. Pensamiento y Cultura* includes the first issue of a dossier devoted to the relationship between this ethnic minority and housing. This dossier highlights two essential facts: the persistence of both shantytowns and sub-standard housing; and the emergence of new problems related to housing and the Roma population.

¹³ In the opinion of the Andalusian Ombudsman, quoted in the report about the accommodation conditions of migrants in western areas of the province of Almería and El Campo de Níjar, this agreement has not been complied with.

With regard to the first issue, around 30% of the Roma population is still living today in segregated areas or in all kinds of unworthy or inappropriate housing units (shanties, prefabricated houses, etc.), of which more than 80% of inhabitants belong to this ethnic minority¹⁴. As for the second issue, the main problems detected are the concentration of the Roma population in specific neighbourhoods; the poor conditions of dwellings and the environment in these quarters; the overcrowding of these flats, etc. The high birth rate of the members of this ethnic group and the difficulties which they encounter to have access to urban areas with a better quality of life lead to their relative presence in the neighbourhoods where they concentrate being on a clear increase, which does nothing to assuage the problems attached but makes them even more acute.

¹⁴ This percentage can be asserted.. If the Roma ethnic minority amounts to between 1,4% and 1,9% of the Spanish population (around 40 million people), it means that this group consists of some 700.000 individuals. If 30% of its members live in forms of sub-standard housing, this means some 210.000 people. If, as it has already been said, the total number of individuals who occupy all forms of sub-standard housing is about 250.000, the fact that around 210.000 of them belong to the Roma population confirms that they amount to around 80% of all the occupants of sub-standard housing.

8. Analysis of strategies, initiatives and good practices for reducing racism and supporting diversity

8.1. Discrimination

A number of experts share the opinion that housing is currently one of the most important mechanisms of social and geographical exclusion and segregation for several populations. Among these experts, we should mention Ángela Sánchez Hernández and her article titled *Estado de Bienestar, inmigración y vivienda (Welfare State, migration and housing)*.

In her opinion and as we have already said in this report, such exclusion is not due to a hypothetical housing shortage but to a market which is nearly wholly dominated by private enterprises, which do not usually build for populations with accommodation needs and low incomes but mostly to serve other purposes (tourism-related demands, second homes, etc.). On the contrary, Spain is one of the European Union countries with the highest number of dwellings built in relation to the number of existing households, a relationship in which in 2000 the former item exceeded in 6,2 millions units the latter. This is also consistent with the important activity that the construction sector has undergone in recent years.

As far as foreign migrants and ethnic minorities are concerned, we must begin by stating that like in the employment field, **irregular migrants** are those in the worst position, as they see themselves restricted to be packed into dwellings which may have been rented by other migrants, to be sheltered by some institution on a temporary basis, to live on the streets or to squat empty or ruined buildings (the Sant Andreu barracks or the abandoned Les Arenes bullring in Barcelona, the barracks of an old military camp of l'Escala in Catalonia, the old train station of Xàtiva in Valencia, etc., have been some of the most frequented scenes in recent months).

With regard specifically to those irregular migrants catered by charitable institutions, a report carried out in 2000 by Cáritas and the 'Universidad Pontificia de Comillas' states that youngsters, women and migrants have been replacing to a great extent the traditional users of shelters (alcoholic men of middle age). 57,7% of the reception

centres for the homeless¹⁵ analysed (which amount to 70% of the 762 reception centres targeted to this population in Spain) registered noticeable growth in the number of migrants. Later data revealed that in Madrid 64% of the homeless accommodated in shelters were foreign migrants, a very high percentage taking into account that 5 years ago they only amounted to 20%. Moreover, most migrants find themselves in good physical and mental conditions, so that their natural place of accommodation should not be shelters, which should be reserved to the poor and other populations. Data collected from the Annex II of the Second National Action Plan on Social Inclusion of the Kingdom of Spain 2003-2005 (http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2001/jun/annex_es2.pdf) estimate that in 2001 the existing publicly run shelters and refuges could hold 8.365 individuals on a temporary basis. These shelters and refuges were used by 107.748 individuals (see Table 11 in the statistical annex).

With regard to **regular foreign migrants**, and excluding those of them with adequate income or capital resources, it is obvious that the majority will have to resort to either one or another of the two following possibilities, which are usually narrow as we have already seen: on the one hand, council houses on sale and for hire; on the other, private rented housing¹⁶. Although economic instability and the reduced provision of council houses are leading many foreign migrants to private rented housing and therefore are isolating them from Public Administrations as far as this sphere is concerned, we must mention two examples of **institutional discrimination** we have been aware of.

The first one is related to the Decree 2/2001 of the Andalusian government we mentioned in the legal section of this report, whose deadline for the application for subsidies aimed at the construction of dwellings for foreign migrants had to be extended through the Decree 106/2001, because most of the municipalities had not submitted any proposal and a number of them within the province of Almería had even refused to reserve land for this purpose or had stated to lack any available land. In the end, only the local Administrations of the provinces of Huelva and Jaén took advantage of that Decree.

¹⁵ According to the II National Action Plan on Social Inclusion in Spain 2003-2005 there are 30.000 homeless individuals all over Spain.

¹⁶ One must also recall the reluctance, and difficulties, of foreign migrants to embark on long-term investments out of their countries of origin.

The second example of institutional discrimination is to be found in the access of foreign migrants to council houses in the Balearic Islands, where to the usual requirements to be entitled to this type of housing it is added that applicants had been living in this region at least for three years¹⁷. This malpractice was denounced by the Federation of Migrants' Associations in the Balearic Islands (FAIB) on September 2002.

As for the access to **rented housing**, foreign migrants find it difficult to comply with prevailing customs, as it is usual that the submission of a working contract and a recent payslip is asked for. On the other hand, one of the conditions for family regrouping is that foreign migrants wishing to bring members of their families to Spain have an appropriate accommodation (although with no description of what is considered to be "appropriate", which may have many possible interpretations). In other words, one of the basic elements for the stability of a foreign migrant (which assures that as many as possible of his/her relatives can stay with him/her) depends on the existence of a dwelling in proper conditions, which in addition to the difficulties to access to the housing market it is deemed to depend on a labour and economic stability which is also quite difficult to attain. But these are not yet the only hindrances which foreign migrants must cope with in their attempts to access to private rented housing.

Additionally, as in the employment market in the area of housing foreign migrants find themselves usually subjected to ethnic discrimination and suffer from the mistrust of housing owners. They see themselves excluded from the right to a dwelling even when they have reached that economic and labour stability which warrants them such a right. Or, as we have already seen in the case of the town of Burgos, they are usually exploited by a number of housing owners, who may offer dwellings in inappropriate prices and conditions. This means foreign migrants may also be subjected to a clear exploitation. We are dealing here with two extreme treatments with nevertheless the same basis for action: the defenceless condition of many foreign migrants and their ignorance of legal channels through which to claim their rights. As for ill-use or exploitation, we consider the data we have supplied in the previous section of this report concerning the conditions of the dwellings inhabited by foreign migrants as adequately relevant, so that in the next pages we will concentrate on examples of discrimination they have been subjected to when trying to access to better private rented housing.

¹⁷ It must be recalled that regional governments have powers of their own in the field of council houses.

We will start this examination with recent news. On July 2003, the Catalan media reported an appeal lodged at the Representation ('Subdelegación') of the central government in Barcelona by the Federation of Residents' Associations of Barcelona (FAVB) and the NGOs Sodepau and Arquitectes Sense Fronteres (Architects without Borders) (<http://www.sodepau.org/denuncia.doc>). This appeal denounced the existence of several advertisements for rented housing which discriminated non-European migrants, which incidentally introduces an aspect which also occurs in the employment field: the preferences for some countries or continents of origin in comparison with others. These advertisements included sentences such as: "We do not lease to non EU foreigners", "Only national people" or "Only Spanish or people from the European Community", which have replaced typical sentences of past times such as "No animals" or "No children". A similar case occurred in Valencia, where the sentence "Foreigners excepted" also appeared on wall posters.

Whilst the President of the Association of Estate Agents of Barcelona and Lleida has asked the users of its service of rented housing offers to notify any bad practice they know of in this regard, two of the three estate agents denounced argued that the sentences in question had been imposed by the dwellings' owners. One of them also pointed out that these advertisements do not prove discrimination, as they only defend owners' right to choose their tenants and to ensure as much as possible that rents will be paid. On the contrary, other voices, not all of them from migrants' representatives, denounce that a number of housing owners ask foreign migrants to pay twice what they would ask natives for a given dwelling. But this argument would surely be replied by housing owners by stating that this is how they are able to work in advance of hypothetical non-payments or the harm done to their properties. But at the same time such expensive rents are one of the reasons behind the accumulation of foreign migrants in the same flat, whose number may amount to even 20¹⁸. The Barcelona town council has reacted to this situation by stating that it will denounce at the Representation of the central government in Barcelona any advertisement for flats on hire it is aware of which discriminates foreign migrants.

Sodepau, a NGO we have just mentioned as a party in this appeal, has recently published a report concerning discrimination in access to housing by foreign migrants

¹⁸ We are faced here with a typically vicious circle: owners of rented flats do not rely on foreign migrants so they ask them for more money than it should be proper. As a result of this, migrants encounter supplementary difficulties to pay monthly rents, so they have to look for cheaper flats, or have to resign themselves to lacking any stability in this matter, or to opt for alternatives such as sharing rents and flats with other migrants, which may lead to situations of overcrowding.

which was addressed to the Office for Non-Discrimination existing within the Department of Civic Rights of the Barcelona town council.

This report was written by the migration unit, created in 1996 within Sodepau, which two years ago launched an information, mediation and support service aimed at contributing to the search of rented flats by foreign migrants which is jointly managed with the FAVB (see above). The conclusions of this report are far from encouraging: in only 65 of the 1.900 housing demands (3,4%) which have been submitted by foreign migrants through this service during this two-year period there have been no preferences for the native population. And Sodepau stresses that most of these migrants had already been living in Barcelona for quite long and had a job, which seems to corroborate the existence of discrimination. In this regard, Sodepau insists that in discrimination-related matters the exception proves the rule and reports the following examples:

- ◆ lies: a flat that is said to be already rented when the person asking for it is a migrant; yet it becomes vacant when the person interested in it is a native;
- ◆ the non-appearance of the person charged with showing a flat when the appointment was made on behalf of a migrant;
- ◆ the refusal of documents proving a migrant's economic stability;
- ◆ the existence of requirements which natives are not asked to comply with: unfixed-term working contracts, payslips for up to three years; bank guarantees between 3.000 and 6.000 Euro, etc.
- ◆ signs of explicit xenophobia, that is, unconcealed statements that certain dwellings are not rented to foreigners due to owners' express wish.

In addition, a study carried out on November 2002 by 'El Periódico de Extremadura' concluded that 14 (70%) of the estate agencies in this region had received an express order of housing owners instructing them not to let flats to foreign migrants, even if these migrants were able to prove that they found themselves in a regular situation and had a working contract. This report derived from a fieldwork which had been conducted among 20 estate agencies in the most inhabited municipalities in Extremadura after a complaint made by the Association for the Defence of Human Rights in Extremadura (ADHEX), which claims that the difficulties that foreign migrants face when looking for a flat on hire have but increased in recent years. As for the remaining 6 estate agencies, two of them required migrants to submit a working contract and even a certificate of

good behaviour issued by the companies where they were working, a document which natives are never asked for.

S.O.S. Racismo, which we have already mentioned, also devotes a chapter of its annual reports to discrimination suffered by foreign migrants in access to housing. In the yearbooks for 2002 and 2003 this organisation has collected examples such as: several months of failed attempts by the association Valencia Acoge to find a flat to accommodate five migrant women in this city; the daily publication on Navarrese media of advertisements of flats on hire which systematically exclude foreign individuals; the threats that native neighbours posed to the owner of a building in Valencia because of her having leased a flat to a foreign family; electricity and water cuts in order to provoke that a flat whose rental agreement was still in order was abandoned by its tenants in Pamplona, etc.

In some cases, foreign migrants try to overcome discriminatory pitfalls by resorting to non-foreign intermediaries for them to rent the flats that migrants will occupy. The problem of this strategy lies on the fact that as the flat does not appear as rented by migrants, they cannot be registered in the municipality where the flat is located and be granted a health card, in addition to being recorded as individuals with no fixed home who will not be entitled to apply for family regrouping.

There is another common link between employment and housing as far as foreign migration is concerned. If with regard to the former it is possible to speak about labour segmentation or segregation, the concentration of foreign migrants in those neighbourhoods of the main Spanish cities and towns where rented housing is more affordable (although more deteriorated as well) makes it possible to speak about **urban segregation** and even, according to some experts, about the existence of a *housing sub-market* specifically intended for foreign migrants. The same than in the employment field, this sub-market consists to a great extent, as we have already seen, of rented flats in such bad conditions that natives refuse them. These conditions and their under-average price (although many times, as we have already pointed out, even so it is too high taking into account their conditions) are not, however, the only reasons for the demand of foreign migrants to be concentrated on them. Another cause is indeed the discrimination foreign migrants suffer when they try to access to 'normal' rented housing and the 'normal' neighbourhoods where these flats are located. In the opinion of an expert such as Miguel Pajares Alonso, this discrimination has to be considered 'overextended', as he reasons in the paper *Inmigración y políticas de*

integración social (Migration and social integration policies), which he submitted to the 3rd. Congress *La inmigración en España. Contextos y alternativas (Migration in Spain. Contexts and alternatives)*, which was held in Granada on 6-10 November 2002¹⁹.

Moreover, this segregation is obviously far from being unidimensional: the town and city areas where most foreign migrants tend to concentrate are usually the most degraded ones and discriminated in terms of the access to goods and services or their level of quality. Hence the use of the word ‘ghettoisation’ by this expert, in whose opinion the real problem does not lay on the concentration of foreign migrants or ethnic minorities on a number of neighbourhoods but on their degradation. Other experts, as for instance Antonio Algaba, member of the town council of l’Hospitalet, a city next to Barcelona, go even further in their arguments. In his article *La discriminación en el acceso al mercado de la vivienda: las desventajas de la inmigración. Novedades y permanencias (Discrimination in accessing the housing market: The disadvantages of migration. New trends and regular patterns)*, he states that it is peremptory to combat any spatially broad distribution of migrants because of the good effects of their concentration on a same territory, which reinforces all of them and produces a positive economic development. Nevertheless, it seems that what all experts agree is on the need that these neighbourhoods become a priority area for public investment in terms of services, leisure, participation spaces, urban beauty, etc.

The mass media usually report about the demolition or renewal of some of these ‘ghettos’. When they are true neighbourhoods they may have sound alternatives, but when they are precarious settlements (which are quite typical of some members of the Roma population as a result of its nomadic character²⁰) there is sometimes no other ‘alternative’ than eviction and demolition. The elimination of a Roma settlement which had established next to the cemetery of Palencia (Castilla-León) concluded however with the re-accommodation of its inhabitants in new dwellings.

In its last annual report (*Informe anual 2003 sobre el racismo en el Estado español, Annual report 2003 on racism in Spain*), S.O.S. Racismo (<http://www.sosracisme.org>), also reports a number of similar cases: the demolition of the wood houses which 50

¹⁹ All the papers have been collected in the publication: García Castaño, F. Javier; Muriel López, Carolina (Eds.), *La inmigración en España. Contextos y alternativas*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales, 2002.

²⁰ Some experts prefer to say that the Roma population is looking for opportunities rather than to talk about this “nomadic character”, particularly in relation to foreign Roma: Spanish Roma are already considered to be a sedentary population.

Romanian migrants had self built on rustic land for which they had paid 3.600 Euro in Amposta, a southern Catalan municipality; the demolition of the shanties which 350 foreigners inhabited in Ceuta; the threat of clearance of a Roma camp in Sant Cugat del Vallès (Catalonia), which was inhabited by 100 individuals from this ethnic group; the clearance of a caravan camp settled by Romanian, Portuguese and Spanish Roma in a Barcelona neighbourhood, etc.

As for the renewal of neighbourhoods mostly inhabited by foreign migrants or ethnic minorities, one of the most known and chronic example is the Barcelona neighbourhood of la Mina, most of whose inhabitants are Roma people. This quarter has recently seen the approval of a renewal plan budgeted for 721 million Euro which will be spent in ten years.

These urban renewal plans may sometimes be far from successful and have rather perverse effects. A particularly significant example is the neighbourhood of La Esperanza (Valladolid, Castilla-León). This neighbourhood appeared in 1979 to replace the shantytown of San Isidro, which was inhabited by Roma families, which was demolished after more than three decades of existence. The new neighbourhood (La Esperanza) was nevertheless intended to be but a temporary place where to lodge the San Isidro inhabitants before they were broadly distributed within the city, which was to happen in less than 12 years, and therefore avoid the perpetuation of a ghetto although with a new name. Those 12 years, however, have doubled and the 24 years elapsed, added to the provisional character with which la Esperanza was planned, have resulted in the current condition of this neighbourhood being not better than that of the San Isidro shantytown when it was demolished. Now a new re-accommodation process of these families has been put in motion, which it is said will not reproduce past mistakes. The town council's plan also intends to solve one of the typical problems which the relocation of Roma families has to deal with: the high number of their members. The plan establishes that families will be divided into couples, to each one of them a flat will be granted.

Housing access is not only one of the issues concerning which the Roma population is subjected to discrimination but is probably the field where it is more acute. The political group Izquierda Unida (<http://www.izquierda-unida.es/Secretarias/DerechosHumanos/racismo/racismo4.htm>) has denounced, for instance, that the population which does not belong to this ethnic group often compel the Roma people to leave the neighbourhoods where they all live. In its last annual report, which

we have already brought here, S.O.S. Racismo also denounces similar cases: restrictions placed by estate agencies in Asturias concerning the access to rented housing by members of this ethnic group; the similar difficulties which they also encounter in the city of Zaragoza despite the existence of almost 43.000 empty dwellings (http://www.fsgg.org/genlp/05_02/PERIODICOARA280502.pdf); etc.

8.2. Examples of positive discrimination and good practice

Contrary to the existence of discrimination against foreign migrants and ethnic minorities, there are also examples of **positive discrimination** of these populations, which do not always have, however, the expected results. The town council of Lleida (Catalonia) opened an Office for Housing Information and Counselling for the sole use of foreign individuals whose mere existence we think proves the recognition of foreign migrants as a population in need of special support as far as housing is concerned²¹. This one and other similar initiatives of positive discrimination are squeezed between opposite forces both of which can be behind their drawing back: on the one hand, the protests of natives concerning their very existence, which in the housing field are much more pronounced than in other areas such as education and health, where all individuals see their rights acknowledged; and on the other hand, the experts' hesitations regarding whether it is productive or rather counter-productive to launch separate initiatives specifically targeting migrant individuals.

Another example of positive discrimination concerning housing access, which does not only benefits foreign migrants but other disadvantaged populations as well which are also thought to be in need of a supplementary support, is supplied by Zaragoza town council (Aragón), which grants subsidies to pay up to 50% the rent of dwellings already inhabited by foreign migrants provided that these flats meet quality conditions and there is no overcrowding (no more than 2 individuals per room).

Before reporting examples of **good practice**, we think it is worth mentioning one of the proposals included in the report of the architect Eduard Rodríguez i Villaescusa *Inmigración y política urbana en la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona (Migration and urban policies in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area)*. Although this proposal is framed

²¹ This Office is now closed down. When still in operation, one of its users stated that when migrant individuals are supported in their search for a dwelling, it is convenient that this support is given by native people who are not linked to social services, in other words, volunteers, as housing owners usually associate the presence of social workers with tenants' troubles.

within the specific area this report refers to, the Barcelona Metropolitan Area or Catalonia as a whole, we think it can be applied to other areas in Spain.

This author bases his proposal on the fact that 84% of Catalan citizens live in a dwelling of their own and that 52% of them have completely paid it so that they can afford the purchase of a second dwelling. Moreover and in contrast with most of foreign migrants, they are not opposed to investing in a reputable tangible good as housing. Governments could subsidise the purchase of second dwellings provided that they were leased to foreign workers according to rents not over to those for rented council houses. This agreement could extend for a certain time span which should never be shorter than 15 years, after which these dwellings could be re-leased according to market prices. This direct contractual relationship between migrants and natives could also result in a closer rapport between both populations.

Once inside the field of good practices, we wish to stress that it is the low level of involvement of Public Administrations in the housing field, which does not occur in other areas, what explains the proliferation of initiatives undertaken by associations, NGOs or trade unions. This plethora has led this NFP to having to proceed to a very strict selection of existing initiatives, most of which are quite similar, well intentioned but of limited scope. Public Administrations and particularly local ones have also started to react, which explains that they also appear in our report.

Before commenting specific initiatives, we still wish to stress that despite their well intentioned nature some of them include aspects in which experts may disagree. This can be the case, which is far from being the only one of this sort, of the housing programme jointly managed by the Andalusian government, the Confederation of Residents' Associations in Andalusia (CAVA) and the insurance company Mapfre. This programme, which is called 'Open your door' and can be consulted on the internet site <http://www.aavv-andalucia.org>, includes as an incentive for housing owners to rent the flats of their own to foreign migrants a free fully comprehensive insurance policy whereby it covers any damage produced in the flats. Although on the aforementioned internet site there is a sentence saying that this insurance policy intends "to guarantee a broad coverage of the risks involved *in every relationship between tenants and landlords*", so that the fact of tenants being foreign migrants is not mentioned, one can wonder if this insurance policy does not stigmatise foreign migrants. In spite of this, some Catalan town councils also guarantee to housing owners the coverage of non-payments or any damage done to their properties.

The first example of good practice we bring to this report is the work of the Instituto de Realojamiento e Integración Social (Institute for Re-accommodation and Social Integration, IRIS, http://www.madrid.org/cobras_publicas/iris/iris.htm), a public body which was founded in 1998 on the basis of a twelve-year previous experience by the Consortium for the Rehousing of Marginalised Populations in Madrid. Among IRIS' objectives there is the purchase of dwellings for the rehousing of individuals who in addition to still living in shanties, one-floor sub-standard housing forms or provisional lodgings find themselves in a situation of social exclusion in Madrid or nearby municipalities. But IRIS' work goes beyond this specific activity as indicated by its very name: it also provides the recipients of its work with educational services and social care, even when they have had access to a council house but are still in need of social support.

IRIS also intends to achieve a distribution of the individuals and rehoused families as broadly as possible among buildings, neighbourhoods and districts in order to avoid the emergence of new ghettos; and to prevent a fraudulent use of dwellings so as to guarantee that its resources are directed to combat real examples of social exclusion. With this aim in view, IRIS checked in 2000 the use of 176 dwellings it had assigned and discovered that 156 of them were correctly occupied. IRIS took legal actions to end with non-payment of rents, which reduced this problem to 28%, and concerning those 20 dwellings improperly occupied or non-occupied, which was able to recover. Last but not least, IRIS supports the town councils belonging to the Madrid region in trying to solve a problem which is clearly beyond the resources of local Administrations²².

In a preliminary overview of its 2001 Report (http://www.madrid.org/cobras_publicas/iris/iris-memoria2001.htm), IRIS informs about its achievements in that year: 9,5 million Euro invested; 202 rehoused families (two more than foreseen); 89.000 Euro as the average price of dwellings; 72 square metres as their average area (these flats are about 53.000 Euro cheaper than those in the free market with the same size and in the same region, see the statistical section of this report).

²² If only to have a rough estimation of the budgets of local Administrations in Spain, we can mention that the annual budget of a town council as La Mojonera (Almería, 7.275 inhabitants), the only one all over Andalusia which carried out an in-depth study about the conditions of lodgings inhabited by foreign migrants, though it dates back from 1997, and whose intention was to annually rehabilitate 10% of the sub-standard housing forms occupied by this population, does not exceed the price of only one of the prefabricated houses which we referred to when speaking about the Andalusian countryside (about 18.000 Euro).

With a view to 2002, IRIS pursued the rehousing of around 180 families who were living in shanties located in three different areas through a budget of 16,6 million Euro, the purchase of 130 dwellings which represented a cost of around 12 million Euro and the dissemination of its methodology outside the Madrid region.

Another example of good practice is the Filoxenia project, which is been carried out in the Balearic Islands in the framework of the Community Initiative EQUAL (<http://www.equal-loft.net>), which is managed by a Development Partnership which is significantly called "Welcoming Islands". The action included in this project which tackles the topic of housing is the one numbered 1.2 (Community integration through the solution of basic housing needs). This action, in which the two parties involved are the Eivissa town council and the Balearic Institute for Social Affairs (IBAS), has the following aims: a) to facilitate access to rented housing through rents adjusted to the average wages migrant workers earn b) to deliver social care to applicants for a decent housing; and c) to carry out a service of intercultural mediation which favours the integration of new tenants and solves any conflict.

The last available report of activities of this project shows that it has rehoused 214 individuals (138 men with an average age of 31,4 years, 44 women with an average age of 29,2 years and 32 minors with an average age of 8,2 years). Those coming from Morocco are a great majority (108), who are followed by Ecuadorians (35), Colombians (28), Argentines (16), etc. As for the monthly rent they have to pay for the rented flats is 437,32 Euro²³. The project has undertaken an analysis of the weaknesses, threats, strengths and opportunities of this action, whose most significant results are in our opinion the following: the recent nature of the service, the seasonal character of housing provision, the discoordination between this action and other housing policies, the shortage and expensiveness of rented flats (which are not consistent with the steady increase in demand²⁴), the financial difficulties of their expected tenants which stem from their legal and employment-related precariousness and xenophobic attitudes by the rest of the population. In 2003 the project intends to extend its housing-related action to areas or islands other than Eivissa.

²³ For purposes of comparison, it must be said that the average price of rented flats with 2 or 3 bedrooms in the island of Eivissa is 720 Euro.

²⁴ The Madrid town council has recently concluded the first public promotion of rented flats in the last 40 years. This promotion consisted of 264 flats whose monthly rent has been established between 207 and 400 Euro and to which around 25.000 applications were submitted.

The database of projects of good practice which is managed by the Consorcio de Recursos para la Integración de la Diversidad (CRID, Consortium of Resources for the Integration of Diversity, http://www.diba.es/CRID/CRID_BdDConsulta/CRIDBonPraMenu.asp), which was launched on January 2002 by the Diputación de Barcelona (a provincial public body) includes one project dealing with housing and migration.

This project is called “Inmobiliaria Social” (Social Estate Agency) and is managed by the organisation Promoció Benestar Social (PROBENS, www.probens.org), which is located in the city of Barcelona, jointly with the local town council and the NGO Sodepau, which has already been mentioned in this report. The aims of this project are: to facilitate access to decent housing by those individuals encountering more difficulties; to raise the awareness of housing owners and neighbours concerning the relationship with foreign migrant populations; and to co-ordinate the work of social workers involved in the housing field. Nowadays, most of housing demands posted at PROBENS come indeed from foreign migrants who either live in flats which do not meet minimum quality conditions or wish to rent a dwelling but are finding it difficult to negotiate with estate agencies. In addition to supporting this negotiation, which may include reducing the rent's amount provided that reforms are undertaken which make the dwelling in question thoroughly inhabitable, PROBENS provide migrants with a wide range of contributions which comprise from guarantees to housing owners to the option of renting flats in its name until migrants do not have official certificates of their earnings.

Another initiative which must be qualified as a good practice is the Programme for the improvement of accommodation conditions of migrants in the Murcia region, which is carried out by the Asociación Columbares (<http://www.columbares.org>). This programme was launched in the last decade and its most recent review of activities is dated on May 2003. Since then until now, Columbares has followed a long pathway which has had a number of stages such as: the basic conditioning of accommodation units inhabited by foreign migrants after mediation with their owners for them to transfer these units to the association for a period of at least 5 years as temporary accommodation; the assumption in its name of the rental agreements of a number of dwellings in rural areas of this region, which their owners ultimately agreed to be written on migrants' names, to be used as transitional accommodation for foreign migrants; and the signature of agreements with Public Administrations and the local one in particular, for them to make land reservations and the exemption of building permits with a view to the construction of prefabricated modular dwellings which were

also to serve as a transitional alternative before foreign migrants could be finally accommodated in urban areas.

This is the stage in which this programme is currently involved, which does not mean it has deserted other aspects such as information, guidance and counselling to foreign migrants and other populations encountering difficulties in housing access; mediation; the refurbishing and equipping of dwellings transferred to or owned by the association for long-term accommodation of families or individuals; the localisation of abandoned rural houses; the purchase of dwellings; basic conditioning; the cession of construction materials for self-rehabilitation of dwellings by their own inhabitants; raising the social awareness about the situation of accommodation units occupied by foreign migrants in Murcia; the monitoring of the dwellings transferred, conditioned, renewed, rented or purchased; the life-long training of the team of professionals and volunteers who conduct the programme; the launch of awareness-raising campaigns aimed at farm owners, town councils and enterprises for them to promote the temporary transference of rural houses or public land; the temporary accommodation of foreign migrants in shelters or refuges; the support to the creation of housing co-operatives by foreign migrants; the signature of agreements with the town councils of those municipalities where there are high migration rates and shantytowns exist in order to answer the needs of decent housing, etc.

Another organisation we must mention here is Provivienda (<http://provinet.provivienda.es/provivienda>), a non-profit association founded in 1989. This association promotes programmes aimed at the social accommodation of those populations, among which foreign migrants, encountering difficulties related to housing access, it also has a network of centres for the social care of these populations and mediates with housing owners. Its accommodation programmes include a fully comprehensive insurance policy²⁵ and guarantee rents' payment during the first year. Provivienda specifically addresses to those foreign migrants who can afford to pay housing rents but are nevertheless encountering difficulties in having access to rented housing, which is a proof of the existence of discrimination. Provivienda develops programmes for migrants' accommodation in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Madrid.

Another interesting initiative is the Benallar project, which is managed by the Barcelona-based association Cintra for the Promotion of Social and Cultural Projects.

Cintra rents flats in its name which later sub-leases into rooms to foreign migrants, to whom it guarantees enough room while to housing owners it ensures payment and maintenance. Cintra does not make any profit: what it earns from the bedrooms sub-leased amounts exactly to the rent it pays to flats' owners. On the contrary, Cintra pays the deposit whilst migrants pay electricity, water and gas bills.

We think it also worthwhile to mention here the Women's Association Opañel, which is located in Madrid, due to the very specific nature of its work in this field, being in charge of tutelary houses inhabited by migrant women with dependent relatives they have to care for. Its action targets migrant women living in sub-standard housing forms or in institutions which lack adequate economic resources to afford a flat on their own means but have been granted residence and working permits or are likely to achieve them in the near future. These women have institutionalised sons or daughters and their stay in these sheltered houses cannot exceed one year.

Tutelary houses are a tool used by quite a number of organisations other than Opañel. A certain parallelism can be established between this tool and economic integration structures, where on a temporary basis their beneficiaries gain a labour experience which they will be able to apply on a later stage to normalised workplaces.

As far as the Roma population is concerned, the Annex 5 of the Second National Action Plan on Social Inclusion of the Kingdom of Spain 2003-2005 (http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2001/jun/annex_es5.pdf) reports as an example of good practice, which was developed in the framework of the I National Action Plan June 2001-June 2003, the work carried out in the Aldea Moret neighbourhood (Cáceres, Extremadura), from which 25% of about 8.000 inhabitants belong to this ethnic minority. Concerning housing, Aldea Moret has a long story which consists of a number of promotions of council houses which were intended to eradicate existing shanties and sub-standard housing forms. The main object of the project was optimising the living conditions of its inhabitants and providing them with an equal access to housing, education, employment and health services.

Although in an integrated project such as this it is not possible to separate activities carried out in a field from those others undertaken in the remaining fields, concerning housing the main problems which had been detected prior to the work done by this project were the following: a defective organisation of neighbours; a number of housing

²⁵ We bring to mind our previous comment concerning this question.

deficiencies; illegal occupancy of council houses; a great mobility rate of a high percentage of the target population; and indebtedness by residents' communities. Once the project concluded, all housing deficiencies had been repaired and the illegal occupancy of council houses had been solved in all the cases. The higher degree of participation assumed by the neighbourhood's residents associations is likely to ensure continuity to the combat against the problems which the project is currently tackling, such as the indebtedness in which residents' communities have incurred.

9. Summary and Conclusions

1. In Spain, governments' role in the housing field is very limited and has even decreased in recent years, at least as far as direct policies (construction and rehabilitation) are concerned. Hegemony is clearly held by the private sector, which is mostly devoted to the free market, the fulfilment of selective and tourism-related needs and the construction of new buildings.
2. With a view to counteracting and compensating at least to some extent this lack of direct public interventionism, the successive Housing Plans launched by the central government have essentially intended to support individuals and populations with the greatest difficulties concerning housing access by gradually increasing the subsidies provided and extending their availability; and to encourage public (which are a clear minority) and private promoters to build council houses, which are obviously cheaper.
3. Since the Spanish government has no absolute powers in the housing field, some Autonomous Communities (particularly Navarra, Murcia, Andalusia and Catalonia) have also legislated in this matter.
4. In Spain there is a predominance of housing ownership (88,5%) over rented housing (11,5%), which is much more pronounced than in all the other European Union countries, although in recent times incipient measures in favour of the latter have been introduced which relate to both free market and council houses (for instance in the last Housing Plan or in the Second National Action Plan on Social Action of the Kingdom of Spain, 2003-2005). Council houses for hire, what is sometimes called social rented housing, only amount to 2% the public housing stock. But their demand is on a clear increase: the first promotion of council houses for hire that the Madrid town council had undertaken in the last 40 years received around 25.000 applications when the number of flats was only 264.
5. In Spain housing is regarded as an investment and/or a speculation object and as a reputable tangible good, which partially explains the predominance of housing ownership over rented housing.
6. This relative oblivion that housing is also an element contributing to social protection is one of the reasons behind its steady price increase (70% in the last five years), in addition to the relative absence of corrective mechanisms, the high price of land in the free market, the scarce reservation of public land for the

construction of council houses and consequently their reduced number, and the great amount of empty dwellings. Among the causes for this price increase one could think of also including housing shortage, but this is far from being the case in Spain, which is one of the European Union countries with a greatest housing stock in comparison with the number of households.

7. This price increase does not only affect flats on sale but also flats for hire, as monthly rents are calculated according to a more or less invariable percentage on the cost which a flat for hire would reach if it was put on sale. Therefore, if prices increase for flats on sale they also automatically increase in the case of flats for hire.
8. Moreover, as a result of the scarcity of new promotions of dwellings for hire, most of them are currently located within old buildings and are in the hands of small owners, who have not always kept them at least in acceptable conditions.
9. Despite the lack of nation-wide data on the conditions of rented flats, it can be stated that their standard area is smaller than that of dwellings inhabited by their owners, that tenants complain about housing problems more often than housing owners, that nearly 25% of rented flats are too small, that others are subjected to excessive noise or are not clear enough, have suffered from vandalism or do not have facilities such as an independent kitchen or hot water.
10. Foreign migrants, due to their reluctance to long-term investments such as the purchase of a flat in a country other than theirs, to what it must be added their economic difficulties and the scarcity of council houses on sale and for hire, are practically forced to resorting to private rented housing.
11. The access to private rented housing is not easy as a result of usual requirements such as having a working contract and submitting a recent payslip. In the case of foreign migrants this is still further complicated by their very condition as such, which makes them a population which in addition to having to cope with, the same as everyone, the great scarcity of affordable rented flats and in good conditions also has to face abuses by housing owners, by whom they may be asked to pay up to twice the rent housing owners would ask a native citizen to pay for a given flat. In addition, foreign migrants suffer from mistrust by housing owners, which usually lead to them suffering from discrimination in their attempts to access 'normal' dwellings. Irregular migrants are those mostly hit by the situation we are describing.
12. Therefore, it can be said that in their access to private rented housing, foreign migrants usually find themselves faced with two opposite treatments but which are based on the same grounds: their defencelessness and ignorance of legal channels: they either see their right to rent a flat denied or they are exploited.

13. To this exploitation (expensive rents for flats in bad conditions), foreign migrants usually reply by sharing flats and rents among a number of them, which may lead to situations of overcrowding (20 individuals in the same dwelling). Overcrowding may also be a 'business' strategy to achieve a higher profit from rented flats which are sub-leased into rooms and therefore become illegal boarding houses, an increasing phenomenon in Spain. Another 'business' strategy' is been known as 'hot beds', permanently slept-in beds which individuals take turns to use.
14. The dwellings usually inhabited by foreign migrants are so defective that some experts even state that a housing sub-market exists which is specific for them and consists of rented flats in such bad conditions that natives reject them. These flats are mostly to be found in the most decayed urban neighbourhoods, so that foreign migrants suffer from a true urban segregation which is not unidimensional (poor housing conditions are but one item to which adding an unsatisfactory access to goods and services in terms of both quantity and quality, the lack of an adequate cleaning and hygiene, etc.), which equals to a *ghettoisation*. These same experts also state that in their attempts at accessing 'normal' rented flats and neighbourhoods foreign migrants suffer from widespread discrimination.
15. This discrimination is proved by advertisements of rents for hire, which have been contested by a number of organisations, which include sentences such as "We do not hire to foreigners from outside the European Union", "Only national individuals", "Only Spanish citizens or individuals from the European Community", "Not for foreigners", etc. These advertisements also prove that the discrimination of foreign migrants concerning their access to 'normal' rented housing can certainly be widespread but does not affect all of them alike. Some at least of these advertisements do reveal a clear discrimination which is based on the countries of origin of migrants.
16. The experience of Sodepau, a Barcelona-based NGO which in the last two years has been delivering to foreign migrants an information, counselling and mediation service to support them in their search for rented flats, corroborates that this discrimination is indeed widespread: only in 3,4% of the housing demands which foreign migrants channelled through this organisation were preferences in favour of the native population not observed. In addition, most of these foreign migrants discriminated had been living in Barcelona for quite long and were employed, which reinforces this hypothesis.
17. In other Autonomous Communities similar situations have also been noticed. A survey which was carried out in Extremadura detected that 70% of the estate agencies based on this region had received an express order by owners of flats for

hire instructing them not to let to foreign migrants, even when migrants had their papers in order and were employed.

18. In view of these difficulties it is hardly surprising that foreign migrants are gradually increasing the homeless population. Some of them are accommodated by social institutions in shelters or refuges which obviously cannot be but a temporary measure.
19. Casual farm workers, many of whom are foreign migrants, are those suffering from the worst conditions as far as their accommodation is concerned. This is indirectly proved by the fact that a great deal of regional legislation in the housing field is addressed to them.
20. Nevertheless, the existence of legislation is not an absolute guarantee of an improvement. The Decree by the Andalusian government which subsidised the construction of accommodation units for casual farm workers and tried to alleviate the defective conditions of those then occupied by them was eventually applied in only two Andalusian provinces. Most of the town councils involved did not submit any proposal and a number of them even refused to reserve land for this purpose. This is a clear example of institutional discrimination.
21. A great deal of the surveys and reports targeting the conditions of the dwellings inhabited by foreign migrants also relate to the accommodation of farm casual workers in a number of Spanish regions and particularly Andalusia and Murcia. These studies have revealed the existence of relevant percentages of dwellings or 'accommodation units' with no electricity, partitions between rooms, floor tiles, running or hot water, radio or television set, kitchen, bathroom, fridge, washing machine, or dishwasher. Most of them also lacked adequate ventilation, had their walls in a poor condition or suffered from extensive dampness.
22. Overcrowding is another common trait in these farm dwellings, either due to a scarcity of resources for accommodation or to an inadequate anticipation of needs or to the wish of some owners to earn additional profits by establishing not a fixed rent but an amount to be paid by each tenant of a given dwelling, which may result in rents which are three times their reasonable values. In addition, 'cortijos' or other examples of rural accommodation represent the most extreme form of social isolation and geographical segregation.
23. Another example of institutional discrimination is to be found in the conditions for access of foreign migrants to council houses in the Balearic Islands, where they are required to have been living there for at least three years.
24. On the other hand, examples of positive discrimination can be detected which do not always have had, nevertheless, the expected results, have been aborted by the

- protests of the native population or are questioned by their very nature as mechanisms drawing a line between nationals and foreigners
25. Some initiatives in support of foreign migrants can also include worrying aspects which may be potentially stigmatising. This is the case of fully comprehensive insurance policies to cover any hypothetical damage to dwellings if they are only accorded when their inhabitants are foreign migrants.
 26. Those initiatives we have labelled as good practice encompass a number of measures such as: the purchase of dwellings for the rehousing of individuals living in defective accommodation units and their sale under the free market prices; a facilitated access to rented housing through the establishment of rents also under the market value; temporary accommodation in shelters or refuges; the management of guarded houses; the conditioning of rural houses or the delivery of construction materials to migrants for them directly to undertake such conditioning; the localisation of abandoned dwellings; the monitoring of the living spaces inhabited by foreign migrants; the signature of agreements with local Administrations for land reservation and the exemption of local building permits; the provision of guarantees which compensate the fact that foreign migrants will not be able to supply them for a certain time or the subscription of rental agreements by the organisation responsible for initiatives as such while foreign migrants cannot rent dwellings on their own names, etc.
 27. The most satisfactory initiatives are those which not only cope with housing needs by foreign migrants but also provide them with educational services and social care and prevent their concentration on disadvantaged neighbourhoods which already are or could end by being true ghettos; supply them with information, guidance and counselling; undertake mediation activities with estate agencies or housing owners or try to sensitise natives about the relationship with foreign migrants; or provide those of their professionals who work with migrants with opportunities for lifelong learning, etc.
 28. As for the Roma ethnic minority, it is to be highlighted the persistence of shanties, which is proved by the fact that more than 80% of the inhabitants of sub-standard forms of housing are members of this group. These shanties are overcrowded and concentrated in a number of specific neighbourhoods so it can be stated that housing is the field where this population is more acutely discriminated.
 29. All the points above lead to concluding that housing is currently in Spain one of the main mechanisms of social and geographical exclusion and segregation, as it also opens (or closes) other doors such as registration in official census; the possession of a health card and the right to family regrouping.

STATISTICAL ANNEX

Table 1. Average prices per square metre for houses on sale in Spanish Autonomous Communities and some important cities and towns since 1997 to 2000 (in thousands of pesetas, 1 Euro = 166,386 pesetas).

COMUNIDADES AUTÓNOMAS Municipios	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
ANDALUCÍA	46,0	52,9	62,0	72,8	80,5	83,3	84,4	85,2	86,9	87,3	88,7	90,1	97,8	110,3
Algeciras	--	--	--	--	71,5	78,9	79,2	78,1	84,8	80,6	83,6	83,7	89,1	94,8
Almería	32,8	46,8	54,8	72,9	78,3	81,4	87,9	88,9	91,5	96,2	105,0	109,1	114,6	137,8
Cádiz	44,3	55,2	70,2	76,5	94,4	95,9	96,0	100,4	109,6	109,0	114,2	120,8	127,3	146,1
Jerez de la Frontera	39,6	44,2	47,2	65,3	73,0	82,0	88,7	85,5	82,2	76,5	80,3	79,0	82,9	89,5
Córdoba	52,4	58,4	60,6	65,5	78,9	90,4	102,1	100,2	105,1	104,1	98,0	99,4	110,7	120,9
Granada	44,8	49,2	63,5	84,3	84,1	98,1	101,6	111,2	111,4	113,5	116,1	116,6	130,5	150,3
Huelva	42,9	47,2	54,0	67,4	72,6	85,7	90,4	88,8	90,2	92,0	89,0	95,3	102,3	119,1
Jaén	--	46,0	50,4	59,4	59,4	70,3	83,3	88,1	91,0	91,7	91,5	91,9	97,6	113,7
Málaga	55,6	59,1	63,9	78,5	88,5	88,1	91,8	91,6	92,1	96,8	98,5	99,4	111,7	131,8
Sevilla	46,7	59,4	72,1	91,8	108,6	107,9	109,1	110,2	114,1	112,9	113,3	113,9	123,8	140,3
ARAGÓN	46,2	59,2	64,7	78,2	86,0	87,4	84,7	86,2	89,8	91,0	90,6	97,1	109,4	128,0
Huesca	--	--	62,1	64,3	65,1	70,5	78,2	81,4	78,4	85,1	88,4	95,4	113,7	120,2
Tenuel	--	41,3	54,4	65,7	67,6	81,8	82,1	82,9	82,2	84,1	84,7	92,2	93,0	114,1
Zaragoza	46,3	59,9	67,5	86,0	98,8	98,5	97,6	101,0	105,9	108,0	107,3	115,8	132,4	157,9
ASTURIAS, PRINCIPADO DE	54,6	60,0	70,7	85,5	98,7	101,2	97,6	100,3	98,8	103,1	104,8	109,3	120,1	132,1
Gijón	51,9	58,0	71,8	86,7	99,9	104,3	108,1	108,7	106,7	113,3	117,3	125,9	146,8	165,9
Oviedo	63,4	73,2	96,2	121,9	131,7	132,3	129,6	133,2	133,9	133,8	136,8	140,1	164,5	176,2
BALEARS, ILLES	53,6	64,2	74,1	85,9	89,4	91,3	91,2	94,5	97,3	100,0	106,6	123,3	155,5	191,8
Palma de Mallorca	50,0	62,0	69,7	80,4	88,5	87,2	91,4	96,4	97,3	97,8	107,5	116,3	154,1	190,5
CANARIAS	57,2	62,7	77,3	80,5	88,5	88,5	87,1	89,4	94,9	99,2	106,4	119,0	137,2	160,2
San Cristóbal de la Laguna	49,2	52,7	64,6	77,2	87,8	88,3	86,6	87,9	88,7	96,9	101,5	112,5	128,5	146,0
Las Palmas de Gran Canaria	50,5	56,8	68,1	77,6	87,4	90,8	96,0	98,7	106,3	107,6	117,4	133,3	156,5	181,2
Santa Cruz de Tenerife	55,0	63,1	83,8	91,4	95,1	95,9	101,3	98,2	106,8	105,5	109,7	117,7	134,3	156,4
CANTABRIA	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	107,4	111,4	115,2	116,3	118,1	128,1	145,7
Santander	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	138,0	143,6	151,4	148,4	151,9	167,0	187,9
CASTILLA - LA MANCHA	40,7	45,1	53,7	65,2	70,2	71,5	73,4	71,0	74,7	74,5	75,9	75,7	79,6	86,5
Albacete	32,6	41,5	51,5	65,4	68,8	71,8	80,0	80,0	85,8	84,6	88,1	94,4	103,5	111,3
Ciudad Real	43,7	51,9	64,5	82,0	78,9	84,9	93,1	90,7	93,2	92,6	92,8	99,2	104,0	115,7
Cuenca	--	51,1	68,9	88,9	94,3	91,8	107,3	103,3	104,6	121,1	116,7	117,1	122,2	121,7
Guadalajara	54,0	60,7	75,1	90,0	104,8	105,1	110,7	109,5	111,6	109,7	111,8	110,5	121,1	130,7
Toledo	--	61,7	69,2	92,1	96,8	96,0	103,1	100,6	96,9	96,1	97,6	104,0	108,6	124,1
CASTILLA Y LEÓN	53,0	65,8	80,1	96,2	105,7	104,7	99,1	98,5	102,3	103,7	105,2	112,8	121,3	136,3
Ávila	45,8	52,6	61,8	86,7	92,9	99,3	107,4	111,4	124,4	125,1	129,2	129,1	130,1	159,4
Burgos	--	--	--	122,6	136,3	132,0	133,4	137,2	140,5	145,4	152,4	181,1	203,3	237,3
León	63,4	75,5	78,7	119,3	129,8	125,8	117,8	112,4	115,5	120,4	125,8	132,3	132,5	152,3
Palencia	52,6	66,0	67,8	92,4	95,4	95,9	108,5	109,5	108,4	108,8	120,2	129,0	135,8	153,9
Salamanca	59,1	79,3	94,4	118,7	124,9	129,2	120,2	121,7	133,8	139,9	143,7	150,2	166,6	186,0
Segovia	43,8	58,4	79,0	91,6	108,7	103,6	109,2	120,9	121,2	133,1	130,0	139,5	142,1	152,6
Soria	--	--	--	--	88,1	96,7	103,9	111,1	116,3	122,2	123,4	129,9	133,0	142,8
Valladolid	54,8	69,0	88,3	97,6	122,4	121,6	119,2	119,3	124,5	127,6	129,9	138,1	153,5	175,6
Zamora	--	--	--	92,7	91,0	88,7	89,9	93,5	96,1	100,6	104,4	105,6	117,6	130,8
CATALUÑA	52,5	71,6	89,6	106,1	125,7	123,3	122,2	125,5	129,5	133,3	137,1	146,6	168,4	194,6
Badalona	43,9	56,5	88,8	89,8	101,7	119,5	121,5	122,8	127,1	137,2	144,0	160,4	190,1	212,4
Barcelona	66,0	102,7	119,2	147,1	185,3	169,5	171,1	178,2	180,7	185,2	188,4	200,0	233,2	271,9

COMUNIDADES AUTÓNOMAS	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Municipios														
Girona	--	56,0	66,4	92,7	94,9	98,1	97,8	105,6	106,3	105,8	109,2	116,7	127,4	149,7
Hospitalet de Llobregat	43,0	64,2	81,8	104,7	108,2	122,0	125,3	130,3	140,0	145,5	156,8	164,0	187,6	225,1
Lleida	47,7	51,2	64,9	81,4	83,5	85,5	96,4	92,7	95,1	96,9	96,9	98,5	113,7	124,7
Mataró	--	--	--	96,2	101,6	104,2	112,6	114,6	118,3	121,5	126,3	135,3	153,5	180,9
Sabadell	36,8	47,5	71,4	80,5	90,8	101,4	107,2	111,6	122,7	123,5	131,7	138,5	157,8	185,5
Santa Coloma de Gramanet	44,5	59,0	81,5	87,3	103,8	107,1	110,9	115,6	122,8	134,3	140,0	152,1	174,9	205,4
Taragona	44,4	55,5	62,8	76,4	88,5	83,3	85,6	85,9	91,4	98,4	103,6	107,7	121,6	137,5
Tarrasa	42,2	54,3	72,7	82,0	93,2	95,5	97,7	99,8	109,8	108,9	114,2	122,3	140,7	167,3
COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA	37,2	43,9	54,0	63,1	68,7	69,9	73,9	75,2	77,9	80,1	82,7	87,5	96,9	109,8
Alicante	43,9	53,0	71,5	75,9	79,5	78,0	81,6	78,7	84,4	85,8	89,9	92,8	105,0	118,6
Castellón	--	50,8	47,4	59,2	67,1	72,5	81,7	84,9	83,7	93,7	89,0	95,6	102,0	119,9
Elche	36,8	50,3	59,9	60,7	73,8	71,2	72,8	73,7	80,8	82,7	81,6	90,0	101,7	121,6
Valencia	37,2	39,9	55,4	69,8	79,4	81,4	89,5	93,0	95,2	96,2	100,3	105,9	116,2	129,7
EXTREMADURA	38,7	44,9	51,7	54,6	58,1	60,1	61,1	62,5	64,6	64,9	64,9	67,4	71,1	76,3
Badajoz	41,0	47,6	51,3	60,5	66,0	68,3	70,8	71,7	74,3	75,9	74,1	81,9	90,3	100,7
Cáceres	37,2	50,0	72,0	83,8	83,8	81,1	85,4	90,0	93,7	95,4	86,1	94,3	96,7	103,8
GALICIA	54,7	68,8	80,6	88,2	96,0	89,7	89,4	90,3	92,2	93,9	95,1	99,1	102,1	110,0
Coruña, A	64,5	97,3	104,6	119,7	129,4	125,7	129,1	132,4	130,2	143,2	138,5	148,2	151,0	168,7
Lugo	--	--	--	67,1	83,8	84,4	87,8	91,1	90,7	80,5	88,1	89,8	94,0	101,1
Orense	84,9	64,9	73,2	82,7	99,1	96,5	100,2	102,1	110,4	107,5	118,3	123,2	133,5	140,8
Pontevedra	49,5	61,5	77,3	87,2	92,7	86,6	85,1	85,6	88,6	90,3	91,6	97,7	104,4	108,1
Santiago de Compostela	82,9	115,9	147,6	184,7	172,0	142,5	139,6	140,0	137,5	149,1	138,4	151,7	169,6	163,9
Vigo	46,6	53,8	77,8	79,7	93,5	95,2	95,1	103,8	110,5	107,5	115,5	114,7	125,6	140,6
MADRID, COMUNIDAD DE	73,7	98,3	128,0	145,7	173,7	166,9	169,0	169,1	178,7	180,4	179,3	181,7	195,6	224,1
Alcala de Henares	46,3	47,1	75,2	91,2	108,4	111,9	117,5	114,8	123,1	122,3	125,6	129,2	133,6	152,6
Alcorcón	47,8	64,0	87,8	106,9	107,5	126,3	133,1	136,7	143,5	144,4	140,3	148,7	158,8	188,2
Fuenlabrada	40,4	45,0	68,3	78,0	90,0	107,4	108,9	112,8	119,3	119,7	121,7	122,6	126,7	150,4
Getafe	44,0	62,9	84,5	97,5	112,8	122,1	121,8	129,6	129,2	139,4	136,1	139,9	148,5	164,4
Leganés	42,5	56,8	90,4	104,1	111,8	124,2	133,1	138,4	143,8	140,8	141,6	145,5	154,2	175,2
Madrid	85,7	118,6	152,1	172,1	210,9	193,7	195,7	194,6	206,9	209,6	206,6	209,1	225,3	259,2
Móstoles	40,9	51,2	75,5	84,5	94,7	111,1	115,2	118,7	122,0	122,6	123,9	126,1	132,8	154,6
MURCIA, REGIÓN DE	37,8	44,8	51,2	58,8	67,8	65,2	65,8	64,7	65,9	67,5	70,4	74,7	79,9	89,5
Cartagena	37,2	44,1	49,4	58,1	73,6	71,4	70,8	69,6	69,6	73,1	73,7	80,1	87,8	97,2
Murcia	39,6	51,4	59,7	71,1	77,0	74,4	75,0	73,3	72,0	73,6	76,9	83,2	88,9	98,2
NAVARRA, C. FORAL DE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	112,7	113,8	121,1	125,9	138,4	161,3
Pamplona	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	136,3	139,6	156,4	162,6	190,9	231,2
PAÍS VASCO	--	--	--	--	123,3	133,6	137,3	142,7	148,7	153,6	154,9	166,8	194,7	235,4
Baracaldo	--	--	--	--	139,5	158,5	156,6	158,3	164,9	174,3	133,8	149,3	173,2	200,0
Bilbao	--	--	--	--	104,1	112,5	117,6	126,8	134,6	141,5	176,5	189,4	220,1	264,8
San Sebastián	--	--	--	--	200,5	215,1	220,9	225,5	227,2	224,4	227,5	236,2	280,6	354,5
Vitoria	--	--	--	--	98,5	114,3	120,5	131,6	143,9	151,3	177,6	198,8	235,6	285,6
RIOJA, LA	--	--	--	--	--	--	93,9	94,2	96,6	101,0	101,0	99,4	112,2	131,6
Logroño	--	--	--	--	--	--	107,9	111,9	111,8	121,9	122,7	119,0	137,6	168,4
ESPAÑA	52,8	66,0	81,4	94,1	107,5	106,1	105,7	106,4	110,2	112,2	113,9	119,2	131,8	150,9

Table 5. Number of households living in rented dwellings in Spanish Autonomous Communities and some important cities since before 1941 to 2001.

	Total	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997	1996	1991-1995	1981-1990	1971-1980	1961-1970	1941-1960	Antes de 1941	No consta
Total nacional	1.615.911	235.473	157.942	160.996	117.354	82.222	68.072	173.199	189.348	153.382	121.338	91.588	36.477	28.520
Andalucía	223.025	31.958	19.970	21.017	15.617	11.442	9.936	29.490	35.870	21.430	12.346	8.096	3.460	2.393
04 Almería	16.030	4.055	2.150	1.949	1.228	830	739	1.866	1.808	692	323	137	71	182
11 Cádiz	47.422	4.547	3.140	3.803	2.813	2.012	1.776	5.439	8.406	6.330	3.778	3.299	1.624	455
14 Córdoba	17.586	2.184	1.430	1.494	1.276	977	748	3.060	3.550	1.285	865	451	123	143
18 Granada	26.164	3.931	2.467	2.406	1.800	1.240	1.230	3.295	4.707	2.605	1.453	526	220	284
21 Huelva	11.327	1.584	801	968	700	457	481	1.665	2.796	968	376	320	121	90
23 Jaén	13.236	1.708	1.070	1.193	1.020	755	599	2.447	2.884	856	424	180	42	58
29 Málaga	48.169	8.530	5.210	5.410	3.878	2.868	2.508	6.327	5.340	3.523	2.064	1.434	506	571
41 Sevilla	43.091	5.419	3.702	3.794	2.902	2.303	1.855	5.391	6.379	5.171	3.063	1.749	753	610
Aragón	45.072	7.506	4.954	4.587	3.173	2.289	1.862	5.323	5.486	3.740	3.379	1.902	345	526
22 Huesca	6.362	1.291	719	663	443	310	262	753	733	501	356	206	77	48
44 Teruel	3.502	791	433	366	265	191	146	463	400	202	117	81	28	19
50 Zaragoza	35.208	5.424	3.802	3.558	2.465	1.788	1.454	4.107	4.353	3.037	2.906	1.615	240	459
33 Asturias (Principado de)	48.857	5.539	3.950	4.207	3.360	2.647	2.209	6.309	5.679	5.286	4.789	3.313	1.048	521
07 Balears (Illes)	61.293	9.749	5.784	7.055	5.586	3.761	3.160	8.240	6.418	5.341	2.499	1.702	462	1.536
Canarias	93.075	19.129	9.215	10.901	8.621	5.926	4.530	12.513	8.009	5.538	3.557	1.790	636	2.710
35 Palmas (Las)	51.259	10.838	5.398	6.136	4.841	2.959	2.569	7.077	4.287	2.999	1.700	810	363	1.282
38 Santa Cruz de Tenerife	41.816	8.291	3.817	4.765	3.780	2.967	1.961	5.436	3.722	2.539	1.857	980	273	1.428
39 Cantabria	15.298	2.002	1.348	1.371	1.009	703	587	1.575	1.765	1.615	1.439	1.189	586	109
Castilla y León	77.727	10.053	6.775	6.804	5.239	3.903	3.299	8.848	10.689	9.361	7.565	3.913	768	510
05 Ávila	3.938	657	380	378	317	197	161	520	623	378	166	98	27	36
09 Burgos	10.556	1.316	891	843	669	471	394	1.211	1.329	1.103	1.044	1.000	191	94
24 León														

34 Palencia	20.603	2.091	1.413	1.597	1.279	989	808	2.275	2.574	2.984	2.981	1.358	181	73
	5.205	585	419	428	368	277	237	595	733	713	577	202	45	26
37 Salamanca	10.145	1.386	912	980	742	564	489	1.258	1.387	1.224	730	318	70	85
40 Segovia	4.923	758	459	407	305	244	176	463	557	593	598	261	49	53
42 Soria	2.410	474	263	238	159	110	99	234	282	216	185	106	33	11
47 Valladolid	15.645	2.358	1.673	1.557	1.097	799	727	1.702	2.406	1.683	956	429	134	124
49 Zamora	4.302	428	365	376	303	252	208	590	798	467	328	141	38	8
Castilla-La Mancha	42.239	8.334	5.033	4.616	3.379	2.280	2.148	4.979	5.844	2.812	1.499	734	194	387
02 Albacete	10.548	1.833	1.192	1.203	886	579	449	1.215	1.581	901	411	171	33	94
13 Ciudad Real	10.238	2.075	1.123	1.085	738	566	686	1.448	1.770	372	194	119	28	34
16 Cuenca	4.000	818	501	461	348	207	173	522	593	182	88	58	21	28
19 Guadalajara	4.513	962	624	498	384	293	279	451	475	254	132	84	23	54
45 Toledo	12.940	2.646	1.593	1.369	1.023	635	561	1.343	1.425	1.103	674	302	89	177
Cataluña	382.615	43.390	31.179	33.178	24.891	17.371	13.615	31.085	42.596	43.720	41.388	34.767	16.229	9.206
08 Barcelona	309.547	31.879	24.357	25.658	19.428	13.736	10.461	23.182	34.203	36.653	36.204	31.213	14.739	7.834
17 Girona	32.913	4.649	2.863	3.429	2.577	1.727	1.431	3.761	3.693	3.168	2.290	1.677	905	743
25 Lleida	14.914	2.579	1.482	1.494	1.038	659	604	1.467	1.783	1.508	1.242	722	150	186
43 Tarragona	25.241	4.283	2.477	2.597	1.848	1.249	1.119	2.675	2.917	2.391	1.652	1.155	435	443
Comunidad Valenciana	124.231	23.417	15.038	13.717	9.032	5.981	4.828	12.086	13.547	10.090	8.058	4.690	1.481	2.266
03 Alicante/ Alacant	46.943	9.980	5.818	5.487	3.914	2.498	2.081	4.912	4.341	3.144	2.291	1.395	356	726
12 Castellón/ Castelló	14.633	2.975	2.136	1.947	1.126	731	574	1.450	1.434	1.074	642	271	63	210
46 Valencia/ València	62.655	10.462	7.084	6.283	3.992	2.752	2.173	5.724	7.772	5.872	5.125	3.024	1.062	1.330
Extremadura	32.148	4.464	2.846	3.058	2.480	2.031	2.125	6.649	5.175	1.520	979	461	165	195
06 Badajoz	19.382	2.718	1.682	1.703	1.337	1.269	1.129	4.355	3.180	893	612	272	93	139
10 Cáceres	12.766	1.746	1.164	1.355	1.143	762	996	2.294	1.995	627	367	189	72	56
Galicia	94.442	12.390	8.244	8.449	6.459	4.809	4.266	10.920	12.478	9.857	8.536	5.414	1.586	1.034
15 Coruña (A)														

27 Lugo	45.722	5.661	3.767	3.777	2.946	2.149	1.946	4.888	5.743	5.222	4.671	3.447	935	570
32 Ourense	8.663	1.092	725	804	629	470	459	1.230	1.240	729	515	448	238	84
36 Pontevedra	9.874	1.311	960	930	670	499	483	1.325	1.275	1.032	800	337	73	179
28 Madrid (Comunidad de)	30.183	4.326	2.792	2.938	2.214	1.691	1.378	3.477	4.220	2.874	2.550	1.182	340	201
30 Murcia (Región de)	254.710	38.582	30.386	29.031	19.754	13.193	10.627	22.883	23.579	23.156	16.870	15.601	5.845	5.203
31 Navarra (Cdad. Foral de)	35.166	6.964	4.680	4.268	2.695	1.746	1.473	3.455	3.690	2.902	1.938	849	161	345
País Vasco	14.683	2.699	1.930	1.760	1.111	802	645	1.340	1.031	839	766	979	430	351
01 Álava	53.717	6.335	4.889	5.360	3.792	2.602	2.114	5.795	5.279	4.333	4.268	5.169	2.708	1.073
20 Guipúzcoa	6.907	1.178	762	926	626	347	333	729	671	417	307	280	133	198
48 Vizcaya	19.574	2.106	1.652	2.088	1.534	989	782	1.983	1.859	1.642	1.376	2.003	1.256	304
26 Rioja (La)	27.236	3.051	2.475	2.346	1.632	1.266	999	3.083	2.749	2.274	2.585	2.886	1.319	571
Ceuta y Melilla	8.527	1.616	1.135	986	654	437	372	906	883	568	485	356	80	49
51 Ceuta	9.086	1.346	586	631	502	299	276	803	1.330	1.274	977	663	293	106
52 Melilla	3.953	472	222	224	180	131	128	415	657	633	392	318	137	44
	5.133	874	364	407	322	168	148	388	673	641	585	345	156	62

Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total	43327	53181	55514	65350	79248	74726	72179	60116	52853	52922

Month	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Total
Total	2100	3000	2600	2500	2900	2800	7700	1600	2900	1700	4200	4900	38900

Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total	7.779	9.504	11241	7.139	6.802	3.829	4.685	3.223	2.609	2.121

Table 9. Correlation between poverty in percentage and housing tenancy

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
TOTAL	18,9	18,5	19,3
Owned flat	18,3	17,9	18,8
Rented flat	24,1	24,6	23,6

Fuente: INE, PHOGUE.

Table 10. Conditions of blocks of flats in Spanish Autonomous Communities and provincial capitals

	Total	Ruinous	Bad	Deficient	Good	Average condition
National total	8.354.597	1,1	2,0	7,8	89,2	3,9
Andalucía	1.708.038	1,0	1,7	7,1	90,2	3,9
04 Almería	156.444	1,5	2,3	9,9	86,2	3,8
11 Cádiz	209.583	1,0	1,5	6,5	91,0	3,9
14 Córdoba	176.664	0,9	1,6	6,5	91,0	3,9
18 Granada	237.260	1,4	2,7	9,8	86,1	3,8
21 Huelva	126.006	0,8	1,4	6,2	91,6	3,9
23 Jaén	184.335	1,2	2,1	8,7	88,1	3,8
29 Málaga	262.261	0,8	1,5	6,3	91,4	3,9
41 Sevilla	355.485	0,7	1,1	4,8	93,5	3,9
Aragón	266.448	1,3	2,3	8,5	88,0	3,8
22 Huesca	59.538	1,4	2,7	9,8	86,1	3,8
44 Teruel	68.647	1,0	2,4	9,6	87,0	3,8
50 Zaragoza	138.263	1,3	2,1	7,3	89,3	3,8
33 Asturias (Principado de)	183.952	1,5	2,5	9,2	86,8	3,8
07 Balears (Illes)	221.969	0,9	1,5	6,7	90,9	3,9
Canarias	366.488	1,2	1,6	8,1	89,1	3,9
35 Palmas (Las)	181.623	1,2	1,5	7,6	89,7	3,9
38 Santa Cruz de Tenerife	184.865	1,2	1,6	8,6	88,5	3,8
39 Cantabria	95.408	1,1	2,4	8,4	88,0	3,8
Castilla y León	765.613	1,3	2,6	9,8	86,3	3,8
05 Ávila	94.345	1,1	2,4	8,4	88,1	3,8
09 Burgos	95.920	1,9	3,3	10,1	84,7	3,8
24 León	151.732	1,2	2,5	11,5	84,8	3,8
34 Palencia	51.828	1,4	2,1	8,9	87,6	3,8
37 Salamanca	99.513	1,4	3,0	11,5	84,1	3,8
40 Segovia	62.990	1,5	2,6	8,9	87,0	3,8
42 Soria	38.978	2,1	3,4	11,5	83,0	3,8
47 Valladolid	91.550	1,0	2,1	6,7	90,2	3,9
49 Zamora	78.757	0,8	2,1	9,7	87,3	3,8
Castilla-La Mancha	652.609	1,1	1,9	7,6	89,4	3,9
02 Albacete	98.586	1,1	2,3	8,9	87,7	3,8
13 Ciudad Real	156.861	1,0	1,8	8,6	88,7	3,9
16 Cuenca	100.417	1,2	2,3	8,5	87,9	3,8
19 Guadalajara	82.248	1,2	1,7	6,8	90,3	3,9
45 Toledo	214.497	1,0	1,8	6,3	90,9	3,9
Cataluña	1.036.210	0,9	1,5	6,6	90,9	3,9
08 Barcelona	580.926	0,9	1,6	6,9	90,7	3,9
17 Girona	182.208	0,9	1,3	5,4	92,3	3,9
25 Lleida	96.101	1,0	1,8	8,0	89,2	3,9
43 Tarragona	176.975	1,0	1,5	6,4	91,2	3,9
Comunidad Valenciana	876.411	1,1	1,8	7,4	89,7	3,9
03 Alicante/ Alacant	351.185	1,2	1,7	6,8	90,3	3,9
12 Castellón/ Castelló	143.293	1,2	2,2	9,7	86,9	3,8
46 Valencia/ València	381.933	1,0	1,7	7,0	90,2	3,9
Extremadura	382.657	0,9	2,0	7,3	89,9	3,9
06 Badajoz	217.481	0,8	1,5	5,9	91,8	3,9
10 Cáceres	165.176	1,0	2,6	9,1	87,3	3,8
Galicia	694.699	1,1	2,7	10,2	86,0	3,8
15 Coruña (A)	251.906	1,1	2,7	9,2	87,0	3,8

27 Lugo	112.292	1,1	4,0	13,3	81,7	3,8
32 Ourense	122.630	1,0	2,4	11,2	85,4	3,8
36 Pontevedra	207.871	1,1	2,2	9,3	87,4	3,8
28 Madrid (Comunidad de)	478.271	0,8	1,5	4,8	92,8	3,9
30 Murcia (Región de)	309.924	1,2	2,3	8,4	88,1	3,8
31 Navarra (Cdad. Foral de)	98.356	0,9	1,4	5,4	92,3	3,9
País Vasco	146.378	1,2	2,3	8,4	88,1	3,8
01 Álava	27.942	1,1	2,0	7,6	89,3	3,9
20 Guipúzcoa	48.531	1,3	2,6	9,3	86,9	3,8
48 Vizcaya	69.905	1,3	2,2	8,2	88,2	3,8
26 Rioja (La)	55.362	1,6	3,0	9,4	86,0	3,8
Ceuta y Melilla	15.804	2,0	4,0	16,8	77,2	3,7
51 Ceuta	6.293	2,8	4,6	15,0	77,6	3,7
52 Melilla	9.511	1,6	3,6	17,8	77,0	3,7

Table 11. Number of individuals that shelters and refuges could hold and number of individuals who made use of them in Spanish Autonomous Communities in 2001

TOTAL	8.365	107.748
ANDALUCÍA	533	20.254
ARAGÓN	113	4.355
ASTURIAS		
BALEARES	189	954
CANARIAS	2.308	4.112
CANTABRIA	148	
CASTILLA LA MANCHA	1.069	17.305
CASTILLA LEÓN	1.357	16.247
CATALUÑA	1.159	16.234
EXTREMADURA	189	4.622
GALICIA	251	3.696
LA RIOJA		3.150
MADRID	8	12
PAIS VASCO	984	9.009
NAVARRA	57	7.798

GLOSSARY

Accommodation unit. Living place explicitly intended for casual farm workers.

Casual farm workers. Those recruited on a temporary basis to work as an agricultural labour force.

Council houses. Flats or houses provided by cities or counties and built by either public or private promoters.

Ethnic minority. A small group in a community or nation whose cultural tradition differs from the majority group in the same community or nation.

Ghettoisation. Conversion of an urban area lived in by any minority national or social group into a typically crowded one with poor housing conditions.

Hot beds. Name given to beds which people take turns to sleep in.

Housing sub-market. Name given to a phenomenon some experts state to exist according to which foreign migrants in urban areas would be “reserved” very specific rented flats whose conditions are under average.

Irregular migrants. Migrants with no permits of any type who accordingly cannot sign any labour contract nor be registered in Social Security.

Nomad. Member of a human group that wanders from place to place and has no fixed home.

Occupancy rate. Number of individuals living in a given household.

Overcrowding. State of having too many people in one place.

Positive discrimination. Any measure which reveals a preferential treatment in favour of a particular population in order to make up for previous experienced inequality in society.

Regular migrants: Those with all the necessary papers (ie. working and residence permits) in order.

Second home. Living space other than the main home.

Segregation. Non-voluntary separation that racial or religious groups may suffer from the rest of the community.

Shantytown. Area inside or just outside a town where poor people live in shanties, most of whom in Spain are members of the Roma population.

Social rented housing. Housing available to rent at below market costs.

Subletting. Renting of a house or flat of which one is the tenant, or part of it to another person.

Sub-standard housing. Any form of housing below the usual or required standard, such as shanties.

Tutelary housing. Houses or flats in which disadvantaged individuals are accommodated by a social organisation or institution which takes charge of their wellbeing.

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