A la carte discrimination

Exclusion on ethnic grounds in Barcelona's rental housing market



Report November 2021 Directorate of Citizenship Rights, Broll,sccl.





Copyright

©Barcelona City Council, 2021

Legal warning

All rights reserved. Total or partial reproduction of the texts or pictures of this publication is not allowed without prior authorization.

Title

A la carte discrimination. Exclusion on ethnic grounds in Barcelona's rental housing market

Edition

Directorate of Citizenship Rights

Author/a

Ariadna Fitó afito@broll.cat Broll,sccl.



Contents

1. Introduction	6
2. Explaining or legitimising discrimination	9
3. Methodology	12
4. Ethnic discrimination figures	17
4.1 Accepting, facilitating or rejecting ethnic discrimination?	17
4.2 Professional association as a factir in protecting from discrimination?	19
5. Prejudice and stereotypes in the real estate market	20
5.1 The profile for exclusion: "A pure and simple immigrant"	21
5.2 Status and solvency: "We can make some exceptions"	23
6. Strategies and justifications for carrying out discrimination	24
6.1 A practice in the shadows: "That can't be said, but it can be done"	25
6.2 A la carte discrimination "your way"	25
6.3 Identify to discriminate: "The face never lies"	27
6.4 Deceit: "part of our work"	28
7. Strategies and justifications for non-discrimination	29
7.1 Anti-racist reaffirmation: "It should not be allowed"	30
7.2 Compliance with legality and the code of ethics: "It is illegal. It can't be done"	30
7.3 Professional experience: "You're making a mistake"	31
8. Conclusions	33
9. Bibliography	37

1 Introduction

The right to housing is recognised in many international, state and regional regulations. Despite this recognition of social law, we must not forget that, in a free market scenario, housing as a right is devoid of content thus it is becoming a mere market product, where the value of exchange predominates over the value of use, the which entails worrying difficulties of access for a remarkable volume of the population.

¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 11; Spanish Constitution, Article 47; Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, Article 26.

Both the indicators of accessibility to rental housing that link the purchasing power of the population with the conditions of the real estate market² and the difficulties of staying in tenant homes³ show that we are far from guaranteeing the right to housing universally. In the city of Barcelona, housing is today one of the main factors of social exclusion.

In this context of crisis of accessibility to housing, migrants and/or racialised people have to face a new access barrier: discrimination based on ethnic grounds. This discrimination exacerbates other vulnerabilities from a process of accumulation of disadvantages and contributes to residential segregation (Massey and Denton, 1993; Bell *et al.*, 2006), worse health conditions (Williams, 2004; Hyman, 2007, 2009) and the limitation of educational and employment opportunities (Fischer and Massey, 2006; Fernandez and Su, 2004; Yang *et al.* 2018).

Unlike the period before the recognition of civil rights, in which discrimination was open and more widespread, discrimination is now more subtle and covert, and therefore more difficult to identify, despite the efforts made by social entities, either from the intervention with the people who suffer from it or from the approach from the research to bring to light these situations of inequality ⁴ The use of social experiments in the social sciences allows us to approach the scope and functioning of the problem of discrimination motivated by racism and xenophobia.

In 2020, we conducted a field experiment in the city of Barcelona with the aim of detecting the presence of ethnic discrimination in the rental housing market. Using internet real estate platforms as a field of analysis, we sent 1000 emails requesting information to 500 homes advertised in all the districts of the city, with the aim of comparing the responses obtained by people applying, depending on the origin of the undersigned name.

The results of the experiment show that applicants with an Arabic name received 18.8% fewer responses than those applying under a Catalan/Spanish name. A lower percentage of applicants with an Arabic name were also offered viewings (7.6%). In rental segments priced below € 1100.00, the level of discrimination increased, noting that the Arab-named population would have access to fewer flats in the rental market and at higher prices than the native-named population. (Fitó et al., 2020).

In the previous research we focused on the demand for rental housing from fictitious housing applicants. Instead, in the experiment we present below we approach real estate agencies from the offer through a fictitious landlord who contacts the agents by phone under the pretext of putting their property up for rent protesting the intention to exclude "immigrant" candidates. The fact that the discriminatory petition comes from the property,

² In 2018, a household with a 2.5 interprofessional guaranteed minimum wage (about € 25,760 per year) must spend more than 40% of its income on renting a home, a figure that climbs to 68.7% in households with a 1.5 interprofessional guaranteed minimum wage (around € 18,000 per year).

³ The overload rate of people living in rental homes at market prices in the Barcelona region is 38.2%, a figure that almost doubles that of countries such as Finland, Austria, France and Sweden which does not reach 20 %.

⁴ SOS RACISMO (2015), *Puertas que se cierran*. [Closing doors] Testing on discrimination against the immigrant population regarding access to rental housing, Federation of SOS Racism Associations of Spain. PROVIVIENDA (2020), ¿Se alquila? Racismo y xenofobia en el mercado del alquiler.

like the one recreated in the experiment, does not exempt real estate agents from the obligation to respect anti-discrimination laws⁵ and the code of ethics itself in the exercise of the profession. ⁶

Real estate agents maintain a unique position in the discriminatory process, due to the role they play as intermediaries between landlords, with certain interests in the profile of tenants, and tenants, with specific characteristics that may be discriminated against. Not to mention that 81% of the processes for signing leases in Catalonia are carried out through real estate agencies (Palomera *et al.*, 2021). The services provided by real estate agencies are repeatedly questioned by users⁷ due to the persistence in the profession of values, habits and practices that place tenants in a position of vulnerability regarding both access to and maintenance of housing,⁸ which highlights a serious crisis in the professional and deontological ethics of the profession. We must not forget that for every society it is essential to have professions that are able to meet the needs of its members, an issue that is even more important when the services offered are the way or the means for the realisation of a human right, such as access to housing.

Considering that the behaviour of real estate agents regarding a discriminatory application is essential in order to achieve the mitigation of discriminatory issues in access to housing, an experiment was carried out based on 350 telephone calls of interest to real estate agencies operating in the city of Barcelona. The answers obtained were analysed with the aim of quantifying the acceptance of discrimination of the agents and investigating the strategies and justifications made explicit in the speeches, differentiating the results obtained according to whether the real estate agency was part of the Colleges and Association of Real Estate Agents of the city of Barcelona. The study also included the analysis of non-discriminatory responses, an aspect that experiments with these characteristics often underestimate or do not take sufficient account of. Finally, the most relevant aspects of the research were collected as conclusions.

- 5 Articles 53 and 55.5.a) in relation to Article 45 of Law 18/2007, of 28 December, on the right to housing (DOGC no. 5044, of 9.1.2008). Real estate agents are subject to the obligations established by this law and, in particular, to the prohibition of discrimination as a guarantee of equality regarding access to housing.
- 6 Code and deontological decalogue of the College and Association of Real Estate Agents of Barcelona and province, for the Protection of consumers and users: "The real estate agent will not carry out, encourage or participate in situations or actions of discrimination".
- 7 According to the Balance of Actions of the Catalan Consumer Agency 2020, complaints received in the field of housing constitute the main category within other general consumer services (20%).
- 8 According to the report Social Impacts of the Rental Market, 2021, based on the analysis of 2020 responses to the Survey on the living conditions of the rental population in Barcelona and the metropolitan area: "One in two households has suffered real estate harassment. The most common form of harassment is the owner's refusal to repair or fix significant damage to the home, which has affected 44.9% of households surveyed. The other significant forms of harassment are the abandonment of the staircase or common areas in order to cause discomfort (12.8%), threats, deception and psychological pressure (11.3%), and the illegal increase of the rental price during the contract (8.4%)".

2 Explaining or legitimising discrimination

Ethnic discrimination in the housing market has traditionally been explained on the basis of two predominant economic theories: "taste-based discrimination" aimed at explaining the phenomenon based on the fact that people discriminate when they are willing to pay a price in order to avoid their interaction with a particular group (Becker, 1971); and "statistical discrimination," which considers that in the face of a situation of limited information, either because it is not possible or excessively expensive to obtain, decision-makers use the average characteristics of the group to make inferences in the individual (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972).

In taste-based discrimination we find two aspects depending on the origin of ethnic preferences, that is, whether they are motivated by the client or the intermediary. In discrimination based on the taste of the client, the agents would discriminate to meet the preferences of the clients, the origin in this search for discrimination.

In discrimination based on the agent's taste, real estate agents would discriminate on their own animosity toward ethnic minorities, and therefore the experiment conducted would mean that the agent agrees with the proposal for the property. However, in order to have this information the agent must necessarily reveal the aversion to the group to be discriminated against and, therefore, for the theoretical model to work methodologically it starts from a presumption that will not necessarily occur, and more in the context of an informative telephone conversation where the agent can avoid expressing their beliefs or simulating others.

So, even when we detect among the agents discourses that express animosity towards immigrant profiles, if in the exercise of the profession it is conceived as a simple individual instrument of obtaining economic benefits (Weber, [1905]), the ultimate aim of the agent will be to get the property in the portfolio, and therefore, as it is popularly said: "you can make someone say what people want to hear".

That is, what is verbalised is not necessarily in line with beliefs. Thus, the agent, in the exercise of their profession, may omit their beliefs under the will of the application of the legal and deontological regulations that guide the exercise of the profession; this explains the cases of agents who, despite being prejudiced, refuse to accept the discriminatory proposal due to legal and/or ethical imperatives, either out of fear of sanctions or non-compliance with deontological regulations.

The dominance of economics in today's Western societies fertilises the ground for economic theories to influence the perpetuation of discriminatory practices, as they are theories that are not limited to the description of the phenomenon but end up building discourses comparable to scripts of behaviour aimed at maximizing economic benefits (Jung and Dobbin, 2016).

It deals with theories that provide a "cognitive infrastructure" (Hirschman and Berman, 2014) on which decisions based on the dominant economic model are guided; thus, all actions that lead to the obtaining of economic benefit are considered "economically rational", and de facto legitimised in the exercise of the profession, although some of them may contradict the professional code of ethics.

The theory of statistical discrimination, together with the associated rhetoric of economic rationality, is an optimal solution for using stereotypes as a simple tool to apply in situations of ignorance, providing moral authorisation to discrimination based on its economic utility. (Karafin, 2009; Pager and Karafin, 2009; Tilcsik, 2021).

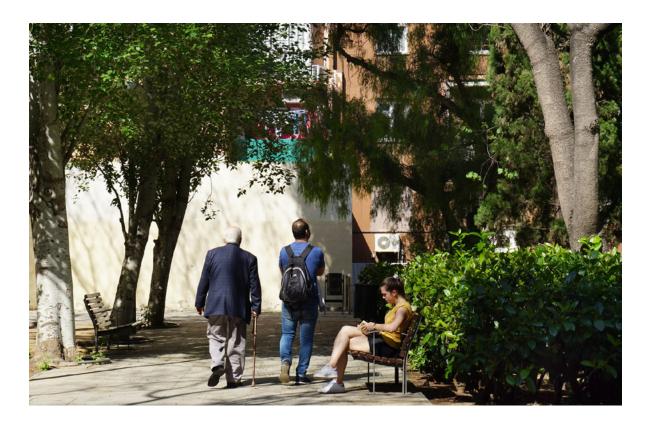
At the same time, and contrary to the initial consideration of the theory of discrimination on the basis of taste as an "economically irrational" practice (Becker, 1971), when the discriminatory proposal comes from property, the real estate agents themselves justify under the umbrella of "economic rationality" the acceptance of discrimination on the grounds of property as a legitimate exercise in preventing property from making use of the services offered by a competition party that is more willing to discriminate (Van den Broeck and Heylen, 2015; Verstraete and Verhaeghe, 2019). Agents only consider discrimination of property through taste to be "economically irrational" when the property, either because of its characteristics or location, does not have sufficient demand from the native population, with the intention of avoiding increasing dedicated efforts in the marketing of the property.

The multiplicity of variables implicit in the phenomenon, as well as the ignorance of the cognitive aspects of the agents, or even the organisational characteristics of the real estate companies themselves, make it difficult to distinguish the causes implicit in the acceptance of discrimination from these two models. Not to mention the great ability of real estate agents, more or less explicitly, to say what the client wants to hear. To avoid categorising what is not observable, efforts should be made to understand the shift from "motives" to "mechanisms" of discrimination with the desire to provide new readings on the underlying causes of contemporary racial discrimination (Reskin, 2003).

The experiment presented in this report is not aimed at providing quantifying results of the explanatory weight of each of these two theoretical models, but aims at detecting the acceptance of the discrimination of agents at the request of the property owners and identify the strategies and justifications expressed by agents to make it effective, as well as arguments for refusing to discriminate.

At the same time, it is intended to investigate the extent to which the association of real estate agents can become a factor of protection against discrimination, considering that the organisation of the professions through professional associations is, or should be, a public guarantee of the fact that its members have specialised training along with the will and responsibility for the application of the inseparable code of ethics of commitment to civic virtues (Ludevid, 2020).

Sebastià Gasch block's interior gardens.



3 Methodology

Data from this research was obtained from the application of telephone calls made without prior notice. This technique is commonly used to measure the quality of service offered by companies in contact with customers by telephone. The original intention of using this technique is to improve the service offered by companies and not to miss business opportunities; thus, the results obtained during the monitoring enable the designing of strategies for the training and reorientation of the public care personnel.

These calls have also been used in social experiments aimed at detecting cases of discrimination, both those that are based on demand, recreating a customer interested in a property, and supply, pretending to have a property that is intended to be rented. In the experiment carried out in this research, calls for interest have been addressed to real estate agents operating in the city of Barcelona with the aim of analysing the responses to a request for ethnic discrimination by a fictitious owner or proprietor.

The conversation with the agent begins by explaining that there is an apartment that they want to rent, and that the reason for the call is informative as to how they should proceed. The agents, as the conversation progresses, ask questions about the property that the fictitious property owner is answering according to a pre-established script on the characteristics of the apartment:

It is a flat located in the Eixample district, of about 100 m2 of building, with 4 bedrooms and 2 bathrooms. It responds to the profile of what is known as an old-fashioned regal building, it has a lift, no terrace, and underwent a single renovation —of only the bathrooms and kitchen— in the late nineties.

Throughout the conversation, the fictitious property owner asks about the services offered by the agency, the marketing costs and management of the subsequent rental, if any, among other topics covered. Sometimes the agents themselves go ahead with the questions, which implies a continuous adaptation of the order of the script but maintaining the contents, with the ultimate pretension of asking about the filtering processes of tenant profiles, at which point the fictitious property owner makes explicit the desire to leave immigrants out of the selection process.

In the discriminatory will expressed by the fictitious property owner, they have chosen to use the term "immigrant" without further explanation of ethnic origin, religion or social class, in order to investigate the extent to which real estate agents spontaneously refer to this type of differentiations in the answers.

Agents' responses are transcribed while retaining their literal essence, and are subsequently analysed in two phases. The first phase corresponds to the quantitative analysis where four main categories are established:

- "Ethnic non-discrimination", where the agent refuses to accept the discriminatory proposal.
- "Acceptance of discrimination", which includes the acceptance of discriminatory claims on ethnic grounds leaving them out of the selection process.
- "Facilitation of discrimination", which does not initially exclude candidates by ethnic profile, but allows the property owner to do so itself based on the information of the candidates to be presented by the agent.
- "Response escape", in which the agent avoids responding to the request.

In a second phase, the discourses are analysed in order to identify the strategies and justifications used in each type of response.

Carrying out such experiments generates ethical dilemmas for research staff arising from the impossibility of carrying out data collection with the informed consent and voluntary participation of real estate agents. Participating agents may not know that they are being studied due to the need to observe uninfluenced behaviours, informing them would imply a bias that would invalidate the results (Bovenkerk, 1992; Bursell, 2007; Riach and Rich, 2004; Zschirnt, 2019). This does not mean that a number of ethical considerations have not been taken into account, such as guaranteeing the confidentiality and privacy of research subjects, and, as far as possible, minimising the time spent by agents. In no case has a visit to the property or office been confirmed with a professional.

Sample design

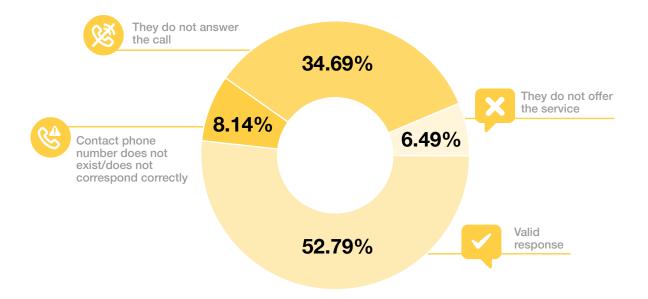
The population universe for the calculation of the sample is constituted by the set of real estate agents who operate in the city of Barcelona as intermediaries in the process of renting a home. In order to find out about the universe, use has been made of the data included in the AICAT Register⁹, relating to the city of Barcelona, which states that at the end of 2020, 2358 real estate agents would be operating. Taking as a sample universe all the agents registered in AICAT, so that the data resulting from the study became representative with 95% confidence and a +/- 5% maximum margin of error, a sample was needed of a minimum of 330 agents. Finally, the sample consisted of 350 agents.

To obtain a sample of 350 responses, 663 different real estate agencies were called, a figure that represents a valid response rate of 52.79%. The response rate to calls is 59.28% (393), but 6.49% (43), despite answering, are dedicated exclusively to buying and selling; they only offer own portfolio flats; or reject flats according to reference areas that do not correspond to the location of the sample flat concerned. This almost 7% of calls that need to be left out of the study despite getting an answer is explained because the initial records do not allow screening to make an exclusive selection of those real estate agencies that meet the necessary characteristics mentioned by the application of the script.

Failure to obtain a response is due to agencies that do not answer the call (34.69%) or by non-operational contact telephone numbers or ones that do not correspond to a real estate agency (8.14%). It should be borne in mind that according to the exploitation of the AICAT Register, the sector has an agent replacement rate (communicated) of above 10% per year.

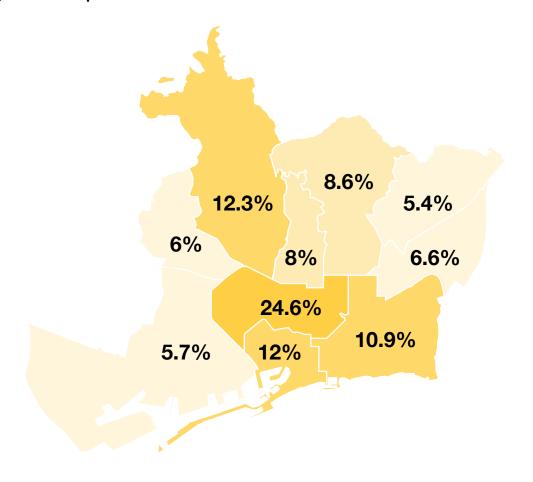
	They do not offer the service	Valid response	Contact phone number does not exist/does not cor- respond correctly	They do not answer the call
No.	43	350	54	230
%	6.49	52.79	8.14	34.69

⁹ Decree 12/2010, of 2 February, regulates the requirements for carrying out the activity of real estate agents and creates the Register of Real Estate Agents of Catalonia in order to protect consumers and users in matters of housing.



Territorial distribution of the sample

All the agencies contacted are located in the city of Barcelona, with an unequal distribution throughout the districts as a result of the actual distribution of the offices in the territory, and the response rate obtained in each of them.



District	No.	%
Ciutat Vella	42	12.00
L'Eixample	86	24.57
Sants-Montjuïc	20	5.71
Les Corts	21	6.00
Sarrià - Sant Gervasi	43	12.29
Gràcia	28	8.00
Horta-Guinardó	30	8.57
Nou Barris	19	5.43
Sant Andreu	23	6.57
Sant Martí	38	10.86
Total	350	100.00

Sample of registered and non-registered real estate agents

In order to investigate the possible differences that may occur in the results depending on whether or not the agency is part of the Real Estate Agents' regulated association (API), the sample has been distributed equitably into 175 agencies that are registered in the API and the same number of agencies that would not be on the register. This is a sample aimed at obtaining 50% of API agency responses, and the remaining 50% non-API. Although the reality of the real estate market shows a slight preponderance of non-API agencies (55.73%), a fair distribution of the sample of 175 calls in each case has been chosen.

	No.	%
API agencies	175	50.00
Non-API agencies	175	50.00

4 Ethnic discrimination figures

4.1 Accepting, facilitating or rejecting ethnic discrimination?

Throughout the calls, without the property owner making explicit reference to whether the request for discrimination is a recurring issue or not, 28% (No.98) of the agents spontaneously state, explicitly or implicitly, that profile screening by ethnicity is common in the exercise of the profession.

Repeated references to the daily life of the request made by the property owners highlight the tendency of discrimination as much as an internal practice that is applied within real estate "yes, we do that, of course" (A342), as a request that the agencies receive from the property owner "they ask us a lot" (A316); "This is our daily bread" (A084) "I can already tell you that 95% of the owners of the neighbourhood ask us for this" (A288).



Three out of ten real estate agents spontaneously state that discrimination on the grounds of origin is common in the exercise of their profession.

This data, we insist, extracted from spontaneous responses from agents, without having previously asked any questions, leads us to understand that the phenomenon of discrimination on the grounds of origin is common practice in the real estate sector, but beyond these non-induced answers, then the acceptance of discrimination is quantified; facilitating discrimination; non-discrimination and response evasion.

Table 1. Distribution of responses to the discriminatory petition (No. and %)

	Non- discrimination	Discrimination			Response evasion	Total
	Rejection of discrimination	Acceptance of discrimination	Facilitation of discrimination	Total discrimination		
No.	35	218	83	301	14	350
%	10.0	62.3	23.7	86	4.0	100

The previous table includes the results obtained (absolute number and percentage) in the agents' responses to the explicit request to discriminate on the basis of origin.

The results indicate 86% of discrimination understood as those responses that accept or facilitate the discrimination proposed by the property, either by leaving out the immigrant population from the selection process, or through the information on the candidates provided by the agents from which the property can choose the candidate according to ethnic criteria. 10% of the agents refuse to carry out the proposed discriminatory practice and finally 4% of the agents avoid answering the question.



86% of discriminatory property claims get the expected result of excluding the "immigrant" population as tenants of the property.

62,3% achieve exclusion on ethnic grounds through direct acceptance by real estate agencies, and 23.7% through facilitation.



4.2 Professional association as a factor in protecting from discrimination?

Below are the results obtained, differentiating whether or not the agency is included in the list of agents in the API search engine (Colleges and Association of Real Estate Agents) that operate in the city of Barcelona.

Table 2. Distribution of answers according to membership or not of the real estate agency (no. and %)

		Non- discrimination	Discrimination			Response evasion
		Rejection of discrimination	Acceptance of discrimination	Facilitation of discrimination	Total discrimination	
NO	No.	9.0	133.0	30.0	163	3.0
API.	%	5.1	76.0	17.1	93.1	1.7
ADI	No.	26.0	85.0	53.0	138	11.0
API	%	14.9	48.6	30.3	78.9	6.3
	No.	35.0	218.0	83.0	301	14.0
TOTAL	%	10.0	62.3	23.7	86	4.0

Non-member agents accept or facilitate the proposed discrimination in 93.1% of the proposals, while member agents do so in 78.9% of the requests. Among API agencies we find more rejection of discrimination with a difference of 9.8% compared to non-API agencies, to the point that 75% of rejection of discriminatory petition is concentrated in responses from member agencies.

However, the most relevant differences between the groups analysed are in the strategies used to carry out the discrimination proposed by the property owner. Among API agencies, 27.4% less acceptance of discrimination is detected, but, on the other hand, this does not only translate into an increase in non-discrimination (+ 9.8%) as it also increases the facilitation of discrimination (+ 13.2%) and response evasion (+4.6).

These results indicate that although the association of agents could be acting as a factor of protection from discrimination expressed from more rejection of the proposal (+ 9.8%) and less direct acceptance (-27.4%), agents operating under the API make more use of discriminatory facilitation strategies than other agents from the application of seemingly neutral screening techniques with the aim of disclaiming responsibility for discriminatory practice but which, in turn, leads to the same discriminatory results.

5 Prejudice and stereotypes in the real estate market

Prejudice and stereotypes stem from irrational beliefs that individuals hold against groups. The analysis of prejudices and stereotypes, changing over time and context, allows us to examine how biases are constructed based on people's ethnicity and how these can end up constituting discriminatory practices.

Prejudice is eminently emotional with a refusal to contrast information. The difference is identified through categorisation as a process of classification. The use of terms and labels is part of this classification process. Prejudice labels include negative emotions. Stereotypes are often confused with categories, but stereotypes would be the idea that accompanies the classification process and prevents differentiated thinking by exaggerating a belief that is associated with a category with the pretence of justifying behaviour with the category. Stereotypes become useful to prejudices because they assign sets of beliefs to a group justifying thoughts and behaviours toward that group.

Stereotypes as simplified, and widely shared mental images attribute certain characteristics and qualities/defects to individuals as members of a given group. The functionality of stereotypes takes special interest when we consider the role they play as instruments that convey the relations of discrimination and domination.

Both prejudice and stereotypes form the main basis of discriminatory behaviour, although discriminatory practices can be found in the absence of prejudice where motivation can be purely instrumental, in the same way that regardless of agents' prejudices discrimination can be rejected.

In any case, the exaggeration of elements of internal similarity in a group and the exaltation of differences between groups which in turn incorporate presuppositions of what is expected of the people who make it up feed the hostility towards the otherness, and are perceived as a threat to the predominant model of economic and social organisation of the host society. In the case of housing, the threat would not only be related in cultural and symbolic terms, but also in the perception of greater risk directed at one of the fundamental pillars of the dominant economic system, private property.

5.1 The profile for exclusion: "A pure and simple immigrant"

In the discriminatory request expressed by the fictitious property owner, they have consciously chosen to use the term "immigrant" without further explanation of ethnic origin, religion or social class, in order to investigate the extent to which real estate agents spontaneously refer to this type of differentiations in the answers. Unequivocally, real estate agents in the face of the discriminatory proposal interpret that the proposed discrimination is aimed at those people who come from certain countries, and these are the ones who would be excluded from what is known as the Global North. Throughout the experiment, a distinction is observed between the immigrant population that would respond to the discriminable profile, and the foreign person as desirable.

The contrast between the two terms *foreign* and *immigrant* is based on dichotomous stereotypes, with foreigners from the Global North being associated with profiles with purchasing power and cultural proximity, as opposed to people from other countries. It is a categorisation based on that population that is supposed to provide economic and cultural wealth, and that which is rather seen as the one that takes advantage of the host society.

"Any immigrant, your average immigrant, can no longer rent depending on which apartment." (A155))

"I'm not interested in immigrants either! Foreigners, Europeans, of course, but not immigrants!" (A170)

"What do you mean by *immigrant*? So we understand each other, a French or an English person is not the same as a Moroccan." (A188)

"Immigrant, what do you mean, Pakistanis and things like that?" (A225)

"I understand that when you say *immigrant* you mean the typical one with a red card, or so we understand each other, a poor immigrant profile, we don't rent to these profiles." (A210)

So there are immigrants who are not considered immigrants, depending on the country of origin, and people who can be considered immigrants without being immigrants. The implicit connotations of this dichotomy between *immigrant* and *foreigner* are based on prejudices and stereotypes where the substantive issue highlighted by the agents is the presumption of difficulties in meeting the rent payment. This subjective and distorted perception has direct consequences for the differentiated treatment that people born in the city may also suffer when there are personal elements that can be identified as people with phenotypic traits differentiated from the majority of the host population.

La Barceloneta seen from the mountain.

Housing block in

C/ Carme.





5.2 Status and solvency: "We can make some exceptions"

Agents sometimes raise the possibility of "making an exception" (A157) and state under what conditions they would be willing to include migrants among potential tenants. The conditions that stand out are linked to the fact that the tenant has a profession with social recognition and economic solvency, criteria that would also affect the most disadvantaged indigenous population, where aporophobia is again present in the speeches of real estate agents:

"We can also find that we have an immigrant who may be a doctor from the Hospital Clínic who has been here for 20 years, who is not just anyone who is in Barcelona 'seeing them coming', as they say." (A239)

"I would say South Americans are better than Maghrebis, Maghrebis or Africans... But let's see, so that we understand each other, if an immigrant comes to me from wherever they're from with a salary of € 50,000, I will give them the 'nod'. I don't bother with the rest, and if I have to for whatever reason, then I know I won't rent it." (A022)

"It's just that we don't usually work with these people, we work with students, couples... We can make an exception if it turns out that it's a Venezuelan doctor, or a Chilean dentist, I can make an exception, or an engineer, a computer scientist... Nice profiles, so we accept them, but whenever you want, when you tell us right from the start that it's no, then it's no. Let's see, the flat is yours and you decide". (A157)

"We carry out the first filter with the criteria you send us and then we discard by groups: by self-employed, by 'home carers' and similar low profiles... In the end the one to decide will be you, and if the profile does not fit then we keep looking. (A195)

These discourses detect both multiple discrimination where ethnicity and class would be the additive reasons that would add up negatively in the selection process, and intersectional discrimination, where it would not be the sum of personal characteristics but the specific configuration of different positions in the social structure.

6 Strategies and justifications for carrying out discrimination

In their discourse, real estate agents are aware of the discriminatory nature of the fictitious property owner claim, and spontaneously state that it is a hidden practice. As will be seen below, different strategies are identified to keep track of them. In some cases, even agents feed prejudices and stereotypes seeking to generate complicity with property, presenting as a wise option the exclusion of immigrants from the selection process.

6.1 A practice in the shadows: "That can't be said, but it can be done"

The publication of rental advertisements, which explains the exclusion of the foreign population, has been openly publicised and relatively common for decades. This was possible because discrimination was not accompanied by a minimum of associated stigma. As this practice has become more widely condemned, and financially sanctioned, it has virtually been eradicated. The real estate portals themselves have the manual supervision of human equipment and automated controls for the elimination of discriminatory content.

In 2020, during the review of more than two thousand real estate rental advertisements in Barcelona published on real estate websites, no explicitly discriminatory advertisements were detected that referred to the exclusion of profiles on racial grounds, unlike the broad presence they had had in previous decades (Fitó et al., 2020). This does not mean that in a timely manner, even today, an advertisement of this nature cannot be detected, as is the case of the one published in June 2019 which included as a requirement that the tenant be Spanish, and that was the reason of a sanctioning file being opened on the City council of Barcelona.

Throughout the experiment, the fictitious property owner under no circumstances mentions either the requirement or the will to make public the request for exclusion on the internet portals. Instead, spontaneously, 19.4% (No.68) of all the participating agents advise that "we are not going to publish this" (A160). Advice is given, however, in 70.6% (No.48) of the cases it was accompanied by acceptance of the discrimination:

"In an ad, you can't discriminate but when they come they are ruled out, but in ads we can't say so because they can report you." (A298)

"Ok, this may be one of the requirements, but remember this can't be published." (A216)

"Of course! We don't display it anywhere because it's ugly, but we filter them out, and so that they don't feel offended, we tell them that it's already rented or whatever, and we don't hold any more viewings." (A103)

"No problem, but you will not see it announced in these terms, because we can not do it, they would fine you and me, but that does not mean we do not take it into account, do not worry. It cannot be said but it can be done (A260)"

6.2 A la carte discrimination "your way"

One of the first steps mentioned by the agents to carry out the discrimination after the alert of the impossibility of publishing it is to collect the preferences and then identify the profiles that correspond to those desired. It is a process that we have called a la carte discrimination when it comes down to "go ahead and ask, we'll see what we can do" (A260). Real estate agents justify themselves by specifying that it is about reducing time and effort, and therefore costs. In this process a clear predominance of what would be considered discrimination to the taste of the property owner is detected.

In parallel with the collection of information regarding the apartment, the agents ask and collect the preferences of the property owner in relation to the profile, and end up looking

for a supposed balance between the housing value that the property offers, the possible existing demand for the property typology and the fit of the preferences communicated by the property owner.

These preferences can be very varied, some agents even exaggerate their explanations in order to transfer to the property owner the commitment regarding the fulfilment of their preferences:

"Of course, we make exclusions. Remember that you're going to choose who you want. There is no problem, it can be done quietly, in other countries, it can't. But here if you don't like a tenant because they are wearing red shoes, you exclude them and nothing will happen to you" (A148)

The need of the agents for the property owner to transfer them the smallest detail of the profiles they desire responds to the achievement of the reduction of the effort rate to close the operation. This extreme time optimisation leads to situations of a la carte discrimination such as the following:

"There are many types of immigrants; once you have given us the economic criteria, you will have to inform us of what types you want, i.e. only a national of Spain, or only of Catalonia, so we can also optimise our time." (A238)

"What you should do is properly define what you mean by immigrant, that is, limit it if only Moroccans are the ones you don't want, and for example Chileans or Argentines would be no problem, but not those from Ecuador or Bolivia, you have to limit them more. I understand that you would not exclude a French person, for example..., but you should tell me: look, no 'Chinese' or black people, you have to limit what you will consider." (A058)

In the conversations, the trivialisation of discrimination on the grounds of origin is observed, reducing its importance, and equating it to other preferences such as the presence of animals:

"You tell us these things, as you have done now, I'm writing down your preferences and I'll take them into account. It depends on the owner, there are those who say they don't want pets, because we no longer present the options." (A307)

"There are people who don't want pets, or who prefer families to students, so we manage it. With immigrants, it's the same thing, there are people who ask us for this... "(A168)

"It's all right, just as there are people who don't want animals, there are owners who don't want immigrants... or children, who we've also met before." (A180)

6.3 Identify to discriminate: "The face never lies"

Throughout the process of selecting the profiles, the agents pay attention to the various differential features that allow them to identify the population to discriminate against. In the case of discrimination on the grounds of origin, the identification that makes possible the subsequent exclusion of the process is based mainly on linguistic signs such as accent or name, along with phenotypic traits and clothing of the applicant.

"No problem, we do not say this in the ad, because it is politically incorrect, but we make a selection and by phone it just depends on how they talk we can already detect it, and without saying what the reason is, we report that it is not available and we're not doing visits or anything, in that sense you can rest easy." (A153)

"We do a lot of filtering just on the phone going by the way they talk and we know where they come from, or with their name, and if we're not sure we ask for documentation before the visit, we always filter before the visit so as not to waste time." (A018)

We must not forget that the selection process itself is accompanied by the presentation of a set of identifying documents that includes information that facilitates the knowledge of the origin of the different candidates. The identification of the population to be discriminated against is practically immediate, without the need to ask explicitly about the origin of the person, which makes it difficult to detect differentiated treatment when it occurs.

"In the ID or the documentation you have you will see them, like if there is a photo you will see them, that they are an immigrant, the face never lies." (A261)

"Of course, before the economic filtering, the first thing we ask for is the ID, and we see them." (A302)

Once the discriminatory proposal is accepted, the majority of agents avoid visits and, again, justify it as an optimisation of time: "We aren't doing visits any more, we aren't wasting time." (A215). This would indicate to us that the discrimination on the grounds of origin occurs mostly before the visit to the property from the perspective of the economic rationality of the agent of not devoting efforts to those profiles that the property initially discards.

"It just depends on how they talk on the phone, we can already detect it and, without saying what the reason is, we report that it is not available and we are no longer doing visits or anything." (A153)

Visits to the buildings have a double function: while the candidates evaluate the house, the agents take the opportunity to extract information from visitors, where they are analysed from their language or the existence of phenotypic traits that reveal the person's ethnic origin in case they have not been previously detected.

"The sales person, when they call, checks these personal characteristics and if they ever go unnoticed, when we get to the visit and find someone we didn't expect, we just fix it in some way." (A324)

6.4 Deceit: "part of our work"

Agents who accept discrimination on the grounds of origin explain that when they communicate the refusal to applicants because they are immigrants, they hide the real reason for exclusion. Without any shame, they travel to the property where deception and lying will be used, which denotes awareness of the discriminatory practice they are carrying out. Deceit and lies that are considered part of the selection process:

"Don't worry, when they come we just invent something, that's part of our job." (A134)

The deceit is based mainly through the false unavailability of the property, or through the euphemism of the inadequacy of the profile:

"Of course, we just tell them it's not available." (A177)

"No problem. Let's see, in this case we do not give coverage, we say that the property already has a candidate or that we already have it." (A180)

"The inadequacy of the profile due to the type of apartment is reported, and there is no problem." (A269)

"We will make an excuse when they call us and that's it! It has been reserved, it's no longer available and it's over... " (A262)

"If you don't want this profile, we just tell them that the owner has selected another profile, but we never tell them the real reason." (A003)

Cardboard figure with adhesive notes.



7 Strategies and justifications for non-discrimination

Although research in the field of discrimination has usually focused on the quantification and analysis of discrimination, rather than non-discrimination, we wanted to pay special attention to the supporting argument used by agents in rejecting the discriminatory proposal of fictitious property owners. Remember that one in ten agents object to the discrimination petition.

The options of non-acceptance of discrimination are justified on the basis of three main arguments that are strongly interrelated with each other. The option of rejecting discrimination would be explained by: the reaffirmation of a personal choice and social commitment; compliance with current legality, and beliefs derived from professional experience.

Regardless of the argument used to refuse to discriminate, it can be seen how in all three cases the non-discriminatory will prevails even by showing a willingness to lose a business opportunity to avoid discrimination.

7.1 Anti-racist reaffirmation: "It should not be allowed"

This argument is the least used in the justification of non-discrimination, only in one in ten non-discriminatory responses (No.4). The agents reject the discrimination arguing that the proposal of the property to exclude profiles according to origin is morally reprehensible, they argue that "it should not be allowed", and even, through their own experience they explain that in the exercise of their profession they seek to reverse these discriminatory situations:

"We do not discriminate against anyone. Anyone. We don't care if they come from the North Pole or the South Pole. I've heard many stories of real estate agents who don't rent to immigrants, we're not going to do that. Right now I have an Arab client with a salary of € 1,800 net who cannot rent an apartment in the city, this simply should not be allowed, now let's see if we can find something. I'm sorry, but we're not going to put everyone in the same pot." (A101)

"We are not going to publish this, we are not going to make any derogatory publication towards people anywhere, because it is not good and because we are not going to do it." (A160)

"We can't apply a filter like this, this would be discriminatory. We publish the announcement and receive all proposals equally. But we can't post an ad like this, because we can't put on restrictions like this, it's neither respectful nor ethical." (A310)

7.2 Compliance with legality and the code of ethics: "It is illegal. It can't be done"

As we have seen, not all real estate agents agree with the discriminatory application of fictitious property owners, between them, two out of ten negative to discrimination mention the current legality to make their opposition to discrimination prevail on the grounds of origin (No.8). Compliance with legal and deontological regulations is the argument for opposing discrimination on the grounds of origin:

"What they are proposing is discrimination. It is illegal. It can't be done. We cannot discriminate in any way. I will tell them that we work with all kinds of nationalities, and the problems, if any, will be found with people from here and people from outside, it is not a criterion that we use. We cannot discriminate in the sense they are proposing." (A109)

"Legally this can't be done. We don't do it." (A090)

"This is not allowed and we have to turn to the law." (A233)

"We will never publish such a thing..., because the law does not allow it, and we will not accept it because our way of understanding the profession is not this." (A344)

There are agents who even verbalise the discomfort and symbolic violence generated by the request to apply discriminatory criteria on the grounds of origin, being in an intermediate situation with two parties to please:

"It's not much,... let's see... you're hiring me to look for a tenant (...) I can't impose anything on you, but I can't impose anything on the tenant either, so that we understand each other, I also have to put myself in their place, I have to make everyone comfortable, and what you're asking for doesn't help, we don't work with these criteria. Do you see what I'm saying?" (A066)

In this type of agent where legality and deontology are fundamental, the identification of the agent as an intermediary between two clients is detected. The predominance of one client over another, the landlord over the tenant, makes the "final word on the property" be repeated multiple times over the course of calls.

7.3 Professional experience: "You're making a mistake"

Finally, the analysis of non-discriminatory discourse detects how the agent uses experience and expertise in the sector as a strategy to build trust with the property owner and deter them from the application of discriminatory criteria in terms of origin.

"This is not something we look at, because it doesn't tell us anything, and in 10 years of working I still haven't had to put on my gown at any time, that's a guarantee, let me advise you and don't look at these things." (A220)

The generation of trust is built by dismantling stereotypes that link the migrant population with economic insolvency and the inability to keep the apartment in good condition.

"Whether or not they are an immigrant is completely indifferent to looking for a tenant. I have tenants here who don't pay, but I also have a Chinese girl who has a very, very good income, a very good person. I have now rented to a girl who is French but of Senegalese origin and there is no problem. What I want you to understand is that being an immigrant is the least of it, it is not important in order to ensure that you will be paid and the flat will be looked after. For me, the important thing is the person themselves, as a whole, not where they come from." (A150)

At the same time, this experience in the sector is used to highlight the differential feature, as a measure of distance from the competition of agencies that are in the real estate sector on a temporary basis. This is an argument that must be contextualised with the high rate of renewal of real estate agents according to AICAT data (10% per year).

"That is the least of your worries, I'll be clear. You are not right to consider this, because this office has been open for 50 years; we are not one of those who open and then close a hut where everything goes, we know that whether or not a tenant is an immigrant, it is not important when renting a flat, and it should not be for you." (A266)

Among the agents who refer to the experience in the sector there is no animosity towards the difference by reason of origin, nor are they influenced by the use of prejudices and stereotypes based on the origin when reducing risks of making mistakes with tenants, because, they argue, the average characteristics of the group of immigrants do not allow them to make individual inferences. So not only do they reject discrimination according to taste proposed by the property owner, but they also reject statistical discrimination, alerting the landlord that the discrimination on the grounds of origin they are suggesting is precisely the result of incomplete information from the real estate market.

Are there immigrants who don't pay? Of Course there are. And Spaniards too. That's the way it is, and I'm telling you from experience." (A204)

Referring to experience is the most widely used argument among agents who oppose discrimination, where seven out of ten non-discriminatory responses allege these reasons (No.23).

Woman opening the door of a flat.



8 Conclusions

A field experiment was conducted using calls made without notice with the aim of analysing the responses of real estate agents to a discriminatory request on the grounds of ethnic origin made by a fictitious property owner.

Persistence of ethnic discrimination in the rental housing market

The results in the 350 responses obtained indicate the persistence of discrimination on the grounds of origin with an acceptance of discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin of 62.3% and a facilitation of discrimination of 23.7%. The data shows that the discriminatory request for property would achieve the expected result of excluding the "immigrant" population in 86% of cases. 4% of agents would avoid responding and 10% would oppose the discriminatory request.

Membership as a factor of protection against direct acceptance of discrimination

The results of 175 responses from member agents and 175 from non-member agents indicate that while the association of agents could be acting as a factor in protecting discrimination expressed from further rejection of the proposal (+ 9.8%) and less direct acceptance (-27.4%), agents operating under the API make more use of strategies that facilitate discrimination through the application of seemingly neutral screening techniques with the pretension of being irresponsible for the discriminatory practice but which, on the other hand, entails the same discriminatory results.

In relation to the exploration of the strategies and justifications of the agents when accepting, facilitating or refusing the discriminatory request, we set out below the general patterns that derive from the analysis of the speeches, as well as other derived issues that are considered remarkable in order to address the issue of discrimination on the grounds of origin in the rental real estate market of the city of Barcelona.

Social housing building facade in C/ Tanger.

Woman in the kitchen of one of the apartments.

Woman making an intercom call.







The presence of prejudice, stereotypes and stratifications

Throughout the study, the agents' discourses detect the existence of numerous prejudices and stereotypes about the immigrant population. To begin with, the term *immigrant* used by fictitious property owners is associated, almost unequivocally, with a person who does not come from what is known as the Global North, differentiating them from the foreign population. The analysis of discourses makes it possible to detect the existence of cultural but above all economic animosity, where aporophobia is ubiquitous.

The agents legitimise discrimination against the "immigrant" group based on the manifestation of fears and concerns linked to the non-payment of income and employment, but also in relation to the lack of concern for the maintenance of the state of the property.

The deployment of stereotypes is accompanied by examples drawn from the professional's own experiences, which denotes the presence of statistical discrimination as a reason for accepting discrimination.

Ethnic discrimination: multiple and intersectional

Acceptance of discrimination includes both the acceptance raised by property in generic terms (*immigrant*) and in certain origins, stratifying according to the stereotypes associated with each origin in an exercise of both multiple and intersectional discrimination derived mainly from affiliation to a social category that lies at the confluence of class and ethnicity. Some agents state that they would be willing to apply exceptions to the exclusionary category if "immigrants" have status and/or financial solvency, presenting a string of professions that would exempt the immigrant population from discrimination.

The intentionality of discriminatory practice and the need for concealment

The speeches show an awareness and intentionality of discriminatory practice and present strategies to circumvent current regulations. Agents are concerned that the practice will be detected; so much so that 19.4% of agents warn the property owner that they will not post an ad with the proposed terms. It is, however, a warning that 70.6% (No.48) of cases are accompanied by an acceptance of discrimination, which states that the publication of the announcement is motivated to evade economic sanctions and indirectly the social disapproval to which they are exposed.

The predominance of acceptance of discrimination through "a la carte discrimination"

62.3% of agents accept the proposed discrimination. Acceptance is usually accompanied by a collection of preferences in a process we call a la carte, where agents offer to find the profile best suited to the wishes of the property owner. The agent performs a process of identifying profiles according to the demand made by the property owner based on linguistic signs such as accent or name, and phenotype and clothing traits. The process includes the deceit of the tenant based on the false unavailability of the property and the euphemism of the inadequacy of the profile.

This process of a la carte discrimination is justified by the agent as a process of "economic rationality" where the optimisation of time would exempt them from formalisms, which encourages the deployment of discourses full of prejudices and stereotypes, and where even discrimination is trivialised by comparing the exclusion of immigrant candidates with the refusal of the presence of pets in the property. Time optimisation is also used as a justification for avoiding visits to excluded entry profiles.

The opposition: anti-racist reaffirmation, professionalism and compliance with the code of ethics

It is not uncommon for studies of this nature to include the analysis of non-discriminatory responses, a shortcoming that should be reversed if our aim is to mitigate the problem of discrimination in terms of access to housing, as it provides information which is as valuable as knowledge of discriminatory acceptance.

Quantitative results indicate that 10% of agents oppose the discriminatory request for property. Although the weight of these responses is less, it should be noted that 75% of the opposition to the discriminatory request is by API real estate agents. This opposition is justified on the basis of three broad, often interrelated arguments: referring to experience in the practice of the profession as an antidote to ethnic stereotypes; a will to comply with the law and the professional code of ethics, and finally what we have called *the anti-racist reaffirmation of the agent*.

9 Bibliography

ARROW, K. J. (1973). "The Theory of Discrimination." A: ASHENFELTER, O.; REES, A. *Discrimination in Labor Markets*, 3-42. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

BECKER, Gary S. (1971). La economía de la discriminación. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

BELL, J. F.; ZIMMERMAN, F. J.; ALMGREN, G. R.; MAYER, J. D.; HUEBNER, C. E. (2006). "Birth outcomes among urban african-American women: A multilevel analysis of the role of racial residential segregation". *Social Science & Medicine*, 63(12), p. 3030-3045.

Available at: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2006.08.011

BOVENKERK, F. (1992). Testing Discrimination in Natural Experiments: A Manual for International Comparative Research on Discrimination on the Grounds of 'Race' and Ethnic Origin. Geneva: International Labour Office.

BURSELL, M. (2007). "What's in a name? A field experiment test for the existence of ethnic discrimination in the hiring process". SULCIS Working Paper.

Available at: urn:nbn:se:su:diva-118231

FITÓ, A.; ESPINACH, X.; GRAS, R.; RAMOS, J. (2020). La clau pot ser un nom. *Detecció d'evidències de discriminació en l'accés al mercat de lloguer d'habitatge a Barcelona*. Barcelona City Council, Directorate of Citizenship Rights.

Available at: La clau pot ser un nom català (barcelona.cat)

FISCHER, M. J.; MASSEY, D. S. (2004). "The ecology of racial discrimination". *City Commun*. 3(3), p. 221-41.

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1535-6841.2004.00079.x

FERNANDEZ, R. M.; SU, C. (2004). "Space in the study of labor markets". *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 30, p. 545-69.

Available at: 10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100034

HIRSCHMAN, Daniel; POPP BERMAN, Elizabeth (2014). "Do Economists Make Policies? On the Political Effects of Economics." *Socio-Economic Review* 12(4), p. 779-811.

Available at: 10.1093/ser/mwu017

HEYLEN, K.; VAN DEN BROECK, K. (2016). "Discrimination and Selection in the Belgian Private Rental Market." *Housing Studies* 31, p. 223-36.

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2015.1070798

HYMAN, I. (2007). "Immigration and health: reviewing evidence of the healthy immigrant effect in Canada". Toronto: CERIS Working Paper No. 55.

Available at: Institutional Repository Western University (uwo.ca)

HYMAN, I. (2009). *Racism as a determinant of immigrant health*. Strategic Initiatives and Innovations Directorate of the Public Health Agency of Canada and the Metropolis Project.

Available at: http://canada.metropolis.net/pdfs/racism_policy_brief_e.pdf

JUNG, J.; DOBBIN, F. (2016). "Agency Theory as Prophecy: How Boards, Analysts, and Fund Managers Perform Their Roles." *Seattle University Law Review* 39(2), p. 291-320.

Available at: "Agency Theory as Prophecy" by Jiwook Jung and Frank Dobbin (seattleu.edu)

LUDEVID, Jordi (2021). Una ciudad de profesiones. Barcelona: MY16 Edit.

MASSEY, D. S.; DENTON, N. A. (1993). *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

PAGER, D.; KARAFIN, D. (2009). "Bayesian Bigot? Statistical Discrimination, Stereotypes, and Employer Decision Making." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 621(1), p. 70-93.

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716208324628

PALOMERA, J. [et al.] (2021). Impactes socials del mercat de lloguer. Enquesta sobre les condicions de vida de la població llogatera a Barcelona i l'àrea metropolitana. La Hidra, IGOP, UAB.

Available at: [Informe] Impactes socials del mercat de lloguer (lahidra.net)

PHELPS, E. (1972). "The statistical theory of racism and sexism". *The American Economic Review*, 62 (4), p. 659-661.

Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/1806107

RIACH, P.; RICH, J. (2002). "Field experiments of discrimination in the market place". *Economic Journal*, 112 (483), p. 480-518.

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0297.00080

RIACH, P. A.; RICH, J. (2004). "Deceptive field experiments of discrimination: Are they ethical?". *Kyklos*, 57(3), p. 457-470.

Available at: 10.1111/j.0023-5962.2004.00262.x

RESKIN, B. (2003). "Including mechanisms in our models of ascriptive inequality", 2002 Presidential Address, *American Sociological Review*, 68, p. 1-21.

Available at: 10.1007/1-4020-3455-5 4

TILCSIK, A. (2021). "Statistical Discrimination and the Rationalization of Stereotypes". *American Sociological Review*, 86(1), p. 93-122.

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122420969399

VERSTRAETE, J., Verhaeghe, PP. (2020). "Ethnic discrimination upon request? Real estate agents' strategies for discriminatory questions of clients", *J Hous and the Built Environ*, 35, p. 703–721 (2020).

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-019-09721-8

WEBER, M. (2009) [1905]. La ética protestante y el "espíritu" del capitalismo. Madrid: Akal.

WILLIAMS, D. (2004). "Racism and health". A: Closing the Gap: Improving the Health of Minority Elders in the New Millennium, ed. KE Whitfield, p. 69-80. Washington, DC: Gerontol. Soc. Am.

Available at: 10.1177/0002764213487340

YANG, T-C.; CHEN, I-C.; KIM, S.; CHOI, S. (2018). "Differential investments and opportunities: how do neighborhood conditions moderate the relationship between perceived housing discrimination and social capital?". Social Science Research, p. 69-83.

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.01.008

ZSCHIRNT, E. (2019). "Research Ethics in Correspondence Testing: An Update". *Research Ethics*, 15(2), p. 1-21.

Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1747016118820497

A la carte discrimination. Exclusion on ethnic grounds in Barcelona's rental housing market Report November 2021 Directorate of Citizenship Rights, Broll,sccl.