



# EVOLUTION OF RACISM, XENOPHOBIA, AND OTHER FORMS OF INTOLERANCE in Spain

## 2015 Survey Report

*Summary*

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MINISTERIO DE EMPLEO Y SEGURIDAD SOCIAL

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# Introduction

This is a summary of the 2015 survey report **Evolution of Racism, Xenophobia, and Other Forms of Intolerance in Spain**, by Mercedes Fernández, Consuelo Valbuena and Raquel Caro from the University Institute of Migration Studies at Comillas Pontifical University. The main objective of the report is to present the analysis of the eighth annual survey on “Attitudes towards Immigration” of 2015, commissioned by the General Secretariat of Immigration and Emigration through the Spanish Observatory on Racism and Xenophobia (Oberaxe), to the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS).

The results from 2015 broadly show that Spaniards accept diversity and are tolerant towards people who come from third countries, and that their attitudes have been evolving positively. Thus, Spain forms one of the most welcoming European countries to people coming from other countries.

This report singles out the following as factors underlying the level of rejection or tolerance towards immigration: competition for scarce resources, assiduity of relations with immigrants, degree of empathy with disadvantaged groups, stance on integration, and expression of racist or xenophobic attitudes. On the other hand, “trust in people” is a revealing variable for explaining social cohesion, and serves as a proxy for self-perception of racism. Additionally, three profiles from the survey respondents have been identified according to their social-demographic characteristics and factors that indicate higher or lower tolerance, which enable us to better understand their attitudes and determine action strategies targeting different population groups.

Racism, xenophobia, and intolerance in general, regardless of the form adopted, create barriers to coexistence and hinder the full development of society. They worsen inequalities in the population, and often directly attack people’s dignity.

As the European Charter of Fundamental Rights reflects, we, the people of Europe, have decided to share a peaceful future based on common values of respect for human dignity, freedom, equality, and solidarity. We want to respect diversity and different cultures, and we are committed to defending them and encouraging all these values through the principles of democracy and the rule of law.

However, assuring a harmonious interaction in an increasingly diverse society formed by people with different, varied and dynamic cultures, origins, languages and identities involves a great challenge. Moreover, today, when immigration is at the centre of a political and social debate, both in Europe and globally, this challenge has been magnified.

Therefore, it is essential to have evidence-based information available, enabling the crafting of policies and strategies to raise awareness and prevent racism and xenophobia. In this sense, the annual report **Evolution of Racism, Xenophobia, and Other Forms of Intolerance in Spain** is a valuable instrument which has monitored the attitudes of Spaniards towards immigration since 2007.

To continue making progress with this 2015 report, we have tried to offer further analysis and present out results more accessibly, as well as including this new summarised version. In doing so, our aim is to reach a wider audience and further the work of those charged with preventing racism, xenophobia, and other forms of intolerance, such as policymakers, public administrators, and those heading civil society organisations, among others, and thus, to contribute to progress in a more tolerant, cohesive, and safe society.


**Marina del Corral Téllez**

Secretary-General for Immigration and Emigration

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# Evolution of Racism, Xenophobia, and Other Forms of Intolerance in Spain: In brief

In the last 30 years, Spain has gone from being a homogeneous country to a multicultural and diverse one: now, 10% of the resident population is of foreign nationality; 4% of the resident population having Spanish nationality was born abroad; and 1% of the population of foreign origin was born in Spain.

Spain's deep recession (2007-2014) caused a major restructuring in the labour market for the native-born and foreign-born alike. Two conclusions can be drawn from these years: 1) most immigrants have come to Spain with the intention of staying; and 2) there have been no serious coexistence issues.

Spain is one of the most welcoming EU countries to people from third countries. This "competitive" window compared to the rest of Europe is a positive aspect of our society.

Since 2007, the results of the longitudinal analysis from the annual "Attitudes towards Immigration" survey have enabled us to conclude that Spaniards accept diversity and are tolerant of those who come from third countries, as well as to see how attitudes have been further improving throughout the period studied.

The best results of the series were achieved in 2015 with regard to the recognition of basic rights for immigrants on equal terms with Spaniards: 82.7% of survey respondents thought that immigrants who permanently settled in Spain should obtain Spanish nationality; more than 86.1% thought that they should be able to bring their families; and more than 92.7% agreed that they should receive unemployment benefits. The best results of the series are also shown regarding opinions on whether long-term unemployed immigrants should be expelled from the country (down to 39.2%); the perception that immigrants improve schools (up to 71.6%); or the perception that their presence lowers the quality of education (down to 43.5%). The rejection of insults or racist behaviour also had its best results in 2015, with only 4.8% of survey respondents believing that this should not be penalised.

“Trust in people” is the most revealing variable for explaining social cohesion, which suggests that promoting social cohesion around the maintenance of diverse and shared norms and values, generating mutual trust between people, can be more fruitful than trying to do so based on a shared tradition or history.

The survey’s respondents expressed the perception that the media give excessive coverage to the migration, presenting a negative view of it. However, it has not been possible to establish a relationship between these opinions and attitudes of higher or lower tolerance. It shall, therefore, be necessary to make some changes in the survey to enable a more refined analysis of this crucial aspect, given that the media’s opinion-making role can contribute to building societies with less prejudice, or with more intolerance.

Five dimensions were identified that can lead to attitudes of higher or lower tolerance: 1) competition for scarce resources; 2) personal relations with immigrants and the Roma population; 3) empathy with disadvantaged groups; 4) Spaniards’ stance on immigration; and 5) public acting out of racist attitudes.

Three profiles have been identified, making it possible to divide people into three groups according to their socio-demographic characteristics and their attitudes towards immigrants: “distrustful”, “distant”, and “multicultural”. As expected, the three groups present elements of both tolerance and intolerance. Moreover, they are permeable and their boundaries are sometimes difficult to define.

According to their sociodemographic characteristics, people in the “distrustful” group are largely over 65, retired or carrying out unpaid housework, with a low level of education, a stable economic situation and, in general, living in regions with a low presence of

immigrants. The “distant” group is largely middle-aged, employed, living in economically developed areas, and with a comfortable economic situation. The “multicultural” group tends to comprise younger people who have already grown up in a multicultural world. In general, they have completed secondary education and have a stable economic situation, or they are studying or even unemployed.

Two of the three profiles, “distant” and “multicultural”, clearly present some of the dimensions of social cohesion that contribute to higher tolerance. In the case of the “distant” profile, it is a question of perceiving no competition in the labour market; in the case of the “multicultural” group, one of positive interaction with diversity.

The identification of the variables that influence more or less tolerant attitudes, the negative inflexion of some trends, the mixed profile inherent to people (tolerant/intolerant), and the challenge of accepting diversity present on an international level, all indicate the need to continue with prevention, awareness, and regulatory strategies and policies to educate the public in respect for others, to not be permissive with actions that affect peoples’ dignity and, ultimately, to reduce prejudice and favour coexistence. These strategies must be aimed at the entire population, taking into account their special characteristics, and providing for specific measures in different areas.



# 1 Context

## 1.1 Europe

According to EUROSTAT (Statistical Office of the European Communities) figures for 2015, 76% of foreigners (third-country nationals or displaced persons from other Member States) resident in Europe are concentrated in five countries whose populations constitute 63% of the EU-28 total: Germany (7.5 million), United Kingdom (5.4 million), Italy (5.0 million), Spain (4.5 million) and France (4.4 million). Of the 37.7 million registered foreigners in the EU-28, 11.7% live in Spain.

This presence of foreigners, together with such issues as the economic crisis and the terrorist attacks that have been targeting Europe since 2004, as well as other recent events such as the refugee crisis, have sparked a revival of racist and xenophobic attitudes manifested in the proliferation of extremist parties in many European countries.

The reason for supporting these kinds of groups is largely explained by their adaptation to new public concerns. The discourse of these populist parties brandishes the spectres of immigration and multiculturalism, public insecurity, unemployment, loss of sovereignty to supranational bodies, and disillusionment with traditional parties.

## 1.2 Spain

In 2007, the first indications of a deep recession that would last for seven years began to be felt. Economic indicators started slowing down, putting an end to an expansive phase of the cycle that had begun in the mid-1990s, characterised by the construction industry boom. The economic crisis began gradually, and then unfolded in two clearly distinguished periods, with a double-dip recession: the first from 2007 to 2010, and then from 2011 to 2013. The intensity of its impact varied from region to region, and from one industrial sector or group to another, with immigrants being one of the most affected groups.

Regarding coexistence, it is worth highlighting the peaceful acceptance of the negative consequences of the recession, the persistence of social harmony, the low number of racist or xenophobic incidents, and the low level of politicisation of the migration issue during this period. Spain's recent historical past, with a long dictatorship and the subsequent transition process marked by a consensus among all political forces, may have contributed to inhibiting the open expression and acting out of racist and xenophobic attitudes.

Nevertheless, objectively speaking, the recession has increased the sense of competition perceived by native-born citizens. This rivalry surfaces both in access to the labour market and in the perception of State welfare benefits (e.g. universal healthcare and education) and is shown in the most vulnerable groups as they compete most directly for scarce resources. For this reason, education level and economic situation are determinants of tolerance.

**Table 1.** Resident population in Spain, by place of birth and nationality, on 1 January 2015

	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Total
<b>Born in Spain</b>	39,998,632	462,818	40,461,450
<b>Born abroad</b>	1,896,106	4,266,826	6,162,932
<b>Total</b>	41,894,738	4,729,644	46,624,382

Source: INE (Spain's National Statistics Institute), Municipal Register of Inhabitants

In 2007, the first indications of a deep recession that would last for seven years began to be felt. Economic indicators started slowing down, putting an end to an expansive phase of the cycle that had begun in the mid-1990s, characterised by the construction industry boom. The economic crisis began gradually, and then unfolded in two clearly distinguished periods, with a double-dip recession: the first from 2007 to 2010, and then from 2011 to 2013. The intensity of its impact varied from region to region, and from one industrial sector or group to another, with immigrants being one of the most affected groups.

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## 2 Terminological Issues

1. **Racism** is an ideological interpretation that confers a position of power over others to a certain race or ethnic group on the basis of physical or cultural attributes, as well as economic resources, which involves a hierarchical relationship in which the “superior” race exercises dominion and control over others.

Today, however, other forms of racism exist that go beyond purely ethical issues. Thus, considering a number of factors from a racial standpoint (attitudes on differences, superiority, threats, rights, adjustment, segregation, distance, and vision of the ideal society), groups of attitudes can be established that comprise five forms of racism, classified on a scale in descending order of tolerance: 1) no racism, 2) aversive racism, 3) ethnocentric racism, 4) symbolic racism, and 5) biological racism. This is shown in Table 2.

2. **Xenophobia** refers to the attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that reject, exclude, and often denigrate people, based on the perception that they are strangers or foreigners, alien to the community, society and national identity. Xenophobia is mainly related to stereotyping, and racism more to ideology.

**Table 2.** Classification of forms of racism

CLASSIFICATION OF FORMS OF RACISM					
	No racism	Aversive racism	Ethnocentric racism	Symbolic racism	Biological racism
<b>Differences</b>	Differences in capacity are learnt			They are inherent	
<b>Superiority</b>	There are no superior races		Cultural superiority of one's own group		Biological superiority
<b>Threat</b>	Contact is enriching	Contact is threatening; it is a social problem	The group entails a cultural threat; it is a social problem		The other group threatens to degenerate our race
<b>Rights</b>	Equal rights		There is no right to equality; they must submit	Right to be equal, but no more than deserved	No rights
<b>Adjustments</b>	The other groups are free to live their own culture		They must adjust to the culture of our group	They can live as they like but within limited areas	They must be totally excluded
<b>Segregation</b>	No physical segregation	Distance from the other	Cultural separation between groups		Physical segregation
<b>Distance</b>	No distance between groups			Large distance	
<b>Ideal society</b>	Plural society	The culture of our group must dominate and be accepted by the other groups			Homogeneity. Purebred society

Sources: Agulló et al. (2004), Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993), Grossi (1999).

- 3. Prejudice** can be of two types: blatant (hot, close, and direct), an open version of the anti-minorities vision (anti-normative); and subtle (cool, distant, and indirect), which is a concealed, but socially acceptable version.

Subtle prejudice entails an attitude that is not overtly racist (contrary to symbolic racism), but based on the defence of traditional values, the exaggeration of cultural differences, and the denial of positive emotions towards the stigmatized group. Subtle prejudice arises because there are rules that prohibit clear expressions of prejudice and discrimination.

Prejudice operates on the basis of the combination of three variables: opinion of others and stereotyping (cognitive); emotions (affective); and preferred social distance with respect to the other (behavioural).

- 4. Bias of social desirability.** Subtle prejudice masks racism through the so-called bias of social desirability. In this way, faced with increasing social censorship against racism and its overt manifestations, people have stopped expressing racism directly and blatantly, but have not been able to change their negative representation of various ethnic minorities. Therefore, new forms of racism have emerged, capable of avoiding the social cost of overt racism.
- 5. Social cohesion,** understood as the degree of consensus of the members of a social group, or the perception of belonging to a common project or situation, has three dimensions: the cultural dimension, in other words, the shared values and agreed standards; the redistributive dimension, aimed at reducing as far as possible the inequalities and disparities that exist in a society; and the relational dimension, constituted by social capital (networks) as a link between people. Inasmuch as societies are capable of generating mechanisms that further the integration of the immigrant population in a system of equal opportunities and rights, the greater their social cohesion. Social cohesion is understood, from a non-assimilating viewpoint that recognizes cultural diversity, as the construction of standards and values based on agreements that allow co-existence.

## 3 Survey of *Attitudes towards Immigration*

Since 2007, the General Secretariat for Immigration and Emigration (SGIE), of the Ministry of Employment and Social Security, has commissioned the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) to conduct the “Attitudes towards immigration” survey. This fulfils the data-gathering and analysis function related to racism and xenophobia to provide insight into the situation and how it is likely to evolve in the future, assigned to the Spanish Observatory of Racism and Xenophobia (Oberaxe).

The survey is annual, conducted nationally, and is aimed at Spanish nationals of 18 or older who reside in Spain. The 2015 survey, “Attitudes towards immigration VIII”, was carried out through personal interviews in the respondents’ homes. The sample comprised 2,470 people, randomly selected in 46 provinces and 246 municipalities, applying a two-stage cluster sampling design, selecting the final units (individuals) using random routes and quotas for gender and age. The fieldwork was carried out from 19 November to 1 December 2015.

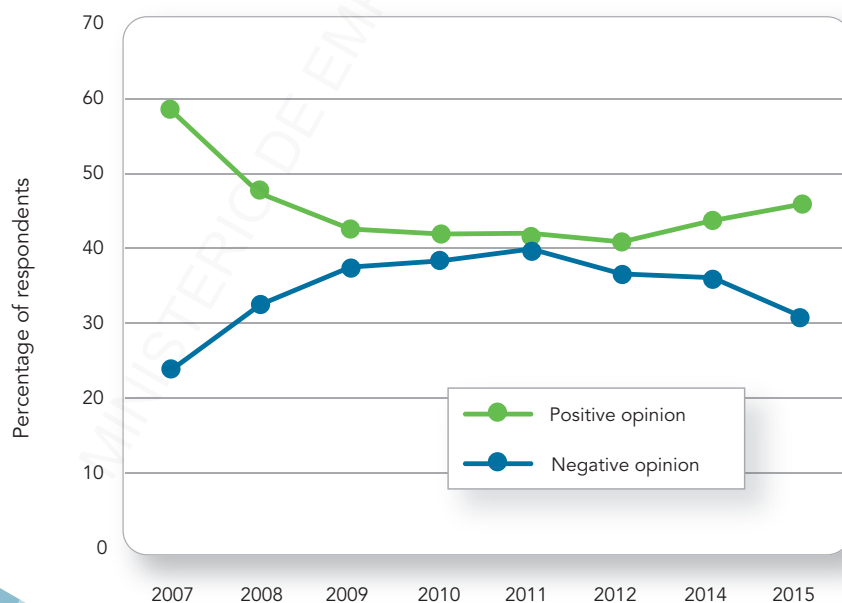
The answers to the questionnaire, which comprised 61 questions touching on attitudes and perceptions regarding immigration, can be compared with those obtained in previous surveys, as the sampling design and questionnaire have barely changed.

The survey was analysed from a triple perspective: univariate, showing trends in the indicators of racism and xenophobia since 2007—when the variables so allow—or since 2008; bivariate, examining the main indicators of social cohesion on the basis of attitudes and prejudices; and multivariate, identifying the most significant dimensions of racism and xenophobia, and typifying specific profiles of Spanish citizens in the light thereof.

## 4 Analysis of Trends

Regarding the analysis of trends, it should be noted, firstly, that between 42% and 59% of Spaniards have a positive overall opinion of immigration (Question 23 of the questionnaire). 2007, the first year of the period under review, has the highest percentage of respondents with a positive opinion (58.7%). In the period from 2009 to 2012, at the lowest point of the recession, the percentages of respondents with positive and negative opinions were fairly similar to each other, while since 2014 the percentage of respondents with a positive view of immigration has increased, reaching 46% of respondents in 2015 (Figure 1). This is in line with the results of research showing the reason for the non-acceptance of immigration to be based more on economic grounds than on racist or xenophobic aspects (Rinken, 2015)<sup>1</sup>.

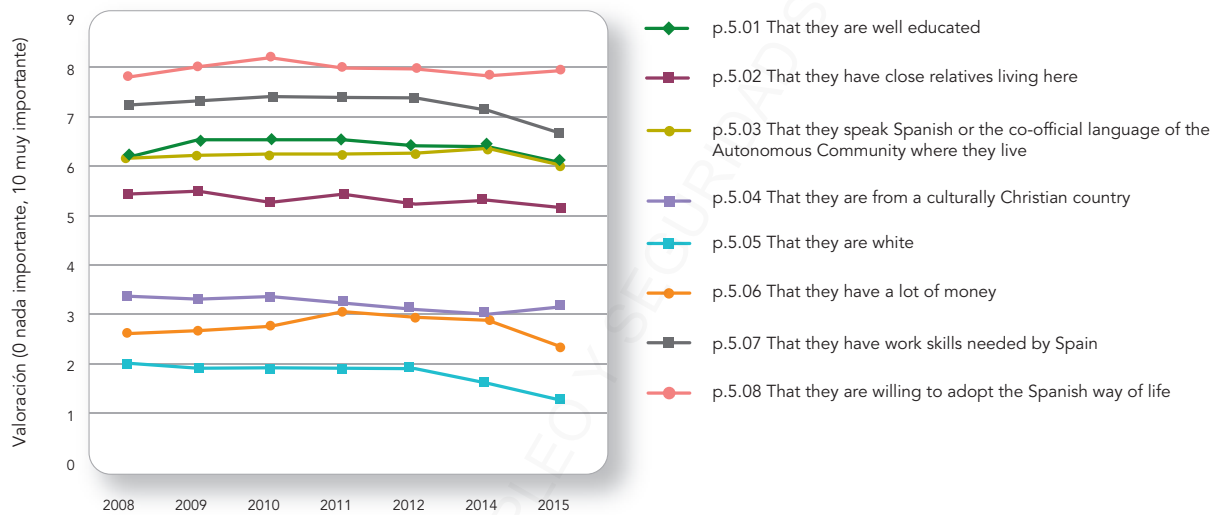
**Figure 1.** Spaniards' opinion of immigration (positive or negative) (p.23)



<sup>1</sup> These authors point out that in times of economic crisis, spikes appear that are exclusively due to economic issues but are attributed to racism or xenophobia.

Figure 2 analyses the lesser or greater importance (from 0 to 10) of certain criteria for allowing foreigners to live in Spain. What is seen here is the preference of certain social groups for a specific integration model, that of assimilationism.

**Figure 2.** Important criteria for allowing foreigners to live in Spain (p.5)



Source: CIS, *Attitudes towards Immigration 2008-2015*

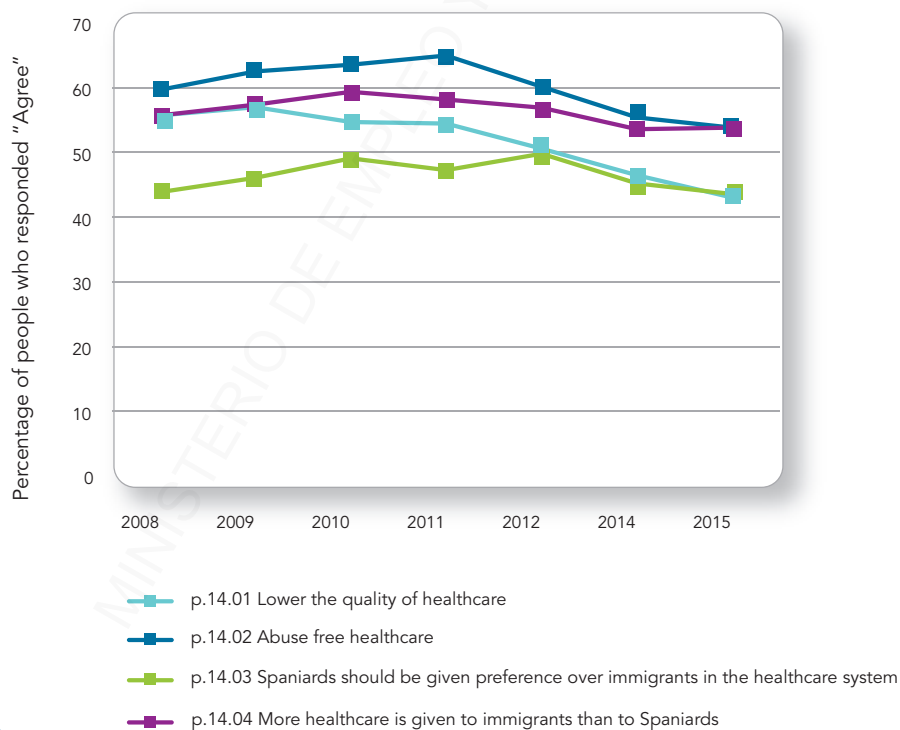
The highest score corresponds to the question “that they are willing to adopt the country’s way of life”; the second most important issue being “that they have work skills needed by Spain”. This information is consistent with other studies carried out in previous years with other methodologies in certain Autonomous Communities<sup>2</sup>. However, the average scores in the last year have fallen for all variables, except for: “that they are willing to adopt the country’s way of life” and “that they are from a culturally Christian country”.

2. The most relevant studies of this type are the Barometer on Perceptions and Attitudes towards the Foreign Population, carried out by the Basque Immigration Observatory-IKUSPEGI since 2004, and the OPIA studies (Opinions and Attitudes of Andalusians regarding Immigration), produced since 2005 by the Standing Migration Observatory of Andalusia.

Many Spaniards see immigrants as competitors, both for access to public education and healthcare benefits, as well as in the labour market. This is shown in Figures 3, 4 and 5, which reflect how, in recent years, more than 60% of respondents have expressed the view that immigrants receive more benefits than Spaniards; over 50% that they abuse free healthcare; over 60% that they take jobs away from Spaniards; and 60% that Spaniards should have preference over immigrants when choosing schools. Additionally, in the workplace, almost 80%—a figure that has remained constant over time—think that immigration lowers wages.

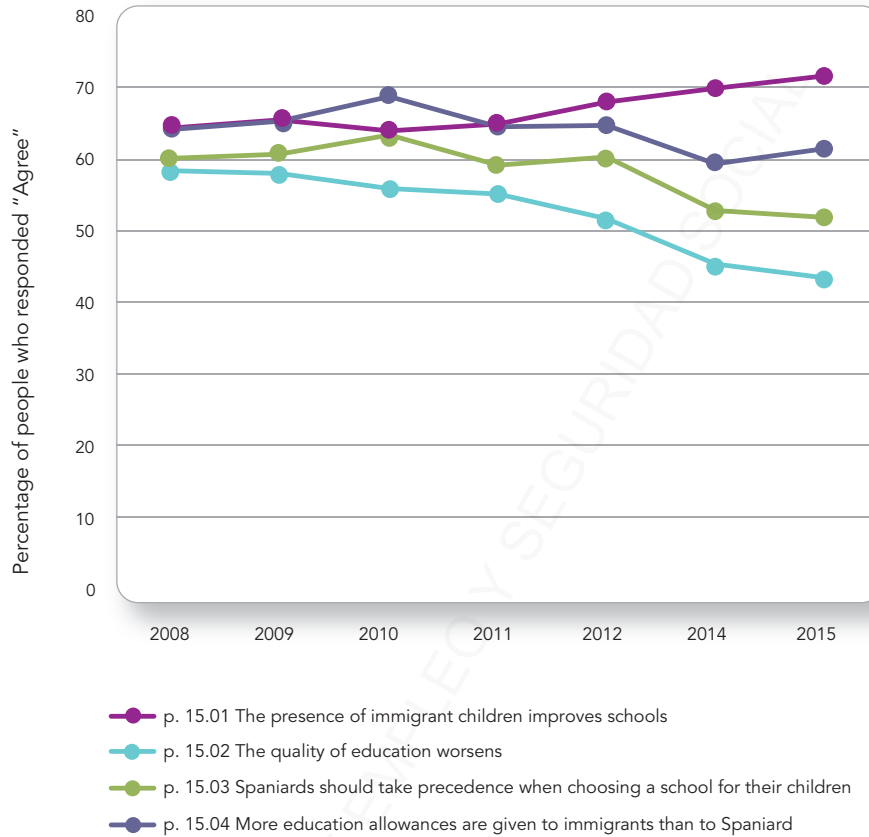
However, since 2012, there has been a drop in the percentage of individuals who agree with these premises (in 2015, 58% believed they took jobs from Spaniards; 76% that immigration lowers wages), and in 2015, for some issues this fell to the lowest value in the series (with 43% believing that immigrants abuse free healthcare, and 52% considering Spaniards should have preference in choosing schools for their children).

**Figure 3.** Perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to public healthcare (p.14)



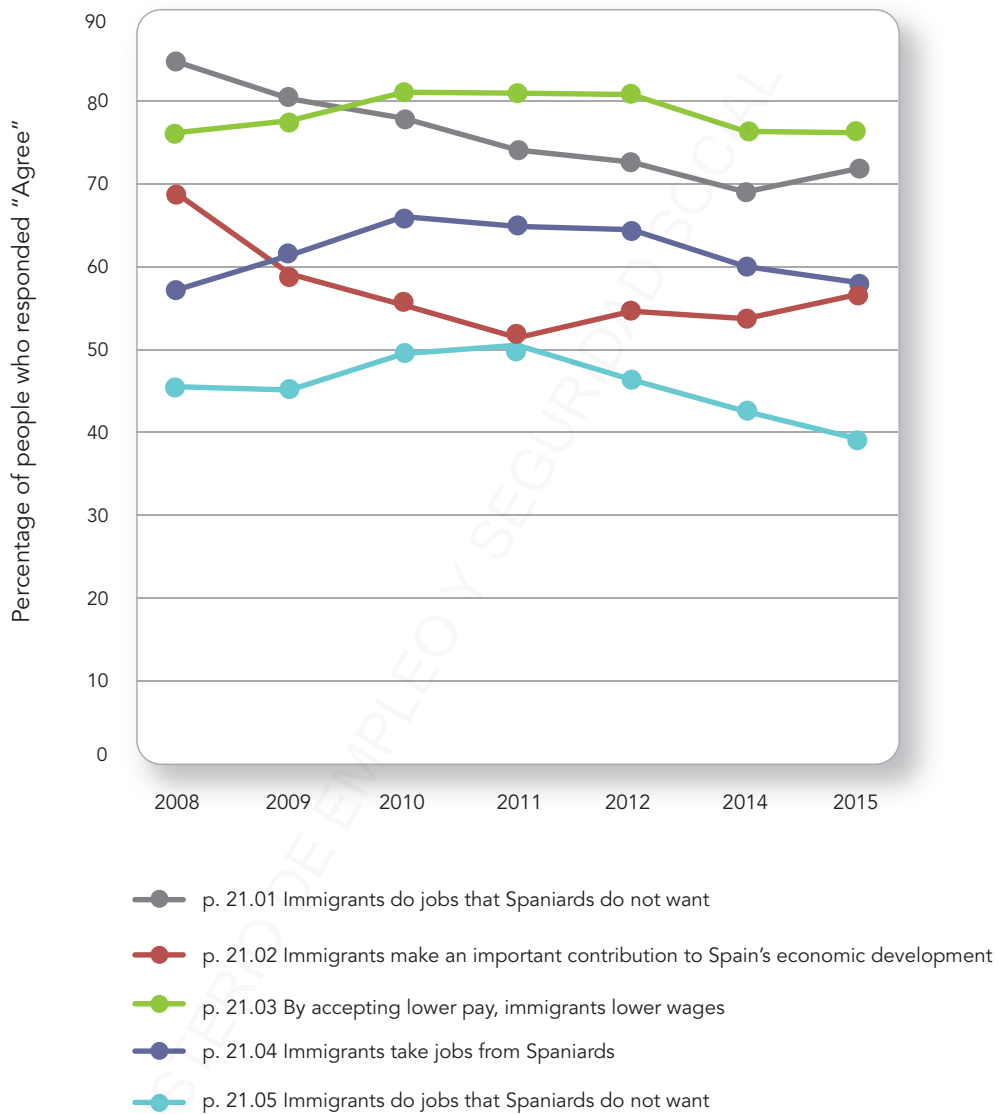
Source: CIS, *Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2015*

**Figure 4.** Perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to the education system (p.15)



Source: CIS, *Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2015*

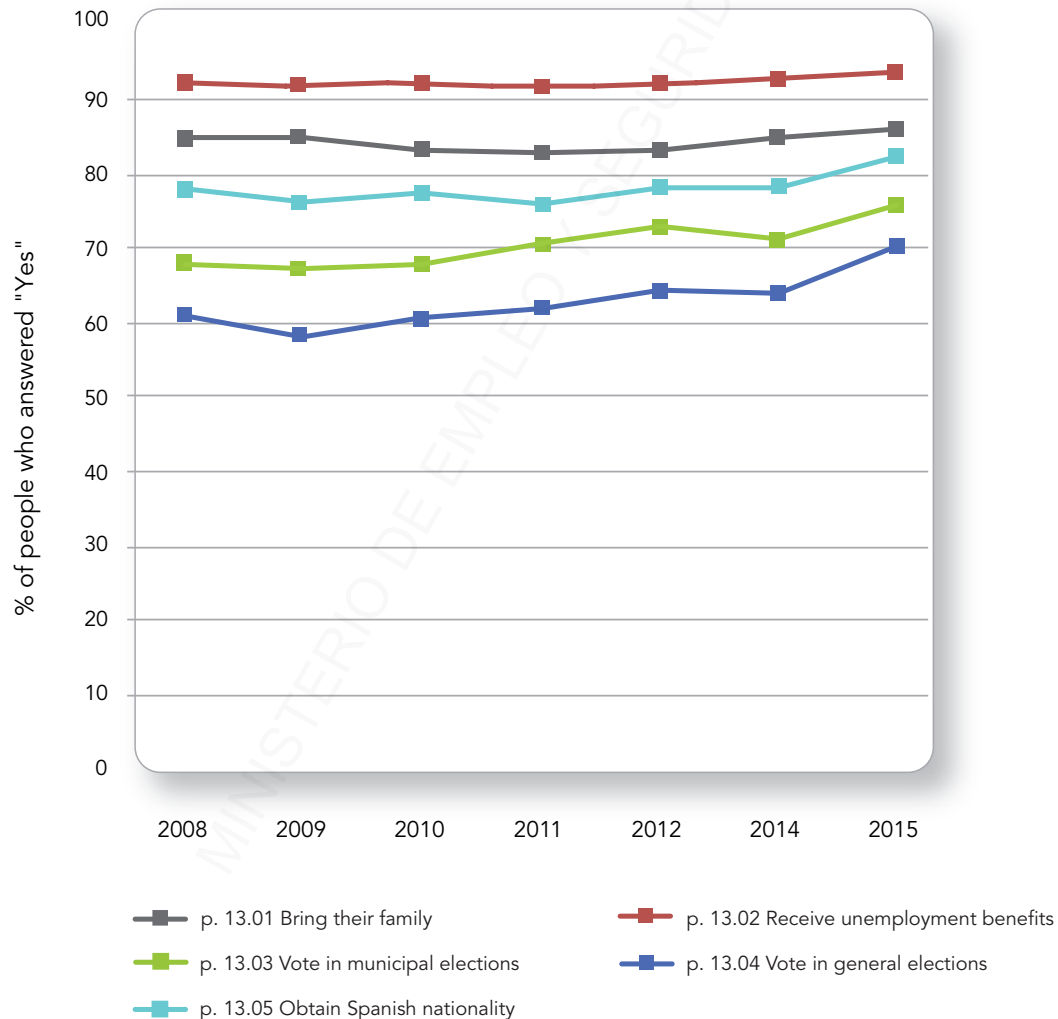
Figure 5. Perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to the labour market (p.21)



Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration 2008-2015

Furthermore, Spaniards also show a great deal of solidarity in their attitudes. Thus, as seen in Figure 6, approximately 80%, a figure sustained over time, believe that immigrants who are settled in Spain should be able to obtain nationality; more than 85% of the respondents said that they should be able to bring their families, and more than 90% agree that they should receive unemployment benefits. It is interesting to see how trends have remained stable even in the worst years of the long recession.

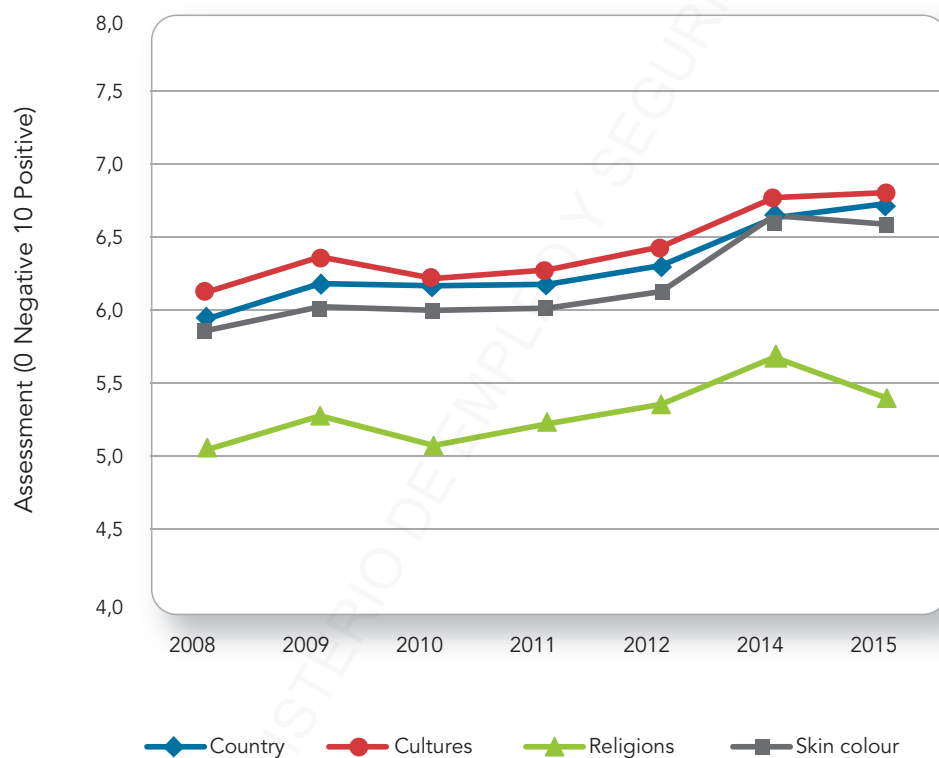
**Figure 6.** Rights that immigrants who are settled in Spain in a stable and regular manner should have (p. 13)



Source: CIS, *Attitudes towards Immigration 2008-2015*

Likewise, a positive acceptance of diversity is hugely significant in Spain, as seen in Figure 7. The highest assessments—and with a growing trend over time—refer to the diversity of countries, cultures, and skin colour. The lowest assessments are seen in attitudes towards religious diversity, which also trended more negatively in 2015. This could be associated with the views on the Muslim faith, and the moment in time when the survey’s fieldwork was carried out (end of 2015): close to a series of terrorist attacks in Paris. It shall therefore be necessary to monitor the evolution of these values, in order to determine whether this is a one-off decline or not.

**Figure 7.** Assessment that Spanish society is made up of different persons (p.9)



Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration 2008-2015

## 5 Trust in People and Self-perception of Racism: a Revealing Relationship for Social Cohesion

Simultaneously delving into the dimensions of social cohesion (cultural, redistributive, and relational) and the components of prejudice (cognitive, affective, and behavioural) is particularly interesting, making it possible to study which aspects of prejudice may be influencing the path to social cohesion.

Crossing these two variables, it can be inferred that the affective component of prejudice represented by the degree of “trust in people” seems to be the social cohesion variable with the most discriminatory power. On the other hand, this affective component of prejudice is closely related to the self-location variable on the racism scale. This variable, subject to the bias of social desirability, does not, by itself, provide information in univariate or multivariate analyses. However, by relating it to the degree of “trust in people”, racist behaviour comes to light in those who show low trust in people, and non-racist behaviour in those who have high trust (Table 3). Therefore, it seems that the affective component of prejudice could serve as an estimate of self-location on the scale of Spaniards’ racism.

**Table 3. Degree of trust in people (p. 40) and self-location on the scale of racism (p. 39) (horizontal percentages)**

		Scale of trust in people			
		Low %	Medium %	High %	Total %
Scale of racism	Not racist at all	22.4	39.4	38.2	100
	Low degree of racism	29.2	38.6	32.2	100
	Medium degree of racism	35.3	43.8	20.9	100
	High degree of racism	42.4	43.0	14.5	100

Source: CIS, *Attitudes towards Immigration 2015*

## 6 Spaniards' Profiles in Relation to Racism and Xenophobia

The use of multivariate statistical techniques (specifically, factor analysis) in the data analysis made it possible to extract the latent factors or variables behind racism and xenophobia.

These factors were grouped into five dimensions (or sets of factors) of racism and xenophobia: 1) competition for scarce resources; 2) personal relationships; 3) empathy with vulnerable groups; 4) Spaniards' stance on integration; and 5) public externalisation of racist or xenophobic attitudes towards immigration.

In order to know how the respondents behaved in relation to these dimensions, the cluster analysis divided the population into three groups: "distrustful", "distant", and "multicultural". The three profiles identified are permeable; i.e. the borders between them are vague, so that all three simultaneously show elements of both tolerance and intolerance.

Table 4 schematically shows the behaviour of each of these three profiles in relation to the different dimensions and factors. Plus signs, in blue, indicate favourable attitudes towards immigration with regard to each factor; minus signs, in red, indicate negative attitudes. The number of signs indicates the higher or lower intensity of the response.

**Table 4.** Scores of the factors that describe racism and xenophobia in each of the three profiles identified (distrustful, distant, multicultural)

Dimensions	Factors	Profiles		
		Distrustful	Distant	Multicultural
<b>SCARCE RESOURCES</b>	F1 Competition for services and benefits	--	+++	--
<b>COEXISTENCE</b>	F2 Neighbourhood coexistence with Roma	+	-	+
	F4 Neighbourhood coexistence with immigrants	++	--	--
	F6 Personal relationships	--	++	+
	F9 Professional relationships	--	++	-
<b>EMPATHY</b>	F5 Immigrants as a vulnerable group	--	--	+++
	F10 What foreigners contribute	+++	--	---
<b>STANCES ON INTEGRATION</b>	F3 Assimilation vs Integration	-	-	++
	F7 Against blending in vs Diversity	-	-	++
<b>ATTITUDES</b>	F8 Rejection of racist attitudes	+	--	+
	F11 Visible consequences of immigration	+	--	++

Source: The authors, based on analysis of the survey Attitudes towards Immigration 2015

These groups or profiles are briefly described below:

1	<b><i>Distrustful</i></b>	This is a group that is relatively reluctant in the face of migration flows, as it perceives immigrants as competitors for benefits of the welfare State (healthcare and education); moreover, those in the group show little enthusiasm for establishing personal or professional links with foreigners.
2	<b><i>Distant</i></b>	This group could be described as looking upon immigrants with a certain indifference, in that they do not perceive them as competitors for social benefits or in the workplace. In fact, they are the group that claims to have the most employment relationships with immigrants. Their ambivalence is shown, however, in that they would not like to take their children to schools with immigrants, or to live in neighbourhoods with a high concentration of foreigners.
3	<b><i>Multicultural</i></b>	They show openly tolerant attitudes, with patterns of integration and respect for interculturality, far from assimilationist stances. However, they perceive immigrants as competitors for access to social benefits and services, and for jobs. This is important, because in times of economic crisis this group may regard immigrants as a threat.

## 7 Spaniards in the Mirror

To facilitate interpretation of the respondents' profiles in relation to racism, xenophobia, and intolerance, diagrams summarising them (Figures 8, 9, and 10) are presented below that considers two perspectives.

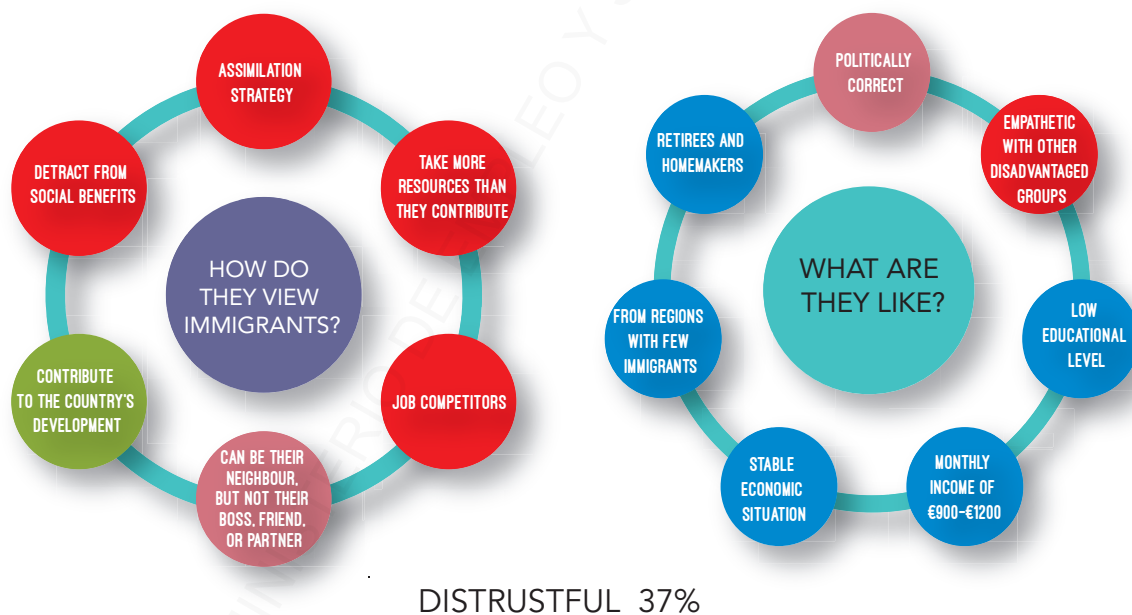
- Who are immigrants, for each of the profiles identified?
- Who are the people behind the profiles?

In these three figures, "Who are immigrants for them?" shows native-born citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants, with regard to the diversity of customs and cultures, the labour market, and social capital. In other words, the three dimensions of social cohesion: cultural, redistributive, and relational. The cultural dimension is understood as native-born citizens' perspective on diversity management regarding immigrants; the redistributive dimension is understood as their perceptions/attitudes regarding participation in the labour market, a key element for integration, and regarding access to services that respond to demands; and the relational dimension is understood as the establishment of communication links between the native-born and other groups. In the figures, the circle marked "What are they like?" show the attitudes and sociodemographic characteristics that define the respondents from each of the profiles, and what conditions their view on immigrants.

The colours have a meaning: Warm colours—red and pink—indicate xenophobic or ambiguous perceptions and attitudes of national citizens towards immigrants. Cool colours—green and blue—symbolise, on the one hand, the neutrality of sociodemographic characteristics, in the case of blue, and positive perceptions or attitudes regarding immigrants in the case of green.

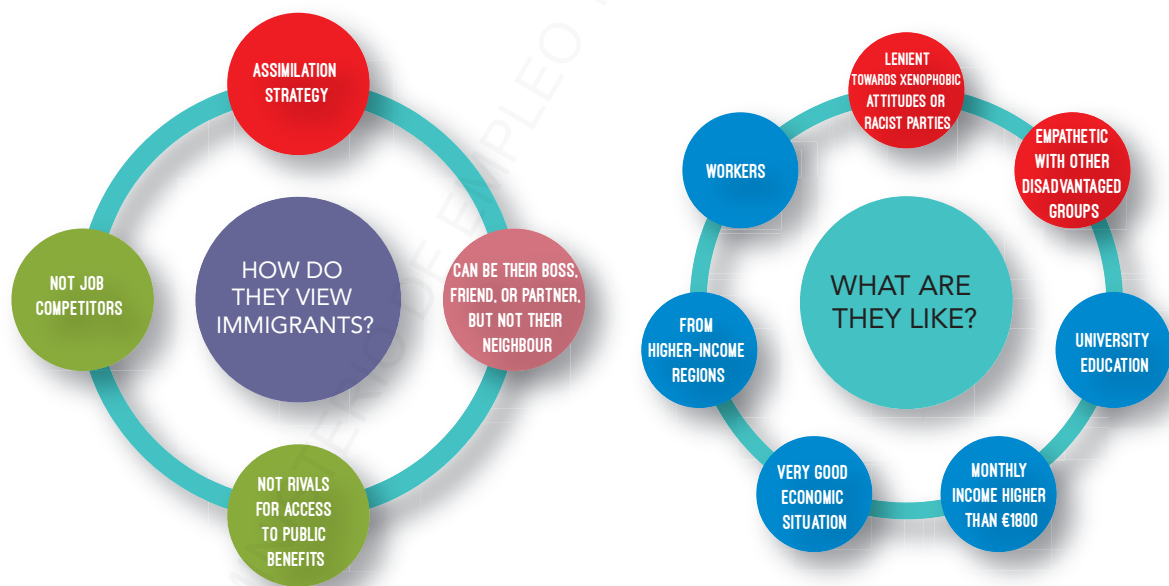
These figures depict a map of each profile. The *distrustful* profile map shows how the colour red dominates the perception of immigrants, who are seen as competitors for resources (they receive more than they contribute) with whom one can have a neighbourly relationship but do not want deeper workplace or personal involvement. The distrustful group's members feel empathy for other disadvantaged groups who are not immigrants; however, they consider immigrants' contribution to be positive for the country's economy. The people who make up this profile are predominantly over 65 years old, retired or engaged in unpaid domestic work, have a low level of education, a stable economic situation, and live in regions such as Cantabria, Asturias, the Balearic Islands, and Castile and León. This is the largest group (37%).

**Figure 8.** The distrustful profile: what they are like, and how they view immigrants



The next largest group is the *distant* profile (34%). Figure 9 shows how this group is defined by a lower number of perceptions/attitudes towards immigrants, and that there is a balance between the positives and negatives (50% of the circles are green and the other 50% red/pink). Its empathetic attitude regarding disadvantaged groups other than immigrants coincides with the distrustful profile. The distant profile's map shows two favourable perceptions/attitudes, compared with the other two profiles, which only show one (as seen by the number of green circles). For the distant group, immigrants do not pose a threat on a work level, or as recipients of public resources. Although it is possible to interact with them in a work or personal environment, this group prefers to live apart. Those fitting the distant profile tend to be middle-aged people who are employed, who live in economically advanced regions such as Madrid or the Basque Country and, to a lesser extent, Catalonia; they have a comfortable economic situation and a university education.

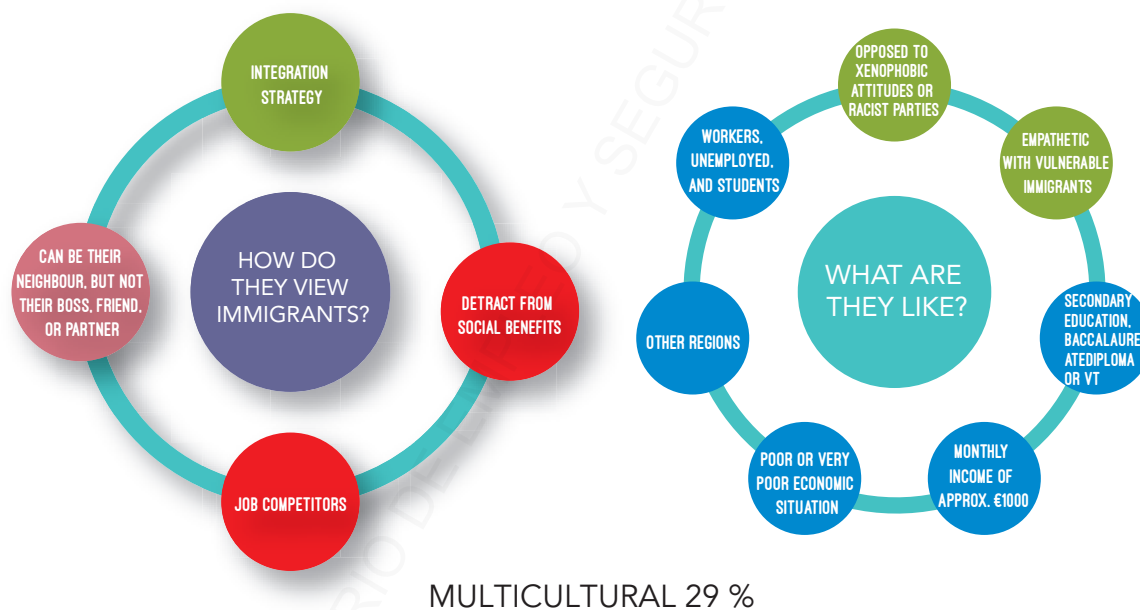
**Figure 9.** The distant profile: what they are like, and how they view immigrants



DISTANT 34%

The *multicultural* profile map, representing the least numerous group (29%), shows a perception of integrating immigrants, but the abundance of red circles shows the threat felt by this profile regarding access to jobs, healthcare, etc. The attitudes of these individuals, however, are empathetic with immigrants' situation, and entail rejection of racist attitudes and racist political parties. These contradictions could explain a tolerance towards immigration that could be influenced by the circumstances, with the possibility of a trigger unbalancing their situation. This group is predominantly made up of younger people with secondary education and a stable economic situation; many of them are studying or even unemployed.

**Figure 10.** The multicultural profile: what they are like, and how they view immigrants



In summary, two of the three profiles described (*distant* and *multicultural*) clearly present some of the dimensions of social cohesion that contribute to higher levels of tolerance: In the case of the distant group, it is a perception of non-competition in the job market; in the case of the multicultural group, a positive interaction with diversity.



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