



THE EVOLUTION OF RACISM, XENOPHOBIA AND OTHER FORMS OF INTOLERANCE In Spain

Survey Report 2016

Summary

Mercedes Fernández
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MINISTERIO DE TRABAJO, MICROPYME'S Y SEGURIDAD SOCIAL

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The Evolution of Racism, Xenophobia and Other Forms of Intolerance in Spain: Summary

With real GDP growth of 3.2%, matching 2015 and almost doubling growth in the Eurozone (1.8%), the attitudes and perceptions of the Spanish people, identified in the results of the “9th Attitudes towards Immigration” survey performed in 2016, appear to reflect this favourable economic context.

The “Attitudes towards Immigration” survey is performed annually and, since 2007, the Ministry of Employment and Social Security’s General Secretariat for Immigration and Emigration has commissioned the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) to undertake this study. The survey enables Spain’s Racism and Xenophobia Observatory (OBERAXE) to gather information on the current situation as regards racism and xenophobia, and also to assess evolution of these phenomena over time. As a result, OBERAXE is able to deploy its resources to follow, monitor and anticipate intolerant attitudes and perceptions.

The survey covers Spanish nationals aged 18 or over who live in Spain. The 2016 sample comprises 2,460 randomly selected people, from 45 provinces and 248 municipalities. A two-stage sampling design has been applied, stratified by clusters. Primary sampling units (census sections) have been selected randomly and disproportionately, and ultimate sampling units (individuals) have been selected using random routes and quotas by gender and age. The fieldwork was performed between 19 November and 22 December 2016.

Responses to the survey, which comprised 61 questions covering attitudes towards and perceptions of immigration, can be compared with the responses to previous surveys, since the sampling design and questionnaire are almost unchanged.

The survey results have been analysed from a threefold perspective: Univariate analysis, showing the trends in racism and xenophobia indicators since 2007, when permitted by variables, or since 2008 when it is not; Bivariate analysis, examining the key indicators of social cohesion according to attitudes and prejudices; Multivariate analysis, extracting the most relevant dimensions of racism and xenophobia and preparing a typology of profiles of Spanish nationals in this regard.

In 2016, as in previous years, the Eurobarometer reveals that the attitude of Spaniards towards immigration remains welcoming, both for foreigners from the EU and from outside the EU. Similarly, as in prior years, Spaniards appear to be more hospitable and welcoming than their European partners.

The results of the analysis of Spaniards' attitudes towards and perceptions of immigration in 2016, and comparison with prior years, show a moderately favourable trend in all variables that measure racist, intolerant or xenophobic attitudes among respondents. In many cases, the behaviour recorded in 2016 was the best of the entire time series.

The aspects identified in the 2015 report that modulate more tolerant or less tolerant attitudes among Spaniards remain the same and have been consolidated in 2016, with an improvement in their representation and simplification of their subsidiary factors and variables. These aspects are: (1) Competition for scarce resources, (2) Personal relationships with Romani people and immigrants, (3) Empathy with disadvantaged groups, (4) Desirable immigrants and (5) Public expression of racist or xenophobic attitudes towards immigration. The "trust in others" variable is still, as it was in 2015, the main explanatory variable for social cohesion. This highlights the importance of strategies aimed at promoting knowledge of others and understanding of diversity, as essential elements of strengthened social cohesion.

Three profiles were identified in 2015, which allow the respondent population to be divided into three groups—distrustful, distant and multicultural—according to their sociodemographic characteristics and attitudes towards immigrants. These same profiles appear in the new map for 2016, reflecting the dynamism and ongoing nature of the phenomenon. These groups are permeable, and the boundaries between them can often be difficult to determine.

The map of profiles in 2015 showed a similar distribution of the three profiles, but with some degree of predominance of the distrustful and distant groups. However, the map of profiles for 2016 depicts a new scenario in which the multicultural group predominates, with a lower proportion of the distrustful group. Although the sociodemographic characteristics appear to have generally been maintained for all profiles between 2015 and 2016, it seems that there has been a transfer, from the distrustful group to the distant group, and from the latter to the multicultural group.

Two of the three profiles—distant and multicultural—expressly show some of the social cohesion aspects that contribute to greater tolerance. In the case of the distant profile, these are the cultural aspect (diversity) and the relational aspect, and in the case of the multicultural profile these are the redistributive and relational aspects.

The tolerance indicator, which evaluates the tolerance level of the Spanish population on aggregate, shows a favourable trend from 2015 (44.5 points) to 2016 (49.53 points). However, since the phenomenon is dynamic and ongoing, there are still contradictions in people's attitudes. We therefore underscore the need to continue developing strategies that promote tolerance and social cohesion, transforming or mitigating racist and xenophobic attitudes. Education, awareness among the general population, and prevention are all essential tools in this regard.

1 BACKGROUND

1.1. Female immigrants

1.1.1. Data

According to the Municipal Register of Inhabitants, at 1 January 2017, in Spain there was a total of 2,255,272 female foreign nationals (Table 1), representing 49.6% of the total foreign population included on the register at that date. If this figure is broken down by place of birth, we can see that of all foreign nationals born in Spain, 48.5% are female; and looking at foreign nationals born abroad, the proportion that are female is very close to half at 49.7%. In any case, it can be said that overall, of the foreign population in Spain included in the register, slightly more than half are male.

Table 1. Population included on Municipal Register in Spain, by nationality, birthplace and gender: 2017

	Born in Spain Number	Born abroad Number	TOTAL Number
Both genders			
Spanish nationality	39,912,363	2,076,805	41,989,168
Foreign nationality	466,205	4,083,653	4,549,858
TOTAL	40,378,568	6,160,458	46,539,026
Male			
Spanish nationality	19,582,865	939,959	20,522,824
Foreign nationality	239,901	2,054,685	2,294,586
TOTAL	19,822,766	2,994,644	22,817,410
Female			
Spanish nationality	20,329,498	1,136,846	21,466,344
Foreign nationality	226,304	2,028,968	2,255,272
TOTAL	20,555,802	3,165,814	23,721,616

Source: National Statistics Office Municipal Register of Inhabitants, 1 January 2017

These figures differ slightly from those for the Spanish population, which has a slight female majority: of the total population with Spanish nationality, 51.1% are female.

The trend in the foreign population as a proportion of the total population resident in Spain is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Foreigners as a percentage of total number of people on Municipal Register in Spain by gender and year: 1998-2016

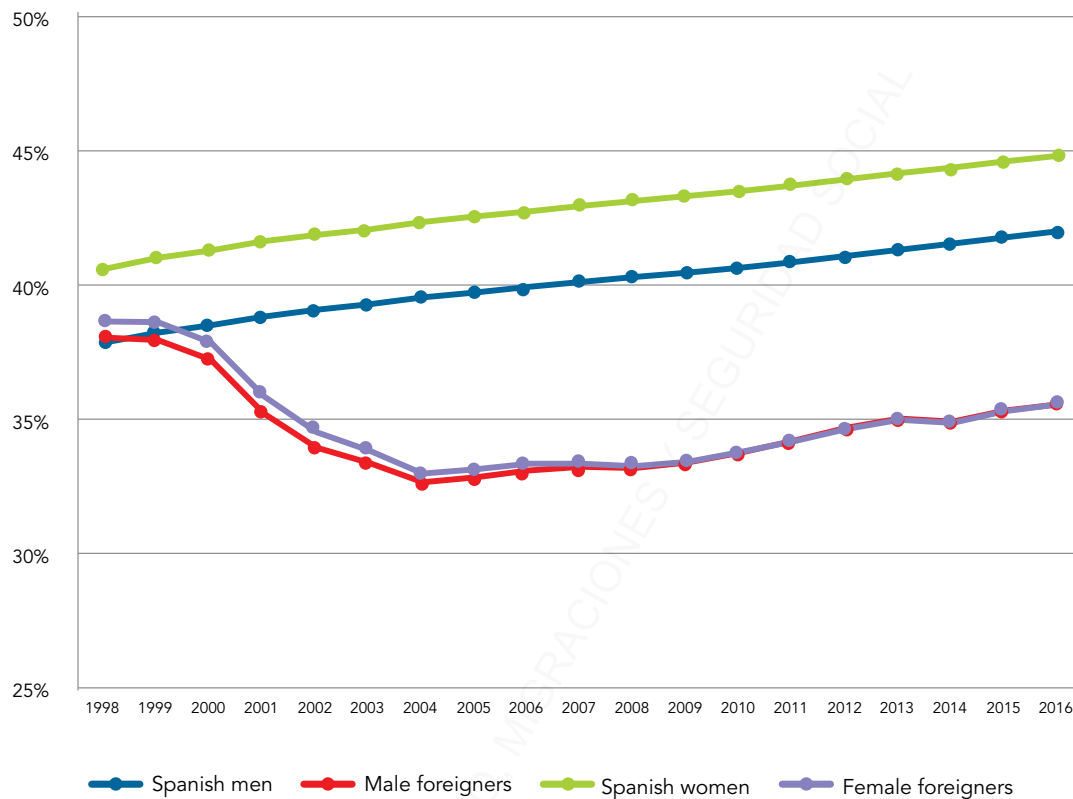
	% foreigners/total registrees	% male foreign nationals/ total male population	% female foreign nationals/ total female population
1998	1.60	1.65	1.55
1999	1.86	1.93	1.80
2000	2.28	2.38	2.19
2001	3.33	3.55	3.12
2002	4.73	5.10	4.37
2003	6.24	6.73	5.76
2004	7.02	7.54	6.52
2005	8.46	9.15	7.79
2006	9.27	10.02	8.53
2007	10.00	10.72	9.29
2008	11.41	12.27	10.58
2009	12.08	12.95	11.24
2010	12.22	12.99	11.47
2011	12.19	12.88	11.51
2012	12.14	12.77	11.52
2013	11.77	12.31	11.25
2014	10.74	11.18	10.31
2015	10.14	10.53	9.78
2016	9.92	10.25	9.60

Source: National Statistics Office Municipal Register of Inhabitants.

Therefore, since 1998, the numbers of both male and female foreign nationals have increased fivefold (5.21 in the case of male foreign nationals and 5.19 for female foreign nationals), although it is true that the growth has not been regular throughout the period. In any case, it must be taken into account that the majority of the declines in the foreign population are due to naturalization rather than returns to places of origin.

The trend in the average age of the group, broken down by gender, and for Spaniards and foreigners, is analysed in Chart 1. In the chart, it can be seen that the female Spanish population's average age is far higher than that of the male Spanish population; this is because life expectancy for women in Spain is five years higher than that for men. It can also be seen that the average age for the immigrant population is the same regardless of gender; this is because they are predominantly of working age. Naturalization is also responsible for the decline in the average age observed from 1998 to 2004.

Chart 1. Foreign and Spanish population, by age and gender, 1998-2016

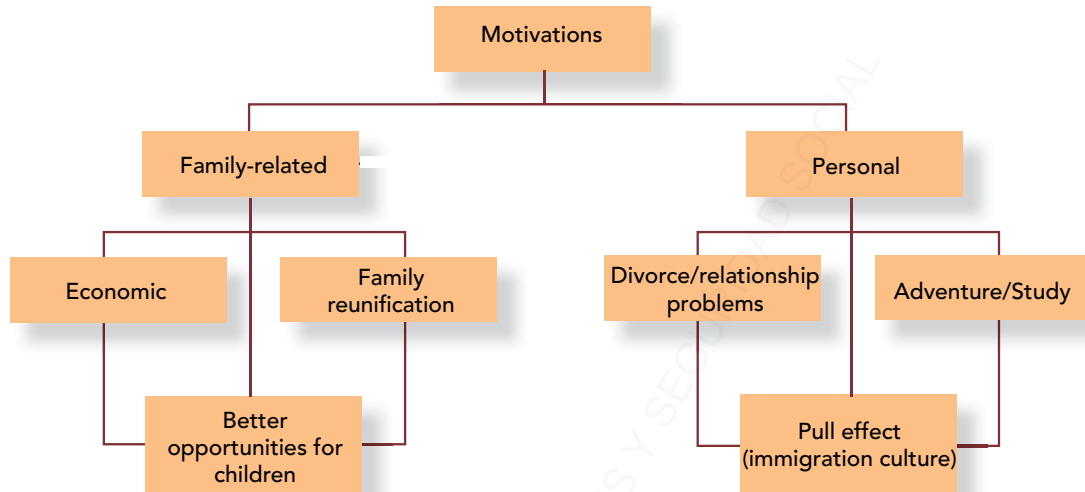


Source: National Statistics Office Municipal Register of Inhabitants.

1.1.2. The reality of female immigrants in Spain: driving factors, stereotypes, integration

Female migration to Spain is markedly heterogeneous. The main drivers of this immigration are complex, but can be divided into four major patterns: women who emigrate on their own, family reunification, women fleeing complex situations in their places of origin, and women who come to complete their education or training (Chart 2).

Chart 2. Drivers of female immigration



Source: Prepared by the Centre for Sociological Research, based on Acosta (2013) and Vicente and Setién (2005).

As regards the public perception of female immigrants, there are notably stereotypes linking them to family roles, motherhood and reproduction; alternatively, in some cases, they are perceived as a threat to public order (prostitutes, veil-wearing women from oppressive cultures). These stereotypes thus subliminally link foreign women with backwardness, poverty and social problems, and often with abandonment of children. On this same point, the stereotyping also influences the design of certain public policies, which include certain paternalistic, protectionist schemes; other policies aim to remove women from their situation of backwardness or irregular conduct; there are feminist policies, which intend to free these women from repression; and some policies aim to assimilate them into the culture of the host society.

In Spain, many women immigrants are heads of households, and female work contributes a significant portion of household income. In many cases, this has caused conflicts concerning roles, break-ups and separations, but it has also increased the importance of women's participation in decision-making in a transnational environment.

Social and labour integration of women immigrants in Spain takes place in a labour market that is stratified by ethnicity, in which migrant women find themselves overrepresented in jobs requiring minimal qualifications, and often work in domestic environments. This is due

to Spanish women entering the labour market, combined with ageing of the population and an unequal distribution of domestic chores between men and women. Furthermore, the feminization of this segment of the labour market is linked to the prevailing stereotype that women's skills are best suited to care work.

This labour environment is related to job insecurity and occupational, economic and social vulnerability, and social mobility is more frequently downward than upward, evidently hindering women's integration. This situation is made worse by precarious housing, unfamiliarity with the local language and an excessive workload at home and at work. In fact, these women often experience a decline in their health, in the form of depression or accumulated tiredness, insomnia and stress.

In addition to contributing to a better quality of life for Spanish women, by caring for their children and other dependent family members, enabling Spanish women to join the labour market, other positive aspects of the migration process must also be considered. For example, women may enjoy greater freedom in Spain than in places of origin, as well as the greater social recognition reflected in the desire to become emancipated and empowered, together with an interest in and desire to participate in host communities. In fact, associations of women immigrants play an important role as a means of increasing social visibility and participation in host societies.

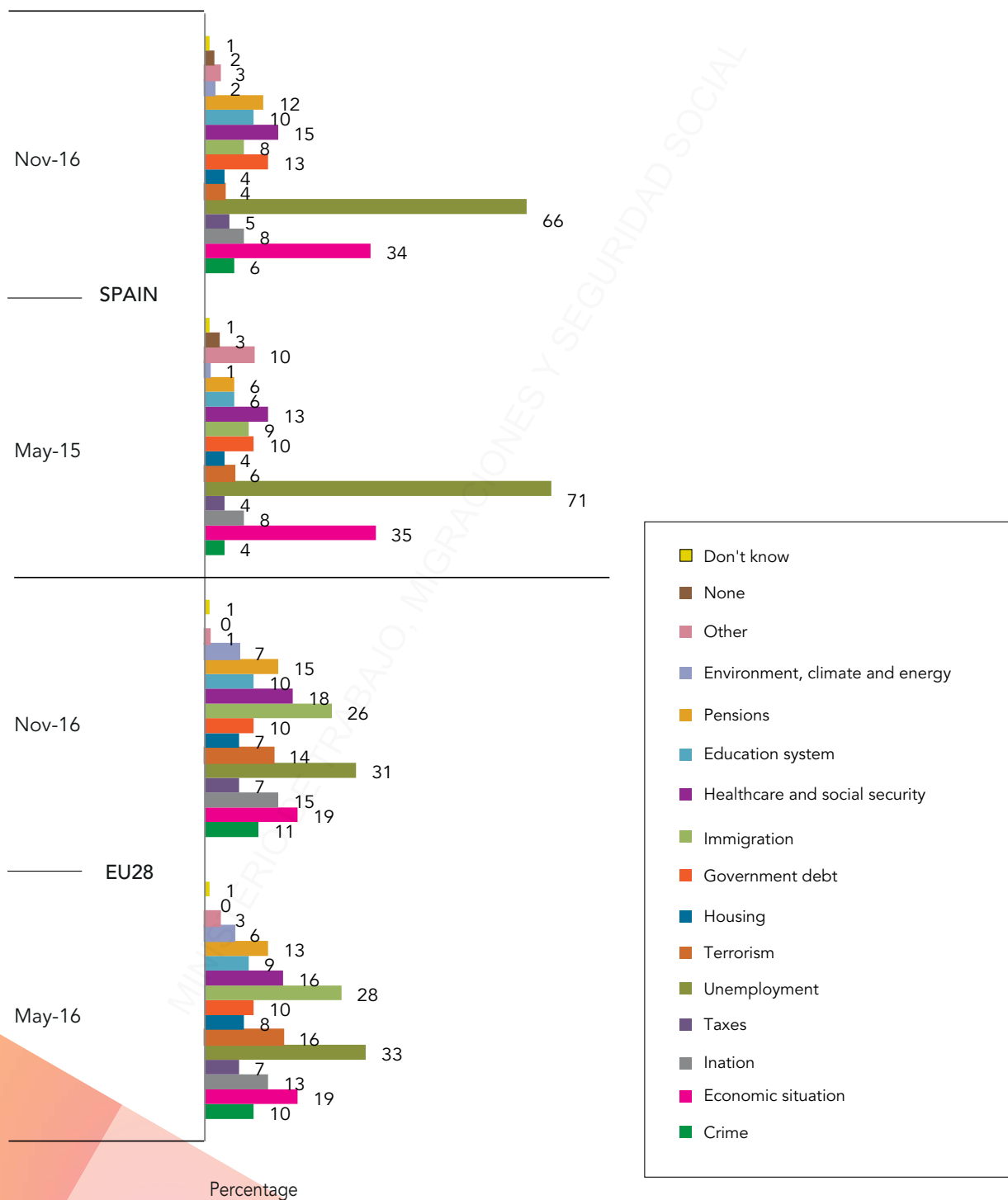
Lastly, the importance of transformation of migrant families by transnational links must also be considered: women are more empowered and have a greater role in decisions that affect the household. Moreover, this greater empowerment also entails a change in the attitude towards gender in the societies of origin, which are traditionally patriarchal.

1.2. The welcoming Spanish people in the European context: the Eurobarometer

The May and November 2016 results of the Eurobarometer allow us to conclude that, despite the economic crisis in Spain, and in contrast with the people of other EU Member States, Spaniards do not consider immigration to be one of the most important problems at the national level; in fact, it is almost absent from their personal matters of concern. This result is in line with that obtained in 2015 (Chart 3).

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Chart 3. QA3a: What do you think are the two most important issues facing our country at the moment?



Moreover, in all of the countries analysed the percentage of respondents with positive attitudes towards immigration by people from other EU Member States was higher in 2016 than in 2015 (see Table 3).

Table 3. QB4.1 What type of feeling does immigration of people from other EU Member States evoke? (Total positive responses as a percentage of total respondents)

	May-15	May-16	Nov-15	Nov-16
UK	48	49	51	58
PT	59	66	61	68
IT	33	45	41	42
FR	45	56	51	55
ES	59	69	66	69
EL	47	55	48	61
IE	64	77	71	81
DE	59	62	57	71
EU-28	51	58	55	61

Source: Eurobarometer, May and November 2015 and 2016.

Portugal, Spain, Germany and Ireland all have high percentages of people with positive feelings about immigrant arrivals, above the percentages recorded in the other countries studied, and above the average for the EU28. In three of these four countries, the percentages of people with positive feelings towards the arrival of immigrants from other EU Member States, or acceptance thereof, increased between May 2016 and November 2016, the exception being Spain, where the percentage remained stable.

The economic and social contexts of the different countries are listed numerically in Table 4¹, based on available data for 2015 and 2016 from Eurostat (the Statistical Office of the European Union) and UNHCR (the UN Refugee Agency). Thus, we can see that countries such as Portugal, Greece and Spain—with unfavourable economic and social contexts—

¹ In the case of GDP per capita, unemployment, deficit/surplus as a percentage of GDP, and inflation, values that reflect a more favourable economic situation are marked in green, whereas less favourable situations are marked in yellow and orange. In the case of the proportion of immigrants as a percentage of the total population, and the number of refugees, orange has been used to indicate the highest values. Comparisons have only been made between countries within the same year.

have positive feelings of acceptance towards immigration, and countries such as the United Kingdom, France and Italy—with more favourable economic contexts—have a more distrustful attitude.

Table 4. Economic and social indicators in 2015 and 2016²

	GDP per capita (PPS ^I) (EU28=1)		Unemployment rate (% of labour force)		Budget deficit/surplus ^{II} (% GDP)		Rate of inflation (HICP) ^{III}		Immigrants per inhabitant (%)	No. of refugees ^{IV}
	2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	2016	2015 ^V	2016
UK	0.922	0.948	5.3	4.8	-4.3	-2.9	0	0.7	0.97	118,913
PT	0.782	0.800	12.6	11.2	-4.4	-2	0.5	0.6	0.29	1,129
IT	0.974	0.989	11.9	11.7	-2.6	-2.5	0.1	-0.1	0.46	147,302
FR	1.071	1.099	10.4	10.1	-3.6	-3.4	0.1	0.3	0.55	304,507
ES	0.894	0.903	22.1	19.6	-5.3	-4.5	-0.6	-0.3	0.74	12,943
EL	0.825	0.835	24.9	23.6	-5.7	0.5	-1.1	0	0.59	46,381
IE	1.078	1.105	9.4	7.9	-1.9	-0.7	0	-0.2	1.66	5,655
DE	1.036	1.064	4.6	4.1	0.6	0.8	0.1	0.4	1.90	669,408
EU28	1.000	1.000	9.4	8.6	-2.4	-1.7	0	0.3	-	-

I Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is a measure of economic activity. It is defined as the value of all of the goods and services produced, minus the value of any good or service used to create them. The per capita GDP volume index in the Purchasing Power Standards (PPS) is expressed in relation to the average for the European Union (EU28), set at 100. If a country's index exceeds 100, the level of GDP per inhabitant of the country is above the EU average, and vice versa. The basic figures are expressed in PPS, i.e. a shared currency that eliminates differences in price levels between countries, allowing for significant comparisons of GDP volume between countries. This index, calculated using PPS figures, and expressed with regard to EU28=100, is used to compare countries rather than time periods.

II The general government deficit/surplus are defined in the Maastricht Treaty as net borrowing as defined in the European System of Integrated Economic Accounts (-)/net lending as defined in the European System of Integrated Economic Accounts (+); The area of general government comprises the central government, state government, local government, and social security funds. The relevant definitions are provided in the amended text of Council Regulation 479/2009.

III The Harmonized Index of Consumer Prices (HICP) is designed for international comparisons of inflation in consumer prices. For example, the HICP is used by the European Central Bank to monitor inflation in the Economic and Monetary Union and to evaluate convergence of inflation, as required by Article 121 of the Treaty of Amsterdam.

IV Data from the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR).

V Latest available data from Eurostat.

Source: Eurostat and United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR).

² The colour green indicates growth in value in 2016 on the same month in 2015. Yellow indicates stability in the value for 2016 compared to the same month of 2015. Orange indicates a decline in value in 2016, compared to the same month of 2015.

In all of the countries, the perceived acceptance of immigrant arrivals from third countries is lower in percentage terms than the observed acceptance of arrivals of nationals of other EU Member States (see Table 5), with the percentage of rejection exceeding that of acceptance. Nonetheless, the 2016 percentages for citizens with positive feelings exceed or match those for 2015 in all of the countries with the exception of Germany, Italy and Spain.

Table 5. QB4.2 What type of feeling does immigration of people from outside the EU evoke? (total positive responses, as a percentage of total respondents)

	May-15	May-16	Nov-15	Nov-16
UK	39	41	39	49
PT	40	45	42	48
IT	19	27	26	24
FR	29	34	30	35
ES	45	50	53	52
EL	19	24	24	27
IE	47	53	49	57
DE	38	35	35	40
EU-28	34	34	34	37

Source: Eurobarometer, May and November 2015 and 2016.

The countries with the highest percentages of citizens with positive feelings towards immigration from countries outside the EU are Ireland and Spain. In these two countries, approximately 50%-57% of citizens have a positive attitude towards immigration from non-EU countries.

2 Attitudes towards immigration survey

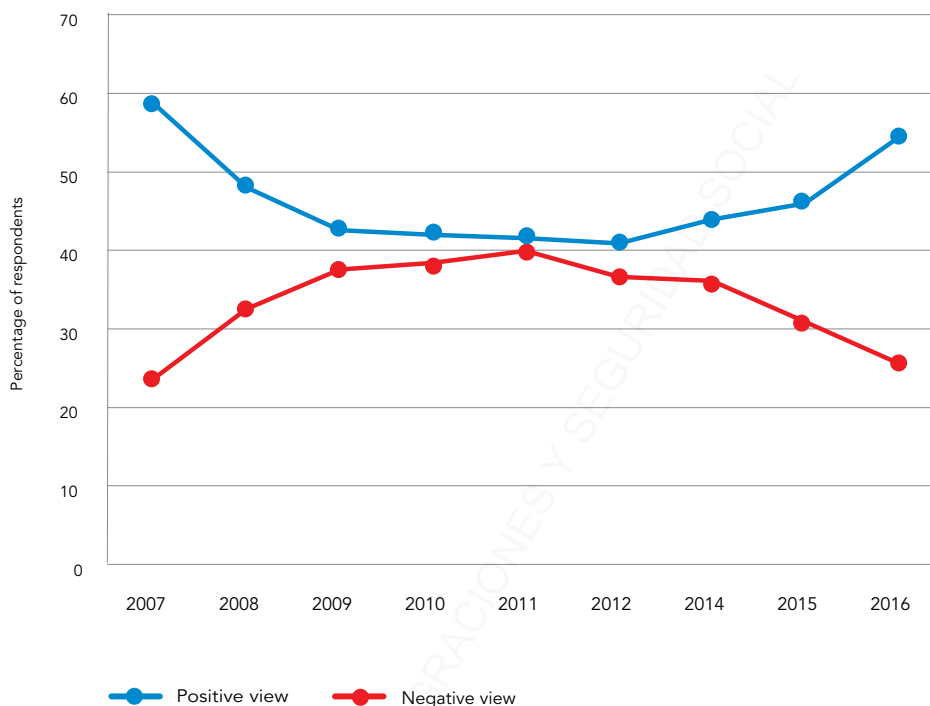
2.1. Analysis of trends

The trends in the series analysed from the “9th Attitudes towards Immigration” survey, performed in 2016, show that 42%-59% of Spaniards had a generally positive attitude towards immigration in the period studied (Chart 4)³.

Mirroring the trend over time in other variables, 2007 is the first year of the surveyed period and has the highest percentage of Spaniards with a positive view of immigrants (58.7%). The percentage recorded for 2016 is the second highest in the series, behind 2007.

³ The remaining percentage of respondents required to reach 100% when adding together those with positive and negative attitudes corresponds to respondents whose attitude towards immigration is neither positive nor negative.

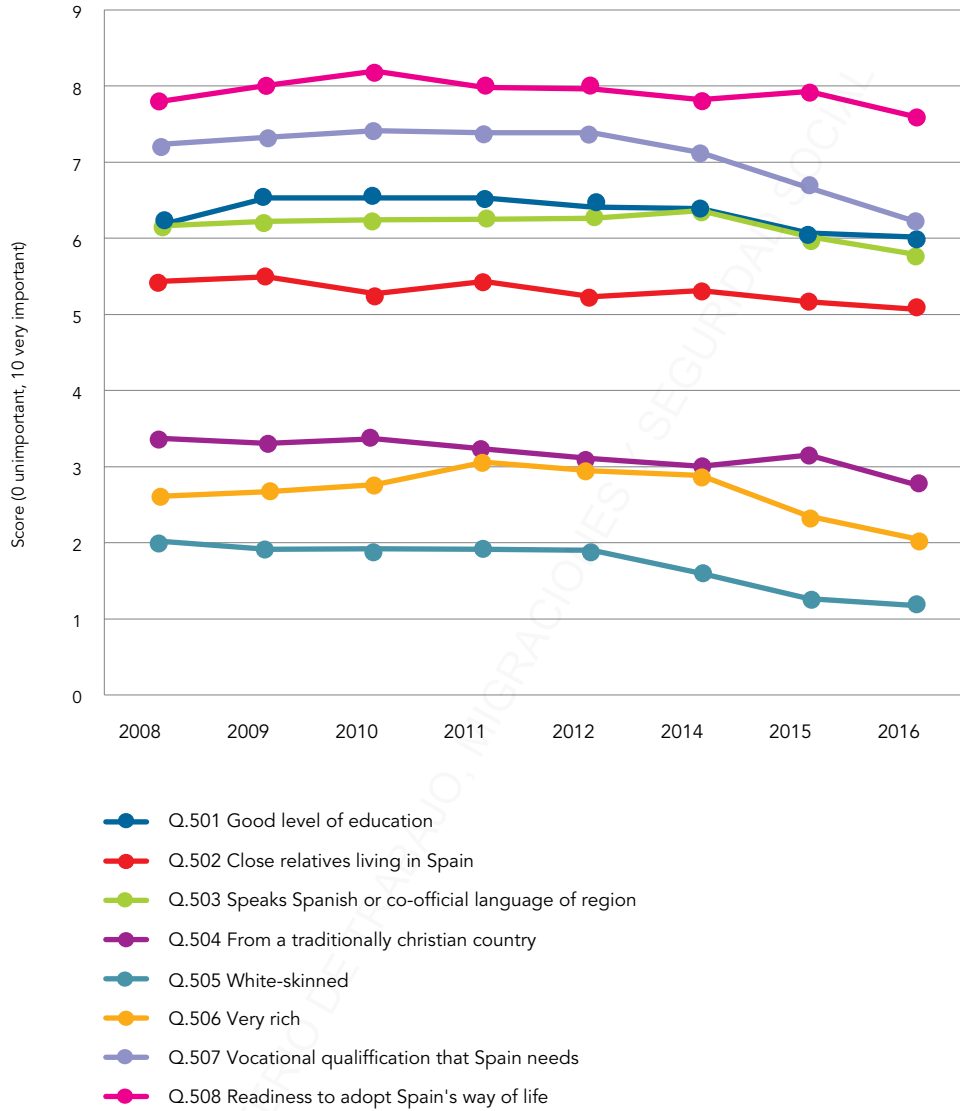
Chart 4. Spaniards' view of immigration (positive or negative) (Q.23)



Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2007-2016.

Chart 5 analyses the score from 0 to 10 of the factors that Spanish people consider important in permitting immigrants' arrival. The aspects that scored highest among the respondent population were immigrants' readiness to adopt the country's way of life, possession of occupational qualifications that are needed by Spain, a good level of education, speaking Spanish or the co-official language of the Autonomous Community where they live, and that they have relations living in Spain. As shown, for all the aspects considered, the average score declined in 2016. The same relative positions have been maintained in 2016, in terms of ranking, in comparison with prior years. The most important factor for respondents is adopting the country's way of life and the least important aspect is that immigrants be white.

Chart 5. Important factors to permit foreigners to live in Spain (Q.5)

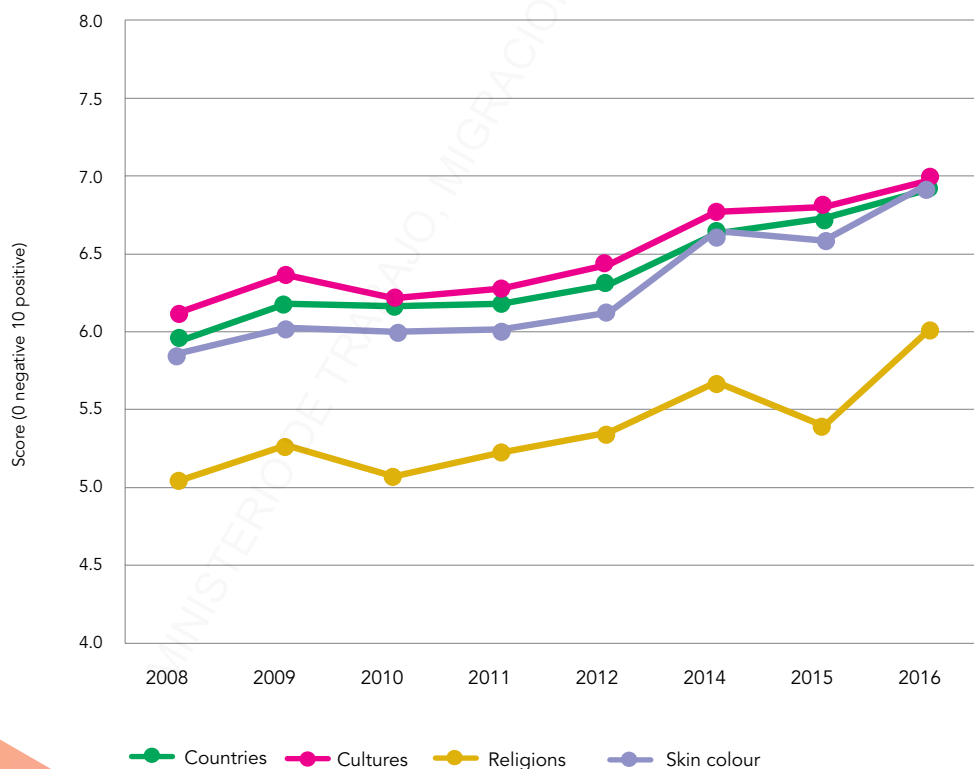


Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2008-2016.

Chart 6 shows the trend in the attitudes towards diversity in terms of countries of origin, cultures, ethnicities, and religions of immigrants, reflecting the best figures for the entire period, with scores in the region of 6 to 7. The highest scores, with an upward trend over time, relate, in order, to diversity of countries, cultures and skin colour. The path followed by these three factors was very much alike over the period, and their scores from respondents were very similar in 2016.

The aspect of diversity that marks the most difference with regard to others is religion, although in 2016 this factor received the highest score in the entire period considered. This lower acceptance of religious diversity is probably related to the Islamic religion, whose members have strong cultural identities and may be perceived by Spanish nationals as less likely to integrate.

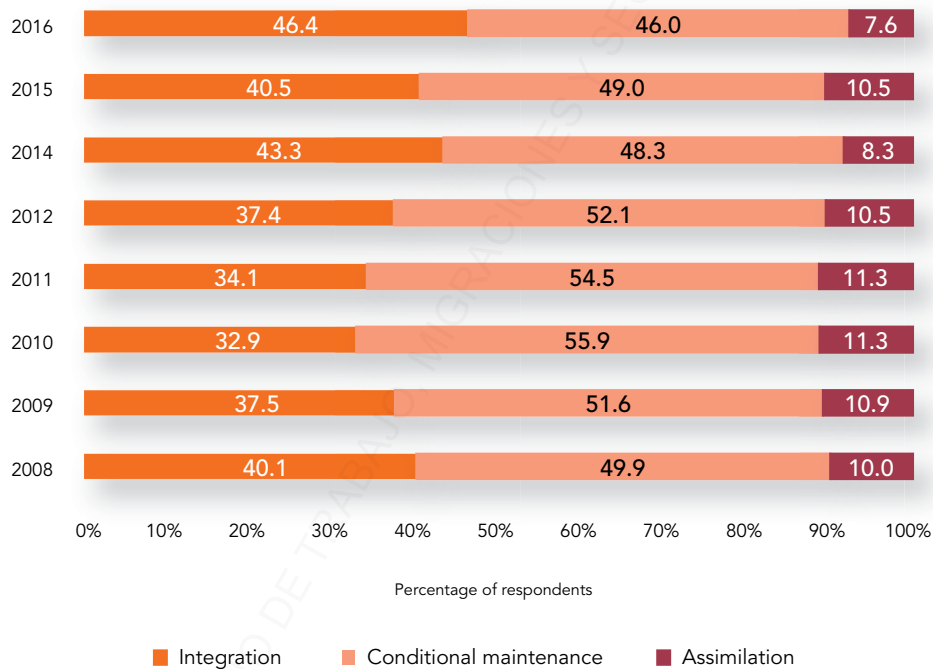
Chart 6. Views on Spanish society being composed of different people (Q.9)



Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2008-2016.

As regards the degree of agreement with immigrants maintaining or not maintaining their language, culture and customs, the strategies preferred by the respondents are integration and maintenance under certain conditions. In 2016, the percentage of respondents who agreed with integration of immigrants increased, reaching its highest level in the entire period considered (46.4%). The data appear to indicate that there is some degree of a trend towards more integrationist standpoints, rather than viewpoints more concerned with assimilation or maintenance under certain conditions (Chart 7).

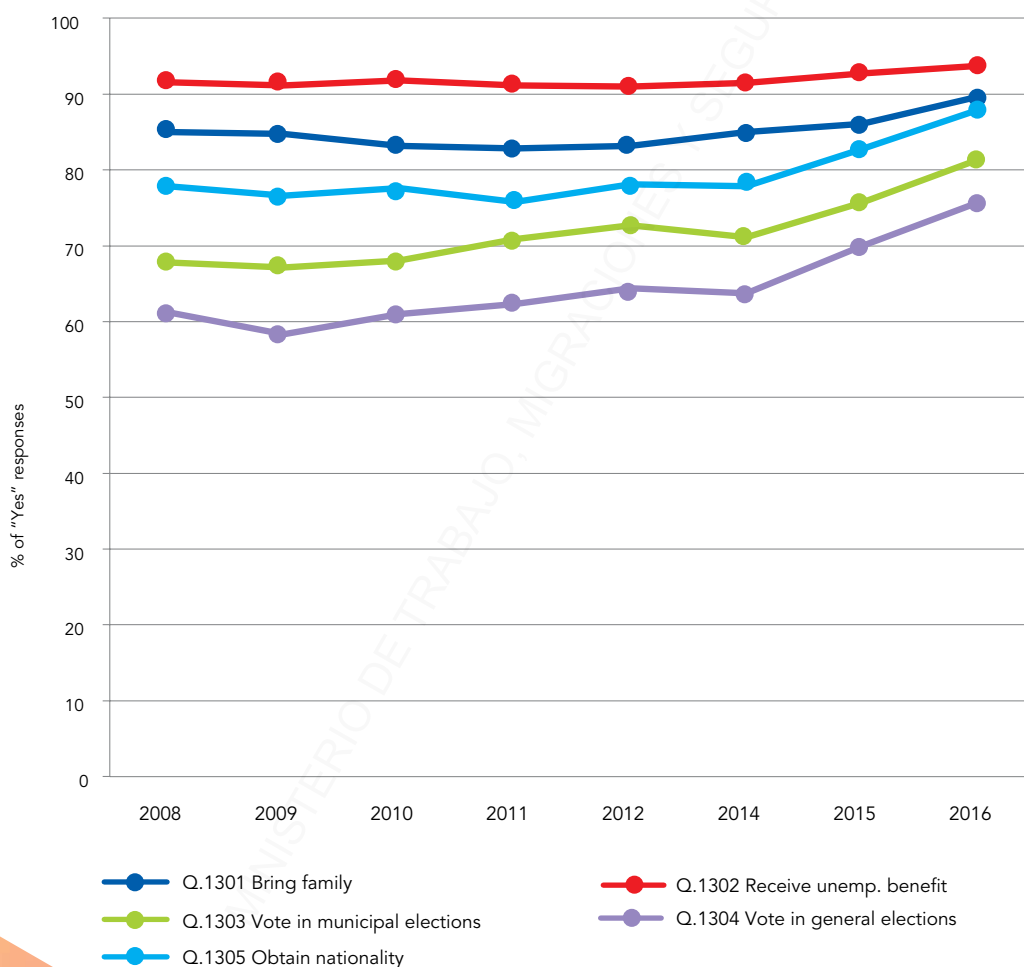
Chart 7. Attitudes towards different cultures, languages and customs (Q.19)



Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2008-2016.

Recognition of immigrants' fundamental rights on an equal basis with Spaniards has continued to progress in favourable results (Chart 8). In 2016, the best values in the series were reached, in all of the factors considered. 87.9% of respondents considered that immigrants who reside stably in Spain should obtain the nationality, the same percentage that was of the opinion that such immigrants should be able to bring their family to Spain. 93.7% of respondents were in agreement with immigrants receiving unemployment benefit.

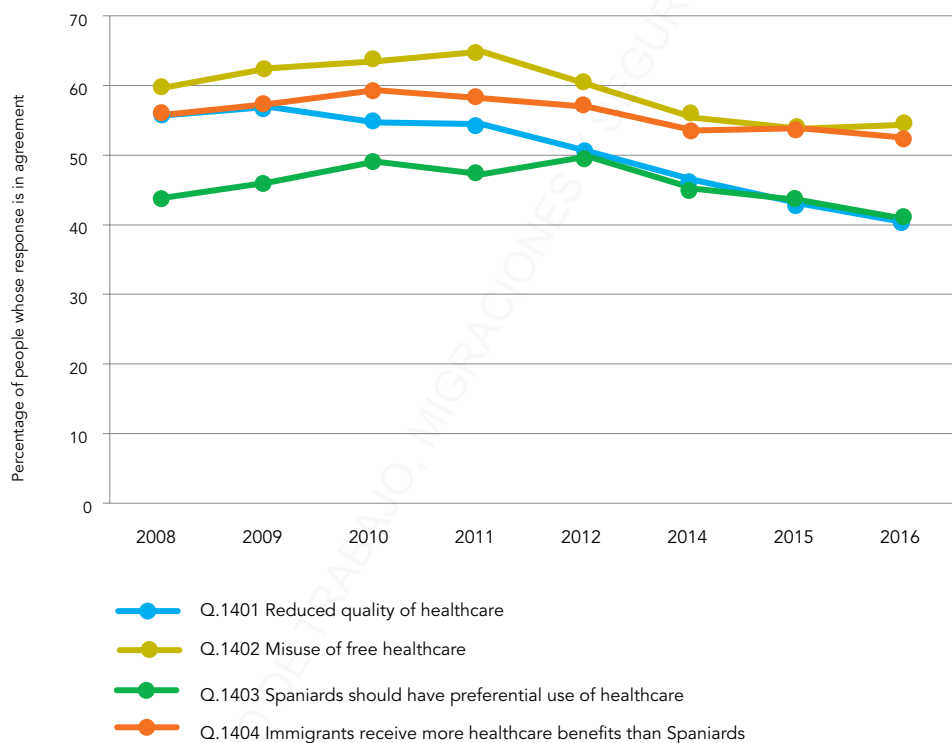
Chart 8. Rights that immigrants stably and regularly residing in Spain should have (Q.13)



Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2008-2016.

Chart 9 shows the analysis of the trend in respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants, in terms of healthcare resources. The perception that healthcare quality has declined because of use by immigrants, and the perception that there is an imbalance in favour of immigrants when granting healthcare benefits, both reached their lowest level in 2016. However, the percentage of respondents who were of the view that immigrants misuse healthcare services rose slightly in 2016. Respondents' attitude towards preferential access to healthcare for Spaniards over immigrants also reached its lowest level in 2016 (41%).⁴

Chart 9. Perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to public healthcare (Q.14)



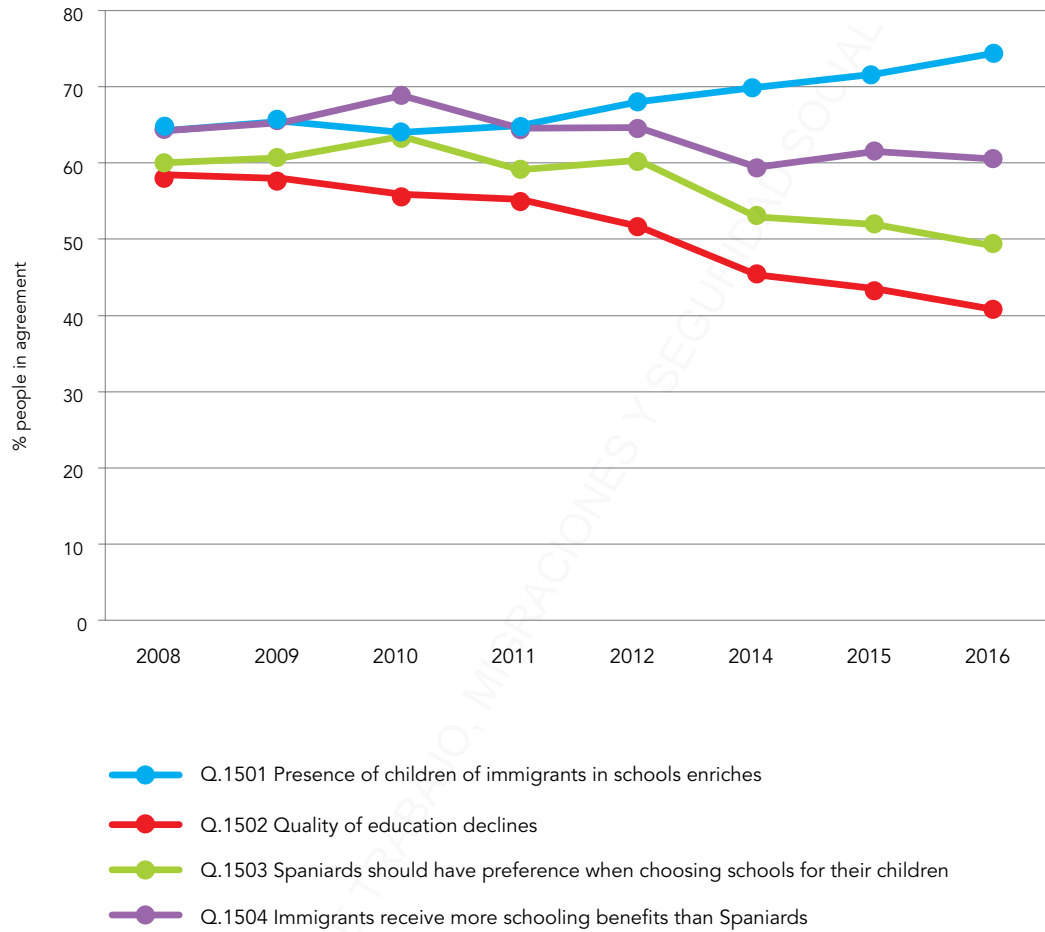
Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2008-2016.

4 Healthcare professionals are in a privileged position to identify when patients seeking attention following an assault have been attacked because of hate or intolerance. The healthcare sector is therefore a pillar of the fight against racism and xenophobia. Since 2016, the General Secretariat for Immigration and Emigration—through the Racism and Xenophobia Observatory—has been implementing the PANDORA Project of awareness-raising for the detection of incidents of racism, xenophobia, and other forms of intolerance in the healthcare environment. The project is co-funded by the EU Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). The objective of this project is to provide healthcare professionals, as well as social workers in hospitals' and health centres' emergency wards, with the training and tools required to identify hate crimes, in order to offer assault victims support and refer them to specialized NGOs, as well as reporting the case using official injury reporting forms, if appropriate.

Chart 10 shows the analysis of the trend in Spaniards' perception and attitudes towards immigrants, as regards access to educational resources. Most of the respondents—more than 60%—have the perception that the presence of immigrants' children in schools is enriching for pupils as a whole. This perception was at its highest level in 2016 (74.4%). This trend of tolerance towards diversity is also reflected in respondents' perception as regards a supposed deterioration in education quality in schools that have a lot of immigrants' children as pupils, which also reached its lowest level in 2016 (40.8%). The same has happened with the view that Spaniards should have preference in choosing schools, over immigrants, which also reached its lowest percentage in 2016 (49.1%). The percentage of respondents who perceive an unfavourable imbalance, in a situation with the same income, declined in 2016 (60.6%) compared with 2015 (61.5%). Nationals' attitudes towards immigrants in 2016, in terms of access to the educational system, show signs of improvement, in all aspects.⁵

5 In its **Declaration of Principles on Tolerance**, UNESCO states that education is “the most effective means of preventing intolerance” and that “the first step in tolerance education is to teach people what their shared rights and freedoms are, so that they may be respected, and to promote the will to protect those of others”. In this regard, since 2014 the General Secretariat for Immigration and Emigration has been implementing the FRIDA Project on training to prevent and detect racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance in classrooms, performed in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, and the Education Departments of Spain's Autonomous Communities. As part of this project, the **Support Manual for Prevention of Racism, Xenophobia, and Other Forms of Intolerance in Classrooms** was prepared, along with **informative leaflets**. Awareness seminars have also been held, attended by more than 1400 people, teacher trainers, advisors on coexistence, educators, and other professionals from all of Spain's Autonomous Communities, as well as representatives from central government and civil society organizations involved in the fight against discrimination, racism and xenophobia.

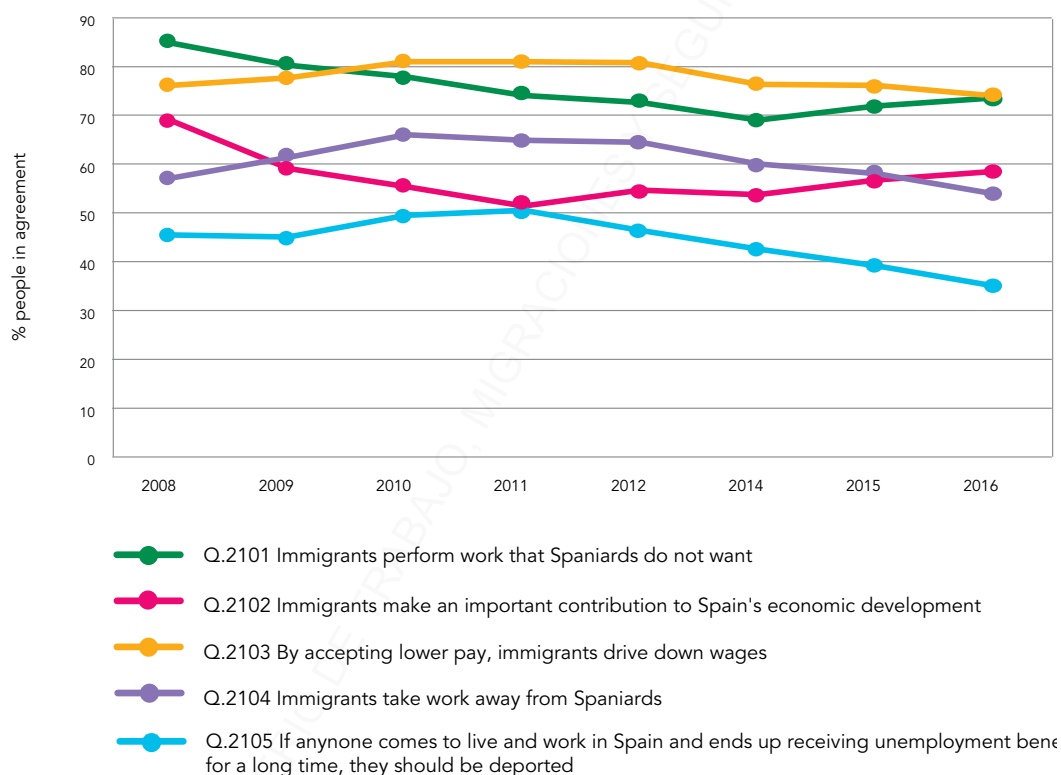
Chart 10. Respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to the educational system (Q.15)



Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2008-2016.

Chart 11 shows the trend in attitudes and perceptions of respondents towards immigrants' participation in the labour market. A percentage of the respondents, fluctuating between 69% and 85% over the period considered, consider that immigrants perform necessary work, in positions that Spaniards do not want. In 2016, this percentage was 73.5%, at a similar level to 2011 (74.1%).

Chart 11. Respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to the labour market (Q.21)



Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2008-2016.

The perception that immigrants make a significant contribution to economic development in Spain reached a level of 58.4% in 2016, the first time that it has surpassed the percentage of respondents who consider that immigrants take work away from Spanish nationals (53.9%) since 2008. In 2016, 74% of respondents considered that immigrants contribute to declines in pay in the labour market by accepting lower wages. This is the lowest figure in the series for the entire period, and almost the same as the percentage of respondents who consider that immigrants perform work that Spaniards do not wish to do (73.5%), a percentage which has increased on prior years. These figures suggest that, although it can be considered that immigrants contribute to lowering pay for unqualified work, these positions are not wanted by Spaniards. In short, immigrants are perceived as contributors to Spain's economic development and its labour market, marking a move away from viewing immigrants as competitors.

2.2. Trust in others and self-perception of racism: a consolidated lesson

By taking a closer look both at dimensions of social cohesion (cultural, redistributive and relational), as well as at components of prejudice (cognitive, affective and behavioural), we are better able to assess which aspects of prejudice might be hampering our progress towards social cohesion.

By comparing the variables relating to social cohesion and prejudice, it can be seen that in 2016, just as in 2015, the affective component of prejudice represented by the degree of a person's "trust in others" is that which has the greatest bearing on the dimensions of social cohesion. Moreover, there is a close correlation between this affective component of prejudice and the variable indicating where Spaniards place themselves on the racism scale. This variable, subject to the social desirability bias, does not in itself provide information in either the univariate or multivariate analyses. However, if we relate it to the degree of "trust in others", we find that racist behaviours are common among those who indicate low levels of trust in others, while non-racist behaviours are observed in those who have a high level of trust in other people (Table 6). Therefore, it appears that the affective component of prejudice could offer a close approximation of where Spaniards will place themselves on the racism scale.

Table 6. Relationship between a person's degree of trust in other people (Q.38) and where they place themselves on the racism scale (Q.39) (horizontal percentages)

Racism scale		Degree of trust in other people			
		Low	Average	High	Total
	Not at all racist, %	13.4	48.4	38.2	100
	Low degree of racism, %	16.2	47.8	36	100
	Average degree of racism, %	30.3	48.8	20.9	100
	High degree of racism, %	45.4	44.1	10.5	100

Source: Centre for Sociological Research: Attitudes Towards Immigration, 2016.

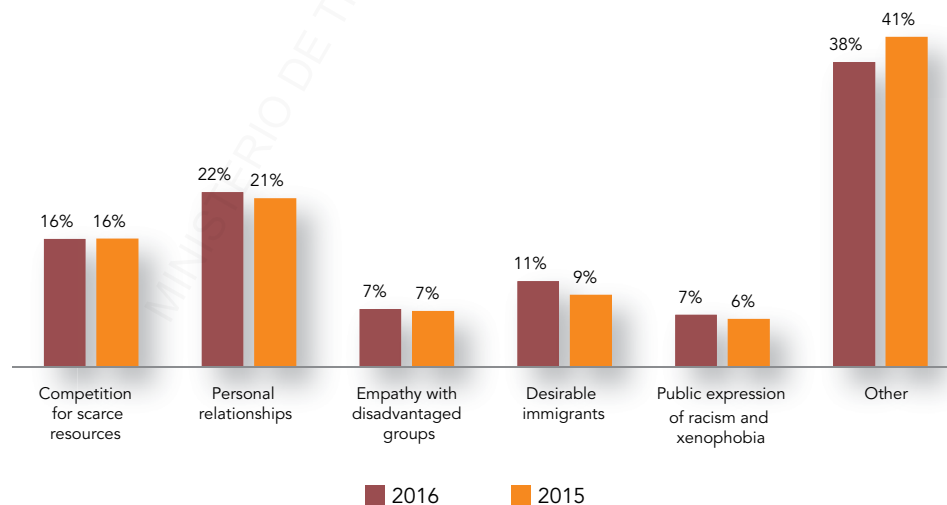
2.3. Profiles of Spanish nationals as regards racism and xenophobia: an organic and dynamic reality

The use of multivariate data reduction techniques (factor analysis) has enabled us to identify a number of latent factors or variables underlying racism and xenophobia.

The dimensions into which these factors were grouped in 2016 were the same as in 2015: 1) competition for scarce resources; 2) personal relationships; 3) empathy for vulnerable groups; 4) views on integration; and 5) public expression of racist or xenophobic attitudes in relation to immigration. The 2016 study used a lower number of factors and variables, and depicted the phenomenon of racism and xenophobia more accurately. In 2016, the factors relating to racism and xenophobia did not make any distinction between different possible scenarios in terms of coexistence and relationships; rather, immigrants were identified as a group irrespective of the extent of the respondents' contact with them (coexistence or personal relationships).

The five dimensions identified in the factor analysis of principal components explain 62% of attitudes concerning racism and xenophobia in Spain (or, in other words, 62% of the variance is explained by them). Chart 12 details the proportion represented by each of these dimensions in percentage terms.

Chart 12. Dimensions of racism and xenophobia in Spain: percentage of variance explained by the five dimensions defined in 2015 and 2016



Source: prepared by the authors based on factor analysis of principal components.

As can be seen in Chart 12, the dimension that most explains racist and xenophobic attitudes in 2016, as in 2015, is that comprising factors related to coexistence and relationships (22%). It is followed by competition for scarce resources (16%). Furthermore, in 2016 there is a lower percentage of variance explained by other unidentified factors—38% compared with 41% in 2015—reflecting a better quality model.

Knowledge of the respondents' conduct as regards racism and xenophobia is revealed through cluster analysis, which allows for segmentation of the 2016 population into the three groups identified in 2015: "distrustful"; "distant" and "multicultural". The respondents included in each group display different socio-demographic characteristics and attitudes. However, these three groups are permeable and the line between them is not always clearly defined, with each group showing elements of both tolerance and intolerance.

Table 7 schematically presents the behaviour of each of these three groups in relation to the different dimensions and factors in 2015 and 2016, in order to be able to make intra- and inter-profile comparisons. The plus signs, in blue, indicate favourable attitudes towards immigration with respect to each factor, while the minus signs, in red, indicate negative attitudes. The number of signs reflects the greater or lesser intensity of the response.

Table 7. Scores for the factors describing racism and xenophobia in each of the three profiles proposed (distrustful, distant, multicultural) in 2015 and in 2016

Dimensions	2015 Factors	2016 Factors	Profiles					
			Distrustful		Distant		Multicultural	
			2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	2016
SCARCE RESOURCES	F1 Competition for services and benefits	F1 Competition for services and benefits	--	--	+++	-	--	++

(Table 7. Continuation)

Dimensions	2015 Factors	2016 Factors	Profiles					
			Distrustful		Distant		Multicultural	
			2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	2016
COEXISTENCE	F2 Neighbourhood coexistence with Romani people	F2 Coexistence and personal relationships with Romani people	+	--	-	+	+	+
	F4 Neighbourhood coexistence with immigrants	F3 Coexistence and personal relationships with immigrants	++	---	--	++	--	++
	F6 Personal relationships		--		++		+	
	F9 Professional relationships		--		++		-	
EMPATHY	F5 Vulnerable non-immigrant groups	F5 Vulnerable non-immigrant groups	--	-	--	+	+++	-
	F10 What foreigners contribute	F8 What foreigners contribute to the labour market	+++	-	--	-	---	+

(Table 7. Continuation)

Dimensions	2015 Factors	2016 Factors	Profiles					
			Distrustful		Distant		Multicultural	
			2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	2016
STANCE REGARDING INTEGRATION	F3 Assimilation	F4 Assimilation	-	-	-	+	++	-
	F7 Blending in	F6 Blending in	-	--	-	+	++	+
ATTITUDES	F8 Tolerance of racist attitudes	F7 Tolerance of racist attitudes	+	-	--	---	+	++
	F11 Visible consequences of immigration	F9 Visible consequences of immigration	+	+	--	+	++	-

Source: prepared by the authors on the basis of the analysis of the 2015 and 2016 surveys on attitudes towards immigration.

In 2016 the three profiles show a dynamic, changing and highly nuanced reality with respect to 2015. A brief description of these groups or profiles in 2016 is as follows:

<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">DISTRUSTFUL</p>	<p>This group sees immigrants as people who have access to universal healthcare and education services, an area in which they consider Spaniards should be given preference. They believe that immigrants receive more resources than they contribute; that they take jobs away from Spaniards, and lower the quality of the State education services, while also contributing to general reductions in salaries. They show no empathy for immigrants, but do show empathy for other disadvantaged groups in Spain, considering them to be negatively affected with respect to State welfare benefits.</p> <p>The stances they express reflect a certain degree of assimilationism; they prefer foreigners to adapt or conform as far as possible to the labour needs, habits and customs of the Spanish population.</p> <p>This group shows acceptance or permissiveness towards racist attitudes expressed in public through insults or opinions. This group's opinion as to whether xenophobic political parties will emerge as a result of immigration did not vary from 2015 to 2016, i.e., it does not consider that a racist or xenophobic party is likely to emerge. In 2016 they show no tolerance towards neighbourhood coexistence or personal relationships either with the immigrant population, or with Romani people.</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">DISTANT</p>	<p>This group appears to have a certain number of misgivings as regards immigrants en masse, seeing them as competitors in the labour market and as receiving more than they contribute, resenting their access to education and healthcare, and questioning their contribution to Spain's economic development. In this regard, their trusting view of immigrants as regards shared resources has changed in 2016; they now see them more frequently as competitors and rivals and are more prone to agreeing with the use of drastic measures in relation to job insecurity or problems with the justice system.</p> <p>This group continues to fail to recognize the positive contribution made by immigrants; however, it does consider that the most vulnerable non-immigrant groups are sufficiently covered by the welfare system.</p> <p>In 2016, this group expressed positive attitudes towards coexistence and relationships with immigrants and Romani people. They also displayed a clear preference for integration, for immigrants adapting to the host country culture while maintaining their culture of origin, in which belonging to a culturally Christian country, or having white skin or a lot of money are of little importance.</p> <p>They did not display any discomfort with openly racist or xenophobic attitudes</p> <p>They do not think that a racist or xenophobic party could emerge and gain acceptance in Spain</p>

MULTICULTURALE

In terms of integration strategy, this group appears to be leaning closer towards assimilationism. However, they do not consider that immigrants need to blend in with the environment in which they live.

Their empathy appears to extend to other vulnerable, non-immigrant groups, as well as to immigrants. They show positive attitudes towards coexistence and personal relationships with immigrants and Romani people.

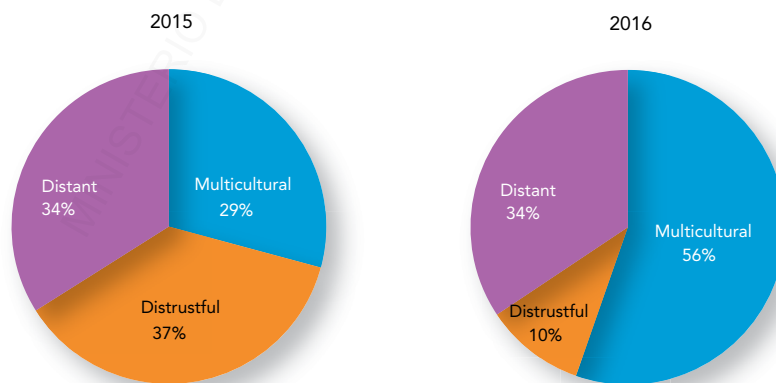
This group is openly opposed to racist or xenophobic attitudes. While in 2015 there was no perception among this group that immigration could lead to the emergence of a party with a racist bent, in 2016, this was the only group that considered that it could.

This group recognizes that immigrants contribute to the labour market by performing jobs that Spaniards don't want to do, and it also recognizes the need for and scarcity of resources available to other vulnerable, non-immigrant groups, such as pensioners, older people living alone and unemployed people. The people included in this group do not consider immigrants as competitors or rivals for services and benefits.

In 2016, the survey respondents classified in this group expressed empathy not only for immigrants but also for other, non-immigrant disadvantaged groups.

Chart 14 shows a comparison of the profile group sizes in 2015 and 2016, reflecting a shift away from an equal distribution between the three groups—with a certain prevalence of the “distrustful” group (37%) and smaller “multicultural” group (29%)—in 2015, to a larger “multicultural” group (55%) and a decrease in the “distrustful” group (10%) in 2016. One hypothesis to explain these figures is that there has been movement from the “distrustful” group to the “distant” group and from the latter to the “multicultural”. This could explain the different nuances presented by the three profile groups as compared with 2015.

Chart 14. Distribution of profiles in 2015 and 2016



Source: prepared by the authors on the basis of the analysis of the 2015 and 2016 surveys on attitudes towards immigration.

2.4. A look in the mirror

To facilitate the identification of the profiles of the respondents with respect to their attitudes towards immigration in a clear and simple manner, a graphic summary thereof is presented in a diagram considering two perspectives:

- How does each group or profile view immigrants?
- Who are the people in each profile group?

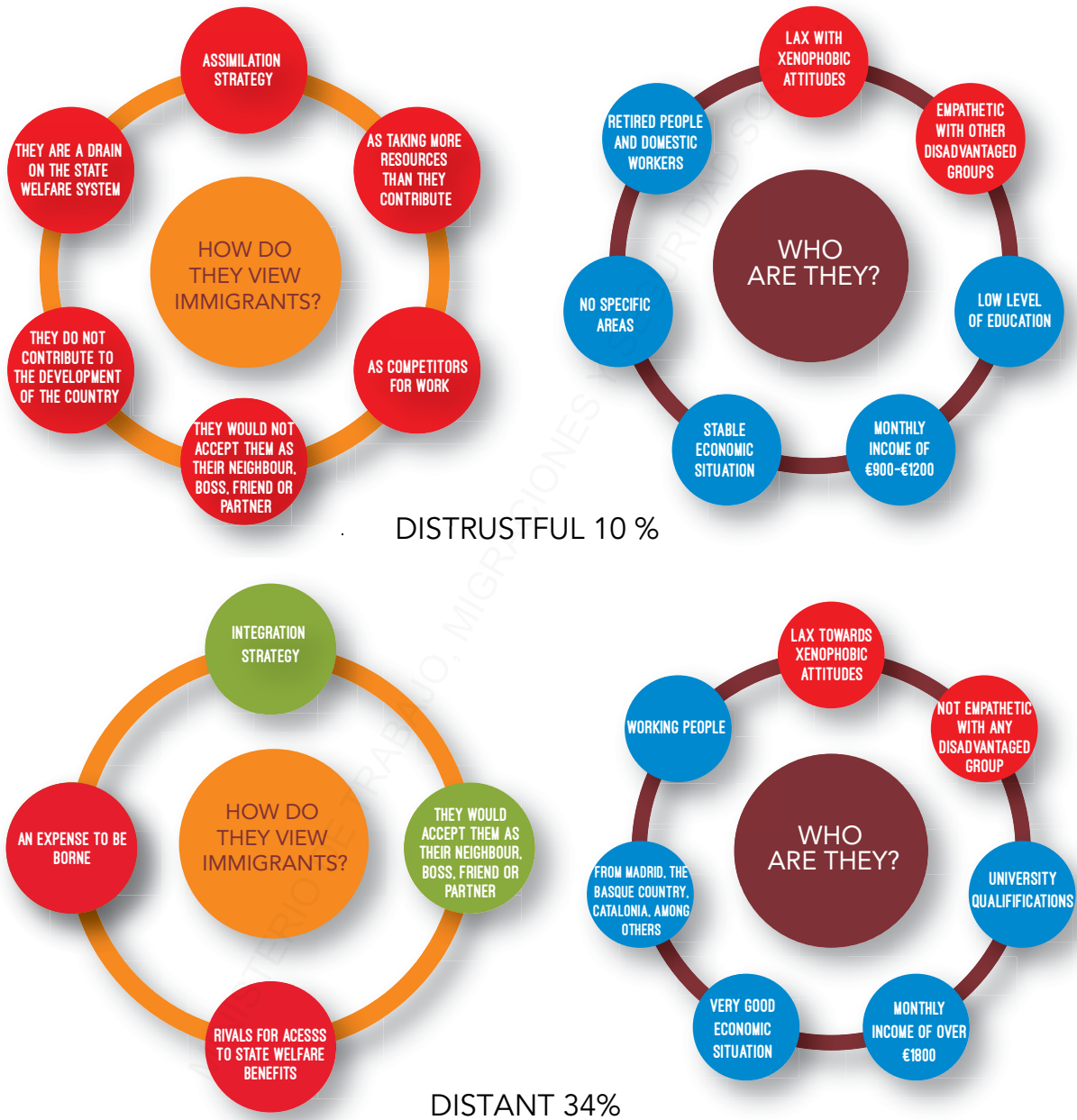
Chart 15, showing **how each profile groups views immigrants**, reflects Spaniards' perceptions of/attitudes towards immigrants as regards the labour market, cultural diversity, and social capital, i.e. as regards the three variables describing social cohesion: cultural, redistributive and relational. The cultural dimension refers to Spaniards' perspectives on diversity in relation to immigrants; the redistributive dimension encompasses participation in the job market—a key element for integration—as well as access to services meeting basic demands; while the relational dimension refers to contact with other groups. In answering the question **Who are they?**, Chart 15 describes the attitudes and social and demographic characteristics that define the individuals from each of the three groups, each of which view immigrants in a different light.

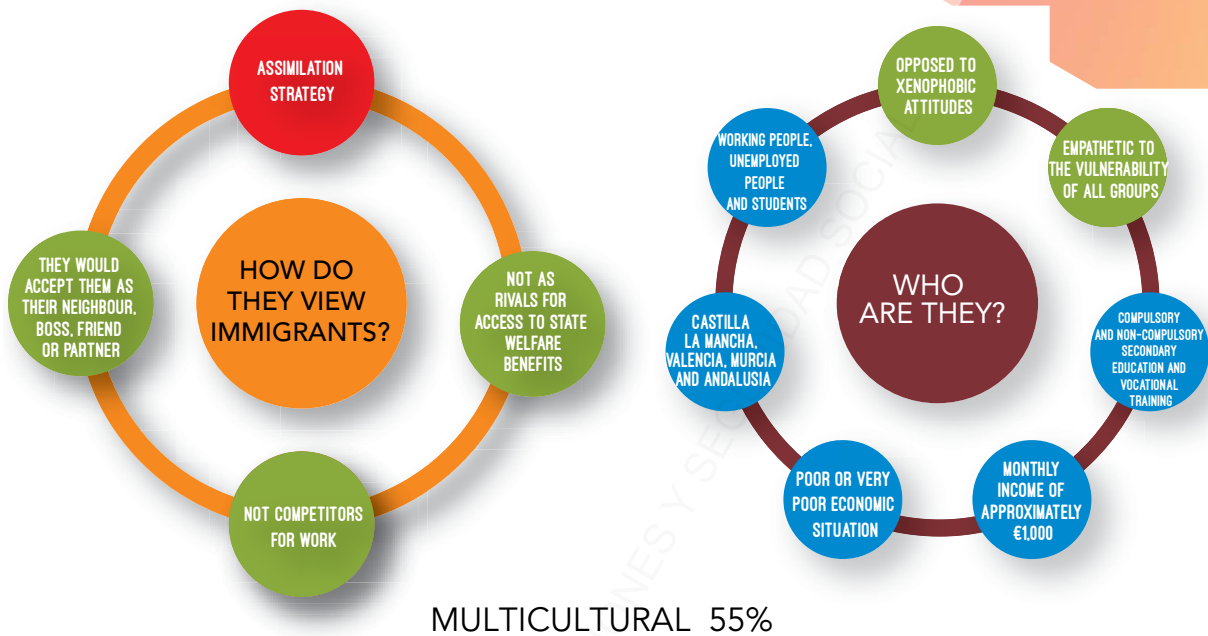
Each colour has a meaning. The warm colours—red and pink—denote more ambiguous or xenophobic perceptions of or attitudes towards immigrants. The cold colours—green and blue—symbolize, on the one hand, the neutrality of socio-demographic characteristics, in the case of blue, and positive perceptions or attitudes towards immigration in the case of green⁶.

This figure presents a map of each profile. In the map of the “distrustful” profile group, red predominates in the perception of immigrants. The subjects included in this group see immigrants as threats and as competitors for resources, as people who receive more than they contribute and whom they would prefer not to have as neighbours or have any kind of personal or professional relationship with. They have a negative perception of the contribution made by immigrants to the economic development of the country or to the labour market. This group, which is not associated with a specific geographical area, largely comprises retired people and people engaged in unremunerated domestic work, with low levels of studies and a stable economic situation. This is the smallest group (10%).

⁶ The association of the colours—red with passionate attitudes, green with attitudes of attachment, and blue with neutrality—has been demonstrated many times in specialized literature (Singh, 2006; Labrecque and Milne, 2012; Shi, 2013).

Chart 15. The three profiles of the survey respondents: who are they and how they view immigrants





Source: Prepared by the authors.

The next group in terms of size is that of the “distant” profile (34%). We can see here that there is a balance of positive and negative perceptions and attitudes, as 50% of the circles are green and the other 50% are red. This group does not show a great deal of empathy towards vulnerable non-immigrant groups, but considers that they receive a lot of welfare benefits. The survey respondents included in this profile group display a greater number of favourable perceptions-attitudes than the “distrustful” profile group. In their view, immigrants are a threat to their jobs and rivals for public resources. However, they may coexist with or have personal or work relationships with immigrants and are favourable to maintaining a strategy of integration with them. This group comprises university graduates who are in employment and who enjoy a good economic situation and who generally live in economically developed areas with greater or lower population densities and a greater or lower presence of foreigners.

The map of the multicultural profile group, which is the most numerous (55%), shows that they do not feel threatened with respect to access to different resources (labour, healthcare, education, etc.). These subjects empathize with the situation of immigrants and with the situations of other disadvantaged non-immigrant groups and are made uncomfortable by public expressions of racist attitudes, in contrast to the permissiveness expressed by the other two profiles. Green is the colour that predominates in the “multicultural” map, although red appears in relation to the assimilation strategy they favour. This profile is more inclined to favour a strategy of assimilation, stressing that immigrants should be good representatives of the host country’s customs. This group largely comprises younger people with an average level of academic qualifications and with a middling financial situation. The subjects in this group are typically in work, studying or unemployed and live in areas with high levels of immigration and high rates of unemployment.

In short, two of the three profiles (“distant” and “multicultural”) described above show positive values in some of the dimensions of social cohesion that help pave the way towards greater tolerance. In the case of the “distant” group, these are the cultural dimension (understood in terms of diversity) and the relational dimension, and in the case of the multicultural profile group, they are the redistributive and relational dimensions. The “distrustful” group is the only one of the three that does not show positive values in any of the three dimensions of social cohesion (cultural, redistributive and relational). Nevertheless, the dramatic decrease in the size of this group is in itself an encouraging sign for the future.

2.5. Index of tolerance towards immigration

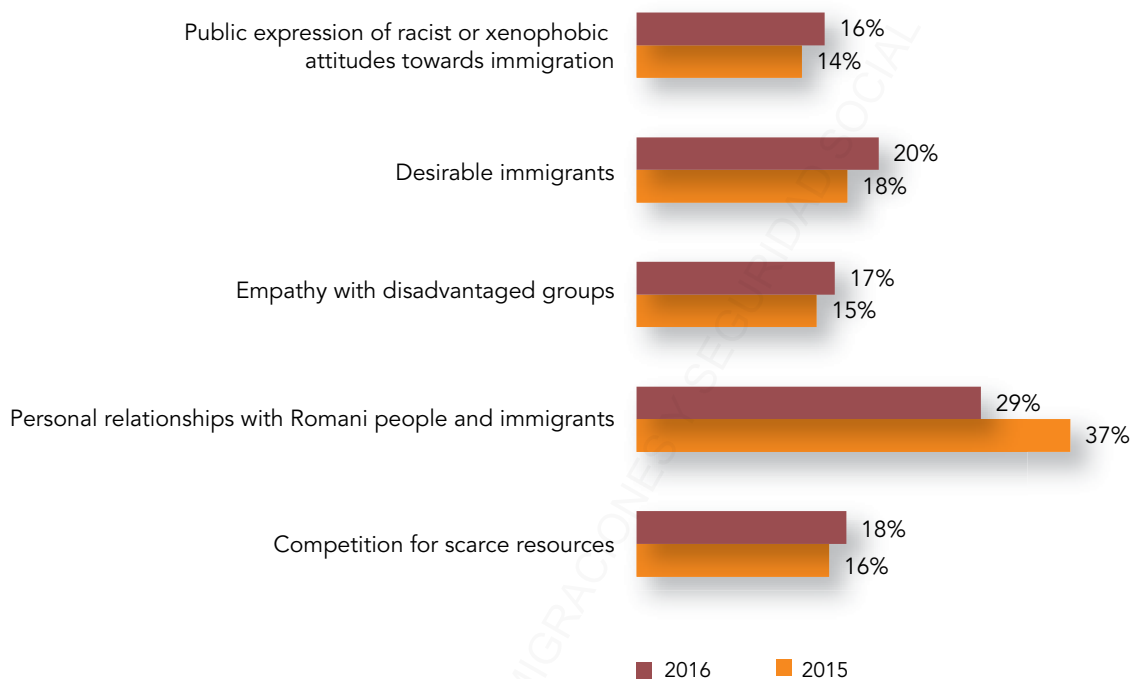
This index of tolerance towards immigration summarizes, in a single value, the position of the Spanish population with respect to the arrival of foreigners. The index values that are close to zero reflect lower levels of tolerance, while those close to 100 reflect higher levels.

This index of tolerance towards immigration is an effective gauge of Spanish public opinion and summarizes the variables behind any changes and underlying trends.

The index of tolerance towards immigration contains the five dimensions—groups of sets of factors—obtained from the factor analysis: (1) Competition for scarce resources; (2) Personal relationships with Romani people and immigrants; (3) Empathy towards disadvantaged groups; (4) Desirable immigrants; and (5) Public expression of racist or xenophobic attitudes towards immigration. The structure of the index in terms of the proportional distribution of the dimensions was the same in 2016 as in 2015. This structure prioritizes the dimension concerning personal relationships with Romani people and immigrants, followed by that comprising the characteristics of “desirable immigrants” in terms of language, family networks, professional qualifications, adoption of the host country’s way of life, skin colour, purchasing power, etc. Third place in the index structure is given to the dimension representing competition for scarce resources. The fourth and fifth places in the index structure are held by the dimensions corresponding to empathy with disadvantaged groups, and to public expression of racist or xenophobic attitudes towards immigration, respectively. Chart 16 shows the distribution of the dimensions in the index structure in 2015 and 2016.

The nature of the dimensions comprising the index shows that tolerance towards immigration can be strengthened through the construction of quality personal and professional relationships with immigrants and Romani people, the integration thereof in terms of educational levels, language, robust family networks, adequate work skills, adoption of the national way of life, the perception of the immigrant not as a competitor, but as a contributor, empathy with disadvantaged groups, and intolerance towards public expressions of xenophobia or racism.

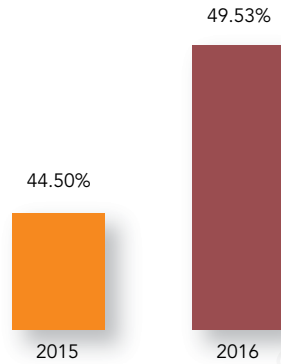
Chart 16. Distribution of the dimensions in the tolerance index structure for 2015 and 2016⁷



The index value obtained for 2016 (49.5 points) is higher than that obtained for 2015 (44.5 points). This is consistent with the results obtained in the unidimensional analysis of the variables comprising the 2016 survey, which indicate more tolerant positions among the survey respondents with respect to immigration and a notable improvement in perceptions and attitudes towards xenophobia and racism.

⁷ There is a difference between the proportion represented by each dimension in the index and the percentage of explanation by dimensions in the factor analysis in Chart 12 because the formulation of the index does not consider the percentage of variance not explained by the factors used.

Chart 17. Tolerance index, 2015-2016



Source: Prepared by the authors

The main hypothetical explanation for this rise in tolerance in 2016 as compared with 2015, bearing in mind that immigration is a complex phenomenon combining a large number of variables of different natures, is an increase in confidence in the future due to the upturn in the economy, which is objectively reflected in macro indicators, but is also perceived.

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