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

Survey Report 2017
Summary

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oberAXe

Observatorio
Español
del Racismo
y la Xenofobia

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The evolution of racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance in Spain: summary

The results of the 10th survey on "Spaniards' attitudes towards immigration", conducted in 2017, showed a continuation of the positive trend of tolerance towards immigration, although in certain cases there was a slight downturn with regard to 2016 data. However, it must be noted that 2016 was an exceptional year, which yielded the best results in the entire period studied (since 2007).

These 2017 results seem to be in line with the trend observed in Spain's GDP for that year. In 2017, the economic context continued to be favourable, with a 3% growth in real GDP (somewhat lower than that of 2015 and 2016, both of which were 3.2%), and higher than that of the euro zone (2.4%), although with a different speed than that of the euro zone—growth was picking up in the euro zone, whereas in Spain it seemed to be slowing down (in the euro zone, the growth rate of real GDP in 2015 and 2016 was 2.1% and 2%, respectively).

The "Attitudes towards immigration" survey, commissioned since 2007 by the State Secretariat for Migration to the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS), enables the Spanish Observatory on Racism and Xenophobia (OBERAXE) to collect information on racism and xenophobia, evaluate its evolution over time, and carry out its work on monitoring, vigilance and anticipation with regard to possible intolerant attitudes and perceptions.

The survey covers Spanish nationals aged over 18 who live in Spain. The 2017 sample comprises 2,455 randomly selected people, from 46 provinces and 255 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 21 November and 1 October 2017.

Responses to the survey, which comprised 61 questions covering attitudes towards and perceptions of immigration, can be compared to 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; bivariate analysis, examining the key indicators of social cohesion according to attitudes and prejudices; and multivariate analysis, extracting the most relevant dimensions of intolerance, racism and xenophobia and preparing a typology of profiles of Spanish nationals in this regard.

As in previous years, the report includes the results of the 2017 Eurobarometer, which show that Spaniards' attitude towards immigration continues to be welcoming, both towards EU foreigners and towards foreigners from outside the EU. Similarly, as in previous years, Spaniards seem to be more hospitable than their European partners.

In 2017, the majority (54.0%) of those surveyed continue to have a positive view of immigration, i.e. the third best result in the time series after 2007 (58.7%) and 2016 (54.3%).

Those surveyed continue to consolidate positions in favour of regularizing the situation of the people who are in Spain, as opposed to more intolerant positions such as returning them to their country of origin. In 2017, 20.3% percent consider that the situation of all immigrants should be regularized (the best value in the series, the same as that of 2016); 22.7% consider that their situation should be regularized if they have been living in Spain for several years, regardless of whether they have a job (third best value in the series after 2015 and 2016, 24.8% and 24.2% respectively). Whereas the opinion in favour of returning immigrants to their country of origin is the second lowest value in the series in 2017 (10.8%), after 2016 (9.1%).

As regards immigrants' access to the job market, the healthcare system and the education system, the upward trend is maintained, and there is a slight downturn in certain variables. The perception that immigrants are making a relevant contribution to Spain's economic development is the same in 2017 (58.4%) as in 2016, and the percentage of respondents that consider that immigrants are taking jobs away from Spaniards is the lowest value in the series in 2017 (53.2%).

As regards access to the healthcare system, in 2017 there is a slight downturn with respect to 2016 (the year with the best values in the series). There has been a slight increase in the percentage of respondents who perceive that the quality of healthcare has gone down due to the presence of immigrants (43.8%); in those who perceive that immigrants receive more assistance than Spaniards (57.9%); and in those who consider that Spaniards should have priority access to healthcare over immigrants (42.1%). The lowest values in this series were reached in 2016 (40.3%, 52.4% and 40.8%, respectively).

As regards education, there has been a slight downturn with respect to 2016, which also had the best values in the series. 44.7% of respondents perceive that the presence of immigrants worsens the quality of the educational system, 65.9% perceive that Spaniards receive fewer educational grants than immigrants, and 50.9% consider that Spaniards should have priority over immigrants in choosing schools (40.8%, 60.6% and 49.1% respectively in 2016). However, 72% of those surveyed perceive that the presence of immigrants in schools is enriching, and this is the best percentage in the series after 2016 (74.4%).

Noteworthy in 2017 is the decrease in tolerance in two variables linked to Islamic culture/religion. 35.7% of respondents would be in favour of expelling girls using the Islamic scarf from school (31% in 2016, the lowest value in the series), and 48% would accept it if there are protests against building a mosque in their neighbourhood (39.6% in 2016). This rise also appears in the multivariate model, as a factor explaining intolerance which was not present in previous years. It is likely that the terrorist attacks committed in Barcelona during the period of this survey had an influence on these results.

In 2017, the dimensions measuring more tolerant or less tolerant attitudes among those surveyed are the same as in 2015 and 2016: (1) Competition for scarce resources, (2) Personal relationships with 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 the main explanatory variable for social cohesion. Therefore, strategies aimed at promoting knowledge of others and understanding of diversity are essential to strengthen peaceful coexistence.

The report once again describes the sociodemographic characteristics and attitudes towards immigrants among the three profiles of respondents: "distrustful", "distant" and "multicultural", which are similar to those of previous years, although there has been a variation in the weight of each profile—those who are "distant" are the most numerous in 2017.

Lastly, the index that evaluates the tolerance level of the Spanish population on aggregate shows a value of 30.25 points in 2017, as compared with 49.53 in 2016 and 44.5 in 2015.

These results highlight the influence of factors such as political discourse, the occurrence of dramatic events, or other factors, on the respondents' perceptions and attitudes. Therefore, it is crucial to keep monitoring attitudes towards immigration, and to continue implementing actions aimed at prevention, education and awareness-raising as essential tools to combat racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance.

1 BACKGROUND

1.1. Immigrant children and their integration in school

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989) defines "child" as every human being below the age of eighteen years. Obviously, this category includes different stages of personal development, with different degrees of cognitive, emotional and social development. Families and schools are the basic pillars for persons to reach their complete development as full members of our society.

Children of immigrant origin represent 15% of all children in Spain; however, 33% live under the poverty threshold, more than twice as many as in Spanish households (Alcarons, González, & Moreno Fuentes, 2018).

Immigrant children—more than the adults in their family—face a series of difficulties that could have serious repercussions on their personal and social development. In many cases, moreover, these children face particularly underprivileged situations, given their parents' precarious situation. This hinders their access to education and to the job market, and reduces their possibilities of promotion and participation in community life. This is why schools are so important: they are the institutions that can enable students from different contexts, neighbourhoods or income levels to achieve social success.

Most systematic approaches to analysing the integration of immigrants point to education as a key element: this is clear in the case of adults, but much more so when considering children of immigrant origin. The PISA system of indicators developed by the OECD encompasses, in a multidimensional manner, the factors linked to academic success, such as

education, health and personal relationships. In its 2018 edition, the PISA report concluded that education is crucial to achieving the integration of immigrant children in their new host societies, helping them maximize their skills, and improve their feeling of well-being and belonging.

In Spain, as at 1 January 2018, a total of 724,972 foreigners under the age 17 were registered, i.e. 10% of Spain's total resident population in that same age bracket. In that same year, nearly 750,000 children (9% of all students enrolled in our country) were foreign nationals; 80% of them were attending State schools.

Chart 1. Foreigners aged 17 or younger. Percentage of foreigners out of the total resident population of the same age. SOURCE: National Statistics Institute, Municipal Register of Inhabitants
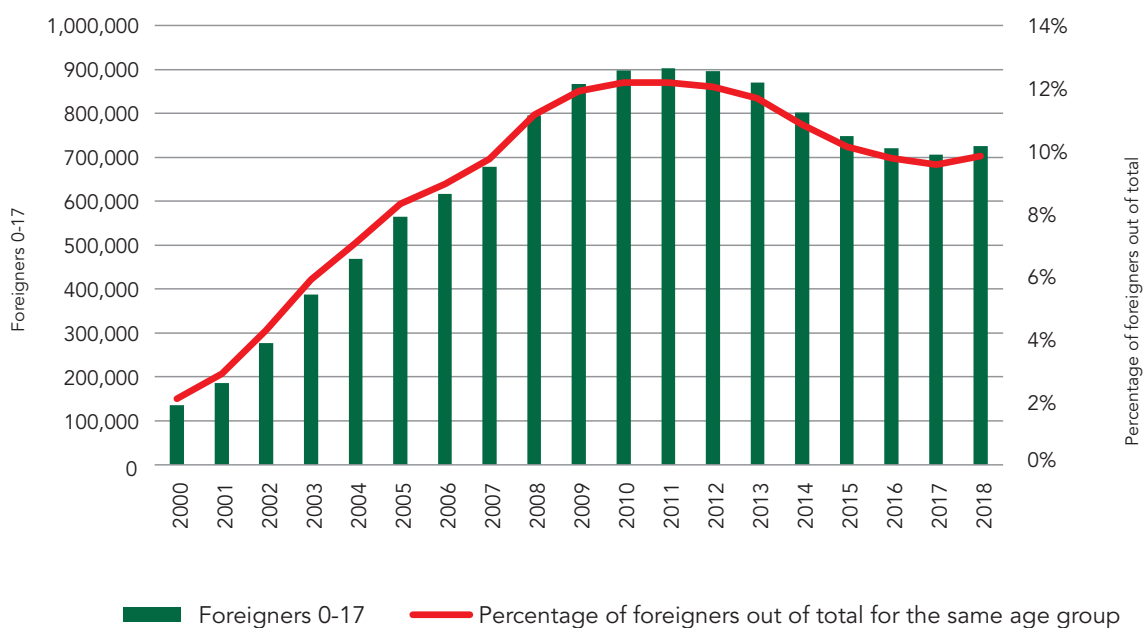
SOURCE: Statistics on non-university education Deputy Directorate-General for Statistics and Studies, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

In our country, students of foreign origin generally get worse results than native-born students; this gap widens with age, leading to fewer possibilities to access higher education, and, therefore, worse job prospects. The reasons for this performance gap are due to social variables (immigrants belong to the most underprivileged social classes), the circumstances in which they entered the school system (especially if they didn't know the language), and the system's own limitations and inefficiencies.

The educational system in Spain has made considerable progress in intercultural education with the arrival of immigrant children. However, there could be said to be school segregation: 72% of the most vulnerable students attend schools with immigrant concentration, i.e. where there are two to three times as many immigrants as in other types of schools.

The management of diverse school settings must also take into account how students interact socially with each other (immigrants with other immigrants, and immigrants with native-borns) and how teachers and students interact with each other. While there is a need for more and better ongoing teacher training in aspects relating to intercultural education, it is also very important to implement awareness-raising programmes for the entire school community (teachers, parents and educational community in general).

Many of the stereotypes that we currently hear about immigrant children are due, precisely, to the fact that the media concentrate on the negative aspects of immigration. This means, on the one hand, that there is a need to foster critical and reflexive attitudes about media consumption, and on the other, that we need to call for an ethical commitment by the media in their treatment of information. Experiences of prejudice and discrimination have the greatest impact on the self-esteem of children of immigrant origin and on their interaction with their new surroundings. In fact, the main determinant of young migrants' attitudes towards their host society is not what they brought with them (issues involving language or family characteristics), but the social context in which they live.

As for the school environment, expressions of segregation or prejudice occur in diverse forms and in different contexts: among children, especially in leisure or playtime activities; in certain parents' attitudes towards children from ethnic minorities considered conflictive; or in the school context itself, through decisions that are sometimes discriminatory. Two main factors for rejection are perceived by the immigrant population in schools: firstly, racial prejudice; secondly, poverty as a generic factor for discrimination.

In other words, the problem lies in the concentration of students with a certain socioeconomic and educational profile, rather than in their ethnic or cultural profile. In fact, there already was a lack of economic and human resources and a low education quality in the most underprivileged schools before the arrival of immigrants.

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Ultimately, many of the difficulties faced by immigrant children can be mitigated with quality education that may lead them to access decent jobs and, consequently, fully exercise their citizenship. This challenge presents more than a few difficulties, the most important of which are: adapting our educational system to multicultural environments, refocusing educational curricula, training and motivating teachers, and combating prejudice and stereotypes among all of the members of the school community (parents, students, and teachers).

1.2. The welcoming spanish people in the european context: the eurobarometer

The May and November 2017 results of the Eurobarometer (EB) show, as they did in previous years, that unlike the situation in other EU Member States, Spaniards do not consider immigration to be one of Spain's major problems, neither at the national level, nor among their personal concerns (Chart 2).

Chart 2. QA3A: What are the two most important problems facing your country at the moment?

Legend: Don't know, None, Other, Environment, climate and energy, Pensions, Education system, Health and Social Security, Immigration, Government debt, Housing, Terrorism, Unemployment, Taxes, Ination, Economic situation, Crime
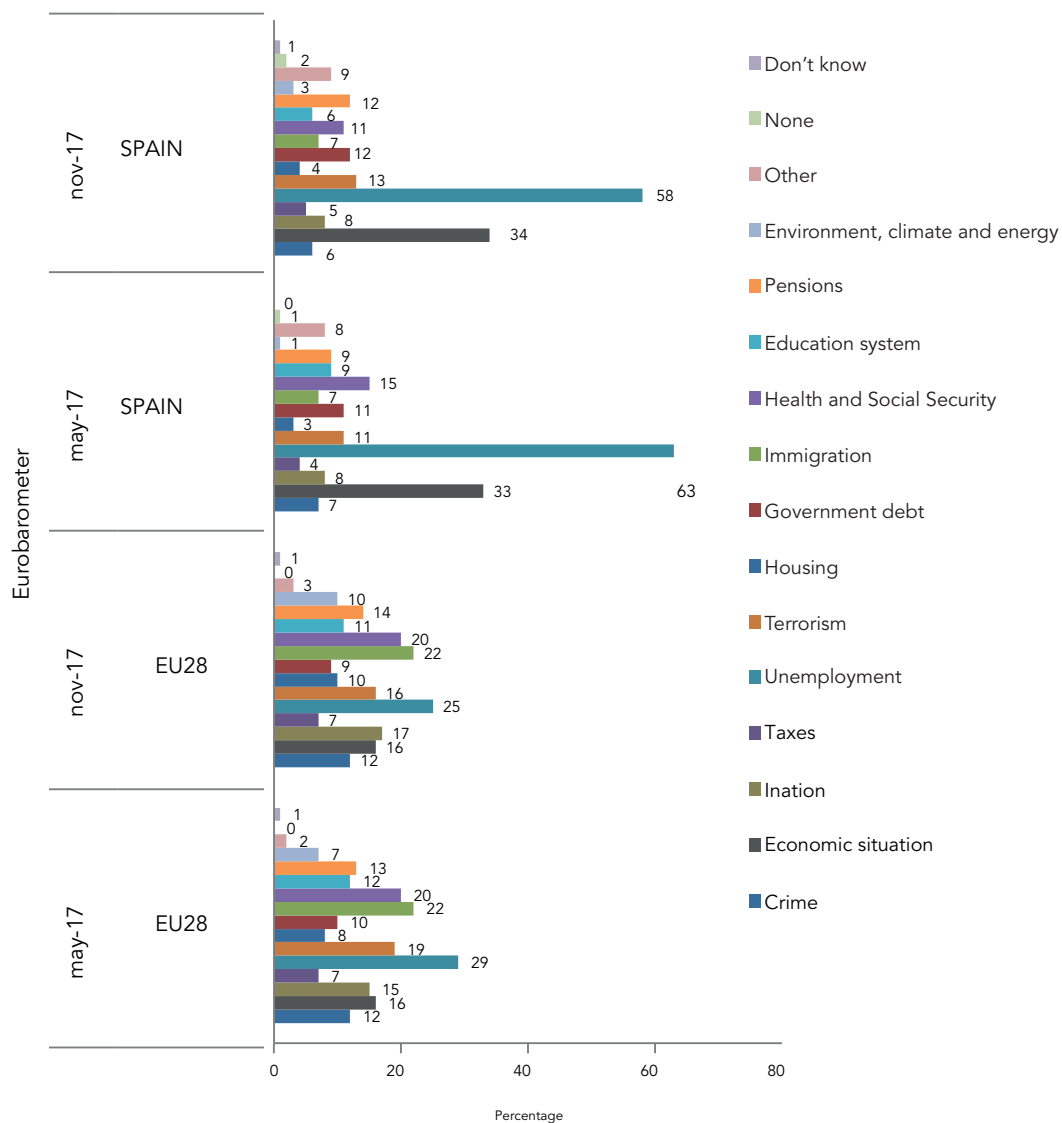
Source: EB, May and November 2017

Moreover, Chart 3 shows that in all of the countries studied, the percentage of respondents with positive feelings towards immigration from other EU Member States is higher in 2017 than it was in the two previous years.

Chart 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 and November 2015-2017
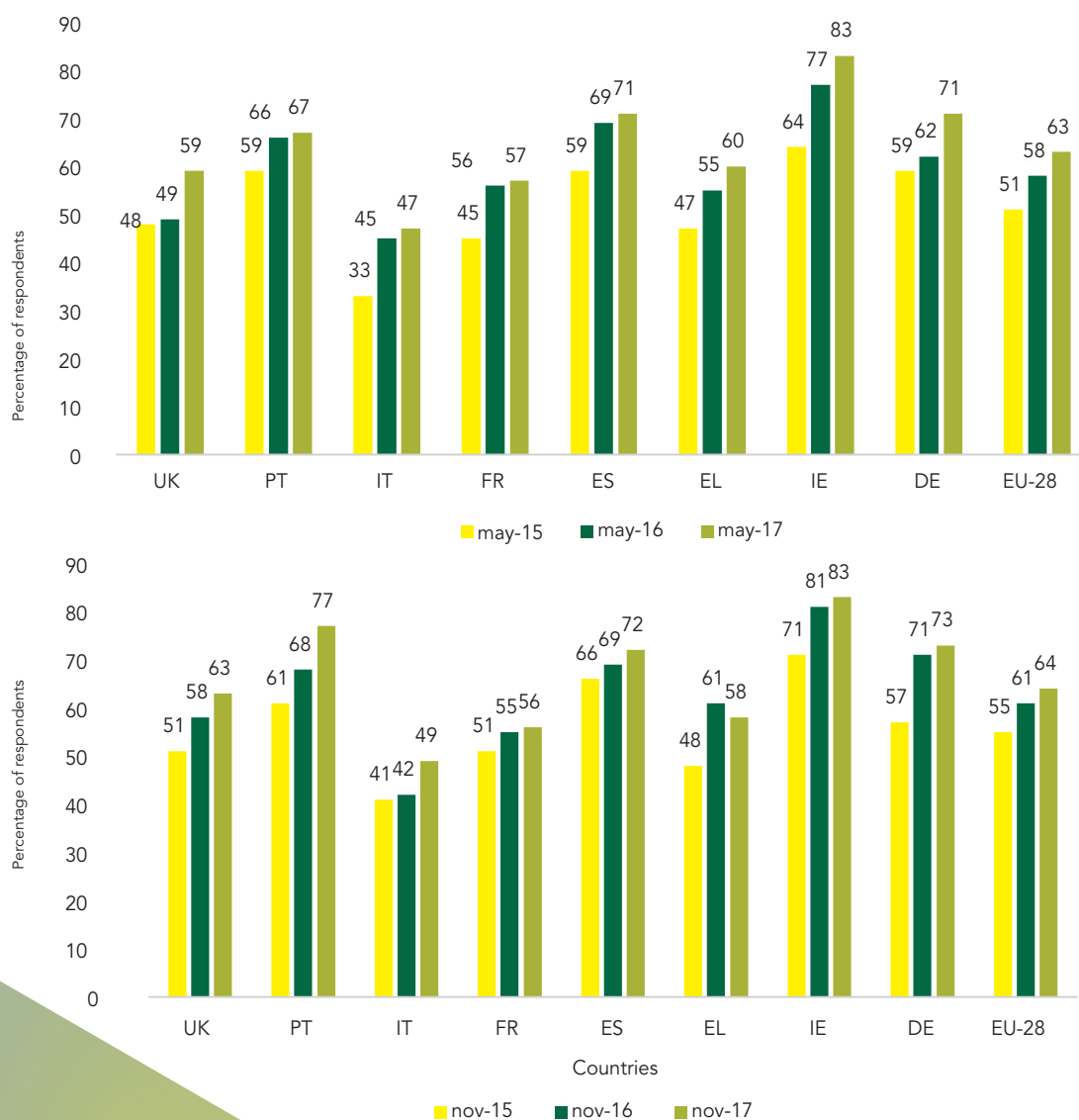
Source: EB, May and November 2015, 2016 and 2017

Portugal, Spain, Germany and Ireland have the highest percentages of people with positive feelings about immigrant arrivals, and these values have either been maintained or increased in November 2017, as compared with May 2017.

The economic and social contexts of the different countries are listed numerically in Tables 1 and 2, based on available data for 2015, 2016 and 2017 from Eurostat (the Statistical Office of the European Union) and UNHCR (the UN Refugee Agency). Thus, we can see that countries such as Portugal and Spain—with not very favourable economic and social contexts—have positive feelings of acceptance towards immigration, and countries such as the United Kingdom, France and Italy—with more favourable economic contexts than the other countries—have a more distrustful attitude. In Greece, however, the citizens' feelings seem to have suffered from its difficult economic situation and the refugee crisis.

Table 1. GDP per capita (PPS) (EU28=1), Unemployment rate (% of active population), and Budget deficit/surplus (%GDP)

	GDP per capita (PPS)[I] (EU28=1)			Unemployment rate (% of active population)			Budget deficit/surplus[II] (% GDP)		
	2015	2016	2017	2015	2016	2017	2015	2016	2017
UK	0,92	0,95	0,98	5,3	4,8	4,4	-4,2	-2,9	-1,08
PT	0,78	0,80	0,81	12,6	11,2	9,0	-4,4	-2	-3
IT	0,98	0,98	0,99	11,9	11,7	11,2	-2,6	-2,5	-2,4
FR	1,08	1,10	1,10	10,04	10,1	9,4	-3,6	-3,5	-2,7
ES	0,88	0,90	0,90	22,1	19,6	17,2	-5,3	-4,5	-3,1
EL	0,81	0,82	0,82	24,9	23,6	21,5	-5,6	0,5	0,8
IE	1,08	1,10	1,12	10,0	8,4	6,7	-1,9	-0,5	-0,2
DE	1,03	1,06	1,07	4,6	4,1	3,8	0,8	0,9	1
UE28	1,00	1,00	1,00	9,4	8,6	7,6	-2,3	-1,7	-1

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 elim¬inates 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 In¬tegrated 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.

Table 2. Inflation rate (HICP), Immigrants per inhabitant (%), and No. of refugees (in thousands)

	Inflation rate (HICP)[3]			Immigrants per inhabitant (%)		No. of refugees[4]		
	2015	2016	2017	2015	2016	2015	2016	2017
UK	0	0,7	2,7	0,97	0,90	123,067	118,995	121,766
PT	0,5	0,6	1,6	0,29	0,29	0,853	1,194	1,569
IT	0,1	-0,1	1,3	0,46	0,50	118,047	147,37	167,26
FR	0,1	0,3	1,2	0,55	0,57	273,126	304,546	337,143
ES	-06	-0,3	2	0,74	0,89	6,457	12,989	17,526
EL	-1,1	0	1,1	0,59	1,08	24,838	46,427	38,948
IE	0	-0,2	0,3	1,73	1,80	6,125	5,731	6,324
DE	0,1	0,4	1,7	1,90	1,25	316,115	669,482	970,302
UE28	0	0,3	1,7					

III   The Harmonized Index of Consumer Prices (HICP) is designed for international comparisons of inflation in consumer prices. For exam¬ple, 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).

In all of the countries, the 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 Chart 4). Nonetheless, the 2017 percentages for citizens with positive feelings match or exceed those for 2016 and 2015 in all of the countries with the exception of France and Greece.

Chart 4. QB4.2: What type of feeling does immigration of people from outside the EU evoke?
(Total positive responses, as a percentage of total respondents)
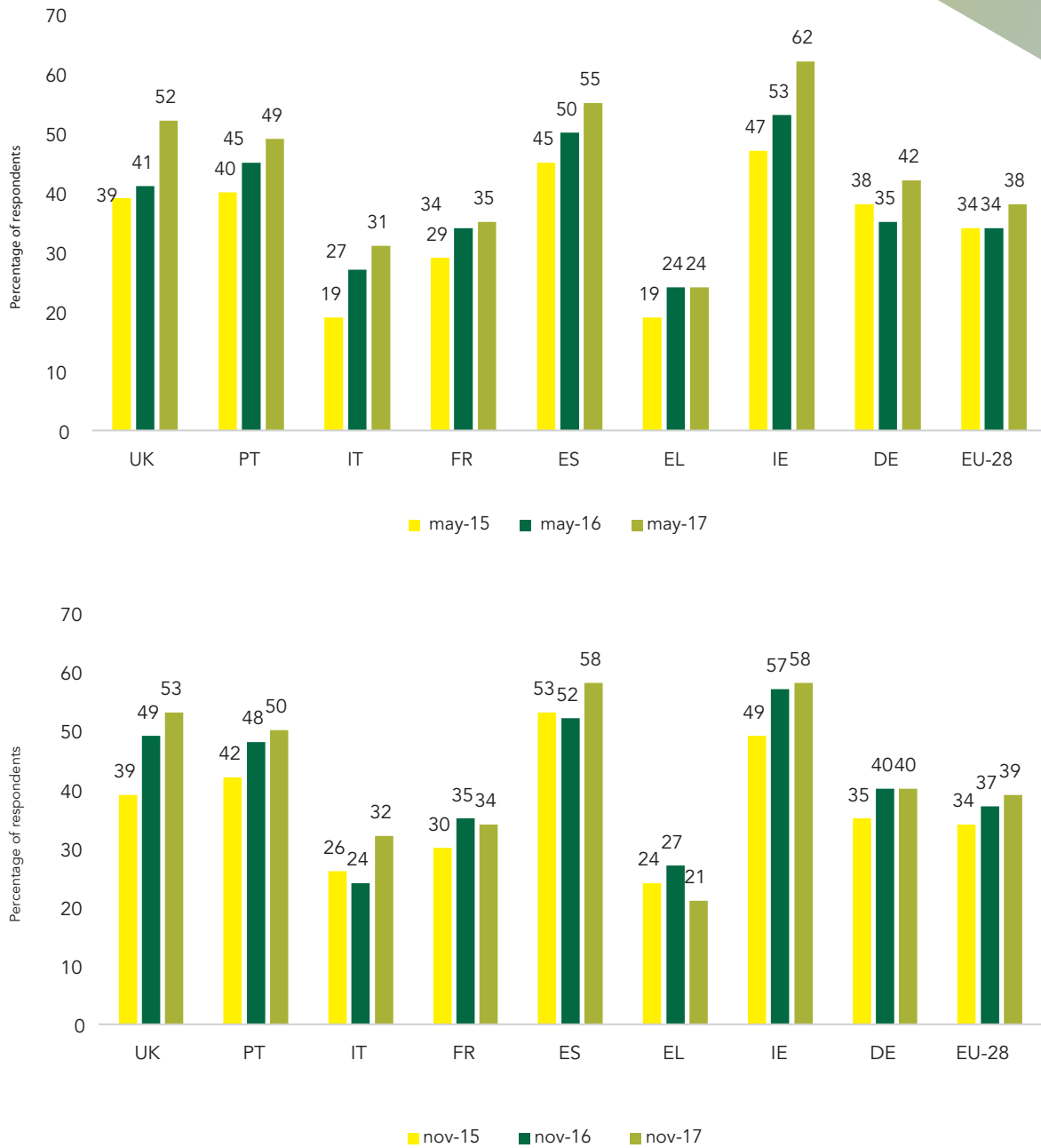
Source: EB, May and November 2015, 2016 and 2017

The countries with the highest percentages of citizens with positive feelings towards immigration from countries outside the EU are Ireland and Spain (55% and 62%, respectively).

Question QB5 of the EB, which refers to the adoption of additional measures to fight irregular immigration, shows that there are no differentiated patterns between the countries considered and the EU-28 average. All of the countries analysed are in favour of adopting measures, whether carried out by the EU, by the country itself, or by both (Chart 5). In 2017, Germany is the country most in favour of combining measures between national governments and the EU. In this same year, all of the countries except Germany have seen a significant drop in the percentage of respondents who give weight to the adoption of measures to fight irregular immigration that combine EU policies and national government policies.

Chart 5. QB5: In your view, should additional measures be taken to fight irregular immigration of people from outside the EU? (Percentage of respondents)
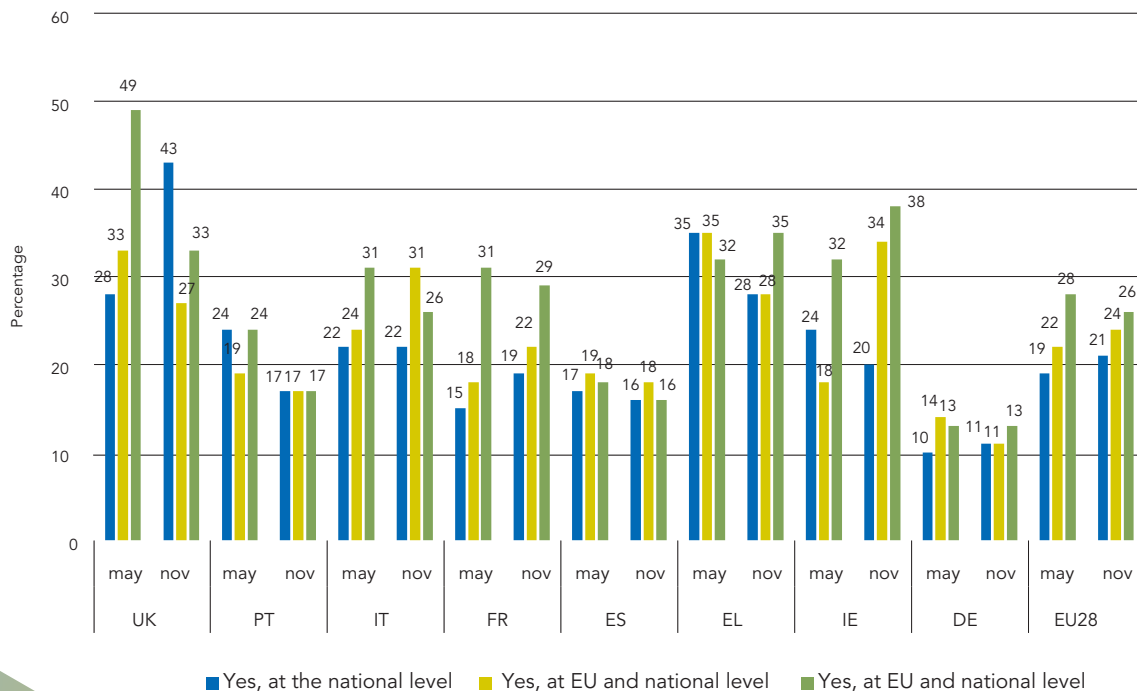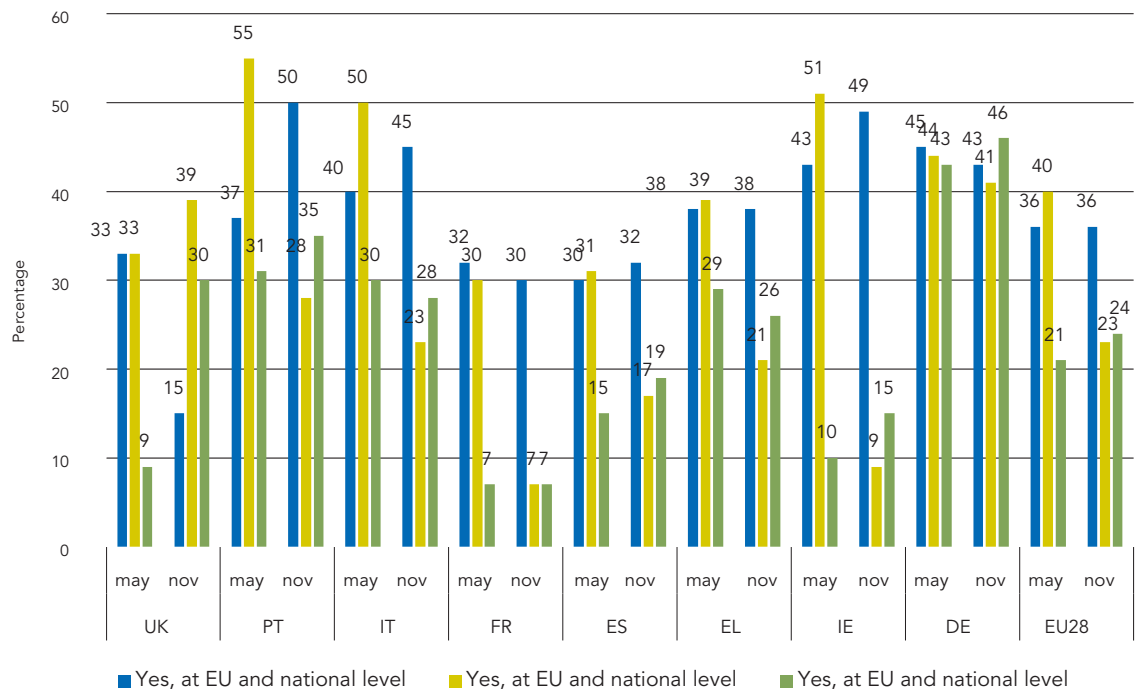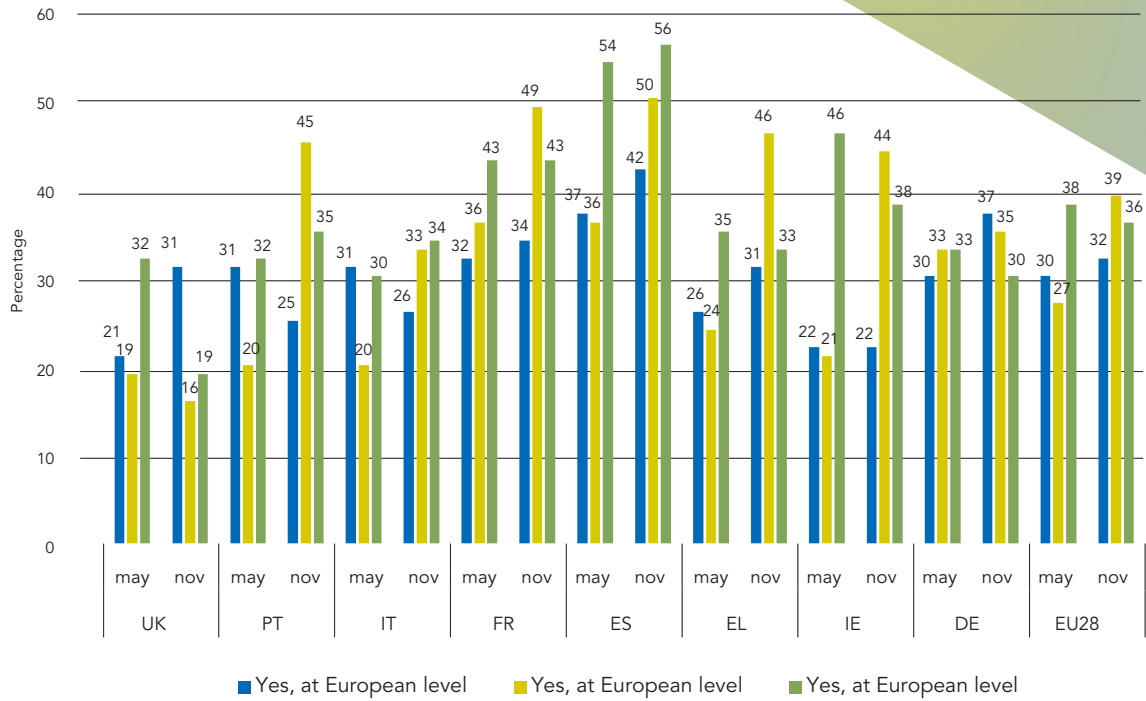
Source: EB, May and November 2015, 2016 and 2017

2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRATION SURVEY

2.1. Analysis of trends

The 2017 results of the 10th "Attitudes towards Immigration Survey" show that 54.0% of Spaniards have a positive view of immigration, slightly lower than the percentage of 54.3% observed in 2016 (Chart 6)[1].

Chart 6. Spaniards' view of immigration (positive or negative) (Q.23)
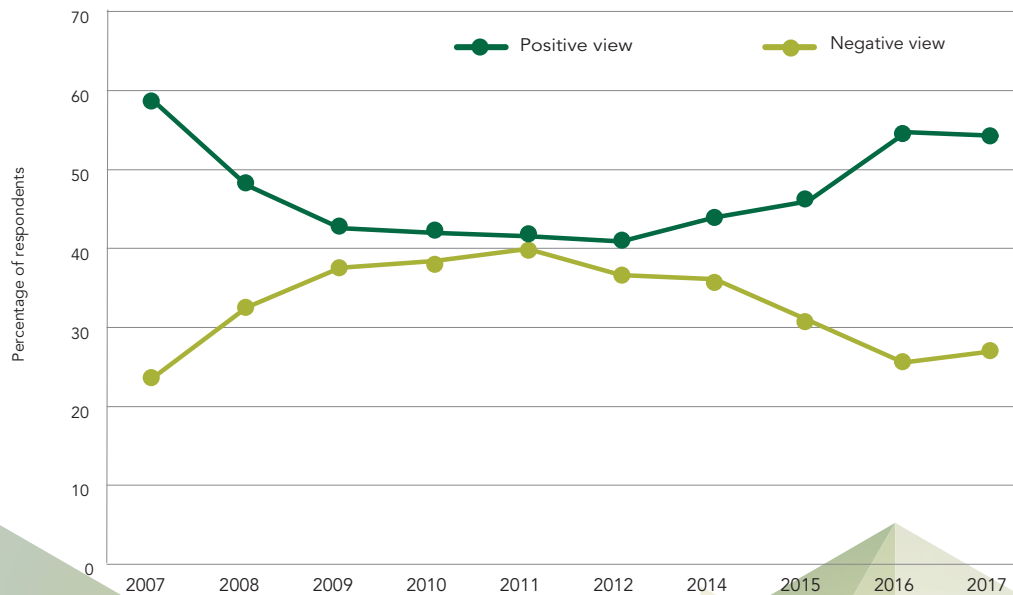
Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2007-2017

1 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.

2007, the first year of the series analysed, presented the highest percentage of Spaniards with a positive view of immigrants (58.7%), and 2016 presented the second highest value (54.3%).

In 2017, Spaniards have a slightly more negative perception of what immigrants contribute and the public benefits that they receive (Chart 7). 65.5% of respondents consider that immigrants receive more from the State than what they contribute to it. This value is higher than the 60.4% recorded in 2016, which was the lowest value in the series.

Chart 7. Respondents' perception of what immigrants receive from the State compared with what they contribute to it (Q.16). Percentage of people who responded "more" or "much more".
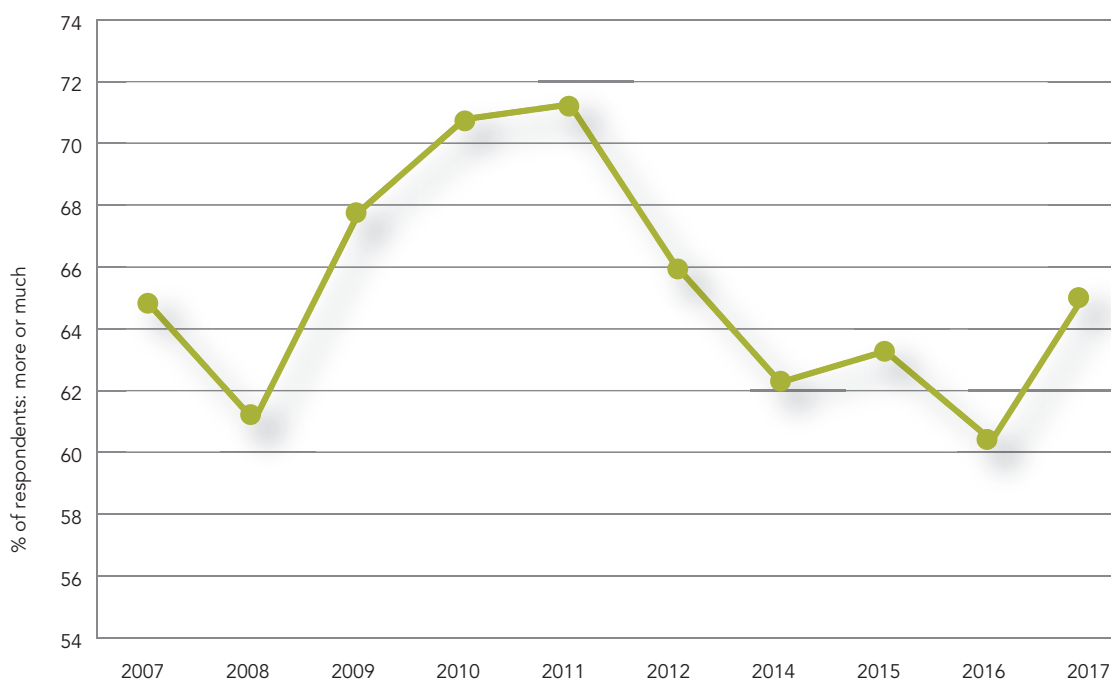
Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2007-2017

Over the years the attitude of those surveyed has become consolidated in favour of regularizing (Q.6) the situation of those people who are already in Spain, with or without limitations, as opposed to other more intolerant positions (returning them to their country

of origin) (Chart 8). The predominant positions are those of regularizing the situation of immigrants if they have been living in Spain for years, or regularizing their situation if they have a job. Since 2011 there has been a growing trend in the percentage of respondents with more tolerant positions (regularizing with or without conditions), with 2017 and 2016 showing the best values in the series (regularizing all of them, 20.3% in 2016 and 2017; and regularizing them if they have a job, 24.2% and 22.7%, respectively). The opinion in favour of returning immigrants to their country of origin is the second lowest value in the series in 2017 (10.8%), after 2016 (9.1%).

Chart 8. Respondents' attitudes towards the policies for regularizing immigrants who are in Spain in an irregular situation (Q.6)
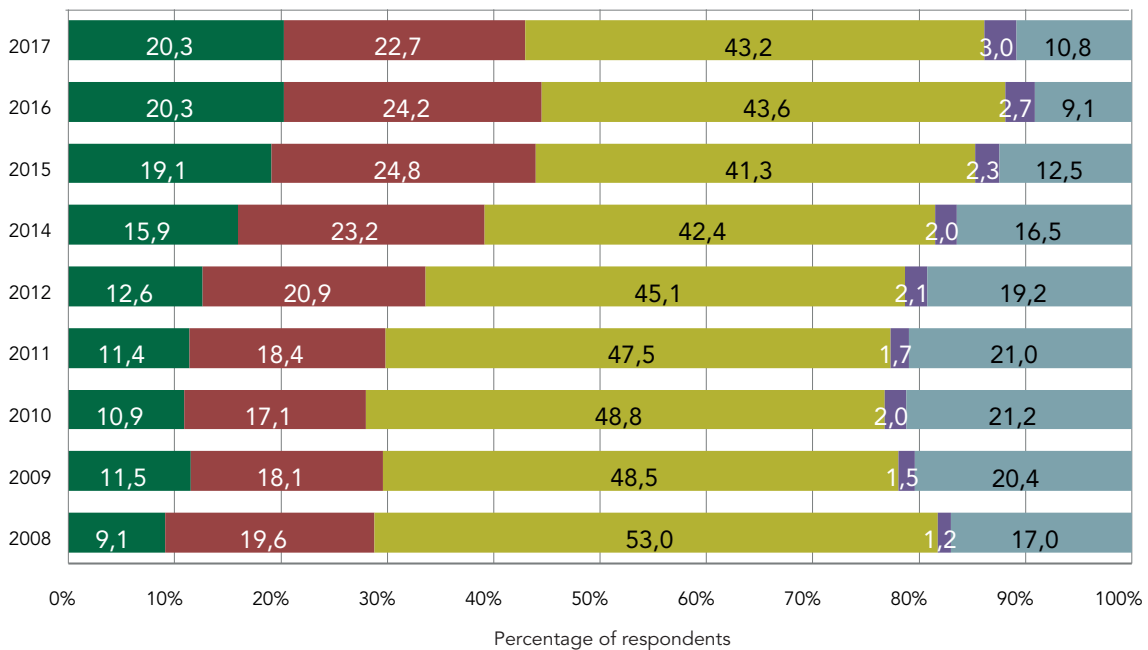
Year	Regularize all of them	Only regularize those who have been living in Spain for several years	Only regularize those who currently have a job	Let them continue as they are	Return them to their countries of origin
2017	20,3	22,7	43,2	3,0	10,8
2016	20,3	24,2	43,6	2,7	9,1
2015	19,1	24,8	41,3	2,3	12,5
2014	15,9	23,2	42,4	2,0	16,5
2012	12,6	20,9	45,1	2,1	19,2
2011	11,4	18,4	47,5	1,7	21,0
2010	10,9	17,1	48,8	2,0	21,2
2009	11,5	18,1	48,5	1,5	20,4
2008	9,1	19,6	53,0	1,2	17,0

Percentage of respondents

- ■ Regularize all of them
- ■ Only regularize those who have been living in Spain for several years, regardless of whether they have a job
- ■ Only regularize those who currently have a job, regardless of how long they have been living in Spain
- ■ Let them continue as they are
- ■ Return them to their countries of origin

Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2017

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Opinions about different aspects related to immigration have suffered a slight downturn in 2017 with regard to 2016, the year with the highest values in the series (Chart 9). Noteworthy in 2017 is the upward trend in the two variables linked to Islamic culture/religion. Tolerance towards the use of the Islamic scarf in schools has declined (35.7% are in favour of expulsion from school for using it in 2017, whereas 31% were in favour in 2016, the lowest value in the series). Moreover, there is a larger percentage of respondents who would accept it if there are protests against building a mosque in their neighbourhood (48% in 2017, and 39.6% in 2016). This rise also appears in the multivariate model, as a factor of intolerance which was not present in previous years. The emotional influence of the Islamist terrorist attacks committed during the implementation period of this survey may be a plausible explanation for these results.

Chart 9. Opinions about different aspects related to immigration (Q.22)

Q.22.01 Preferring hiring a Spaniard rather than an immigrant
Q.22-02 Excluding a student from school for wearing an Islamic scarf
Q.22.03 Protesting against building a mosque in the neighbourhood
Q.22.04 Expelling legally established immigrants from the country for having committed any type of offence.

Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2017

In 2017 there is a slight drop in respondents' perception of racist or xenophobic political parties being accepted, and of their public visibility in fostering hate and discrimination (Chart 10). This year there is a slight growth in the percentage of people who give little or no credibility to this type of parties (35.8%, compared to 33.8% in 2016).

Chart 10. Respondents' perception of the acceptance that political parties with a racist or xenophobic ideology would have (Q.34)

Percentage of respondents

■ Great acceptance   ■ Fair degree of acceptance   ■ Little acceptance   ■ No acceptance
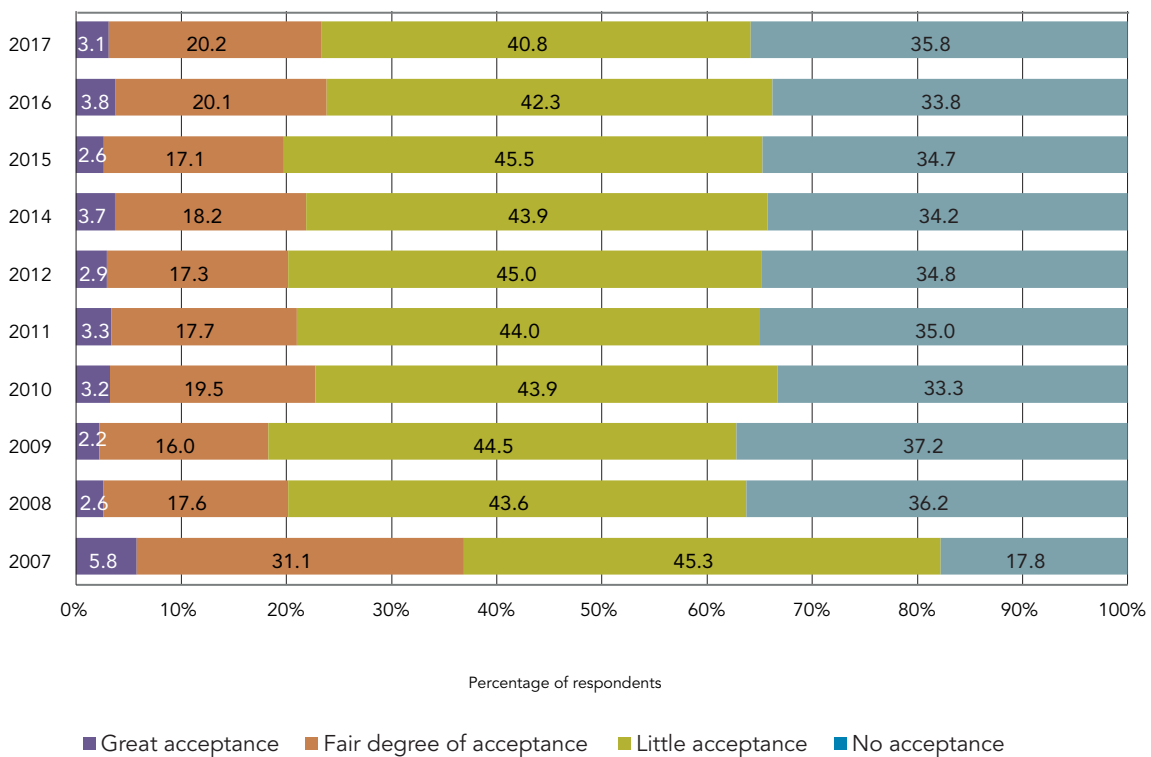
Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2007-2017

As shown in Chart 11, in 2017 the percentage of respondents with attitudes accepting coexistence with immigrants is higher than 53.4% for all the situations analysed, but there are some slight downturns with regard to 2016, which was the year with the best values in the entire series. Attitudes involving coexistence in physical spaces or contractual relationships at a distance (living in the same neighbourhood or renting a flat to immigrants) are moderately better than in 2016, yet there is somewhat of a decline in personal, labour or educational relations, as well as in close coexistence within the same physical space.

Chart 11. Attitudes (that you would accept) towards coexistence with immigrants (Q.24)

Q.24.01 Living in the same neighbourhood as many immigrants

Q.24.02 Living in the same building as immigrants

Q.24.03 Renting a flat to immigrants

Q.24.04 Working/studying with immigrants

Q.24.05 Having an immigrant as your boss at work

Q.24.06 Your child bringing immigrant friends to your house

Q.24.07 Your child marrying an immigrant

Q.24.08 Taking your child to a school where there are many children of immigrants

Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2017

Issues corresponding to relations with Roma people, illustrated in Chart 12, were introduced in the questionnaire for the first time in 2014. Those surveyed show the same relative attitude of acceptance or rejection of living together in the neighbourhood, sharing classrooms o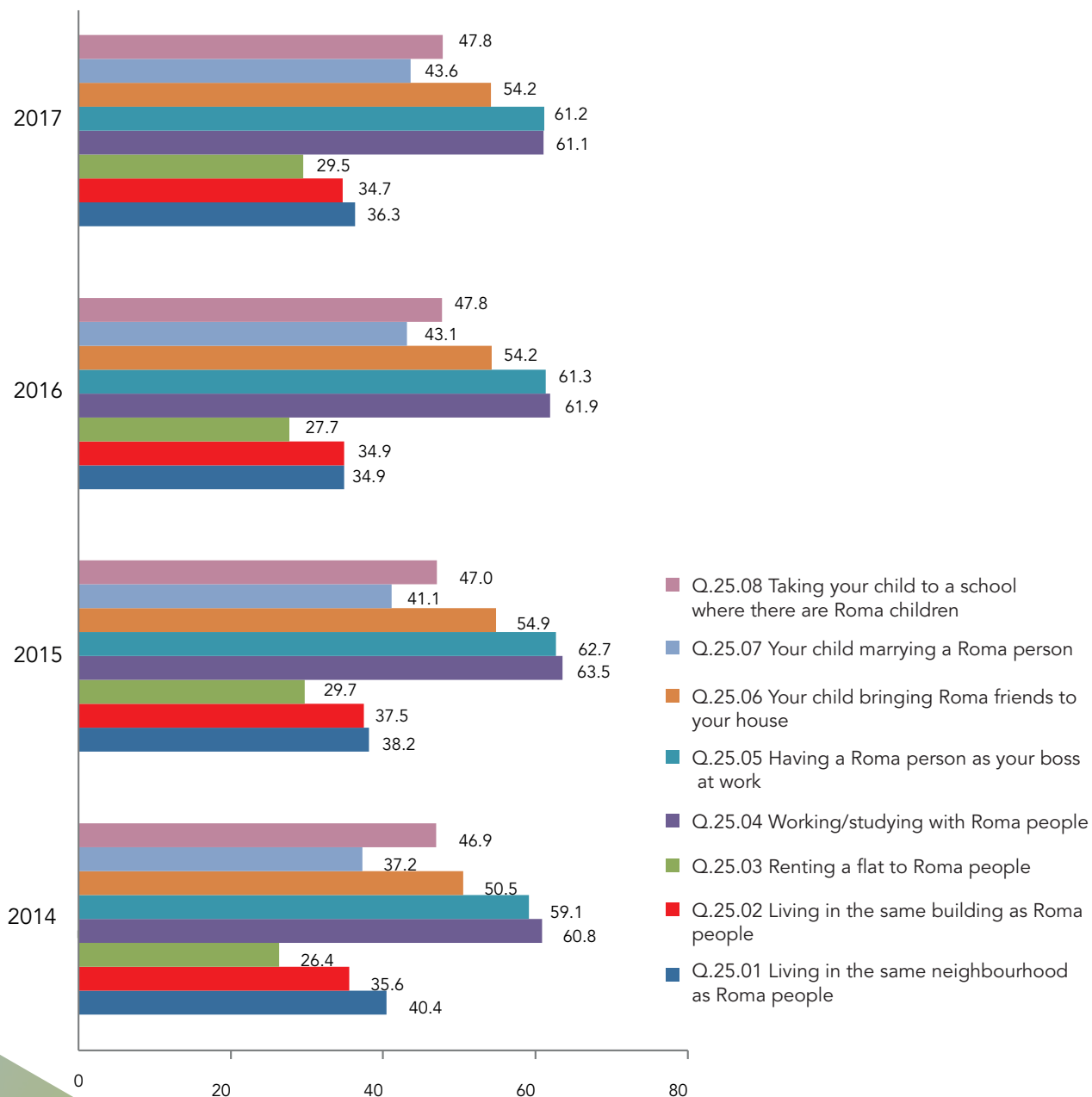r jobs, and personal relationships as they do towards immigrants. However, percentages of acceptance are quite lower when referring to the Roma population than when referring to immigrant population for all of the items analysed, and it could even be said that there are positions verging on ethnocentric or symbolic racism against Roma people. The 2017 data does not vary much with regard to 2016 data.

The degree of trust in people continues to rise in 2017, with the highest value in the series (5.27 points on a scale of 0 to 10), and the levels of self-perceived racism remain low and more or less constant at 2.3 points (Chart 13). The average degree of trust in people reported by respondents over the period does not show very high values: these range from 4.6 to 5.3 points. The moderate variability of this variable shows that the average obtained is representative of the set of subjects surveyed. Moreover, self-placement on the scale of racism seems to be influenced by social desirability bias, which prevents individuals from self-identifying as racists. Respondents place themselves at a low level of racism, ranging from 2.1 and 2.3 on average over the period considered. This variable presents high variability, which makes its average scarcely representative. However, its movements over time have been very small.

Chart 12. Respondents' attitudes of acceptance of coexistence with Roma people (Q.25)

2017
- 47.8
- 43.6
- 54.2
- 61.2
- 61.1
- 29.5
- 34.7
- 36.3

2016
- 47.8
- 43.1
- 54.2
- 61.3
- 61.9
- 27.7
- 34.9
- 34.9

2015
- 47.0
- 41.1
- 54.9
- 62.7
- 63.5
- 29.7
- 37.5
- 38.2

2014
- 46.9
- 37.2
- 50.5
- 59.1
- 60.8
- 26.4
- 35.6
- 40.4

Legend:
- Q.25.08 Taking your child to a school where there are Roma children
- Q.25.07 Your child marrying a Roma person
- Q.25.06 Your child bringing Roma friends to your house
- Q.25.05 Having a Roma person as your boss at work
- Q.25.04 Working/studying with Roma people
- Q.25.03 Renting a flat to Roma people
- Q.25.02 Living in the same building as Roma people
- Q.25.01 Living in the same neighbourhood as Roma people

Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2014-2017

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Chart 13. Respondents' self-assessment: trust in people, and self-placement on the scale of racism (Q.38 and Q.39)

Q.38 Scale of trust (0-10) in people

Q.39 Scale of racism (0.10)
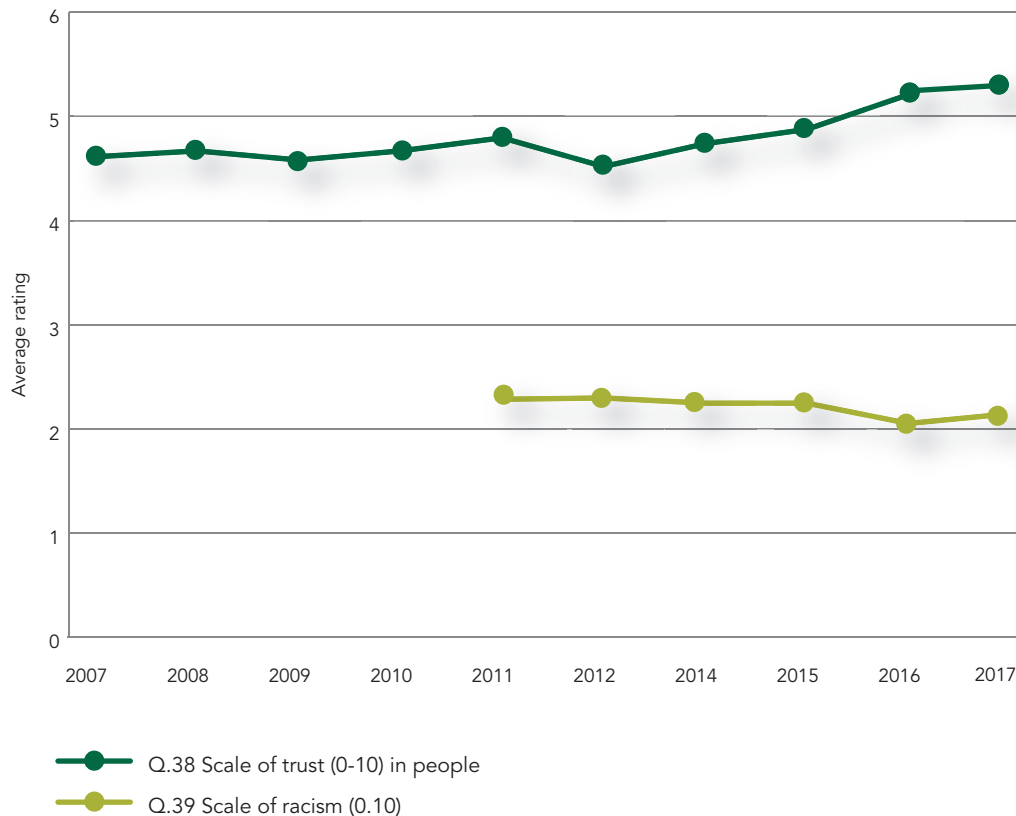
Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2007-2017

In 2017, the positive attitude towards immigrants' access to the job market is maintained with regard to 2016 (Chart 14). Immigrants are considered supplementary workforce, taking up jobs that Spaniards do not want. It seems that the economic upswing has an influence on maintaining, and even on improving, positive attitudes towards immigrants' participation in the job market. The perception of immigrants making a relevant contribution to Spain's economic development is the same in 2017 (58.4%) as in 2016, and the percentage of respondents that consider that immigrants are taking jobs away from Spaniards is the lowest value in the series in 2017 (53.2%). This percentage is, moreover, lower than that of respondents who see immigrants as contributing to the country's economic development.

The only slight upturn that can be observed is that of the variable referring to attitudes in favour of expelling from the country those who have been unemployed for a long time. In 2017, the percentage of respondents in agreement with this measure are 38.3%, compared with 35.1% in 2016, which was, however, the lowest value in the series.

Chart 14. Respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to the job market (Q.21)

Q.21.01 Immigrants do work that Spaniards do not want

Q.21.02 Immigrants make an important contribution to Spain's economic development

Q.21.03 By accepting lower pay, immigrants drive down wages

Q.21.04 Immigrants take jobs away from Spaniards

Q.21.05 If anyone who comes to live and work in Spain is unemployed for a long time, they should be deported
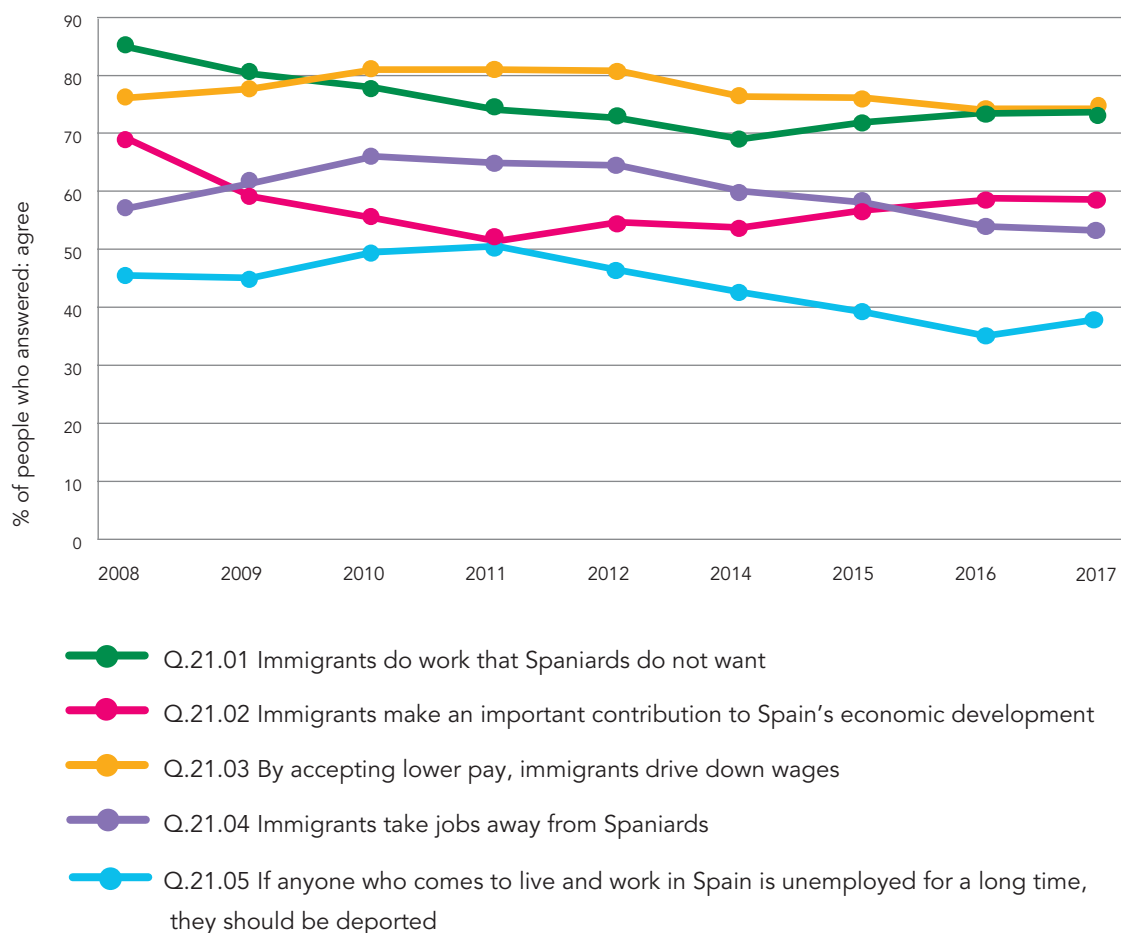
Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2017

Chart 15 shows the evolution of respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants with regard to access to healthcare resources. These series present a slight downturn with regard to 2016 (when they reached the best values in the entire period analysed). In 2017 there is a slight increase in the percentage of respondents who perceive that the quality of healthcare has gone down due to the presence of immigrants (43.8%); in the percentage of those who consider that immigrants are abusing the healthcare system (58.3%); in those who perceive that immigrants receive more assistance than Spaniards (57.9%); and in those who consider that Spaniards should have priority access to healthcare over immigrants (42.1%). The lowest values in these series were reached in 2016 (40.3%, 52.4% and 40.8%, respectively).

Chart 15. Perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to public healthcare (Q.14)

Q.14.01 The quality of healthcare declines

Q.14.02 Immigrants misuse free healthcare

Q.14.03 Spaniards should have preference in healthcare

Q.14.04 Immigrants receive more healthcare benefits than Spaniards
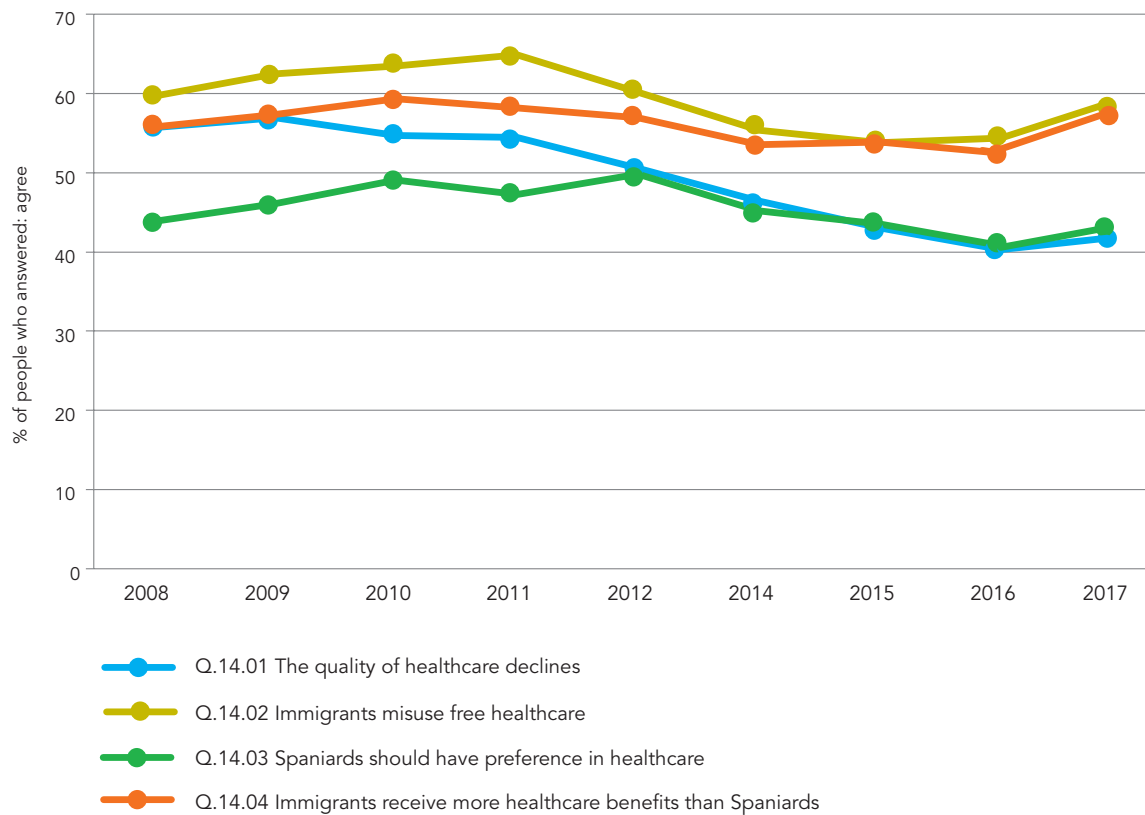
Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2017

Chart 16 shows the evolution of respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants as regards access to educational resources. As in the case of access to healthcare, a slight downturn can be observed with regard to 2016, which in the case of variables related to education also showed the best values in the series. There are slight upturns in the percentage of respondents who perceive that the presence of immigrants worsens the quality of the educational system (44.7%), that Spaniards receive fewer educational grants than immigrants (65.9%), and that consider that Spaniards should have priority over immigrants in choosing schools (50.9%). However, 72% of those surveyed continue to perceive that the presence of immigrants in schools is enriching, and this is the highest percentage in the series after 2016 (74.4%).

Chart 16. Respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants' access to the educational system (Q.15)

Q.15.01 The presence of children of immigrants in schools is enriching
Q.15.02 The quality of education declines
Q.15.03 Spaniards should have preference when choosing their children's school
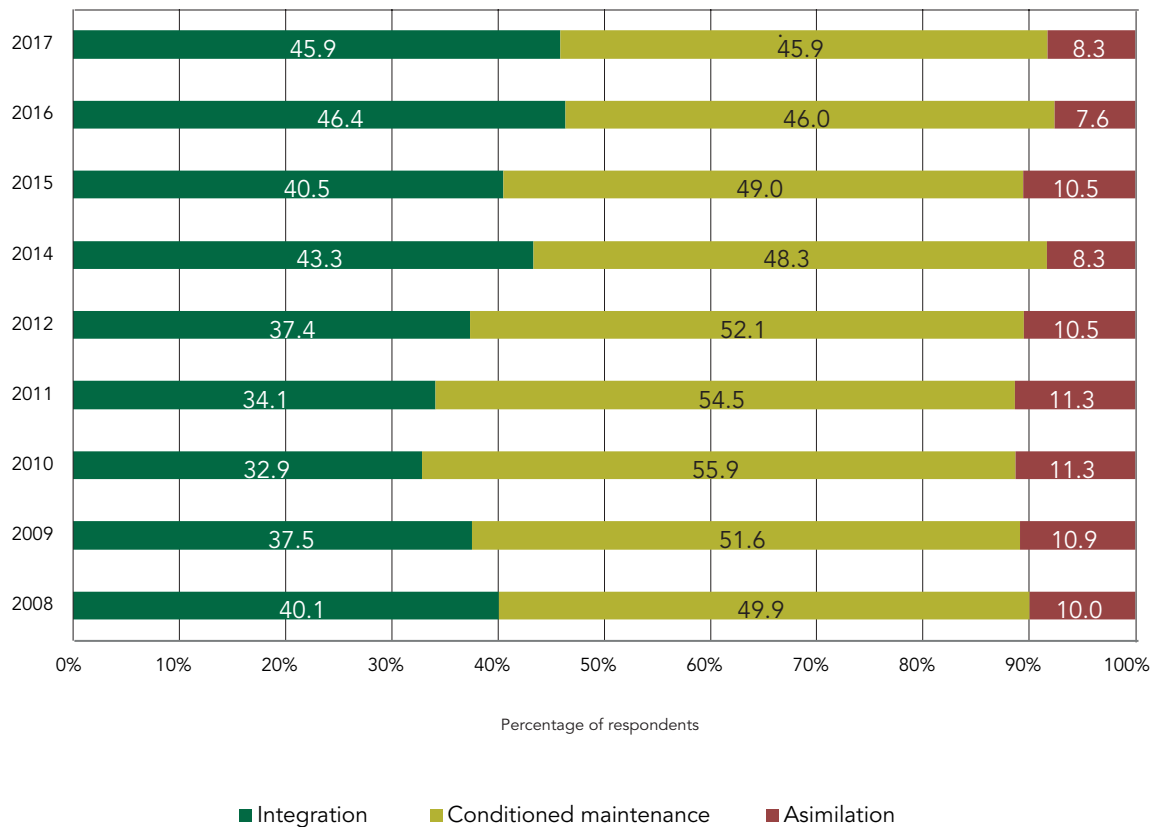Q.15.04 Immigrants receive more educational assistance than Spaniards
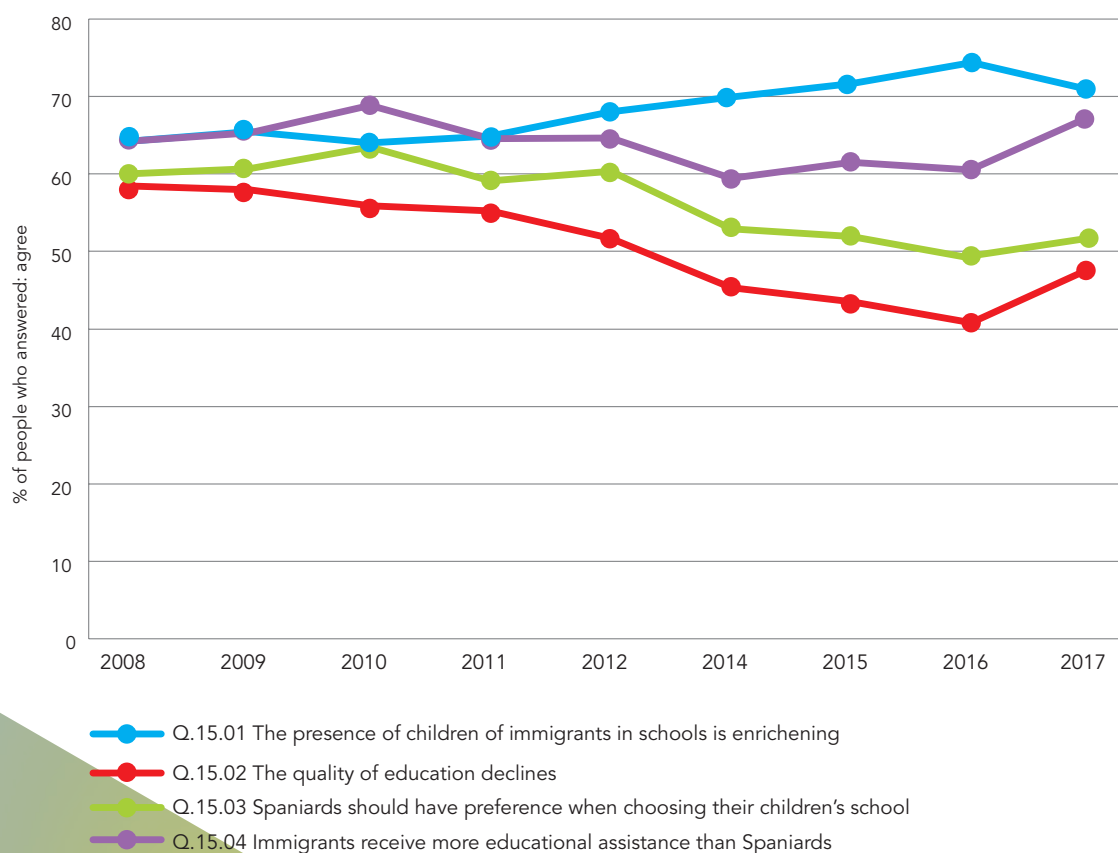
Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2017

As regards the degree of agreement with immigrants' preserving their language, culture and customs, the results are shown in Chart 17, classified according to Berry's (2003) acculturation strategies (separation, integration, assimilation and marginalization)[2]. In general, acceptance of differences (in terms of countries of origin, cultures, ethnicities and religions) shows an upward or stable trend, except for the variable of religion, which is declining (i.e. the attitude is becoming more negative), possibly related to the 2017 attacks in Catalonia.

Positive attitudes towards migrants' contributing wealth to the country's culture have remained stable (or are even rising) throughout the series (57.7% in 2017, and 59.6% in 2016, which was the highest value in the period). Preference for integration has remained stable over the period studied, and there has even been a very slight downward trend (45.9% in 2019, compared with 46.4% in 2016, which was the highest value in the period). The percentage of those in favour of conditional maintenance (i.e. immigrants should only maintain those aspects of their culture and customs that are socially acceptable in our environment) has also remained stable (45.9% in 2017). There has been a slight increase in the percentage of respondents in favour of assimilation (8.3% in 2017, compared with 7.6% in 2016), although this is a residual position with regard to those in favour of integration or conditional maintenance.

2 Berry distinguishes between acculturation attitudes and behaviours, depending on whether there is a preference for the way in which the process is carried out (acculturation attitude) or for the behaviour effectively adopted (acculturation behaviour). Migrants have four possibilities: (a) Integration: Migrants seek to preserve their cultural heritage and at the same time pursue contact with the dominant cultural group; (b) Assimilation: Individuals do not preserve their culture of origin and seek regular contact only with members of the dominant group; (c) Marginalization: This occurs when migrants have no interest in or possibilities of maintaining their original culture and, moreover, have scarce possibilities of entering into contact with the host culture; and (d) Separation: This happens when migrants manage to preserve their culture of origin but avoid or are not capable of having interaction with the dominant group or with other groups.

Chart 17. Attitudes towards different cultures, languages and customs (Q.19)

Year	Integration	Conditioned maintenance	Asimilation
2017	45.9	45.9	8.3
2016	46.4	46.0	7.6
2015	40.5	49.0	10.5
2014	43.3	48.3	8.3
2012	37.4	52.1	10.5
2011	34.1	54.5	11.3
2010	32.9	55.9	11.3
2009	37.5	51.6	10.9
2008	40.1	49.9	10.0

Percentage of respondents

■ Integration   ■ Conditioned maintenance   ■ Asimilation

Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2008-2017

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

Delving deeper into the dimensions of social (cultural, redistributive and relational) cohesion and the components (cognitive, affective and behavioural) of prejudice, it is possible to study which aspects of prejudice may have the greatest bearing on the journey towards social cohesion.

Cross-checking the social cohesion variables and the prejudice variables, it can be concluded that the affective component of prejudice, represented by the degree of "trust in others" is the one that discriminates the most in the dimensions of social cohesion, both in 2017 and in 2015 and 2016. Moreover, this affective component of prejudice is closely related to the variable indicating where respondents place themselves on the racism scale. This variable, subject to the social desirability bias, does not in itself provide information in either 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 3). 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 3. 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)

		P.38 Grado de confianza en la gente			
		Low	Average	High	Total
Q.39 Racism scale	Not at all racist, %	21,4	50,4	28,2	100
	Low degree of racism, %	22,1	51,9	26	100
	Average degree of racism, %	30,2	48,9	20,9	100
	High degree of racism, %	42,4	44,1	13,5	100

Source: CIS, Attitudes towards Immigration, 2007-2017

The blue boxes show the highest percentages in each row. Table 3 shows that respondents who declare that they are not racist at all, or that they have a low degree of racism express an average or high degree of trust in other people, and, conversely, those who declare that they have an average or high degree of racism, show low or average levels of trust in other people.

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 are grouped in 2017 are the same as in 2015 and 2016: 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.

In 2017, on the one hand a lower number of factors and variables was used, and on the other, the information provided for one factor was disaggregated into several factors. The result is better representation of the phenomenon of racism and xenophobia, translated into a better capacity for explanation.

In 2017, attitudes in favour of expulsion from school for using the Islamic scarf, or accepting protests against building a mosque in their neighbourhood, appear, for the first time, as an explanatory factor in the model representing Spaniards' tolerance. Spaniards do not consider immigrants as competitors in the labour market nor in access to services. They recognize immigrants' positive contribution to development, culture and education. Furthermore, they perceive that there is somewhat of an imbalance in favour of immigrants as regards receiving healthcare and educational assistance, and they balance their contribution against what they receive. Spaniards distinguish between immigrants and people of Roma ethnicity, and with the former, they distinguish between different forms of contact (coexistence and relationships), whereas with the latter they only identify them as a group.

The five dimensions identified in the factor analysis explain 66% of the attitudes concerning racism and xenophobia in Spain (or, in other words, 66% of the variance is explained by them). Chart 18 details the proportion represented by each of these dimensions in percentage terms.

Chart 18. Dimensions of racism and xenophobia in Spain: percentage of variance explained by the five dimensions defined in 2015, 2016 and 2017
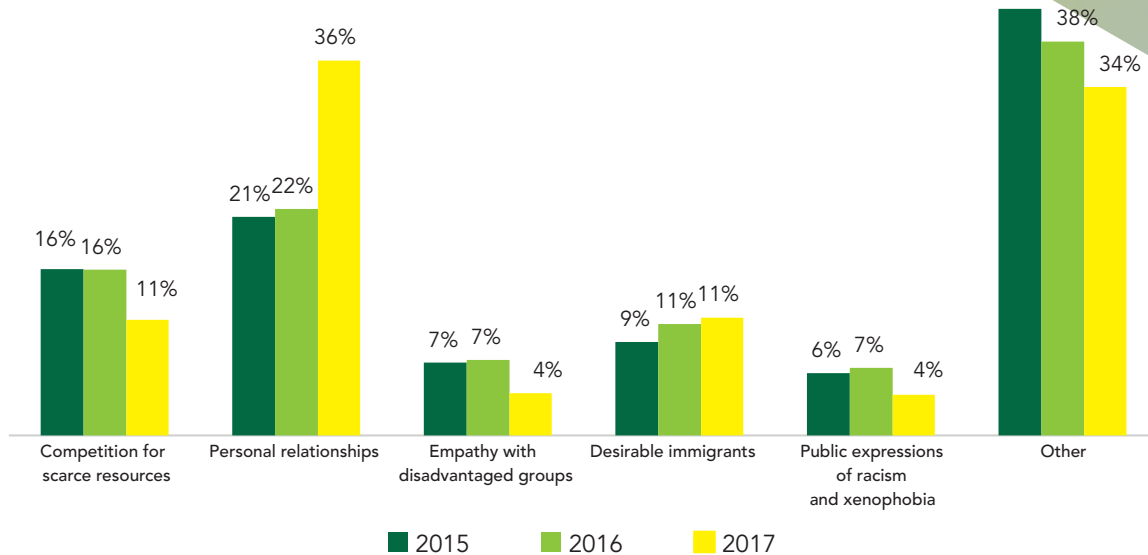
Source: Prepared by the authors based on a factor analysis of principal components.

As can be seen in Chart 18, the aspect that most explains racist and xenophobic attitudes in 2017, as in 2015 and 2016, is that comprising factors related to coexistence and relationships (36%). Moreover, in 2017 this dimension has seen a 60% increase as regards its explanatory contribution, with regard to the two previous years. It is followed by competition for scarce resources, and desirable immigrants, both at 11%. The explanatory value of the dimension of competition for scarce resources has dropped by 11% with regard to 2015 and 2016.

Furthermore, in 2017 there is a lower percentage of variance explained by other unidentified factors—34% compared with 41% in 2016 and 2015, respectively—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 2017 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 sometimes the border between them is not always clearly defined, with each group showing elements of both tolerance and intolerance.

Table 4 schematically presents the behaviour of each of these three groups in relation to the different dimensions and factors from 2015 to 2017, 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 4. Scores for the factors describing racism and xenophobia in each of the three profiles proposed (distrustful, distant, multicultural) in 2015, 2016 and 2017

DIMENSIONS	2015 Factors	2016 Factors	2017 Factors	Profiles								
				Distrustful			Distant			Multicultural		
				2015	2016	2017	2015	2016	2017	2015	2016	2017
SCARCE RESOURCES	F1 Competition for services and benefits	F1 Competition for services and benefits	F4 Net contribution / F8 Imbalance in assistance / F10 Exclusion of Islamic expressions	--	--	-- / -- / --	+++	-	++ / ++ / ++	--	++	++ / - / -
COEXISTENCE	F2 Neighbourhood coexistence with Roma people	F2 Coexistence and relationships with Roma people	F1 Coexistence and relationships with Roma people	+	--	--	-	+	+	+	+	++
	F4 Neighbourhood coexistence with immigrants	F3 Coexistence and relations with immigrants	F9 Neighbourhood coexistence with immigrants / F2 Relationships with immigrants	++	---	+	-- / -	++	-- / --	--	++	++ / ++
	F6 Personal relationships			--			++			+		
	F9 Professional relationships			--			++			-		

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DIMENSIONS	2015 Factors	2016 Factors	2017 Factors	Profiles								
				Distrustful			Distant			Multicultural		
				2015	2016	2017	2015	2016	2017	2015	2016	2017
EMPATHY	F5 Native-born vulnerable groups	F5 Native-born vulnerable groups	F6 Native-born vulnerable groups	--	-	--	--	+	++	+++	-	--
EMPATHY	F10 What foreigners contribute	F8 What foreigners contribute to the labour market		+++	-		--	-		---	+	
STANCE REGARDING INTEGRATION	F3 Assimilation-ism	F4 Assimilation-ism	F3 Assimilation-ism	-	-	---	-	+	++	++	-	++
STANCE REGARDING INTEGRATION	F7 Blending in	F6 Blending in	F5 Blending in	-	--	--	-	+	--	++	+	+++
ATTITUDES	F8 Tolerance of racist attitudes	F7 Tolerance of racist attitudes	F7 Tolerance of racist attitudes	+	-	++	--	---	-	+	++	+
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, 2016 and 2017 surveys on attitudes towards immigration

In 2017, the three profiles show a dynamic, changing and highly nuanced reality with respect to 2015. In 2017, none of the three profiles see immigrants as competitors in the labour market or in access to healthcare or educational services, because these are not represented in the model. A brief description of these groups or profiles in 2017 is as follows:

DISTRUSTFUL	This group sees immigrants as people who contribute less than what they receive in the destination country, and who receive more assistance in the healthcare and educational systems than Spaniards. They are in favour of excluding girls who wear the Islamic scarf from schools. They show misgivings as regards immigrants en masse. 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. 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. This group shows rejection towards racist attitudes expressed in public through insults or opinions. They show rejection towards contact with persons of Roma ethnicity, and towards relationships with immigrants, but they are in favour of neighbourhood coexistence with the latter.
DISTANT	This group does not appear to have misgivings as regards immigrants en masse; they seem to perceive immigrants as creditors of what they receive with regard to what they contribute; they show trust with regard to immigrants' contribution to Spain's economic, educational and cultural development; and they do not consider that immigrants receive more assistance than Spaniards from the healthcare and educational systems. In this regard, their view of immigrants as regards shared resources has changed in 2017: they do not see them as competitors and rivals, and they do not believe that they should be excluded from resources such as education for displaying Islamic symbols such as scarves in public. They consider that the most vulnerable native-born groups are sufficiently covered by the welfare system. In 2017, this group expresses positive attitudes towards coexistence and relationships with Roma people, but not with immigrants. They are not in favour of any contact with the latter group. They also display 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 importance. They do not display any discomfort with openly racist or xenophobic attitudes. In 2017 this is the only profile to express this.

MULTICULTURAL

This profile does not show misgivings as regards the number of immigrants, and recognizes their contribution to the country's economic development, culture, and educational system. They also consider that what immigrants receive from the State is not more than what they contribute, but they do perceive an imbalance in healthcare and educational assistance, with immigrants receiving more assistance. This group, together with the distrustful, shows rejection of the public display of Islamic symbols such as scarves, and is in favour of excluding girls wearing them from schools.
They seem to be leaning closer towards more integrationist standpoints of immigrants. And they do not consider that immigrants need to blend in with the environment in which they live.

They show positive attitudes towards coexistence and personal relationships with immigrants and persons of Roma ethnicity.

They are openly opposed to racist or xenophobic attitudes.

In 2017, as in 2016, the persons in this profile extend their empathy not only to immigrants but also to other, native-born disadvantaged groups. They recognize the need for and scarcity of resources available to other, native-born vulnerable groups, such as pensioners, older people living alone, and unemployed people.

In 2017, a new map, different from that of 2015 and 2016, can be drawn representing the profiles, as can be seen in Chart 19. The evolution of the distribution of respondents between the three profiles goes from an equal distribution in 2015, to having a 55% increase in those who are multicultural, and a 10% increase in those who are distrustful, in 2016. In 2017, there is a predominance of the "distrustful" group (40%) and the "distant" group (40%), whereas the "multicultural" group is the smallest (20%). In 2017, there is also a movement of persons between the three profiles, with the "multicultural" moving to the "distant", and the "distant" moving to "distrustful" positions. In this transfer of persons from one profile to another, the characteristics of the new profile (less tolerant) appear to be imbued by the characteristics of the original profile (more tolerant). The characteristics of each profile are full of nuances explained by the mixture of perceptions and attitude of the people in each profile.

Chart 19. **Distribution of profiles in 2015, 2016 and 2017**
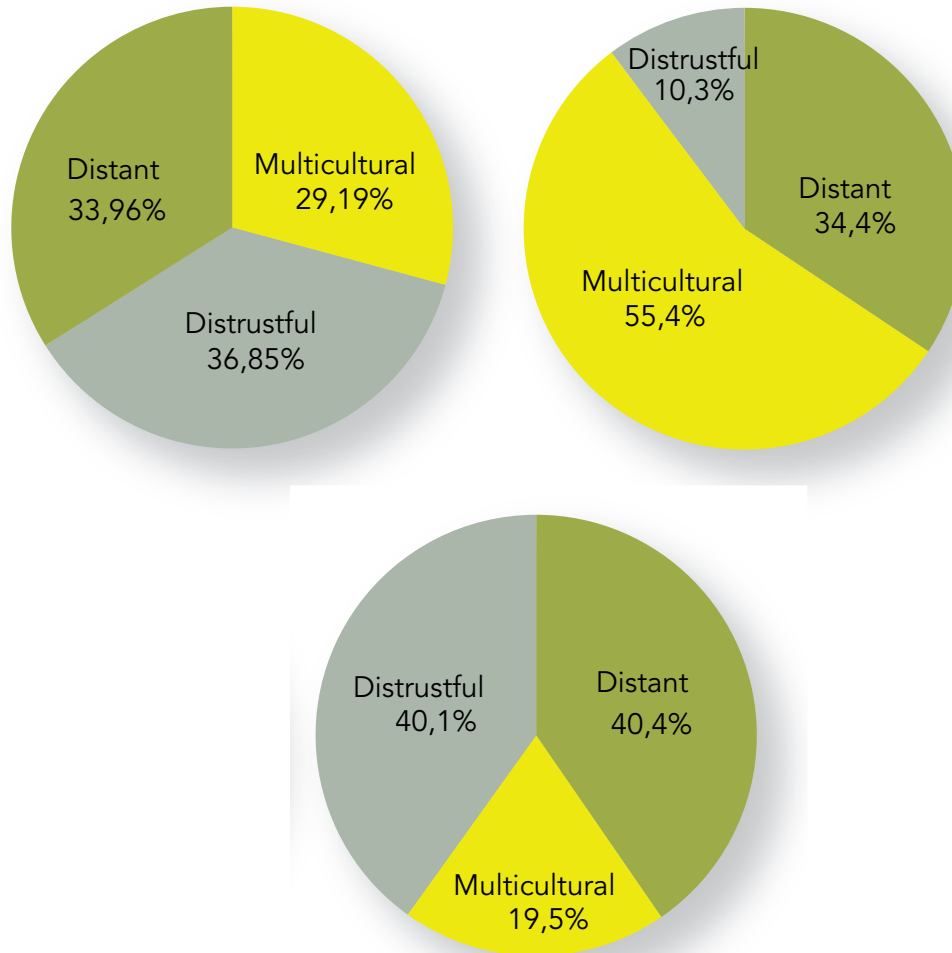
Source: Prepared by the authors on the basis of the analysis of the 2015, 2016 and 2017 surveys on attitudes towards immigration.

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:

- Who the immigrants are, or how the people in each group or profile view immigrants.
- Who the respondents are, what they are like, what lies behind each of the profiles.

Chart 20, with regard to **how they view 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 establishing contact with other groups.
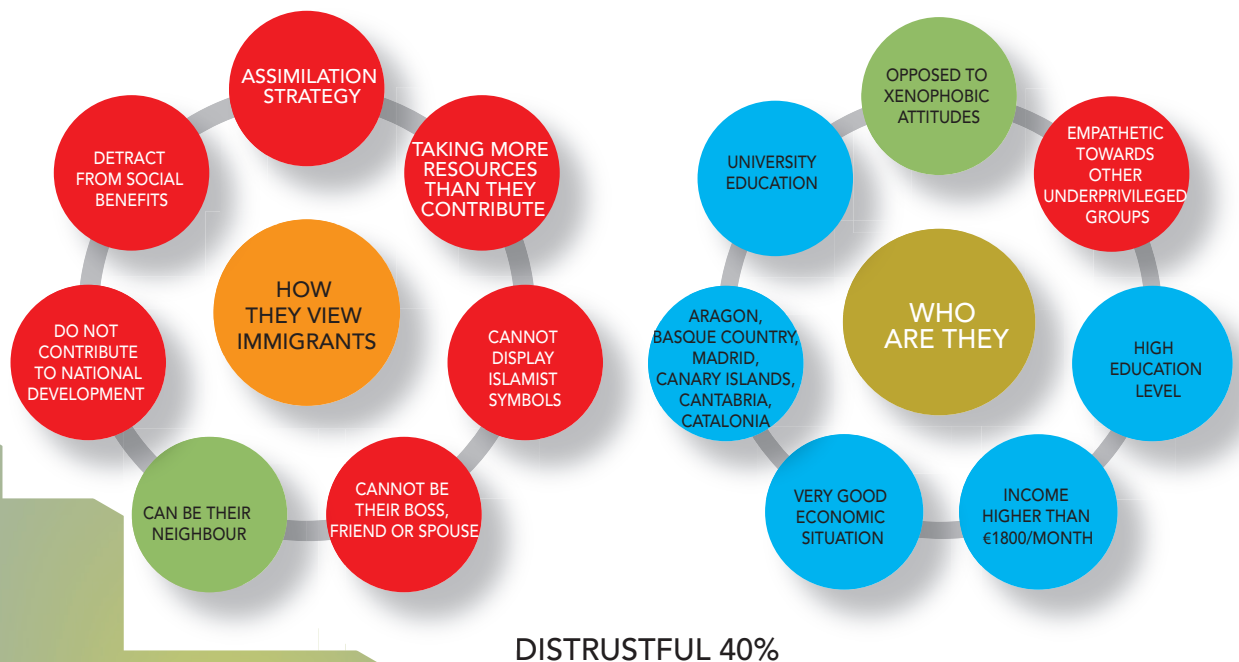
Chart 20 **What are the respondents like?** describes the attitudes and social and demographic characteristics that define the individuals from each of the three groups/profiles, each of which view immigrants in a different light.
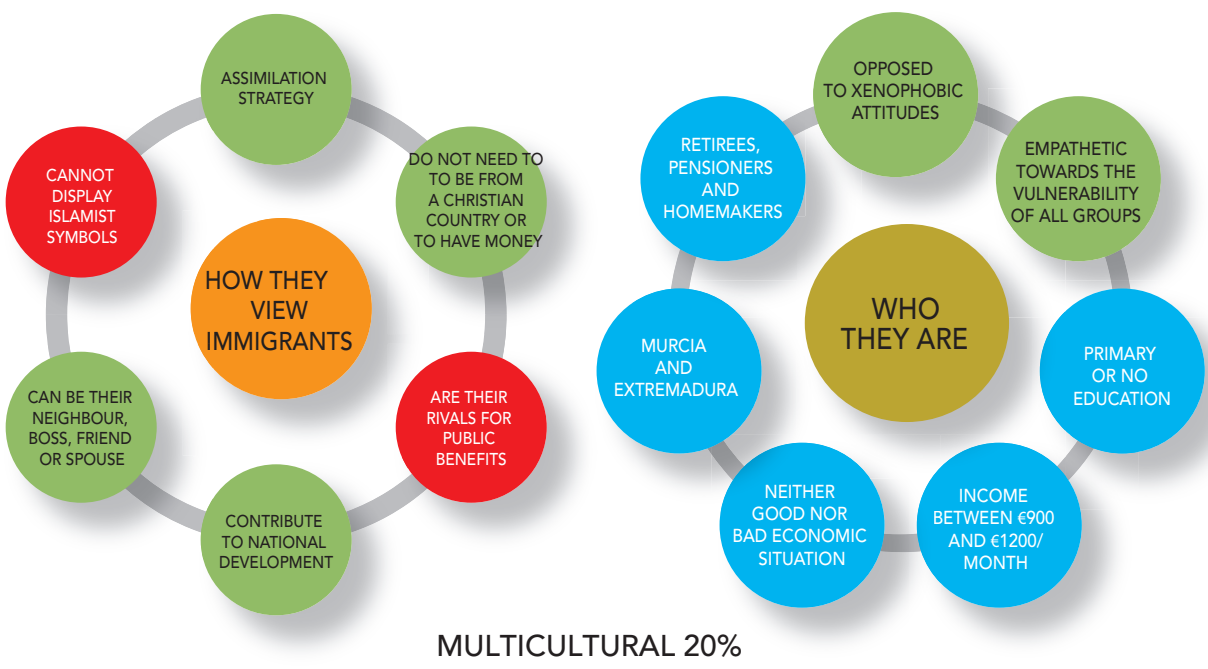
Each colour has a meaning. The warm colours—red and pink—denote more ambiguous or intolerant perceptions of or attitudes of nationals towards immigrants. The cold colours— green and blue—symbolize, on the one hand, the neutrality of socio-demographic characteristics, in the case of blue, and positive perceptions or attitudes towards immigrants in the case of green[3].

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3 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).

This chart represents a map of each profile. In the map of the distrustful profile group, red predominates in the perception of immigrants. As stated before, 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 like to have dealings with as neighbours but not have personal or professional relationships with. As regards their attitude, they reject insults and xenophobic opinions expressed in public, and feel empathy for other, non-immigrant underprivileged groups. They have a negative perception of the contribution of immigrants to the country's economic development, culture and education. From the standpoint of social cohesion, the individuals included in this profile do not value the diversity provided by immigrants, and do not consider immigrants' access to services as redistributive, because they consider it detracts from resources. They perceive themselves as being at a disadvantage with regard to immigrants, as they consider that immigrants receive more than they contribute, and receive excessive social benefits. As for the relational aspect, they show no interest in the social capital provided by immigrants, with the exception of neighbour coexistence. For this group, Islamic symbols, such as scarves, justify excluding girls who wear them from schools, and this group also justifies the existence of protests against building mosques. This group accounts for 40% of respondents.

Chart 20. The three profiles of the survey respondents: Who they are and how they view immigrants

DISTRUSTFUL 40%

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DISTANTS 40%

- INTEGRATION STRATEGY
- CONTRIBUTE TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
- WITH WHITE SKIN, FROM A CHRISTIAN COUNTRY, AND WITH MONEY
- HOW THEY VIEW IMMIGRANTS
- ARE NOT THEIR RIVALS FOR PUBLIC BENEFITS
- CAN DISPLAY ISLAMIST SYMBOLS
- CANNOT BE THEIR NEIGHBOUR, BOSS, FRIEND OR SPOUSE

- LAX TOWARDS ENOPHOBIC ATTITUDES
- UNEMPLOYED AND OTHERS
- NOT EMPATHETIC TOWARDS ANY UNDERPRIVILEGED GROUPS
- CASTILLA LA MANCHA, ANDALUSIA, GALICIA, ASTURIAS, VALENCIA
- WHO THEY ARE
- SECONDARY EDUCATION LEVEL
- BAD OR VERY BAD ECONOMIC SITUATION
- INCOME LOWER THAN €900/MONTH OR BETWEEN €1200 AND €1800 /MONTH

MULTICULTURAL 20%

- ASSIMILATION STRATEGY
- CANNOT DISPLAY ISLAMIST SYMBOLS
- DO NOT NEED TO TO BE FROM A CHRISTIAN COUNTRY OR TO HAVE MONEY
- HOW THEY VIEW IMMIGRANTS
- CAN BE THEIR NEIGHBOUR, BOSS, FRIEND OR SPOUSE
- ARE THEIR RIVALS FOR PUBLIC BENEFITS
- CONTRIBUTE TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- OPPOSED TO XENOPHOBIC ATTITUDES
- RETIREES, PENSIONERS AND HOMEMAKERS
- EMPATHETIC TOWARDS THE VULNERABILITY OF ALL GROUPS
- MURCIA AND EXTREMADURA
- WHO THEY ARE
- PRIMARY OR NO EDUCATION
- NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD ECONOMIC SITUATION
- INCOME BETWEEN €900 AND €1200/ MONTH

Source: Prepared by the authors

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The next group of respondents is that of the "distant" profile (40%). Chart 21 shows that positive perceptions and attitudes outweigh negative ones, because 67% of the colours in the circles are green, and the other 33% are red. This group does not show a great deal of empathy towards native-born vulnerable groups, as they consider that they receive a lot of welfare benefits. But they do recognize that immigrants contribute to the country's economic development, culture and education, and they consider that they do not receive excessive public assistance. For this group, the contribution of immigrants is, basically, positive. Islamic symbols are not a "problem" for this group, who consider that girls wearing scarves should not be excluded from schools, and that there should not be protests against building mosques.

They are not in favour of having relationships or coexistence with immigrants, but they are favourable to maintaining a strategy of integration with them. In other words, for immigrants to maintain the customs of their country of origin, but also to become imbued with the customs of the host country. This group gives more importance to superficial, external aspects such as the colour of immigrants' skin, whether they come from Christian countries or not, and whether they have a lot of money or not. Their attitude towards integration seems to be somewhat that of "blending in", strengthening external aspects that make the immigrant population go unnoticed.

For them, immigrants are not a threat as recipients of public resources. But they do not want to coexist or have professional or personal relationships with them. From the standpoint of social cohesion, this profile seems to be in favour of diversity, and considers the redistributive dimension of social cohesion, as it agrees with redistribution and correcting imbalances and inequalities through granting social benefits to immigrants.

The map of the respondents included in the multicultural profile group, which is the smallest group (20%), shows that they feel threatened with regard to access to healthcare and educational assistance and resources. These subjects' attitudes are empathetic towards the situation of immigrants as contributors to the country's development, culture and education, but they are not empathetic with immigrants receiving assistance: they consider this to be unbalanced. However, they are empathetic towards the situation of other, native-born underprivileged groups. They feel rejection towards public racist attitudes. Green predominates in the map of the multicultural profile group, although red appears in their tolerance of public expression of Islamic symbols, and again in their consideration of immigrants as rivals for public assistance.

In the social cohesion aspect, persons with this profile value coexistence and relationships with others, they do not limit their social capital, they take into consideration the contribution of others, but they do not have a redistributive view of resources.

Only the distant profile group shows no rejection of public xenophobic or racist expressions. In short, the three profiles 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 distrustful profile group, this dimension is the relational dimension. In the case of the distant profile group, this dimension is the cultural dimension, understood as diversity, and the redistributive dimension; in the case of the multicultural profile group, this would be the cultural dimension and the relational dimension.

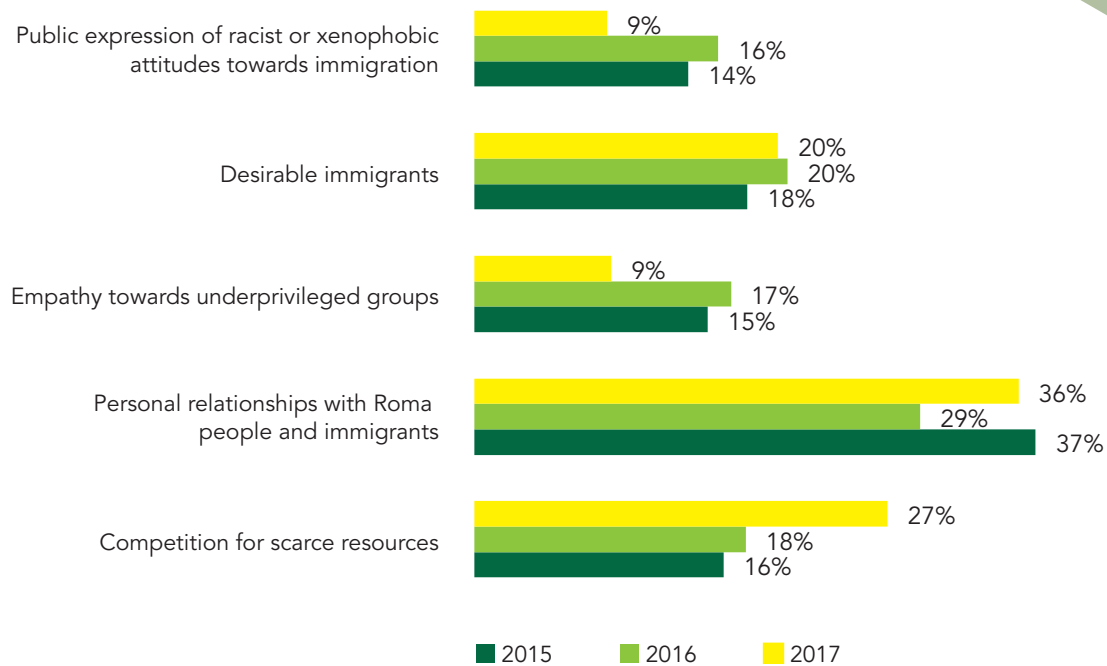## 2.5. Index of tolerance towards immigration

This index of tolerance towards immigration summarizes, in a single value, the position of the Spanish population towards immigration and the variables that are behind the underlying changes and trends that may be taking place. The index values that are close to zero reflect lower levels of tolerance, while those close to 100 reflect higher levels.

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 Roma 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 2017 shows that the largest dimension is that of personal relationships with Roma people and immigrants (36% in 2017, 29% in 2016, and 37% in 2015). The second largest is the dimension representing competition for scarce resources (27%), which includes immigrants' net contributions, the perception of the assistance they receive, and the possibility of exclusion from school for using the Islamic scarf or protests against building mosques in the neighbourhood. In 2016 and 2015, the dimension containing the characteristics of *desirable* immigrants—in terms of language, family networks, professional qualifications, adoption of the national lifestyle, skin colour, and purchasing power, among others—ranked second in the structure of the index (20% in 2016 and 18% in 2015). This dimension ranks third in 2017 (20%). The fourth place is held by the dimensions of empathy with disadvantaged groups and of public expression of racist or xenophobic attitudes, both of them accounting for 9% in 2017. Chart 21 shows the distribution of the proportions of the dimensions in the index structure in 2015, 2016 and 2017.

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, the integration thereof in terms of educational levels, language, robust family networks, adequate professional qualifications, adoption of the national lifestyle, the perception of immigrants not as competitors but as contributors, empathy with disadvantaged groups, and intolerance towards public expressions of xenophobia or racism.

Chart 21. Distribution of the proportions of the dimensions in the tolerance index structure for 2015, 2016 and 2017

Dimension	2017	2016	2015
Public expression of racist or xenophobic attitudes towards immigration	9%	16%	14%
Desirable immigrants	20%	20%	18%
Empathy towards underprivileged groups	9%	17%	15%
Personal relationships with Roma people and immigrants	36%	29%	37%
Competition for scarce resources	27%	18%	16%

■ 2015   ■ 2016   ■ 2017

Source: Prepared by the authors

Between 2015 and 2017, the highest value in the index is that of 2016, which corresponds to respondents' more tolerant positions towards the phenomenon of immigration, and the best values in the series in many of the respondents' perceptions and attitudes. In 2017 there has been somewhat of a reversal in certain perceptions and attitudes among those surveyed, as well as a restructuring of profiles with more mixed positions with regard to migration, combining openness and reversal.

Chart 22. Evolution of the tolerance index, 2015-2017
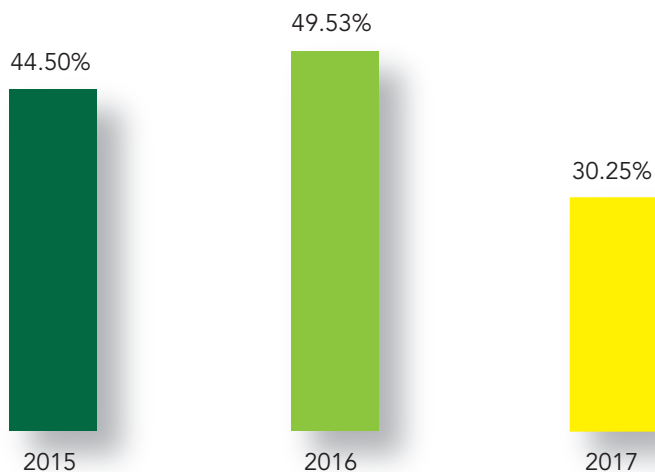
Source: Prepared by the authors

Taking into account that immigration is a complex phenomenon combining a large number of variables of different natures, it is difficult to know what underlies this decline in the tolerance index in 2017 as compared with 2015 and 2016; moreover, because there has been an upturn in the real economic situation, as reflected in macro indicators, as well as in the perceived economic situation. It is possible that the terrorist attacks that took place in Barcelona in August 2017 may have had an impact on the survey results. In any case, the perception of immigrants would be less one of concern and more one of solidarity.