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**PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT INMIGRATION
IN SPAIN
UTILITARIAN, CULTURAL
AND PLURALIST TRENDS**

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***Public opinion about immigration in Spain:
utilitarian, cultural and pluralist trends***

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***Abstract:** Since the early 1990's, Spain has received very substantial flows of immigration. These flows are characterised by the great diversity of the immigrants' origin, the massive trend and the novelty of the phenomenon. In sum, that means that Spanish society has become in the space of a very few years a multiethnic society. This paper explores the social image of foreign migrants in Spain based on the outcome of a national survey produced in December 2005 by the Institute for Advanced Social Studies (IESA) of the Spanish Council for Scientific Research and commissioned by the Secretary of Immigration and Emigration of the Ministry of Labour and Social Issues. In accordance with the theories of the "new racism" that suggest that opinions and attitudes against immigration represent a new form of the expression of racism and xenophobia, this paper wants to contribute to the debate about the nature and the factors that determine prejudice, discrimination and segregation in the context of the rising success of populist political parties in Europe. The data of the survey throws light upon two main dimensions which explain the perception of the immigrants in the case of Spain: the socio-economic and the cultural one. According to the public perception of immigrants, three main trends can be identified amongst the majority population: the utilitarian, the differentialist and the pluralist. The utilitarian type reflects an instrumental and economic conception of migration. Immigrants are perceived mainly as a work force necessary for the growth of the Spanish economy. On the other hand, for the differentialist type cultural, religious and ideological differences amongst immigrants and the national population represent the main factors that conform the negative perception of immigrants. For the pluralist group, generally prevails a tolerant perception of the immigrants. Each of these "ideal types" can be associated with a specific socio-demographic profile. Moreover, as the analysis shows, each profile takes different positions on the following issues: rights concessions to immigrants, immigration policy and social distance to immigrants.*

***Key words:** immigration; public opinion; social image; xenophobia; racism*

The attitude of European people towards foreign immigrants and ethnic minorities has become one of the main preoccupations in many countries of the European Union. Some of these countries like Spain have to face the perception of the phenomenon as one of the three main problems the government has to cope with¹. At the same time the media periodically relates cases of violent behaviours towards immigrants. That is why the European Union and national governments are frequently checking the state of general opinion about this issue. For instance, in 1997 and 2000 the European Union included racism and xenophobia topics in the Eurobarometer Surveys². Using the results of these surveys some researchers showed the existence of two dimensions of racial and ethnic attitudes – an economic and a cultural one – and tested their importance in determining the ethnic policy preferences of the respondents³.

In this paper we used the results of a survey entitled *The Opinion of Spaniards on Racism and Xenophobia*⁴ as a point of departure, to explore the issue of the social image of immigrants in Spain and the arguments supporting their rejection. In the first section, we

¹ The periodic barometers of the Spanish Centre of Sociological Investigation (CIS) show that immigration is, for respondents, one of the three main problems of the country along with terrorism and unemployment or housing. It was the first problem in September and October 2006.

² Eurobarometer 47.1, *Racism and xenophobia in Europe*, April 1997. Eurobarometer 53, *Attitudes towards minority groups in the European Union*, February 2000.

³ For instance, our purpose is close to Siana Glouharova' (no date) who tested the theories – realistic group conflict and symbolic racism- for the existence of two dimensions of racial and ethnic attitudes – economic and cultural- and their importance in determining the ethnic policy preferences of the majorities. Siana Glouharova, "Attitudes towards minorities and immigrants in the European Union and their impact on Ethnic policy preferences", M. SC. In *Sociology*, University of Oxford, electronic publication, <http://www.sociology.ox.ac.uk/admin/glouharova.pdf> (12th of March 2006). In the North American context, there are many works exploring factors influencing public opinion concerning immigrants and immigration policy. See for example, Esses, Dovidio, Jackson and Armstrong (2001) who considered the role of both perceived competition for resources and group identity in determining attitudes toward immigrants and immigration.

⁴ The study entitled *Opinion of Spaniards on Racism and Xenophobia* was sponsored by the Spanish Observatory on Racism and Xenophobia of the National Office for the Integration of Immigrants through the Department of Immigration and Emigration of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The authors would like to thank the sponsoring institutions for allowing them to present in this paper some of the conclusions of the study. This paper is a new version of a previous text published in *Opinión de los españoles en materia de racismo y xenofobia*, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Madrid, 2006. It has benefited of the discussions during the 8th Spaniard National Congress on Immigration celebrated in Valencia in March 2007. The theoretical population for the study comprised Spanish nationals aged 18 and older residing in Spain. The real population included a proportion of the defined population having land-line telephones in their household. The survey was conducted using computer-assisted telephone interviews by means of a structured questionnaire. Respondents were selected according to a random stratified sampling procedure by autonomous community –regional units- and size of habitat of the city or town where the household was located. The final sample unit was selected by means of sex and age quotas in proportion to the stratum population. The final sample comprised 2400 surveys with an absolute maximum error rate of $\pm 2.04\%$ relative to the overall population. The fieldwork and the statistical treatment of the results were conducted by the CATI Unit of the IESA of the CSIC. The fieldwork was carried out from 23 November to 12 December 2005.

show how anti-immigrant sentiment is expressed in differentiated ways in the terms of the existence of a double threat: a socio-economic one and a cultural one. Having made this distinction, three socio-demographic ideal-types or profiles can be identified and associated with each type of threat. That is *utilitarian*, *differentialist* and *pluralist* profiles which are provided in the third section. Finally, the impact of these threats on the opinions of respondents is analysed with regard to the following issues: rights concessions to immigrants, immigration policy and social distance to immigrants.

Spain, however, presents specific features which distinguish it from both the United States and its northern European neighbours. The first of these refers to the time frame of labour immigration. Unlike the countries in the north of the European Union, Spain has a long-standing tradition of emigration, while immigration is a recent phenomenon in the country. Secondly, the number of immigrants coming to Spain has increased at a very fast pace since the late nineties. And thirdly, the fact that all of this is occurring in a context of economic growth, job creation and balanced macroeconomic indicators. These three aspects that distinguish the Spanish context have led us to propose the following hypothesis: given the context of economic growth, the causes for rejection towards immigrants are predominantly rooted in the *cultural threat*.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Since the late 1970s, Spain's economy, like that of the rest of the European Union, has undergone far-reaching reforms marked by a growing number of workers in the services sector and the decline of the industrial and agricultural ones. In this context, the fear of falling prey to the former categories of social exclusion characterising industrial society in Europe has provided arguments to blame foreign immigrants for the numerous ills afflicting society such as unemployment, lower wages or deficient social welfare policies (Wieviorka, 1998). Because they see the newcomers as an economic threat, a lot of people demand the closure of the frontiers. Using socioeconomic arguments populist parties like the National Front in France insist that immigrants who are unemployed must be returned to their own countries. Yet the expression of this anti-immigrant sentiment is not solely restricted to socioeconomic spheres. Indeed, there is a growing tendency to manifest these tensions in terms of identity and attribute them to intercultural contact. As a result, the discourse of rejection towards

immigration and ethnic minorities is impregnated with culturalism, that is, by constructing opposing and incompatible categories of immigrants based on a series of differences in which “lifestyles, religions, languages and customs are confused with systems of coexistence and moral and political values” (Bravo López, 2005:310).

This context has given rise to two main currents to explain the rejection of immigrants. The first holds that this phenomenon is linked to the threat that immigration poses to the welfare of the native population (Hechter, 1986; Simon, 1993, Palmer, 1996)⁵. This threat is the result of competition between both groups - natives and immigrants - for what are perceived to be scarce economic and social resources⁶. Accordingly, immigrants are considered, above all, to be workers, unemployed or users of the goods and services provided by the welfare state. Logically, the theory of a *socioeconomic threat* sets out that rejection would increase during a context of economic crisis and growing pressure on available social resources. However, as Wimmer (1997), following Olzak (1993), points out, widespread expressions of racism and xenophobia can occur in periods of economic growth. Thus, rather than being determined by the level of immigration to the country or economic growth, rejection is a result of the disproportionate change in these rates. It would also seem logical that in order for there to be stiff competition in the labour market leading to lower wages and higher unemployment, immigrants must compete with natives for the same jobs. The relevant variable should therefore be the perception of competition that ultimately comes to be considered a threat, that is, the subjective dimension (beliefs and prejudice) rather than the real-world situation.

The subjective dimension occupies a central place in the “group position theory” (Bobo, 1999). According to this theory, it is what people perceive that is truly relevant, regardless of the actual impact on the economy or on social welfare. For instance, anti-immigrant sentiment is driven more by the belief that there are a disproportionate number of immigrants rather than the actual number of immigrants. By considering the subjective dimension of this phenomenon, it is possible to move the focus from anti-immigrant prejudice to the conviction that immigrants pose a threat to natives in terms of benefiting from social or economic goods.

⁵ A review of the theories concerning this approach can be found in Wimmer (1997).

⁶ See the papers on realistic group conflict theory such as those by Sherif (1966) or Le Vine and Campbell (1972).

A second line of thought regarding the rejection of immigrants and the activation of racism and xenophobia holds that this phenomenon is rooted in the belief that cultures, religions and ideologies of certain collective groups of immigrants are in opposition to and incompatible with the dominant culture of the host society (Barker, 1981; Taguieff, 1988). This logic of differentiation, based on the perception that cultural differences foster conflict between both groups, proves to function well for expressing aversion towards immigrants and in particular towards those who seem to be more culturally different. Thus, *differentialism*⁷ leads to the stigmatisation of certain groups of immigrants that are considered to be irremissibly different and incapable of integrating into society or sharing the values of the host group. In short, the grounds are laid for a twofold process: to make it legitimate to question the rights acquired by immigrants and the *racialisation* of their culture. For those who defend theories of modern racism (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995; Sears, 1988; Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986), the rejection of immigrants not only springs from the *cultural threat*, but also embodies a new and renewed expression of racism and xenophobia. This type of racism and xenophobia, they claim, can be manifested either through the majority group's tendency to fear, avoid and distrust the minority out-group or through a "preference for those who are similar to themselves."

TWO DIMENSIONS OF REJECTION TOWARD IMMIGRANTS: THE SOCIOECONOMIC THREAT AND THE CULTURAL THREAT

In line with the above analytical framework, our first aim is to test the first of the proposed hypotheses. According to this hypothesis, anti-immigrant opinions are not driven by a single dimension, but possess a certain degree of heterogeneity. These sentiments are more or less interiorised and rationalised and respond to the two interpretations we have identified as a *socioeconomic threat* and a *cultural threat*.

The first step to test this hypothesis consists of identifying two discriminating dimensions: a general dimension that distinguishes between anti-immigrant opinions and those which are not; and another secondary dimension that separates the two expressions of this rejection that we aim to identify here, namely the *socioeconomic threat* and the *cultural*

⁷ Recall that the term "differentialism" was coined by Taguieff (1988) to identify a new form of culture-based racism. It assumes that individual identity is inherited and confused with the culture of origin.

threat. The methodology consists of selecting a series of variables related to socioeconomic or cultural aspects (see Table 1) and, secondly, in conducting a Categorical Principal Components Analysis (CATPCA) that will permit us to find the two discriminating dimensions.

Table 1: Variables included in the principal components analysis

1. Contribute to lowering quality of health care (P16_1)
2. Contribute to lowering quality of education (P17_1)
3. Contribute to driving wages down (P20_3)
4. Contribute to unemployment among Spaniards (P20_4)
5. Preference for nationals when hiring (P21_1)
6. Evaluation of diversity in Spanish society (P1)
7. Evaluation of diversity in schools (P17_2)
8. Immigrants' contribution to Spanish culture (P18)
9. Immigrants can maintain their own culture and religion (P19)
10. Protest against the building of a mosque (P21_3)

The CATPCA allowed two discriminating dimensions to be identified: a general one and a specific one. These two dimensions explain a significant percentage (42.7%) of the total variance of the original variables⁸. The general dimension obtained from the CATPCA discriminates between respondents who do not reject immigrants from those that do, while the specific dimension distinguishes the latter group based on their reasons for rejection, grouping some of them in the socioeconomic sphere and others in the cultural sphere. The presence of these two dimensions verifies the baseline hypothesis that expressions of rejection or negative opinions are not monolithic in character, but can be manifested in a variety of ways. In particular, the specific dimension permits us to differentiate between two forms of prejudice⁹

⁸ The analysis of the saturation table reveals that the first dimension, which explains 31.2% of the variance, shows high levels of saturation with all the variables. The low values of this general dimension are related to the rejection of immigrants in both economic and cultural terms, while high values signify acceptance of immigrants. The second dimension, or specific dimension, explains 11.5% of the variance and shows a high degree of saturation with the majority of the variables. The low values of this specific dimension signify the acceptance of immigrants in cultural terms as well as a positive opinion of diversity, contribution to enriching Spanish culture, accepting that immigrants maintain their culture and religion without restrictions, etc., but rejection in aspects related to social or economic welfare such as immigrants' role in driving wages down, in increasing unemployment among Spaniards and lowering the quality of health care and education. In contrast, the high values of this second specific dimension signify that the perceived threat is rooted in cultural and not socioeconomic aspects.

⁹ Stating a negative opinion or belief about a group is not a prejudice. An opinion or belief becomes a prejudice when it is manifested in a repeated and systematic manner.

and discrimination according to whether rejection is justified in socioeconomic or cultural terms.

The analysis has also shown that a period of economic growth and job creation, such as that occurring in Spain for some years now, does not hinder the perception that immigrants pose a threat to social and economic welfare of the native population. This would therefore seem to suggest that an economic crisis is not a necessary requisite for this phenomenon to occur. Indeed, this finding concurs with the theory that the social and economic threat is fundamentally based on subjective perceptions and prejudice.

A further finding of the analysis is that in spite of the fact that immigration is a recent phenomenon in Spain, it is nonetheless perceived as a cultural threat.

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF THREAT

Our interest in delving deeper into the social, demographic, professional and ideological profile of the respondents, according to whether they are more sensitive to the “socioeconomic threat” or the “cultural threat”, stems from the fact that these profiles have been constructed as ideal types in order to determine whether or not differences exist among them. To create these profiles we use the dimensions obtained from the principal components analysis and perform a cluster analysis to form the three groups (see Table 2 and 3).

Table 2: Cluster distribution

	No.	% of total	cumulative %
Cluster Type 1	785	32.7%	32.7%
Type 2	904	37.7%	70.4%
Type 3	711	29.6%	100%
Combined	2400	100.0%	
Total	2400		

Table 3: Cluster centres in the dimensions

Cluster	General dimension 1		Specific dimension 2	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Type 1	-.04	.80	-1.13	.54
Type 2	-.85	.85	.74	.87
Type 3	1.04	.38	.35	.60
Combined	-.03	1.06	.01	1.07

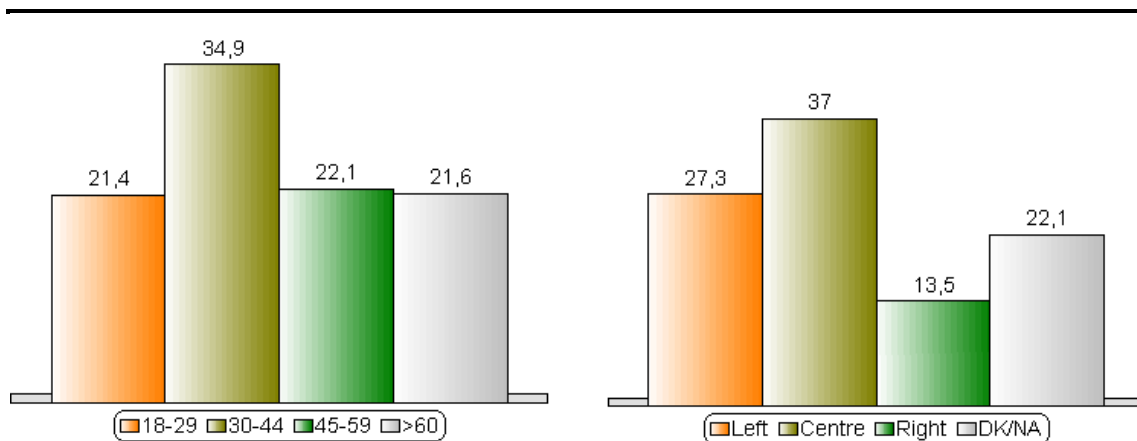
The three ideal types obtained are quite similar in size. According to the mean of the clusters in the first or general dimension, which distinguishes between people who reject immigrants and those who do not, Type 2 corresponds to respondents whose opinions can be categorised as being “racist and xenophobic” in line with the theory of “modern” racism. The Type 2 group encompasses respondents whose rejection is rooted in aversion towards the culture of the immigrants and the threat that they pose to the culture of the native population. Thus, the members of this group are referred to as *differentialists*. The Type 3 respondents, or *pluralists*, are located at the opposite extreme given that this group includes respondents who express a lower degree of anti-immigrant sentiment than those in the first group. Note that this type of respondent is neither racist nor xenophobic. The second or specific dimension separates Type 1 respondents (who accuse immigrants of creating problems that adversely affect social services and the economy, i.e. unemployment, low wages, quality of health care, etc.) from the Type 2 respondents or *differentialists*. In light of the greater sensitivity displayed by the Type 1 respondents regarding social and economic issues, we have chosen to refer to them as *utilitarians*. Finally, the socio-demographic variables were crossed in order to determine the profile of these three types with greater precision.

Profile 1: Utilitarians.

The utilitarian ideal-type includes people who express opinions based on a perceived socioeconomic threat. Its socio-demographic profile doesn't present contrasting traits. However, it should be pointed out that compared to the other two profiles, this profile includes the largest proportion of people between the age of 30 and 44 (34.9%) and there is a

prevalence of those who state that they are in the centre (37%) or on the left (27.3%) of the ideological scale.

Graph 1. *Utilitarians. Age groups and ideological position (%)*

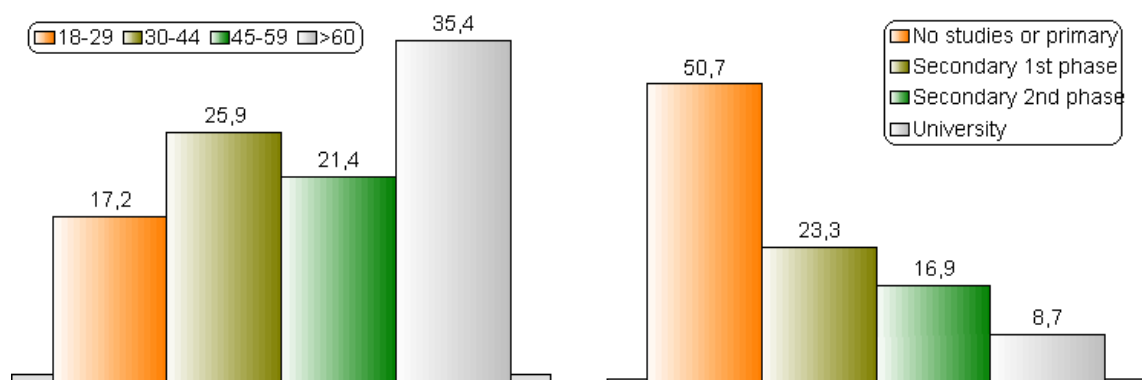


Source: IESA Survey – 0509. IESAA/CSIC, 2005

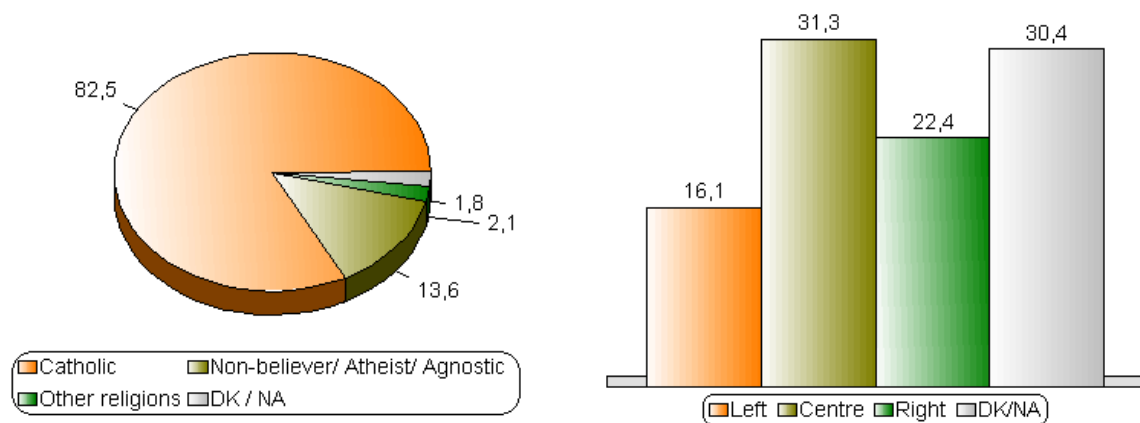
The members of this group value positively cultural and religious diversity in Spanish society. This opinion concurs with the view that the presence of children of immigrants in schools is enriching. Nonetheless, their opinions are divided when asked to assess the contribution of immigrants to Spanish culture and believe that immigrants should preferably maintain only those aspects of their culture or religion that comply with Spanish legislation. The opinion that best characterises the *utilitarians* is their tendency to think that immigrants contribute to lowering the quality of health care or education. Likewise, they are convinced that by accepting lower wages, immigrants drive salaries down. They also believe that immigrants take jobs away from Spaniards, albeit to a lesser degree. Nonetheless, the *utilitarians* reject giving preference to nationals in the workplace as they consider it unacceptable to hire a Spaniard over an immigrant. Equally, they consider it unacceptable to protest against the building of a mosque in their neighbourhood.

Profile 2: Differentialists.

Among those surveyed who expressed anti-immigrant sentiments based on the perception that immigrants pose a cultural threat, there is a higher proportion of people above the age of 60 (35.4%), those with no education or only primary studies (50.7%), Catholics, and those who declare themselves to be on the centre or right of the ideological scale. Left-wing respondents are represented in a lower proportion in this group than in the other two groups (see Graphs 1 and 2). As regards their social and professional profile, this group includes the highest proportion of retired individuals. Finally, the distribution of the respondents on the ideological scale reveals that right-wing and far right-wing individuals predominate in this group.

Graph 2. *Differentialists*. Age groups and educational level (%)

Source: IESA Survey – 0509. IESAA/CSIC, 2005

Graph 3. *Differentialists*. Religious affiliation and ideological position (%)

Source: IESA Survey – 0509. IESAA/CSIC, 2005

The members that comprise this group, who tend to perceive the existence of a *cultural threat*, do not have a tendency to consider racial, cultural or religious diversity as being positive for Spanish society. They are divided on the issue of whether the presence of children of immigrants in schools is enriching or not for the students as a whole. Furthermore, the *differentialists* are convinced that immigrants do not contribute to enriching Spanish culture and that they should only maintain those aspects of their own culture or religion that do not adversely affect Spaniards. Accordingly, the members of this group believe that it is acceptable to demonstrate against the building of a mosque in their neighbourhood. In general, the *differentialists* do not believe that the presence of a large number of immigrants lowers the quality of public services. Thus they differ from the respondents who are sensitive to the *socioeconomic threat* in this regard. Finally, the *differentialists* consider that it is acceptable to give preference to nationals when hiring, or in other words, to discriminate against immigrants in favour of Spaniards.

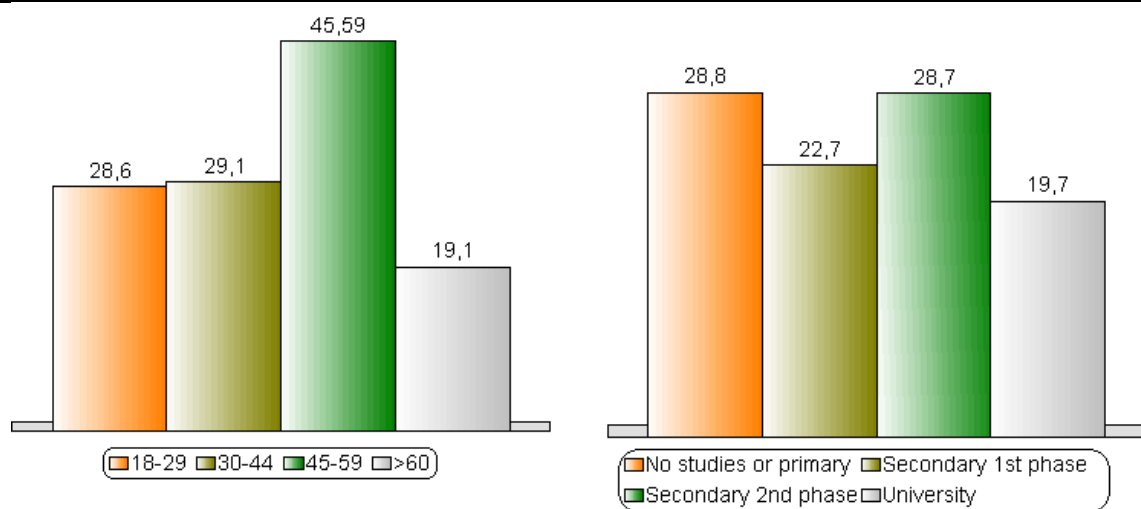
Profile 3: Pluralists.

The *pluralist* profile, which is comprised of more tolerant respondents who do not perceive threats, includes a notably higher proportion of young people (28.6%), students

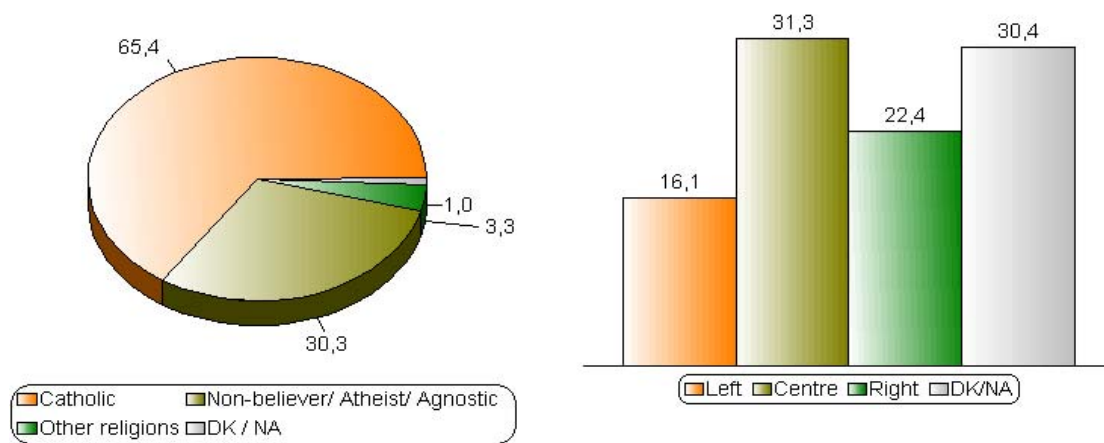
(28.8%) and individuals with a university education (19.7%) (see Graph 1). In contrast, although Catholics continue to hold a strong weight in this group, it is lower than in the other groups (65.4%) (see Graph 4). Finally, there is a prevalence of respondents who declare themselves to be in the centre (32%) or on the left (36.3%) of the ideological scale.

Furthermore, the *pluralists* do not blame immigrants for having an adverse effect on health care or education, nor do they believe that immigrants take jobs away from Spaniards or drive wages down (albeit in this latter case to a lesser degree). Finally, the *pluralists* find it unacceptable that a Spaniard be given priority over an immigrant when being hired.

Graph 4. *Pluralists*. Age groups and educational level (%)



Source: IESA Survey – 0509. IESAA/CSIC, 2005

Graph 5. *Pluralists*. Religious affiliation and ideological position (%)

Source: IESA Survey – 0509. IESAA/CSIC, 2005

These three profiles or ideal types demonstrate that the group of respondents which perceives a “socioeconomic threat” holds prejudices, but does not discriminate against immigrants. In contrast, the group that views immigrants as being a cultural threat holds prejudices and tends to discriminate against them. Finally, the *pluralist* group neither blames nor discriminates against immigrants.

In addition to these three profiles, this analysis has led to another finding. If the *utilitarian* group does not have a tendency to discriminate against immigrants, because they do not believe that it is acceptable to employ a Spaniard over an immigrant, then we propose the hypothesis that job discrimination is largely rooted in ethnocentric attitudes or cultural factors. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the *differentialist* group does accept job discrimination.

OPINION ABOUT IMMIGRANTS’ RIGHTS BY PROFILE

One of the most salient issues concerning immigration is that of immigrants’ rights. These include not only social and economic rights, but also political and civil rights. Within the

framework of nation-states such as Spain, citizenship has been traditionally associated with nationality. Consequently, immigrants are identified, first and foremost, by their condition as foreigners and are therefore excluded from certain rights such as political rights. One way of fostering social cohesion is to facilitate the full participation of all citizens; a measure that first involves improving immigrants' capacity to exercise their political rights.

In this section we attempt to determine whether the opinions expressed by the three profiles described above converge or diverge when respondents are asked about the concession of socio-economic, civil and political rights to immigrants who have settled in Spain.

With a view to achieving this aim, a measurement scale has been built to summarise the opinions about the different types of rights that could be granted to immigrants. To do so, we selected a series of variables related to the opinions expressed by respondents regarding immigrants' rights and equal rights with Spanish nationals (see Table 4).

Table 4: Opinion about immigrants' rights

<i>1. Right to bring their family (P15_1)</i>
<i>2. Right to unemployment benefits (P15_2)</i>
<i>3. Right to vote in local elections (P15_3)</i>
<i>4. Right to obtain Spanish nationality (P15_4)</i>
<i>5. Preference for Spaniards in health care (P16_2)</i>
<i>6. Preference for Spaniards in education (P17_3)</i>

A principal components analysis (CATPCA) was then conducted in order to summarise the information gained from these variables into a single variable that would distinguish between those who are in favour of granting immigrants these rights and those who are against doing so. Once the summary variable is obtained¹⁰, the next step is to study how this dependent metric variable called "opinion on the rights of immigrants" performs in each of the previously obtained clusters. In order to measure the effect of one or more non-metric independent variables on another metric dependent variable, an analysis of variance

¹⁰ The summary variable obtained fulfils the necessary requisites of reliability given that it explains a high percentage (44.6%) of the variance of the previously selected variables and the fact that Cronbach's coefficient alpha presents a high value (0.75).

(ANOVA) was performed¹¹. According to the results of the ANOVA (see Table 5), the null hypothesis of the equality of means is rejected. Thus we can conclude that the different groups have significantly different opinions regarding immigrants' rights.

Table 5: ANOVA – Opinion about immigrants' rights

	Sum of squares	Gl	Quadratic mean	F	Sig.
Inter.-groups	367.615	2	183.807	196.596	.000
Intra-groups	2239.202	2395	.935		
Total	2606.817	2397			

As shown in Table 6, the *differentialist* group - whose opinions are driven by a perceived cultural threat (cluster 2) - is the most reluctant to grant rights to immigrants. In contrast, most of the members of the *utilitarian* group (cluster 1) state that they are slightly in favour of granting such rights. The differences between both groups are significant given that the confidence intervals do not overlap. Finally, the *pluralist* group (cluster 3) is clearly in favour of granting immigrants rights and against discrimination.

Table 6: Opinion about immigrants' rights by cluster

Cluster	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Confidence Interval for the mean at 95%	
				Lower Boundary	Upper Boundary
1 Utilitarians	.0868	.88605	.03162	.0247	.1489
2 Differentialists	-.4853	1.28907	.04290	-.5695	-.4011
3 Pluralists	.4593	.41995	.01575	.4283	.4902
Total	-.0182	1.04276	.02129	-.0599	.0236

OPINION ABOUT IMMIGRATION POLICY BY PROFILE

Our objective now is to confirm the hypothesis that the three profiles hold different opinions regarding immigration policy. The methodology used is the same as above. Thus the first step

¹¹ In order to ensure that the conclusions obtained from the model are reliable, a series of hypotheses must be confirmed. Firstly, the normality of the dependent variable must be fulfilled, which according to the K-S test is not true in this case. However, the non-normality does not affect the conclusions in a decisive manner due to applying the central limit theorem. Secondly, the variance must be the same across groups. Nonetheless, as the different groups in this study are very similar in size, this does not need to be verified. Thirdly, and finally, the methodology used in the previous steps ensures that the hypothesis is fulfilled, independently of the samples that make up each group.

is to build a measurement scale that represents the opinions on immigration policy using the different variables related to this issue (Table 7).

Table 7: Opinion about immigration policy

1. Permit labour immigration (P4)
2. Handling of illegal immigration (P5)
3. Accept political refugees (P6)
4. Perception of number of immigrants (P7)

Using these variables, a principle components analysis (CATPCA) is performed once again in order to summarise the information into a single variable that distinguishes between those who support less restrictive immigration policies and, on the other hand, those who are in favour of more restrictive immigration policies. Once the summary variable, which is called “opinion about immigration policy,” has been obtained¹², the aim is to determine to what degree the three profiles express significantly different opinions concerning immigration policy. To do so, we resort once again to the ANOVA method, where the belonging cluster (categorical cluster) is the independent variable and respondents’ opinion about immigration policy is the dependent variable (metric variable).

As shown in Table 8, the null hypothesis of the equality of means is rejected. We can therefore conclude that the three groups have significantly different opinions about immigration policy.

Table 8: ANOVA – Opinion about immigration policy

	Sum of Squares	Gl	Quadratic Mean	F	Sig.
Inter.-groups	370.441	2	185.220	195.089	.000
Intra-groups	2275.746	2397	.949		
Total	2646.187	2399			

When observing Table 9, we find that the *differentialists* (cluster 2) declare themselves to be clearly in favour of restrictive immigration policy and envision the possibility of deporting illegal immigrants to their countries of origin. In contrast, the group of respondents that perceives immigrants as primarily being a threat to social and economic welfare (cluster 1) is

¹² The summary variable explains a high percentage (47.6%) of the variance of the above variables. The scale reliability is supported by the high value of Cronbach’s coefficient alpha (0.63).

not as strongly opposed to the regularisation of illegal immigrants, although they do tend to share the above group's aversion to giving asylum to political refugees. The difference between the *differentialists* and the *utilitarians* is again significant as the confidence intervals do not overlap. Finally, and logically so, the *pluralists* (cluster 3) are in favour of a less restrictive labour immigration policy.

Table 9: Opinion about immigration policy by cluster

Cluster	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Confidence interval for The mean at 95%	
				Lower Boundary	Upper Boundary
1 Utilitarians	-.0026	.93835	.03349	-.0684	.0631
2 Differentialists	-.4342	1.02810	.03419	-.5013	-.3671
3 Pluralists	.5306	.94265	.03536	.4612	.6000
Total	-.0074	1.05026	.02144	-.0495	.0346

SOCIAL DISTANCE TO IMMIGRANTS BY PROFILE

The last behaviour that we want to test refers to the hypothesis that *differentialists*, *utilitarians* and *pluralists* diverge with regard to social distance to immigrants. The same methodology is followed as in the above cases. A measurement scale is built using different variables inspired in the Emory Bogardus social distance scale (Table 10).

Table 10: Social distance to immigrants

1. Live in the same neighbourhood (P9_1)
2. Live in the same block of flats (P9_2)
3. Rent a flat to immigrants (P9_3)
4. Work with immigrants (P9_4)
5. Immigrant boss in the workplace (P9_5)
6. Friendship with children of immigrants (P9_6)
7. Marriage to immigrants (P9_7)

A principle components analysis (CATPCA) is again performed, thus obtaining a summary variable that allows a distinction to be made between two attitudinal positions: those who accept a certain social closeness to immigrants and those that avoid or reject this closeness¹³. In order to confirm the behaviour of the different groups, the ANOVA is conducted again

¹³ The social distance dimension explains 58.6% of the variance between the variables included in the analysis. The high value of Cronbach's coefficient alpha (0.88) indicates that the scale obtained is reliable.

using the belonging cluster (categorical cluster) as the independent variable and the degree of social distance to immigrants as the dependent variable (metric variable). As can be seen in Table 11, the hypothesis of the equality of means is rejected, thus leading to the conclusion that the three groups display significantly different degrees of acceptance regarding immigrants.

Table 11: ANOVA –Acceptance of immigrants

	Sum of Squares	gl	Quadratic Mean	F	Sig.
Inter-groups	278.160	2	139.080	154.096	.000
Intra-groups	2163.419	2397	.903		
Total	2441.579	2399			

After analysing the results of the means (see Table 12) we can affirm that the *differentialist* group (cluster 2) is the group that most strongly rejects social closeness to immigrants. In contrast, the group of *utilitarians* adopts a more intermediate position with respect to social distance. From a statistical point of view, the differences between these two groups are once again significant. Finally, as expected, the *pluralists* (group 3) reveal the highest degree of closeness.

Table 12: Acceptance of immigrants by cluster

Cluster	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Confidence interval for the mean at 95%	
				Lower Boundary	Upper Boundary
1 Utilitarians	.0693	.91498	.03265	.0052	.1334
2 Differentialists	-.4028	1.25880	.04186	-.4849	-.3206
3 Pluralists	.4240	.32625	.01224	.3999	.4480
Total	-.0036	1.00884	.02059	-.0439	.0368

DISCUSSION

The above analysis confirms the initial hypothesis of two well-differentiated expressions of rejection towards immigrants: one which is related to the socioeconomic sphere and another to the cultural sphere.

Furthermore, the analysis has shown that a period of economic growth and job creation, such as that occurring in Spain, does not hinder the perception that immigrants pose a threat to the economic and social welfare of the country. Hence, an economic crisis is not a necessary requisite for this phenomenon to occur. This finding concurs with the theory that the *socioeconomic threat* is based fundamentally on subjective perceptions and prejudice.

The analysis also provides evidence that the perception of a *cultural threat* is the main expression of rejection towards immigrants and of the tendency to discriminate against them. In this sense, the analysis provides arguments to support the hypothesis that *differentialism* is becoming one of the new manifestations of “otherism” which substitute oldest forms of racism and xenophobia.

By elaborating profiles, we have confirmed that *utilitarians* hold prejudices, but do not tend to defend positions or attitudes that could be detrimental to immigrants. In contrast, the *differentialists* not only show a tendency for prejudices, but are also more likely to accept discrimination against immigrants in favour of nationals. Finally, the *pluralists* neither blame immigrants for certain problems nor discriminate against them in matters related to rights concessions or access to public services.

As regards the opinions of respondents on rights concessions to immigrants, immigration policy and social distance to immigrants, the *differentialists* reveal the highest level of rejection. In contrast, the *utilitarians*, whose opinions are based on a perceived socioeconomic threat, differ from the former group insofar as they declare themselves to be slightly in favour of granting rights to immigrants, are less restrictive about labour immigration policy and adopt an intermediate position concerning possible relations with immigrants. Finally, the *pluralist* group is clearly in favour of recognising rights for immigrants and adopting less restrictive labour immigration policies, while at the same time they show no reticence towards social closeness to immigrants.

Nonetheless, these conclusions should be interpreted with a certain amount of caution, given that the scientific debate and the empirical evidence on the existence of new forms of racism and xenophobia are still in the preliminary stages and have yet to offer a full account of the complexity of this phenomenon. However, the data provided in this paper, which are more than reasonably representative from a statistical point of view, demonstrate the existence

of differentiated sources of prejudice that corroborate the emergence of new forms to express anti-immigrant sentiment. In short, although we believe that these findings can be interpreted as a contribution to our knowledge of the image that Spanish society has of immigrants, they should not be taken as definitive conclusions, but rather as results that should continue to be tested empirically and hypotheses that should be revised accordingly.

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