The Resurgence of Race in Europe:
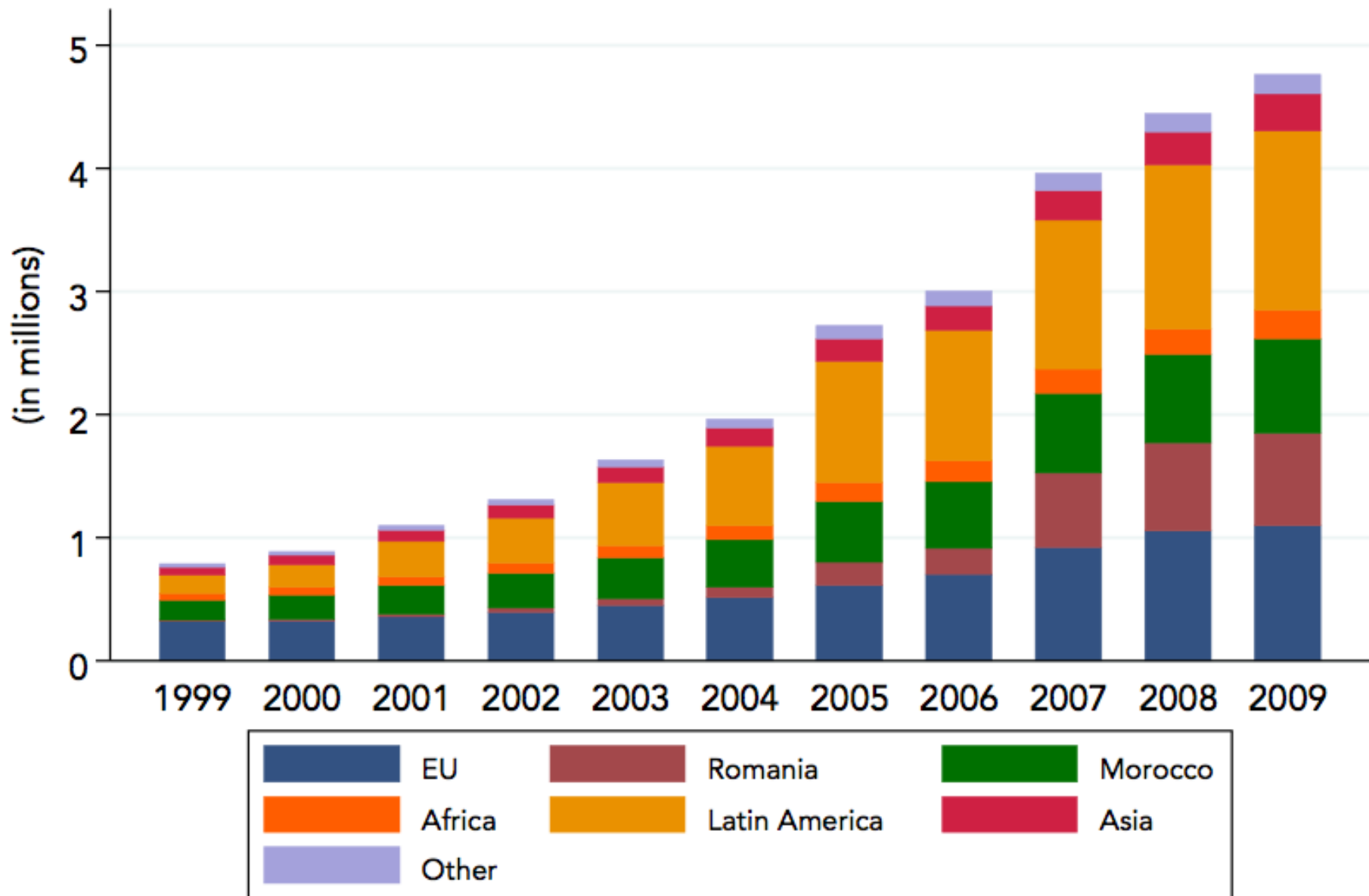# Perceptions of Discrimination Among Immigrants in Spain

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Foreigners with residence permits in Spain

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

How will immigrants be received?

Will race be relevant?

Questioning race

- "Scholarly imposition" of the "American worldview" as the "universal point of view" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999).

Questioning race

- "Scholarly imposition" of the "American worldview" as the "universal point of view" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999).

- While race or phenotype constitutes a "bright boundary" in the U.S., particularly for immigrants with darker skin, religion plays this role in Western Europe (Alba 2005).

Research Questions

Questions

1. What reasons do immigrants report to explain their discrimination experiences in Spain?

    - Nationality, Religion, or Race?

2. How do these reports change with acculturation?

Roadmap

a) Literature Review:

- discrimination perceptions

- race vs. culture debate

- immigrant adaptation

b) My findings

c) 1st Data set on 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrant youth

d) 2nd Data set on 1st generation adult job seekers

e) Discussion and conclusions

Perceptions of Discrimination

- Widely used in sociology and social psychology (Brub 2008; Safi 2010)

- Not necessarily experiences but understandings of groups' experiences (Dion and Kawakami 1996; Taylor, Wright, and Porter 1994)

- Perceived social boundaries (Alba 2005); school performance (Tracey and Sedlacek, 1987); life satisfaction (Safi 2010); political mobilization (Okamoto 2003)

Race, nationality and religion

- Ethnicity: subjective feelings of belonging based on the belief in shared culture and common ancestry (Wimmer 2008).
  - Race: Social significance given to perceived physical features (Goldberg 2002; Telles 2004).
  - Culture: learned behavior (Sewell 1999); configuration of symbols, codes, and ritual practices that provide strategies of action (Swidler 1986).

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Race-Culture Debate

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Race		
Culture		

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Race	Dominant social cleavage (Glassman 2004; Rumbaut & Portes 2001)	"Anathema to official thinking" (Thom-son and Crul 2007)
Culture	"The impact of the American acculturation process has been overwhelming" (Gordon 1964) "Graveyard of languages" (Portes & Hao 2002; Rumbaut, Massey & Bean 2006)	Immigrants are incapable or unwilling to assimilate (Bisin, Patacchini, & Zenou 2008; Klausen 2005) Muslims immigrants are threatening the "secular ideals of western society" (Peach & Glebe 1995)

Discrimination and Immigrant Acculturation

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- Conflict theory

Discrimination and Immigrant Acculturation

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- Segmented assimilation

Why Spain?

- Cradle of western preoccupation with ancestry and blood purity (Fredrickson 2002); caste systems in L.A.

- Elites reject "race", embrace civic model (Díez Medrano 2005; Molina 1994)

- Race rejected due to biological connotations; State forbids collection of racial data (Flecha 2001)

- With increasing migration, will race become relevant again?

The case of Spain

- Highly diverse flows; religious differences thought to drive native opposition to immigrants (Aparicio 2007; Rodríguez Álvarez 2009).

- Limited empirical data (Díez Nicolás and Lafita 2001; Safi 2010)

- Race and culture important for Spaniards (Bail 2008)

- Wearing headscarves, dark skin (Agudelo-Suárez et al 2009)

Findings: Sneak Peak

1. Religious discrimination is rare

2. Cultural discrimination declines with acculturation

3. Racial discrimination increases with acculturation for visible minorities

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Acculturation and Perception of Cultural and Racial Discrimination
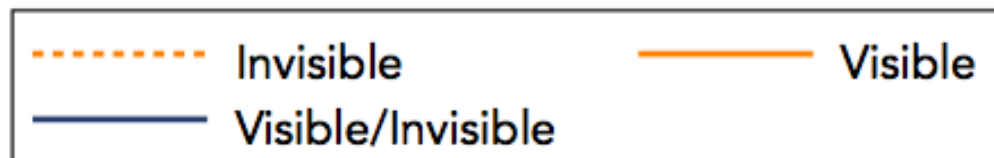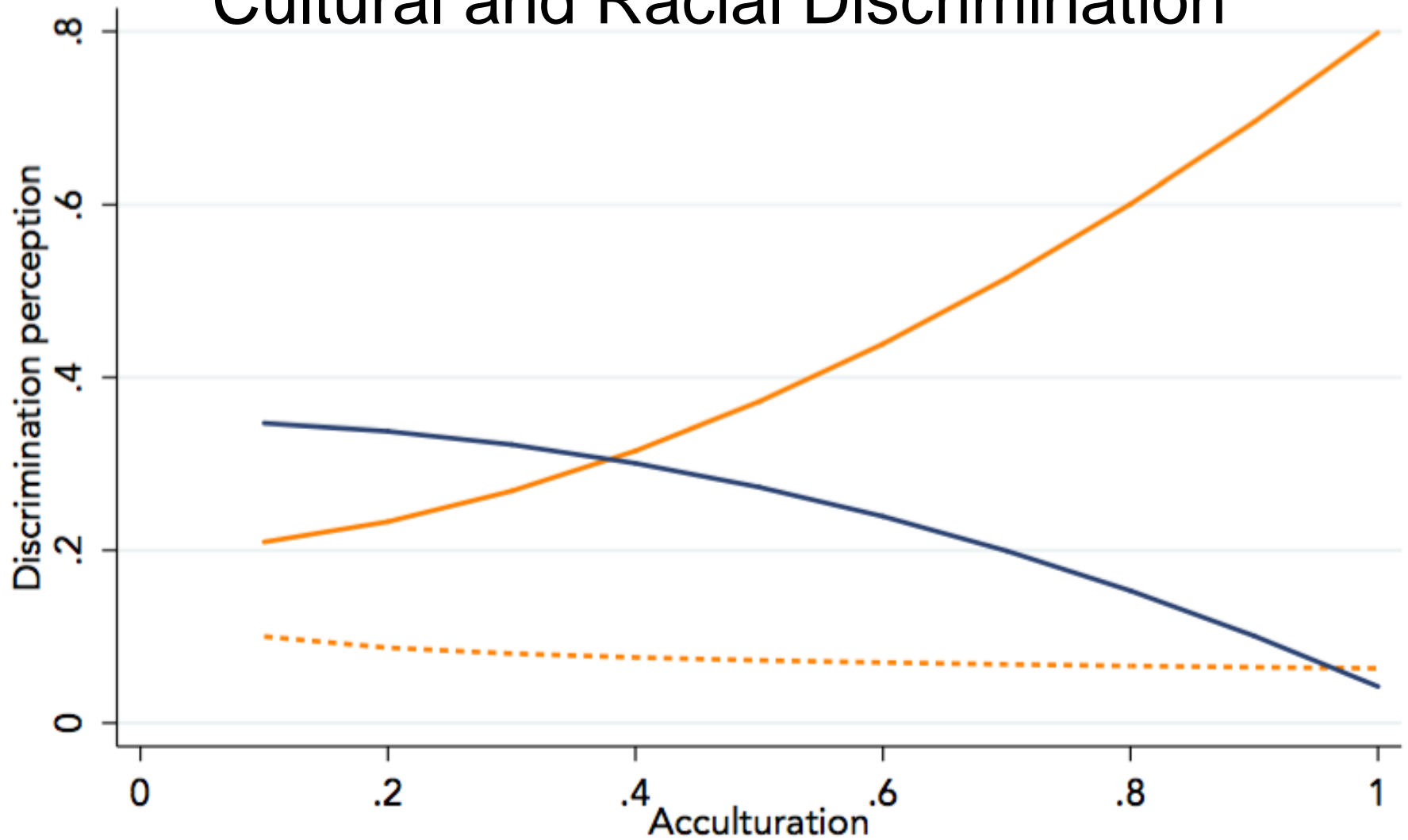
Data set I

- Longitudinal Study of the 2nd Generation (ILSEG) directed by Alejandro Portes (Princeton University and Instituto Ortega y Gasset)

- Representative sample of immigrant-origin secondary school students in Madrid and Barcelona

- Mean age: 13.9 years

- 5966 1.5 generation, 909 2nd generation

- Multiple national origin groups

Question

For what reason have you been rejected or not treated the same as others?

- I haven't been rejected or treated differently than others
- Due to my nationality
- Due to my race
- Due to my religion

Discrimination Reports
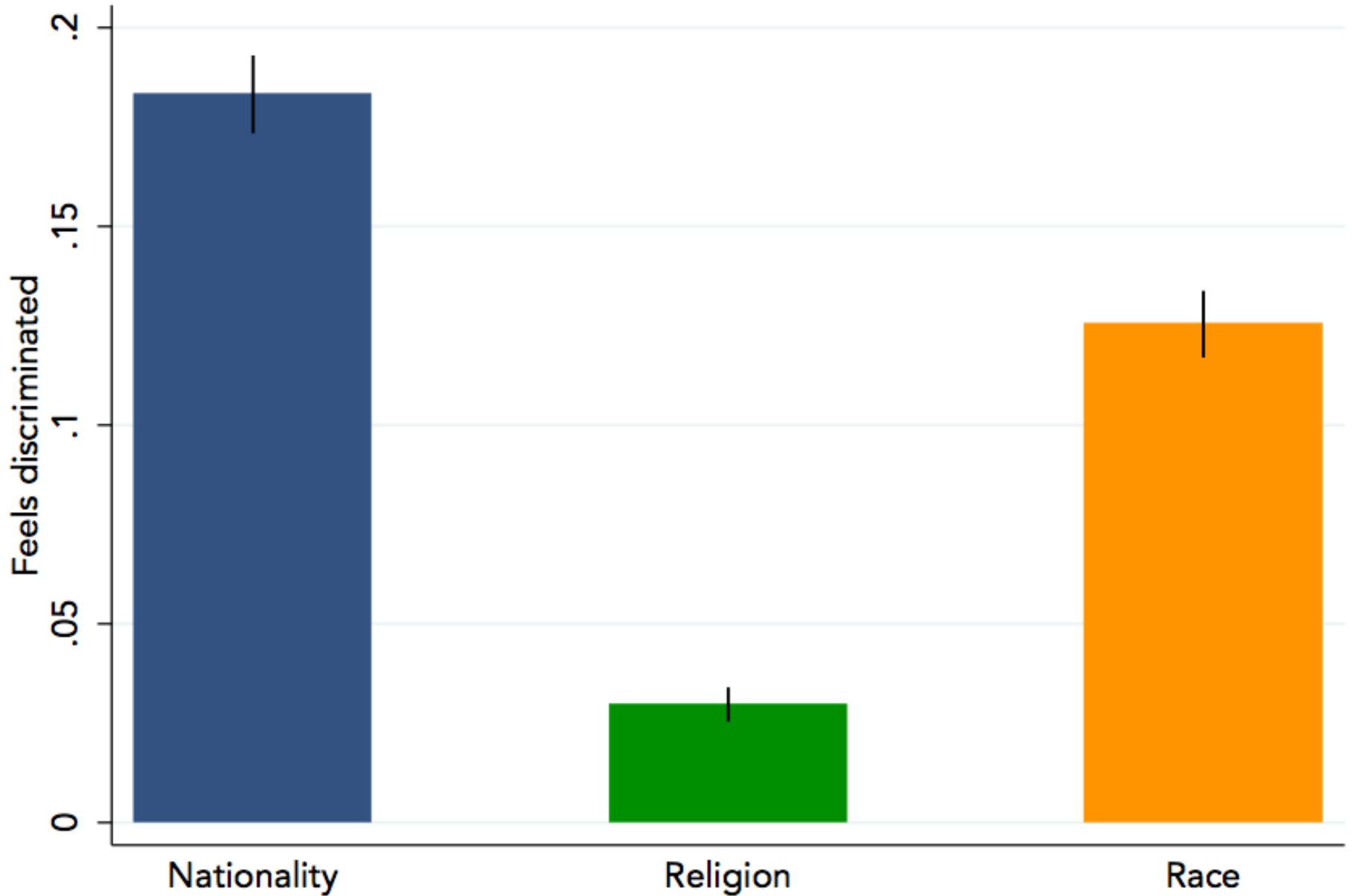
Source: ILSEG (1.5 generation).

Discrimination Reports (DV) **=** **Acculturation (IV)** **+** **Control Variables**

Discrimination Reports (DV)	Acculturation (IV)	Control Variables
Nationality	Time in Spain	Sex
	Language Skills	Age
Religion		
Race	Generation	City
		School type
		Mother's education
		National origin

Discrimination Reports
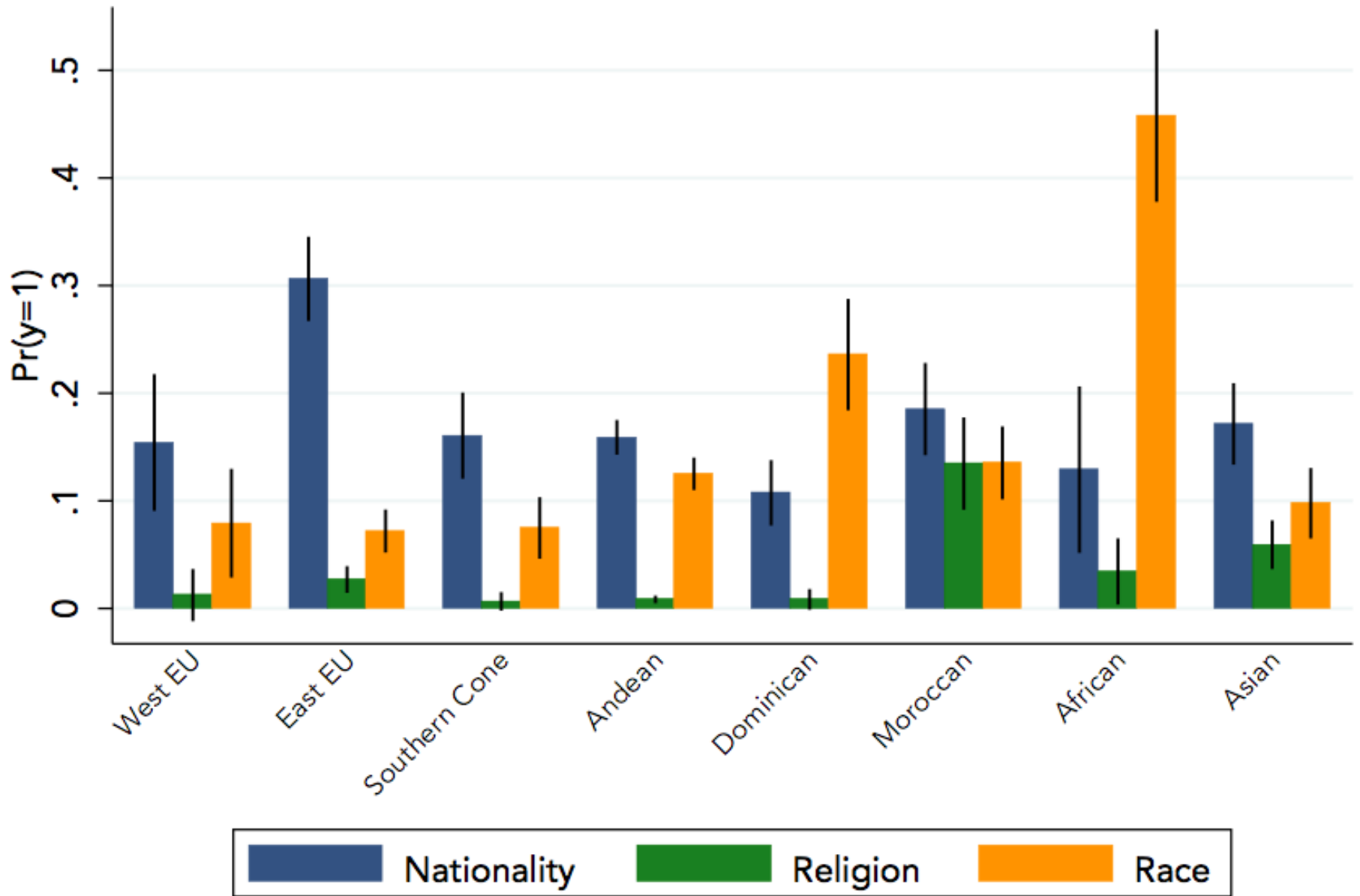
Source: ILSEG (1.5 generation).

Discrimination Reports, by Time in Spain (1.5 generation)
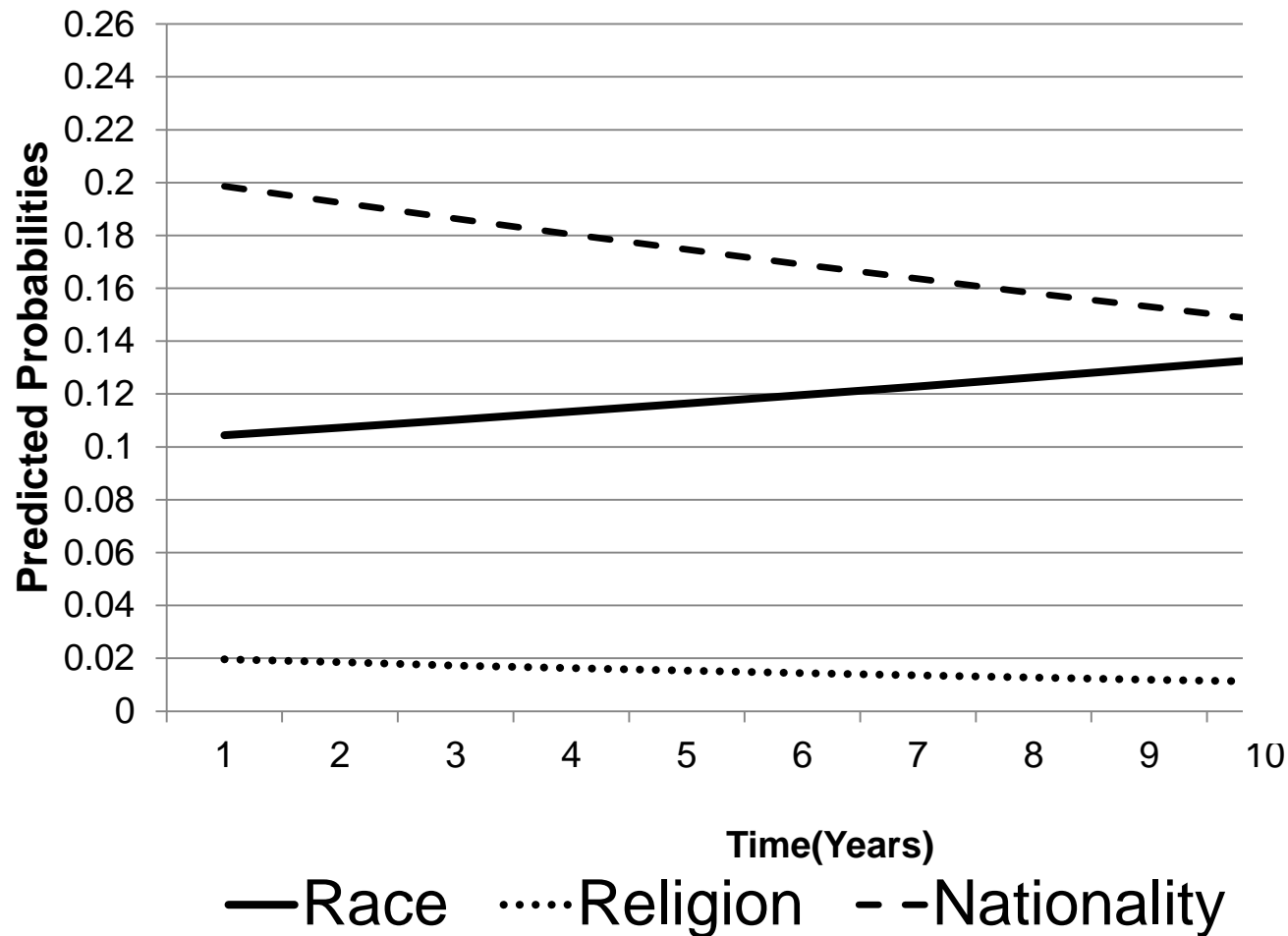
Source: ILSEG (1.5 generation).
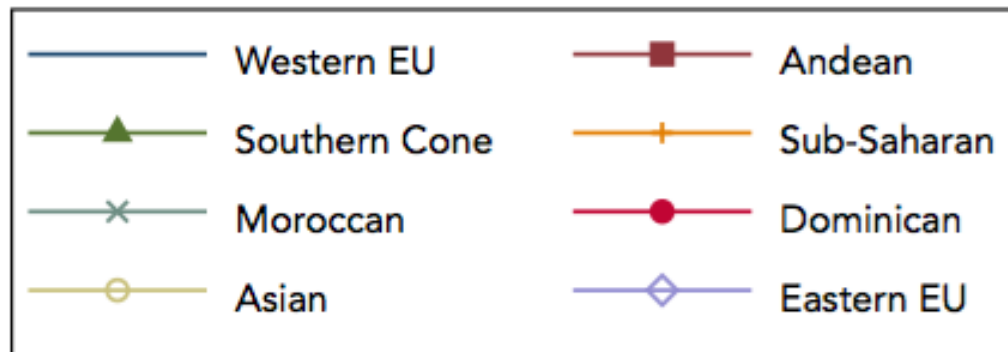
Nationality Discrimination, by Time in Spain

Legend:
- Western EU
- Southern Cone
- Moroccan
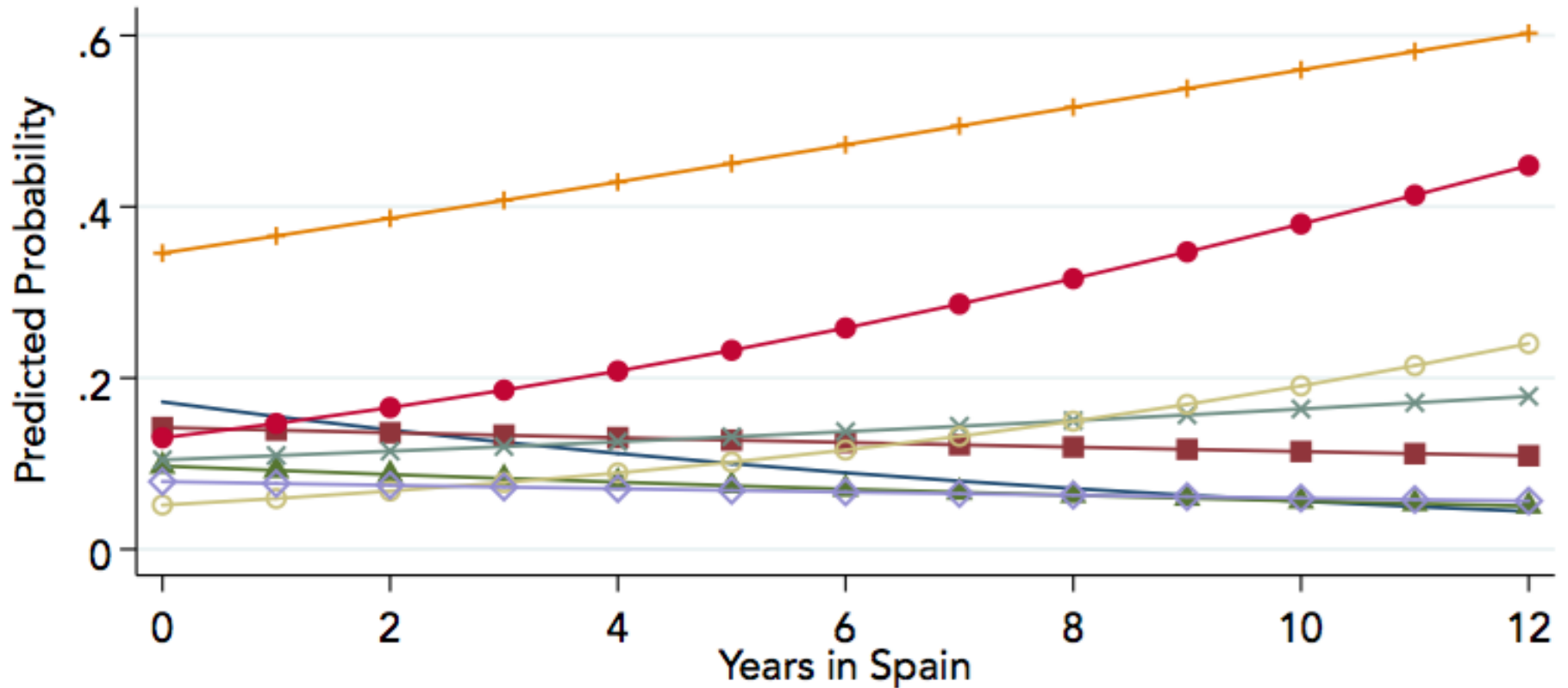- Asian
- Andean
- Sub-Saharan
- Dominican
- Eastern EU
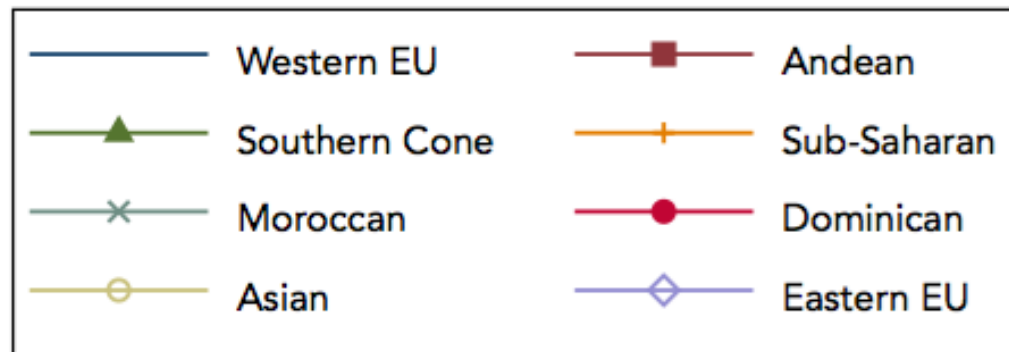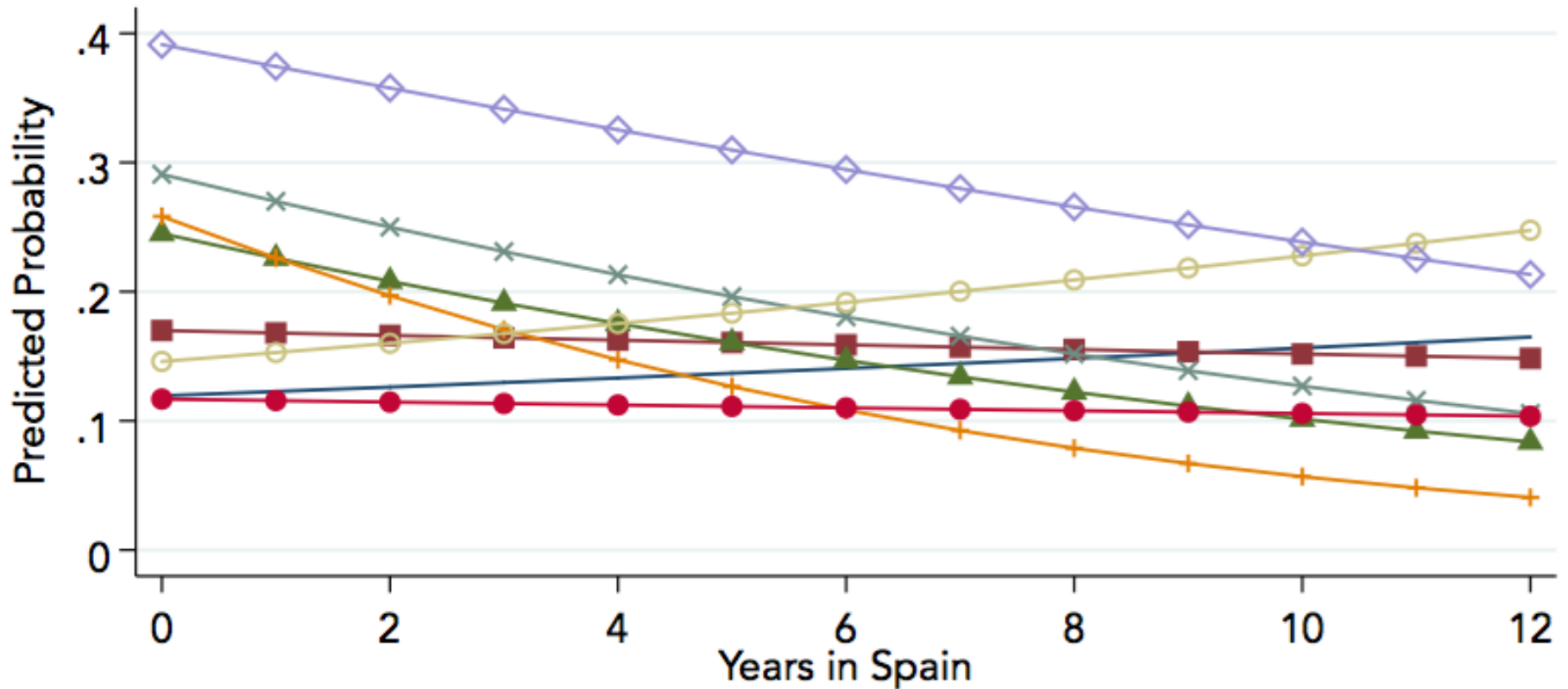
Source: ILSEG (1.5 generation).

Religious Discrimination, by Time in Spain

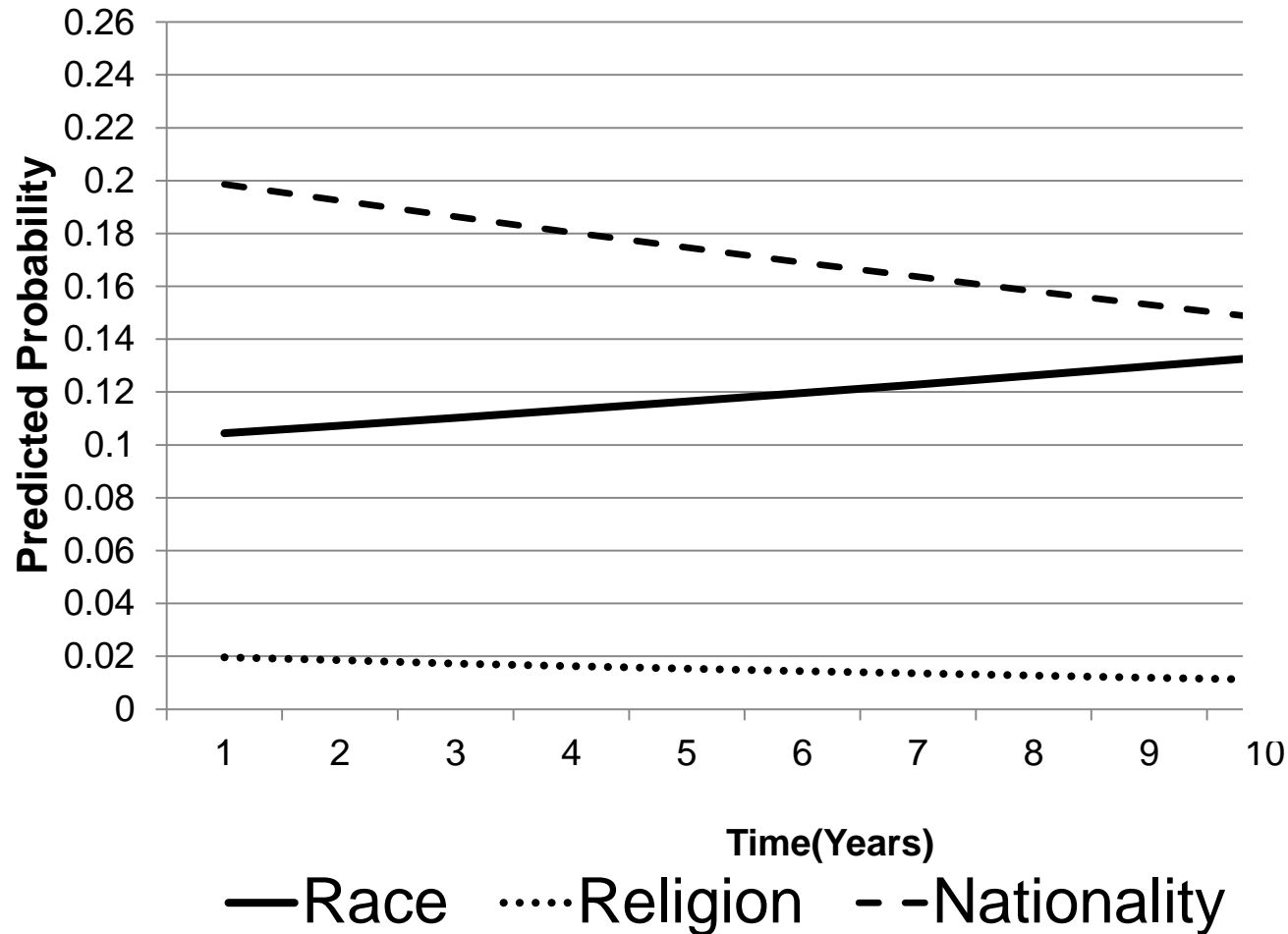Source: ILSEG (1.5 generation).

Racial Discrimination, by Time in Spain

Predicted Probability vs. Years in Spain

Legend:
- Western EU
- Southern Cone
- Moroccan
- Asian
- Andean
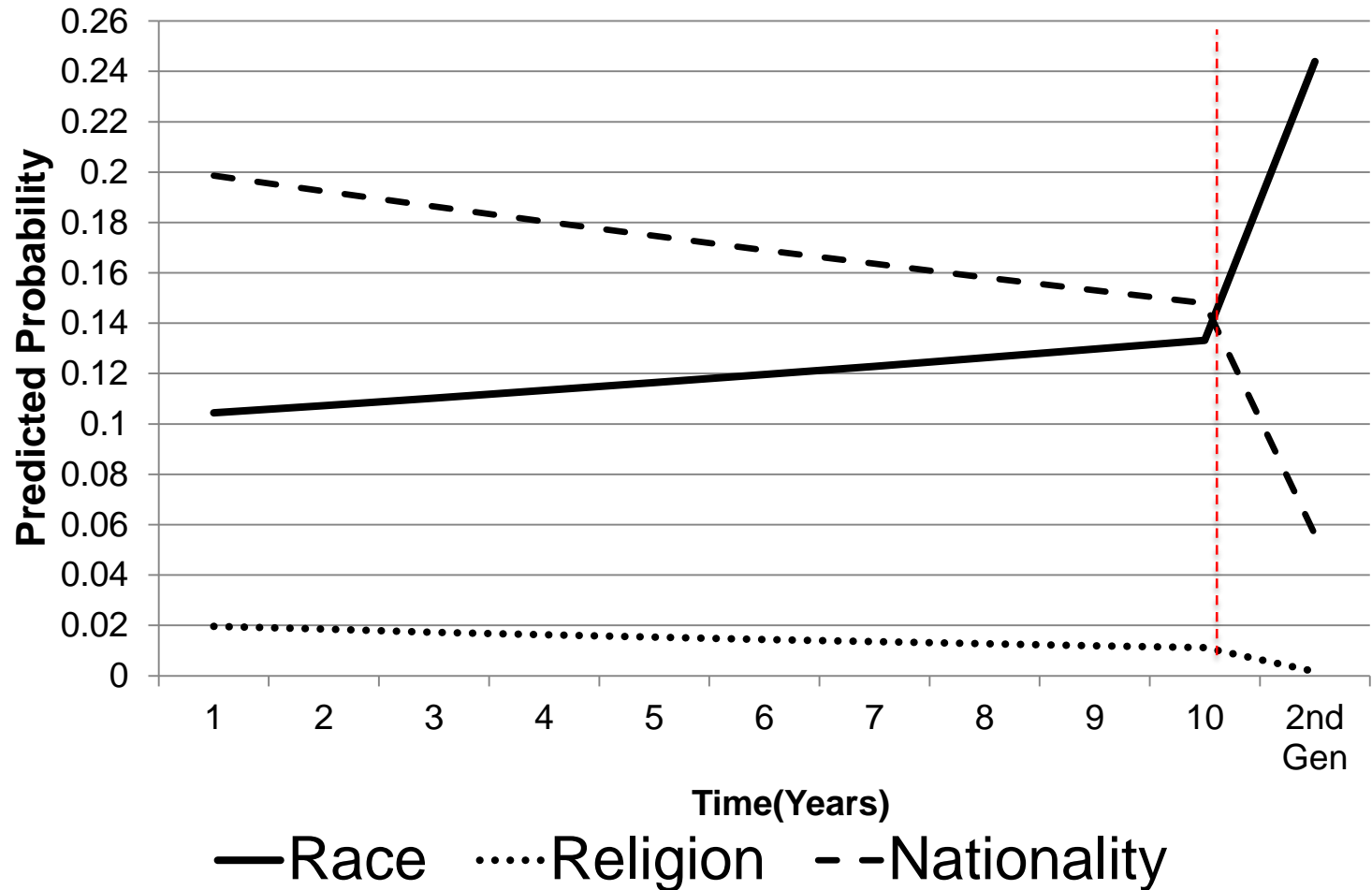- Sub-Saharan
- Dominican
- Eastern EU

Source: ILSEG (1.5 generation).

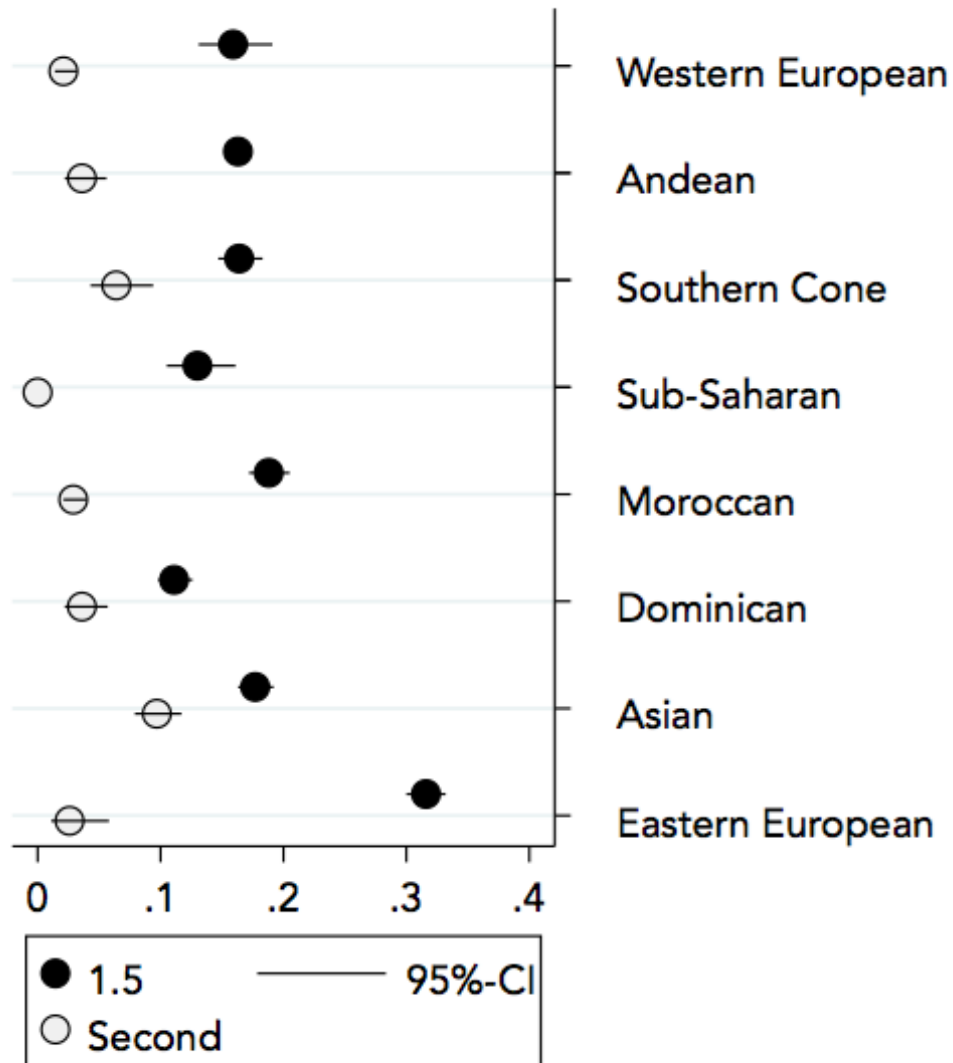# Discrimination Reports, by Time in Spain & Generation

Source: ILSEG (1.5 & 2nd generations).
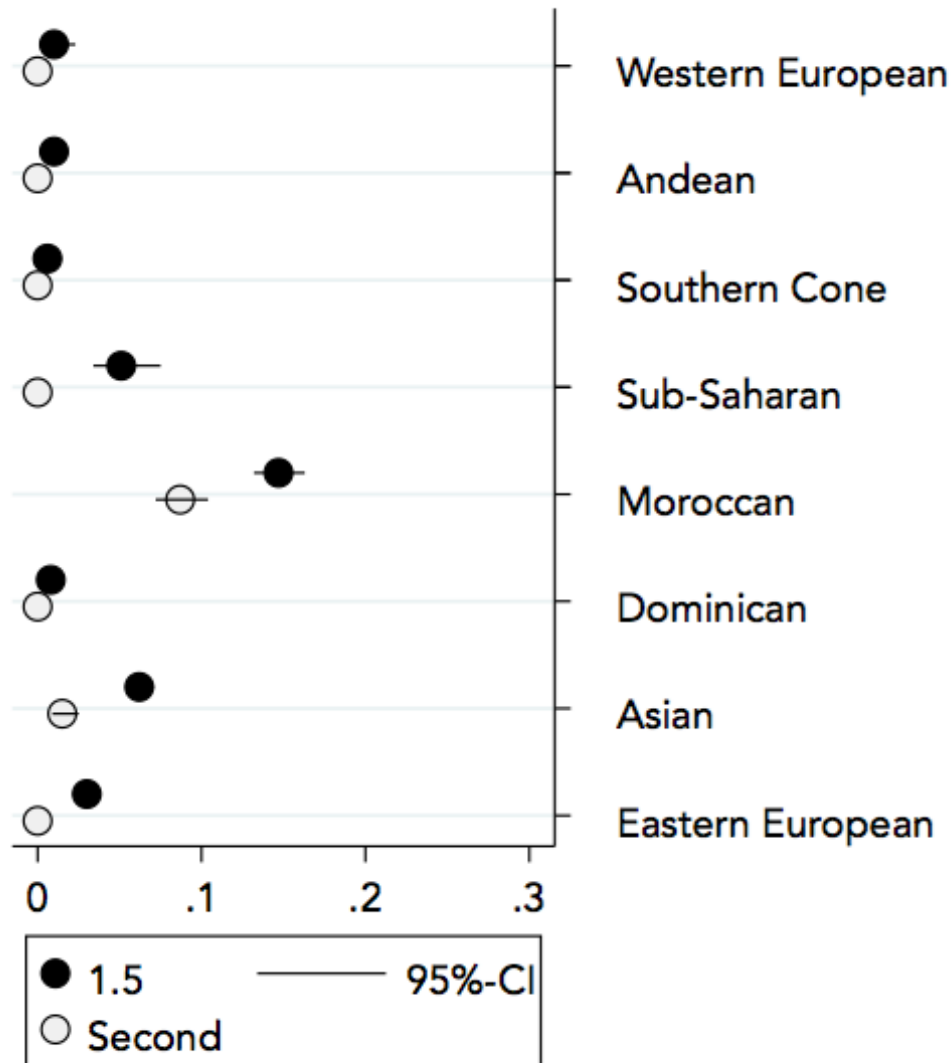
Discrimination Reports, by Time in Spain & Generation

Source: ILSEG (1.5 & 2nd generations).

1.5 vs. 2nd generation:
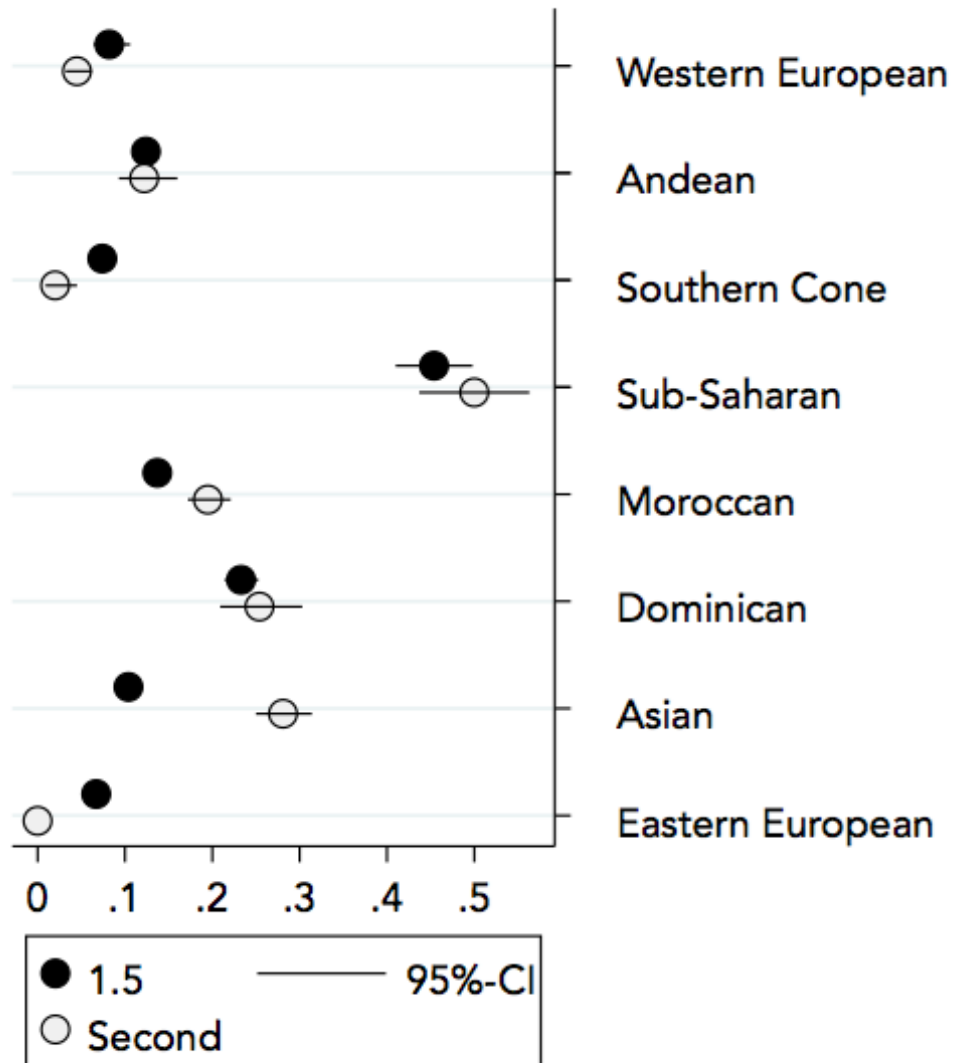## Nationality Discrimination, by National

Source: ILSEG (1.5 & 2nd generations).

1.5 vs. 2nd generation:
Religious Discrimination, by National

Source: ILSEG (1.5 & 2nd generations).

1.5 vs. 2nd generation:
Racial Discrimination, by National Origin

Source: ILSEG (1.5 & 2nd generations).

Further questions

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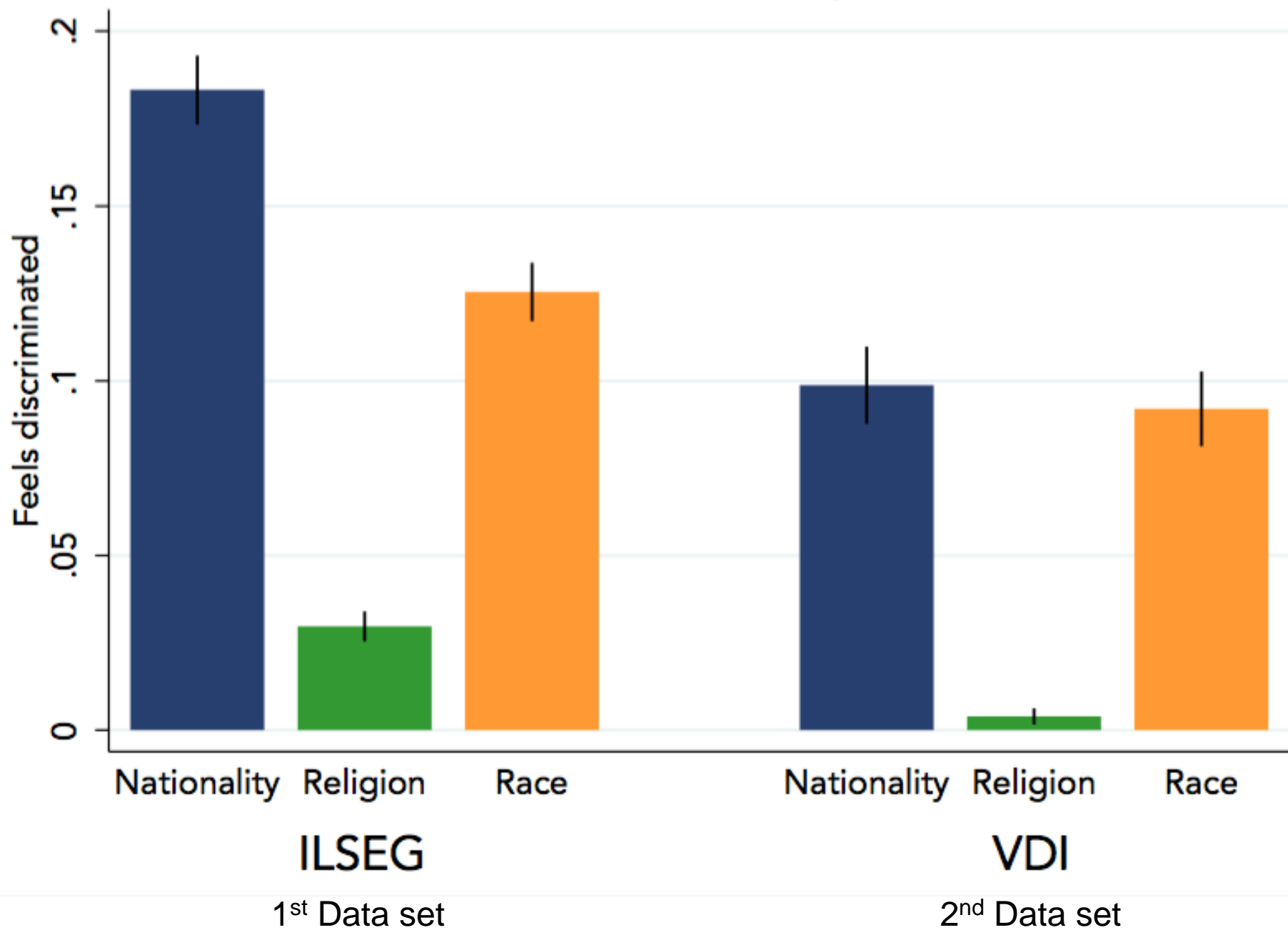- Do these patterns hold beyond the classroom?

Data set II

- "Voz de los Inmigrantes" (VDI), 2000 and 2004, Juan Díez Nicolás and María José Ramírez Lafita
- 3048 1st gen adult immigrants
- Catalonia, Madrid, Canary Islands, Andalucia, and Valencia
- Multiple national origins
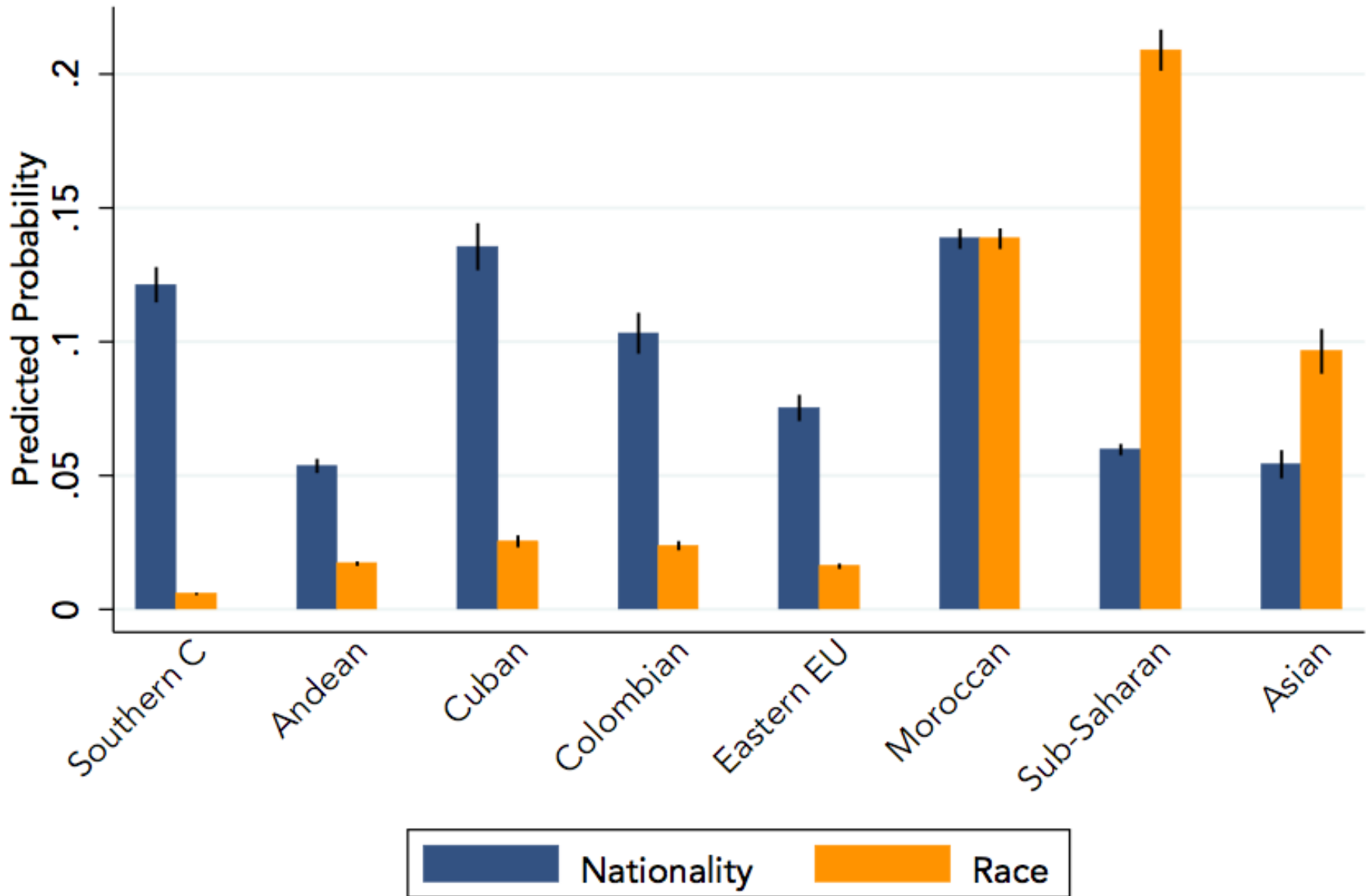- Open-ended question on job search problems

Question

What do you think is the main reason *why you have had difficulties finding a job when you have searched for one?*

(1st mention was recorded)

Discrimination Reports
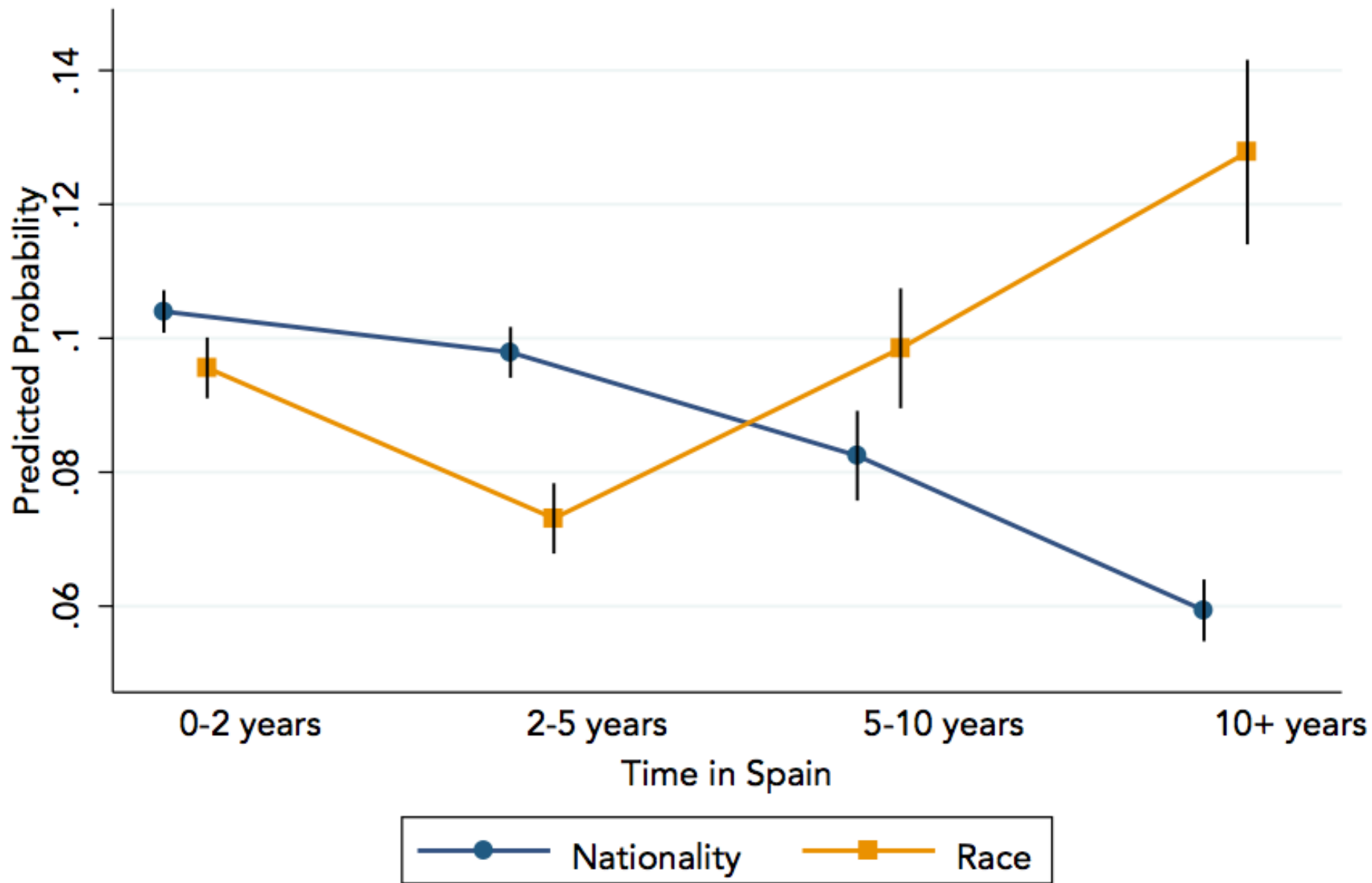
Feels discriminated (y-axis): 0, .05, .1, .15, .2

ILSEG — 1st Data set: Nationality, Religion, Race

VDI — 2nd Data set: Nationality, Religion, Race

Job Search Difficulties, by National Origin Group

Source: Voz de los Inmigrantes

Job Search Difficulties, by Time In Spain

Predicted Probability

0-2 years • 2-5 years • 5-10 years • 10+ years

Time in Spain

Nationality ■ Race

Discrimination and Immigrant Acculturation: Revisited

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	Prediction	Findings
Classic Assimilation	*Less*	
Conflict Theory	*More*	
Segmented Assimilation	*Contingent*	

Discrimination and Immigrant Acculturation: Revisited

	Prediction	Findings
Classic Assimilation	*Less*	*Overall- Report Less* **cultural**
Conflict Theory	*More*	*Some- Report More* **racial**
Segmented Assimilation	*Contingent*	*Visible- Report More* **racial**

Predictive Probabilities of Reporting Religious Discrimination by ESS Wave (2002-2012)
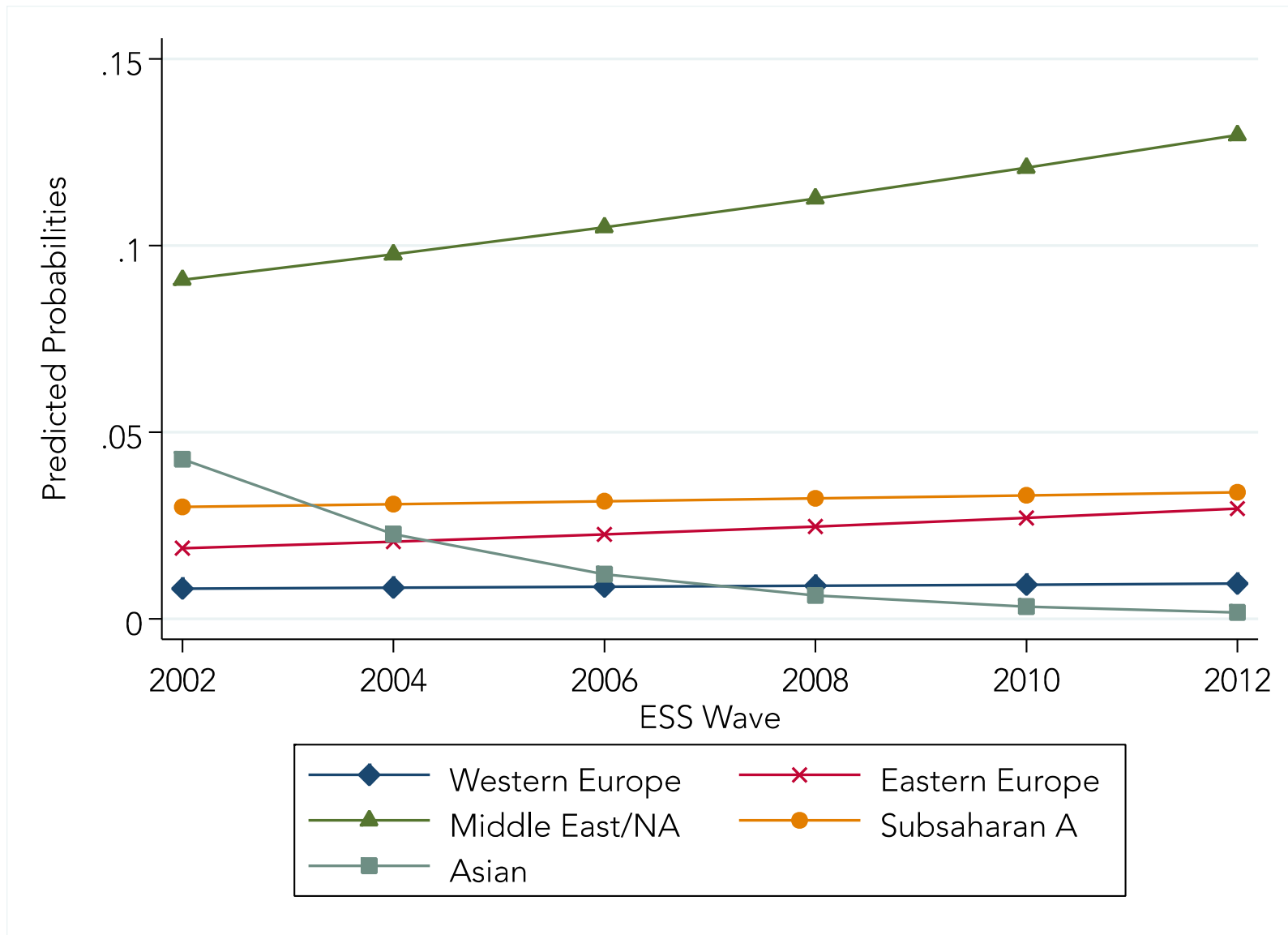
- Estimates are adjusted for age, gender, education, community size, and generation

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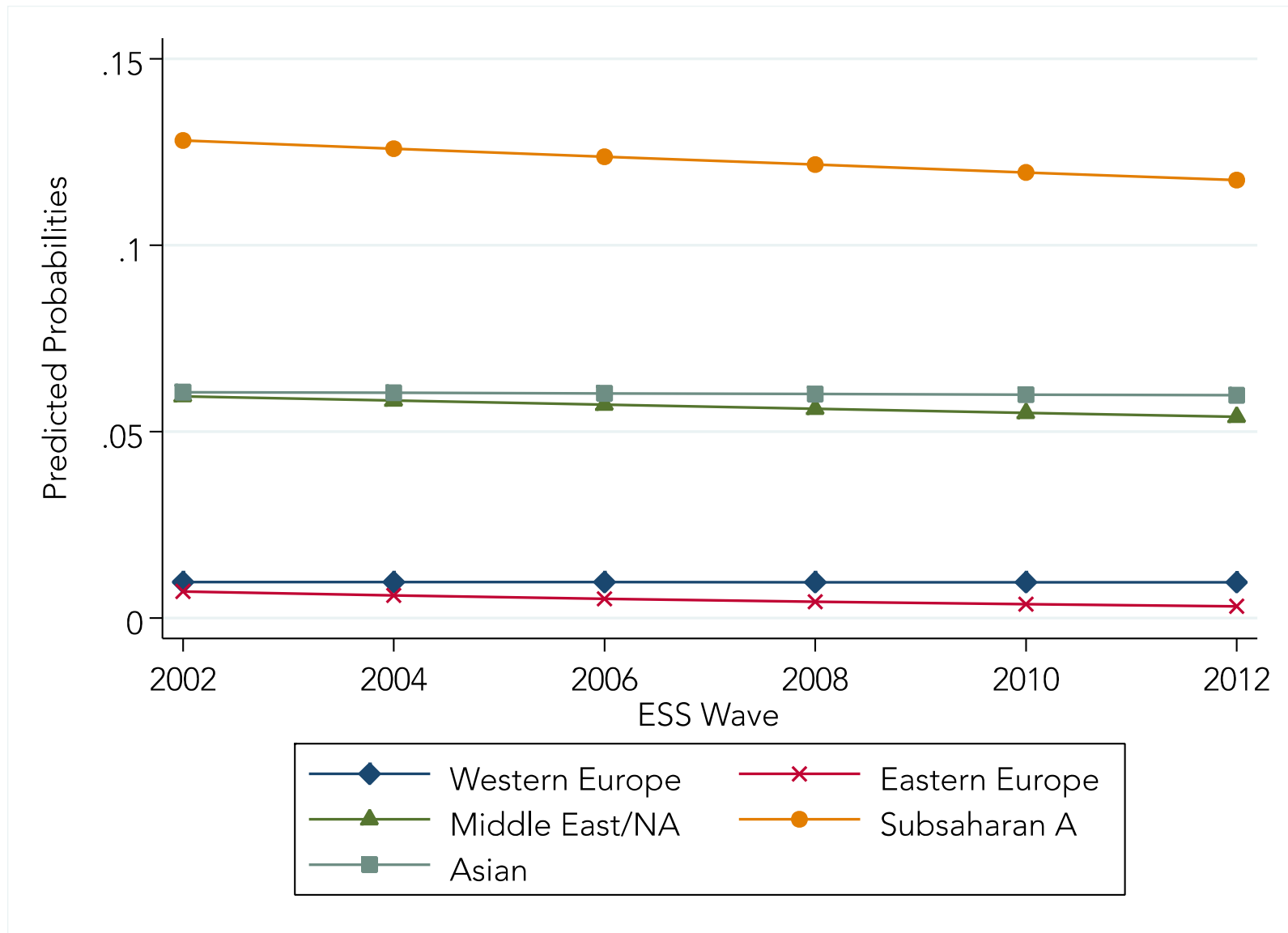
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Conclusions

1. Religion, not a big concern for immigrants
2. Nationality and race more important
3. Acculturation matters
4. Visibility matters
5. Race: useful concept in Europe; U.S. not exceptional
6. Theories of immigrant adaptation not mutually exclusive
7. Racial ideas and meanings can diffuse up

Implications

1. Public policy: Important to collect discrimination and race data in Spain

2. Political consequences of emergence of racial discourse?

3. Changing ethnic logic of Spain and Europe?

Thank you

- Alejandro Portes, Edward Telles, Douglas Massey, and Andreas Wimmer
- Juan Díez Nicolás, Òscar Prieto-Flores, Germán Rodríguez, Adam Slez, Brian Pollins, Denia Garcia, Kerstin Gentsch, Kyla Thomas, Patricia Fernández-Kelly, and Erik Vickstrom
- National Science Foundation, the Paul and Daisy Soros Foundation, Paul Merage Foundation, Social Science Research Council