

ARTICLE

The values we share: A multi-method approach to understanding how perceived outgroup values are related to attitudes towards immigrants

Lucía López-Rodríguez^{1,2}  | Alexandra Vázquez³  |
 Andreea A. Constantin¹  | María Bonafonte¹ | Hanna Zagefka⁴ 

¹University of Almería, Almería, Spain

²Centre for the Study of Migrations and Intercultural Relations (CEMyRI), Almería, Spain

³Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, Spain

⁴Royal Holloway, University of London, London, UK

Correspondence

Lucía López-Rodríguez, Universidad de Almería, Carretera Sacramento, s/n, La Cañada de San Urbano, 04120, Almería, Spain.
 Email: lucialopez@ual.es

Funding information

Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of Spain, Grant/Award Number: RTI2018-098576-A-I00; Agencia Estatal de Investigación, Grant/Award Number: 10.13039/501100011033; European Regional Development Fund "A way to make Europe"

Abstract

Cultural understanding entails a recognition of outgroup values. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods, we analysed the perception of Spaniards of the core values of Moroccan immigrants across two online surveys, 139 interviews and an experimental study. In Study 1, participants spontaneously generated the values considered fundamental for Moroccans, rated such values on a continuum of negativity-positivity and reported their attitudes towards Moroccans. In Study 2, participants were asked about the values that Spaniards and Moroccans (do not) share. In Study 3, participants were interviewed about the core values for Moroccans and those shared with Spaniards. Study 4 experimentally manipulated the salience of value-sharing. An inductive analysis revealed that the perceived core values for Moroccans were related to family/community, material issues, religion and integrity. Study 2 showed that religion, gender-universalism and culture/tradition were perceived as different values, whereas integrity, social-interaction and family/community values were perceived as shared. Study 4 confirmed that making salient the common importance of family for Spaniards and Moroccans indirectly increased the

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/) License, which permits use and distribution in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made.

© 2022 The Authors. *British Journal of Social Psychology* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd on behalf of British Psychological Society.

perceived morality of Moroccan immigrants via perceived shared values. Implications for the way lay people think about the values of outgroups are discussed.

KEYWORDS

Arab-Islamic culture, cultural understanding, intergroup similarity, outgroup values, prejudice

INTRODUCTION

Human values serve as guiding principles in life and are central to individuals' identities (e.g., Schwartz, 1994). Although there is a substantial corpus of research on personal values, little is known about perceived outgroup values and their relationship with intergroup attitudes. Previous evidence (e.g., Wolf et al., 2019) indicates that perceived dissimilarity in intergroup values is related to negative intergroup attitudes, with most studies relying on standardized interval-scaled measures of values. We propose that laypeople's spontaneous descriptions of outgroup values are vital to understanding intergroup attitudes. In the current research, we inductively explored how Spanish nationals think about the core values of Moroccan immigrants and examined how the perceived (dis)similarity between the in-group's and the outgroup's values affects interethnic attitudes.

Perceived outgroup values and intergroup relations

Schwartz (1992) proposes a circular motivational structure of 10 values with different motivational content, organized along two bipolar dimensions: one contrasts *conservation* values (focused on maintaining the status quo via *conformity*, *security* and *tradition*) vs. *openness* values (focused on independence and promotion of change via *self-direction* and *stimulation*); the other contrasts *self-enhancement* (focused on own interests: *achievement* and *power*) vs. *self-transcendence* values (focused on the welfare of others: *benevolence* and *universalism*). Values in closer proximity show more similarity in their underlying motivations. For example, conformity and tradition share the motivation of subordinating the self to social expectations (Schwartz, 2012).

Beliefs about the core values of the outgroup are important to understanding intercultural relations as they 'reveal the perceiver's view of the fundamental nature of the members of that group' (Schwartz et al., 1990, p. 186). Congruency of beliefs is important for intergroup attitudes (Rokeach, 1968). When individuals perceive that an outgroup holds values that are different from the values of their in-group, they can feel threatened and assume negative attitudes towards that group (e.g., Greenhalgh & Watt, 2015; Guan et al., 2009).

Overcoming previous methodological limitations in the study of value differences, Wolf et al. (2019) examined the effects that individuals' values, their perceptions of immigrants' values and the intergroup value dissimilarities have on prejudice. They found that participants showed more favourability towards immigrants when they were perceived to hold higher self-transcendence values (e.g., high universalism such as an orientation to equality) and lower self-enhancement values (e.g., low orientation towards personal achievement). They also confirmed that the effects of value dissimilarity on prejudice differed depending on the specific value dimension considered.

These findings confirm that the perception of immigrants' values is important for understanding intergroup attitudes, but also that the specific content of the values and exact nature of value dissimilarities might be important (see Wolf et al., 2021). A qualitative approach in the study of beliefs about the values of the outgroup might help to understand nuances and consequences of interethnic (dis)similarities in values.

The need for a qualitative approach to perceived immigrants' values

Values can be conceptualized as mental representations that vary in their level of abstraction in people's minds. According to Maio (2010), mental representations of values can be analysed at three different levels: systems of abstract values, specific abstract values, and concretely instantiated values. The *system level* focuses on the interconnections between values via motivational goals, an assumption evident in Schwartz's circular model (1992), and the way they are processed reflecting underlying motivational conflicts or compatibilities. The centre of attention of the *abstract value level* is the affective, cognitive and behavioural information processed when an abstract value is important such as the affective reactions (e.g., anger, indignation) linked to the abstract value of equality. Values in the *instantiation level* require more elaboration and are represented in the form of concrete actions like affirmative actions for immigrants. Understanding values as mental representations varying at different levels of abstraction is useful to analyse perceived value dissimilarity and perceived outgroup values. Although previous research on this topic has generally used standardized scales to measure perceived abstract values based on Schwartz's model (1992), Wolf et al. (2021) have recently encouraged the use of *qualitative* approaches, which potentially enrich the abstract definitions of values by adding more concrete descriptions of how people actually understand them.

Qualitative methods allow for a holistic understanding of psychological processes, focused on the meanings ascribed to concepts by participants. We propose that –when spontaneously thinking about an outgroup's values– individuals might not only activate abstract values but also project onto the outgroup stereotypical conceptions (e.g., moral stereotypes). This might not be sufficiently captured by the traditional approach to measuring values, and better capturing this could help to illuminate the connection between perceived outgroup values and intergroup attitudes. In the following studies, individuals did not respond to a priori defined abstract definitions of values but expressed in their own words, which they thought were the important things/values for immigrants. Following a multi-method approach that combined qualitative and quantitative methods, we aimed at offering an integrative picture of the self-generated perceptions that Spanish nationals have of the core values of Moroccan immigrants, the perceived (dis)similarity between the in-group's and the outgroup's values, and the effect of perceived (dis)similarity on interethnic attitudes.

Perceived values of Arab-Islamic culture

The representation of the Islamic world as the distant 'other' has been common in the European tradition (Yilmaz & Ayka, 2012). A generalized perception of incompatibility between Arab-Islamic and Western values may underlie Europeans' attitudes towards immigrants who come from Morocco, a country of mainly Arab-Berber ethnicity with Islam as the official religion. We focused on the perception of Spaniards of Moroccan immigrants, given that they represent the most numerous immigrant community living in Spain and they are highly stigmatized. The Moroccan population (879,943 people) represents 16% of the foreign population in the country, being mainly settled in Almería, Murcia, Barcelona and Madrid (National Statistics Institute [INE], 2022). They are the most salient nationality when Spaniards are asked about immigrants (CIS, 2017), and compared to other immigrant groups in Spain, Moroccans arouse less sympathy (CIS, 2017) and they are perceived as less moral (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) and more threatening for the in-group's meaning system (i.e., religious, family, educational values and traditions; Navas et al., 2012). Indeed, when interviewed, Moroccan immigrants report feeling higher discrimination than immigrants from other origins (Agudelo-Suárez et al., 2011).

According to Haerpfer et al. (2020), Morocco is characterized by a strong emphasis on traditional values (e.g., religion, traditional family) and survival values (e.g., economic security), whereas Spain is more oriented to secularity and self-expression (see Inglehart & Baker, 2000). However, as far as our knowledge goes, previous research has not usually inquired into Spaniards' subjective perceptions of what is most important for Moroccan immigrants and into perceived differences or commonalities with Spaniards. We do not know which specific content is activated when Spanish laypeople think about

the values of Moroccan immigrants, nor whether perceptions reflect the differences in values found by global surveys on cultural values.

Moreover, we are not aware of prior research on the relationship between the valence of perceived Moroccan values and ethnic attitudes and the impact of perceived value similarity on stereotypes of (im)morality, which is a core dimension in social perception (Brambilla & Leach, 2014). Addressing this knowledge gap is important to better understand the intergroup relations between ethnic communities.

We explored Spaniards' perceptions of Moroccan immigrants' values (Studies 1 and 3) and perceived intergroup value (dis)similarities (Studies 2 and 3), and how the valence of values is related to ethnic attitudes quantitatively (Study 1) and qualitatively (Study 3). In Study 4, we experimentally tested if making salient value-sharing based on real objective values as identified by our previous studies could affect the sense of shared core values and perceived morality attributed to Moroccan immigrants. Ethical approval was received for all studies.

STUDY 1

Study 1 aimed at identifying, which are, according to Spaniards, the fundamental values of Moroccan immigrants. Unlike previous studies using predetermined abstract values, we asked participants to spontaneously generate the values that they considered to be the most important for Moroccans. This allows the examination of the fit between laypeople's spontaneous conceptions of outgroup values and the categories of values defined by well-established theories (e.g., Schwartz, 1992). Additionally, we analysed the relationship between the valence of the perceived Moroccans' values and modern racism, perceived (im)morality, positive and negative intergroup emotions, behavioural tendencies and acceptance of cultural differences.

Method

Participants

One hundred people volunteered to participate in an online survey using non-probabilistic convenience sampling via social media. Participants without Spanish nationality or explicit consent were excluded from the analyses. The final sample comprised of 95 participants (63.2% women; $M_{\text{age}} = 27.95$, $SD = 11.56$; 45.3% with left political orientation, 33.7% centre and 21% right). Sensitivity analyses conducted with G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) showed that a sample of 95 participants could detect a correlation (bivariate normal model) of .28 with an α of .05 and 80% power.

Measure

Perceived Moroccans' values and their valence

Participants were asked to think about the most important values (those principles that guide life) for Moroccans residing in their city/town. They were instructed to indicate three values inside three text entry boxes, and the perceived valence of each one on a 7-point bipolar scale from -3 (*very negative*) to $+3$ (*very positive*).

Modern racism

Participants completed the McConahay's Modern Racism Scale (1986) adapted to Spanish (Navas, 1998) with 11 items (e.g., Moroccans living in Spain should not be where they are not wanted, $\alpha = .91$) on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*).¹

¹An experimental manipulation was introduced but had no effect on the rest of the variables.

(Im)moral stereotypes

Participants indicated how much they thought each of the following characteristics describes Moroccan immigrants: honest, sincere and trustworthy (*morality*, $\alpha = .87$, Leach et al., 2007), malicious, harmful, false, aggressive and treacherous (*immorality*, $\alpha = .91$, Sayans-Jiménez et al., 2017), using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

Intergroup emotions

Participants indicated the extent to which they (had) felt the following emotions towards Moroccan immigrants: fear, anxiety, distrust, apprehension and dread (negative emotions, $\alpha = .85$), security, comfort, empathy, understanding and admiration (positive emotions, $\alpha = .85$), on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

Acceptance of cultural differences

Participants indicated their agreement with the 5-item subdimension of acceptance of cultural differences of the Scale of Ethno-Cultural Empathy (Wang et al., 2003) using a scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*) with reversed items such as 'I do not understand why Moroccans enjoy wearing traditional clothing' ($\alpha = .85$).

Behavioural tendencies

This variable was measured with the scale of interpersonal behavioural tendencies (López-Rodríguez et al., 2017) divided into four subcategories with three items per dimension: active facilitation (e.g., Help in case of need, $\alpha = .73$), passive facilitation (e.g., Car sharing to cut expenses, $\alpha = .81$), passive harm (e.g., Avoid looking in the eyes, $\alpha = .79$) and active harm (e.g., Threaten, $\alpha = .88$), with a response scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

Analytical approach

The coding frame for the content analysis was generated through an inductive process based on careful analysis of the content, with special attention to similarities in meaning and evident overlap with previously theorized value concepts (Schwartz, 1992, 2012) and models of intergroup relations (e.g., dimensions of social perception, social identity, social motives). The coding frame derived from the inductive analysis was similar, but not identical, to previous theories of values. Even if some values were comparable to previously established theoretical dimensions, the nuances of the participants' spontaneous responses did not always fit neatly into the pre-established dimensions of values. However, a deeper inspection revealed that the categories were reflecting some of the motivations underlying values at a more basic level identified by Schwartz (2012), such as devotion to one's in-group or subordination of self in favour of socially imposed expectations. After the coding frame was established, two independent coders categorized the data using the coding frame. Each participant provided a total of three responses, thus the total amount of responses analysed was 284 (because of one missing response). The robustness of the coding frame was then tested by examining intercoder reliability (ICR) with the Kapa-Cohen coefficient (see Table 1). After the first ICR assessment, the two independent coders discussed and resolved the disagreements and the ICR was reassessed. If an agreement was not reached the data response was coded as unclassified.

Results

The content analysis revealed five major categories: moral, social, traditional, instrumental and intrinsic values (see Table 1 for subcategories, indicators and examples).

Moral values refer to perceived principles related to integrity, moral rules or the quality of being honest. This moral domain can be related to the self-transcendence dimension in Schwartz's theory (1992),

TABLE 1 Indicators of subcategories and interrater agreement for each subcategory in Study 1

Category	Subcategory	Indicators	ICR	ICR
			Phase 1	Phase 2
Moral values	Integrity	Having moral principles and the quality of being honest. The opposite includes references to traits and behaviours that indicate negative intentions towards others or that hinder correct and principled relationships. For example, honesty, respect, trustworthiness.	.878	1
	General universalism	Orientation towards diversity and general rights. For example, equality, rights, justice.	.883	1
	Ethnic minority-related universalism	Orientation to tolerance, equality, integration and rights of immigrants. For example, integration, multiculturalism.	.830	1
	Gender-related universalism	Orientation to gender differences and female discrimination, Moroccan women's role and importance, attitudes towards women, women's rights. For example, <i>machismo</i> , male superiority.	1	1
Tradition values	Religion	Orientation to religion, faith and spirituality. For example, religious faith, religious values, spirituality.	.983	1
	Culture & Tradition	Customs, traditions, gastronomy, lifestyle, language, way of thinking. For example, customs, culture, tradition.	.961	.961
	Politics & Ideology	Patriotism and political ideologies. For example, patriotism, loyalty to their nation.	.665	1
Social values	Family & Community	Orientation to family importance, family structure and relationships, parent-child relationships, upbringing of children and education, family love, loyalty and respect, family protection, marriage, family and group belonging and Moroccan community. For example, family, community, rooting.	.965	1
	Social interaction	Orientation to socialization and affectionate relationships with others. For example, friendship, generosity, hospitality, sympathy.	.839	1
Instrumental values	Material values	Importance of economy, money, work/employment. For example, economy, working, money.	1	1
	Educational values	Issues related to education in general, education systems, types and levels of education (formal, higher education), educational values and importance of education.	1	1
	Competence & Achievement	Traits and behaviours related to competence and achievement. For example, constancy, determination, effort, success.	.896	.951
Intrinsic values	Psychological needs	References to quality of life, well-being, health, survival, security, love and happiness. For example, love, well-being, quality of life, happiness.	1	1
	Physical needs	Food, accommodation, up-keeping, National/Public Health Services, National/Social Insurance Services. For example, maintenance, health, free basic services.	1	1

which includes benevolence and universalism. We identified two subcategories of moral values: integrity and universalism, divided into general universalism, gender-related universalism (e.g., orientation to gender equality) and ethnic minority-related universalism.

Social values tap into a positive orientation to social interactions and strong and cohesive interpersonal relations, with special reference to primary groups such as the family or the community. Two subcategories were identified: family/community and social interactions. The subcategory of family/community reflects the motivational orientation of devotion to one's in-group in Schwartz's model (2012).

Traditional values reveal an orientation towards conventions, customs and cultural identity. This domain parallels the dimensions of tradition from Schwartz's theory (2012), as it entails 'commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion provides' (p. 6). This category reflects the motivational orientation to subordinate the self to the socially imposed expectations and to preserve existing norms that give certainty in Schwartz's model. Three subcategories were identified as traditional values: religion, culture/traditions and politics/ideology.

Instrumental values comprised values useful to achieve other goals in life. Although not strictly identical, this category might be close to the self-enhancement dimension of Schwartz, which reflects a motivation for social superiority and esteem. Three subcategories were identified: material, educational and competence/achievement values.

Finally, *intrinsic values* were focused on guaranteeing basic psychological and physical needs, intrinsic to all human beings. Psychological needs included personal and social well-being, security or love, whereas physical needs included food, accommodation or National/Public Health Services.

Responses that allowed for double coding were coded in the category that was more specific and allowed for a more nuanced interpretation (e.g., respect for family was coded as 'Family & Community', and not as 'Integrity').

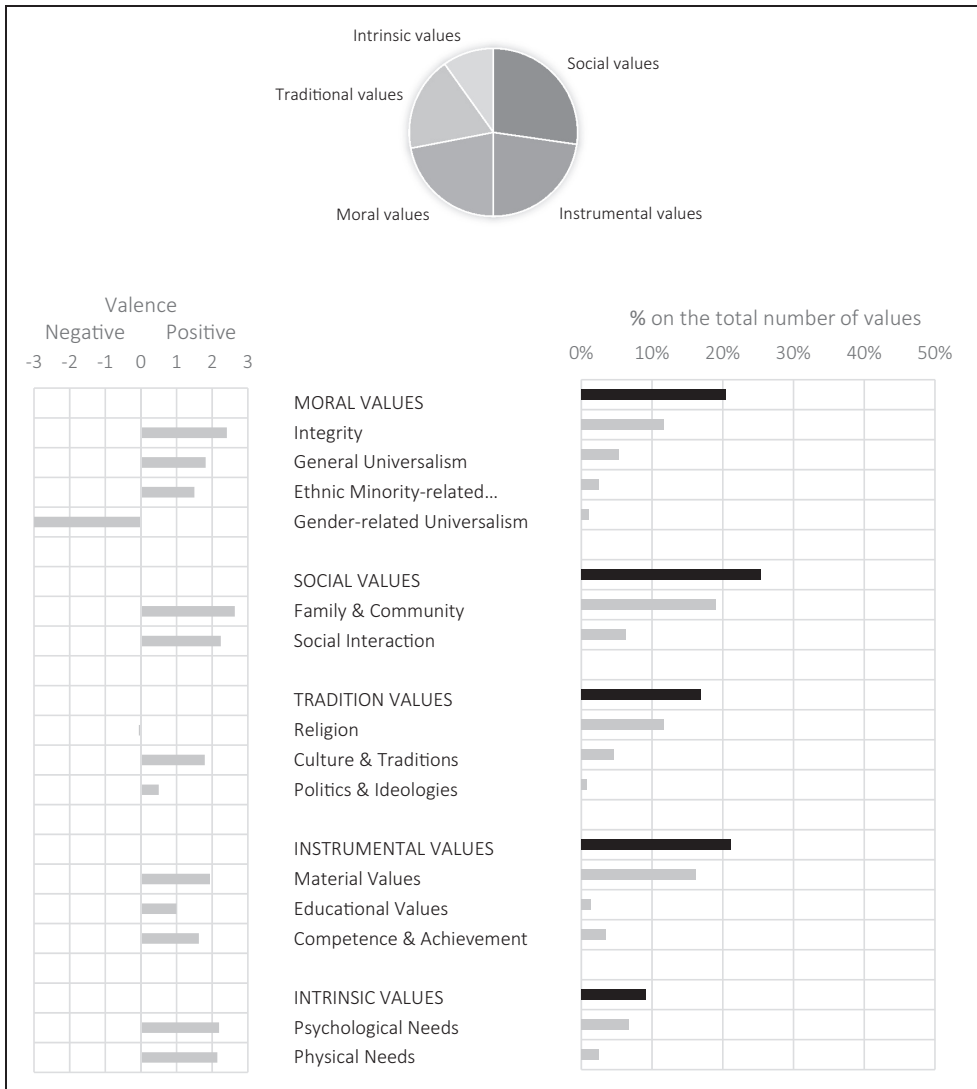
As shown in Figure 1 (right), from the total number of responses reported, four types of values seemed to be listed most frequently and, therefore, perceived by Spaniards as the most important for Moroccan immigrant: family/community (social values), material issues (instrumental values), religion (traditional values) and integrity (moral values). Participants perceived that Moroccans are closely connected to their family and community, consider their religion as important, as well as to work and earn money and that they are guided by integrity values. Regarding the mean of the valence of each value, the results revealed that most subcategories were assessed positively with two exceptions, religion and gender-related universalism (Figure 1 left).

To analyse the relationship between the valence of values and psychosocial variables, we added up the valence of the three values reported by each participant, regardless of the category. As Table 2 shows, more positive perceptions of Moroccans' values were associated with less modern racism, less perceptions of immorality and more perceptions of morality, more positive emotions such as admiration and understanding, more acceptance of cultural differences and a greater tendency for passive facilitation and less passive harm.

Discussion

Study 1 provided preliminary evidence whose values were believed to be important for Moroccans living in Spain by a convenience sample of Spaniards. The content analysis revealed some degree of fit with the previously theorized basic human motivations underlying values (Schwartz, 2012). Devotion to the in-group (family and community), religion, work and integrity emerged as the values, which were perceived to be most prominent. These findings show that there is a certain degree of overlap between the perceptions of Spaniards and the values reported as important by the Muslim community in Spain, who considered family, work, money, religion and friends as the most important things in life (Metroscopia, 2011).

Integrity and family/community were among the most positively evaluated values, whereas participants seemed to maintain an ambivalent position towards valuing religion and overtly disapproved of



Note. Proportion of values on the total number of values (n responses = 284)

FIGURE 1 Proportion and valence of perceived core values for Moroccans (Study 1). number of values

Moroccans' perceived endorsement of hierarchical gender roles. Findings support previous evidence regarding the importance of morality in social perception (Brambilla & Leach, 2014). The perceived valence of values was related to the stereotypical perception of (im)morality of Moroccan immigrants and to intergroup attitudes.

STUDY 2

Although Spaniards rated Moroccans' core values in Study 1 mostly positively, religion and gender-related values had an ambivalent or negative valence. This evaluation might be explained by the perceived differences in values. The importance of perceived cultural (dis)similarities for intergroup

TABLE 2 Correlations between valence of values and psychosocial variables (Study 1)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	M	SD
1 Valence of value	1											5.02	3.86
2 Modern prejudice	-.41**	1										2.62	0.63
3 Morality	.24*	-.41**	1									3.14	0.94
4 Immorality	-.34**	.51**	-.47**	1								2.25	0.94
5 Positive emotions	.24*	-.49**	.56**	-.45**	1							3.29	0.94
6 Negative emotions	-.26*	.41**	-.23*	.57**	-.34**	1						2.34	0.94
7 Active harm	-.12	.20	-.03	.11	.13	.18	1					1.10	0.47
8 Passive harm	-.34**	.32**	-.25*	.33**	-.17	.36**	.44**	1				1.38	0.74
9 Active facilitation	.11	-.40**	.24*	-.38**	.30**	-.22*	-.29**	-.35**	1			4.37	0.78
10 Passive facilitation	.33**	-.51**	.46**	-.54**	.57**	-.45**	-.02	-.27**	.38**	1		3.01	1.20
11 Acceptance of cultural differences	.50**	-.64**	.37**	-.51**	.47**	-.43**	-.24*	-.37**	.36**	.47**	1	4.05	0.95

Note: The sum of the valence of values has a minimum score of -9 and a maximum score of +9.
 ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$.

relations is a well-documented fact (e.g., Rokeach, 1968; Wolf et al., 2019). Therefore, in this study we examine Spaniards' perception of shared and different values with Moroccan immigrants.

Method

Participants

After excluding one participant without Spanish nationality, the final sample comprised of 432 volunteers ($M_{\text{age}} = 35.15$, $SD = 12.98$, 62% women) who completed an online questionnaire following a non-probabilistic snowball sampling approach.

Variables and measures

Participants were asked to indicate the three fundamental and most important values that Spaniards and Moroccans share, and the three that differentiate Spanish and Moroccan people using six text entry boxes to collect open-ended responses. Data were recorded as a part of a longer questionnaire involving an experimental manipulation and additional quantitative measures independent of the present research that did not yield consistent results (see [Supporting Information](#)).

Analytical approach

Open-ended responses were first examined considering the coding frame used in Study 1. The initial five major categories were confirmed, but three additional subcategories were further identified: sexual orientation-related universalism, freedom and hygiene. The three subcategories were included within the major category of moral values because they denote an orientation regarding principles in society. Thus, the category of moral values now included the subcategories of integrity, general universalism, gender-related universalism, ethnic minority-related universalism, sexual orientation-related universalism, freedom and hygiene. The robustness of the coding frame was then tested following the same procedure as in Study 1 (see [Table 3](#)).

Results

We examined the percentage of participants that mentioned the category at least once. [Figure 2](#) shows that a significant number of participants perceived similarities in social values and differences in traditional values. The category of moral values was more complex, with almost 50% of participants perceiving similarity in integrity values, but also around 30% perceiving differences in gender-related universalism.

Since participants were asked to report three shared and three different values, we also examined the proportion of categories within the total number of valid responses. The analysis of frequencies revealed that the categories most frequently mentioned for perceived shared values were integrity, social interaction and family/community. Religion, gender-related universalism, culture and tradition and general universalism were perceived different values ([Figure 3](#), panel A). That is, Spaniards perceived to share with Moroccans some moral values such as integrity, as well as the orientation towards social interactions and to family/community. However, they perceived to differ in traditional values such as religion and culture/traditions, or in moral values regarding gender-related universalism and general universalism.

An inspection of the proportion of perceived shared and different values within each category revealed an interesting picture ([Figure 3](#), panel B). More intergroup similarities than differences were

TABLE 3 Interrater agreement for each subcategory, Study 2

	ICR: Phase 1		ICR: Phase 2	
	Shared values	Different values	Shared values	Different values
Moral values				
Integrity	.573	.665	1	1
General universalism	.761	.848	1	.987
Ethnic minority-related universalism	.497	.578	1	1
Gender-related universalism	1	.984	1	1
Sexual orientation-related universalism	–	.887	–	1
Freedom	.848	.981	.848	1
Hygiene	–	1	–	1
Traditional values				
Religion	.923	.968	1	1
Culture & Tradition	.759	.894	.986	.991
Politics & Ideology	.613	1	1	1
Social values				
Family & Community	.896	.772	1	.975
Social interaction	.468	.473	1	.970
Instrumental values				
Material values	.868	.967	.982	1
Educational values	.988	.960	1	1
Competence & Achievement	.464	.542	.826	.922
Intrinsic values				
Psychological needs	.734	.712	1	1
Physical needs	.208	1	.888	

perceived in values related to integrity, family/community, social interactions, psychological and physical needs, competence/achievement and material values. More intergroup differences than similarities were perceived in universalist values (e.g., gender-related), freedom, hygiene, religion, culture/traditions and politics/ideology). Both intergroup similarities and differences were found regarding educational values.

Discussion

Results revealed a perception that Spaniards and Moroccans show a similar preference for integrity and social relationships, while traditional values and values related to gender relations and rights were considered different between cultures. These findings parallel data from the World Values Survey Wave 6 (2010–2014; Inglehart et al., 2018).

The valence assigned to the values in Study 1 overlaps with the perceptions of intergroup similarity/differences in Study 2, with the main positively valenced values being also the main values perceived as similar/shared, whereas the worse evaluated subcategories were also the main values perceived as different. Values related to physical needs were consistently considered as shared values, whereas gender-related universalism and hygiene were considered different to the Spaniards' values. For most values,

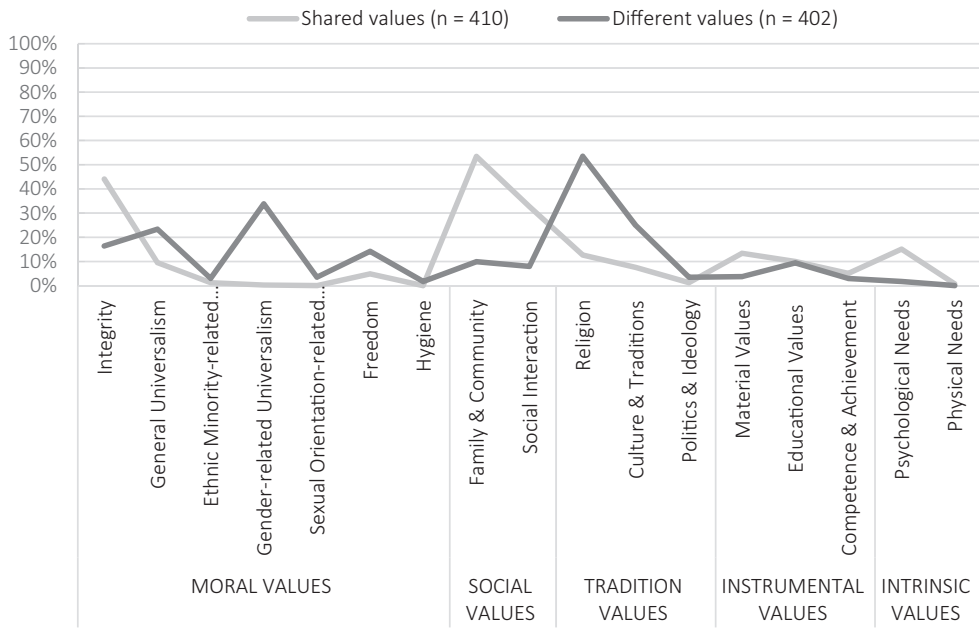


FIGURE 2 Percentage of participants referring each category of share and different values at least once (Study 2)

participants perceive shared and different aspects, which suggests that participants had mixed perceptions regarding Moroccans' values.

STUDY 3

Although Studies 1–2 offered some insight into the content of the values that Spanish participants considered important for Moroccans, the meaning of single words was ambiguous for interpretation. Study 3 was designed to deepen our understanding of Spaniards' interpretation of Moroccan values, that is, to chart participants' phenomenological experience regarding our research question. A series of brief semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain more in-depth insights into the perception of Moroccan values. Compared to the open-ended questions used in Studies 1–2, brief interviews allow for the free expression, clarifications and nuances characteristic of informal conversations.

Method

Participants

A total of 139 Spanish participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 32.60$, $SD = 16.02$, 56.8% women) were interviewed on a series of topics related to immigration (see [Supporting Information](#) for sociodemographic information).

Procedure

The interview script included eight questions about different aspects of Moroccan immigration. Research assistants interviewed participants. The interviews were conducted by undergraduate students in a course on social interaction as a part of their training in qualitative methodology. They interviewed

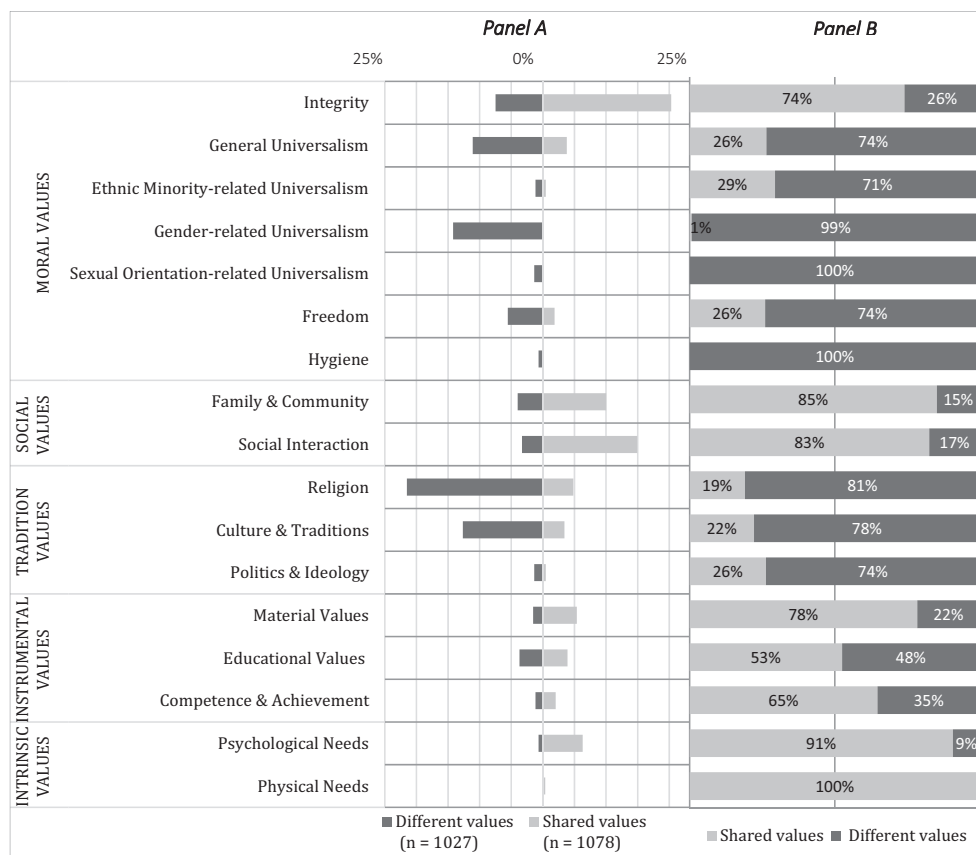


FIGURE 3 Percentage of each category on the total number of valid responses for shared and different values and proportion of shared and different values within each category (Study 2). For panel A, *n* indicates the total number of responses after removing responses with no content (missing data). For perceived shared values, of 1296 possible responses, 16.82% was missing, resulting in a total of 1078 valid responses. For perceived different values, 20.76% of the total of 1296 possible responses was missing, resulting in a total of 1027 valid responses.

three acquaintances through convenience sampling in a natural setting. We did not search for thematic saturation as the interviews were conducted during a predefined period of time. Interviews were typically conducted face-to-face, however, due to social restrictions during the health crisis of COVID-19, some were conducted using computer-mediated communication. Interviews were audio-recorded under the participants' consent and recordings were transcribed. Only two questions were analysed for this research using Nvivo: 'Focusing on values, understanding these as important principles that guide people's lives, what values do you consider to be most important for Moroccan immigrants living in Spain?', and 'What values do you think Spaniards and Moroccans share?'

Data analysis

We applied the coding frame of values established in Studies 1–2 to participants' responses regarding what values they considered to be the most important for Moroccan immigrants in Spain. These data and participants' responses regarding what values are shared by Spaniards and Moroccans were then used to examine the perceived intergroup similarity/differences in values. Simultaneous coding was used to facilitate the detection of possible relationships between the categories and emergent/elaborative coding was allowed to capture the content that did not fit the predefined (sub)categories. The data was next analysed using codification and cross-references matrices.

Results and Discussion

As shown in Figure 4 (panel A), when asked about the values perceived to be important for Moroccans, participants' speech was consistent with the findings in Studies 1–2: it focused on integrity (e.g., values of honesty, respect), family, religion and material values. A closer inspection of the co-occurrence of values in the responses revealed that values often appeared interrelated. Panel B in Figure 4 shows a heat map representing the simultaneous presence of the subcategories of values in participants' responses, with darker colours indicating greater co-occurrence of two (sub)categories of values. One of the main ideas we can extract from the interviews is that participants do not have a simplistic and univalent vision of Moroccans' values. Values of integrity, family/community, social interaction, religion and material issues were frequently mentioned together, revealing the complex and multi-faceted view that Spanish people have of Moroccans.

The pillar of family

Family is perceived as a basic pillar of Moroccan culture, especially regarding love for family and family unity. Moroccans are described as *very family-oriented people*, who often enjoy family meetings and are highly supportive of each other. Participants were generally aware of a stronger/higher sense of community and collectivism among Moroccans and recognized the existence of profound respect among family members, especially towards their elders. Moroccans' family values are defined as *unbreakable*, and these strong familial ties are sincerely respected and admired:

The Moroccan immigrant has something that many people do not know and a great value: the family. They, in the same house, live the parents, grandparents, grandchildren, and never they leave an ancestor of theirs lying around as Spaniards do. We ignore our parents, our grandfather. We do not want to know anything (...). That, we have to value, and many people are not aware of that

(ID_9, man, 58 years-old)

Attention-grabbing sentiments of certain *envy* and nostalgia about strong, profound and protective bonds are detectible in some responses, sometimes revealing a need for belonging and relatedness and probably a desire to recover some aspects of the traditional family:

[...] it is what I understand the most and, in a certain way, I *envy*: it is the value of the interior. Doors inside.² They live doors inside. Those ties become stronger doors inside. They are all one, doors inside.

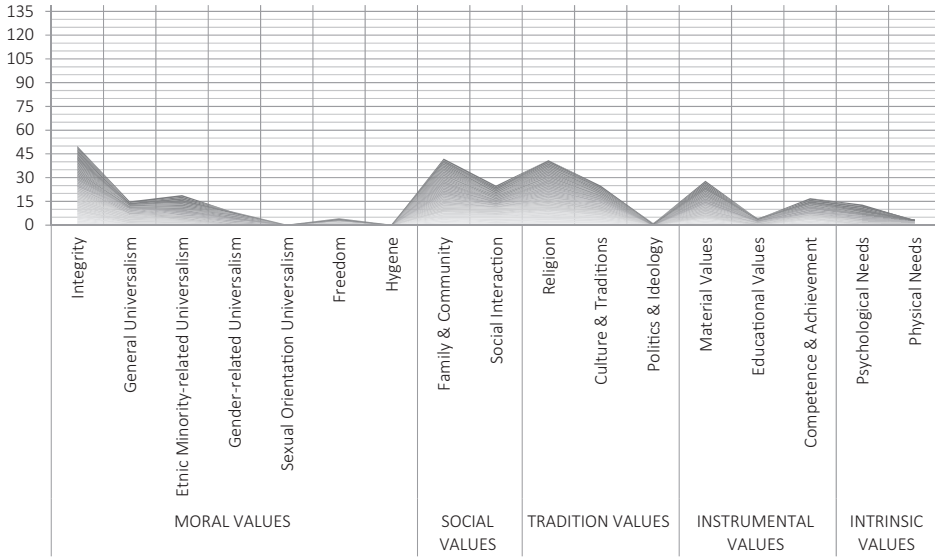
(ID_42, woman, 47 years-old)

To fully understand responses like this it is helpful to appreciate that Spain –since the democratic transition– has undergone a notable shift towards individualistic egalitarianism that emphasizes personal self-realization, the pursuit of individual happiness and the rejection of external constraints related to group affiliations (Blanco et al., 2018). Consequently, Spanish people may be anxious about misplacing core values such as family unity, which is seen as central to the Moroccan culture.

A few participants highlighted a difference in the concept that Moroccans and Spaniards have of family, declaring that the value regarding family is *totally* different from the Spaniards' as 'the place that the members of the family unit occupy for them is very different from ours' (ID_21, woman, 54 years old). However, regarding family values, perceived similarity dominates:

²Doors inside, in Spanish 'puertas adentro', is an expression that means in privacy or privately.

Panel A



Panel B

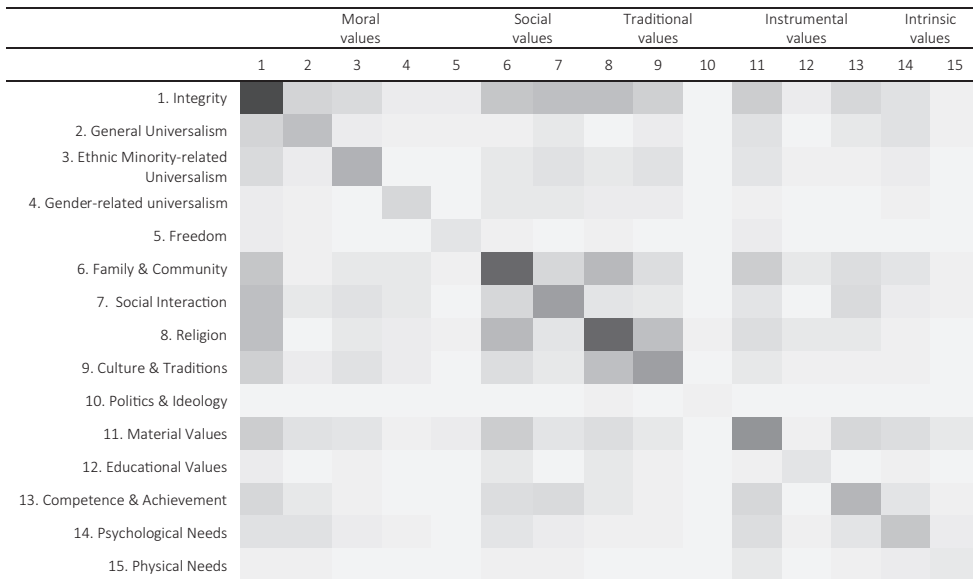


FIGURE 4 Density of the speech for each subcategory of values (panel A) and heat map representing the simultaneous presence of the subcategories of values in participants' responses (panel B).

Note: Darker colours indicate greater co-occurrence of two categories of values

I believe that we share more than is appreciated at first sight (...) as soon as you scratch, we're not that different. There are small cultural differences that they continue to maintain and we have forgotten a bit, but above all, here, in Andalusia, if we go back two centuries we share them. (...) We, women, dressed like them; the honor of man was first and above all. I repeat, the value of the family, the family is very important, the family nucleus, respect for the ancestors, valuing (...) the elders. (...) Currently, we live much faster (...) it is

already quite difficult to find our elders in the nucleus of the family and they continue to support theirs.

(ID_42, woman, 47 years-old)

As shown in previous quotes, family values cross over with integrity values but, as some participants emphasize, also with material values so that working and earning money were perceived to be important for improving the family's welfare and quality of life (e.g., bringing their family forward, fighting for it and the desire for the children to receive a good education and to progress in life).

Traditional culture: Religion and integration

Values regarding tradition and culture were also crucial. Religion and its associated practices occupied a prominent place within participants' talk, as it is perceived to impact on Moroccans' identity and the rest of their values. Religion was associated with social and moral values, as evidenced in this example:

(..) Religion, I think, is something that they have very present in their day to day since they will pray at different times of the day and, well, what religion also implies, right? That is love for family, a united family, and respect for others. (..).

(ID_105, woman, 20 years-old)

However, radical norms and inflexibility are sometimes mentioned as a difference to how Spanish people live their religion. Perceived differences in culture arise, as 'we do not share the same language' and 'we do not have the same God' and these differences might negatively impact intergroup understanding. A perceived lack of integration drives part of the discussion related to traditional-culture values, with a perception that 'they live here, in Spain, as if they would live in Morocco. They do not assume the Spanish customs'. (ID_25, man, 52 years old). This perceived lack of integration may be associated with intergroup threat (Piontkowski et al., 2002; Zagefka et al., 2014). As the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997) predicts, when the host community prefers integration or assimilation and the immigrant community favour separation, the relational outcomes might be conflictual. It should be noted that for some participants the arguments had a prescriptive connotation emphasizing the values that Moroccan immigrants *should (not) have and* was indicative of a desire or demand for them to adapt and integrate in order to peacefully coexist with Spaniards, in addition to 'acting with respect, find a job and do not live out of the social support allowances that the host country provides' (ID_110, female, 19 years old).

Figure 5 shows a heat map representing the perceived intergroup (dis)similarity of values, with darker colours indicating more references of a specific value as shared or different. Results revealed that respondents perceived Moroccans and Spaniards to share values related to their orientation towards integrity, family/community, social interaction and material values. The perceived shared aspects comprised references to the Mediterranean and southern culture, with similar gastronomy and a similar degree of importance given to maintaining and practising customs and traditions. Some participants recognized that Moroccans and southern Spaniards are more similar than is usually thought:

I believe that Moroccan and Spanish cultures are much more similar than we think, especially here in Andalusia. Our way of being is similar to that of Moroccans. There are many more similarities than differences. The value of the family, the value of the mother, of the brothers, are very similar, and also the way of interpreting life and work. The truth is that we are two countries very, very similar regarding the way people are.

(ID_63, man, 25 years-old)

Both cultures were perceived as different when referring to traditional values related to religion and culture/traditions such as language. Regarding perceived differences in religious values, respondents pointed out different levels of importance, tolerance and flexibility in each religion, the belief in a different God,

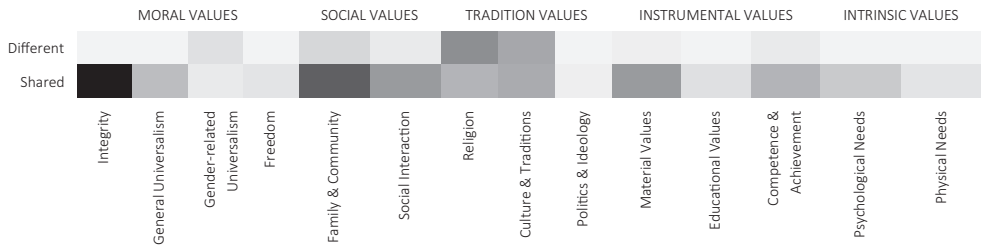


FIGURE 5 Heat map representing the perceived intergroup similarity of values. Darker colours indicate more references of the value as shared or different

different levels of constancy and devotion to maintaining religious practices and customs, a different level of sexist connotations of the religious beliefs and a different way to perceive and live religion in general. Religion, due to its perceived centrality in the Moroccan culture, is perceived to negatively influence the perceived similarity of positively valenced values:

(..) if we forget religious extremism, they must have the same values that any of us must have. What values? Honesty, work, and trying to progress or improve, but then these things mix, they mix with religious issues, and everything changes a lot.
 (ID_8, man, 59 years-old)

These perceived differences further seemed to trigger Spaniards' preferences/demands for Moroccans to adapt their customs to the mainstream culture, as they are perceived to be radical and to adapt less than they should:

I think these people base a lot on their customs and their religion, which most of the time is a little different from ours, so I think that if they come here, they should adapt a little to our customs and not us to theirs. But anyway, we already know that sometimes they are a bit radical, in my opinion, and adapt less than they should adapt.
 (ID_37, man, 49 years-old)

When religious values were perceived as shared, respondents alluded to the respect for the religion of the other, a common origin of both religions, its monotheist character, the repression through guilt and blame, the degree of religiosity and the association/influence of religion with/on other values such as respect and family:

(..) being a religious person implies certain things and, well, in our religion we can share with them the respect, knowing how to appreciate family unity, which is something that we have a lot in our culture, and I believe that they also have in theirs, just like us.
 (ID_105, woman, 20 years-old)

A perception that Moroccans desire and make efforts to adapt to the mainstream culture, as well as sharing a common past of coexistence, is associated with perceived similarity. However, the perception of a different evolution of the two cultures across history diminished the perceived similarity. Interestingly, in some instances, this shift in value similarity was associated with the loss of important values in the Spanish culture like taking care of the elderly in the family nucleus, with a favourable vision of the Moroccan culture. In a similar vein, having intergroup contact (especially friends) and the age of arrival contributed to being perceived as having positive values even more than Spaniards:

I have Moroccan friends and they are very modern (...) it is true that she wears the veil, but when she is at home, she takes it off; when we visit, she takes it off. When being there, they have their customs, like taking off their shoes. They serve you the Moorish tea and the higher he raises the kettle, the prouder he is that you are in his home. And my friend has a super open mind, I mean, he is Moroccan, he was born there and came to Spain at 11 years-old and has a super open mentality, I mean, not even us, the Spanish, have his thoughts.

(ID_70, woman, 23 years old)

Whereas social values such as the orientation to social interactions and family/community were positively evaluated, gender-related values and religion values were generally perceived negatively.

Complexity of gender-related perceptions

Gender appeared as a cross-cutting axel when analysing the content of the perceived values of Moroccans, as exemplified in the following statement: '[...] Moroccan men have quite different values than Moroccan women, from what I perceive. So, for me, there is a long way to go in the culture and in the customs regarding the values of Moroccans'. (ID_21, man, 54 years old). Previous research (Cuadrado et al., 2021) has revealed that Moroccan men are perceived in Spain as less moral and more immoral than Moroccan women, and that these stereotypes may drive fewer positive emotions and less facilitation tendencies towards Moroccan men (vs. Moroccan women).

A complex reasoning was evident, with ambivalent evaluations of Moroccan values. Participants appreciated how Moroccans educate their children, and they identified the family as an important vehicle for cultural value transmission. Participants on occasion even compared Moroccans favourably to Spaniards (outgroup bias), but at the same time disagreed with perceived outgroup gender disparities, leading to a certain ambivalence regarding the evaluation of traditional values:

(...) the mother teaches many values to her children, such as respect for others (...). They educate the children *super* well. The only thing is that the man is the one who is absolutely right and has the last word at home, and daughters are educated and taught to do the things,³ while sons are not. That is one thing that should change because I don't like it. But they do teach children values (to respect the elderly, to help those who need it) and these are values that here, because of the technology they have, children are already losing because the mother works a lot outside and is not at home like the Moroccan ones educating them, so those values are getting lost for the children who are not Muslims.

(ID_27, man, 51 years-old)

Focusing on the impact of value similarity and differences on intergroup attitudes, the responses revealed that in some instances (regarding sexist behaviour, for example), the perceived differences were considered so important that the two cultures and their values seemed to 'clash', making intergroup understanding and adaptation more difficult:

³The word 'things' here may refer to general tasks, probably at home, but it was not specified. However, in a different question of the interview about the Moroccan culture, the same participant argued: 'Well, Moroccan culture is like we were 50 years ago. It is a culture somewhat closed, ancient, but because of their Muslim religion. They are a bit closed, let us say, and in these times, they should evolve a little bit more, especially the woman who is at home with the children cooking the food, raising their children, which is fine, but they should value her a little bit more and [they] should go out alone and dress a little more like a Spanish woman, be free to do what she wants. That's what seems a bit bad to me'.

(...) Because there is a clash of values that I think is quite strong, even more than values, ideals. (...), for example, on the issue of sexism, [the difference is] so great...., and well, then there are problems. (...) so, that is one of the big problems to solve.

(ID_83, man, 21 years-old)

In contrast, sharing important values, especially regarding integrity, is perceived to be the remedy to intergroup misunderstanding and conflict. In the words of participant 109 (20-years-old woman), 'all the values that must be shared between the Spanish and Moroccan culture are important, (...) respect is very, very important because without respect conflicts are created and we do not get to understand each other well'.

Conclusion

Study 3 confirmed ideas from previous studies but expanded our comprehension of the processes. Integrity was considered one of the most important values for Moroccans, confirming the primacy of morality in social perception (Brambilla et al., 2021). Integrity values were often linked to family values that gave rise to a sense of respect and admiration. Religion was perceived as a central value of the Moroccan culture with important (sometimes negative) implications for the evaluation of the valence and the perceived similarity of other values, and traditional culture was seen as a key value in the acculturation process.

These findings provide more in-depth insight into the complex process of perception and evaluation of outgroup values and the specific aspects that should be emphasized/avoided when carrying out interventions to improve the perception of intergroup value similarity.

STUDY 4

Value similarities are associated with positive attitudes towards outgroups (Rokeach, 1968; Wolf et al., 2021). Having identified the perceived core values of Moroccans (i.e., family, religion, material-work), their perceived valences and perceived intergroup (dis)similarities, in Study 4 we experimentally tested the effect of sharing (or not) values on perceived similarities in values and the perceived morality of the outgroup. Previous research (e.g., Maio et al., 1994) showed that when people believe that immigrants attach higher importance to positive values, perceivers have more positive attitudes towards them. Using veridical information, we hypothesize that getting knowledge about the value similarity between Spaniards and Moroccans (e.g., their attachment to family) compared to highlighting differences in religion might have a beneficial impact on perceiving Moroccan immigrants as moral, via the recognition of shared core values.

Method

Participants

Participants who were not unambiguously Spanish or failed the manipulation check ($n = 142$) were excluded. The sample comprised of 321 Spanish participants (60.1% women; $M_{\text{age}} = 37.40$, $SD = 13.24$) from different regions of Spain. A sensitivity analysis using G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) showed that with this sample size, with $\alpha = .05$ and 80% power, the minimum effect size that we could detect for main effects in an ANOVA with four groups was $f = .157$ ($\eta^2 = .024$).

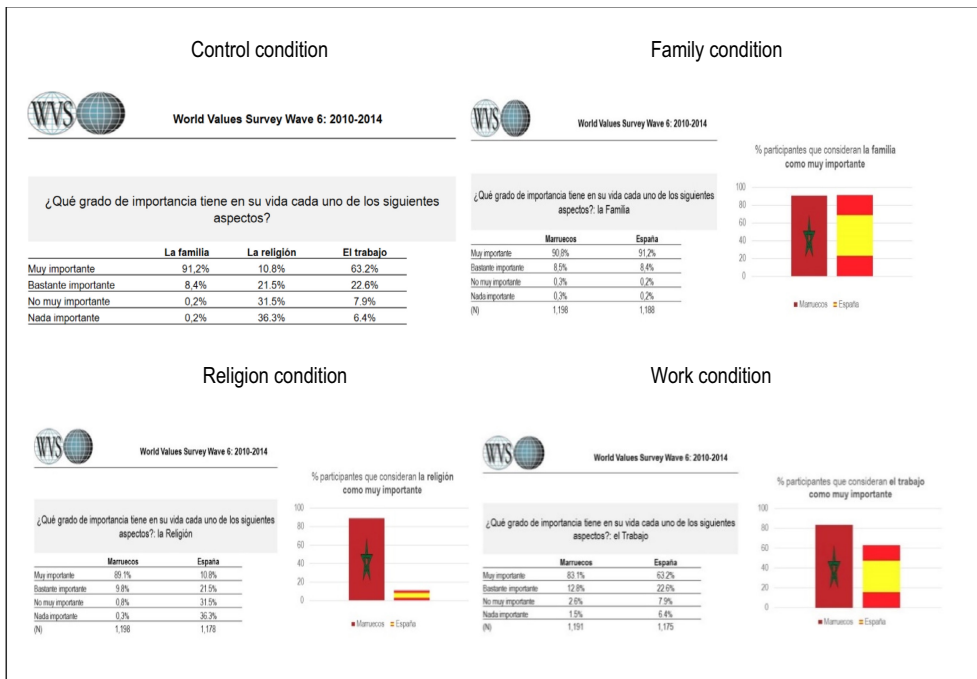


FIGURE 6 Experimental conditions extracted from real data in the world values survey wave 6. Although data were real, the figure representing the difference was created, especially for this study based on the option ‘very important’.

Experimental manipulation

Based on real data extracted from the World Values Survey Wave 6 (2010–2014; Inglehart et al., 2018), four different conditions were created (see Figure 6). The Control condition ($n = 97$) showed the importance of three values (family, work and religion), but no group was specified. In the other conditions, participants were told that they would see some results from the last World Values Survey, where the most important values for Spain and Morocco would be compared. The Family condition ($n = 74$) showed how the family was highly and equally important in Morocco and Spain. The Religion condition ($n = 83$) showed how religion was more important in Morocco than in Spain. The Work condition ($n = 67$) showed that work was highly important in Morocco and moderately important in Spain. A manipulation check asked which values were mentioned in the manipulation.

Variables and measure

Perceived shared values

Participants showed their agreement with the following ideas: ‘Spaniards and Moroccans share important values’ and ‘Spaniards and Moroccans have different values’ (inverted) on a Likert scale from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*). Both items were averaged ($r = .33, p < .001$).

Perceived morality

Participants were asked to think of Moroccan immigrants and express if the following characteristics describe them: honest, sincere and trustworthy ($\alpha = .92$, Leach et al., 2007), using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

We included other measures such as symbolic threat that can be consulted in the [Supporting Information](#).

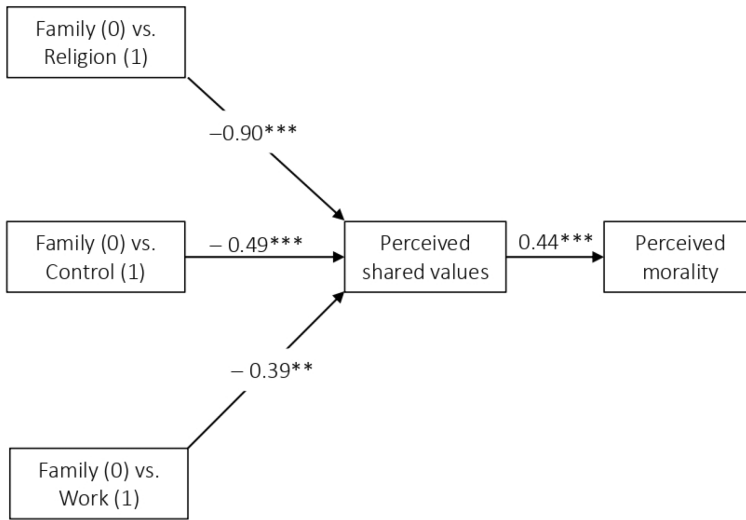


FIGURE 7 Indirect effect of family condition on perceived morality via perceived shared values

Results

To analyse the effect of condition (with four levels: Family, Religion, Work, Control) we conducted two ANOVAs. The ANOVA on perceived shared values yielded a significant effect of condition, $F(3,317) = 16.06, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .132$. Pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni tests showed that those who read that both Moroccans and Spaniards highly value family recognized that these groups share values to a greater extent ($M = 3.66, SD = 0.94$) than participants in the control condition ($M = 3.17, SD = 0.84, p = .001$), in the religion condition ($M = 2.76, SD = 0.71, p < .001$) and in the work condition ($M = 3.28, SD = 0.78, p = .033$). Participants also thought to less extent that they shared values in the religion condition than in the control ($p = .005$) and work condition ($p = .001$). The ANOVA on perceived morality yielded no significant effect of condition, $F(3,317) = 1.03, p = .379, \eta_p^2 = .010$.

Using the macro PROCESS for SPSS (Hayes, 2018), we tested if the manipulation had an indirect effect on perceived morality via perceived shared values. We tested a simple mediation (model 4) with a multi-categorical antecedent using indicator (dummy) coding, with Family as the reference group. The analyses confirmed an indirect effect of family vs. religion conditions on morality via perceived shared values, $B = -.40, SD = 0.08, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.56, -0.26]$. There was also an indirect effect when comparing family condition with the control condition, $B = -.22, SD = 0.07, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.36, -0.09]$; and when comparing the family condition with the work condition, $B = -.17, SD = 0.07, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.32, -0.04]$. Neither total nor direct effects were significant. Non-standardized coefficients are shown in Figure 7. Similar results to the ones reported with perceived morality are found with other measures such as symbolic threat (see Supporting Information).

Discussion

Priming real information about intergroup similarity in values affected perceived similarity in values. The priming did not directly affect participants' perception of Moroccans' morality, as this effect was indirect via perceived intergroup similarity of values. So, priming sharing family values between Spain and Morocco against not sharing religion, or partially sharing work values, led participants to perceive that Spanish and Moroccan people shared values, which, in turn, improved participants' evaluation regarding Moroccans' morality.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

A fine-grained assessment of the perceived core values of ethnic minorities benefits from taking a qualitative, inductive approach. Unlike past research that has mainly used quantitative methods, we adopted a multi-method approach that combined qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse the perception of Spanish nationals of the core values of Moroccan immigrants.

Content analysis revealed that Spaniards perceived that Moroccans are oriented towards social values such as having strong relational ties with their family (and community), instrumental values such as work, and traditional values, especially related to religion. These findings fit with the self-reports of the Muslim community of immigrant origin in Spain, who consider family, work, money, religion and friends as the most important things in life (Metroscopia, 2011) and with findings of the World Values Survey (2010–2014). Therefore, it seems that there is some recognition of what is considered important by Moroccan immigrants.

The content of the perceived outgroup values partially mirrored the basic motivations underlying the traditional value model (Schwartz, 2012), for example integrity may be related to the self-transcendence dimension. However, because the research focus was not only on values but also on *perceived* values findings can also be interpreted in the context of principles of social perception of others. When spontaneously thinking about outgroup values, perceivers might be projecting stereotypical conceptions. The social perception of moral, social and material values may be driven by the evaluation of the outgroup in terms of their morality, sociability and competence (Brambilla et al., 2011). Perceived moral values, especially perceived integrity and the importance of family, acquire a major importance in outgroup judgements. Findings support the primacy of morality in social perception (Brambilla et al., 2021). Interestingly, moral values were usually connected to social but also to traditional and material values. Our research approach can help us to understand the links between perceived outgroup values and intergroup attitudes.

Most values were considered positive except for religious and gender-related universalism values. Whereas the latter category was considered very negative (Study 1) and generated disapproval and rejection among participants (Study 3), religion was ambivalently judged. Religion was perceived as a central and transversal value of the Moroccans with positive and negative implications for the assessment of other values. Religion is perceived to promote positive moral and social values but is also linked with sexism and fundamentalism. Interestingly, values perceived as positive (e.g., integrity, family/community) were also perceived as similar to those of Spaniards, while values perceived as negative (gender-related universalism) or ambivalent (religion) were those perceived as less similar. Of course, outgroup evaluations are often mixed (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007) as one can approve some concrete issues while disapproving others (Verkuyten et al., 2020).

Both the perceived valence and similarity of values was related to intergroup attitudes. The more positive the values were considered to be, the more positive were participants' attitudes towards Moroccans. Perceived dissimilarity not only generated disapproval from Spaniards but was also associated with their prescriptive preference for Moroccans to assimilate to Spanish culture (Study 3), supporting previous work on the association between values and prejudice (e.g., Greenhalgh & Watt, 2015). Then again, value-sharing was perceived to be of utmost importance for intercultural understanding (Study 3) and improved the perceived morality of the outgroup indirectly via perceived shared values (Study 4).

These findings illustrate the complex processes underlying the perception of outgroup values. Results, however, should be interpreted carefully. We used non-probabilistic sampling recruiting participants. Representativeness was not an objective as qualitative work generally highlights specific individual responses in a specific context that cannot be generalized. Nonetheless, future studies should explore the discourse of people from different contexts and countries. Regarding Study 4, the manipulation had only a direct effect on perceived shared values, but more self-relevant and realistic ways of emphasizing Moroccans' family values may have stronger and direct effects on perceived morality. All participants were Spanish nationals, but future studies could also analyse whether results hold even for participants with a family history of migration.

There are maybe two main contributions that we hope this research can make, beyond the immediate contribution of advancing our understanding of values and value perception. The first contribution is that this work can serve as an illustration of how mixed-method approaches can be vital in questioning, and improving, our understanding of psychological processes as described by established theories. The approach allows us to delve into how an abstract idea (perceived values of the outgroup) actually plays out in the richness of a specific intergroup setting. The mixed-methods approach used here is non-artificial, realistic and practice oriented. Results showed that, when participants are asked to describe their perceptions of the world in their own words, responses did not always fit neatly into pre-existing theoretical categories. This is a frequent insight arising from qualitative investigations into identity issues (see e.g., also Moftizadeh et al., 2022). The methodological approach used here allows us to go beyond theory verification and provided important pointers for potential theory modification, by combining deductive and inductive thinking (see Creswell, 2013). This allowed us to unveil some aspects of the social reality that have not previously been conceptualized and that might not presently be accurately captured by existing theory. We argue that this approach contributes to the understanding of the social psychology of intercultural relations as it allows to tap into the contours of how people think about others' values, going beyond the preconceptions of the researchers, allowing us to immerse ourselves in the ocean of meanings of individuals.

A second important contribution of this research is that the findings offer opportunities to develop interventions aimed at improving intergroup attitudes capitalizing on insights into the phenomenological experience of people in the field. Understanding the interpretation of majority groups regarding the values of minorities allows extracting avenues for establishing more successful intercultural encounters. Emphasizing values perceived by Spaniards as positive and shared with the outgroup might have beneficial effects on Spaniards' intergroup attitudes. If one of the most significant sources of islamophobia in Europe is the perceived threat posed by Arab-Islamic culture, clarifying and exemplifying values similarity between cultures might contribute to undermining the myth of a *clash of civilizations* (Huntington, 1996).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is part of the I+D+i project 'Limitations of the classical strategies to reduce prejudice and new proposals for the improvement of intergroup relations based on morality' (RTI2018-098576-A-I00), funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of Spain, the State Research Agency (AEI: 10.13039/501100011033 and FEDER 'A way to make Europe'. We thank Mercedes Úbeda for her contribution of collecting data in Study 1 and students of Social Work who conducted the interviews for Study 3.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

All authors declare no conflict of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Quantitative data, materials and supplementary information that support the findings of this work are available in OSF https://osf.io/gbtj7/?view_only=6db82720cf9b4feb867e39889cbcd69. Qualitative data are available from the corresponding author upon request.

ORCID

Lucía López-Rodríguez  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9153-0220>

Alexandra Vázquez  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6040-9102>

Andreea A. Constantin  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5896-8346>

Hanna Zagefka  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1598-0059>

REFERENCES

- Agudelo-Suárez, A. A., Ronda-Pérez, E., Gil-González, D., Vives-Cases, C., García, A. M., Ruiz-Frutos, C., Felt, E., & Benavides, F. G. (2011). The effect of perceived discrimination on the health of immigrant workers in Spain. *BMC Public Health*, *11*, 652. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-11-652>
- Blanco, A., Chueca, A., López-Ruiz, J. A., & Mora, S. (2018). *Informe España 2018*. Universidad Pontificia Comillas.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Moïse, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senécal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, *32*(6), 369–386. <https://doi.org/10.1080/002075997400629>
- Brambilla, M., & Leach, C. W. (2014). On the importance of being moral: The distinctive role of morality in social judgment. *Social Cognition*, *32*(4), 397–408. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2014.32.4.397>
- Brambilla, M., Rusconi, P., Sacchi, S., & Cherubini, P. (2011). Looking for honesty: The primary role of morality (vs. sociability and competence) in information gathering. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *41*(2), 135–143. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.744>
- Brambilla, M., Sacchi, S., Rusconi, P., & Goodwin, G. (2021). The primacy of morality in impression development: Theory, research, and future directions. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *64*, 187–262. <https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.aesp.2021.03.001>
- CIS. (2017). *Actitudes hacia la inmigración*. https://www.cis.es/cis/export/sites/default/-Archivos/Marginales/3180_3199/3190/Es3190_mapa_pdf.html
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). SAGE.
- Cuadrado, I., Brambilla, M., & López-Rodríguez, L. (2021). Unpacking negative attitudes towards Moroccans: The interactive effect of ethnicity and gender on perceived morality. *International Journal of Psychology*, *56*, 961–966. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12794>
- Cuddy, A. J., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*(4), 631–648. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.4.631>
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A.-G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, *39*, 175–191. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03193146>
- Greenhalgh, E. M., & Watt, S. E. (2015). Preference for consistency and value dissimilarities in dehumanization and prejudice toward asylum seekers in Australia. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *45*(1), 110–119. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2066>
- Guan, Y., Bond, M. H., Huang, Z., Zhang, Z., Deng, H., Hu, T., & Gao, H. (2009). Role of personal endorsement of outgroup members' distinctive values and need for cognitive closure in attitude towards the outgroup. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, *12*(1), 54–62. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-839X.2008.01270.x>
- Haerpfer, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (2020). *World values survey: Round seven - country-pooled datafile*. JD Systems Institute & WVSA Secretariat. <https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.13>.Eds.
- Hayes, A. F. (2018). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach* (2th ed.). Guilford Press.
- Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. Simon & Schuster.
- INE. (2022). *Preview of the continuous register statistics January 1st, 2022*. https://www.ine.es/en/prensa/pad_2022_p_en.pdf
- Inglehart, R., & Baker, W. (2000). Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, *65*(1), 19–51. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657288>
- Inglehart, R., Haerpfer, C., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (Eds.). (2018). *World values survey: Round six-country-pooled datafile*. JD Systems Institute & WVSA Secretariat. <https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.8>
- Leach, C. W., Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2007). Group virtue: The importance of morality (vs. competence and sociability) in the positive evaluation of in-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *93*(2), 234–249. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.2.234>
- López-Rodríguez, L., Cuadrado, I., & Navas, M. (2013). Aplicación extendida del Modelo del Contenido de los Estereotipos (MCE) hacia tres grupos de inmigrantes en España. [extended application of stereotype content model towards three immigrant groups in Spain]. *Estudios de Psicología*, *34*, 197–208. <https://doi.org/10.1174/021093913806751375>
- López-Rodríguez, L., Cuadrado, I., & Navas, M. (2017). I will help you because we are similar: Quality of contact mediates the effect of perceived similarity on facilitative behaviour towards immigrants. *International Journal of Psychology*, *52*(4), 273–282. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12212>
- Maio, G. R. (2010). Mental representations of social values. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 42, pp. 1–43). Academic Press.
- Maio, G. R., Esses, V. M., & Bell, D. W. (1994). The formation of attitudes toward new immigrant groups. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *24*(19), 1762–1776. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1994.tb01573.x>
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 91–125). Academic Press.
- Metroscofia. (2011). *Valores, actitudes y opiniones de los inmigrantes de religión musulmana*. Quinta oleada del Barómetro de Opinión de la Comunidad Musulmana de origen inmigrante en España. <http://www.interior.gob.es/documents/642317/1201485/>

- Valores%2C%20actitudes+y+opiniones+de+los+inmigrantes+de+religi%C3%B3n+musulmana+%28NIPO+126-11-022-1%29.pdf/0bf98a9b-bd97-490f-8e53-0e6885a34e0a
- Moftizadeh, N., Zagefka, H., & Barn, R. (2022). Negotiating social belonging: A case study of second-generation Kurds in London. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2629>
- Navas, M. S. (1998). Nuevos instrumentos de medida para el nuevo racismo. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 13, 233–239. <https://doi.org/10.1174/021347498760350731>
- Navas, M. S., Cuadrado, I., & López-Rodríguez, L. (2012). Escala de Percepción de Amenaza Exogrupal (EPAE): fiabilidad y evidencias de validez [Out-group Threat Perception Scale (OTPS): Reliability and validity evidences]. *Psicothema*, 24(3), 477–482.
- Piontkowski, U., Rohmann, A., & Florack, A. (2002). Concordance of acculturation attitudes and perceived threat. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 5(3), 221–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430202005003003>
- Rokeach, M. (1968). A theory of organization and change within value-attitude systems. *Journal of Social Issues*, 24(1), 13–33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1968.tb01466.x>
- Sayans-Jiménez, P., Rojas Tejada, A. J., & Cuadrado Guirado, I. (2017). Is it advisable to include negative attributes to assess the stereotype content? Yes, but only in the morality dimension. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 58(2), 170–178.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 25, 1–65. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601\(08\)60281-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60281-6)
- Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the content and structure of values? *Journal of Social Issues*, 50, 19–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1994.tb01196.x>
- Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1), 1–2. <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116>
- Schwartz, S. H., Struch, N., & Bilsky, W. (1990). Values and intergroup social motives: A study of Israeli and German students. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 53(3), 185–198. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2786958>
- Verkuyten, M., Yogeewaran, K., & Adelman, L. (2020). Toleration and prejudice-reduction: Two ways of improving intergroup relations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 50, 239–255. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2624>
- Wang, Y.-W., Davidson, M. M., Yakushko, O. F., Savoy, H. B., Tan, J. A., & Bleier, J. K. (2003). The scale of ethnocultural empathy: Development, validation, and reliability. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 50(2), 221–234. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.50.2.221>
- Wolf, L. J., Hanel, P. H. P., & Maio, G. R. (2021). Measured and manipulated effects of value similarity on prejudice and well-being. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 32(1), 123–160. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2020.1810403>
- Wolf, L. J., Weinstein, N., & Maio, G. R. (2019). Anti-immigrant prejudice: Understanding the roles of (perceived) values and value dissimilarity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 117(5), 925–953. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000177>
- Yilmaz, H., & Ayka, C. E. (2011). *Perceptions of Islam in Europe. Culture, identity and the Muslim "other"*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zagefka, H., Binder, J., Brown, R., Funke, F., Kessler, T., Mummendey, A., Maquil, A., Demoulin, S., & Leyens, J.-P. (2014). The relationship between acculturation preferences and prejudice: Longitudinal evidence from majority and minority groups in three European countries. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 44, 578–589. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2044>

SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

How to cite this article: López-Rodríguez, L., Vázquez, A., Constantin, A. A., Bonafonte, M., & Zagefka, H., (2021). The values we share: A multi-method approach to understanding how perceived outgroup values are related to attitudes towards immigrants. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 00, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12583>