



09

Transatlantic Trends

— | IMMIGRATION | —



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Key Findings | 2009

Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2009 Partners

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TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Key Findings on Immigration 2009

Many discussions in immigration policy circles in 2009 have focused on one topic: How has the economic crisis affected migrant populations and the future of immigration and integration policy in Europe and North America? The first *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey was conducted before the global crisis began in late 2008, so the 2009 survey offers a unique opportunity to examine public opinion shifts on both continents. It also offers important insights on how much the economy may have affected attitudes toward immigrants and continued immigration during these turbulent times.

In 2009, Spain and Canada joined the list of countries covered in the survey, which also includes the United States, Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands. Spain's history of migration and its immigration policy track record are similar to those of Italy, but *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* shows that Spanish public opinion differs from that of its Mediterranean neighbor on a host of issues. Canada also presents a unique case in that it has a proactive immigration policy and provides many integration services and public social benefits for migrants that the U.S. system lacks. On a number of points, Canadian public opinion from this year's survey appears to be closer to that of Europe.

Overall, the survey this year covers public perception of legal and illegal immigration, preferences for temporary versus permanent labor migration programs, the legalization of illegal immigrants, societal discrimination against migrants, and many other issues. It also addresses the current management of immigration in the eight countries surveyed, as well as preferences for governance over immigration policy decisions.

Transatlantic Trends: Immigration is designed to compare transatlantic as well as cross-country opinion on immigration and integration issues. It is a joint project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Compagnia di San Paolo, the Barrow Cadbury Trust, and the Fundación BBVA. The fieldwork was carried out between September 1 and September 17, 2009, by TNS Opinion.

A NOTE ABOUT TERMINOLOGY

In this survey we used the term "illegal immigrant," as opposed to "irregular" or "undocumented" migrant, to describe foreign citizens who enter, stay, and/or work in the country without the permission of the national government.

KEY FINDINGS OF THIS SURVEY INCLUDE:

- *Economic woes:* Majorities in all countries cite the economy as the most important issue facing their country, with Spanish respondents (57%) being the most likely to do so. One in five British (20%) and Italian (18%) respondents, however, indicated that immigration was the most important issue.
- *Personal finances and worries:* In all countries except the United States, respondents whose household financial situation got worse in the past 12 months were more likely to be worried about legal immigration.
- *Political leanings and perceptions of immigration:* Overall, self-described political leanings were a strong predictor of attitudes on immigration as either more of a problem or an opportunity. Compared to 2008, more respondents in all countries said that immigration was more of a problem than an opportunity in 2009. This was especially true of those declaring themselves to be on the political right.
- *Numbers of immigrants:* Respondents in all countries grossly overestimated the share of immigrants in their countries. Americans thought that 35% of the population in the United States are immigrants, Canadians estimated 37%, and Europeans estimated an average of 24%.
- *Temporary vs. permanent labor programs:* As in 2008, majorities in all countries surveyed indicated that “legal immigrants who come to the country to work” should be given the opportunity to stay permanently, rather than being admitted only temporarily.
- *Legalization of illegal immigrants:* Respondents were divided by country on whether or not to give illegal immigrants the opportunity to obtain legal status — Germans and the French were in favor, Italians and the British were against, and Canadians, the Dutch, and the Spanish were split. Americans showed declining support for a legalization measure (49% supported it in 2008 versus 44% in 2009).
- *Mediterranean countries and development aid:* A plurality in France (44%) and Italy (45%), and a majority in Spain (51%) thought that increasing development aid was the most effective way to reduce illegal immigration. This policy was favored over border controls, employer sanctions, and more legal immigration routes.
- *Social and political benefits for migrants:* Majorities in all countries supported providing social benefits and political participation rights to legal immigrants, though only the French (65%), Italians (53%), and Spanish (53%) clearly supported granting local voting rights to them.
- *Cultural and economic integration:* Respondents supported admitting only those immigrants who fulfilled both the criteria of a) having a good chance of finding a job and b) fitting in smoothly with the host society. Meeting only one of these criteria was generally not viewed as sufficient for immigration.
- *Government-sponsored language courses:* No country’s respondents supported government-sponsored language courses for immigrants. Instead, pluralities or majorities in all countries indicated that it is not the responsibility of the government to pay for language courses.
- *Government assessments:* Opinions about how their respective governments are managing immigration varied wildly among respondents—British (71%), Spanish (64%), American (63%), and Italian (53%) respondents disapproved of their governments’ management, but Germans (71%), Canadians (59%), the Dutch (53%), and the French (50%) approved of the steps their countries have taken thus far.
- *Immigration decision-making:* A majority in all European countries except the United Kingdom favored immigration policy decision-making at the European Union level, rather than at the national or local level. Seventy-one percent of Americans and 74% of Canadians thought immigration policy should be decided by the national government rather than by state/provincial or local authorities.
- *Environmental migrants:* A majority in all countries surveyed—an average of 68%—were in favor of allowing people who are displaced by climate change effects such as sea level rise or more frequent droughts to settle in their country.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

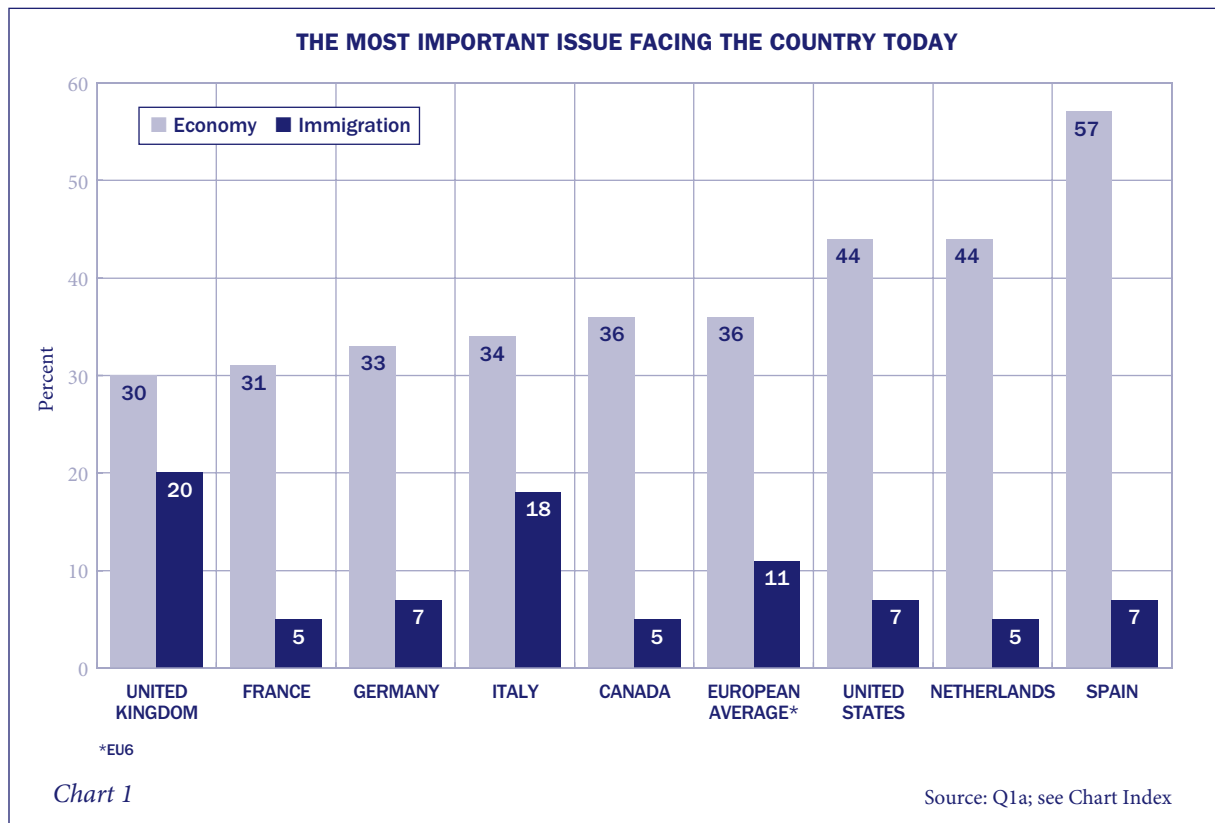
Immigration

Economic Crisis Did Little to Change Attitudes

The economic crisis has occupied the minds of large majorities on both sides of the Atlantic in 2009. Earlier this year, *Transatlantic Trends 2009* found that 91% of the Americans and 85% of the Europeans surveyed were concerned about the international economic crisis. Similarly, this year's *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* confirmed that people in all the countries polled felt that the economy was the most important issue facing their country today. Two in five (39%) picked the economy as the most important out of a list of current issues. Although immigration was less often chosen as the most important issue overall, it was frequently cited as such in two of the countries polled—the United Kingdom and Italy (see Chart 1).

IMMIGRATION: PROBLEM OR OPPORTUNITY?

Overall attitudes in each country as to whether immigration presents more of a problem or more of an opportunity remained relatively stable between 2008 and 2009, but there was a slight trend toward more respondents in Europe and the United States describing immigration as “more of a problem.” According to the findings of *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2009*, 50% of Europeans thought that immigration is more of a problem than an opportunity in 2009, whereas the same five European countries surveyed last year (the Netherlands, Italy, the United Kingdom, Germany, and France) had an average of 43% answering that immigration was more of a problem. The biggest shift occurred



in the Netherlands, where there was a 9-percentage-point jump (from 36% in 2008 to 45% in 2009) in the number of respondents saying that immigration is more of a problem. Overall in 2009, the British and the Spanish were the most skeptical about immigration, with 66% and 58%, respectively, seeing it as more of a problem. Canadians were the most optimistic: 68% said that immigration is more of an opportunity for their country. In the United States, 54% thought that immigration is more of a problem, slightly up from 50% last year (see Chart 2).

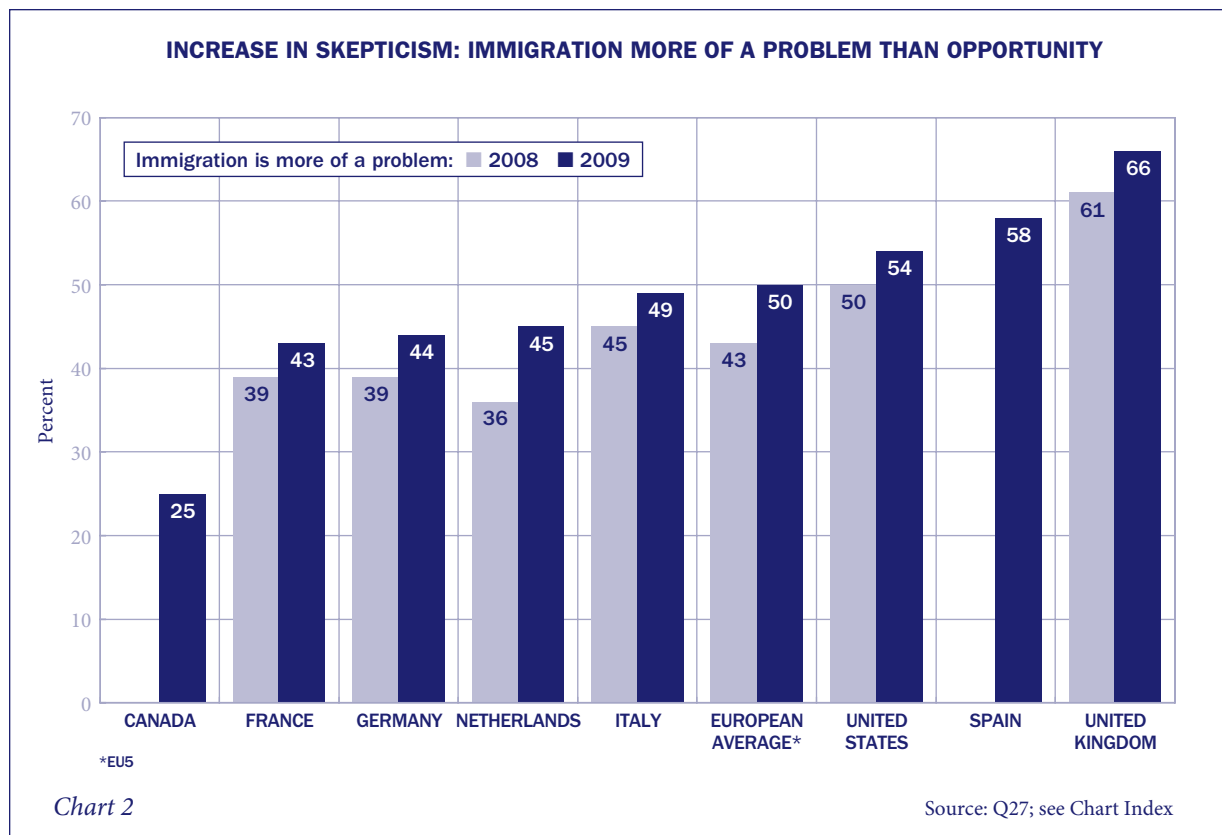
TOO MANY IMMIGRANTS? COUNTRIES ARE SPLIT

When asked about the number of people living in their country who were not citizens of the European Union, the United States, or Canada, respectively, at least half of those polled in the United Kingdom (55%), Italy (51%), and Spain (50%) felt that there were “too many.” They were followed by Americans, out of whom 48% felt that there were too many noncitizens living in their country. Canadians (24%), Germans (28%), the French (29%), and the Dutch (32%)

were the least likely to say there were too many immigrants in their countries. These four countries instead had pluralities or majorities answering that there were “a lot but not too many” immigrants in the country.

MISPERCEPTIONS OF IMMIGRANT NUMBERS

Respondents in general, and especially those who thought that there were “too many” immigrants in their country, were likely to overestimate the immigrant share of their country’s population. In Canada, where the percentage of foreign-born in the population is the highest among all countries surveyed (nearly 20%), Canadians estimated their number to be 37% of the total population. In Italy, where the Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (National Statistical Institute) estimates that 6.5% of the population are immigrants, Italian respondents instead believed that 23% of the population are foreign-born, a 17-point miscalculation. Among those Italians who thought there were “too many” immigrants in their country, the average estimate was even higher at 28%.

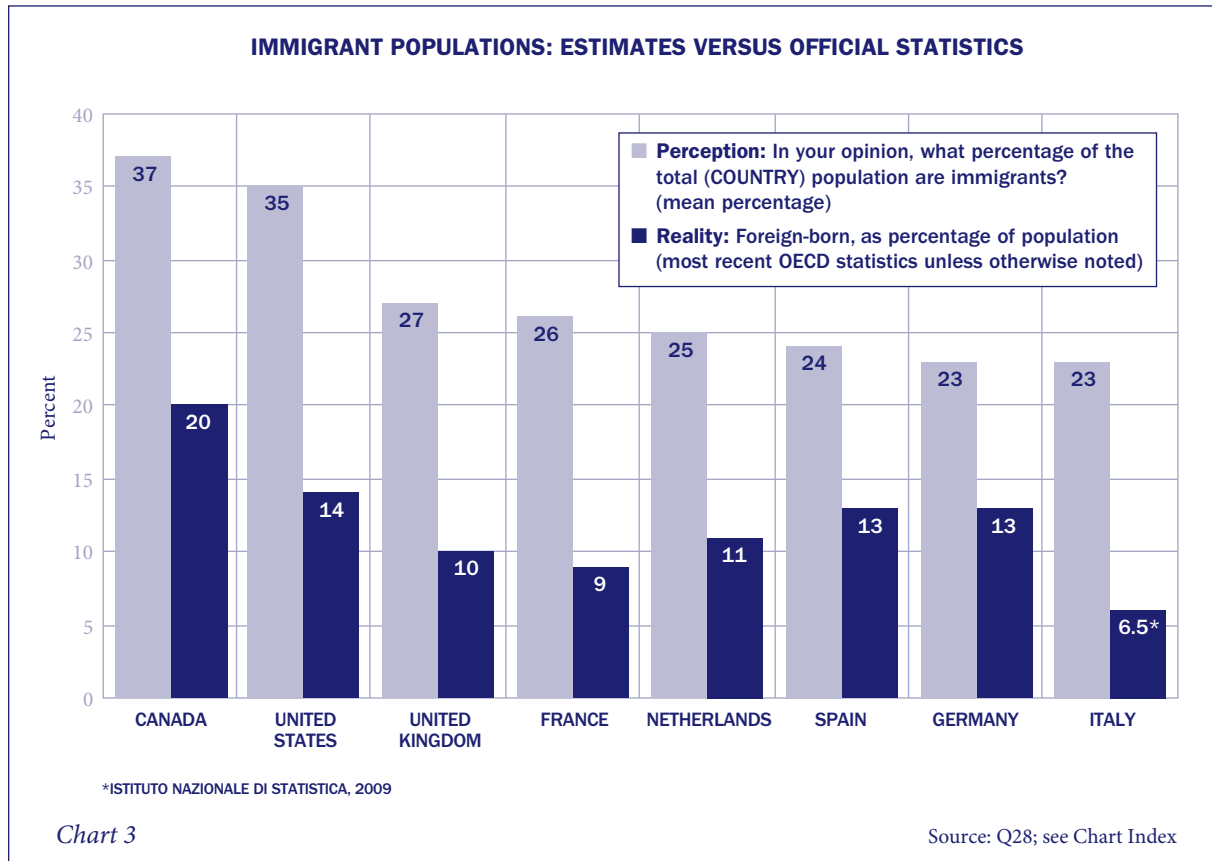


On average, Americans estimated that more than a third (35%) of the total U.S. population are immigrants, when in reality the number is closer to 14% according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) statistics.¹ There was a consistent trend in European countries polled of respondents believing that roughly one in four people in the population are immigrants (see Chart 3).

MOST DO NOT LINK IMMIGRANTS TO LOWERING WAGES OR TAKING AWAY JOBS

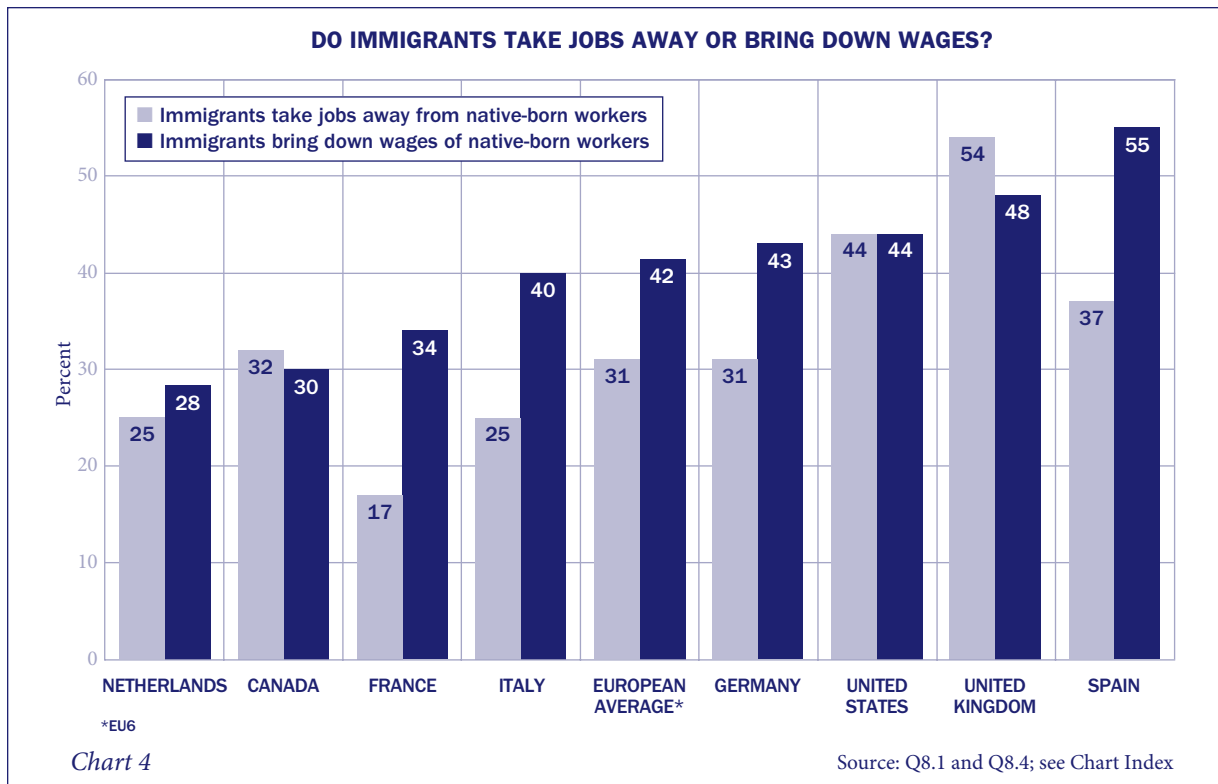
Do people see immigrants as a force that negatively affects economic opportunities for the native-born? This question was especially important in 2009, and *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* asked respondents whether they agreed that immigrants take jobs away from the native-born “in light of the economic crisis.” The survey found that only in the

United Kingdom (54%) did the majority agree with this statement. In all other countries polled, majorities did not think that immigrants take jobs away from the native-born; 53% of the Americans, 67% of the Canadians, and 67% of the Europeans in the sample either strongly or somewhat disagreed that immigrants cost natives their jobs. Other studies suggest that immigrant workers themselves usually belong to the group of workers hardest hit by economic crises. For instance, the immigrant unemployment rate in Spain was 50% higher than that of the natives in 2008² (see Chart 4). When asked whether, in light of the economic crisis, immigrants bring down the wages of natives, majorities in Canada, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands thought that they did not. Only the United Kingdom (48% plurality) and Spain (55%) had large numbers who believed that immigrant workers bring wages down. The United States was



¹It should be noted that the public might have a different image of what constitutes an “immigrant” vis-à-vis official statistics. OECD defines immigrants as people who were born outside of their current country, whereas the public might consider the second or third generation to be immigrants as well.

²Duran, Jessica (2008). “Economic Downturn Impacts Most on Migrant Workers.” Eurofound, October 16, 2008.



largely split on this issue, with 44% thinking that immigrants negatively affect wages, whereas 51% thought that they did not (see Chart 4).

DETERIORATING FINANCES CONTRIBUTE TO MORE WORRIES

Transatlantic Trends: Immigration found that respondents' personal economic situation had a limited effect on their attitudes toward immigration. In all countries except the United States, those who reported that their household's financial situation got worse in the past 12 months were somewhat more likely to express worries about legal immigration than those whose financial situation stayed the same or got better. The largest gap was an eight-point difference in Germany and the United Kingdom. This relationship still applied even after controlling for a variety of other factors, such as age, gender, education, and political ideology (see Chart 5).

POLITICAL LEANINGS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

Although their household's financial situation had a slight effect on fears over legal immigration, respondents' political

leanings had the most pronounced effect on their perception of immigration. This suggests that immigration-related attitudes are heavily politicized. European respondents were asked to identify themselves on a left-to-right scale, whereas American respondents were asked to describe themselves as a Democrat, a Republican, or an Independent. In all six European countries, respondents on the political right were more likely to see immigration as more of a problem than those on the left. While there was very little change in answers to this question among Democrats in the United States and left-leaning respondents in Europe compared to 2008, Republicans and those on the right in Europe were more likely to see immigration as more of a problem compared to 2008. In the United States, there was a 15-point increase year-on-year among Republicans saying that immigration is more of a problem, and a seven-point increase from 2008 among those on the right in Europe. In other words, seeing immigration as "more of a problem" for the country increased markedly among those on the right side of the political spectrum but stayed stable on the left and in the center (see Chart 6).

"WORRIED ABOUT LEGAL IMMIGRATION," BY PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATION

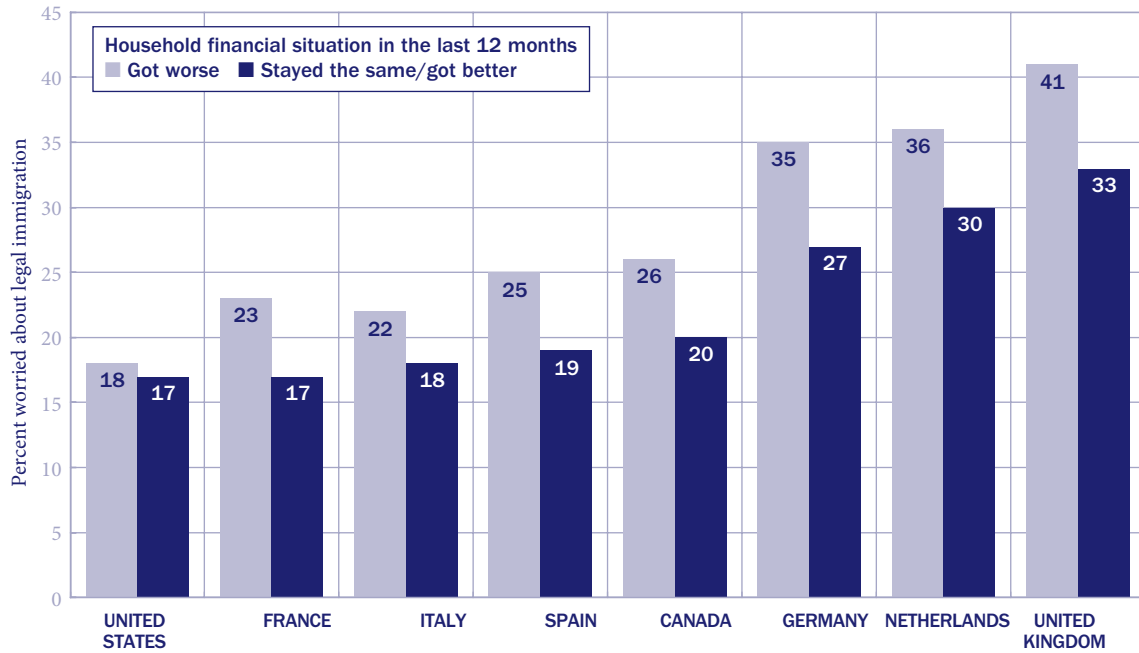


Chart 5

Source: D15 and Q5.1; see Chart Index

"IMMIGRATION IS MORE OF A PROBLEM," BY DECLARED POLITICAL AFFILIATION

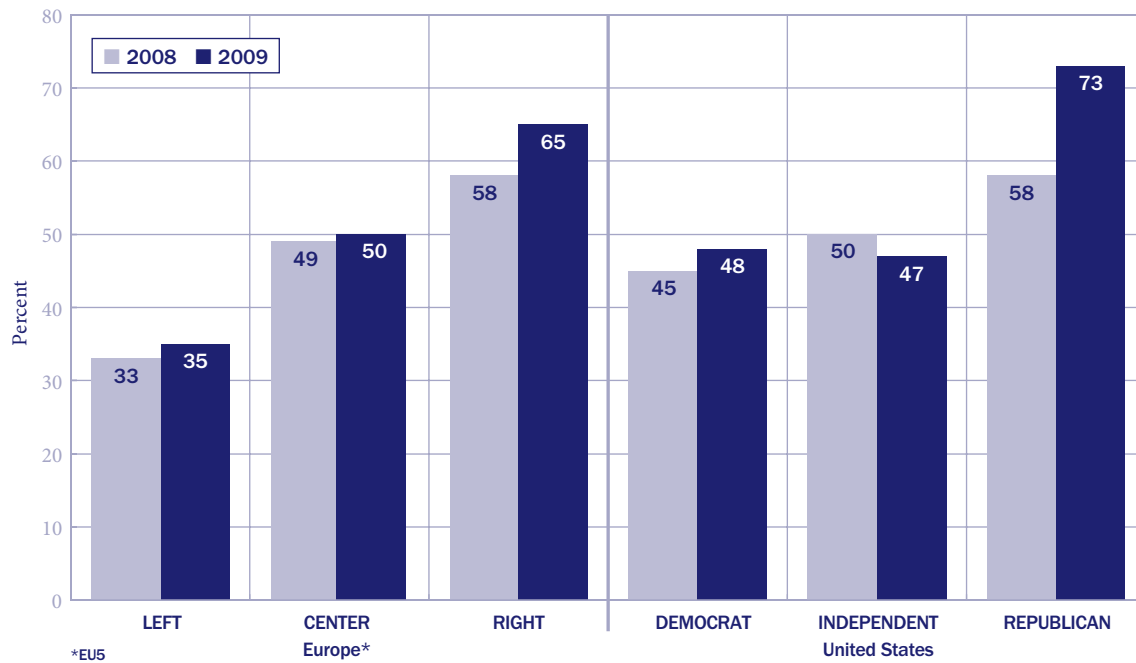


Chart 6

Source: Q27, D3b, and D5b; see Chart Index



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

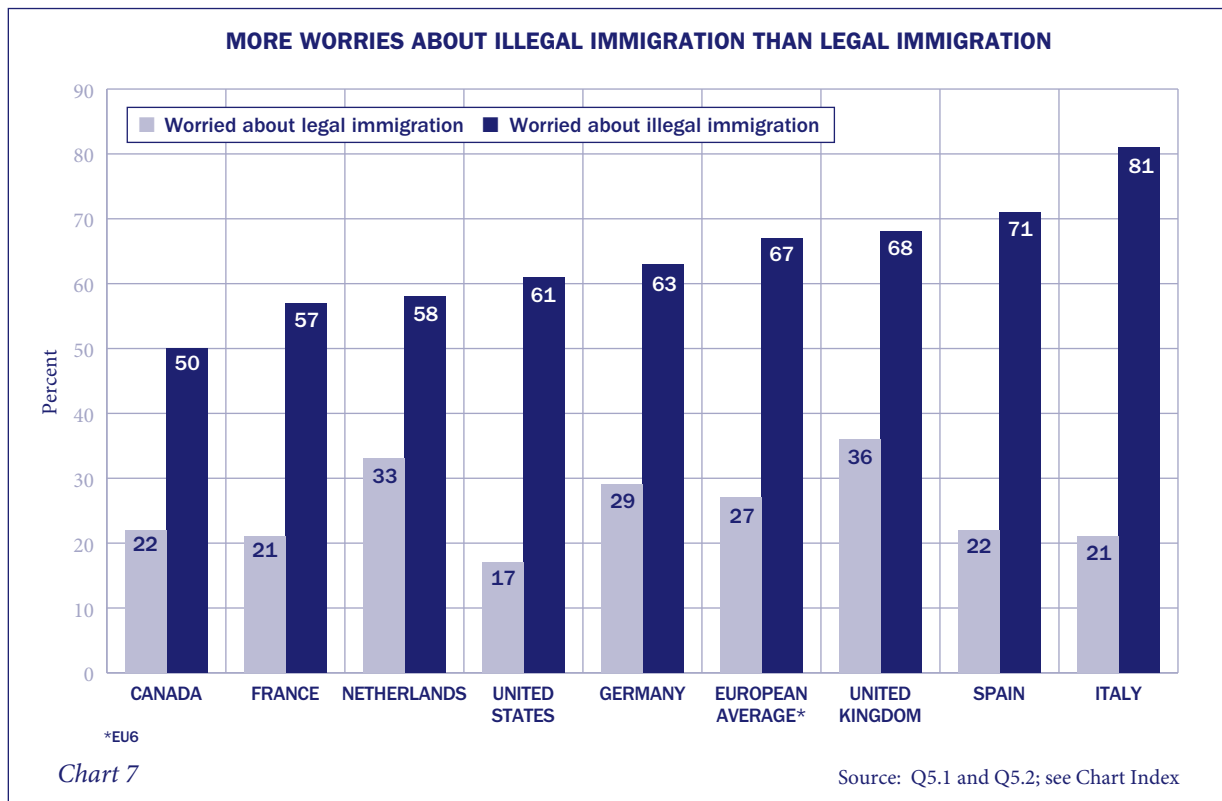
Immigration

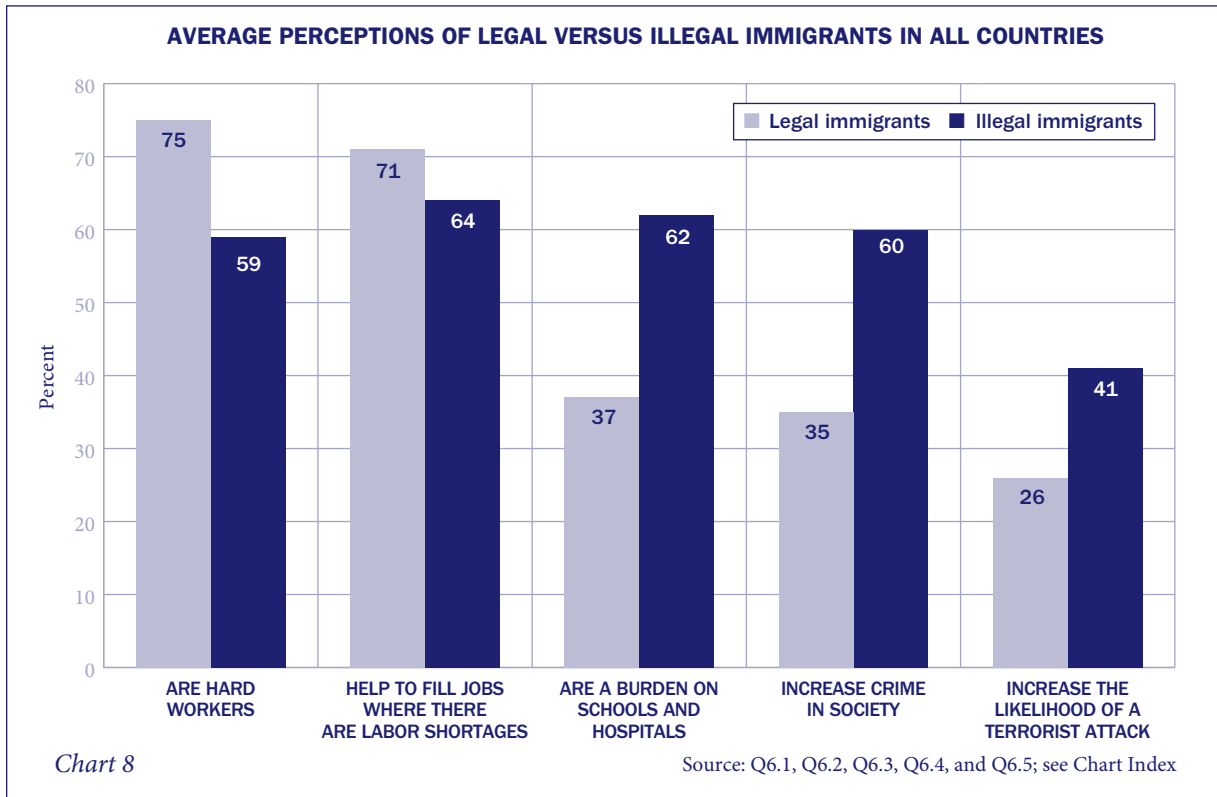
Sharp Distinctions between Legal and Illegal Immigration

This year's *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* made careful distinctions between legal and illegal immigration in order to more closely gauge public perceptions of different migrant groups and to measure corresponding policy preferences. The survey addressed worries about both types of immigration, as well as impressions of the labor market and the social impacts of legal versus illegal immigrants. Other topics covered were the management of legal immigration, permanent versus temporary labor migration, reducing illegal immigration, and legalization for illegal immigrants. The results showed that the countries surveyed were often split on their preferences for these policies.

MAJORITIES ARE WORRIED ABOUT ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

In each of the countries surveyed in 2009, all reliable estimates indicate that there are more legal than illegal immigrants present in the country. However, when *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* asked whether most immigrants were present legally or illegally, American (51%), Spanish (55%), and Italian (66%) respondents answered that most immigrants are in their countries illegally. Majorities in Germany (80%), Canada (76%), the Netherlands (71%), France (69%), and the United Kingdom (53%) said that most of their immigrants are legal. However, a majority or plurality in all countries surveyed expressed worries about illegal, though not about legal, immigration (see Chart 7). Seventy-eight percent of those





respondents who thought that most immigrants were in their country illegally were correspondingly also worried about illegal immigration.

ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS PERCEIVED MORE NEGATIVELY

Based on general statements about legal and illegal immigrants’ work habits and effects on the host society, legal immigrants were perceived to be less of a burden on social services and less likely to increase crime or raise the likelihood of a terrorist attack. This trend was seen across all countries and indicates that many of the negative stereotypes about immigrants can be attributed to worries about illegal, rather than legal, migrants (see Chart 8). By contrast, a majority in all countries believed that both legal and, to a lesser extent, illegal immigrants are hard workers and help to fill jobs where there are labor shortages.

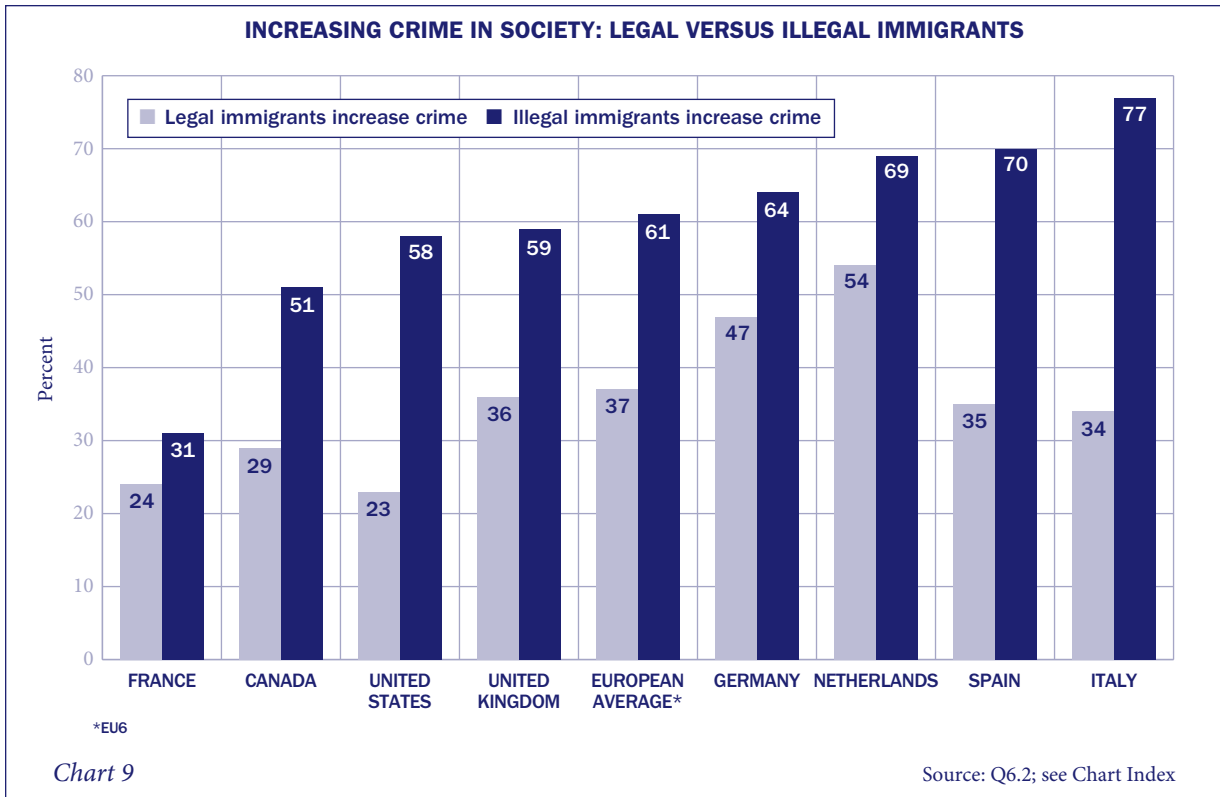
IMMIGRANTS SEEN TO BE A FISCAL DRAIN ON SOCIETY

In most countries, the public believed illegal immigrants to be a burden on social services, whereas they felt legal immigrants were not. However, when respondents were asked

about the fiscal impact of immigrants in general, the picture was less clear. Large majorities in the United States (65%) and across the countries polled in Europe (an average of 62%) thought that immigrants generally benefit more from health and welfare services than they contribute in taxes. Canada was the only country with closer numbers: 45% saw immigrants as a fiscal drain, whereas 31% thought that immigrants pay more in taxes than they take out in benefits, and 10% thought that the amounts were equal.

EUROPEANS POLLED ARE SPLIT ON IMMIGRANTS AND CRIME RATES

Countries were generally in agreement about the societal effects of legal and illegal immigrants, but the Europeans surveyed were split on the issue of crime. For instance, 54% of the Dutch and 47% of Germans thought that legal immigrants increase crime in society, but in Europe on average only 37% agreed with this statement. Also, France (as was the case in 2008), was less likely than other countries to link immigration and crime rates—only 31% said that illegal migrants increase crime, and a mere 24% said that legal migrants do so (see Chart 9).



COUNTRY PROFILE: FRANCE

FEWER CONCERNS ABOUT ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

Of all countries surveyed, the French public was the most positive on general statements about illegal immigrants' work habits and effects on society. Clear majorities said that illegal immigrants are hard workers (73%) and help to fill jobs that the French do not want (77%). Meanwhile, majorities thought that illegal immigrants are not a burden on social services (52%) and do not increase crime in society (68%) or the likelihood of a terrorist attack (80%).

Over the past few months, the French public has debated illegal immigration more vigorously. In September authorities dismantled a makeshift camp, known as "the jungle," which was set up by illegal migrants near the port of Calais. Rights protesters demonstrated against the police's actions, and the operation made international headlines. Earlier this year, high-profile activist arrest cases and a popular film raised the question of whether it should be a crime to help illegal

immigrants. The movie in question, *Welcome*, portrayed the lives of illegal immigrants trying to reach the United Kingdom from France. It drew attention to a French law that prohibits assistance to individuals without papers. Charities say that the law is used to discourage them from helping illegal immigrants and that activists are regularly taken in for questioning or prosecution. The immigration minister, Eric Besson, on the other hand, insists that the law is needed to crack down on human trafficking. The data of this year's *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration*, however, suggests that there is some sympathy for illegal immigrants among the French public.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in France	5,228,289
Immigrant share of overall population	8.5%

Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2009, data for 2007

Deciding Who to Admit and for How Long

LANGUAGE SKILLS, A JOB OFFER, AND EDUCATION ARE IMPORTANT FOR ADMISSION

When asked about the importance of various personal characteristics of potential immigrants, an overwhelming majority of respondents in all countries (88%) replied that “knowing the national language” was important for a migrant to be admitted to their country. An average of 83% in all countries also thought that having a job offer was important, though the proportion was somewhat lower in the United States, with only 72% in agreement. The importance of migrants having “a high level of education”

differed among the countries surveyed. Seventy-four percent of Germans, 71% of the British, and 69% of Americans thought advanced education was important, whereas only 44% of the French agreed. A slight majority of 51% in all countries thought it was not important for migrants to already have a family member in the country, and majorities in Europe (69%), Canada (67%) and the United States (54%) also thought that it was not important for migrants to come from “a country with a Christian heritage.” Overall, it seems that language skills, a job offer, and education are important to the public, whereas having family ties in the destination country and coming from a Christian heritage are not important in determining desirability for admission.

COUNTRY PROFILE: UNITED KINGDOM

WORRIED ABOUT IMMIGRANTS FROM EUROPEAN UNION COUNTRIES

In *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration*, the British public remained skeptical of current immigration management schemes, and many British people were worried about immigration, both legal and illegal. When asked, 36% answered they were worried about legal immigration and 68% felt the same about illegal immigration. Concern about immigration from other EU member states also remained high, with 47% answering that there are “too many” citizens of other EU countries living in the United Kingdom. Such findings most likely reflect public concern over the rise in the number of migrants from the countries that joined the EU in 2004, though much of this migration has been circular, meaning that many Eastern European migrants have returned to their countries of origin instead of remaining in the United Kingdom.

The British government recently introduced a new points-based system that divides applicants into five

tiers based upon their level of education, labor market demand for their skills, and their purpose of stay. As in most countries surveyed, resistance to low-skill migration remained strong in the United Kingdom, with 58% of respondents voicing support for reducing the numbers of low-skilled immigrant workers admitted into the country. Recently, the U.K. Border Agency suspended Tier 3 applications for low-skilled workers coming from outside the EU, a move that falls in line with public sentiment. However, many of the British surveyed (40%) also supported admitting fewer highly skilled immigrant workers to the United Kingdom, which may have implications for the emphasis on skills and education in the new points-based system.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in the United Kingdom	6,192,000
Immigrant share of overall population	10.2%

Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2009, data for 2007

MAJORITIES AGAIN FAVOR PERMANENT OVER TEMPORARY LABOR MIGRATION

As in 2008, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2009* asked respondents about their preferences for temporary versus permanent labor migration schemes. Majorities in all countries surveyed again indicated that “legal immigrants who come to [the country] to work” should be given the opportunity to stay permanently. The support was strongest in Canada (76%), France (73%), and the United States (70%), followed by Spain (68%), Italy (68%), and Germany (65%). Smaller majorities were seen in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, where 56% in both countries favored permanent over temporary migration. When this year’s results are compared to those from last year, the trend is remarkably stable in all countries except the United States, where there was an 8-percentage-point jump—from 62% in 2008 to 70% in 2009—in the share of respondents favoring permanent labor migration (see Chart 10).

INTEGRATION IS THE PRIMARY RATIONALE FOR FAVORING PERMANENT MIGRATION

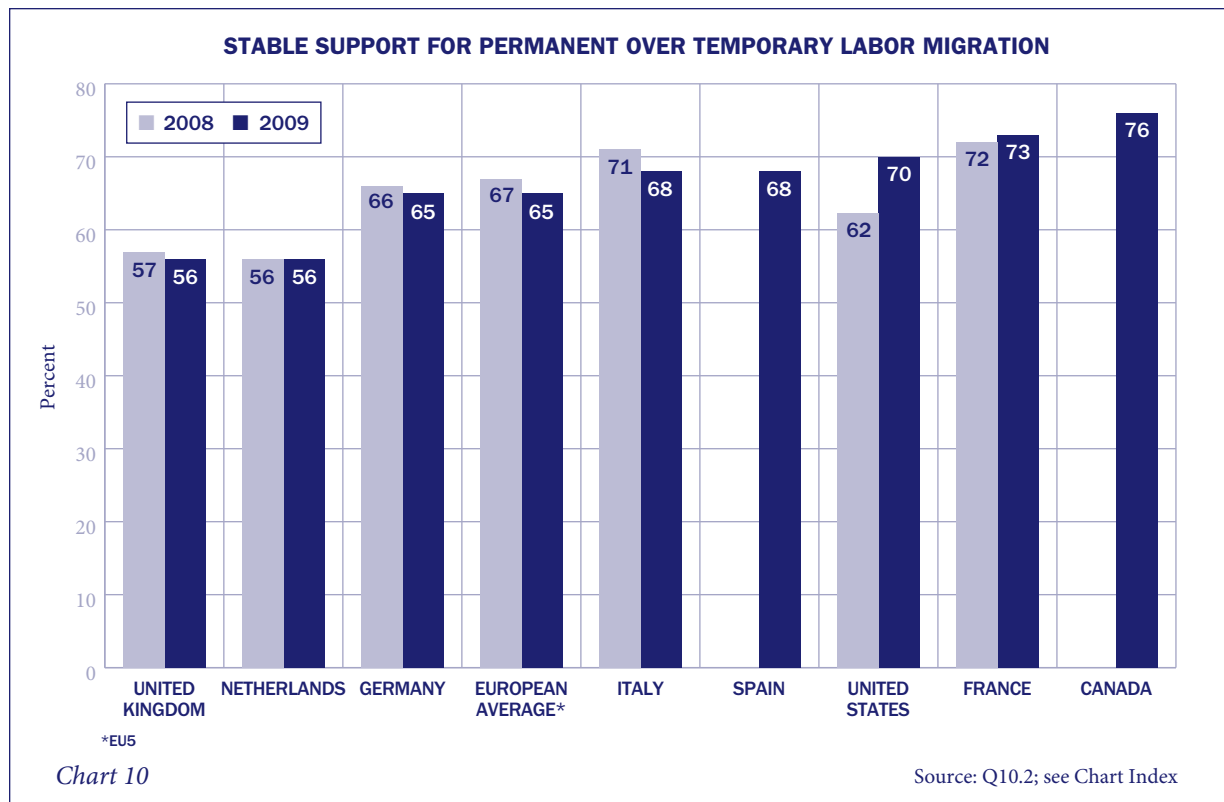
Those respondents who were in favor of permanent over temporary migration were then asked why they thought it

better to give immigrants the opportunity to stay permanently. Fifty-four percent of respondents in Europe indicated that “permanent immigrants integrate better into society than temporary immigrants would,” while 43% of Americans and 40% of Canadians answered likewise. The second most popular reason for favoring permanent migration was the idea that the country benefits because immigrants continue to use their skills there. This reason was cited by 30% of Europeans, 36% of Americans, and 45%—a plurality—of Canadians.

Addressing Illegal Immigration

MOST COUNTRIES OPPOSE OR ARE SPLIT ON LEGALIZATION, EXCEPT FRANCE AND GERMANY

As in 2008, respondents were asked whether they thought that illegal immigrants should be required to return to their home country or given some sort of legal status allowing them to remain. In comparison with the 2008 survey, this year’s results showed that there are now majorities in Germany (52%) and France (55%) in favor of legalization—this was an increase in support of seven and eight percentage



points, respectively. The United Kingdom (28%) and Italy (36%) were the countries with the lowest support for legalization, though support for legalization in Italy rose this year, from 27% in 2008 to 36% in 2009. Spain (45%) and the Netherlands (39%) were not largely in favor of giving illegal immigrants legal status, whereas Canada had a plurality (47%) supporting legalization; all three countries appear to be split on the issue. The United States was also split but has shifted slightly away from legalization—49% supported this policy in 2008, but only 44% did in 2009. Instead, a plurality of 48% preferred that illegal immigrants be required to return to their countries of origin (see Chart 11).

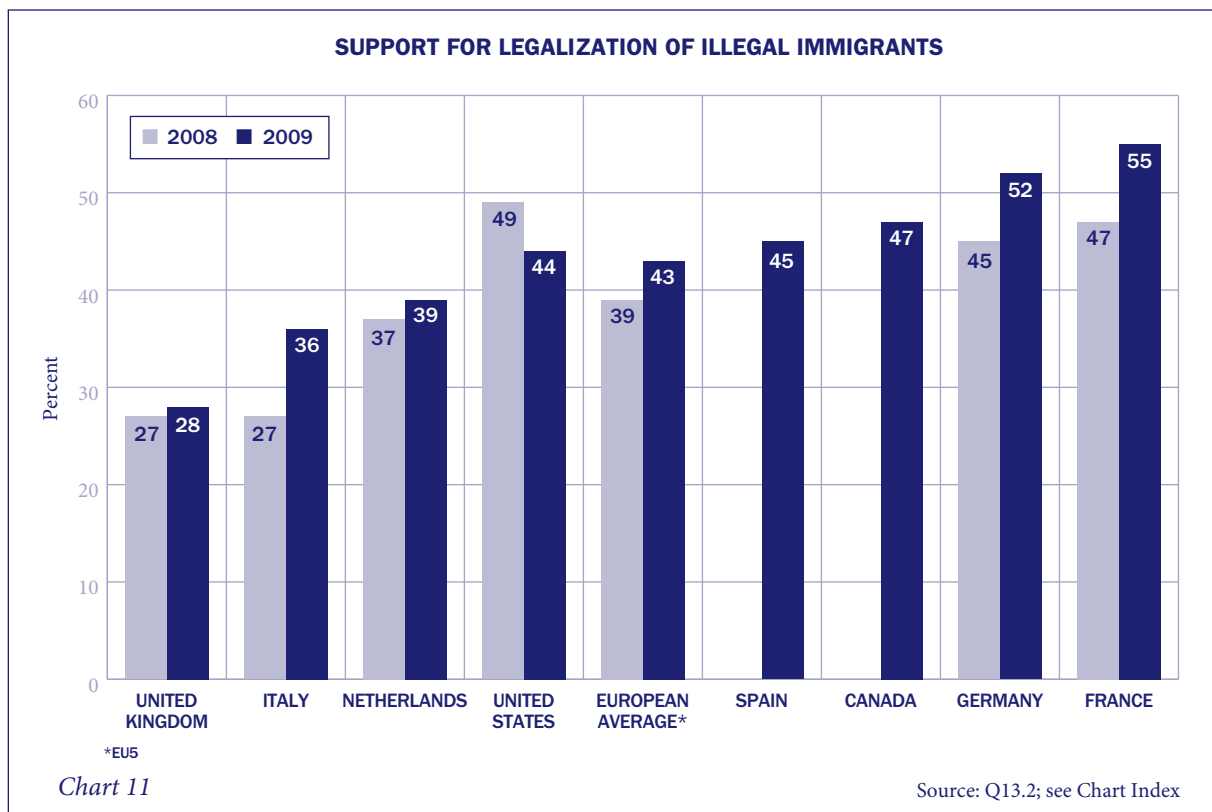
PROTECTION FROM EXPLOITATION IS MAIN RATIONALE FOR FAVORING LEGALIZATION

In all countries, those respondents who were in favor of giving illegal immigrants an opportunity to obtain legal status were asked to specify why they supported this policy. In all countries, a majority or a plurality—55% in Europe, 47% in Canada, and 38% in the United States—said that giving illegal immigrants legal status protects them from being

exploited. A significant percentage (33%) of Americans also indicated that their main rationale for support was the fact that it would be impossible to remove everyone living in the country illegally. Thus, it seems that protection from exploitation is the main justification for legalization in Europe and Canada, while in the United States it is a combination of protection and pragmatism in the face of a large illegal immigrant population.

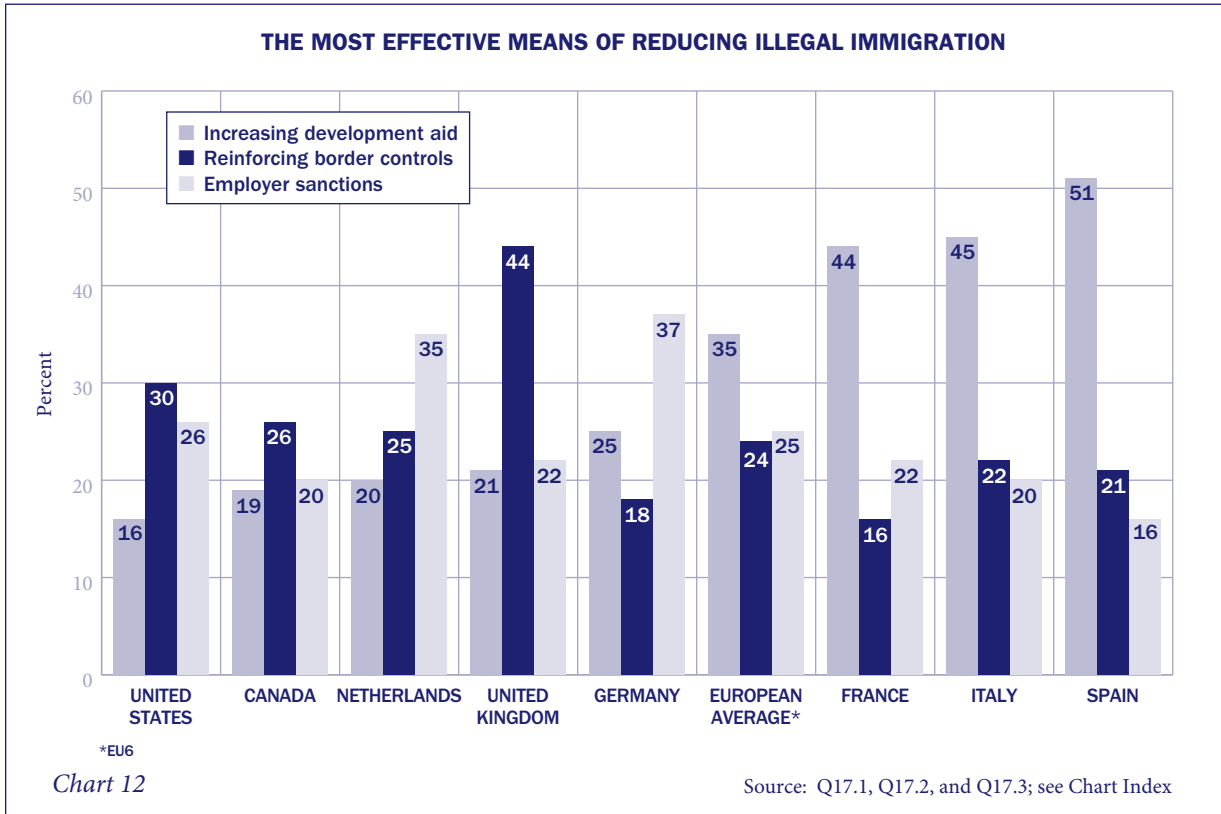
MOST EFFECTIVE POLICIES TO REDUCE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION VARY BY REGION

As in 2008, all countries surveyed expressed widespread support for a broad variety of measures to reduce illegal immigration. When asked if they supported or opposed such policies, averages of 78% said they would like to reinforce border controls, 65% supported imposing tougher penalties on employers who hire illegal workers, 65% would make it easier for immigrants to enter legally to work or study, and 64% supported increasing development aid to countries whose citizens immigrate illegally. In *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2009*, respondents were also asked which of the



four policies would be the most effective in reducing illegal immigration. The answers to this question varied greatly by region. Countries bordering the Mediterranean had large pluralities or a slight majority—France (44%), Italy (45%), and Spain (51%)—who thought that increasing development aid would be the most effective. Reinforcing border controls, by contrast, was seen as the most effective by only 16% in France, 22% in Italy, and 21% in Spain. The United

Kingdom was the country that most favored reinforcing border controls, with a plurality of 44% viewing this policy as the most effective (see Chart 12). In northern continental Europe, 37% percent of Germans and 35% of the Dutch would prefer to impose employer sanctions. Respondents in the United States and Canada were more evenly split among border controls, employer sanctions, and increased avenues for legal migration.



COUNTRY PROFILE: SPAIN

SPAIN SUPPORTS DEVELOPMENT AID FOR IMMIGRANT-SENDING COUNTRIES

For much of the 20th century, Spain was a country of emigration. It was not until the country's remarkable economic growth in the late 1990s that immigration became a major phenomenon. As a rapidly growing country with need for labor, Spain became attractive to immigrants from many new EU member states, Latin America, and North Africa, and in 2008 the OECD reported that immigrants made up 13% of the total Spanish population. The Spanish public has expressed worry, however, about the phenomenon of illegal immigration in the country. Fifty-five percent of Spanish respondents thought that most immigrants are in the country illegally, and a large majority (71%) were worried about illegal immigration.

When asked what they viewed as the best way to reduce illegal immigration, a striking 51% of the Spanish answered that increasing development aid

to countries from which people immigrate illegally is the best solution. This falls in line with the sentiments of respondents in the other countries on the Mediterranean, Italy and France, where there was also widespread consensus (45% and 44%, respectively) that development aid would be the most effective way to reduce illegal immigration. In light of the well-publicized issue of African immigrants arriving by boat to the country, a small percentage (21%) of Spanish respondents supported reinforcing border controls. It therefore seems that the Spanish would rather create incentives for people to stay in their country of origin than concentrate on stopping them in transit.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in Spain	5,995,962
Immigrant share of overall population	13.4%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2009, data for 2007	



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

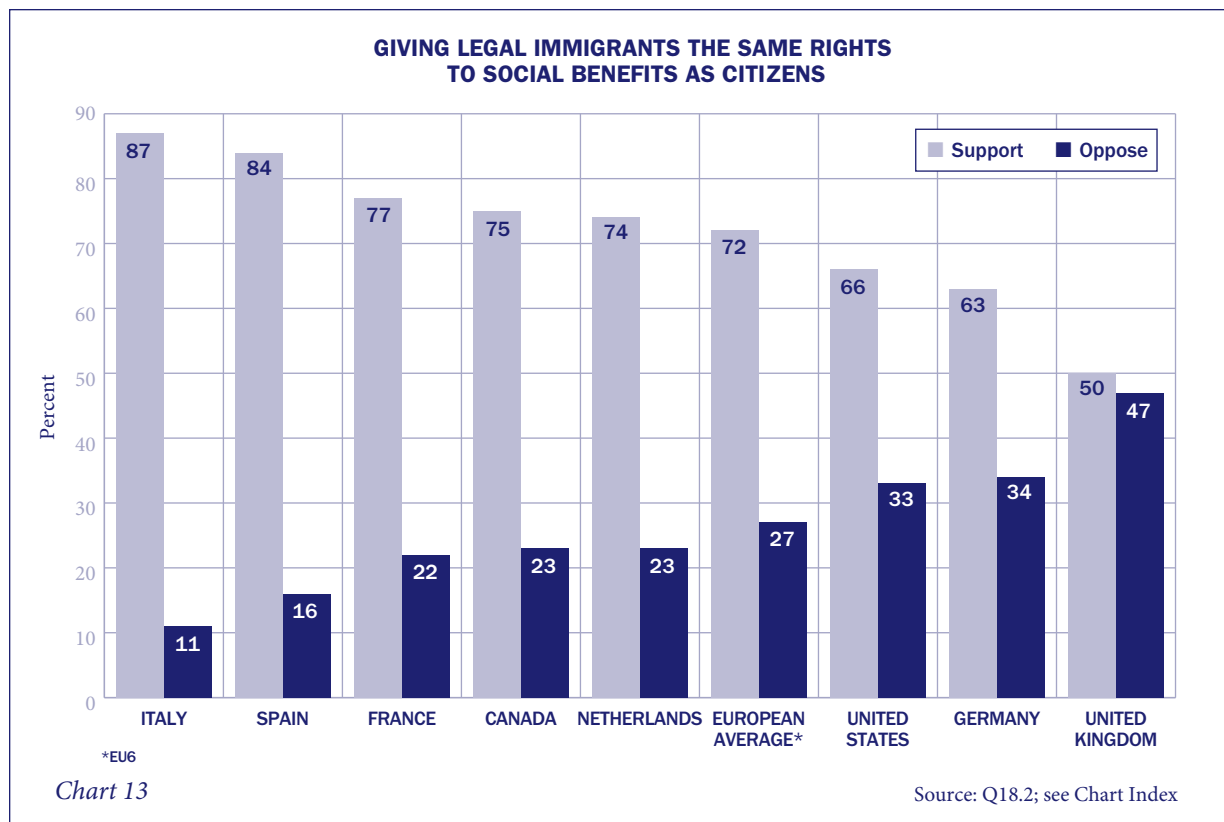
Immigration

Cultural and Economic Integration are Seen as Essential

Meeting the challenges of living in a new country can be a daunting task for immigrants. Integration is a multifaceted process that includes cultural, economic, and political aspects, and successful integration is dependent as much on the willingness of the immigrant as it is on the attitudes of the natives of the host country. *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2009* found that there was support—albeit weakening—for granting legal immigrants social benefits and rights of political participation in all countries. However, opinions differed across countries as to whether immigration enriches or negatively affects national culture.

MAJORITIES SUPPORT SOCIAL BENEFITS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR IMMIGRANTS

Majorities in Europe and North America supported granting legal immigrants “the same social benefits” as national citizens (72% in Europe, 66% in the United States, and 75% in Canada). However, year-on-year support dropped in the Netherlands (from 83% in 2008 to 74% in 2009) and the United Kingdom (from 57% to 50%). The British response also included a high percentage of those “strongly opposed” to granting immigrants social benefits (28%). The biggest support for granting social benefits came from Italy (87%) and Spain (84%) (see Chart 13).

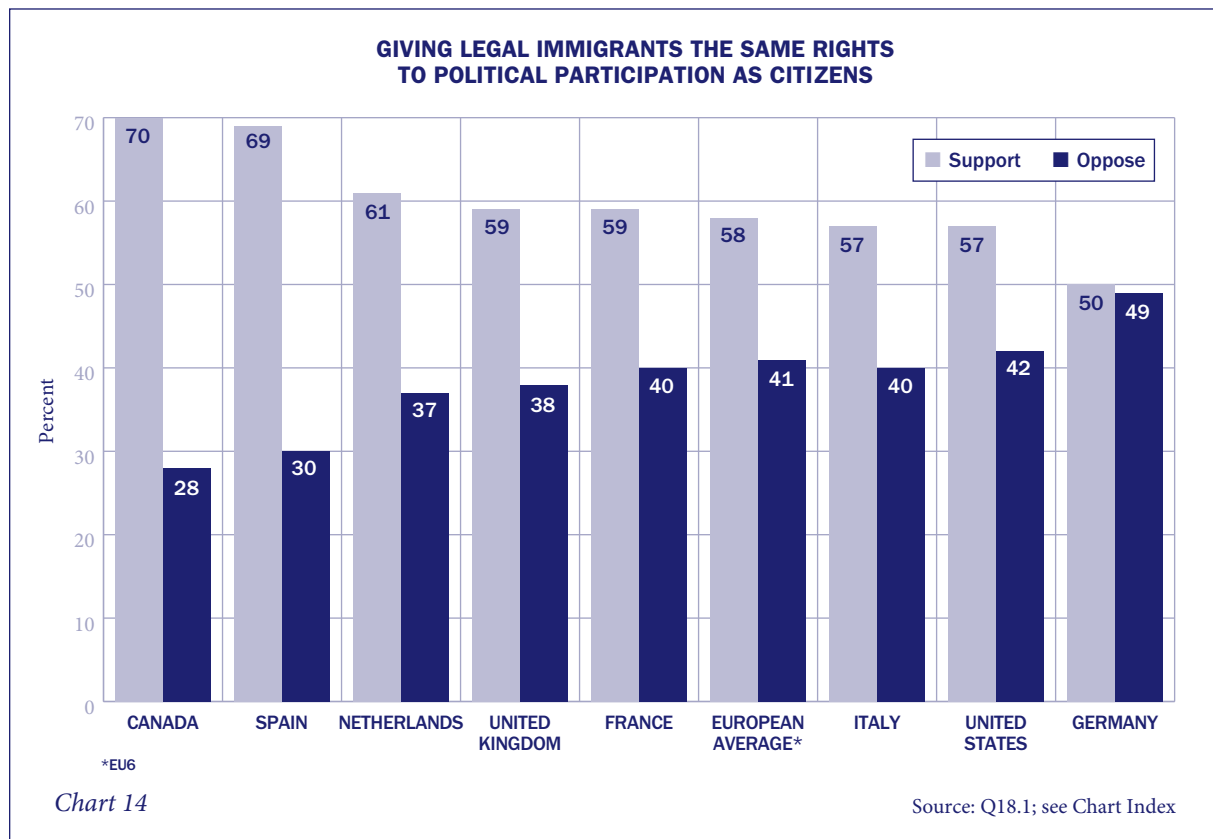


Approval for giving immigrants the same rights of political participation as national citizens also dwindled somewhat since last year. This drop was particularly visible in the Netherlands (from 69% to 61%), the United Kingdom (from 65% to 59%), and France (from 64% to 59%). Nevertheless, majorities in all countries still agreed with the policy. The strongest approval for granting immigrants political participation rights came from Canada (70%) and Spain (69%), and the weakest support was in Germany, where 50% were in favor and 49% were against (see Chart 14).

When asked if legal immigrants “should have the right to vote in local government elections,” around half of the Europeans in the sample supported the policy (52% were in favor), with public opinion being the most supportive in France (65%), Italy, and Spain (both 53%). On the other hand, the United States and Canada had majorities (62% and 54%, respectively) that opposed granting local voting rights to legal immigrants.

MIGRANTS MUST BE ABLE TO INTEGRATE CULTURALLY AND ECONOMICALLY

In debates over immigration policies, it is sometimes heard that preference for admission should be given to immigrants who will fit in smoothly with national culture; others maintain instead that the most important thing is finding employment. *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* gauged public opinion on this debate, and respondents clearly indicated that it is not enough for immigrants to be able to integrate *only* culturally or *only* economically—they must do both. When asked about admitting an immigrant with a good chance of finding a job but who would not fit in smoothly, 66% of respondents rejected this as a bad idea; 67% said the same about admitting an immigrant without a job offer but with the ability to easily integrate culturally. However, when asked about letting in a group of new immigrants who could easily find a job *and* would also fit in smoothly, 75% of respondents thought this would be a good



COUNTRY PROFILE: ITALY

SUPPORT FOR LEGAL IMMIGRANTS' LOCAL VOTING RIGHTS, SOCIAL BENEFITS

Italy was among the countries that were most supportive when asked if legal immigrants “should have the right to vote in local government elections”; 53% of respondents were in favor. The Italian constitution currently grants the right to vote only to citizens, but the issue of giving similar rights to noncitizens was repeatedly brought to public attention during immigration policy debates during the last decade. Centre-Right coalitions were generally opposed to such reform, but even Centre-Left majorities, as in 1998, could not reach final agreement on this matter.

On the issue of granting legal immigrants the same social benefits that citizens enjoy, Italian respondents were the most supportive of any country surveyed, with

87% in favor. This is in keeping with current legislation, which grants legal immigrants the same social rights as Italian citizens, although with a number of significant exceptions (as with access to public social housing). Even illegal immigrants in the country can receive essential public healthcare and state education, though *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* found that 63% of Italians thought that illegal immigrants are a burden on social services like schools and hospitals.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in Italy	3,891,295
Immigrant share of overall population	6.5%
Source: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica 2009, data for 2009	

idea. There were, however, some transatlantic differences: North Americans seemed to prefer economic integration, whereas the Dutch put comparatively stronger emphasis on cultural adaptation.

IMMIGRATION SEEN TO ENHANCE NATIONAL CULTURE IN MOST COUNTRIES

There was general transatlantic agreement that immigration enhances national culture with new customs and ideas. The most optimistic were the French, 68% of whom thought that “immigration enriches culture,” as well as Americans and Canadians, of whom 65% agreed. More pessimistic were the British, a plurality of whom (47%) instead thought that “immigration negatively affects national culture.” Respondents of the survey who were born in another country had strong opinions about immigration’s cultural effects: 70% of these immigrants said that “immigration enriches culture.”

WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT-PAID LANGUAGE CLASSES

Last year 85% of respondents in Europe and 88% in the United States voiced their support for “offering free language

courses” as a means of integrating legal immigrants and their families. However, when asked this year whether the government should pay for these classes, there was widespread opposition. Majorities in all countries, with the exception of Canada, said that “it is not the responsibility of government to pay for language courses.” The country most opposed to government-paid language classes was the United Kingdom (73%), followed by the United States (67%). In Canada, public opinion was split, with 48% supporting and 49% opposing government-sponsored language courses.

CONTACT WITH IMMIGRANTS IMPORTANT PREDICTOR OF OPINIONS ABOUT INTEGRATION

Majorities in all countries said that they felt comfortable having an immigrant as a neighbor, as a boss, or as the partner or spouse of a close relative. Social contact with immigrants had an effect on perceptions about barriers to integration. Respondents who felt uncomfortable having an immigrant as a neighbor were more likely to say that immigrants’ unwillingness to integrate was the greatest barrier to integration (60%, compared to the average of 47%). Similarly, 51% of respondents who did not have any friends

COUNTRY PROFILE: THE NETHERLANDS

CULTURAL ADAPTATION MORE IMPORTANT THAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Although respondents in the Netherlands indicated that it is not enough to be only culturally or only economically integrated, they put a larger emphasis on cultural adaptation than did other survey respondents. The Netherlands has a long history of multiculturalism: initially guest workers and immigrants from former colonies were encouraged to preserve their own cultures, citizenship was easily obtained, and for immigrants not proficient in Dutch, many government services were provided in their mother tongues.

In the past several years, new immigration and integration laws have been introduced that represent a move away from the earlier multicultural model. In 1998 the Netherlands was the first country in Europe to launch a mandatory integration program for which most newcomers from outside the EU, with the exception of students and temporary workers, had to take 600 hours of language and societal orientation classes. Since 2007 the courses are no longer compulsory, but immigrants

must pass a civic integration exam to be eligible for a permanent residence permit. The examination tests candidates' basic knowledge of Dutch language and customs, and people from countries requiring entry visas must take this examination abroad at a Dutch embassy before traveling to the Netherlands.

Overall, the influence of immigration on culture has become an increasingly important issue in political debate in the Netherlands. Current legislation has the stated objective of facilitating immigrants' smooth integration into Dutch society, and *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* has shown that 60% of the Dutch believe that immigration enriches their culture.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

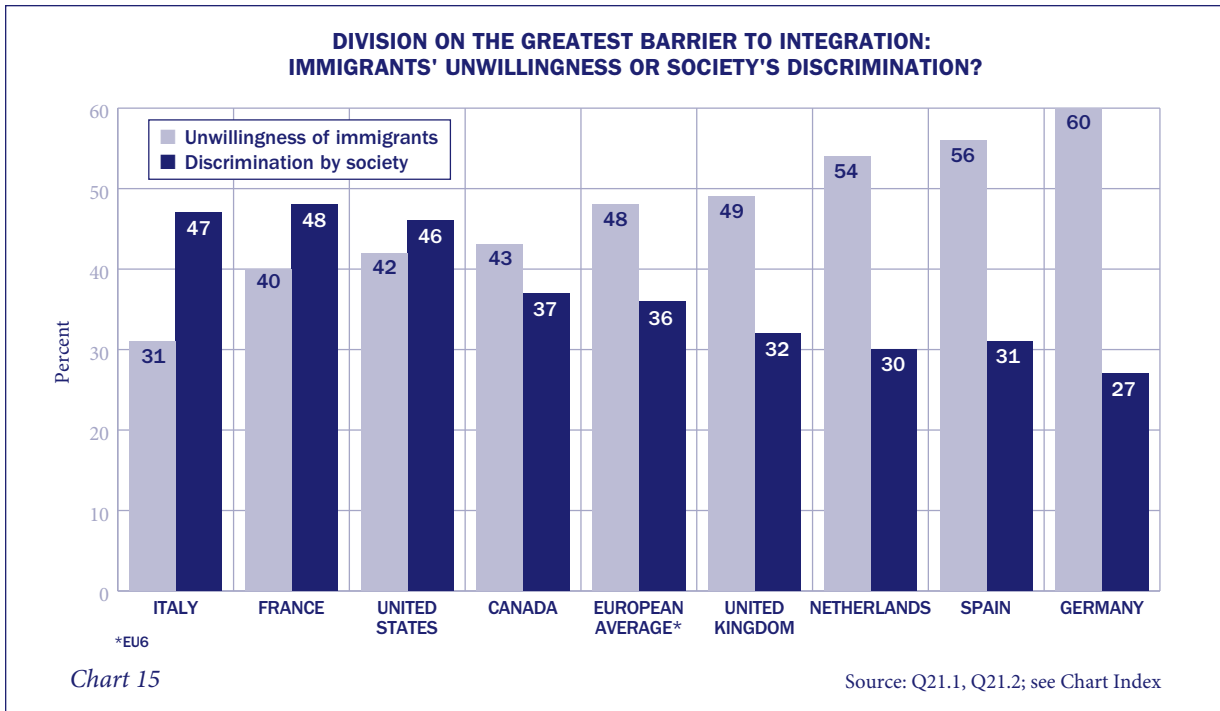
Immigrant population in the Netherlands	1,751,033
Immigrant share of overall population	10.7%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2009, data for 2007	

from another country said that the unwillingness of immigrants to integrate is the greatest barrier to integration; only 42% of respondents with several immigrant friends agreed.

DIVISION ON PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO INTEGRATION

When asked about the greatest barrier "that prevent immigrants from integrating," respondents were split between believing that it was immigrants' unwillingness to integrate or that it was discrimination on the part of society. Of all respondents surveyed, a plurality (47%) thought that

the unwillingness of immigrants was to blame, whereas 37% said that "discrimination against immigrants is the greatest barrier" (see Chart 15). Eleven percent thought that immigrants' unwillingness and discrimination were equal barriers. Meanwhile, respondents of the survey who also said that they had at least one immigrant parent were more likely to cite discrimination as the main problem for integration; this difference was particularly pronounced in the United States, where 66% of those with at least one foreign-born parent thought that discrimination is the most significant barrier to integration.



COUNTRY PROFILE: CANADA

STRONG SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRANT INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

Large majorities in Canada supported the policies of granting legal immigrants access to the same social benefits (75%) and affording them the same rights of political participation (70%) as national citizens. At least a third of respondents even gave their “strong support” for these policies (38% for social benefits and 33% for political participation rights)—more than in any other country. Canada was also the most supportive of government-paid language classes.

Since the 1980s Canada has accepted more immigrants in proportion to population size than any other country, and its “point system” immigration policy is often used as a model. Relatively easy access to citizenship has led to high naturalization rates in Canada and to correspondingly high levels of immigrant involvement in social and political life. A wide array of government-funded services exists to facilitate integration: The Canadian Orientation Abroad initiative provides orientation for newcomers in

their countries of origin, while the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program helps organizations to deliver useful information to new Canadians, provide translation and interpretation services, and refer migrants to community resources. The Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada program also provides training in English or French free of charge. Finally, the Host Program matches immigrants with Canadian volunteers who encourage participation in community activities and give employment-related guidance. The data from *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2009*, targeting issues of social benefits and political participation for migrants, seems to indicate that Canadians support the government’s integration efforts.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in Canada	6,331,694
Immigrant share of overall population	20.1%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2009, data for 2007	



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

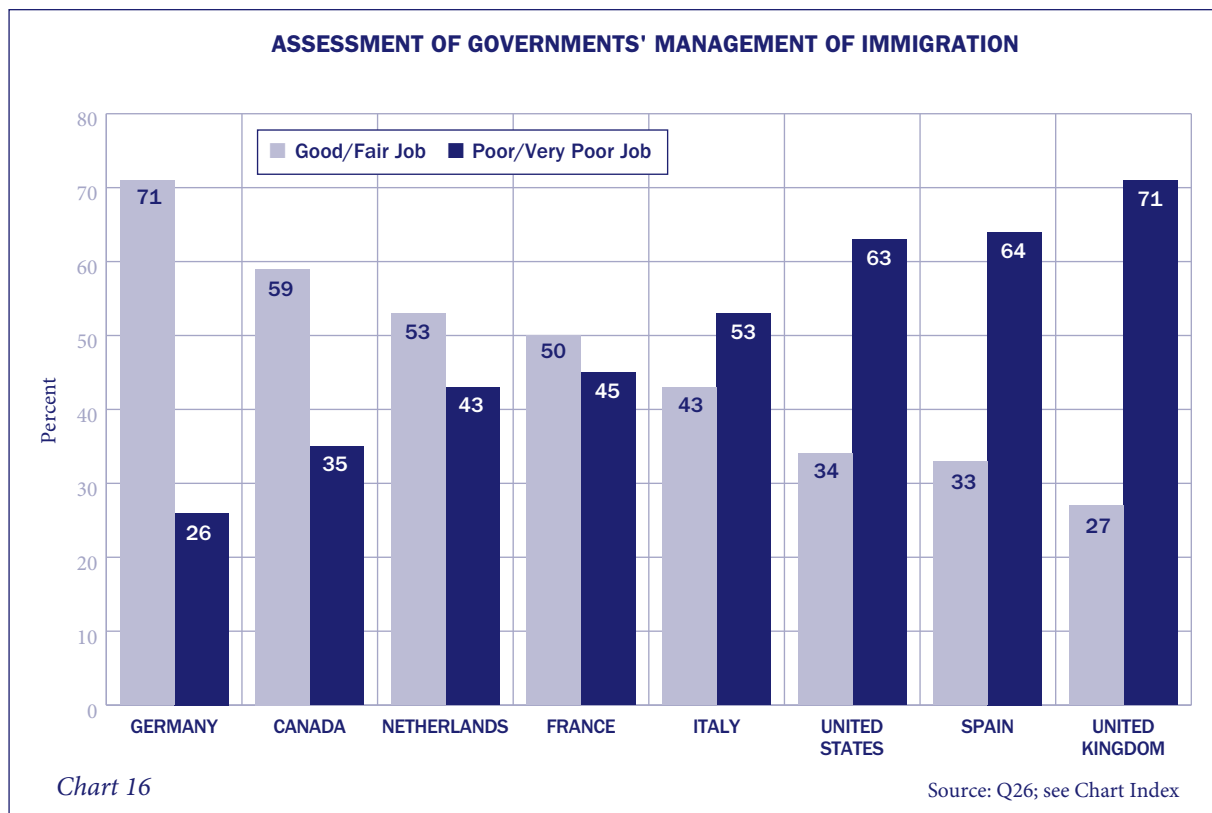
Immigration

Publics Rate Their Governments' Management of Immigration

Formulating an immigration policy that meets the needs of society is a difficult challenge for any government; determining the level at which such policy should be formed and enacted is equally complex. Where does the public stand on immigration policy? At what level in Europe and North America does the public feel immigration policy should be formed and enforced? *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* examined approval levels for current immigration management schemes, as well as questions surrounding immigration policy jurisdiction and governance.

MIXED VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT'S MANAGEMENT OF IMMIGRATION

When asked how they thought their governments were handling immigration, respondents varied significantly by country in their assessments. In Germany, 71% of those surveyed believed that the government was doing a good or fair job in managing immigration—by far the most positive assessment of all countries surveyed. The Netherlands also had a majority (53%) with a positive assessment, and a majority of Canadians (59%) voiced their support for current management policies.



Not all countries approved of their government's handling of immigration, however. In the United Kingdom and Spain, large majorities—71% and 64%, respectively—believed that their government was doing a poor or very poor job in managing migration. In the United States, 63% shared this view, with over a quarter (29%) indicating that the government was doing a very poor job (see Chart 16).

MOST EUROPEANS SUPPORT A COMMON EU IMMIGRATION POLICY

Similarly to last year, Europeans on average expressed considerable support for EU-level decision-making on immigration policy (58%). The Netherlands answered with 54% in support of further cooperation, a marked increase from the 47% approval rate in 2008. However, the United Kingdom again separated from its EU peers, with 53% saying that decisions about immigration policy should be made on the national level and only 30% looking for such issues to be determined at the EU level (see Chart 17).

NORTH AMERICANS LOOK TO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR IMMIGRATION POLICY

Large majorities in Canada (74%) and the United States (71%) shared the view that immigration policies should be decided at the national level, rather than the state/provincial or local level. In the United States, however, there was a slight increase in support for state or local policymaking. In 2009, 24% showed a preference for state and local officials deciding immigration policy, an increase from only 17% support in 2008.

COUNTRY PROFILE: UNITED STATES

DISSATISFACTION WITH IMMIGRATION MANAGEMENT POLICY

In the United States, majorities from all political parties agreed that the government was doing a poor or very poor job in managing immigration. Republicans (76%), Independents (69%), and Democrats (53%) expressed mutual discontent with the government's handling of this issue.

Comprehensive Immigration Reform in the United States was attempted in 2006 and 2007 as a bipartisan effort under the Bush administration. However, public outcry over a so-called "amnesty" for illegal immigrants, as well as infighting within both the Democratic and Republican parties, prevented the legislation from passing. On the campaign trail, Barack

Obama pledged to restart the immigration debate during his first year as President, but since that time, other concerns such as the economic crisis, healthcare reform, climate change legislation, and the United States' involvement in Afghanistan have delayed work on the issue of immigration. Both parties recognize the need for new legislation on this issue, and U.S. President Barack Obama has promised to address immigration reform again starting in 2010.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in the United States	41,099,600
Immigrant share of overall population	13.6 %
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2009, data for 2007	

COUNTRY PROFILE: GERMANY

MOST SATISFIED WITH GOVERNMENT'S IMMIGRATION MANAGEMENT

Of all countries surveyed, Germans were most satisfied with the steps that their government has taken to manage immigration; 71% of respondents said that the German government had been doing a good or fair job. This satisfaction spans the political spectrum, with 66% of Germans who assigned themselves to the political right thinking that the government has done a good or fair job; 75% of centrists and 71% on the political left shared this view.

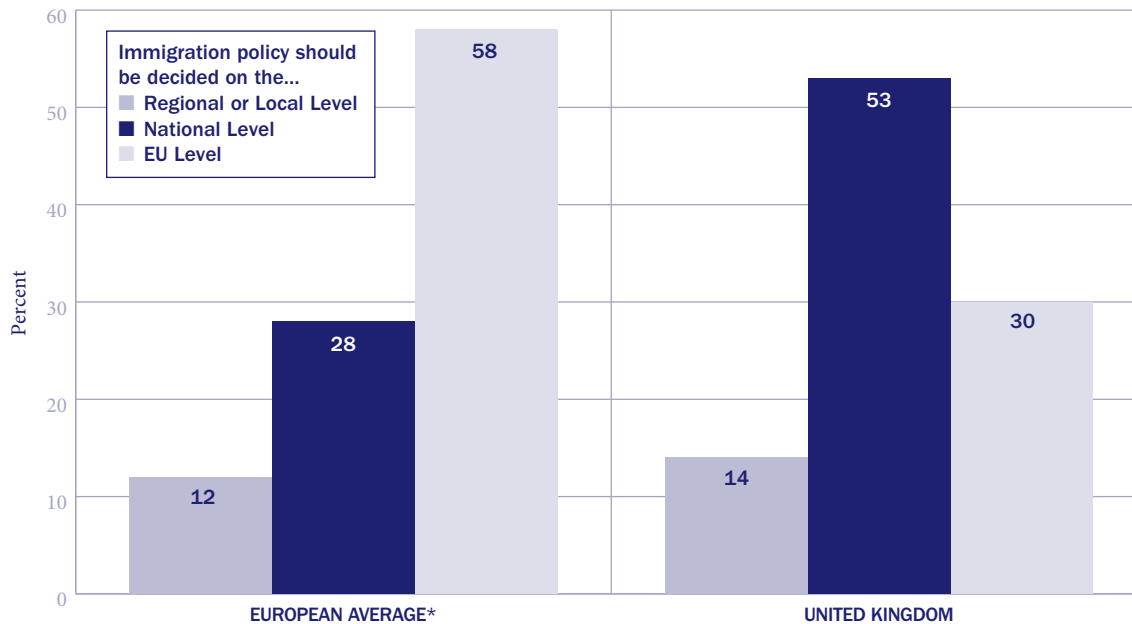
In the past decade, Germany has increasingly addressed the question of immigration and integration management and has reformed its legislation in this area, beginning with a reform of the Nationality Act in 1998. In 2005, a new Immigration Act also came into force, which contained provisions on the entry and residence of immigrants and foreign workers, simplified procedures

for highly-skilled immigrants, and established integration courses for newcomers from non-EU countries. In 2007, the Immigration Act was modified to introduce a naturalization test and require immigrants wanting to reunite with their spouses in Germany to have a basic knowledge of the German language before entering the country. Generally speaking, government action in the past decade has been more open toward immigrants and immigrant integration, while also being stricter on immigration management. The data from *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* seem to indicate that the German public is largely satisfied with this management.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in Germany	10,620,774
Immigrant share of overall population	12.9%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2009, data for 2003	

BRITISH SKEPTICISM OF EU IMMIGRATION MANAGEMENT



*EU6

Chart 17

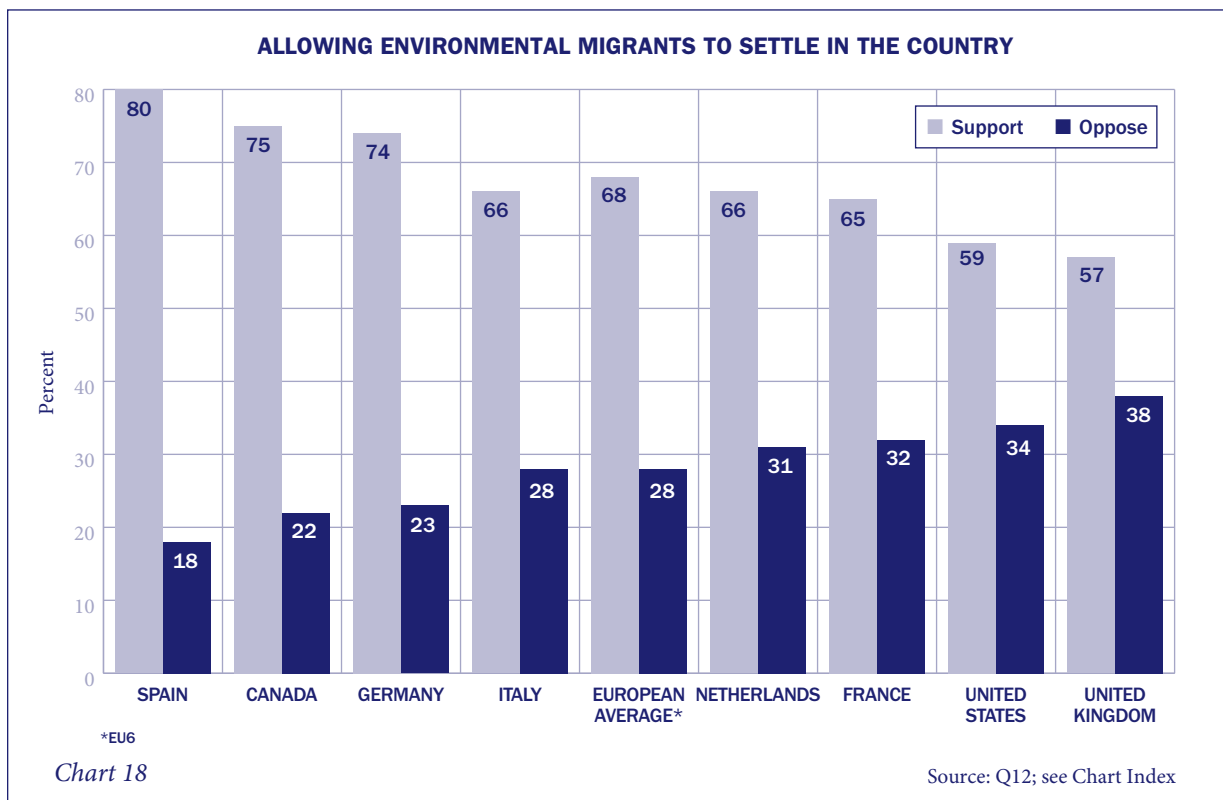
Source: Q22.1, Q22.2 and Q22.3; see Chart Index

SPECIAL FOCUS: ENVIRONMENTAL MIGRATION

Environmental deterioration—including natural disasters, rising sea levels, and more frequent droughts affecting agricultural production—could cause an unprecedented number of people to leave their homes in the coming decades. This year’s *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* gauged support for allowing individuals displaced by events linked to global climate change to settle in the countries polled.

Although exact numbers of expected environmental migrants are hard to come by and estimates vary widely,

most respondents surveyed expressed support for allowing the settlement of environmental migrants in their respective countries. Canada (75%) and Spain (80%) showed the most support for such measures; European countries polled averaged 68% support; and 59% of Americans also supported allowing environmental migrants to settle in their country. Even in the United Kingdom, where the highest proportion of respondents saw immigration as a problem, a majority (57%) supported admission of environmental migrants (see Chart 18).





TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Conclusion

The second year of *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* revealed some important changes over last year's findings and introduced a series of new and topical questions in a growing number of countries. After a careful analysis of the results, the following major themes emerged that could be important for policymakers.

The percentage of those who saw immigration as more of a problem than an opportunity increased in the European countries polled by seven points. Negative views were closely linked to political leanings; in the United States, for example, those describing themselves as Republicans were 15 points more likely to say that immigration was more of a problem in 2009 than they did in 2008.

The survey found that the effects of the economic crisis on perceptions of immigration were complex; majorities did not believe that immigrants take away jobs from the native-born or lower their wages. However, at the household level it was found that those families who experienced financial difficulties in the past 12 months tended to be more worried about legal immigration than those whose financial situation stayed the same or got better.

The public drew a very clear line between legal and illegal immigrants, and illegal immigration was viewed very negatively by people on both sides of the Atlantic. Permanent labor migration programs, however, were favored over temporary schemes because people felt that permanent immigrants integrate better into society than would temporary migrants. The preferred policies for fighting illegal immigration varied widely from country to country. Mediterranean countries preferred the policy of increasing developmental aid to sending countries, the British favored reinforcing border controls, and Germans and the Dutch preferred tougher sanctions on employers who hire illegal immigrants.

On questions of integration, most respondents agreed that immigration enhances their national culture, and they approved of government policies to afford legal immigrants social benefits and political participation rights. However, most also disapproved of their government paying for national language courses for migrants. Nuanced opinions on integration were also found when respondents were asked about the greatest barrier to integration. Americans, Italians, and the French thought that societal discrimination against immigrants was the greatest barrier, while majorities or pluralities in all other countries surveyed thought that immigrants' unwillingness to integrate was the greatest barrier.

People showed various levels of satisfaction with how their governments manage immigration. A fairly high percentage of the Germans and Canadians felt that their government was doing either a good or a fair job of managing immigration, whereas British, Spanish, American, and Italian respondents were the most dissatisfied with their governments' job. Immigration, however, goes beyond being just a national issue. There is considerable support in the continental European countries polled for addressing immigration at the European Union level. Americans and Canadians support decision-making at the national level.

Finally, one big lesson learned from this year's *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* was that the public seems to know little about the immigrants living in their countries, including their numbers; people in all countries polled consistently overestimated the number of immigrants by wide margins. It seems that educating the public about the immigration situation in their respective countries would be a valuable undertaking and would help to inform future policy debates.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Chart Index

CHART 1

Q1a: Which of the following do you see as the most important issues facing (COUNTRY) today?

- Economy
- Crime
- Healthcare
- Immigration
- Education
- Environment
- Terrorism

CHART 2

Q27: Some people say that immigration is more of a problem for (COUNTRY). Others see it as more of an opportunity for (COUNTRY). Which comes closer to your point of view?

CHART 3

Q28: In your opinion, what percentage of the total (COUNTRY) population are immigrants? You can answer any number between 0 and 100.

CHART 4

Q8: I am now going to read a few statements that are sometimes heard about immigrants in general. (SPLIT A: In light of the economic crisis could you please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of them? / SPLIT B: Could you please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of them?)

1: Immigrants take jobs away from native born (NATIONALITY)

4: Immigrants bring down the wages of (NATIONALITY) citizens

CHART 5

D15: How does the financial situation of your household compare with what it was 12 months ago?

Q5: Can you tell me if you are worried or not worried about...?

1: Legal immigration

CHART 6

Q27: Some people say that immigration is more of a problem for (COUNTRY). Others see it as more of an opportunity for (COUNTRY). Which comes closer to your point of view?

1: Immigration is more of a problem for (COUNTRY)

Europe

D3b: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as...?:

- A Democrat
- A Republican
- An Independent

The United States

D5b: In politics, people sometimes talk of “left” and “right”. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7, where ‘1’ means the extreme left and ‘7’ means the extreme right?

- Left
- Center
- Right

CHART 7

Q5: Can you tell me if you are worried or not worried about...?

- 1: Legal immigration
- 2: Illegal immigration

CHART 8

Q6: Now I am going to read you a few statements that are sometimes heard about (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants. Can you please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- 1: (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants are a burden on social services like schools and hospitals
- 2: (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants increase crime in our society
- 3: (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants are hard workers
- 4: (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants help to fill the jobs that (NATIONALITYs) do not want
- 5: (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants increase the likelihood of a terrorist attack in (COUNTRY)

CHART 9

Q6: Now I am going to read you a few statements that are sometimes heard about (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants. Can you please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- 2: (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants increase crime in our society

CHART 10

Q10: Some people think that LEGAL immigrants who come to (COUNTRY) to work should only be admitted temporarily and then be required to return to their country of origin. Others feel that they should be given the opportunity to stay permanently. Which comes closer to your point of view?

- 2: They should be given the opportunity to stay permanently

CHART 11

Q13: Thinking now about immigrants who are currently living in (COUNTRY) ILLEGALLY, should they be required to return to their country of origin, or should they be given the opportunity to obtain legal status that allows them to stay here?

- 2: They should be given the opportunity to obtain legal status that allows them to stay in (COUNTRY)

CHART 12

Q17: Which one of the following do you think would be the most effective in reducing illegal immigration?

- 1: Increasing development aid to poorer countries whose citizens immigrate illegally to (COUNTRY)
- 2: Reinforcing (NATIONALITY) border controls
- 3: Imposing tougher penalties on employers who hire illegal immigrants

CHART 13

Q18: To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies that could be adopted in (COUNTRY) at the national level to integrate LEGAL immigrants and their families?

- 2: Guaranteeing that they have the same social benefits as (NATIONALITY) citizens

CHART 14

Q18: To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies that could be adopted in (COUNTRY) at the national level to integrate LEGAL immigrants and their families?

1: Guaranteeing that they have access to the same rights to political participation as (NATIONALITY) citizens

CHART 15

Q21: In (COUNTRY), there can be barriers that prevent immigrants from integrating into NATIONAL society. Which do you think is the greater barrier to integration—the unwillingness of immigrants to integrate, or the discrimination that immigrants face from NATIONALITY society?

1: Unwillingness of immigrants to integrate into (COUNTRY) society is the greatest barrier to integration

2: Discrimination against immigrants in (COUNTRY) is the greatest barrier

CHART 16

Q26: Thinking about the steps that have been taken to manage immigration, would you say that the government has been doing a good job, a fair job, a poor job, or a very poor job?

CHART 17

Q22: For immigration issues, do you think that decisions should be made by...?

1: [In EU: Regional or Local / in US: State or Local] authorities, where each [in EU: Regional or Local / in US: State or Local authority] decides its own immigration policy

2: National government level, where each country decides its own immigration policy

3: [EU ONLY] Jointly at the European Union Level where member states cooperate to formulate a common immigration policy

CHART 18

Q12: As a result of worldwide climate change, some people in other countries may need to move away from their homes because of things like sea level rise or more frequent droughts. Can you tell me to what extent you support or oppose (COUNTRY) allowing these people to settle in your country?

METHODOLOGY

TNS Opinion was commissioned to conduct the survey using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews. In each country, a random sample of approximately 1,000 men and women, 18 years of age and older with access to a landline telephone, was interviewed. Interviews were conducted using Random Digit Dialing between September 1, 2009, and September 17, 2009. For results based on the national samples in each of the countries surveyed, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of error attributable to sampling and other random effects is +/- 3 percentage points. For results based on the total European sample, the maximum margin of error is +/- 1.3 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can also introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

The results for each country are weighted according to the following sociodemographic criteria: age, gender, region, and level of education within each country. The results for “Europe” are also weighted according to each country’s population size relative to the total population of the six European countries surveyed. For more details on the methodology used in this survey, please visit www.transatlantictrends.org

When processing is complete, data from the survey are deposited with the Roper Center at the University of Connecticut and the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan (ICPSR) and are available to scholars and other interested parties. For more information, please consult the Roper Center at www.ropercenter.uconn.edu or the ICPSR catalog at www.icpsr.umich.edu.

NOTE ON EUROPEAN AVERAGES

From 2008 to 2009, the list of European countries surveyed in *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* has changed. For comparability’s sake, the reports of trend data that show average European opinion from both 2008 and 2009 only include the five European countries surveyed in both years, excluding Spain. For reports that only include results from 2009, all six European countries surveyed this year are included. For additional information on the composition of the European averages, please consult the table below.

TABLE OF EUROPEAN AVERAGES

AVERAGE	COUNTRIES
EU5	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom
EU6	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Spain



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

www.transatlantictrends.org

Transatlantic Trends: Immigration is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Compagnia di San Paolo, and the Barrow Cadbury Trust, with additional support from the Fundación BBVA.