



10

Transatlantic Trends

IMMIGRATION



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Key Findings | 2010

Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2010 Partners



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TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Highlights of Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2010

In 2010, immigration dominated headlines in Europe and North America like never before. Though flows of new migrants slowed in 2008 and 2009 as a result of the economic crisis, Americans grappled with questions of governance stemming from legislation in Arizona, and asylum policy in Canada made headlines after a number of high-profile incidents. In September, France's lower house overwhelmingly passed a ban on face-covering veils everywhere that can be considered public space. Dutch politician Geert Wilders won 15% of the vote for his Party for Freedom by running on an anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic platform. In Germany, a controversial book was released in August, drawing national attention to the integration of Germany's Muslim minority.

In order to gauge the effects of these types of political developments on public opinion, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* (TTI) targets perceptions of immigrant groups and support for immigration and integration policies in a comparative context. Now in its third year, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* continues to measure public opinion on immigration issues on both sides of the Atlantic. The countries included in the 2010 version of the survey were the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain. These eight migrant-receiving countries each face unique challenges when it comes to immigration and integration issues, and 2010 was the first year in which TTI yielded comparable year-on-year data in each of them.

As many of the countries included in TTI were still grappling with the aftermath of the economic crisis in 2010, a primary focus of TTI 2010 was the economy and its effects on attitudes. *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* 2010 asked North Americans and

Europeans several questions related to labor markets, their own economic situation, and their perception of their national economies in order to gauge whether attitudes about immigration issues have changed as a result of economic anxiety.

Another highlight of the 2010 survey is a focus on integration issues. Given the salience of the European debate in particular, the survey included questions that allowed respondents to evaluate the integration of various immigrant groups as well as the children of immigrants. These questions are the first in the history of TTI to ask specifically about second-generation integration.

Overall, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* is a comparative study of North American and European public opinion about immigration and integration issues. The focused nature of the survey allows for a close look at national immigration debates, while cross-country comparisons help to put national opinions against the backdrop of other migrant-receiving societies. *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* is a joint 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.

Note on 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 THE SURVEY INCLUDE:

- *Immigration as a Problem or an Opportunity:* Perceptions of immigration as a problem or opportunity have showed little variance since 2008, the first year of the survey. Majorities in the United States, the U.K., and Spain still saw immigration as a problem, while French, German, Dutch, and Italian respondents remained divided. Canadians continued to see immigration as an opportunity.
- *Overestimation of Immigrant Numbers:* Compared to 2009, even more respondents overestimated the percentage of population born abroad. Estimates rose in 2010 in the United States, with respondents believing 39% of the population was born abroad, up from 35% in 2009. The real figure is less than 14%.
- *Discontent with Immigration Policies:* Most countries showed disapproval with government management of immigration. Majorities in the United States (73%), the U.K. (70%), Spain (61%), France (58%), and the Netherlands (54%) believed the government was doing a poor job in immigration management. Only Canada was split, with 48% offering positive views and 43% responding negatively.
- *Contact with Immigrants Impacts Perception:* Of Europeans claiming to have many immigrant friends, 68% in 2010 believed immigration enriches national culture. Only 40% of Europeans with no immigrant friends thought likewise.
- *Economic Hardship and Attitudes:* Among unemployed Europeans, 43% believed immigrants take jobs from natives; the average in Europe was 35%. In the United States, 63% of those whose financial situation worsened in 2010 saw immigrants as a threat in the job market jobs, more than the average of 56%.
- *Perceived Fiscal Burden:* Overall, majorities or pluralities in all countries polled believed that immigrants benefit more from health and welfare services than they contribute in taxes. Spain and the United States had the highest proportion agreeing with this statement (both 67%).
- *European Support for Healthcare Coverage:* In continental Europe, where public healthcare is the norm, majorities were in favor of granting both legal and illegal immigrants access to both emergency and general healthcare.
- *Immigration Still Sways Votes:* Compared to 2008, respondents answering that a political party's stance on immigration would impact their vote was down slightly to 45% from 50% in 2008. In the U.K., however, 63% said immigration policy would affect their vote, and 67% of Americans said likewise, up from 56% in 2008.
- *Legalization of Illegal Immigrants:* Respondents remained divided in the 2010 survey as to whether to grant illegal immigrants legal status. Canada and the United States were split, whereas majorities in the U.K. (67%) and Italy (55%) said that illegal immigrants should be made to return to their country of origin.
- *Immigrant Integration:* Most in Europe held unfavorable views on the state of immigrant integration. Spain was the only country with a slight majority (54%) saying that immigrants are integrating well. North Americans held a more positive view, with 59% of Americans and 65% of Canadians claiming that immigrants are integrating well.
- *Second-Generation Muslims:* Integration of the children of Muslim migrants was viewed favorably in Canada (66%), the United States (62%), Italy (60%), the U.K. (59%), and the Netherlands (56%). France was split, with 50% answering likewise, while the Spanish (42%) and Germans (36%) indicated that second-generation Muslims were not integrating well.
- *Immigrant Voting Rights:* When asked whether legal immigrants or only citizens should have the right to vote in municipal elections, majorities in Spain (62%), France (58%), the Netherlands (56%), and Italy (52%) voiced support for giving the right to legal immigrants. Slight majorities in the U.K. and Canada (51%) said that only citizens should have the right to vote, and a majority in the United States (62%) also thought that voting should be reserved for citizens.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

General Perceptions

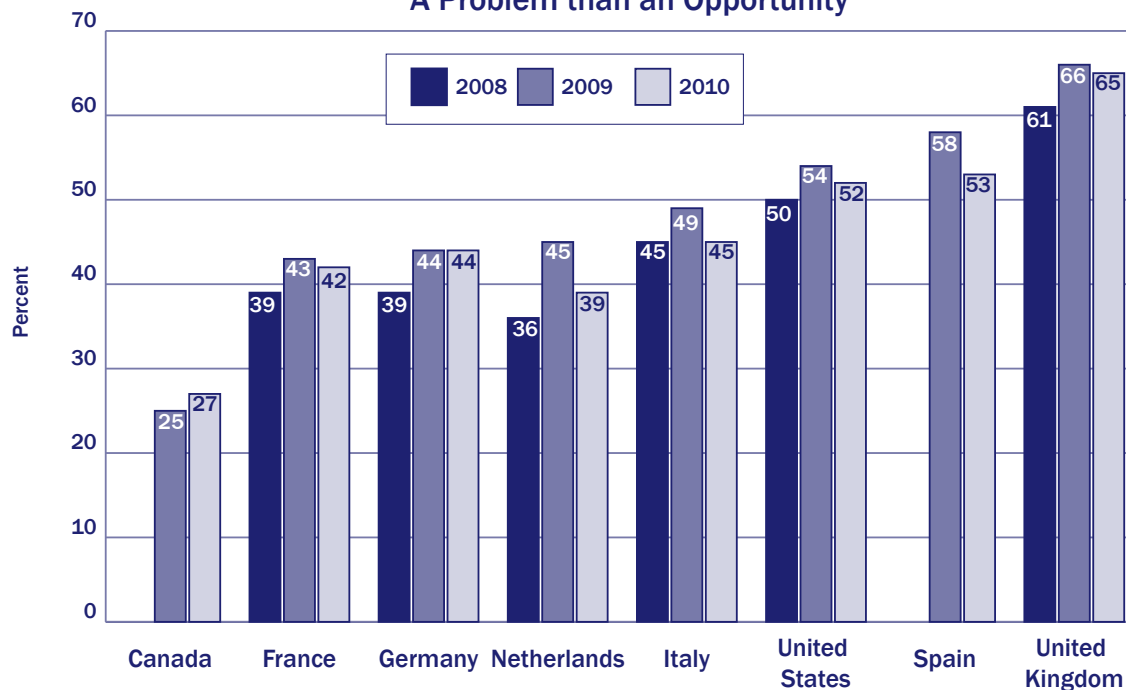
General perception about immigration is addressed in *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* through a question: Is immigration seen as more of a problem or more of an opportunity for your country. This question has been asked in the survey since 2008, and the data from 2008 to 2009 seemed to show a trend toward more pessimism about immigration. In every country, more respondents in 2009 than in 2008 answered that immigration was “more of a problem” than an opportunity for their countries. In 2010, however, the data show that general attitudes about immigration are largely stable in each country. Despite economic recession and various

national debates about immigration, the proportions of respondents saying that immigration is either a problem or an opportunity have stayed within a narrow range in each country. (See Chart 1.)

WORRIES ABOUT ECONOMY PERSIST

In 2010, the first question asked in *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* was about the most important issue facing the country today. Respondents across all countries surveyed consistently cited “the economy” or “unemployment” as the most important issue. A notable outlier was the British; while 25% said that the economy was the most important issue, 23% said

Chart 1:
Stable Perceptions: Respondents Saying Immigration is More of A Problem than an Opportunity



Source: Q26; see Chart Index

instead that immigration was the most important. Unemployment came in third, with 20% of the British claiming it is the top issue.

On the availability of jobs, a plurality or majority in every country except Canada also said that there were “very few jobs” available in the area where respondents lived. This was especially true in Spain (85%), Italy (75%), and the United States (60%). Overall, it is clear that the respondents of TTI in all countries were aware of the economic problems facing their countries, regardless of whether they were personally affected.

POPULATIONS STILL OVERESTIMATE IMMIGRANT NUMBERS

Respondents to *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* 2010 were asked to estimate, on a scale of 0 to 100, the percentage of the population in their country that was born abroad. Just as in 2009, the public grossly overestimated the percent share of immigrants in their countries. In Italy, for instance, immigrants make up nearly 7% of the country’s population, but Italian respondents of the survey guessed, on average, that a full quarter (25%) of the population of Italy was immigrant. Spanish respondents were the most accurate in their estimation, with a seven-point difference between the average guess (21%) and the real share of immigrants in the country (14%). In North America, overestimates grew from 2009 to 2010. In 2009, Americans thought that 35% of the population was immigrant; in 2010, they thought that nearly two-in-five (39%) of the people in the United States were born in another country. Canadian estimates of immigrant populations also rose. In 2009, the Canadian estimate was 37%; in 2010, it rose to 39%. The real immigrant proportion of the population in the United States and Canada is around 14% and 20%, respectively.

FACTS CHANGE PERCEPTION

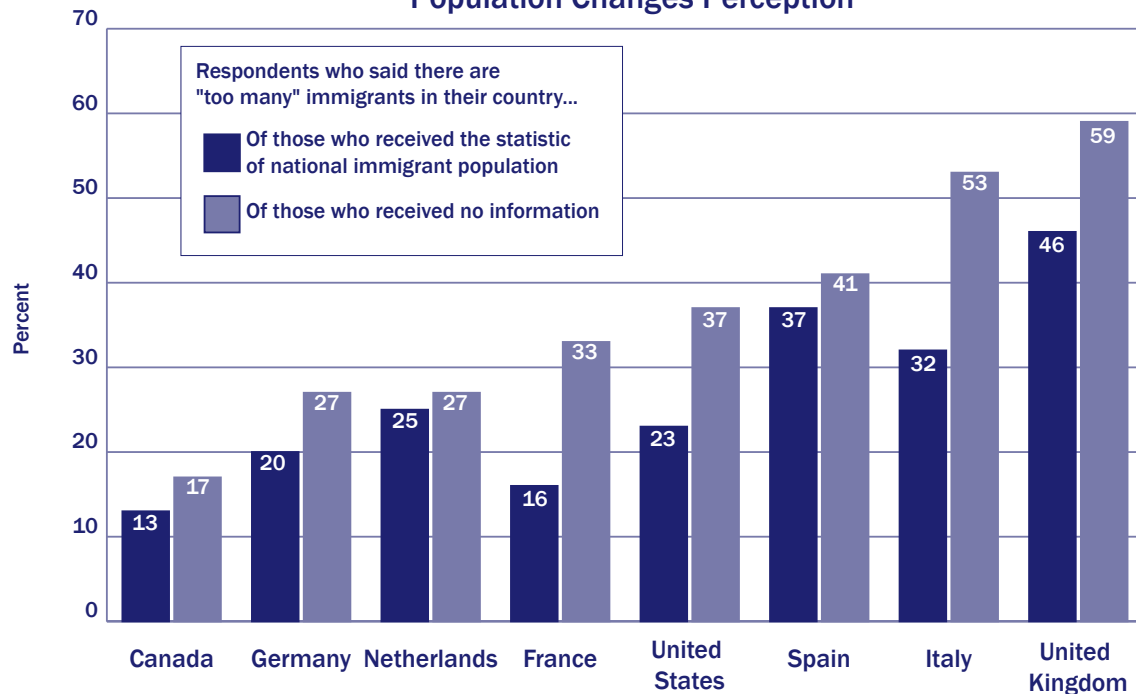
One question that *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* has asked since 2008 is whether there are “too many,” “a lot but not too many,” or “not many” immigrants in one’s country. The responses to this question in each country remained relatively stable from 2008 to 2009, so in 2010 the survey tested whether information would change responses. To do this, some

respondents were asked the question without any information, while other respondents were quoted the official estimate of immigrants as a percentage of the country’s population before being asked the question. It was found that those who heard the official estimate before answering were less likely, especially in France, the United Kingdom, and Italy, to say that there were “too many” immigrants in the country. Also, information greatly increased the numbers of respondents claiming that there were “not many” immigrants in their country. In Europe, the average percentage answering “not many” was only 12%. Among those who received information, however, the figure more than doubled, to 26% answering that there were “not many” immigrants in their countries. The United States and Canada saw similar shifts in the “not many” category. They jumped from 17% in both countries without information to 33% in the United States and 35% in Canada with information about the immigrant share of their country’s population. Accordingly, the proportion of respondents saying that there were “too many” immigrants in their countries dropped with information, especially in France, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Italy, which saw a 20 percentage point drop when quoted the official statistic of foreign-born residents. (See Chart 2.)

DISCUSSING WITH FRIENDS, BUT NOT NEWS, CORRELATED WITH PERCEPTIONS

In 2010, TTI asked North Americans and Europeans whether they followed news on immigration matters and how often they discussed such matters with friends. It was found that respondents who claimed that they discuss immigration matters with friends “frequently” were more likely to say that there are too many immigrants in the country. For instance, 62% of Europeans who talk about immigration matters frequently say that there are too many immigrants in the country, versus just 31% of Europeans who never discuss immigration matters. Americans who discuss immigration with their friends frequently are also more likely to say that illegal immigrants outnumber legal immigrants in the United States by a margin of 13 points (69% vs. 56% among those who never discuss immigration). These findings are merely correlated and do not necessarily cause each other. However, it is note-

Chart 2:
**“Too Many Immigrants?” Knowledge of Immigrant
 Population Changes Perception**



Source: Q4a, Q4b; see Chart Index

worthy that the highly-educated (who are generally more immigrant-friendly) and the less-educated (who tend to be more skeptical, on average) are roughly as likely to say that they discuss immigration matters with friends frequently and thus to say that there are too many immigrants in the country.

CONTACT CORRELATED WITH POSITIVE ATTITUDES

As has been documented with other public opinion surveys, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* has shown that contact with immigrants is correlated with more

positive perceptions of immigration in general. For instance, a majority of Europeans and Americans with many immigrant friends see immigration as an opportunity, whereas a majority of those with no immigrant friends see immigration as more of a problem. The same correlation is seen when asked about the cultural impact of immigration. Among Europeans with many immigrant friends, 68% said that immigration enriches culture. Only 40% of Europeans with no immigrant friends thought likewise – more (50%) said that immigration instead negatively affects national culture.



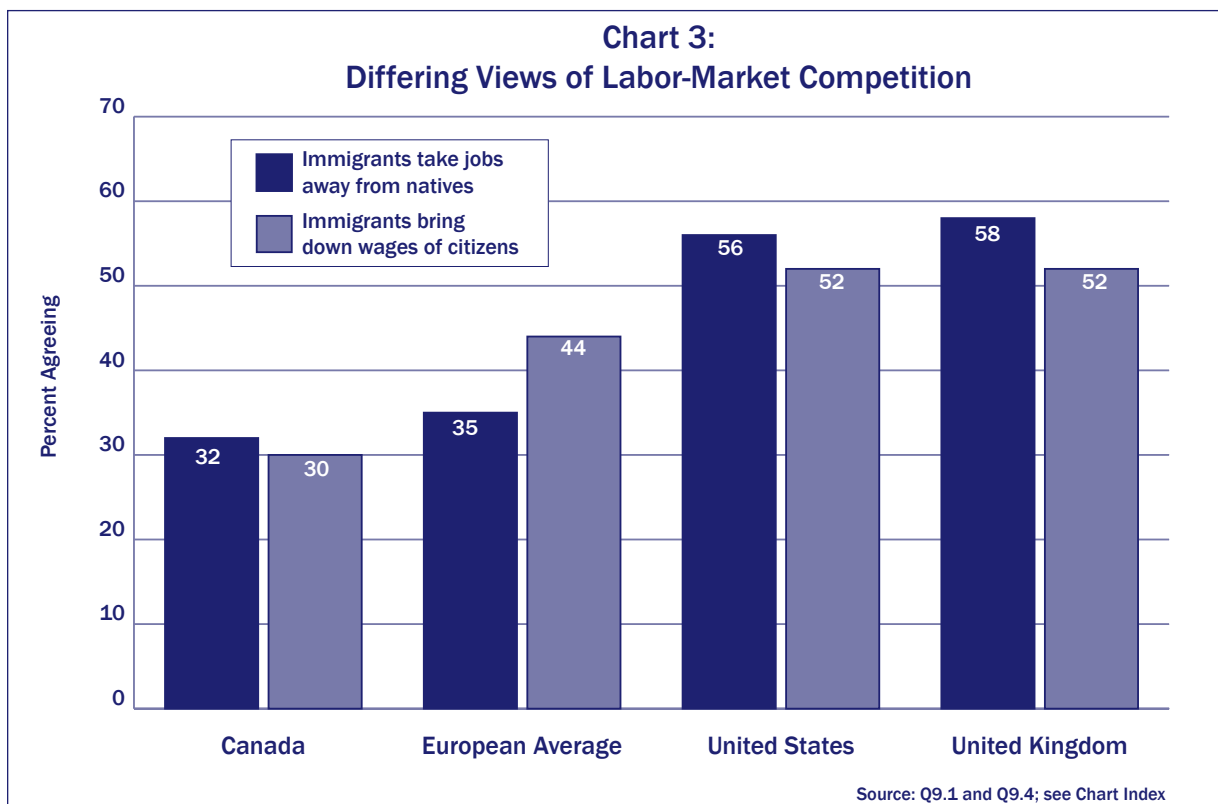
TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Economic Hardship, Labor Markets, and Immigration

The countries surveyed in *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2010* still continue to experience many of the negative impacts of the economic crisis that began in 2008. Unemployment increased in most of the eight North American and European countries polled. In 2009, we found relatively little evidence of the economic crisis' impact on public opinion in the TTI survey. The only finding that pointed to greater skepticism due to financial worries was a slight tendency of respondents to say that they were more worried about legal immigration to their country if their own, personal economic situation had gotten worse over the previous 12 months. This finding was seen across all countries except in the United States.

In 2010, TTI reveals much more data about economics and attitudes about immigration, particularly in regards to labor markets. In its third year, TTI included a number of questions to get a profile of respondents' own economic situation and perspective on the economy in order to compare those profiles to attitudes. Overall, the findings showed that perceptions about immigration's impact on labor markets were highly sensitive to respondents' own employment status, financial situation, and worries about national labor markets.



COUNTRY PROFILE: SPAIN

Although new reports indicate that Spain's business climate may improve, the past two years of economic crisis have left a long road to recovery. Spain's unemployment rate, which currently stands at around 20%, is double the average across the European Union. Immigrants have been hit particularly hard by the economic crisis in Spain, with unemployment rates currently at around 30% (the average unemployment rate for native Spaniards is 18%). The widening unemployment gap between native Spaniards and immigrants is largely due to the fact that migrants have typically worked in areas that were the most vulnerable to the economic recession, including the construction and manufacturing industries.

The data for Spain in this year's *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* echoed many of the developments above. For example, 55% of respondents cited unemployment as the most important issue facing Spain, and in response to a question about the availability of jobs where they live, 85% said there are very few available jobs. A low number (33%) of respondents agreed that immigrants help

create jobs as they set up new businesses in Spain, which is significantly lower than the European average (43%), Canadian (67%), and American (58%) response. Though they are comparatively pessimistic about immigrants' job-creating potential, Spanish respondents in 2010 consider immigrants to be less of a threat in the labor market. Only 38% of Spanish respondents said that immigrants take jobs away from native born Spaniards (down from 43% in 2009) and 52% said that immigrants lower the wages of Spanish citizens (down from 62% in 2009). Though causation is impossible to prove, these changing perceptions could be due to a recognition that immigrants have been disproportionately affected by Spain's economic and labor-market woes.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in Spain	5,708,940
Immigrant share of overall population	12.2%
Source: Spanish National Statistical Institute, Municipal Register, 2010.	

AMERICANS AND BRITISH FEAR LABOR-MARKET COMPETITION

In Canada and in all five continental European countries surveyed, majorities disagreed that immigrants take jobs away from the native-born. In contrast, 58% of British and 56% of American respondents claimed that immigrants do take jobs away from nationals. Similarly, 52% of American and British respondents in 2010 thought that immigrants lower the wages of citizens. This was an opinion that contrasted with Canadians and most other Europeans, who disagreed that immigrants lower wages for the native-born. The only exception was Spain, where 52% thought that immigrants lower Spanish wages. It should be noted, however, that this was down ten percentage points, as 62% of the Spanish thought that immigrants lowered wages in 2009. On labor-market competition overall, it seems that the United Kingdom and the United States

most consistently claim that immigrants make the employment situation worse for native-born workers. (See Chart 3.)

FRENCH DOUBT THAT IMMIGRANTS FILL LABOR-MARKET GAPS

Since the beginning of the *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey, majorities in all countries have agreed that immigrants generally help to fill jobs where there are shortages of workers. Even in the United Kingdom, where respondents are typically skeptical of immigration's impacts, 71% agree that immigrants fill labor-market gaps. France, however, is becoming increasingly skeptical of immigrants' plugging of labor-market gaps. In 2008, an overwhelming majority (84%) of the French said that they agreed that immigrants fill labor shortages. In 2009, 74% said

COUNTRY PROFILE: FRANCE

Among the countries surveyed in *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration*, France was one of the more optimistic countries in terms of attitudes about immigration in 2008 and 2009. In both 2008 and 2009, half of French respondents (50%) said that immigration was more of an opportunity for France, rather than a problem. Accordingly, perceptions about immigrant groups were generally positive in the first two years of the survey. In 2010, however, only 38% of the French said that immigration is an opportunity for France, and their perceptions of immigrants' impacts on culture, labor markets, and crime has become more negative.

There have been a number of political developments in France that may account for this change. A ban on face-covering veils for Muslim women in public places was passed in 2010, and over the past few years, the government has made it easier to deport immigrants who threaten public order through theft or other petty crime. These laws and arguments about illegal residence were the basis for the expulsion of many Romanian and Bulgarian Roma over the summer. The dismantling of Roma camps in France sparked fierce debates about migration and human rights throughout the European Union and beyond. Amid these developments, French President Nicolas Sarkozy was very vocal, ensuring that these immigration-related issues were frequently featured in the French media. This was especially

true in the summer months immediately prior to the TTI fieldwork.

Though the data from TTI do not necessarily stem from these political developments, it was clear that French respondents in 2010 had become more skeptical about immigration. On the issue of crime, for instance, only 31% of French respondents thought that illegal immigrants increased crime in 2009. By 2010, that number had increased to a majority of the French (55%) linking illegal immigration and crime rates. Even legal immigrants were perceived more negatively in France in 2010. From 2009 to 2010, the percentage of French who said that legal immigrants are hard workers fell 21 percentage points, from 74% to 53%. When asked about culture, 58% of the French in 2010 thought that immigration enriches French culture, down from 68% in 2009. Across questions in the survey, the French were more negative about immigration issues in 2010. This will be a trend to watch in a country that was once among the most optimistic in Europe.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in France	5,261,700
Immigrant share of overall population	8.4%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2010, data for 2008	

the same. From 2009 to 2010, the picture changed dramatically. After a drop of 22 percentage points, only 52% of the French believe that immigrants fill jobs where there are shortages.

DUTCH AND BRITISH ACKNOWLEDGE IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

North Americans, whose countries have benefitted from immigrant entrepreneurs for decades, have shown that they recognize the job-creating ability of

such immigrants. In both 2009 and 2010, majorities of Americans (58%) and Canadians (67%) agreed that immigrants help create jobs as they set up new businesses. In 2009, Italians (50%) were the only Europeans who agreed. In 2010, Italians were no longer as optimistic about immigrants' job creating ability – the proportion claiming that immigrants create jobs with new businesses shifted to 44%. In 2010, however, there is a new plurality of British respondents (48%) and a slight majority of Dutch

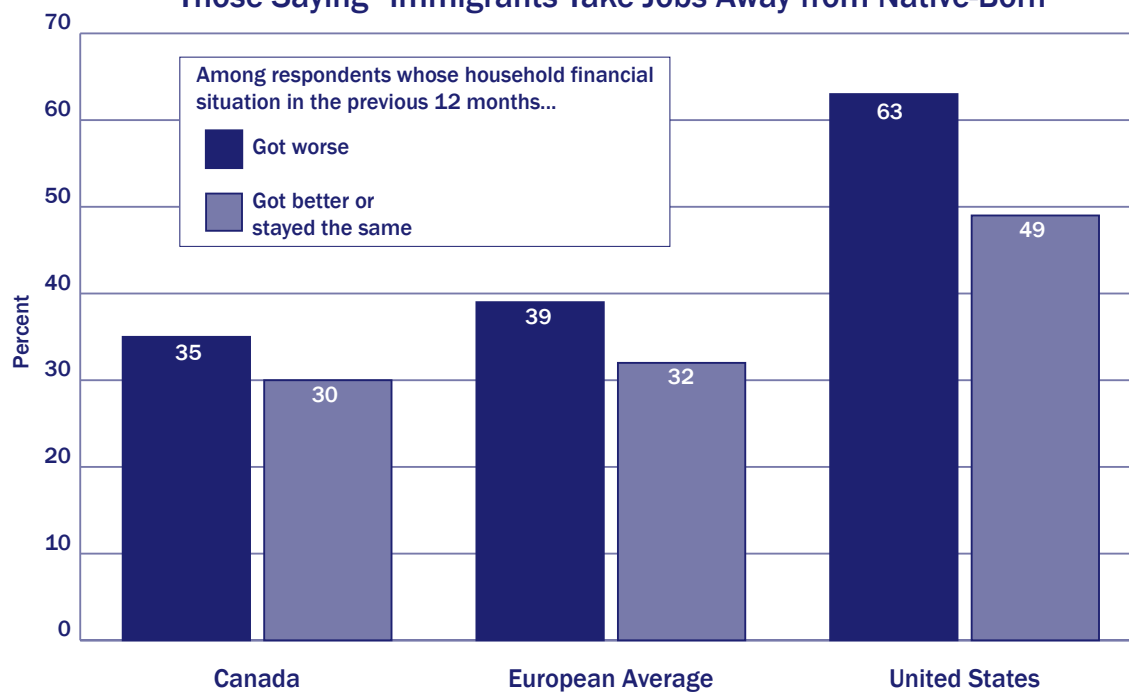
respondents (51%) who think that immigrants create jobs by starting new businesses.

LABOR-MARKET VIEWS CORRELATED WITH PERSONAL ECONOMIC FACTORS

Perception of whether immigrants take jobs away from natives was correlated with other personal variables among TTI respondents. In Europe, the United States, and Canada, respondents who thought there were “very few available jobs” in their immediate area were also more likely to say that immigrants take jobs away than respondents who said that there were “plenty of available jobs” or “some available jobs.” Respondents who were unemployed themselves were also more likely to see immigrants as a threat to jobs. Among unemployed Europeans, 43% agreed that immigrants take jobs away from natives, while the overall average in Europe who said the same was 35%.

The economic crisis may also have had an effect on attitudes about job competition. Among Europeans whose household financial situation got worse over the 12 months before the survey, 39% said that immigrants take jobs away from natives. This compares to European respondents whose personal economic situation stayed the same or got better, only 32% of whom thought that immigrants take jobs. These findings were consistent across European countries except for in France and Italy, where there was no effect of personal economic situation on attitudes. The most striking difference, however, was found in the United States, where 63% of those whose situation got worse feared immigrant job competition. Of those whose situation got better or stayed the same, only 49% thought likewise. (See Chart 4.)

Chart 4:
Labor Market Competition and the Economy:
Those Saying “Immigrants Take Jobs Away from Native-Born”



Source: Q9.1, D3; see Chart Index

COUNTRY PROFILE: ITALY

Transatlantic Trends: Immigration has shown that Italians are among the most consistently skeptical when it comes to immigration. Since 2008, over 50% of Italians have said that there are too many immigrants in Italy, and over 80% have said that they were worried about illegal immigration. In 2010, the perception of legal immigrants in Italy also became more negative. In 2009, only 34% of Italians thought that legal immigrants increase crime in society, but in 2010 that figure rose to a clear majority of Italians (56%). This number is now on par with the percentage of Italians who say that illegal immigrants increase crime (57%).

When considering specific segments of the immigrant population, however, in some important cases Italian attitudes were marked by lower degrees of anxiety than other national samples. In particular, Islam as such seemed to represent less of a threat for Italians than for most other Europeans. Thirty-seven percent of respondents thought that Muslim immigrants are “integrating well” or “very well” into Italian society, as opposed to 25% of Germans or 21% of Spaniards. Moreover, only 22% of Italian respondents (against a 40% European average) believed that children of Muslim immigrants are integrating poorly into their society. Such comparatively low degrees of preoccupation emerge also with a more general question on the level of integration of children of immigrants as a whole: while large shares of the French and German samples believed that so-called second generation immigrants are “poorly” or “very poorly” integrated (respectively 42% and 44% of the total in each country), only 24% of Italians shared this view.

Though Italians are often skeptical of migration's effects on society, there has long been a recognition in Italian policy circles that there is an economic demand for labor migration. With the birth rate at just over 1.4 children per woman and over 20% of the population over 65 years of age, there are often not enough Italian workers to fill available jobs in the services, agriculture, and manufacturing sectors. Accordingly, the government has issued hundreds of thousands of visas for work purposes in the past few years. The Italian public seems to assume that immigrants are complimentary in the labor market. TTI has shown that Italians are among the least concerned with job competition from immigrants: over two-thirds (69%) do not think that immigrants take jobs away from Italians, and three-fourths (76%) say that immigrants generally help to fill jobs where there are shortages of workers. When thinking long-term, however, Italians are unsure as to whether they want immigration as a solution to shortages in the workforce. A plurality of 49% would be against encouraging immigration to Italy for employment purposes as the population continues to age.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in Italy	4,235,059
Immigrant share of overall population	7%
Source: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica 2010, data for 2010	



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

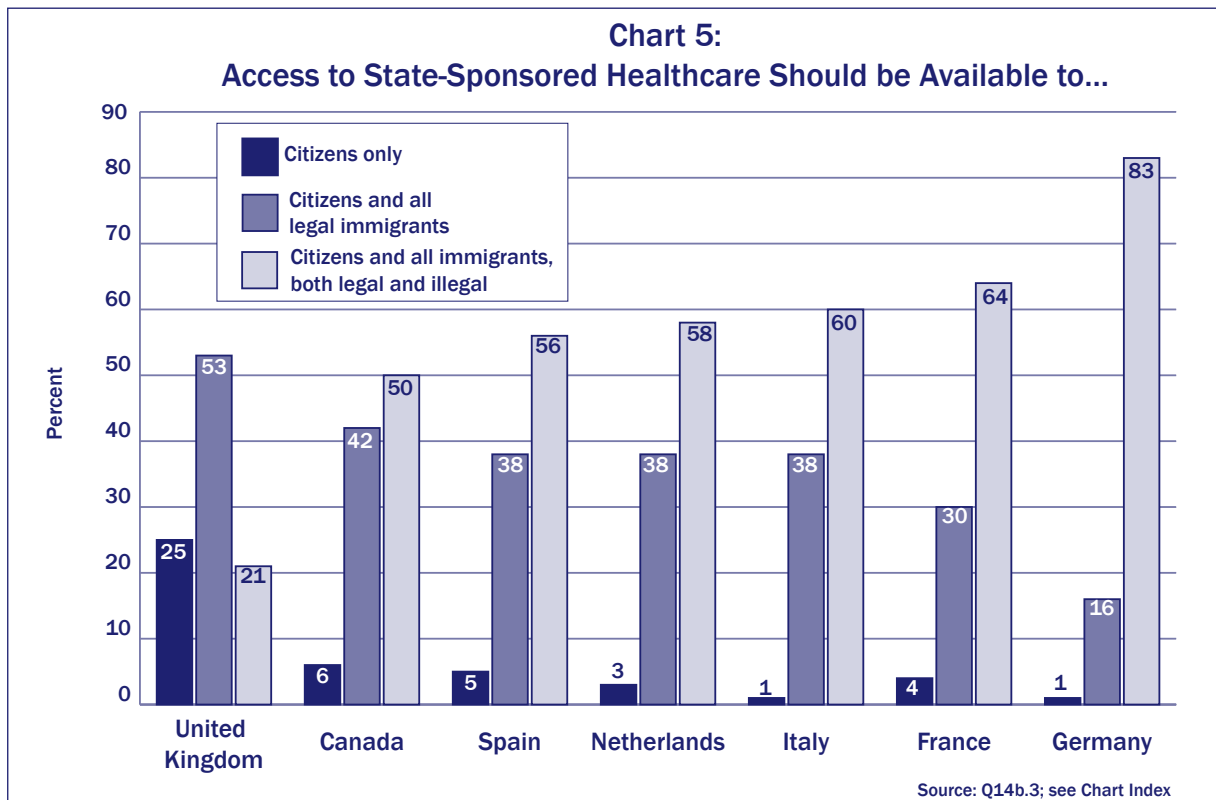
Immigration

Immigration and Welfare

In 2008 and 2009, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* asked respondents in all countries whether they supported giving full social benefits to legal immigrants and their families. In every country but the United Kingdom, there was over 60% support for giving legal immigrants the same social benefits as citizens. Even in the U.K., 57% were in favor of this policy in 2008 and 50% were in favor in 2009. Since the question was worded in a very general way in the first two years of the survey, without defining exactly which “social benefits” immigrants would receive, TTI 2010 asked respondents more pointed questions about benefits for migrants.

CONTINENTAL EUROPE FAVORS HEALTHCARE COVERAGE FOR ALL IMMIGRANTS

In continental Europe, where public healthcare is the norm, respondents were in favor of granting both legal and illegal immigrants access to both emergency and general healthcare. When asked whether emergency healthcare should be provided to only citizens, citizens and legal immigrants, or citizens and *all* immigrants (both legal and illegal), a majority in the Netherlands (81%), France (77%), Spain (71%), and Germany (58%) supported the policy of making emergency healthcare available to all citizens and all immigrants, regardless of their legal status.



Similarly, continental Europeans were also in favor of giving general “access to healthcare” to both legal and illegal immigrants. Eighty-three percent of Germans, 64% of the French, 60% of Italians, 58% of the Dutch, and 56% of the Spanish supported making healthcare access available to national citizens, as well as legal and illegal immigrants. (See Chart 5.)

BRITISH WOULD EXCLUDE ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS FROM GENERAL HEALTHCARE, SOCIAL HOUSING

A plurality (45%) of British respondents in 2010 thought that illegal immigrants, along with legal immigrants and citizens, should have access to emergency healthcare. It is clear that the British differentiate between emergency and general healthcare, however, as 53% thought that only citizens and *legal* immigrants should have access to healthcare more generally. (See Chart 5.) In a similar vein, a majority of British respondents also thought that the state benefit of social housing should be reserved for citizens and legal immigrants only.

NORTH AMERICANS AND BRITISH PREFER RESTRICTIONS ON SCHOOLING FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

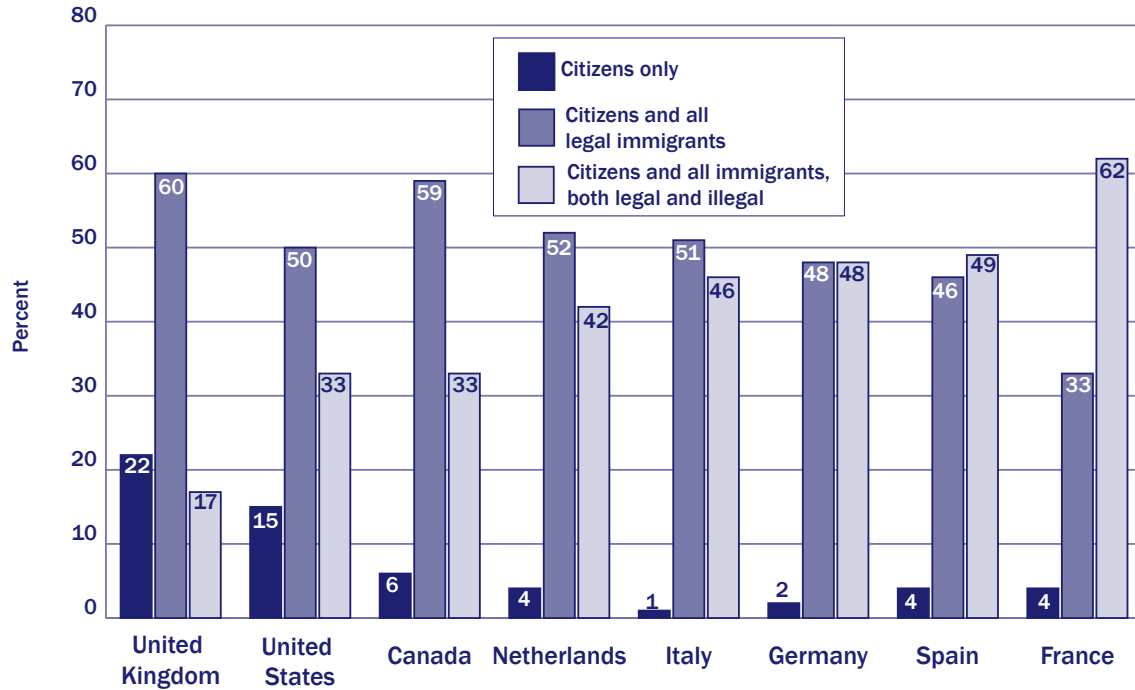
When asked about access to public or state schools, British (60%), Canadian (59%), and American (50%) respondents preferred to give access to citizens and

legal immigrants only, thereby excluding illegal immigrants. Twenty-two percent of British respondents even thought that *legal* immigrants should not have access to state schools. The Netherlands, Italy, Germany, and Spain were all fairly split on whether legal immigrants or all immigrants should have schooling access, and in France, a large majority was in favor of giving both legal and illegal immigrants access to public schools. (See Chart 6.)

MAJORITIES IN ALL COUNTRIES THINK IMMIGRANTS ARE FISCAL BURDEN

Overall, large majorities in all countries polled believed that immigrants benefit more from health and welfare services than they contribute in taxes. Spain and the United States had the highest proportion agreeing with this statement (both 67%), followed by France, Germany, and the U.K. (all 60%), Italy (51%), and Canada (50%). The Netherlands was the country with the greatest split on this question; a 41% plurality of the Dutch believed that immigrants are a fiscal drain, 24% thought that they are a fiscal benefit, and 25% responded that they did not know immigrants’ fiscal impact.

Chart 6:
Access to Public Schools Should be Available to...



Source: Q14.1; see Chart Index



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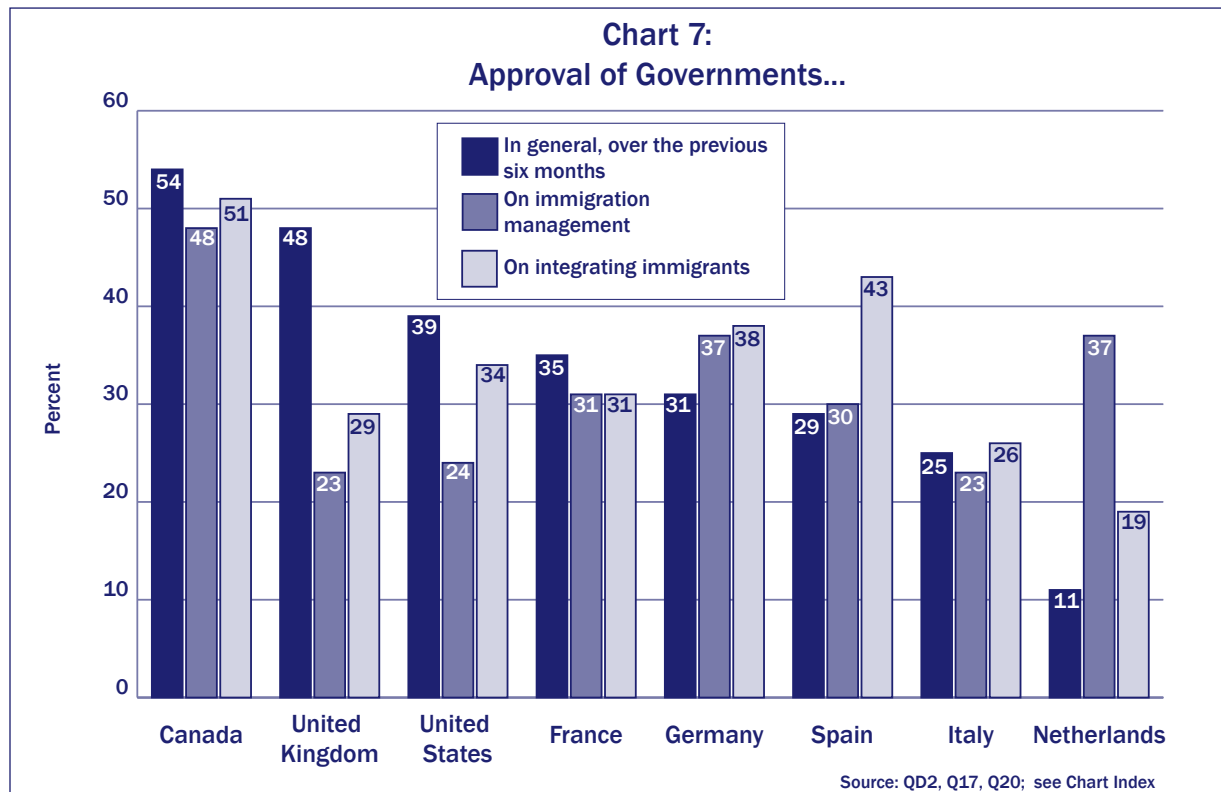
Immigration

Immigration and the Political Arena

The complex nature of immigration often makes governance difficult. In *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration*, respondents were asked to evaluate their governments in terms of their management of immigration and, as a separate policy issue, immigrant integration. Additionally, respondents were asked to give their preferences for immigration policymaking: Europeans were asked about European Union governance over immigration, and North Americans were asked whether federal or state/provincial governments should have more control over policy.

EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES UNHAPPY WITH IMMIGRATION POLICIES

There was general agreement among Europeans and Americans polled that their governments were not doing a good job in managing immigration. In the United States, a full 73% of respondents thought the government was doing a poor or very poor job at it. Similarly, the United Kingdom and Italy had 70% majorities who disapproved of the immigration management steps their governments had taken. Majorities in Spain (61%), France (58%), and Germany (57%) shared a negative view of their governments' immigration management.



In order to gauge whether these poor ratings were due to a general government disapproval, TTI asked respondents to rate how their governments were doing more generally. Though government approval levels tended to match views on immigration management in Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, the other countries had major differences in opinion between the two questions. For example, 87% of Dutch respondents thought that their government was doing a poor job in general, but only 54% thought that the government was doing a poor job of managing immigration. Moving in the opposite direction, a minority (45%) of the British disapproved of the government in general, while a full 70% disapproved of the government's immigration management. American respondents are also more pessimistic about their immigration policies, as 73% disapproved of immigration management while only 59% disapproved of the government in general. (See Chart 7.)

POOR GOVERNMENT RATINGS ALSO ON INTEGRATION MEASURES

Overall, respondents in Europe and in the United States also felt that their governments were doing a poor or a very poor job at integrating immigrants into national society. Sixty percent of Europeans, on average, and 62% of Americans gave their governments bad marks. The Dutch were the most dissatisfied, with 78% claiming that the government was doing a poor job at integration. Canadians, on the other hand, were again outliers. Fifty-one percent of them said that the Canadian government was doing either a good or very good job at integrating New Canadians.

Comparing these sentiments to general government approval ratings, respondents in Germany and Spain were more positive about integration efforts. Though the general government approval in those countries was very low (only 31% and 29%, respectively, thought that the government had been doing a good job over the preceding six months), on integration, only 38% of the Germans and 43% of the Spanish thought their government was doing a good job, a difference of 14 and 7 percentage points, respectively. The United Kingdom was also a country in which integration policy was perceived quite differently,

but in the opposite direction: respondents were 19 percentage points more likely to say that the government was doing a good job in general (48%) than on integrating migrants (29%). (See Chart 7.)

APPROVAL RATINGS VARY BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION

Examining individuals' views on immigration management according to political affiliation yielded interesting results in this year's *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration*. Respondents in Europe were asked to identify their political orientation along a left-center-right scale, and those in the United States and Canada were asked to self-identify as liberal, moderate, or conservative. In France, 78% of those identifying as left believed the government was doing a poor job on immigration management, and 47% on the right gave the government good marks. A majority of Germans on the political left believed the government was doing a poor job (62%) and a slight majority of those on the political right shared this sentiment (50%). In the Netherlands, 64% on the political right believed that the government was doing a poor job in this regard and a plurality on the left (47%) shared this sentiment.

SETTING IMMIGRATION LEVELS: NOT AN EU JOB

In the 2010 *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey, European respondents were asked whether national governments or the European Union should dictate the number of immigrants allowed into their country each year. A majority of Europeans (62%) felt such decisions should be made on the national, rather than the EU level. Respondents in the United Kingdom showed the strongest support for national governance, with 85% saying that the British government should make decisions about immigration numbers. Germany and the Netherlands agreed, with 68% and 66%, respectively, saying that their national governments should make those decisions. Italy was the only European country that might be willing to cede such responsibilities to the EU, as a plurality (47%) of Italians answered that the EU should decide how many immigrants are admitted to Italy and 45% preferred that the Italian government dictate those policies. (See Chart 8.)

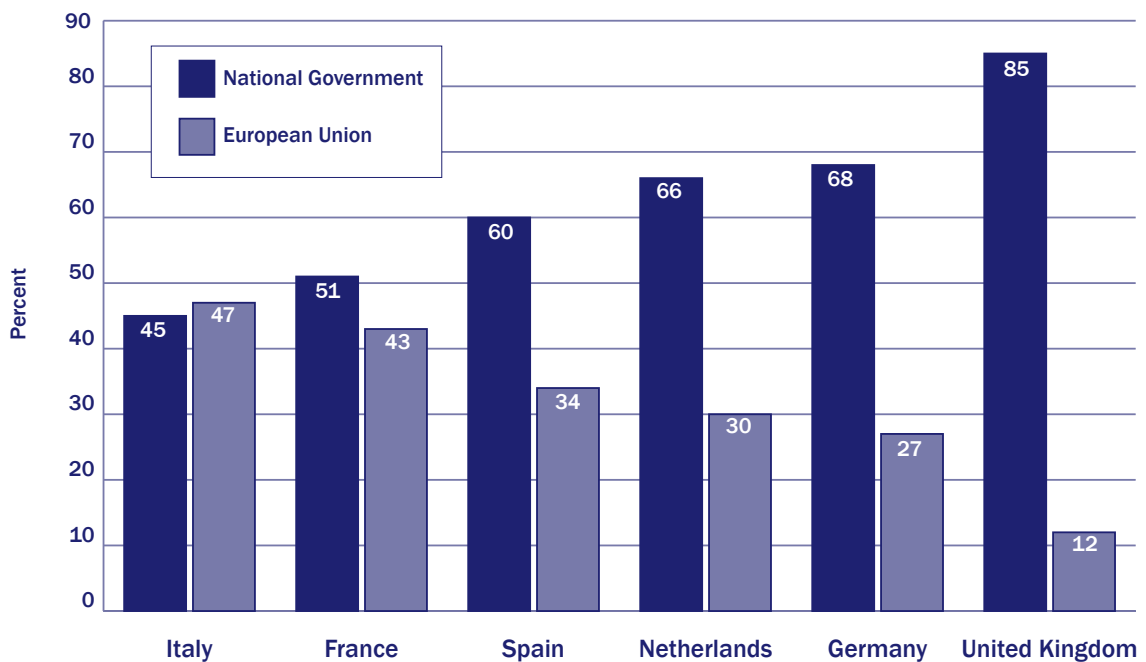
NORTH AMERICANS FAVOR FEDERAL CONTROL ON KEY ISSUES

In the 2010 *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey, respondents in Canada and the United States were polled on the role federal and local officials should play in the formation and enforcement of immigration policy. In Canada, 56% of those polled believed primary responsibility for determining who is admitted to Canada should rest with federal authorities, whereas a considerable minority (38%) answered that such decisions should be made by provincial or local authorities. (See Chart 9.) Likewise, respondents in the United States were asked whether the federal government or state and local officials should have primary responsibility for enforcing immigration laws. At a time when select states and municipalities are taking steps to implement local immigration policies, the views of Americans were somewhat split. Though 44% thought that state or local authorities should have primary responsibility for enforcement of immigration policies, more (50%) believed the federal government should take the lead. (See Chart 10.)

IMMIGRATION CONTINUES TO SWAY VOTES

In the first year of the *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey, 50% of Europeans and 56% of Americans believed that a political party's agenda would influence their vote in the next election. Such sentiments have changed slightly since 2008, however. In 2010, only 45% of Europeans, on average, said that their votes would be affected by candidates' immigration agendas. While the issue seems to have declined in political salience in continental Europe, British respondents consistently say that immigration policy will affect their vote. A full 63% made this claim in 2010. Of all countries surveyed, the United States has seen the largest change in the proportion of respondents who said that candidates' agendas on immigration will affect their vote. In 2008, 56% said that it was a salient issue for their voting decision. By 2010, that number had risen to 67% of Americans polled. Americans have given consistently poor ratings of their government's immigration management, and it seems that they will take into account such criticism when making their own political decisions.

Chart 8:
**Who Should Decide How Many Immigrants Are
Admitted to your Country?**



Source: Q19; see Chart Index

COUNTRY PROFILE: UNITED KINGDOM

The U.K.'s general elections in May 2010 resulted in a coalition government between David Cameron's Conservatives and Nick Clegg's Liberal Democrats. With the goal of reducing net migration from the hundreds of thousands to the tens of thousands, the coalition government introduced a temporary cap on the number of highly skilled immigrants from outside the EU, has plans to implement stricter controls on foreign students, and would like to restrict the number of family visas available. The temporary cap will reduce the number of skilled migrant visas by 1,300 to a total of 24,100, and a permanent cap will be set in place by April 2011.

In *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration*, the British public has been consistently skeptical of immigration and supportive of more restrictive measures. For instance, 65% viewed immigration as more of a problem than an opportunity, 58%

agreed that immigrants take jobs away from the native-born, and 48% thought immigration negatively affects British culture. Support for allowing more legal immigration to the U.K. as a measure to reduce illegal immigration has steadily lost support since 2008. In the 2010 survey, 70% of British respondents said that the British government had been doing a poor or very poor job at managing migration. Whether this sentiment reflects discontent with policies of the outgoing Labour party or the current Coalition government remains to be seen.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in the United Kingdom	6,647,000
Immigrant share of overall population	10.8%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2010, data for 2008	

Chart 9:
Canada: Responsibility for
Selecting Labor Migrants Should
Fall to...

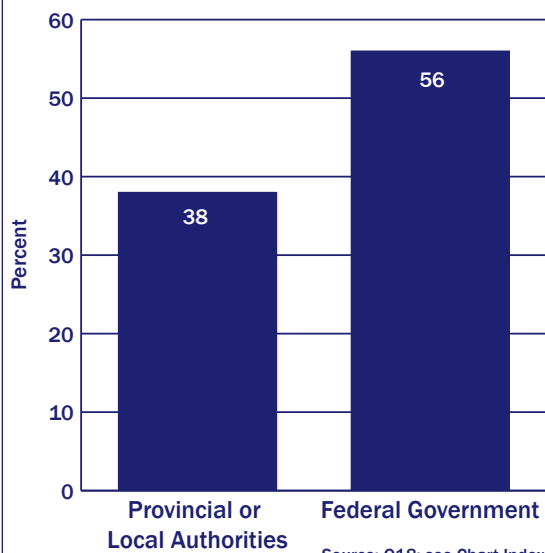
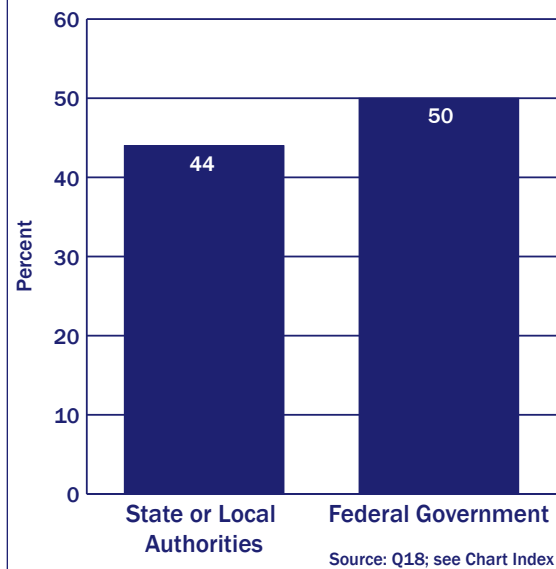


Chart 10:
United States: Responsibility for
Enforcing Immigration Laws
Should Rest with...



COUNTRY PROFILE: CANADA

In *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2010*, respondents were asked to assess their government's management of immigration, an often contentious topic. Of all the countries polled, Canadian respondents were the most supportive of the steps their government had taken to manage immigration. A plurality (48%) of Canadians thought that the government had been doing a good or a very good job in this area, by far the highest level of support in the survey. A majority (56%) of Canadians also supported federal, rather than provincial, responsibility in deciding who should be able to immigrate to Canada for work.

However, cooperation between the federal and provincial governments in managing immigration has a long-standing history in Canada. For years, the Provincial Nomination Program and a special agreement with the province of Quebec has allowed provinces to nominate specific immigrants for entry into Canada. New federal immigration policies continue to take into account provincial needs. The Action Plan for Faster Immigration, with a focus on making the immigration system more responsive to Canada's

labor-market needs, also recognizes the unique skill needs of specific provinces. In order to make the process of obtaining the most-skilled and best-educated workforce more efficient, Canada introduced the Pan-Canadian Framework for the Assessment and Recognition of Foreign Qualifications. Under the new framework, governments across Canada work to ensure that foreign qualifications and credentials are assessed in a fair and timely manner. This will allow foreign workers to join the labor market as soon as possible, thereby helping them to attain their professional potential in Canada and avoid "brain waste." Native Canadians, 67% of whom believe that immigrants help create jobs as they set up new businesses, will likely continue to benefit from the entrepreneurial spirit of New Canadians.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in Canada	6,471,900
Immigrant share of overall population	20.2%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2010, data for 2008	



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Legal and Illegal Immigration: Perceptions and Policy Alternatives

Crafting legal immigration schemes and controlling illegal immigration are two of the biggest challenges facing migrant-receiving countries. To design responsible legal immigration and enforcement policies, it is necessary for governments to understand public perception of legal and illegal immigrants. The *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey has differentiated questions about the two groups of immigrants and their effects on labor markets, crime rates, and social services. The survey also asked respondents about their preferences for legal immigration schemes and enforcement methods to deal with the problem of illegal immigration.

MOST IMMIGRANTS: LEGAL OR ILLEGAL?

Majorities in all countries surveyed claimed that they were “worried about illegal immigration” but “not worried about legal immigration.” In Europe, for instance, an average of 67% was worried about illegal immigration, while 72% were not worried about legal immigration. It is clear from the data, however, that those regions more affected by illegal immigration, including the United States and Southern Europe, have different perceptions of the makeup of their immigrant populations. These countries were the only ones with majorities saying that more immigrants were in their countries illegally than legally. In Southern Europe, Italy had 65% and Spain had 50% claiming that most immigrants were illegal, while the United States had 58% answering likewise.

WORSENING PERCEPTION OF LEGAL IMMIGRANTS’ LABOR-MARKET IMPACTS

Since TTI began asking questions about legal versus illegal immigrants, respondents in all countries have expressed more positive attitudes about legal immigrants. However, there were changes from 2009 to

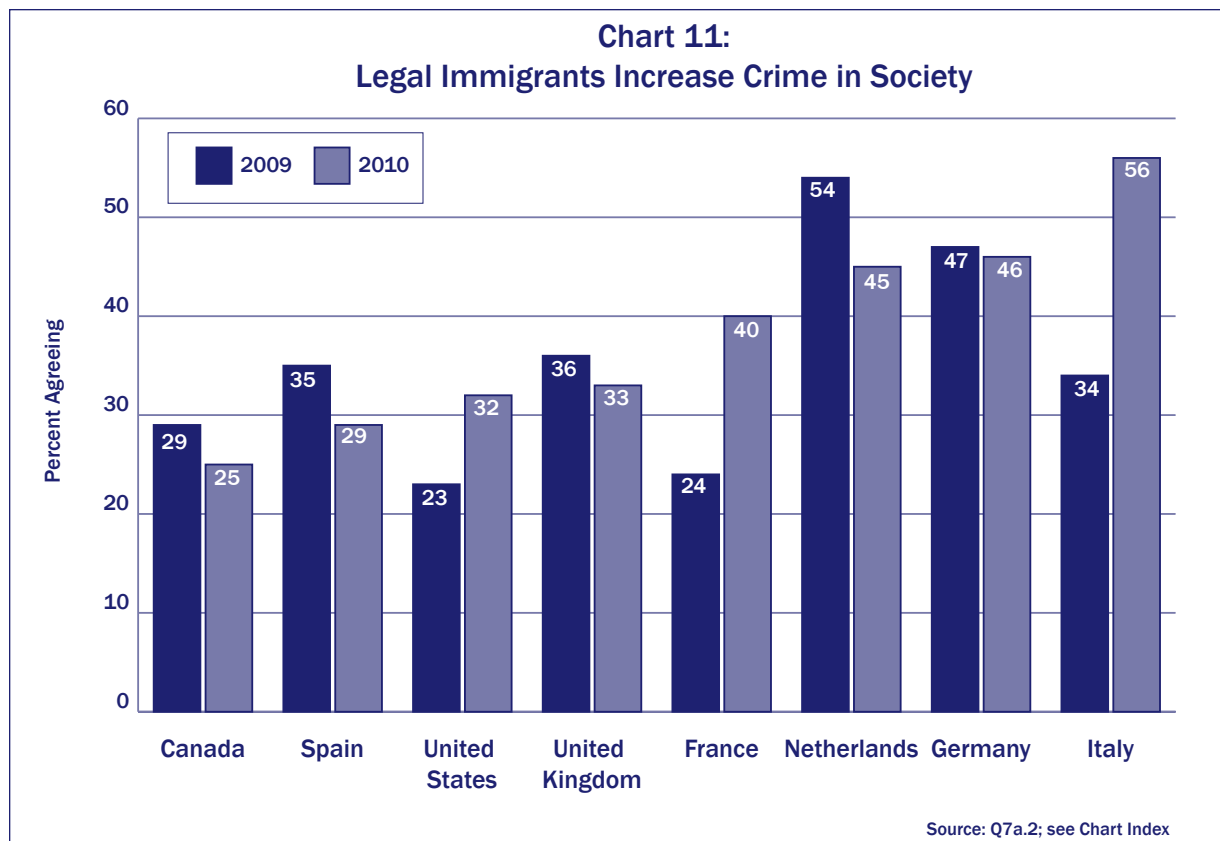
2010 that suggest worsening perceptions of legal immigrants’ labor-market impacts. While trends were stable in the other countries surveyed, Mediterranean countries were less likely in 2010 to agree that legal immigrants are hard workers. The proportion of Spanish respondents who thought that such immigrants work hard fell from 64% to 58%, while Italy (75% to 60%) and France (74% to 53%) saw even more dramatic drops year-on-year. Similarly, significantly fewer Italians and French in 2010 thought that legal immigrants fill labor shortages. Those agreeing that legal immigrants help to fill the jobs that natives do not want fell from 81% to 73% in Italy and from 74% to 54% in France.

LEGAL IMMIGRANTS INCREASINGLY TIED TO CRIME IN SOME COUNTRIES

From 2009 to 2010, there were also notable changes in the way in which legal immigrants were viewed in several countries. There were big jumps in the proportion of respondents in the United States, France, and Italy who indicated that legal immigrants increase crime in society. The percentage of French who thought that legal immigrants increase crime jumped from 24% in 2009 to 40% in 2010, and the percentage of Italians who said the same went up from 34% in 2009 to a majority of 56% in 2010. Over the same period, Dutch respondents moved in the other direction; 54% said that legal immigrants increase crime in 2009, whereas in 2010 only a minority (45%) said likewise. (See Chart 11.)

PERMANENT LABOR MIGRATION STILL POPULAR, BUT OFTEN DEPENDS ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES

Though perceptions of legal immigrants’ labor-market impacts are worsening, labor migration



policy preferences are fairly stable. In the three years that *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* has been asking respondents whether they favor permanent or temporary labor migration to their countries, opinion has remained the same. In all countries, respondents favor giving legal labor migrants the opportunity to stay permanently in their countries. This preference is most striking in Canada, where 80% favor permanent over temporary migration.

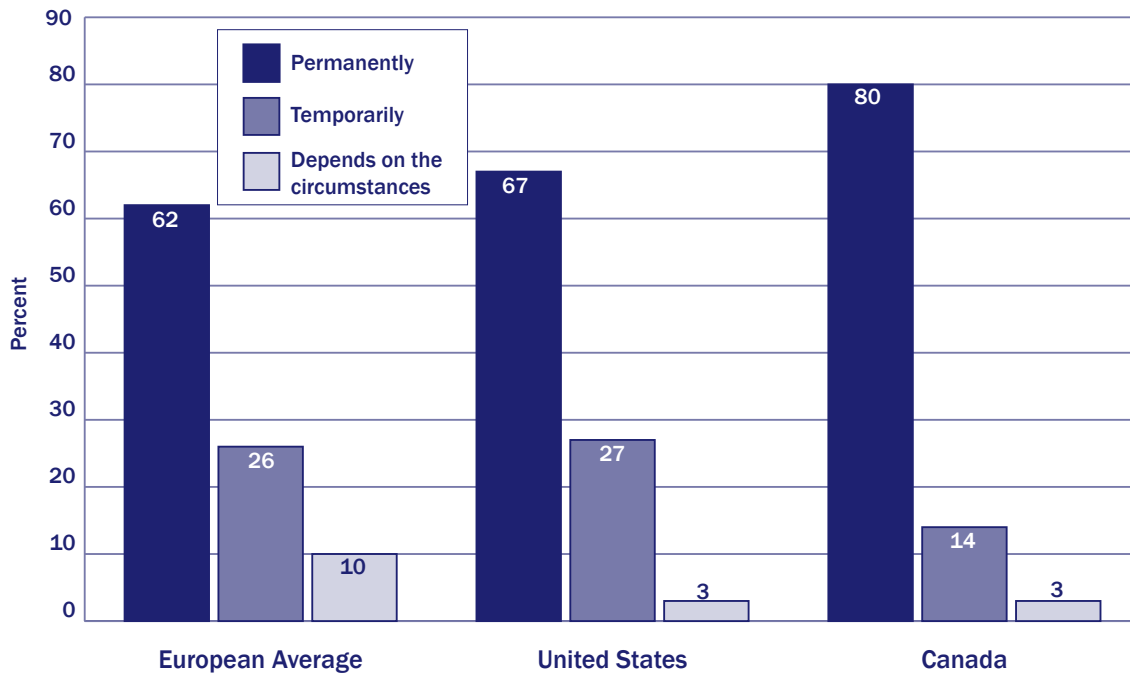
Only in Europe has support for permanent labor migration weakened slightly. Of the five European countries that have been polled since 2008, 67% on average favored permanent labor migration in the first year of the survey. In 2009, that figure slipped very slightly, to 65%; in 2010, it dropped again to 62%. Rather than favoring temporary labor migration, however, respondents were more likely in 2010 to say that the decision for permanent versus temporary migration “depends on the circumstances.” This spontaneous answer was chosen by 10% of European respondents in 2010, compared with 3% in both

Canada and the United States. It seems that Europeans, in particular, are beginning to lean toward differentiation of labor migration policies. (See Chart 12.)

JOB OFFERS ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

TTI in 2010 asked respondents to weigh in on a debate about labor immigration to see if they favored labor market- or human capital-driven migration schemes. The results indicate that labor-market needs are more compelling than education levels. Majorities or pluralities in all countries surveyed think that their governments should give preference to immigrants with a job offer, rather than those with a higher education. The question was framed as a trade-off between admitting highly educated immigrants with no job offer and immigrants with a lower level of education who have a job waiting for them in the country. Opinion was strongest in Spain (74%), France (66%), the Netherlands (63%), and the U.K. (58%) that immediate job placement was more important than high educational levels. Germany and

Chart 12:
Legal Immigrants Coming for Work Should Be Admitted...



Source: Q11; see Chart Index

the United States were the most split, with a plurality of 47% in both countries favoring immigrants with job offers. In Germany, however, over one-third (36%) favored immigrants with high educational levels. Given Germany's history of importing low-skilled labor, it seems that many Germans would prefer taking a different route in the future.

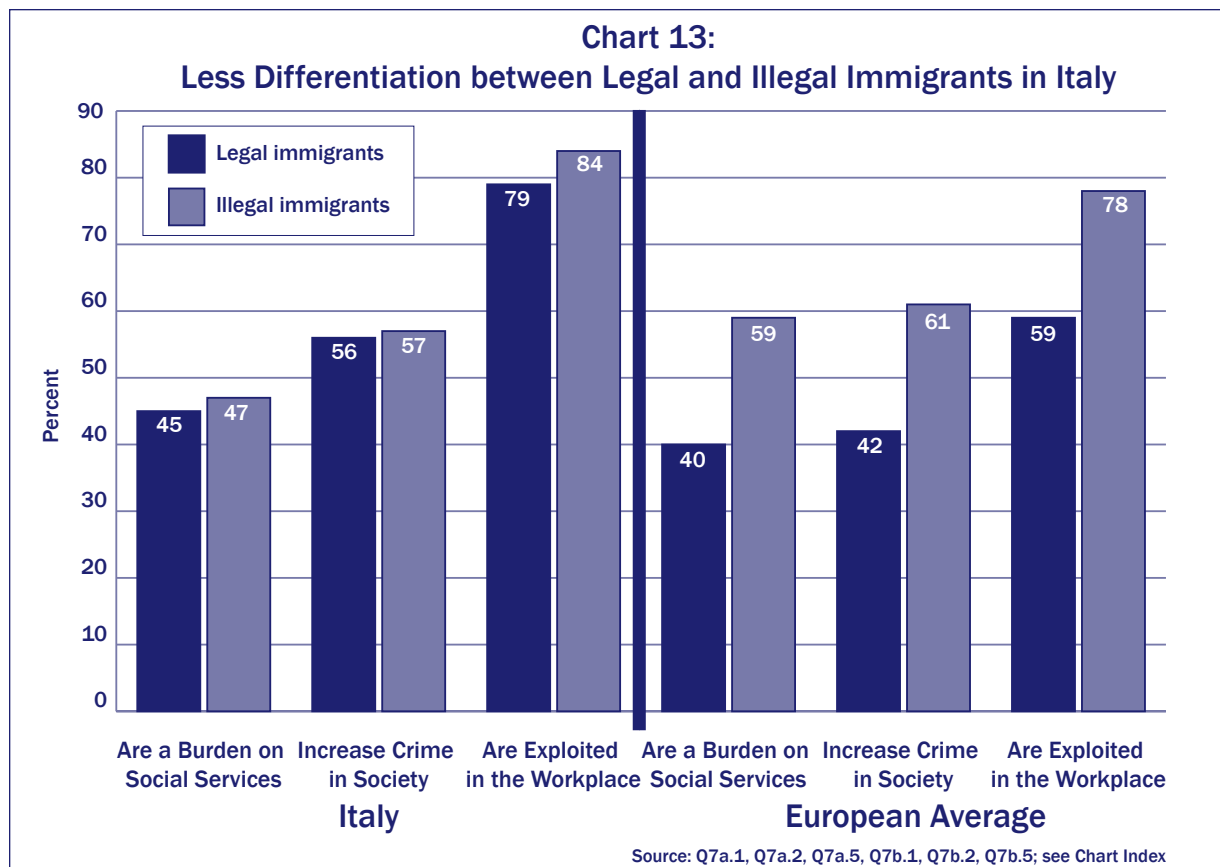
MORE NEGATIVE VIEWS OF LEGAL IMMIGRANTS IN ITALY

In contrast to the *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* results from 2009, Italians in 2010 had a much more favorable view of illegal immigrants in their country. Fewer Italians claimed that illegal immigrants increase crime in Italian society, as the number tying illegal immigrants to crime dropped from 77% in 2009 to 55% in 2010. Instead, more said that illegal immigrants are hard workers (from 44% in 2009 to a majority of 56% in 2010) and nearly three-quarters (74%) said that illegal immigrants help to fill the jobs that Italians do not want. This proportion is up from 69% in 2009. Though illegal immigrants are still perceived slightly

more negatively than are legal immigrants in Italy, the gap in perception between these two groups has been cut dramatically. (See Chart 13.)

EXPLOITATION IN THE WORKFORCE MORE LIKELY FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

In all countries surveyed, large majorities agreed that illegal immigrants are often exploited in the workforce. The European average was 78% in agreement, while Americans (73%) and Canadians (76%) also agreed that illegal immigrants were vulnerable. When asked about legal immigrants being exploited in the workforce, however, responses among the countries surveyed was more mixed. A plurality of Germans (48%) and Dutch (46%) said that they *disagreed* that legal immigrants are often exploited in the workforce. It is notable that the perception gap between legal and illegal immigrants was very narrow on this indicator in Italy, where 84% said that illegal immigrants face exploitation in the workplace and 79% thought that legal immigrants are also vulnerable. By contrast, Germans sharply distinguished the two groups. They



perceived exploitation of illegal immigrants (80%) much more than legal immigrants (45%), a gap of 35%.

LEGALIZATION OR RETURN FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS?

Since 2008, TTI has asked respondents in Europe and North America about their preference for dealing with immigrants who are living in their countries illegally. Presented with the options of requiring such immigrants to return to their country of origin or giving them the opportunity to obtain legal status, respondents are often split. In the United States, for instance, 47% want illegal immigrants to be made to return home, while 45% would prefer to legalize them. Since the beginning of the survey, there has never been an outright majority of Americans favoring either option. (See Chart 14.)

In Europe, half of Germans (50%) want to give illegal immigrants legal status, but the British (67%), Italians (55%), and Spanish (49%) want their illegal immi-

grant populations to leave the country. The results in France and the Netherlands are inconclusive as 19% and 17%, respectively, spontaneously responded that the decision should depend on the circumstances.

STRONG SUPPORT FOR TRADITIONAL CONTROLS ON ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

The countries in TTI that most struggle with illegal immigration are the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Spain. When respondents in these countries were asked about various policies designed to reduce illegal immigration, large majorities were in favor of all of them. For instance, reinforcing border controls was the most-supported policy option with at least 85% expressing their favor for the policy in all four countries. Notably, 66% of Americans, 73% of the British, 65% of Italians, and 58% of the Spanish *strongly* supported this policy. Imposing tougher penalties on employers who hire illegal immigrants was also a popular policy, with over 70% support in all four countries.

Chart 14:
Constant Split: Illegal Immigrants in the United States Should Be...



Source: Q12; see Chart Index

COUNTRY PROFILE: UNITED STATES

When Americans were asked whether they thought most immigrants in the United States were present legally or illegally, 58% of Americans said that most were illegal. The perception that most immigrants in America are illegal has, in fact, been gaining in popularity since the beginning of the *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey, from 48% in 2008, to 51% in 2009 and finally 58% in 2010. Though illegal immigrants comprise less than one-third of the immigrant population in the United States, the perception of widespread immigrant illegality has continued to gain momentum among the American public.

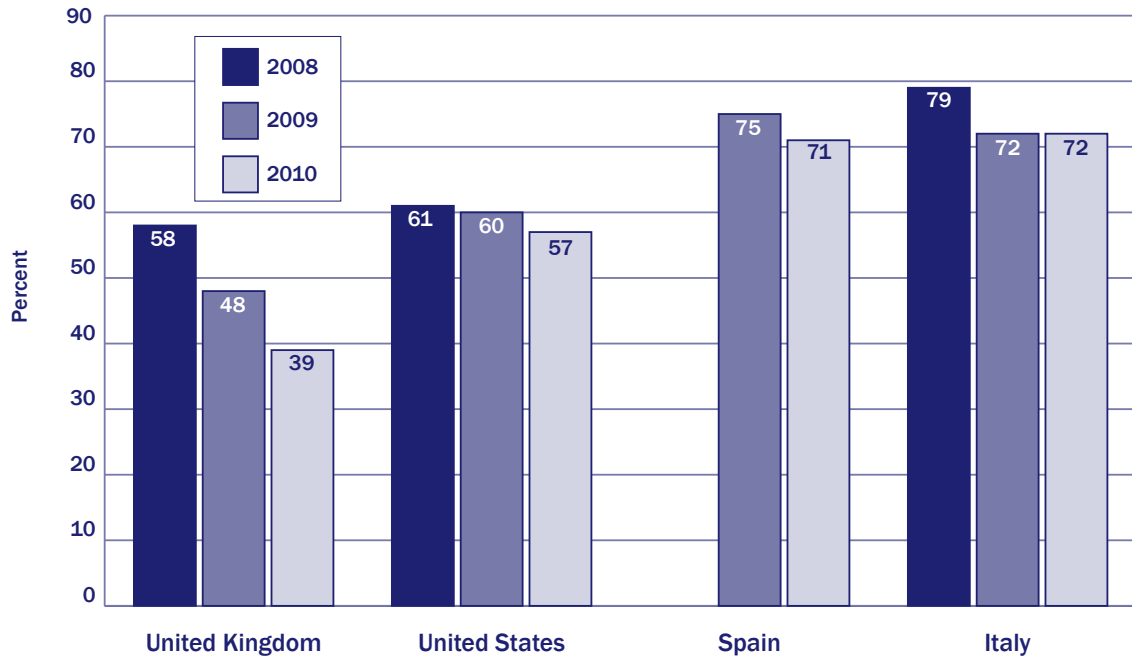
In the past five years, much of the political discourse about immigration issues has focused on securing the United States' southern border with Mexico. In 2010, President Obama sent an additional 1,200 National Guard troops to secure the border and mandated that an additional \$500

million to be spent on the project. While a drop has occurred in the number of illegal immigrants due to the recession and lack of available jobs, as well as this stricter border enforcement, there has been a rise in the contentious debate over immigration and rhetoric surrounding illegal immigrants. Arizona's controversial SB1070 law, which made illegal immigration a state as well as federal crime in Arizona, called national attention to the debate in 2009. The media attention paid to such developments could be a reason for the increasingly skewed vision that Americans have of their immigrant population.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in the United States	41,799,500
Immigrant share of overall population	13.7%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2010, data for 2008	

Chart 15:
Support for More Avenues of Legal Immigration
as an Illegal Immigration Reduction Measure



Source: Q13a.4; see Chart Index

**BRITISH DO NOT SUPPORT MORE
LEGAL AVENUES FOR IMMIGRATION**

One policy option that could reduce illegal immigration to a given country is to make it easier for immigrants to enter the country legally to work and study. When

asked about this option, Italians (72%), Spanish (71%), and Americans (57%) were in favor. By contrast, British respondents were opposed to this policy. A full 58% would not support easier routes of legal immigration to the United Kingdom. (See Chart 15.)



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Immigrant Integration, Belonging, and Entitlements

In Europe, the integration of immigrants into mainstream society has been a hot political topic. *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* asked respondents in all countries to evaluate their governments' policies on integration, and results suggest that many governments are not seen to be doing enough. Respondents in 2010 were also asked to rate the integration of various groups, including Muslim and Hispanic immigrants in the United States, as well as the integration of the children of immigrants.

LESS OPTIMISM ABOUT IMMIGRATION'S CULTURAL BENEFITS

When asked whether immigration enriches their country's culture with new customs and ideas or negatively affects their national culture, most countries had a positive view of immigration's cultural effects in 2009 and 2010. The exception was the United Kingdom, where a plurality of 48% in 2010 said that immigration negatively affects British culture. Though the other countries in the survey continue to have a positive opinion of immigration's cultural effects, they are less positive in 2010 than in 2009. In the United States and Canada, for instance, 65% in both countries said that immigration was positive for culture in 2009. In 2010, both countries had 60% saying the same. Similar drops were seen in France (68% to 58%), Spain (61% to 55%), and Italy (54% to a plurality of 49%). Though there are less positive attitudes elsewhere, a consistent 60% of Germans thought that immigration enriches German culture in both 2009 and 2010.

PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

Generally speaking, Europeans had fairly negative views of the state of immigrant integration in their

countries. Spain was the only country in Europe where a slight majority (54%) felt that immigrants are integrating well. On the other hand, half of the Italians (50%) and more than half of the French (54%), Germans (53%), and British (52%) felt that immigrants were integrating poorly or very poorly into society. The Dutch were the most pessimistic, with 60% saying that immigrants were integrating poorly into Dutch society. On the other side of the Atlantic, the picture was more optimistic. Fifty-nine percent of Americans and 65% of Canadians felt that their immigrants were integrating well.

VIEWS OF MUSLIM INTEGRATION MORE POSITIVE IN NORTH AMERICA

In 2010, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* asked respondents to rate the integration of Muslim immigrants into their societies. Though no country had an outright majority saying that Muslim immigrants were integrating well, Canadians were split evenly, with 45% believing Muslim immigrants were integrating well and 44% thinking they were integrating poorly. Americans were the most optimistic about Muslim integration — a plurality of 45% thought these immigrants were integrating well, while 40% said that they were not. A further 14% claimed that they did not know, perhaps due to comparatively low numbers of Muslim immigrants to the United States.

In Europe, negative views about Muslim integration were especially common in Spain and Germany, where large majorities said that Muslims were integrating poorly (70% and 67%, respectively). They were followed by the Dutch (56%), the British (53%), the French (51%), and a plurality of Italians (49%) who also thought that Muslim immigrants were integrating poorly.

SPANISH AND GERMANS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT MUSLIM INTEGRATION

Comparing the perceptions of immigrant integration in general versus the integration of Muslims specifically, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and, to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom, had numbers that were very similar. It seems that in those countries, there was not a large distinction made by the public between immigrants in general and Muslims in regards to integration. In Spain, Canada, Germany, and the United States, however, it was clear that there are more pessimistic views of Muslim integration. In Spain and Germany, for instance, there were 33 and 16 percentage point differences, respectively, in respondents saying that Muslim immigrants are

integrating well into society when compared to those thinking immigrants in general are integrating well. (See Chart 16.)

HISPANIC INTEGRATION SEEN EQUALLY IN UNITED STATES

While Americans viewed Muslim integration more negatively than immigrant integration in general, Americans also think that Hispanic immigrants are integrating better. Generally speaking, 59% of Americans thought that immigrants are integrating well into American society, while only 45% of them said the same of Muslim integration. Hispanic integration, however, was seen more positively, as nearly two-thirds of Americans (65%) said that Hispanic

COUNTRY PROFILE: GERMANY

When asked whether Germany is now a country of immigration, the overwhelming majority of Germans (78%) agreed in TTI 2010 that it is. Over the past few months, Germany has witnessed a re-emergence of immigration and integration issues in national political debates. Set in motion by Social Democrat and former Bundesbank Board Member Thilo Sarrazin, the German public has been wrapped up in a active discussion about who should be admitted to the country and whether the integration of immigrants, and second-generation Muslim immigrants in particular, has been successful.

Several issues that are salient in the public debate were covered in the 2010 *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey. For instance, Germans thought that immigrants are not well integrated into Germany society. Of all countries surveyed, Germans were among the least satisfied with immigrant integration; 53% answered that immigrants are integrating poorly or very poorly into German society. When asked specifically about the integration of Muslim immigrants, even larger numbers were pessimistic. A majority of 67% of Germans thought that Muslim immigrants are not integrating well into German

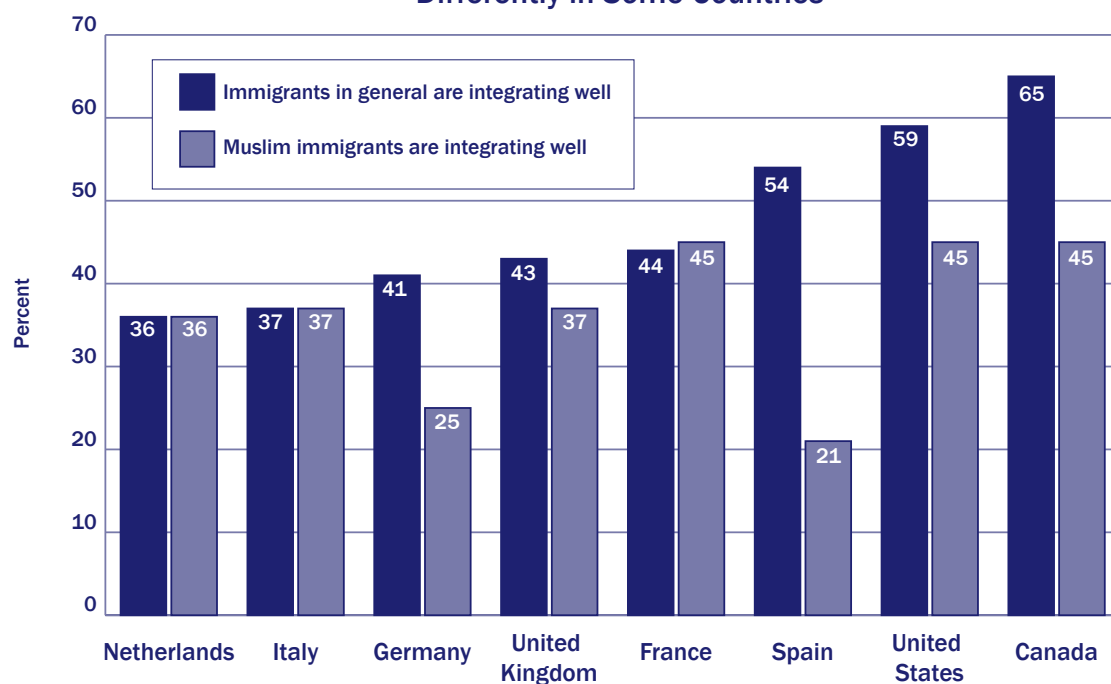
society, and 57% think that the children of Muslim immigrants are also not well integrated. Language acquisition, in particular, has been a large part of the German debate about integration, and TTI data showed that a plurality of Germans (49%) thought that knowing the German language was the most important precondition to acquiring German citizenship.

Though much of the political debate has been about immigrants integrating and accepting the *Leitkultur*, or leading culture, of Germany, it was also clear from the 2010 *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey that Germans are widely dissatisfied with the way that the government is handling integration policy. A majority of 56% think that the government has been doing a poor or very poor job in integrating migrants into German society, showing that there is improvement to be made on many fronts.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in Germany	10,620,774
Immigrant share of overall population	12.9%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2010, data for 2003	

**Chart 16:
Integration of Muslim Immigrants Seen
Differently in Some Countries**



Source: Q28a, Q28b; see Chart Index

immigrants were integrating well. Americans were also asked to rate the integration of the children of Hispanic immigrants in the United States. Overall, the response was very positive; a full 78% of Americans thought they were integrating well. Over one-third (36%) said that second-generation Hispanics were integrating *very* well. This perception is in line with the general perception of second-generation integration in the United States and indicates that the perceived integration of America's largest immigrant group is largely positive. (See Chart 17.)

MORE POSITIVE VIEWS OF SECOND-GENERATION INTEGRATION

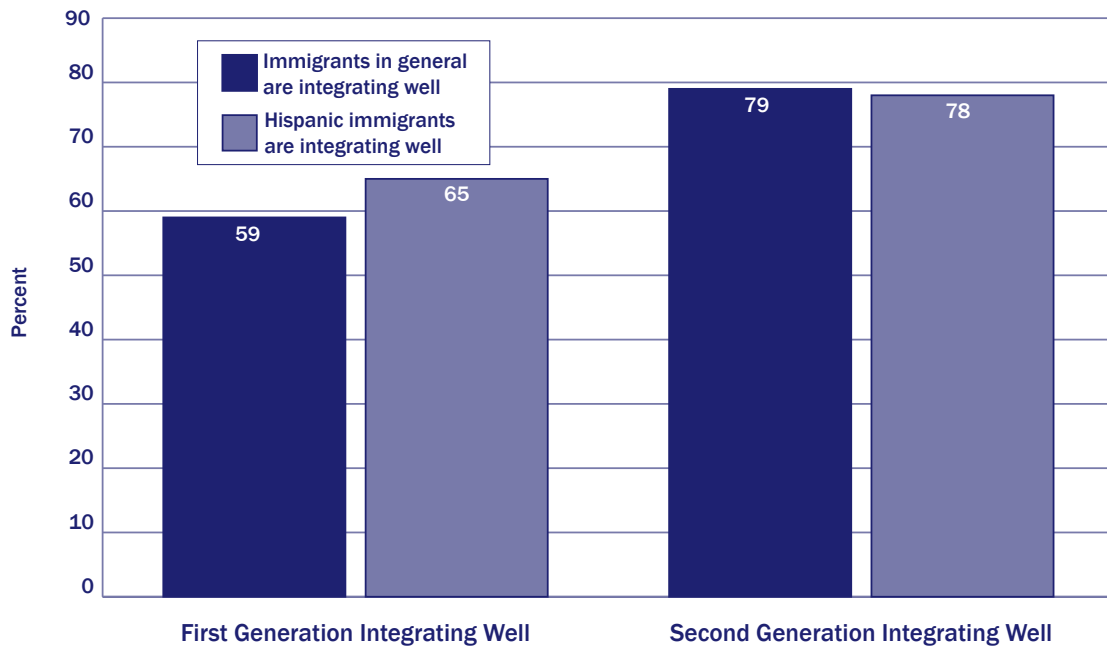
Transatlantic Trends: Immigration asked the public how they perceived the integration of second-generation immigrants in 2010. The children of immigrants born in the respondents' countries were generally seen as better integrated than first-generation immigrants. Sixty-one percent of Europeans, on average, thought that the children born to immigrants in their countries were very well or well integrated. The Spanish were the

most likely Europeans to see the children of immigrants as well integrated (78%), followed by the British (68%), Dutch (66%), Italians (65%), French (54%), and the Germans (50%). North Americans were even more positive in their views of second-generation integration. An overwhelming 87% of Canadians and 79% of Americans said that the children of immigrants born in Canada and the United States, respectively, were well or very well integrated.

SECOND-GENERATION MUSLIMS GENERALLY PERCEIVED TO BE INTEGRATING WELL

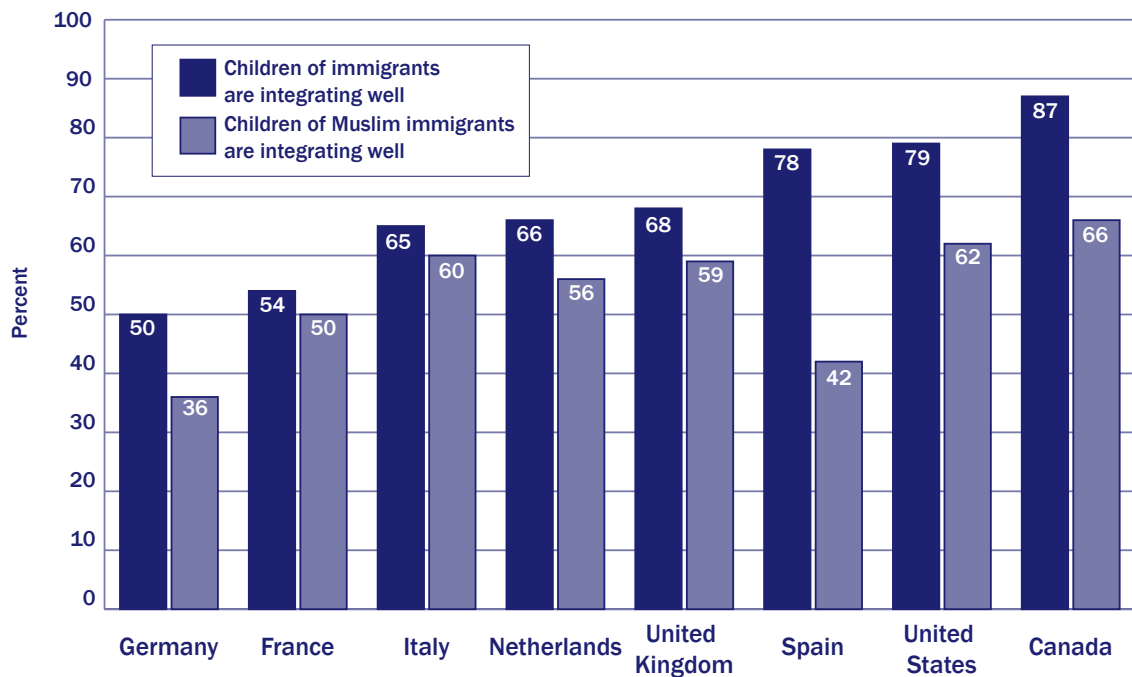
Overall, the perception of second-generation Muslim integration was positive in most countries, as Canadians (66%), Americans (62%), Italians (60%), the British (59%), and the French (50%) thought that the children of Muslim immigrants were integrating well into society. The exceptions were in Spain and Germany, where only 42% and 36%, respectively, thought that Muslim immigrants' children were integrating well. While the Spanish were fairly split, a clear majority of Germans thought that second-gener-

Chart 17:
American Perception of Hispanic Integration
on Par with Immigrant Integration in General

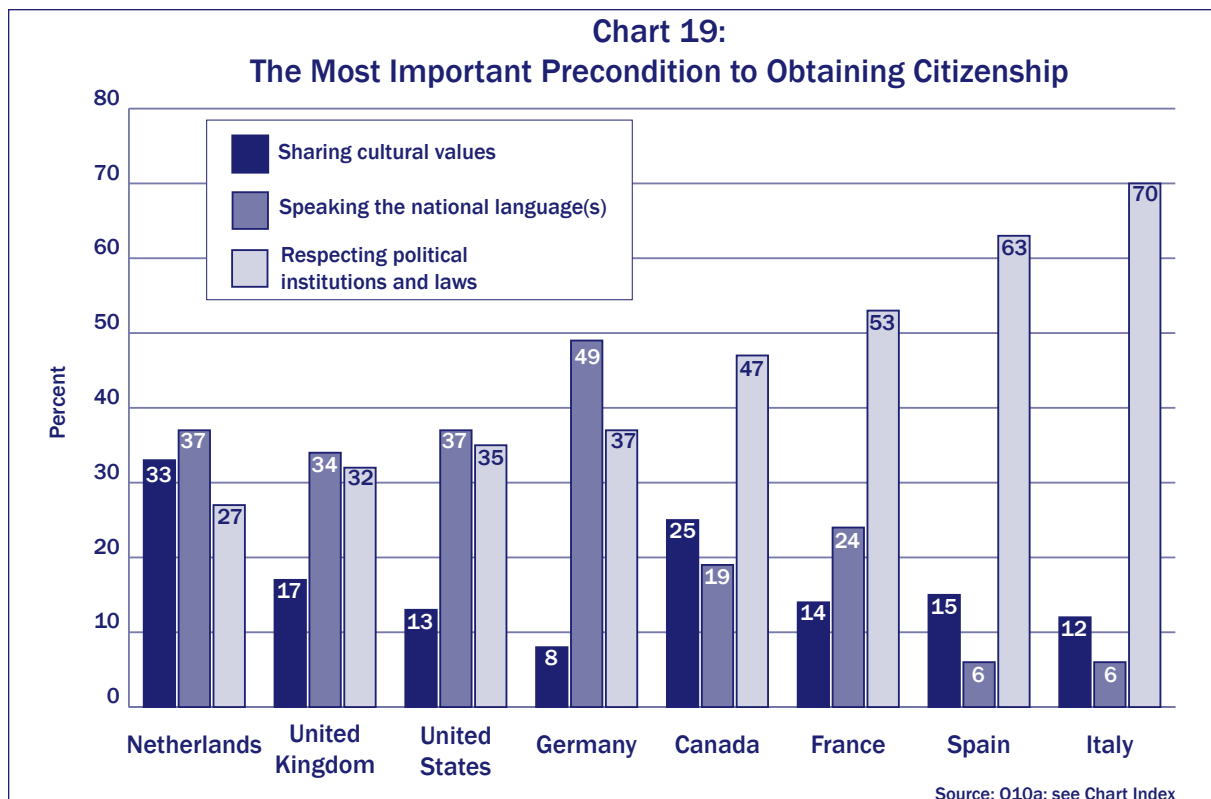


Source: Q28b, Q28c, Q29b, Q29c; see Chart Index

Chart 18:
General Perception of Successful Second-Generation Integration



Source: Q29a, Q29b; see Chart Index

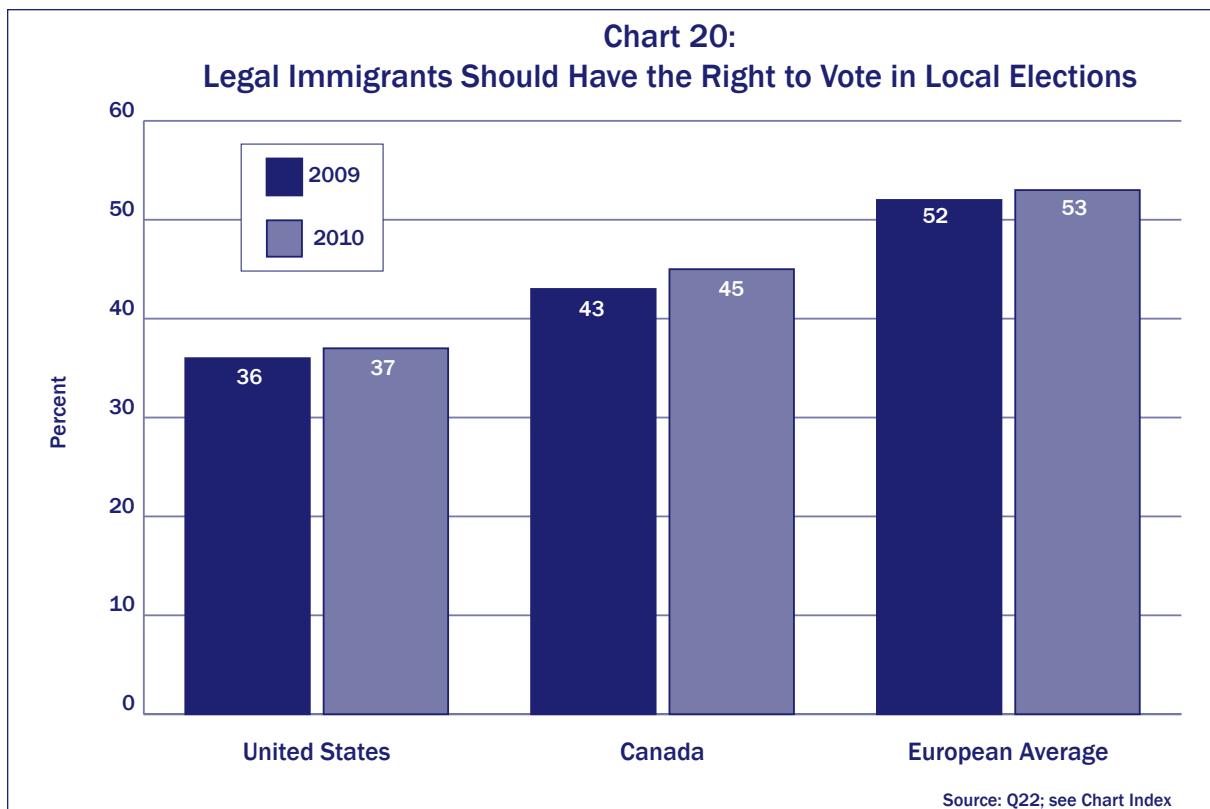


ation Muslims were integrating poorly or very poorly. (See Chart 18.)

CITIZENSHIP PRECONDITIONS VARY BY COUNTRY

In 2010, TTI asked the public to name the most important precondition for obtaining citizenship in their country. Among the options — being able to speak the national language(s), respecting national political institutions and laws, having lived in the country for most of one's life, and sharing national cultural values — there were striking differences among the countries surveyed. Respondents in Italy (70%), Spain (63%), and France (53%) thought it important that would-be citizens should respect their countries' political institu-

tions and laws, while only 6% in both Italy and Spain thought that language fluency was the most important precondition for citizenship. It seems that in Spain and Italy, in particular, civic integration is the most important factor for citizenship acquisition. By contrast, a full 49% of Germans thought that being able to speak German is the most important precondition for becoming a German citizen. In the Netherlands, 37% said that speaking Dutch was important, but a further one-third of respondents (33%) thought that sharing Dutch cultural values was the most important factor for citizenship. Respondents in none of the countries surveyed thought that living in the country for most of one's life was the most important precondition for an immigrant to obtain citizenship. (See Chart 19.)



NON-CITIZEN VOTING RIGHTS FIND SUPPORT IN EUROPE

On the question of whether legal immigrants or only citizens should have the right to vote in local government elections, Spain (62%), France (58%), the Netherlands (56%), and Italy (52%) all have majorities who support giving the vote to legal immigrants. Germans, however, were split, with 48% supporting legal immigrant voting rights, while 49% think that

only citizens should be able to vote in local elections. The U.K. and Canada each had a slight majority of 51% saying that only citizens should have the vote, while a clear majority (62%) of Americans thought that only American citizens should vote in local government elections. Overall, it is evident that giving local voting rights to migrants is more popular in Europe. (See Chart 20.)

COUNTRY PROFILE: THE NETHERLANDS

Along with other European countries, the Netherlands has witnessed a growing skepticism toward immigration and a shift toward more restrictive immigration policies. In the June 2010 election, Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom ran on an anti-immigrant and anti-Islam agenda. *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2010* found that the Dutch public was very critical about how the government has handled integration issues: an overwhelming majority (78%) of the Dutch thought that the government has done a poor or very poor job in integrating immigrants into Dutch society, the poorest government rating for integration among all countries surveyed.

Though Wilders' rhetoric has brought the issue of Muslim integration to the fore, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2010* showed that Dutch respondents do not differentiate greatly between Muslim immigrants and immigrants in general in terms of integration. In fact, slightly more Dutch respondents thought that immigrants in general were integrating poorly (60%) compared to Muslim immigrants (56%).

It is clear, though, that the Dutch viewed cultural integration as important. Other countries in the survey cited language acquisition or respect for political institutions and laws as the most important preconditions to obtaining citizenship, but the Netherlands was an outlier. Thirty-seven percent cited language as the most important, followed quickly by one-third (33%) of the Dutch saying that sharing cultural values was the most important precondition for citizenship. This support for sharing cultural values was by far the highest in the survey and suggests that cultural adaptation is a top priority for full immigrant integration into Dutch society.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigrant population in the Netherlands	1,793,700
Immigrant share of overall population	10.9%
Source: OECD International Migration Outlook 2010, data for 2008	



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Conclusion

The third year of the *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey showed some important changes and yielded results that speak to a number of national debates in the countries surveyed. In analyzing the results, a few overall findings should be of particular interest to policymakers.

Perception of immigration as either a problem or an opportunity seems to remain relatively constant in all countries surveyed. Though 2009 showed a slight dip in the numbers of respondents viewing immigration as an opportunity, the 2010 numbers are similar to the findings of 2008 in every country. This suggests that overall perception of immigration as a positive or negative phenomenon is fairly static in each national context.

Facts about the immigrant population change perceptions. Of those respondents who received information about the share of the population in their country that was immigrant, fewer claimed that there were “too many” immigrants in the country. Among those who received no information, many more said that there were “too many” immigrants.

The economic crisis may have had an effect on attitudes about immigration, as TTI showed that those who were unemployed or those whose personal economic situation got worse over the 2009-2010 period were more likely to fear labor-market competition from immigrants. Also on labor-market issues, Americans and the British continue to express the most worry about labor-market competition, while Italians largely see immigrants as compliments, rather than rivals, to natives in the workplace.

Majorities or pluralities in all countries thought that immigrants were a fiscal drain, as they use more in

health and welfare services than they contribute in taxes. Nevertheless, continental Europeans were in favor of giving healthcare benefits to all immigrants, both legal and illegal. British respondents, however, would prefer that only British citizens and legal immigrants be given access to the healthcare system.

In some countries, views of the government in general differed greatly from the views of immigration management and integration management. The British, for instance, were happy with the government but gave it poor marks on handling immigration matters. The Dutch, by contrast, were very unhappy with the government but much more satisfied about immigration management, and the Spanish were much more satisfied with integration policy than with their government in general.

In North America, Canadians only slightly prefer the federal government to make decisions about who comes to Canada for work; many Canadians would like to see this responsibility mainly in the hands of provincial authorities. In the United States, immigration enforcement is seen as a federal responsibility by a majority, but a sizable minority thought that enforcement should be a job for state and local authorities.

The French and the Italians in TTI 2010 had very changed perceptions about legal and illegal immigrant populations. The French became more negative about both groups on a number of indicators, including crime, labor issues, and social services, while Italians appeared not to differentiate between the two groups.

Muslim immigrants were seen in most countries to be less well integrated than immigrants in general. However, most countries were much more optimistic about second-generation integration, both among

the general immigrant population and among the children of Muslim immigrants. In the United States, Hispanic first- and second-generation immigrants were seen to be integrating well and were not differentiated from the general immigrant population.

Countries had divergent views about the most important precondition to becoming a national citizen. Germans favored language, the Dutch emphasized language and cultural values, and Italians, Spaniards, and the French thought that respecting political institutions and laws was the most important attribute for immigrants to become citizens. These findings both show the emphasis that each nationality places on different qualities for full integration and could give guidelines to policymakers who design the requirements for naturalization.

In the third year of the *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey, these findings and others give

insight into people's perceptions of their immigrant populations, their government's capacity for managing migration issues, and the extent to which various immigrant populations are integrated into society. A number of specific policy trade-offs were also covered in the survey, such as legalization or return for illegal immigrants, permanent versus temporary labor migration, and labor-focused versus education-focused admittance preferences. Though each of the eight countries in *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* has its own unique history and challenges when it comes to immigration, these perceptions and policy preferences were designed to feed into policy debates on both sides of the Atlantic, in order that future debates might be better informed about public sentiments on these important issues.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Immigration

Methodology

METHODOLOGY

TNS Opinion was commissioned to conduct the *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* 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, was interviewed. In countries where 20% or more of the population lacks a landline telephone, including Spain, Italy, and the United States, 20% of the interviews were conducted by cell phone. Interviews were conducted using Random Digit Dialing in Europe between August 27, 2010, and September 13, 2010, and in the United States and Canada between November 10, 2010, and November 21, 2010.

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 2010, 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 2008, 2009, and 2010 include data from the six European countries surveyed in 2009 and 2010, and the five European countries surveyed in 2008 and 2009, excluding Spain. For reports that only include results from 2009 and 2010, 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

Immigration

Chart Index

CHART 1

Q26: 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?

Immigration is more of a problem for (COUNTRY)

CHART 2

Q4a: As you may know, according to official estimates, around XX percent of the COUNTRY population was born in another country. In your opinion, is this too many, a lot but not too many, or not many?

Too many

Q4b: Generally speaking, how do you feel about the number of people living in (COUNTRY) who were not born in COUNTRY? Are there too many, a lot but not too many, or too many?

Too many

CHART 3

Q9: I am now going to read a few statements that are sometimes heard about immigrants in general. 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 4

Q9.1: Immigrants take jobs away from native born (NATIONALITY)

QD3: How does the financial situation of your household compare with what it was 12 months ago?

Got worse

Got better or stayed the same

CHART 5

Q14: Now I am going to ask you about (In UK: social security benefits / in US, EU, and Canada: social benefits) available in COUNTRY. Can you please tell me whether access to each benefit should be available to NATIONALITY citizens only, available to NATIONALITY citizens and all legal immigrants, or available to NATIONALITY citizens and all immigrants, both legal and illegal?

B.3: Access to healthcare (NOT ASKED IN THE US)

Available to NATIONALITY citizens only

Available to NATIONALITY citizens and all legal immigrants

Available to NATIONALITY citizens and all immigrants, both legal and illegal

CHART 6

Q14: Now I am going to ask you about (In UK: social security benefits / in US, EU, and Canada: social benefits) available in COUNTRY. Can you please tell me whether access to each benefit should be available to NATIONALITY citizens only, available to NATIONALITY citizens and all legal immigrants, or available to NATIONALITY citizens and all immigrants, both legal and illegal?

1: Access to (In UK: state schools / all others: public schools)

Available to NATIONALITY citizens only

Available to NATIONALITY citizens and all legal immigrants

Available to NATIONALITY citizens and all immigrants, both legal and illegal

CHART 7

QD2: In the past six months, would you say that the government in general has been doing a very good job, a good job, a poor job, or a very poor job?

Very good / good job

Q17: Thinking about the steps that have been taken to manage immigration, would you say that the government has been doing a very good job, a good job, a poor job, or a very poor job?

Very good / good job

Q20: Thinking about the steps that have been taken to integrate immigrants into NATIONALITY society, would you say that the government has been doing a very good job, a good job, a poor job, or a very poor job?

Very good / good job

CHART 8

Q19: Some people think that the NATIONALITY government should decide how many immigrants are allowed to come to COUNTRY each year. Others think that the European Union should decide how many immigrants are allowed to come to each European Union country, including COUNTRY, each year. Which comes closer to your point of view?

The NATIONALITY government should decide how many immigrants are allowed to come to COUNTRY each year

The European Union should decide how many immigrants are allowed to come to each European Union country, including COUNTRY, each year

CHART 9

Q18: In Canada: In decisions about who should be able to immigrate to COUNTRY for work, do you think that primary responsibility should be given to...?

Provincial or local authorities

Federal government authorities

CHART 10

Q18: In United States: In enforcing immigration laws, do you think that primary responsibility should be given to...?

State or local authorities

Federal government authorities

CHART 11

Q7: Now I am going to read you a few statements that are sometimes heard about legal immigrants. Can you please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements?

A.2: Legal immigrants increase crime in our society

CHART 12

Q11: 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?

They should be given the opportunity to stay permanently

They should only be admitted temporarily and then be required to return to their country of origin

It depends on the circumstances

CHART 13

Q7: Now I am going to read you a few statements that are sometimes heard about legal 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
- 5: (SPLIT A: Legal / SPLIT B: Illegal) immigrants are often exploited in the workplace

CHART 14

Q12: 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?

They should be required to return to their country of origin

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

CHART 15

Q13: Thinking about policies that could be adopted in (COUNTRY) at the national level, to what extent do you support or oppose the following measures designed to reduce illegal immigration into (COUNTRY)?

A.4: Making it easier for immigrants to legally enter (COUNTRY) to work and study

CHART 16

Q28: Generally speaking, how well do you think that (SPLIT A: Muslim immigrants / SPLIT B: immigrants) are integrating into NATIONALITY society?

CHART 17

Q28: Generally speaking, how well do you think that (SPLIT B: Immigrants / SPLIT C: Hispanic immigrants) are integrating into NATIONALITY society?

Q29: And what about the (SPLIT B: Children of immigrants / SPLIT C: Children of Hispanic immigrants) who were born in COUNTRY? How well do you think they are integrating into NATIONALITY society?

CHART 18

Q29: And what about the (SPLIT A: Children of Muslim immigrants / SPLIT B: Children of immigrants) who were born in COUNTRY? How well do you think they are integrating into NATIONALITY society?

CHART 19

Q10a: Which of the following attributes do you think is the most important precondition to obtaining NATIONALITY citizenship (U.S. ONLY: American citizenship)?

Sharing NATIONALITY cultural values

Being able to speak NATIONAL LANGUAGE(S)

Respecting NATIONALITY political institutions and laws

CHART 20

Q22: Some people think that legal immigrants should have the right to vote in local government elections. Others think that this right should be reserved for (NATIONALITY) citizens only. Which comes closer to your point of view?

Legal immigrants should have the right to vote in local government elections



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

www.transatlantictrends.org

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