

HOW THE WORLD VIEWS MIGRATION



International Organization for Migration (IOM)

**GLOBAL MIGRATION
DATA ANALYSIS CENTRE (GMDAC)**



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Executive summary

How the World Views Migration provides, for the first time, an insight into public attitudes towards immigration worldwide. The findings presented here – based on interviews with over 183,000 adults across more than 140 countries between 2012 and 2014 – represent the first steps towards understanding the lenses through which people view immigration at a global level.

Adults surveyed in Gallup's World Poll were asked two questions about immigration: 1) In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased? 2) Do you think immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want (e.g. low-paying or not prestigious jobs), or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want?

Foremost among the report's findings is that in every major region of the world – with the important exception of Europe – people are more likely to want immigration levels in their countries to either stay at the present level or to increase, rather than to decrease. This contrasts with the negative perceptions of migration often portrayed in the media in certain regions of the world.

European residents appear to be, on average, the most negative globally towards immigration, with the majority believing immigration levels should be decreased. However, there is a sharp divergence in opinions among residents in Northern and Southern Europe. The majority of adults in Northern European countries – except for those in the United Kingdom – would like immigration levels to either stay the same or increase, while most residents in Southern European countries would prefer to have lower levels of immigration to their countries. More broadly, residents in less than half of the 40 countries in the larger European region are more likely to favour decreased immigration levels than the same or higher levels.

Negative and positive opinions towards immigration exist in every region and every country; however, certain sociodemographic characteristics are more consistently associated with favourable or opposing attitudes to immigration. The study finds that adults with a university degree are typically more likely than those with lower levels of education to want to see immigration kept at its present level or increased in their countries. Similarly, younger people generally tend to be more positive towards immigration. In contrast, negative attitudes in relation to immigration levels are more likely found among those who are unemployed than those who are employed.

People's views about their personal and their countries' economic situations may be the strongest predictors of their views of immigration. Those who perceive economic situations as poor or worsening are more likely to favour lower immigration levels into their countries. The reverse is also true: those who perceive their individual or their countries' economic situations as good or improving are more likely to want to see higher levels of immigration.

Although people's outlooks on their national economy, personal standard of living and household income are strong indicators of their views of immigration levels in their countries, these do not appear to be such strong predictors of people's opinions about competition between national workers and immigrants in their countries' labour markets. Public opinion as to whether migrants compete with national workers for jobs is, however, generally aligned with opinion about immigration levels: among the countries surveyed, on average, residents who do not see migrants as wanting the jobs citizens in their countries want tend to be more open to immigration in their countries.

Key Findings

Geography of Immigration Attitudes

- Worldwide, people are generally more likely to want immigration levels in their countries to either stay at their present levels (22%) or to increase (21%), rather than to see immigration levels decreased (34%).
- People in Europe are the most negative in the world towards immigration, with the majority (52%) saying immigration levels in their countries should be decreased.
- In seven of the top 10 migrant destination countries (United States, Canada, Australia, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Germany and France), majorities say immigration should be increased or stay the same, while more than half of the respondents in the remaining three (Russia Federation, United Kingdom and Spain) say immigration levels should decrease.

Economics of Immigration Attitudes

- Adults who live in countries with the highest unemployment rates are the most negative towards immigration to their countries. Nearly half of adults in countries with unemployment rates higher than 15 per cent believe immigration should decrease.
- Residents of high-income economies overall are much more likely to say immigrants take jobs citizens do not want (58%) than that they take jobs that citizens want (17%). In all other economies, residents are more likely to say immigrants take the jobs that citizens want.
- In all top 10 migrant destination countries – which are also all high-income economies – many more respondents say that immigrants take jobs that residents do not want than say they take jobs that residents want.

Demographics of Immigration Attitudes

- Adults with a university degree are more likely than those with lower levels of education to want to see immigration kept at its present level or increased.
- Those younger than age 54 are likely to have an opinion about immigration and they are more likely to favour increasing immigration levels.
- Compared with others in the workforce, those who are not working but actively looking for employment and able to begin work are considerably more likely to want immigration decreased (40% of the unemployed versus 33% of those not unemployed).

Government Policies and Immigration Attitudes

- People's attitudes and government policies towards immigration seem to be generally aligned. When public opinion towards immigration is, on average, negative, government policies are aimed at decreasing the level of immigration to their countries and vice versa.
- In the Russian Federation, however, residents' predominantly negative attitudes towards immigration (70% of respondents desire lower levels) run directly counter to the country's policies to raise immigration levels.

- Attitudes towards immigration in the G20 countries as a group mirror global attitudes: every fifth person in this group wants immigration to stay at the present level and every fifth person wants it to increase. Within the G20, there are clearly vast differences in opinion.
- In South Africa, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, Turkey, Italy and Mexico, more than half of adults would like to see immigration decreased, while in the European Union as a whole (a member of the G20 in itself), nearly half (48%) would like to see lower levels of immigration. At the same time, majorities of adults would like to see immigration increased or be kept at the present level in Japan, the Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Germany, Brazil, the United States, Canada and Australia.
- Views about immigration are more positive in major cities in Saudi Arabia and in China than they are in the rest of their respective countries. In Saudi Arabia, for example, the percentage of residents in Riyadh who would like to see higher immigration levels in the country is similar to that in the rest of the country, but adults in this city are also more likely to want to see immigration levels kept the same.
- In Istanbul, residents are more likely than the rest of their fellow Turks to want to see a decrease in immigration levels in their country: nearly two in three respondents in Istanbul (65%) would like to see lower levels, compared with 51 per cent in the rest of the country.

“ Adults with a university degree are more likely than those with lower levels of education to want to see immigration kept at its present level or increased. ”

Introduction

Introduction

How the World Views Migration provides an overview of public attitudes towards immigration globally. Drawing on data from the Gallup World Poll, the report details results from surveys conducted in more than 140 countries between 2012 and 2014.

The Gallup World Poll is the largest globally comparable data set in the world, featuring data from surveys in more than 160 countries that are home to more than 99 per cent of the world's adult population. These surveys have been conducted annually or more frequently in most countries since 2005, in over 150 languages, employing the same rigorous methodology standards in each country. Gallup's global data set now includes more than 1.5 million interviews with adults aged 15 and older.¹ The scope of Gallup's World Poll uniquely positions it to get a truly global perspective on key issues that will continue to shape the world for years to come – including migration.

This report is based on interviews conducted between 2012 and 2014 with 183,772 adults about their attitudes towards immigration, using the two questions reported below.

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

Gallup has a long history of asking such questions in the United States, as this first appeared in surveys in 1965. Gallup added it to the World Poll between 2012 and 2014 to study global attitudes towards immigration. Gallup's surveys include countries with small migrant populations (for example, India and China, where the foreign-born population makes up less than 0.5% of the population) and countries with large migrant stocks (for example, the United Arab Emirates, where migrants account

for more than 8 in 10 people in the population). Although it is difficult to compare countries with such different migration experiences, the purpose of this question is to understand global sentiment about immigration.

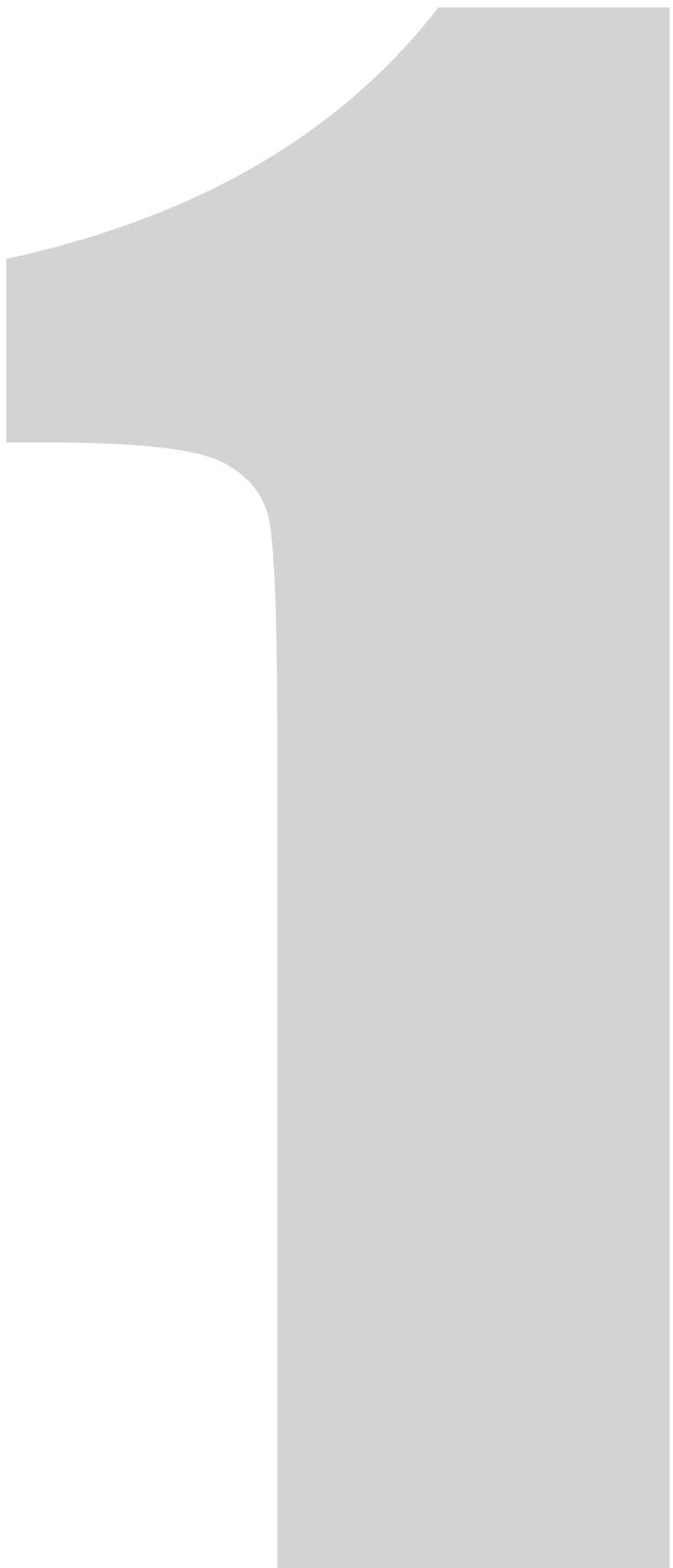
In addition to the series of questions that Gallup asks through its World Poll every year about country and personal economics, Gallup designed a question to understand how perceived job competition between migrants and native workers affect people's attitudes towards immigration:

Do you think immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want (e.g. low-paying or not prestigious jobs) or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want?

This report examines attitudes towards immigration through a number of important lenses:

- Identifying which regions and countries are more accepting or resistant towards immigration;
- Examining the relationship between economics and attitudes, including perceived job competition between immigrants and national workers;
- Identifying where and among which demographic groups immigration is more or less accepted;
- Comparing how public opinion aligns with government immigration policy.

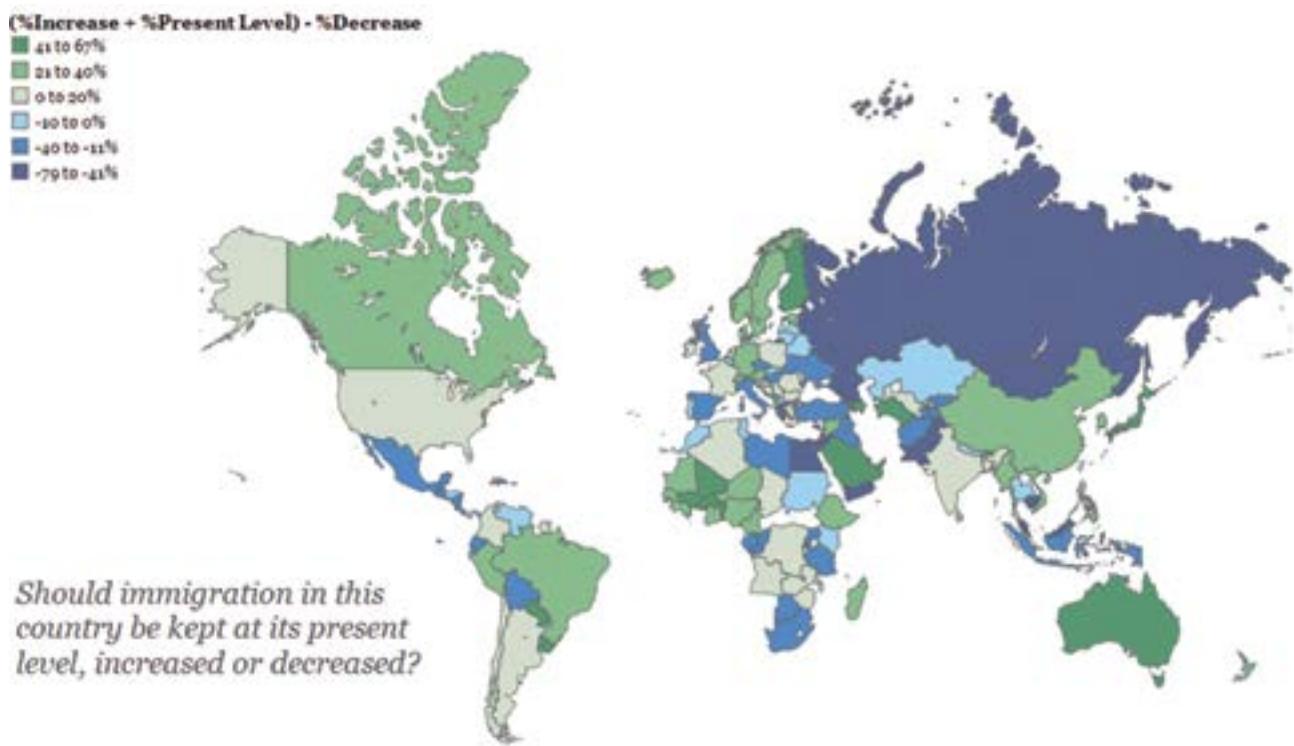
¹ For more details on Gallup's methodology, see the methodology section included at the end of this report.



I. Geography of immigration attitudes

More of the World in Favour of Migration than Against It

Figure 1.1: How the world views migration



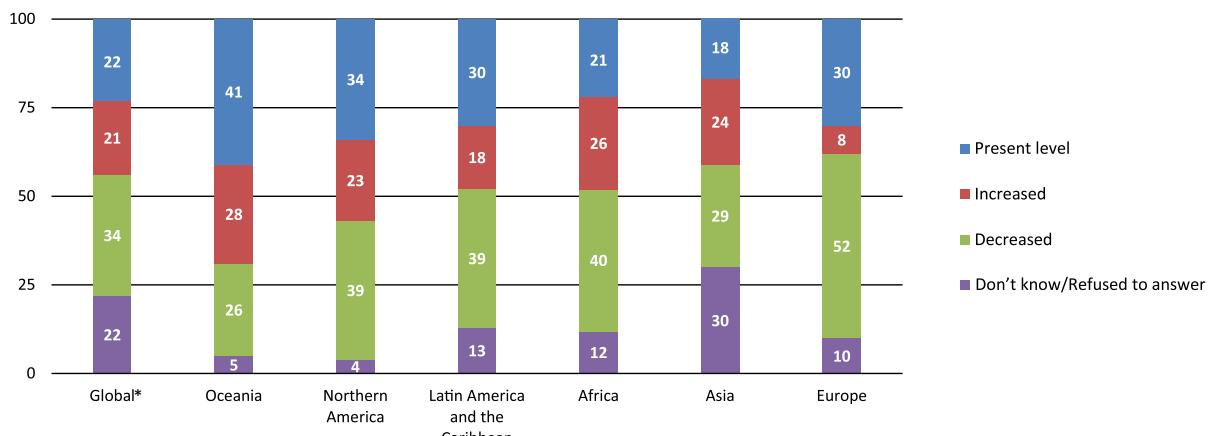
Note: The value is calculated by adding the share of respondents who would like to see immigration levels increase or stay at present levels in each country, and by subtracting the share of respondents who would like to see immigration levels decrease. Countries in green tend to be more positive towards immigration, while countries in blue tend to be more negative.

Worldwide, people are generally more likely to want immigration levels in their countries to either stay at their present levels (22%) or to increase (21%), rather than to see immigration levels decreased (34%). Projected to the total adult population worldwide, these percentages translate into 1.1 billion people who want immigration levels kept the same, another 1 billion who would like to see immigration levels go up, and another 1.7 billion who would like to see levels decreased.

Still, the large number of people who did not express an opinion on immigration levels in their countries – about one in every five adults worldwide – suggests that there may be an opportunity to foster positive attitudes among these populations. The high proportion saying they do not know whether immigration levels should change may be related to the issue of immigration being less relevant in some countries or in certain regions. The 22 per cent who did not express an opinion – or an estimated 1.1 billion adults – generally have achieved lower levels of education, are older, are female and live in rural areas.

Figure 1.2: Attitudes towards immigration by region (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Notes: *Total group results are weighted by population size.

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Europe: The Most Negative Region towards Immigration

Figure 1.3: How European countries view migration



In every major region of the world, except Europe, people are more likely to want immigration levels in their countries to either stay at their present levels or to increase, rather than to decrease.

People in Europe, in fact, are the most negative in the world towards immigration, with the majority (52%) saying immigration levels should be decreased. However, opinions vary significantly within the region. Regional figures may be affected

by the responses of countries in the region with larger populations, such as the United Kingdom and the Russian Federation, whose populations are particularly negative. British and Russians are not alone in their attitudes, but they do not speak for all of Europe. Of the 40 countries included in the larger Europe region, residents in less than half (17 countries) are more likely to want immigration levels decreased than the other two options combined.

Marked Differences Observed between Countries within Europe and All Other Regions

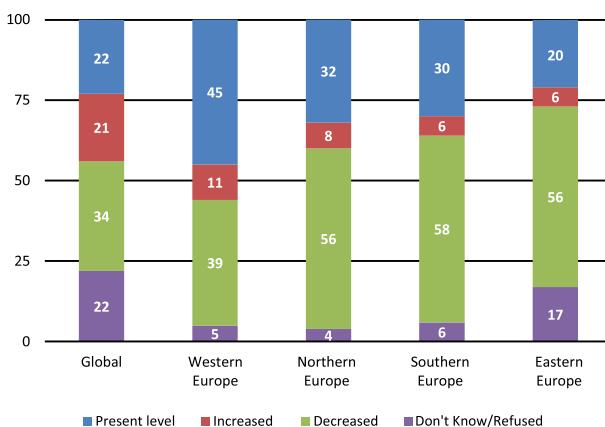
The example of Europe illustrates why it is important to look beyond the regional average, which can sometimes obscure the differences in opinion in subregions and countries. While Europe overall may be the most negative region in the world towards immigration, the majority of adults in nearly all of the 10 Northern European countries² – except the United Kingdom, Latvia and Lithuania – would like the levels of immigration to stay the same or increase.

The United Kingdom is the only country in Northern Europe where the majority of residents would like to see immigration levels decreased.

Nearly 7 in 10 British (69%) would like to see lower immigration levels, which may be related to the increase in net migration³ in the country and the growing anti-immigration sentiment in the run-up to the 2015 general election. Still, such relatively high percentage in favour of decreasing immigration levels – and the large population of the United Kingdom – largely explains the 56 per cent in favour of decreasing immigration levels in the Northern Europe subregion overall.

Figure 1.4: Attitudes towards immigration: Europe (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Sentiment is similarly negative, if not more so, in many Mediterranean countries in Europe that are the entry points to the continent for many migrants. In fact, adults in Greece – one of the main countries of first arrival on the Eastern Mediterranean route – are among the most likely in the world to want immigration levels decreased, with 84 per cent expressing this view. This sentiment is shared by 56 per cent of residents in Spain, 67 per cent of those in Italy and 76 per cent of those in Malta. In France, more than 4 in 10 residents (44%) would like to see immigration levels decreased, and a similar number would like the levels to stay the same (40%) or increase (6%).

Latin America and the Caribbean: Lower Immigration Desired in Central America

Figure 1.5: How Latin American and Caribbean countries view migration



² Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom.

³ UK Office for National Statistics.

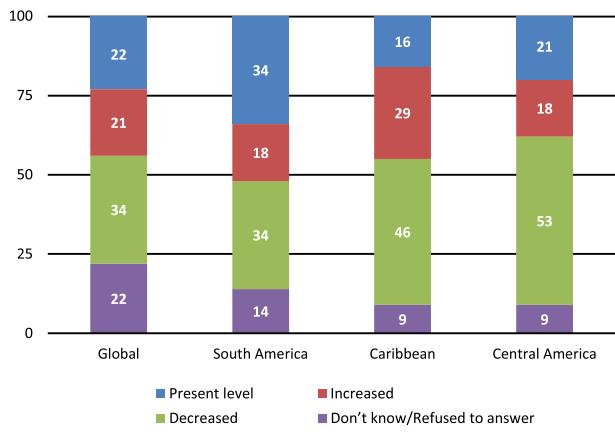
In Latin America and the Caribbean, where most nations are net emigration countries,⁴ residents are generally more likely to want immigration levels kept the same or increased rather than decreased. However, a closer look reveals that attitudes are vastly different in South America, the Caribbean and Central America.

In almost every country in Central America, residents are more likely to want to see immigration levels decreased. Majorities in Costa Rica (59%), El Salvador (59%) and Mexico (54%) favour decreasing immigration levels. Honduras is the only Central American country in which residents are more divided on the issue, with 44 per cent favouring decreased levels and equally as many desiring the same or higher immigration levels.

The reverse is true in South America. In most countries, except for Ecuador and the Plurinational State of Bolivia, where majorities favour decreasing immigration levels (62% and 51%, respectively), residents are more likely to favour keeping immigration levels the same or increasing them. In economic powerhouse Brazil, which attracts many migrants from within the region, the majority of residents favour maintaining the immigration levels (36%) or increasing them (20%).

Figure 1.6: Attitudes towards immigration: Latin America and the Caribbean (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

⁴ Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) Population Division, World Population Prospects.

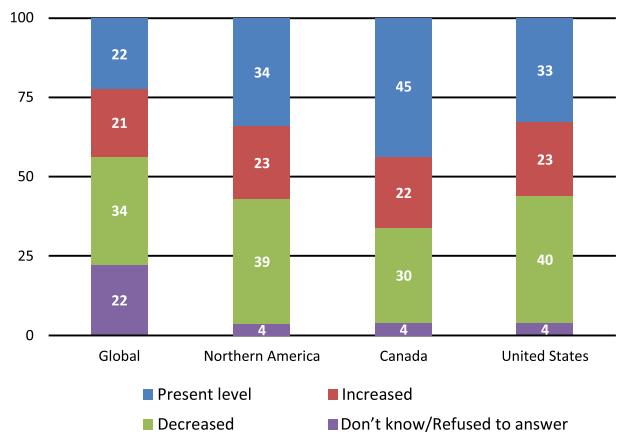
Northern America: Majority Want to See Levels to Stay the Same or Increase

Northern America, which consists of the United States and Canada for the purposes of this research, is the destination for most of the migrants travelling through the corridor in Central America. The United States is currently home to the largest number of international migrants of any single country in the world.⁵ The Gallup World Poll research also shows Northern America is the most desired destination in the world for those who have not moved but would like to if they could: as many as 28 per cent of the world's potential migrants – or 175 million adults – would move to Northern America permanently if they could.⁶

Overall, the majority of residents in the region would like to see the immigration levels maintained (34%) or increased (23%). However, residents of the United States (40%) are more likely than Canadians (30%) to favour decreased immigration levels.

Figure 1.7: Attitudes towards immigration: Northern America (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



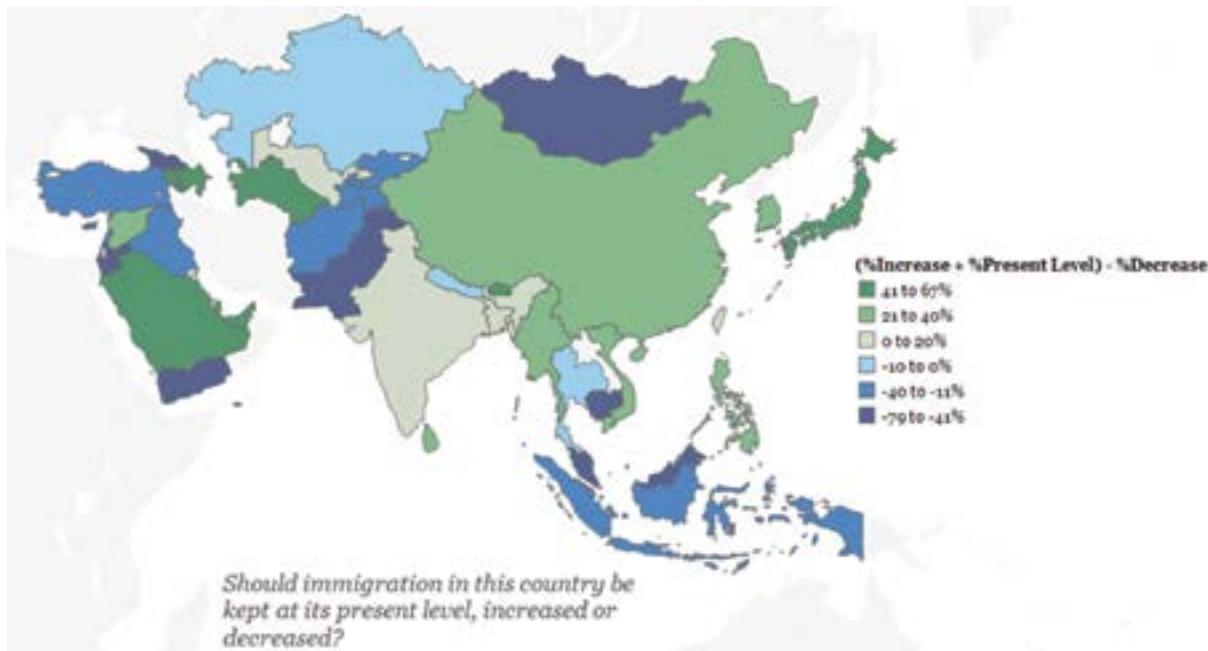
Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

⁵ Source: UN DESA, 2013 Revision.

⁶ J. Ray, "Potential net migration shows aging countries attract young" (Gallup, 28 January 2015). Available from www.gallup.com/poll/181310/potential-net-migration-shows-aging-countries-attract-young.aspx?utm_source=migration&utm_medium=search&utm_campaign=tiles

Asia: GCC Residents Positive towards Immigration; South-East and Western Asia, Less Positive

Figure 1.8: How Asian countries view migration

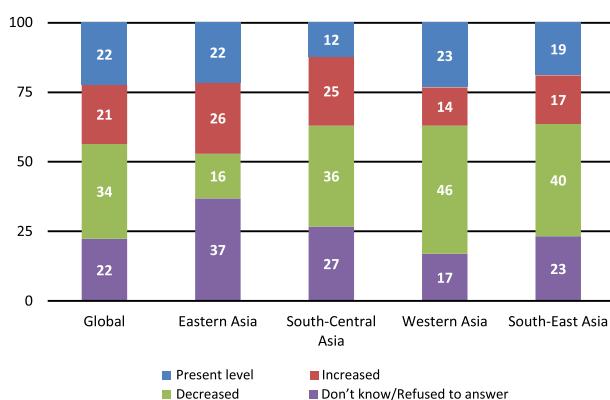


Relative to all other regions, Asia is the one where residents are the least likely to have an opinion about immigration levels; as many as 3 in 10 did not express a view during the interviews. This largely reflects the relatively high percentages without an opinion on the issue in such highly populated countries as China (40%) and India (29%).

Adults living in Western Asia, which is home to a large number of migrants who have left their countries for economic or security reasons, are the most likely in Asia to have an opinion. Overall, residents in this region are more likely to want to see immigration levels to decrease (46%) than to see them stay the same (23%) or increase (14%).

Figure 1.9: Attitudes towards immigration: Asia (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



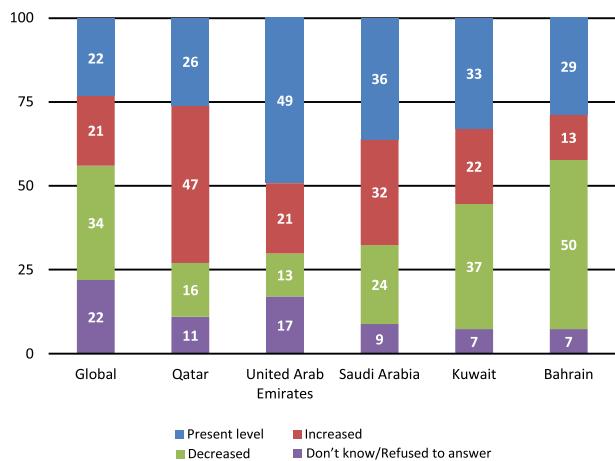
Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

The relatively high percentage of adults in Western Asia who favour lower immigration levels is bolstered by countries that have absorbed a large number of people displaced by conflicts in the region. Majorities in Jordan (72%), Lebanon (67%) and Turkey (53%), for example, which all have seen massive inflows of refugees from neighbouring countries (particularly the Syrian Arab Republic), would like to see levels decreased.

In Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, which have high percentages of temporary migrant workers in their populations, Gallup surveyed nationals and Arab expatriates. Among those surveyed, a relatively small percentage of people want immigration levels to decrease and a high share want levels to increase or stay the same. Again, results differ by country: Arab adults in Kuwait and Bahrain are much more negative to immigration relative to other countries in the region.

Figure 1.10: Attitudes towards immigration: GCC countries (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

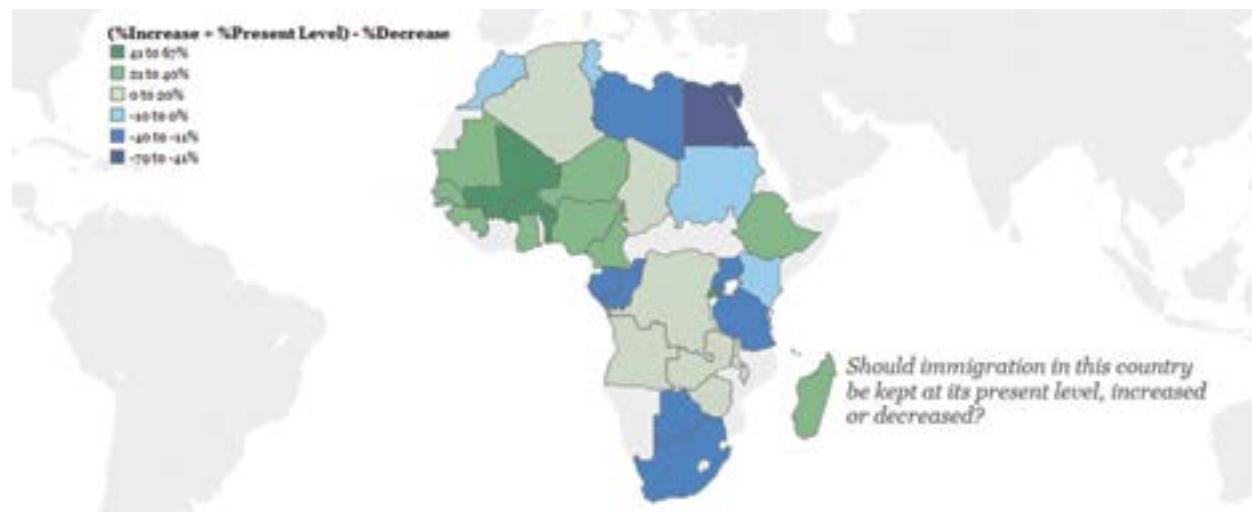


Notes: Interviews in GCC countries were conducted with nationals and Arab expats.

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Africa: Positive about Immigration; Gateway and Destination Countries, More Negative

Figure 1.11: How African countries view migration



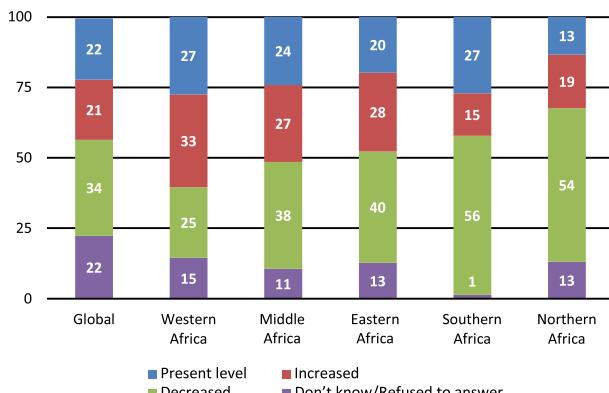
Residents of Africa, as a whole, are more likely to favour keeping immigration levels the same (21%) or increasing them (26%) rather than decreasing them (40%). Attitudes are most positive in Western Africa, where the majority would like to see same or increased immigration levels. In fact, the 33 per cent of adults who want to see levels increased is not only the highest among all regions

in Africa but also the highest in the world. Nearly half of residents in Niger (45%) – a major transit country for migrants from other Western African countries⁷ – would like to see higher immigration levels.

⁷ Source: IOM. See, for instance: www.iom.int/news/migrants-15-african-nations-transit-niger-en-route-north-africa-europe

Figure 1.12: Attitudes towards immigration: Africa (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

In contrast, residents of nearly every country surveyed in Northern Africa – the gateway to other countries in Europe and elsewhere – are, on average, more negative than positive about immigration. Several of these countries, such as Libya, where 54 per cent of residents want immigration levels to decrease, had recently emerged from conflict at the time the survey was conducted. While many migrants fled Libya during the upheaval, a large number still remains and continues to pour into the fragile country from elsewhere in Africa.

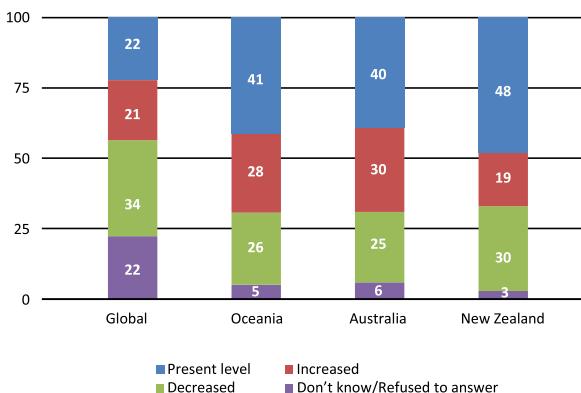
Majorities too in Southern Africa are more likely to want to see immigration levels decreased in their countries. Rising xenophobic sentiment has often turned violent in countries such as the main destination for migration in the region, South Africa,⁸ where 56 per cent of residents want to see lower immigration levels.

Oceania: Broadly Positive about Immigration

The majority of adults in Australia, a country in which migrants have accounted for over 50 per cent of the population growth, over the past 10 years⁹ would like to either see immigration levels stay the same (40%) or to increase (30%). New Zealanders are similarly positive, although slightly less likely to favour increasing immigration levels (19%) than Australians. Three in 10 or fewer in each country favour decreasing immigration levels.

Figure 1.13: Attitudes towards immigration: Oceania (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Top 10 Destination Countries: Opinions Are Mixed

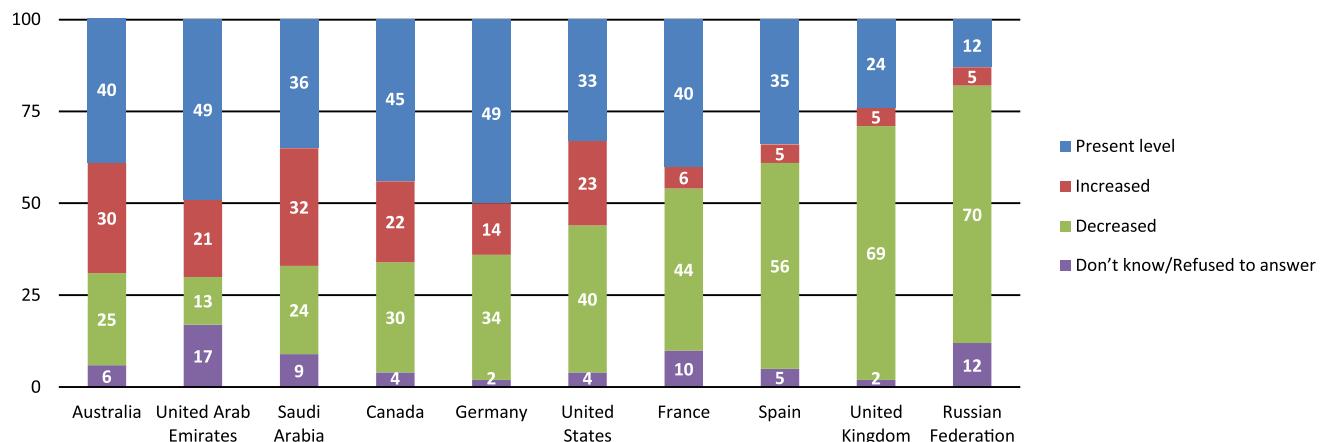
In countries with the largest international migrant stocks, nearly half of adults (47%) believe that immigration levels should increase or stay the same, and about as many (48%) believe that it should decrease. In seven of the top 10 destination countries for international migrants, majorities say immigration should be increased or kept the same (United States, Canada, Australia, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Germany and France), while majorities in the other three say immigration levels should decrease (Russia, United Kingdom and Spain). Overall, adults from the top 10 destination countries are highly likely to have an opinion on the matter, with between 4 per cent and 17 per cent saying they don't know or refusing to answer the question.

⁸ A. Essa, "South Africa's Soweto tense after 'xenophobic' attacks" (Al Jazeera, 23 January 2015). Available from www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2015/01/south-africa-soweto-tense-xenophobic-attacks-150123044841532.html

⁹ Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Figure 1.14: Attitudes towards immigration: Top 10 migrant destination countries (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

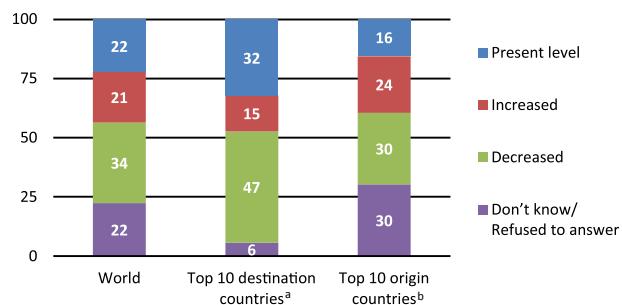


Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Adults in the top 10 origin countries for international migrants worldwide are less likely to have an opinion about immigration to their countries (30%), but at the same time, interestingly, 30 per cent want to see a decrease.

Figure 1.15: Attitudes towards immigration globally, by top 10 migrant origin and destination countries (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Notes: ^a Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Spain, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States.

^b Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Russian Federation, Ukraine, United Kingdom.

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

It is important to note that the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom are both included in the figures for top destination and top origin countries, and that data from China and India dominate the results for the top origin list because of their large population. For this reason, it is more useful to focus on individual country-level results.

People's Opinions on Immigration Levels Differ Depending on the Size of Their Countries' Immigrant Population

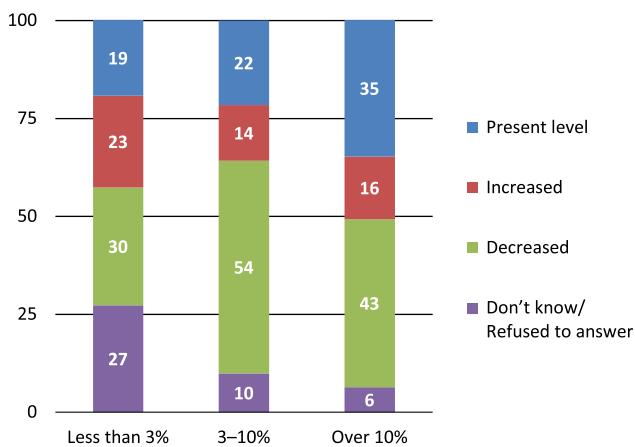
Residents of countries with higher percentages of migrants in their population are more likely to have an opinion about immigration. People living in countries where migrants make up between 3 per cent and 10 per cent of the population¹⁰ are the most likely to want to see immigration levels decreased (54%).

Countries where migrants constitute 10 per cent or more of the population are the most likely to have an opinion about immigration levels, and they are more likely to be positive (a combined 51% favour keeping levels the same or increasing them) than negative (43% favour decreasing levels). One explanation for this could be that in countries with higher percentages of migrants, the population has a greater chance to interact with migrants and this might promote greater acceptance.

¹⁰ This group includes 40 countries and many where large majorities want immigration decreased, such as Greece.

Figure 1.16: Attitudes towards immigration, by international migrants as percentage of population (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), International Migrant Stock as a Share of the Total Population in 2013.

Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

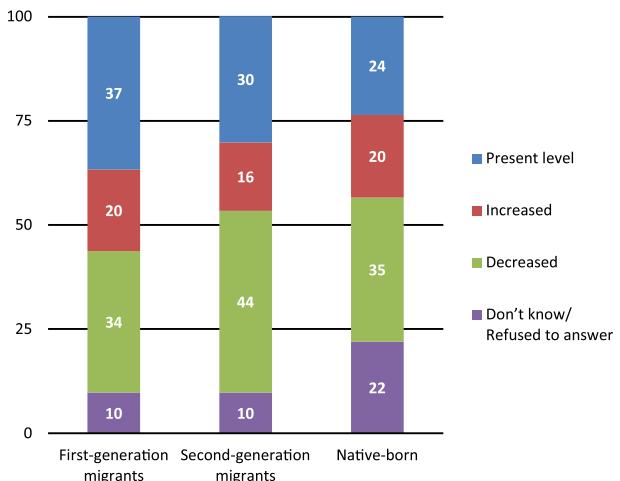
Migrants Themselves Have Different Views on Immigration Levels

Compared with native-born residents and second-generation migrants (those with at least one first-generation migrant parent), first-generation migrants (those who were born in a country other than the one in which they reside) are the most positive towards immigration, with 37 per cent saying immigration should stay at its present level and another 20 per cent saying it should increase. Native-born residents are less positive, and more than one in five do not have an opinion about this issue.

Forty-four per cent of second-generation migrants said that immigration should decrease, which is the highest percentage among the three groups. This dynamic might be surprising because one might expect that second-generation migrants, given their heritage, would be part of the support network for new migrants. However, second-generation migrants might also perceive themselves to be in direct competition with first-generation immigrants in the job market, or might fear a downward pressure on wages.¹¹

Figure 1.17: Attitudes towards immigration, by native-born, second-generation and first-generation immigrants (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

¹¹ Some empirical evidence shows that new immigration might depress wages of earlier immigrants, while it has no effect on wages of native workers. See, for instance: G. Peri, "Do immigrant workers depress the wages of native workers?" (Institute for the Study of Labour (IZA), 2014), available from <http://wol.iza.org/articles/do-immigrant-workers-depress-the-wages-of-native-workers>



2. Economics of immigration attitudes

Perceptions of Country Economic Situation May Be the Strongest Predictor of Attitudes

People's views about their national and personal economic conditions are related to their preferences of immigration levels in their countries. This might not be surprising, given the effect that international migration has on countries' labour markets and economic growth in some cases; for instance, in the United States alone, migrants accounted for 47 per cent of the increase in the workforce over the past 10 years. Those who see these situations as poor or getting worse, and those who are out of work, are more likely to want to see lower

immigration levels. The reverse is also true; those who see these situations as good and getting better are more likely to want increased immigration levels.

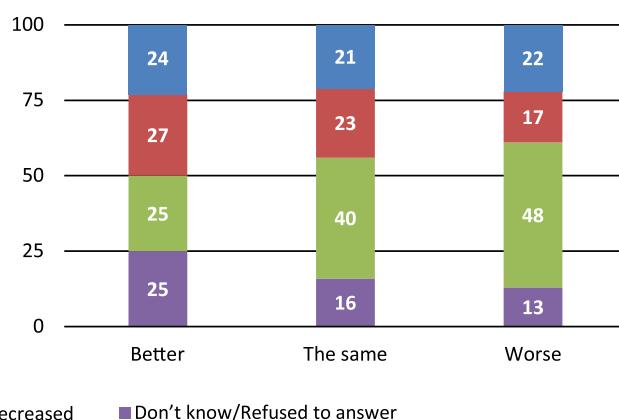
Globally, adults who believe economic conditions in their countries are "fair" or "poor" are almost twice as likely to say immigration levels should decrease as are those who say conditions are "excellent" or "good". The same pattern is evident when examining people's outlooks for their countries' economic future – those who say conditions are getting worse are nearly twice as likely to say immigration should decrease as those who say conditions are getting better (48% versus 25%).

Figure 2.1: Attitudes towards immigration by perception of country economic conditions (%)

How would you rate economic conditions in this country today -- as excellent, good, only fair or poor?



Right now, do you think the economic conditions in your country, as a whole, are getting better or getting worse?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

In nearly all regions globally, people who see economic conditions as "excellent" or "good" are more likely to have a positive outlook on immigration. These gaps are quite large in several countries, including Germany (43% versus 25%), Switzerland (54% versus 29%), Canada (41% versus 21%), China (22% versus 11%), Myanmar (36% versus 15%) and Japan (17% versus 10%).

Africa follows the world pattern, but the differences in attitudes towards immigration based on one's views of the country's economy are not as large as in other regions. In addition to Africa, in some countries, such as the Republic of Korea, Bangladesh, Uzbekistan, Bhutan, the Philippines, Jordan, Israel, Iraq, Malta, Belgium, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, there is no or very little difference in attitudes towards immigration by people's perceptions about the national economy.

People in Countries with Higher Unemployment Rates Are the Most Negative

Adults who live in countries with the highest unemployment rates show most negative attitudes towards immigration to their countries. Nearly half of adults in countries with unemployment rates higher than 15 per cent believe immigration should decrease.

Table 2.1: Attitudes towards immigration by country unemployment rate (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Over 15%	10–15%	Below 10%
Present level	24	25	21
Increased	16	15	23
Decreased	49	44	31
Don't know/Refused to answer	11	16	25

Note: The Gallup World Poll Unemployment Rate is the percentage of respondents in the workforce who are not employed, who have actively been looking for work in the last four weeks, and who say they would have been able to begin work in the last four weeks. Country estimates of unemployment were categorized into three groups for purposes of this analysis.

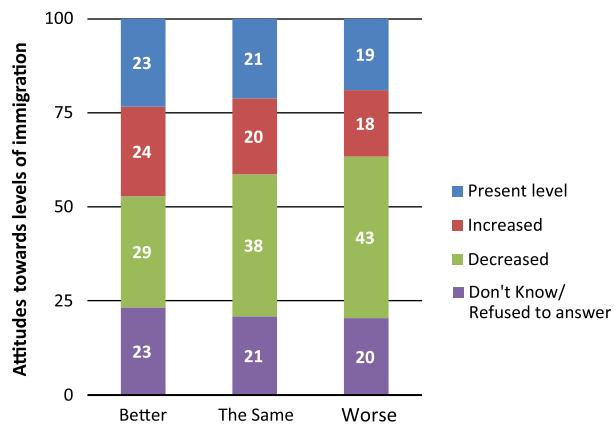
People with Better Living Standards Are More Positive Towards Immigration

In all regions, personal economics – both in terms of subjective measures such as perceptions about one's standard of living and objective measures such as household income – relate to people's attitudes towards immigration levels.

Adults who are satisfied with their standard of living and feel that this is improving are more likely to support increasing or maintaining immigration levels in their countries. As with their future outlook on the economic conditions in their countries, there is a stronger relationship between residents' attitudes towards migration and their perceptions of their future living standards than of their current situation. Residents in all regions who say that their standard of living is "getting better" are more likely than those who say it is "getting worse" to say that immigration should stay at its present level or increase and they are less likely to want to see it decreased.

People's personal employment status also strongly relates to whether they want to see lower immigration levels. Compared with others in the workforce, those who are not working but actively looking for work and able to begin work are considerably more likely to want immigration decreased (40% of the unemployed versus 33% of those not unemployed).

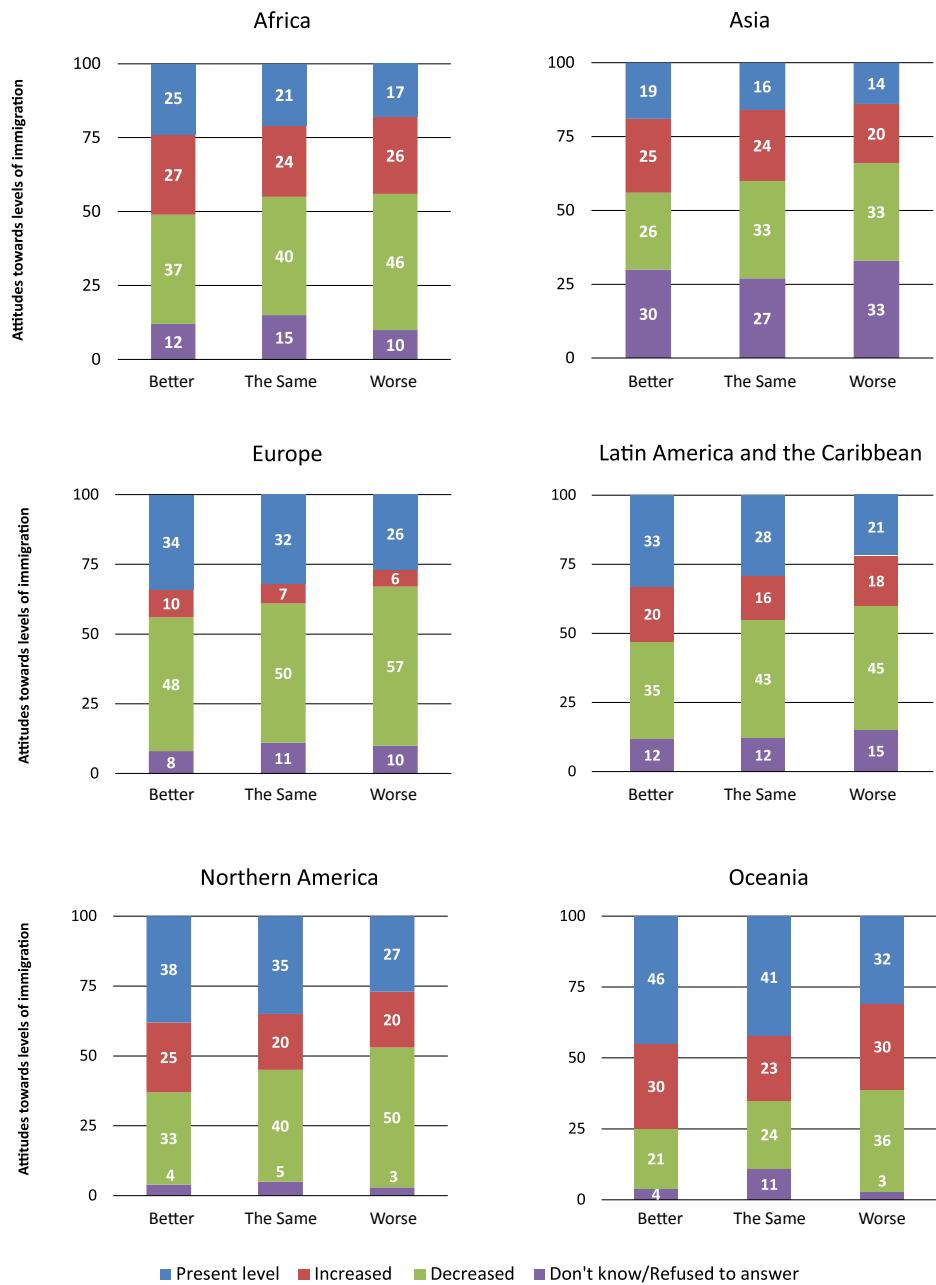
Figure 2.2: Global attitudes towards immigration by personal standard of living (%)
Right now, do you feel your standard of living is getting better or getting worse?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Figure 2.3: Regional attitudes towards immigration by personal standard of living (%)

Right now, do you feel your standard of living is getting better or getting worse?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

People's attitudes towards immigration levels by their household income follow a similar pattern, but differences between groups are not as large. Household income does not appear to be as relevant in explaining attitudes towards immigration as is an individual's outlook on the national economy.

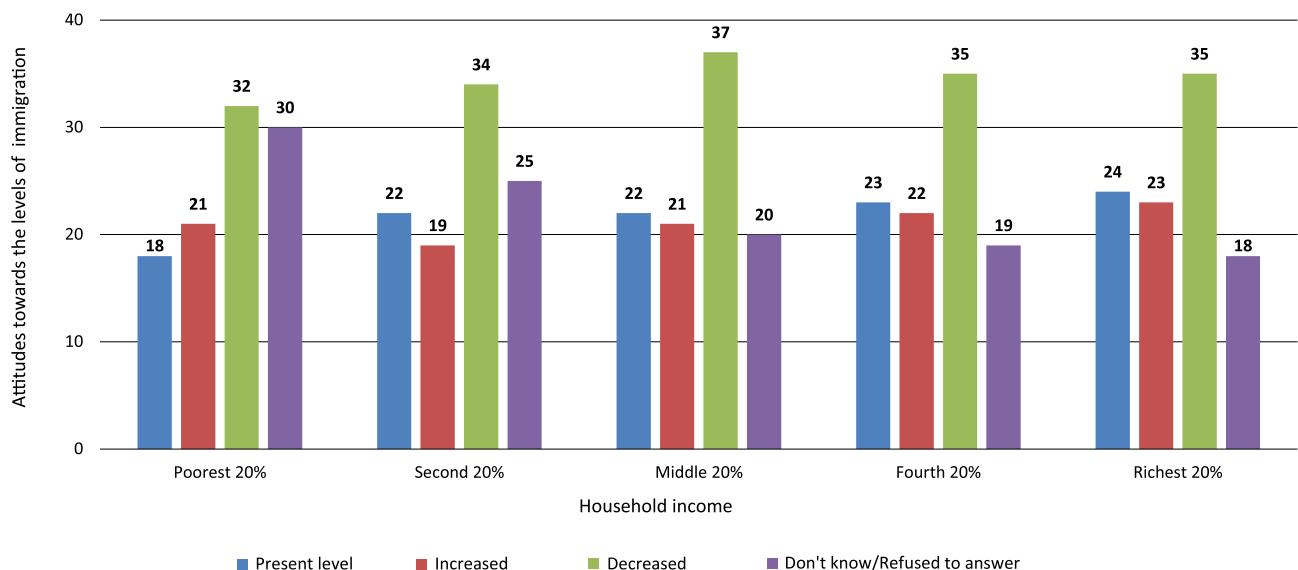
Gallup collects self-reported household income figures from each respondent and assigns each respondent to one of the five income categories, based on the respondent's position in the income distribution of the country. Gallup divides each country sample into quintiles by annual household

income. This measure of income indicates how well a person is doing financially in comparison with other people in the country where he or she currently lives.

People in the highest income quintile – the richest 20 per cent of the population – are more likely to have an opinion about immigration levels and to be more positive about immigration than people in the lowest income quintile, but the differences are small. Northern America and Oceania are the only two regions where positive differences are more obvious.

Figure 2.4: Global attitudes towards immigration by household income (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



World Split on whether Migrants Take Jobs from Native Workers

People's outlooks on their national economies, personal standards of living and (to a lesser extent) household incomes are strong indicators of their views of immigration; however, they do not strongly predict people's opinions about whether they think migrants compete with native workers for jobs in their countries. People's views on job competition between nationals and migrants are, however, related to opinions about immigration levels. A separate investigation should be conducted to understand what lies behind these attitudes, which Gallup measures by asking people whether they believe immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in their countries want or mostly take jobs that citizens in their countries do not want.

While migrants provide a much-needed source of labour in many countries, there is at least some level of concern among populations in all countries that migrants take jobs away from native workers.

Worldwide, adults are generally split on whether they think migrants mostly take the low-paying or low-prestige jobs that citizens in their countries do not want to do (27%) or mostly take jobs that citizens do want (29%). Another 18 per cent think both may be happening in their countries. However, at the regional and country levels, these results vary considerably in low- and middle-income economies versus high-income economies (as defined by the World Bank).

Residents of high-income economies overall are much more likely to say immigrants take jobs citizens do not want (58%) than take jobs that citizens want (17%). In all other economies, residents are more likely to say immigrants take the jobs that citizens want.

In contrast to opinions on job competition, overall preferences about immigration levels are not significantly different by country income classification.

Table 2.2: Perception of job competition by country income level (%)*

Do you think immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want (e.g. low-paying or not prestigious jobs) or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want?

	High	Upper middle	Lower middle	Low
Do you think immigrants:				
Mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want	58	19	20	23
Mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want	17	28	34	35
Both	17	19	17	23
Don't know/Refused to answer	8	35	29	19

Notes: *World Bank country income classifications.

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

The clear divide between high-income economies and low-/middle-income economies regarding opinions on job competition largely explains the differences in perceptions at the regional level. In Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and developing Asia, which are home to many low- and middle-income economies, the perceived job rivalry between migrants and native workers is acute. Adults in each of these regions are nearly twice as likely to feel that migrants take jobs that citizens in their countries want as feel that they take jobs that citizens do not want.

In regions where high-income economies are prevalent, including Northern America, Oceania, developed Asia, and Europe, majorities are more likely to say migrants mostly take the jobs that their citizens do not want.

This economic divide in perceptions is evident at the country level as well, even within the same subregion. As an example, in Eastern Asia, residents in the middle-income economies of Mongolia and China view the situation differently than their counterparts in higher-income countries in the region.

Table 2.3: Attitudes towards immigration by perception of job competition between nationals and immigrants in Eastern Asia (%)

Do you think immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want (e.g. low-paying or not prestigious jobs) or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want?

	Hong Kong, China	Japan	Republic of Korea	Taiwan Province of China	China	Mongolia
Do you think immigrants:						
Mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want	41	59	51	57	6	11
Mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want	32	15	24	18	29	40
Both	16	10	7	11	18	29
Don't know/Refused to answer	10	16	18	13	47	20

Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

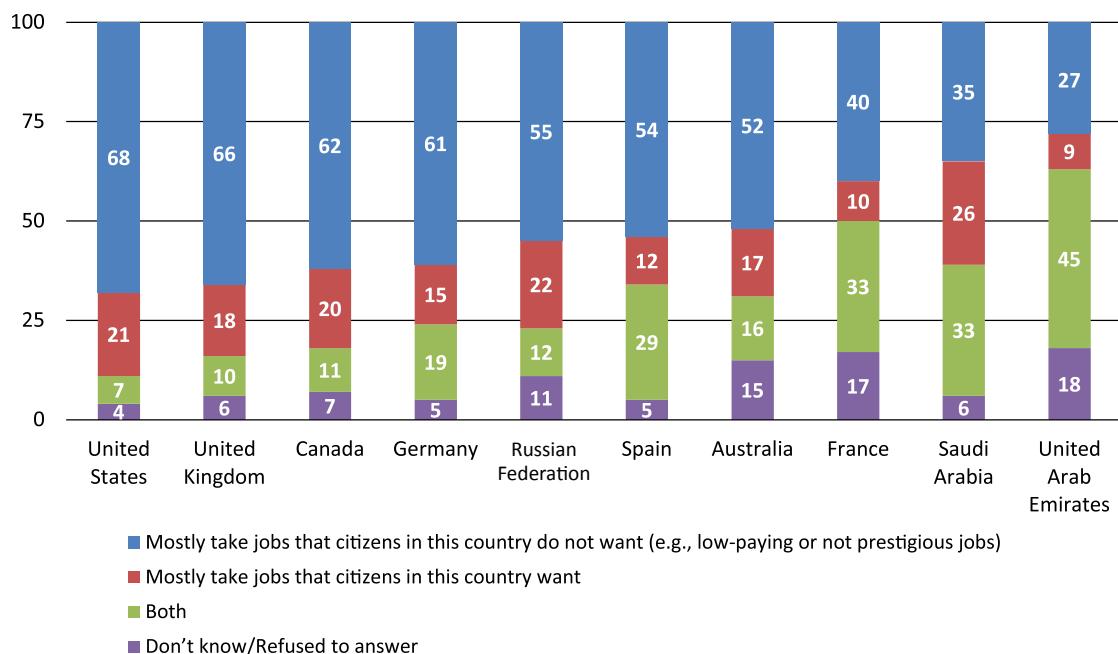
In all top 10 international migrant destination countries – which are also all high-income economies – many more respondents say that immigrants take jobs that residents do not want than say immigrants take jobs that residents want. This is true in the United Arab Emirates as well, but the country stands out because more respondents volunteered “both” than any of the other options. This may be explained by the fact that migrants make up the majority of the United Arab Emirates’

private-sector workforce¹² and that the country attracts both high- and low-skilled labour from abroad.

¹² F. T. Malit Jr. and A.A. Youha, “Labour migration in the United Arab Emirates: Challenges and responses” (*Migration Policy Institute*, 18 September 2013). Available from www.migrationpolicy.org/article/labor-migration-united-arab-emirates-challenges-and-responses

Figure 2.5: Perception of job competition between nationals and immigrants in top 10 international migrant destination countries (%)

Do you think immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want (e.g. low-paying or not prestigious jobs) or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

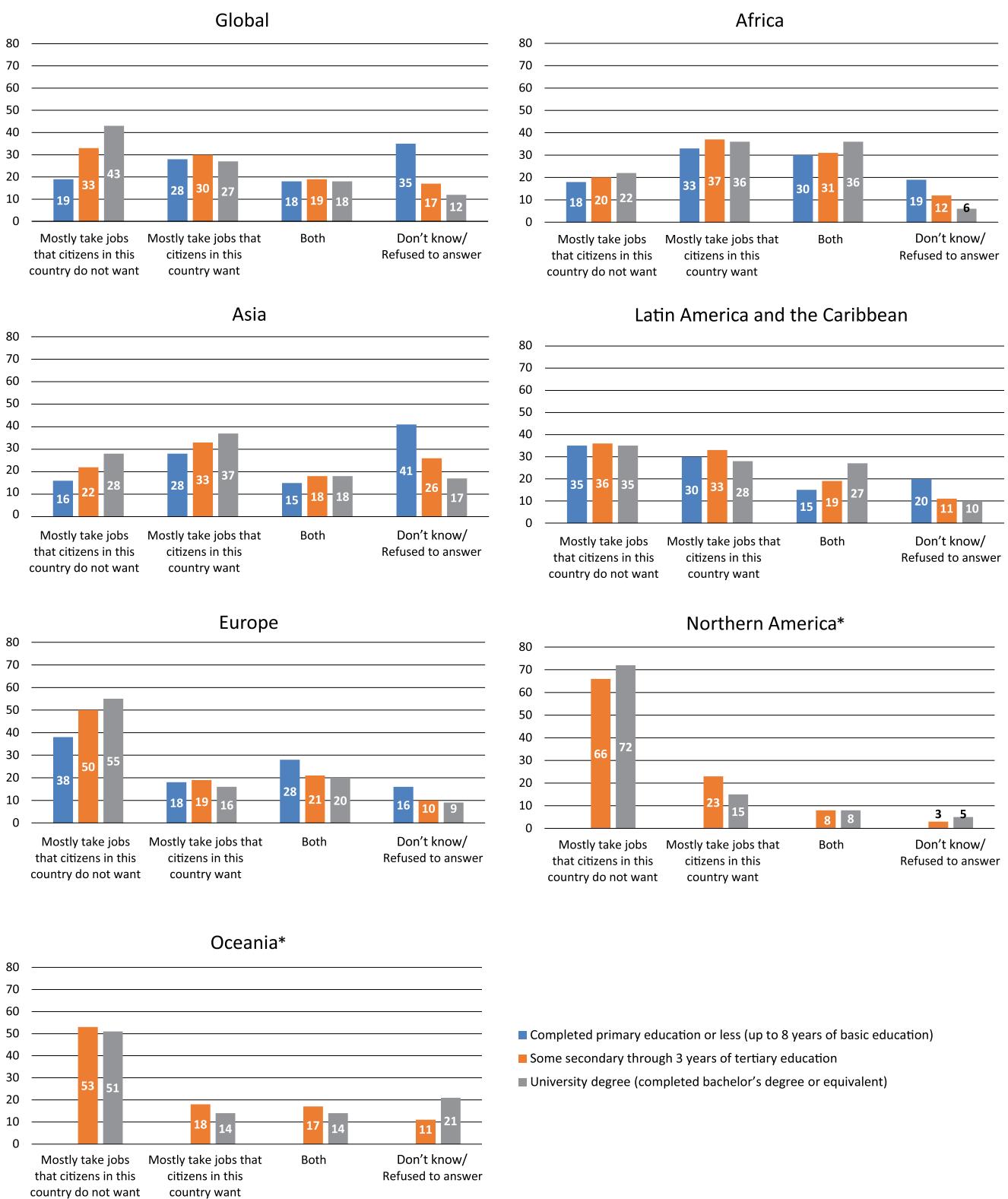
Perceptions Vary with Education

At the global level, residents with a university education are more likely to say that migrants mostly take jobs that citizens in their countries do not want (43%) than say migrants mostly take jobs that citizens want (19%), but this is also strongly related to the income classification of the countries. Even within Europe and Northern America, adults with higher levels of education are more likely than those with primary or secondary education to say that migrants mostly take jobs that others do not want. Respondents with higher educational attainment across all regions are also more likely to express an opinion on the matter than those with lower levels of education, except for those in Oceania and Northern America.

People in Africa and Asia are more likely to believe immigrants are in competition with nationals for jobs than not. In Africa, opinions do not differ much by level of education – although again, people with a university degree are more likely to express an opinion on the matter than those with lower levels of education. In Asia, people across all levels of education are more likely to believe immigrants take jobs that citizens of their countries want than the opposite, although an important 41 per cent of respondents with primary education or lower levels did not have an opinion or refused to answer the question.

Figure 2.6: Perception of job competition between nationals and immigrants by highest level of education attained (%)

Do you think immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want (e.g. low-paying or not prestigious jobs) or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want?



Notes: *Sample size too small to report data for primary education group.

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Competition for Jobs Blunts Desire for More Immigration

Generally, people who do not see immigrants as competitors for jobs tend to be more open to immigration in their countries. In Africa, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, people who believe that migrants do not take

jobs that citizens want are more positive towards immigration; they are less likely to want to see immigration levels decreased and are more likely to believe immigration levels should be kept the same. In Northern America and Oceania, adults who think migrants take jobs citizens do not want are also more likely to want to see immigration levels increased.

Figure 2.7: Global attitudes towards immigration by perception of job competition between nationals and immigrants (%)

Do you think immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want (e.g. low-paying or not prestigious jobs) or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want?

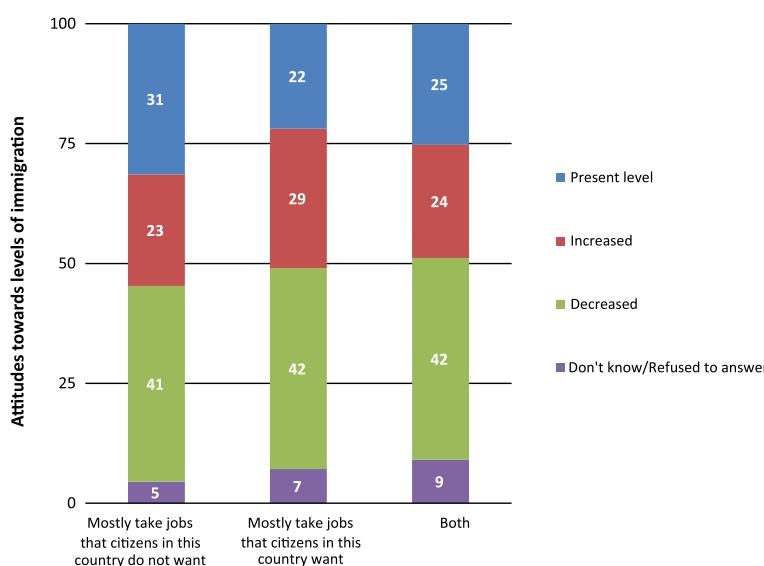
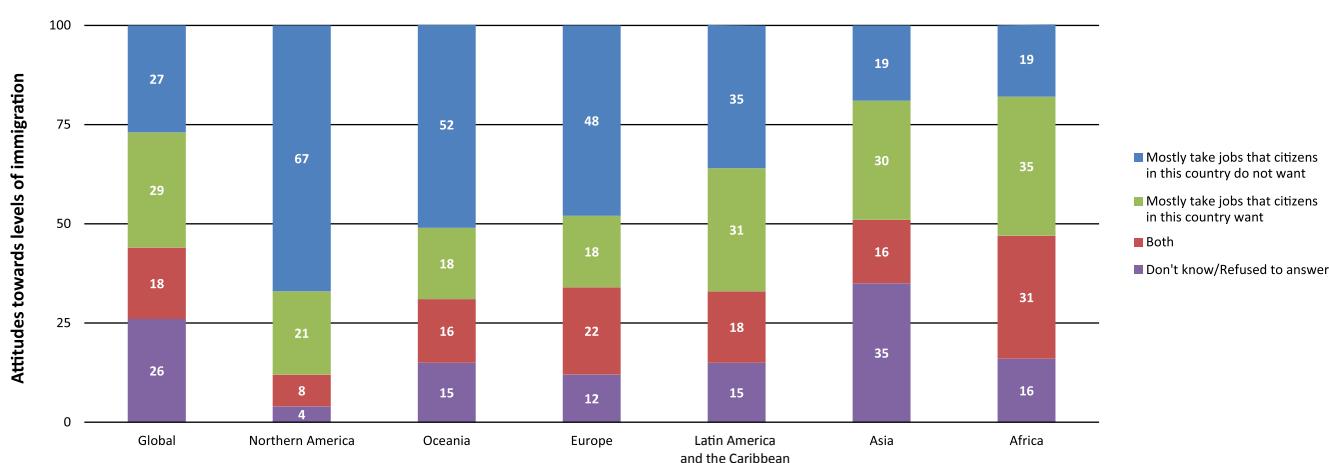


Figure 2.8: Perception of job competition between nationals and immigrants by region (%)

Do you think immigrants mostly take jobs that citizens in this country do not want (e.g. low-paying or not prestigious jobs) or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Asia represents an exception. In some countries, notably China (which strongly affects the regional average), residents who think that migrants take jobs that citizens want are more positive about immigration levels; in other countries, such as Japan, the opposite relationship exists; and in some, namely India, there is no relationship.

All this suggests that perceived competition for jobs does blunt the desire for increased immigration, and also that economic factors do not wholly explain people's attitudes towards immigration. Everywhere in the world, there are substantial percentages of people who think that migrants take the jobs that citizens do not want but who still want to see immigration levels decreased.

“ Everywhere in the world, there are substantial percentages of people who think that migrants take the jobs that citizens do not want but who still want to see immigration levels decreased. ”

980

3. Demographics of immigration attitudes

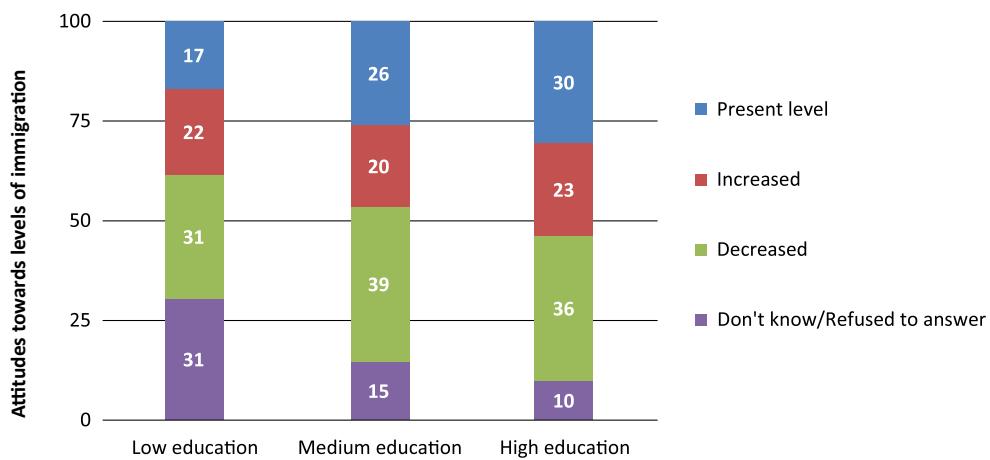
Negative and positive opinions towards immigration exist in every region and every country; however, certain sociodemographic characteristics are more consistently associated with favourable or opposing attitudes to immigration.

Education

Adults with a university degree are more likely than those with lower levels of education to want to see immigration kept at its present level or increased – possibly because those with higher

education levels may be less likely to see migrants as competing for their jobs (discussed in greater detail in earlier sections) and might generally be more open to cultural diversity. They are also more likely to express an opinion on the matter. For example, in Asia, the 15 per cent of residents in the highest education group (university degree or more education) who do not have an opinion about immigration levels is half as high as the percentage in the least educated group (primary education or less) who do not have an opinion (36%).

Figure 3.1: Global attitudes towards immigration by highest level of education attained (%)
In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Notes: Low education – completed primary education or less (up to eight years of basic education).

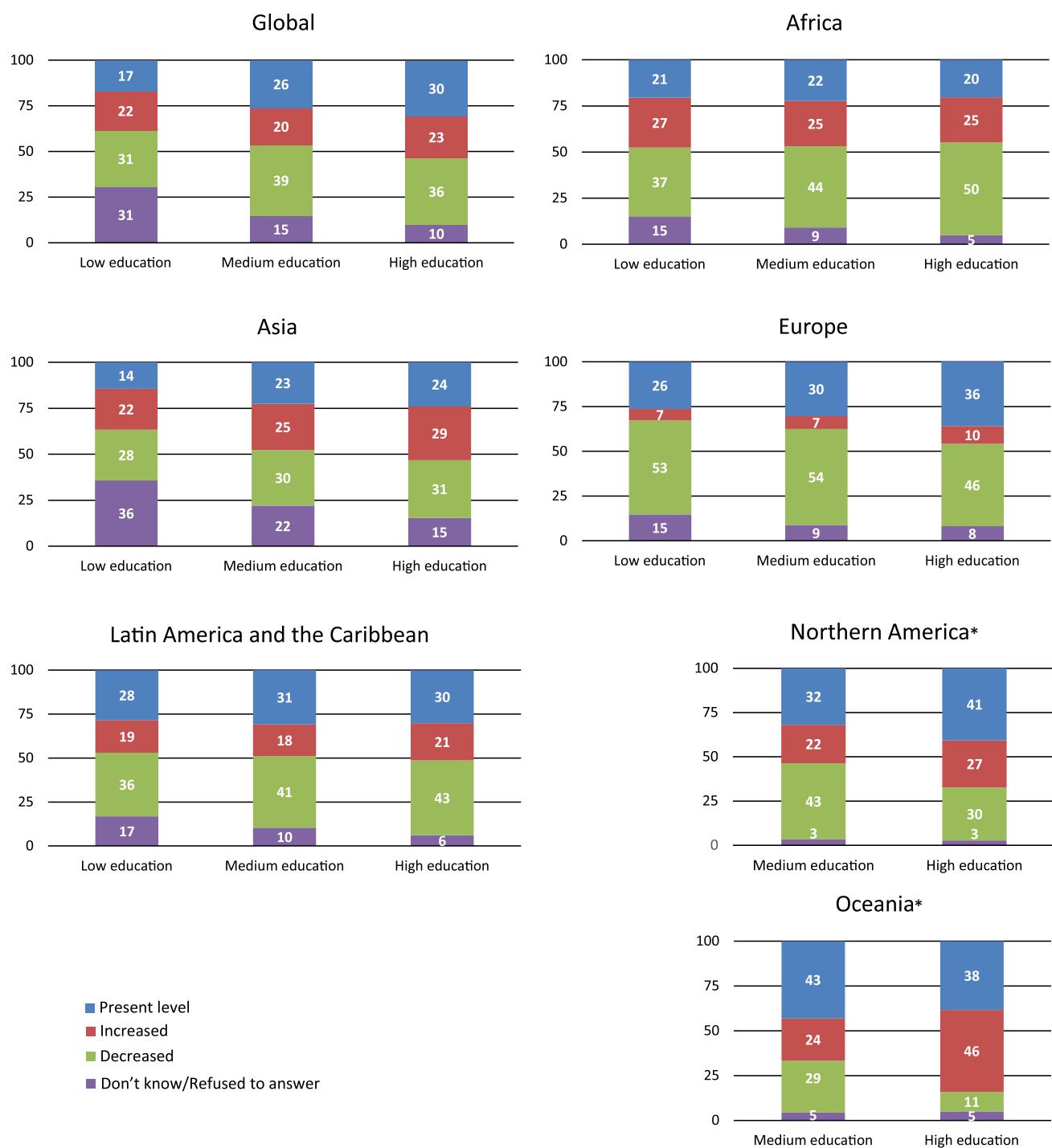
Medium education – some secondary through three years of tertiary education.

High education – university degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent).

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Figure 3.2: Attitudes towards immigration by highest level of education attained (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Notes: *Sample size too small to report data for low education group.

Low education – completed primary education or less (up to eight years of basic education).

Medium education – some secondary through three years of tertiary education.

High education – university degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent).

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

However, it is important to look within major regions and at individual countries as well, as there are significant exceptions to the global and regional patterns.

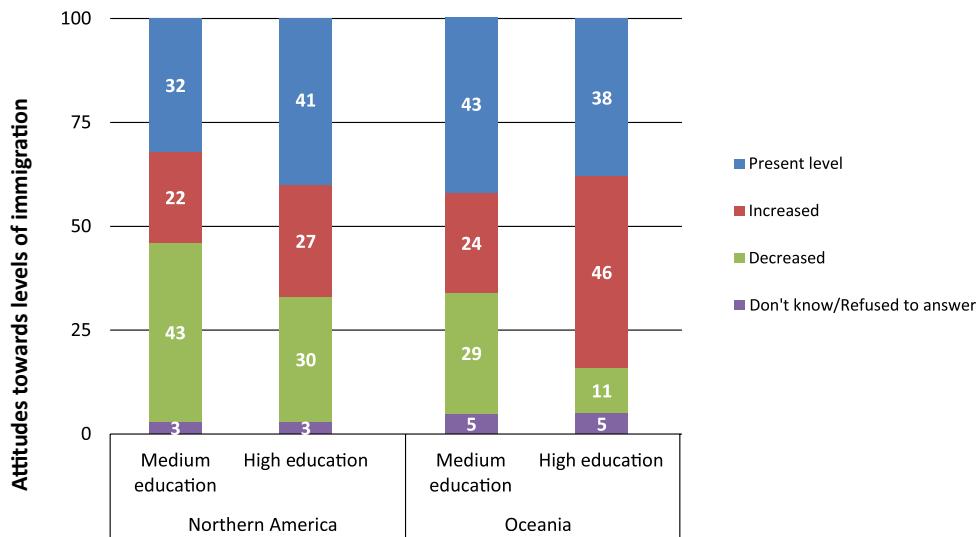
Northern America and Oceania Follow the Global Pattern

In Northern America, majorities in each education group, except those with elementary education or lower, would like immigration levels to stay the same or increase. Even in the least educated

group in Northern America, nearly half support this view. The majority of respondents in each of these regions believe that migrants take jobs that average citizens do not want, and that belief is more common among those with higher educational attainment.

Figure 3.3: Attitudes towards immigration by highest level of education attained: Northern America and Oceania (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Notes: Medium education – some secondary through three years of tertiary education.
High education – university degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent).
Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Europe: Higher Education, More Positive towards Immigration

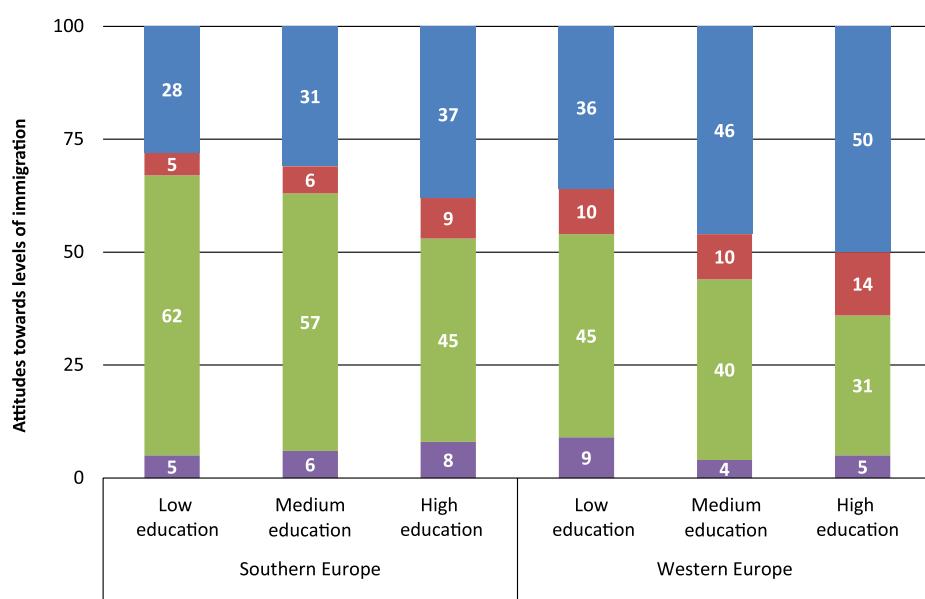
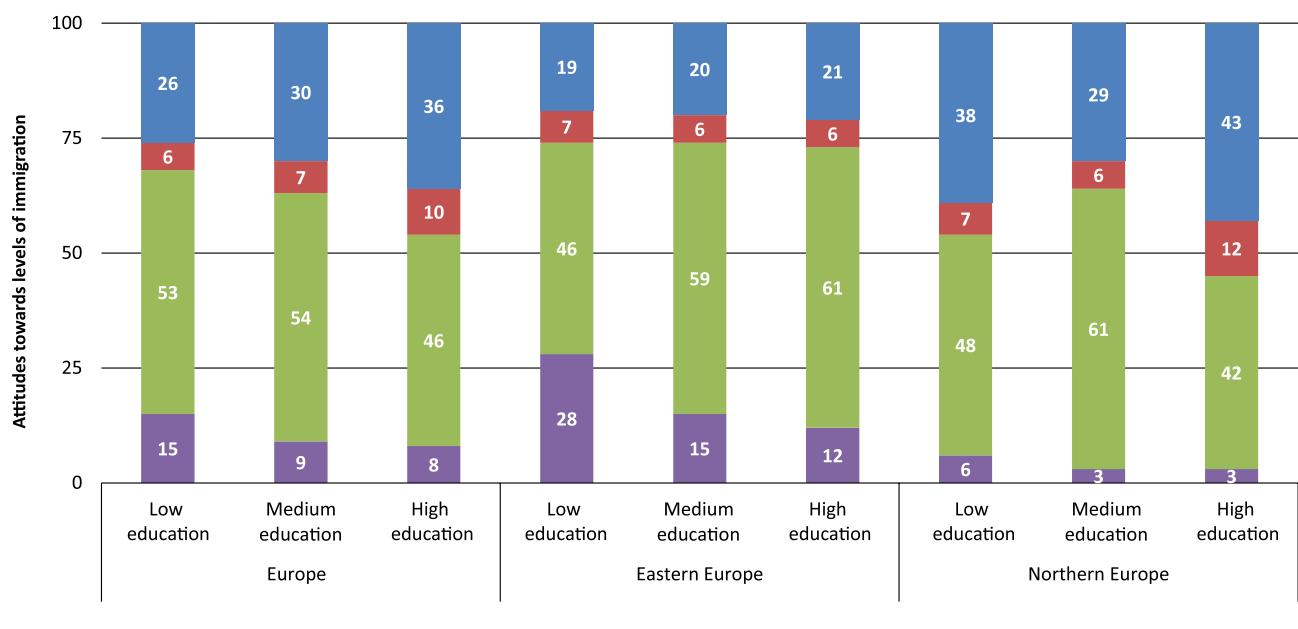
Generally, in Europe, those with the highest level of education (university degree) are more likely to be positive towards immigration than those with lower education (secondary or lower education). However, among those with tertiary education, opinions are divided, with 46 per cent favouring increased or stable levels of immigration and an equal 46 per cent favouring decreased immigration.

In contrast, Europeans with secondary or lower levels of education are solidly more likely to favour decreasing immigration than to favour increasing it or keeping it the same.

Europe is an interesting case because three different scenarios play out across the four major subregions and the profiles of those who are more positive or negative towards immigration look very different.

Figure 3.4: Attitudes towards immigration by highest level of education attained: Europe (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Notes: Low education – completed primary education or less (up to eight years of basic education).

Medium education – some secondary through three years of tertiary education.

High education – university degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent).

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

First, in Eastern Europe, for example, those with university degrees are more negative than those with primary education or lower. This is largely driven by attitudes in large countries such as the Russian Federation and Ukraine, as there are few differences in opinions by education in most of the other countries in the region. However, different dynamics are at play in these two countries.

Despite the economic stagnation in the Russian Federation during the global economic downturn, the reasons Russians want to see less immigration appear to have little to do with the economy. Russians mostly do not see migrants as competitors for their jobs: majorities in the highest education groups say that migrants take jobs that regular citizens do not want (61% of respondents with university degrees and 55% of those with secondary education) as do nearly half (47%) of those with primary or lower education.

In Ukraine, whose economy was in near ruins before the revolution in 2014, economics appears to be a factor in people's attitudes towards immigration. Only 26 per cent in the most highly educated group say that migrants take jobs that citizens do not want. The majority say migrants take jobs that Ukrainians want or believe it is a mix of both situations. This indicates that many native citizens feel migrants are directly competing with them for jobs.

A second scenario plays out in Northern Europe, where residents with university degrees tend to be more positive about immigration levels and those with secondary education tend to be the most negative. Again, similar to the case in the Russian Federation, this does not appear to be related to their views on competition for jobs. More than 6 in 10 of those with secondary education (61%) believe that migrants take jobs that citizens do not want, compared with 50 per cent of those who have completed elementary education and 72 per cent who have college degrees.

Third, in Southern and Western Europe, those with secondary education or higher are more likely than those with the lowest level of education (primary education or lower) to be positive about immigration levels. In Southern Europe, in particular, this may reflect some perceived economic pressure among residents with the lowest education; the majority say migrants take jobs that regular citizens want (14%) or jobs that people do and do not want (40%). In these two regions, higher percentages in each education group say it is a mixture of both than elsewhere in Europe.

Africa: Higher Levels of Education, More Negative towards Immigration

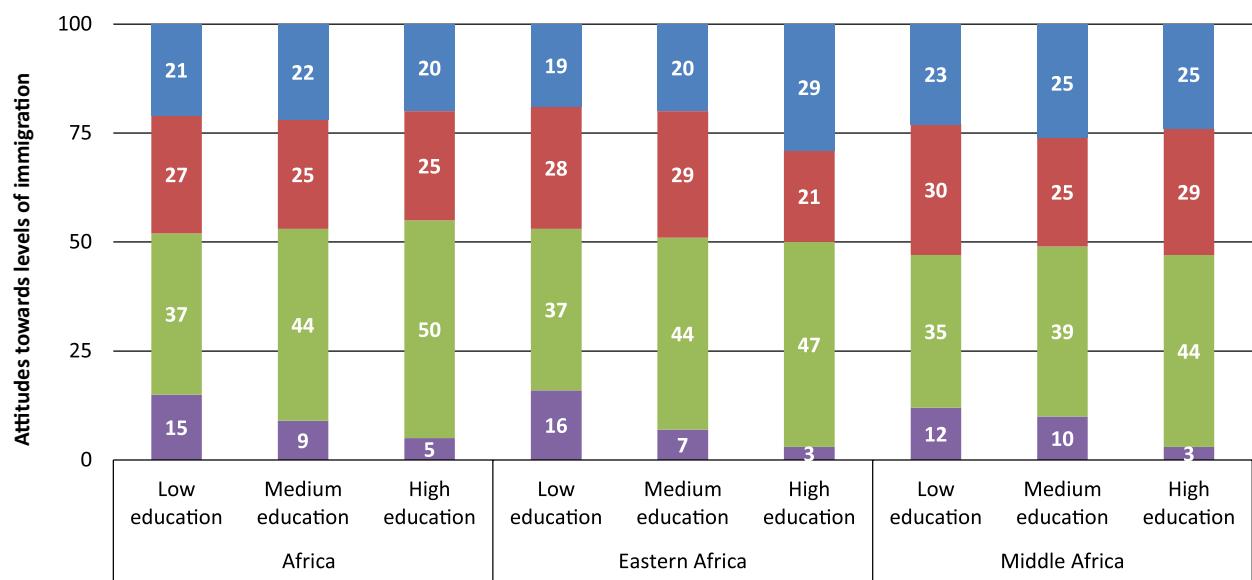
In Africa, adults with higher levels of education are more likely to favour decreasing immigration. However, people with the highest levels of education are just as likely to want immigration decreased as they are to want it to increase or stay the same. This is largely driven by attitudes in a few subregions: Eastern Africa, Middle Africa and Northern Africa.

Interestingly, in West Africa, where an estimated 70 per cent of the intraregional migratory movement is linked to employment,¹³ residents' attitudes towards migration are similar, regardless of their education levels. On the other hand, in Southern Africa, where labour migration is playing an increasingly important role in the region's development, those with the highest level of education are the most positive towards immigration.

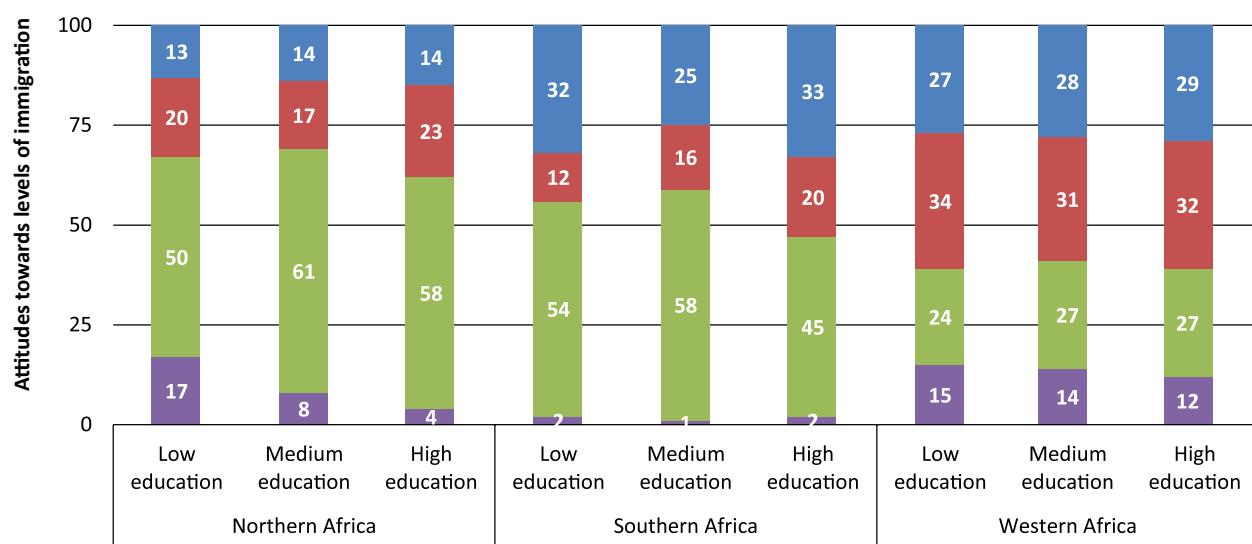
¹³ Source: IOM. See www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/IOM-Regional-Strategy-West-and-Central-Africa-2014-2016-EN.pdf

Figure 3.5: Attitudes towards immigration by highest level of education attained: Africa (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



■ Present level ■ Increased ■ Decreased ■ Don't know/Refused to answer



Notes: Low education – completed primary education or less (up to eight years of basic education).

Medium education – some secondary through three years of tertiary education.

High education – university degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent).

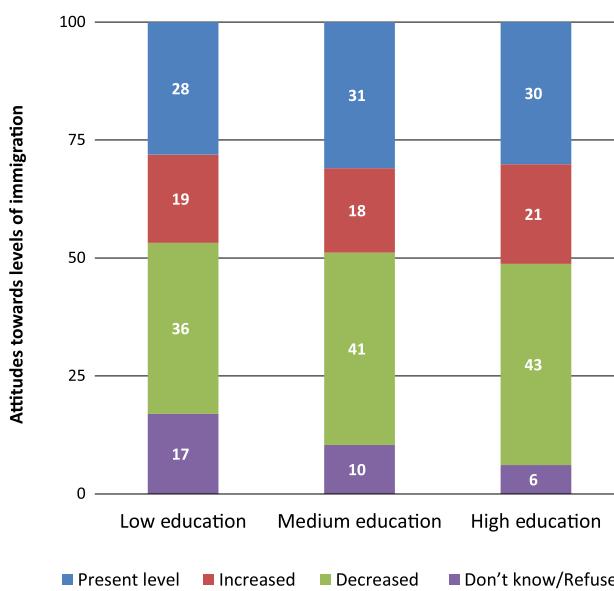
Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Latin America and the Caribbean: The More Highly Educated Are More Negative But Still Positive Overall

As in Africa, education levels in Latin America and the Caribbean are not a clear predictor of opinions on immigration levels. Generally, those with higher education in Latin America and the Caribbean tend to be more negative about immigration than those with lower education. However, those in each education group are still more likely to want to see immigration levels kept the same or increased than to want to see them decreased.

Figure 3.6: Attitudes towards immigration by highest level of education attained: Latin America and the Caribbean (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Notes: Low education – completed primary education or less (up to eight years of basic education).
Medium education – some secondary through three years of tertiary education.
High education – university degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent).

Asia: Education Not Universally an Explaining Factor

Across Asia overall, the percentage of adults who favour decreasing immigration levels is similar regardless of education. However, the percentage of those who favour increasing or keeping levels the same does increase with education – as does awareness of the issue more generally. Views in China generally follow the regional pattern, while in India they are more in line with the global pattern where those with the highest level of education are more likely than those with lower education to want to see immigration levels kept the same or increased.

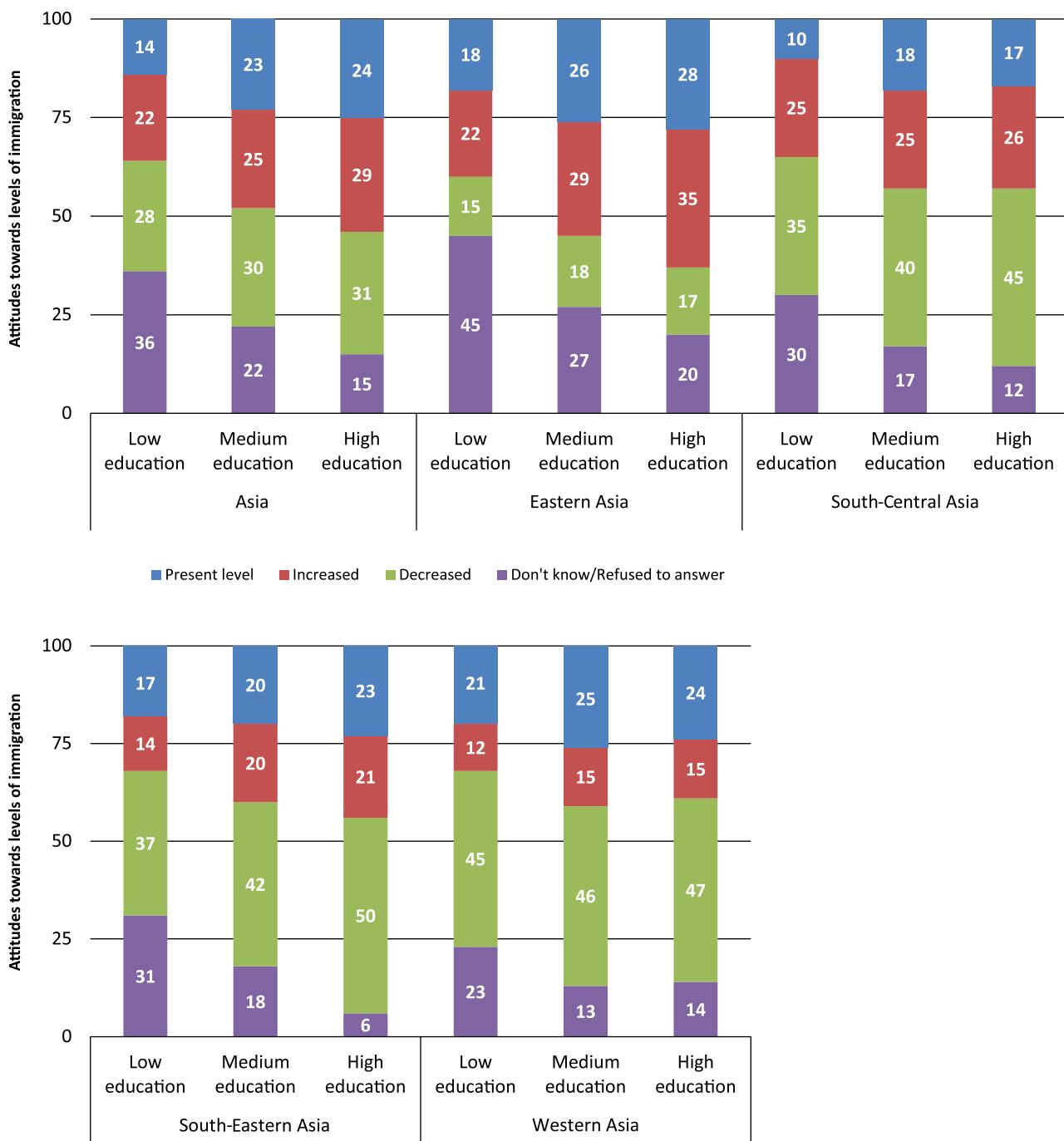
In a number of countries within the region where residents are more inclined to want to see immigration levels decreased, there is little difference in opinion by education level. For example, in Mexico, the least educated and the most educated are just as likely to want to see a decrease in immigration levels. But in a few other countries that tilt negative, such as El Salvador, those with the lowest educational attainment are the most likely to want to see lower immigration levels.

Even within the former Soviet countries in Central Asia, there are different patterns. In Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, there are no differences in attitudes by level of education. But in nearby Tajikistan, which is the most likely of its neighbours

to be economically dependent on sending temporary labour migrants abroad, those with the highest level of education tend to have more negative attitudes towards immigration.

Figure 3.7: Attitudes towards immigration by highest level of education attained: Asia (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Notes: Low education – completed primary education or less (up to eight years of basic education).

Medium education – some secondary through three years of tertiary education.

High education – university degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent).

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Age

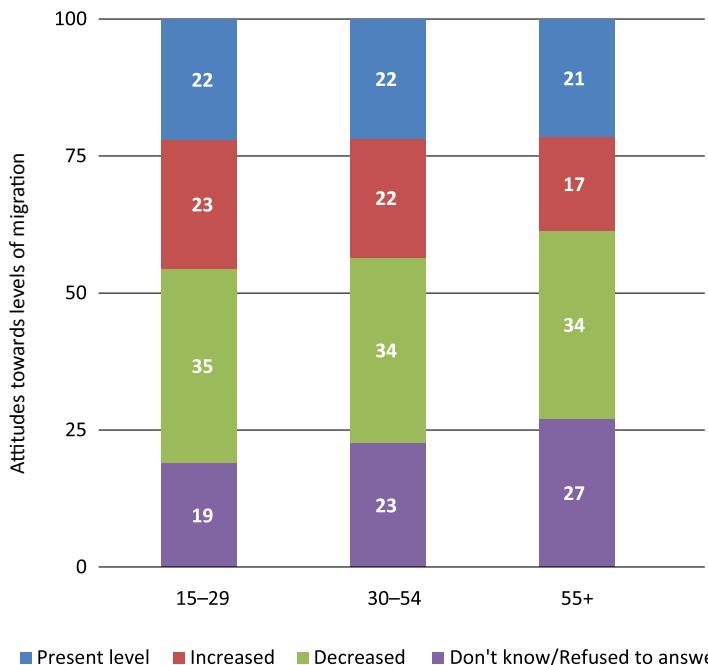
Perhaps reflecting the increased globalization that has taken place in the past few decades, younger people are more likely to have an opinion about immigration and they are more likely to favour increasing immigration levels. Globally, about one in four younger people (23%) would like to see immigration levels increased, compared with 17 per cent of those who are aged 55 and older.

Other Gallup research shows that younger people tend to be more positive than their elders about many aspects of life, including, for instance their life evaluations.¹⁴

Such a “youth effect” exists in most migrant-receiving regions and countries, with the notable exception of the Russian Federation. Young Russians are as negative about immigration levels in their country as older Russians are. This is also true in other G20 countries such as South Africa, Turkey and Argentina.

Figure 3.8: Attitudes towards immigration by age (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Opposition to Immigration Also Present in Every Country and Region

While older and less educated residents in many countries and regions tend to be more negative about immigration levels, some groups beyond those spheres are particularly negative.

to whether they want to see immigration levels to stay the same or increase. Compared with others in the workforce, those who are not working but actively looking for work and able to begin work are considerably more likely to want immigration decreased (40% of the unemployed versus 33% of those not unemployed).

The Unemployed

People's personal employment status strongly relates to whether they want to see immigration levels decreased, but it does not seem to relate

¹⁴ A. Brown, “Americans’ life outlook best in seven years” (Gallup, 16 January 2015). Available from www.gallup.com/poll/181148/americans-life-outlook-best-seven-years.aspx?utm_source=young_life_evaluations&utm_medium=search&utm_campaign=tiles

Table 3.1: Attitudes towards immigration by employment status (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Not unemployed	Unemployed (and in work force)
Present level	23	22
Increased	22	23
Decreased	33	40
Don't know/Refused to answer	22	15

Similarly, there is little difference in attitudes towards immigration among those who have “professional” or “non-professional” jobs, in contrast to past research showing that highly skilled individuals tend to have more positive attitude towards immigration.¹⁵ Europe is the sole exception: those who do not have “professional” jobs in this region are more negative towards immigration. However, there is no difference in Europe when it comes to whether this group believes migrants take jobs people want or do not want.

¹⁵ Respondents who were employed were asked about their general categories of work. Those who identified themselves as professional workers/managers/business owners are considered “professional workers” for purposes of this analysis. Those in other job categories are considered “non-professionals”.

4. Government policies and immigration attitudes

Government Immigration Policies and Public Attitudes towards Immigration Align

Countries generally develop their immigration policies in response to labour-market needs and in accordance with their demographic objectives. The United Nations distinguishes four types of government policies to influence the level of regular or documented immigration to a country: raise, maintain, lower and no intervention.¹⁶ In 2011 (the year before Gallup started collecting data on immigration levels), the United Nations found that 73 per cent of all the 174 governments surveyed either had policies to maintain immigration levels or policies of no intervention, 16 per cent had policies to lower them and 11 per cent had policies to raise them.¹⁷

Public opinion on immigration and the general media discourse also significantly influence migration policymaking, which is why it is important

to study attitudes towards migration. Across the 142 countries included in Gallup's analysis, Gallup correlated public opinion on immigration with government policies (as defined in the UN International Migration Policies report¹⁸) in 136 of them. For the purpose of this analysis, 76 countries had policies aimed at maintaining current immigration levels, 26 had policies to lower them, 19 had policies to raise levels, 15 had policies of no intervention and 6 did not have any policy information available.

Whether people are generally modeling their attitudes towards migration levels after existing national immigration policies or whether such policies rather reflect the public will is hard to establish. However, Gallup finds that people's attitudes and government policies towards immigration are generally in accord. In countries where the government policy is to lower immigration levels, 61 per cent of adults want to see immigration levels decreased and only 11 per cent want to see levels increased.

Table 4.1: Attitudes towards immigration by country immigration policy (%)*

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	No intervention	Lower	Maintain	Raise
Present level	20	22	23	20
Increased	15	11	23	23
Decreased	42	61	35	24
Don't know/Refused to answer	24	7	19	34

Notes: *National policy to lower, maintain, raise or not intervene on immigration levels according to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) International Migration Policies, 2011.

Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

¹⁶ Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. See www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/policy/international-migration-policies-report-2013.shtml

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Residents in countries with policies to “maintain” or “raise” immigration are more positive than residents in countries in the two other groups. This relationship holds for all major regions of the world except Europe, where public opinion is heavily weighted towards decreasing immigration.

In countries where the government policy is to raise immigration, the smallest percentage of people (23.6%) want to see it decreased. At the same time, the percentage who do not have an opinion is highest in this group – largely because this group includes China, where 40 per cent did not express an opinion about immigration levels.

Immigration Policies and Attitudes in Top 10 Migrant Destination Countries

In the top 10 countries with the largest immigrant stocks, residents’ attitudes towards immigration levels vary widely, but in only three do solid majorities want to see levels decreased: the Russian Federation (70%), the United Kingdom (69%) and Spain (56%).

Table 4.2: Attitudes towards immigration in top 10 international migrant destination countries (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Present level	Increased	Decreased	Don't know/Refused to answer
United States	33	23	40	4
Canada	45	22	30	4
United Arab Emirates	49	21	13	17
Russian Federation	12	5	70	12
United Kingdom	24	5	69	2
Spain	35	5	56	5
Germany	49	14	34	2
France	40	6	44	10
Australia	40	30	25	6
Saudi Arabia	36	32	24	9

Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

In many instances, residents’ attitudes towards immigration levels align well with their respective countries’ policies. The Governments of the United States, Canada and Australia have policies to “maintain” current levels of immigration, and have policies that support immigration in all six areas. In all three countries, the majority of residents say immigration in their countries should stay at the present level or increase.

In top international migrant destination countries in Europe, policies are mixed. Of the six specific policy

areas, the United Kingdom, France and Spain have three that are pro-immigration, and three aimed at lowering immigration. Public opinion tilts negative, with a significant portion of adults who say that immigration levels should decrease (44% in France to 69% in the United Kingdom) and few who say levels should increase (5% to 6%). In Germany, five of the six policy areas are pro-immigration; public sentiment is also more positive, with nearly half of Germans (49%) saying immigration should be kept at present levels, and another 14 per cent saying it should be increased.

Table 4.3: Attitudes towards immigration policies in top 10 migrant destination countries

	Policy on immigration	Policy on high-skilled workers	Integration	Naturalization	Permanent residence	Temp workers	Family unification
United States	Maintain	Maintain	Yes	Yes	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain
Saudi Arabia	Lower	Maintain	Yes	Restricted	No intervention	Lower	Maintain
United Kingdom	Lower	Lower	Yes	Yes	Lower	Maintain	Lower
France	Lower	Raise	Yes	Yes	Lower	Lower	Lower
Germany	Maintain	Raise	Yes	Yes	Lower	Maintain	Maintain
Spain	Maintain	Raise	Yes	Restricted	Lower	Lower	Lower
Canada	Maintain	Maintain	Yes	Yes	Maintain	Maintain	Raise
Australia	Maintain	Raise	Yes	Yes	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain
Russian Federation	Raise	Raise	Yes	Yes	Raise	Raise	No intervention
United Arab Emirates	Lower	Raise	No	No	Lower	Maintain	Lower

In Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, where the proportion of international migrants in the total population is among the highest in the world, the prevalent government policy in 2011 was aimed at lowering immigration. Both countries support policies to attract highly skilled workers, and the United Arab Emirates has a policy for maintaining immigration levels for temporary workers, but few other pro-immigration policies are in place. In contrast to these policies, majorities in both countries believe immigration should stay at current levels or increase.

In the Russian Federation, however, residents' negative attitudes towards immigration (70% desire lower levels) run directly counter to the country's immigration policies, which, as of 2011, were almost all pro-immigration. The overall migration policy objective of the Russian Federation was to raise immigration levels, including those for highly skilled workers, temporary workers and the number of immigrants who become permanent residents. The country also had pro-immigrant policies for integration and naturalization.

Overall, data show that there is quite a strong connection between government immigration policy and public opinion. Available empirical evidence does not allow for drawing definitive conclusions on what causes what – if public opinion follows policy developments or rather policies are shaped by prevalent public sentiment. It may also take a while for public opinion to respond to government policies, and this also depends on the effectiveness of government communication on policy reforms. It is, however, important to note that other factors not considered in this study can significantly influence public opinion, such as media coverage of immigration issues and the way migrants are portrayed in public discourse.¹⁹

¹⁹ J.D., "How does immigration affect crime?" (*The Economist*, 12 December 2013). Available from www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2013/12/economist-explains-10



5. Special focus: G20 economies

Table 5.1: Attitudes towards immigration: G20 countries (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Present level	Increased	Decreased	(Don't know/Refused to answer)
Argentina	40	7	42	11
Australia	40	30	25	6
Brazil	36	20	27	17
Canada	45	22	30	4
China	19	25	15	40
France	40	6	44	10
Germany	49	14	34	2
India	10	29	32	29
Indonesia	18	4	45	33
Italy	28	3	67	2
Japan	36	29	16	19
Mexico	20	19	54	8
Republic of Korea	30	27	27	15
Russian Federation	12	5	70	12
Saudi Arabia	36	32	24	9
South Africa	27	15	56	1
Turkey	26	7	53	14
United Kingdom	24	5	69	2
United States	33	23	40	4
European Union	36	8	48	8
Total G20	22	21	31	25

Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

The major economies in the G20 include the 10 countries with the highest international migrant stocks in 2013 and also China, Mexico and India, which are among the countries with the highest levels of emigration (having the highest number of citizens residing abroad).²⁰ Attitudes towards immigration in G20 countries as a group²¹ mirror global attitudes: every fifth person in this group wants immigration to stay at the present level and

every fifth person wants it to increase. Nearly one in three (31%) wants lower immigration levels. The remaining 25 per cent did not express their opinions or declined to answer the question during the interviews.

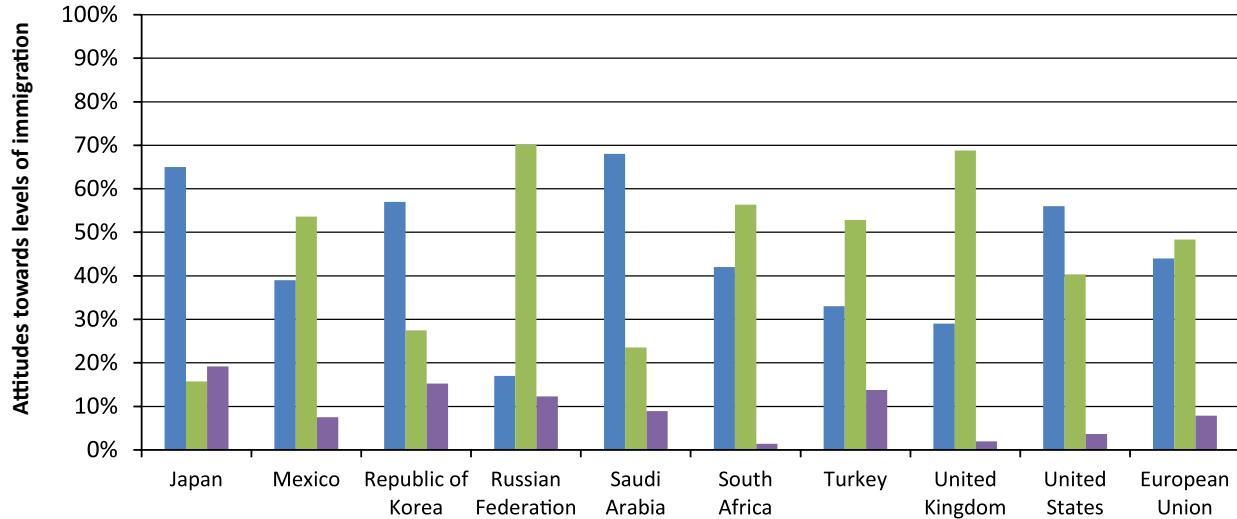
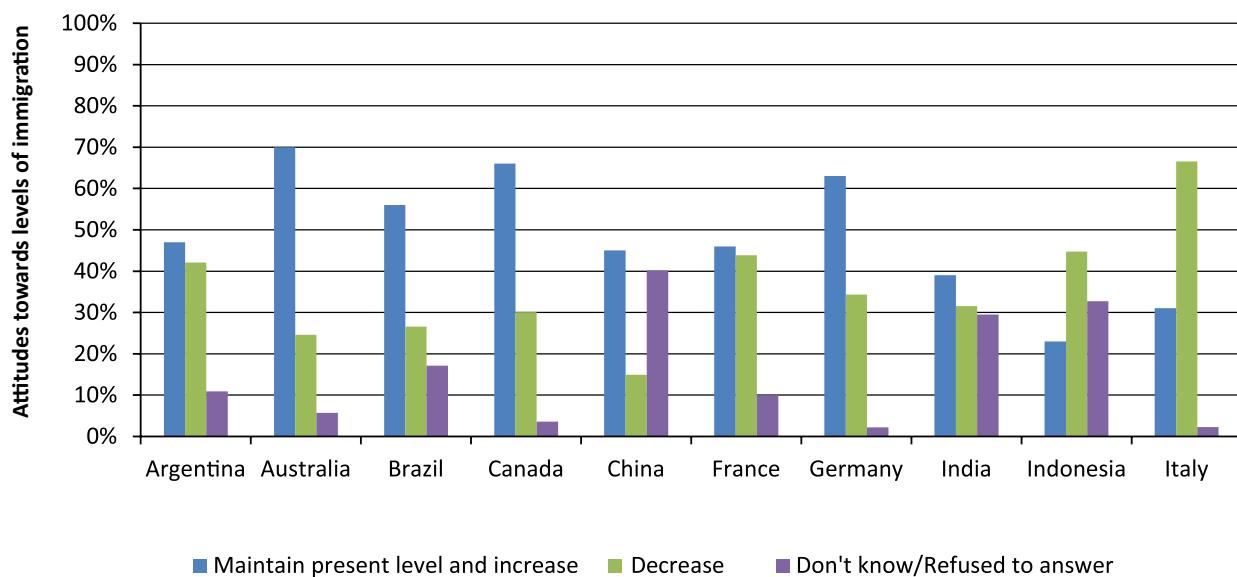
Within the G20, there are clearly vast differences in opinion. In South Africa, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, Turkey, Italy and Mexico, more than half of adults would like to see decreased immigration levels. In the EU, as a whole, which is represented with one membership in the G20, nearly half (48%) would like to see levels go down. At the same time, more than half of adults in Japan, the Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Germany, Brazil, the United States, Canada and Australia would like immigration to increase or be kept at the present levels.

²⁰ Source: UN DESA. See www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/migration/migrationreport2013/Full_Document_final.pdf

²¹ Note that because the overall G20 total is weighted by population, results from India and China heavily influence the overall numbers. This largely explains the high percentages without opinions.

Figure 5.1: Overall attitudes towards immigration in G20 countries

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



G20 by Age

Bucking the global trend of opinions by age, younger people in some G20 countries do not necessarily have more positive attitudes about migration than the older generation. Fifteen- to 29-year-olds in countries such as India are more negative towards immigration (34% favour decreased immigration) than the oldest generation (25%). In other countries, such as South Africa, Turkey, the Russian Federation and Argentina, there are no differences in opinions by age.

In the EU, as a whole, younger people are generally less negative than older people. While a relatively high percentage of the youngest respondents in the EU favour decreasing immigration levels (41%), this is still lower than the majority of older EU residents (52%) who are negative about immigration.

Table 5.2: Attitudes towards immigration in G20 countries by age (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	15–29	30–54	55+
Present level	22	22	22
Increased	24	22	17
Decreased	32	31	32
Don't know/Refused to answer	22	25	29

G20 by Education

Like elsewhere around the world, residents with higher levels of education in G20 countries tend to be more positive about immigration. In the EU, overall, a majority with primary education or less (53%) would like to see immigration levels decreased, but this percentage drops as education levels rise. Only 37 per cent of those in the EU with college degrees or higher would like to see levels decreased. The majority in the EU with high educational attainment would like immigration levels to stay the same (45%) or increase (12%).

There are exceptions to this, and in some countries, there are no differences in attitude based on levels of education, including Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Argentina. In contrast to the EU, in the Russian Federation and Indonesia, where residents are generally more negative about immigration, those with higher education are even more so. In both instances, those with the lowest levels of education are also the least likely to express an opinion on immigration levels.

Table 5.3: Attitudes towards immigration in G20 countries by highest level of education attained (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Completed primary education or less (up to 8 years of basic education)	Some secondary through 3 years of tertiary education	University degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent)
Present level	16	28	32
Increased	22	20	24
Decreased	27	37	34
Don't know/Refused to answer	35	16	10

Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

As is true for the rest of the world, first- and second-generation migrants in the G20 are more likely than the native-born to: 1) have an opinion about immigration levels; and 2) want to see immigration levels kept as they presently are. Although at least

one of their parents is a migrant, second-generation migrants in the G20 are slightly more likely than the native-born and first-generation migrants to wish a decrease in immigration levels.

Table 5.4: Attitudes towards immigration in G20 countries by native-born, first-generation and second-generation immigrants (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Native-born	Second-generation migrants	First-generation migrants
Present level	25	36	42
Increased	19	19	19
Decreased	31	38	32
Don't know/Refused to answer	25	8	7

Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Urban Residents in G20 Countries More Likely to Express Views on Immigration

In the majority of G20 countries, people who live in urban areas are more likely to express an opinion on immigration, though overall they are not more negative or positive than people residing in rural areas.

In a few countries, such as Mexico, Brazil and Argentina, adults in rural areas are more positive about immigration than people living in urban areas. In many countries, the situation is the opposite; urban residents are more positive in Japan, the Republic of Korea, the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany.

In select major cities within these G20 countries, attitudes sometimes align with the rest of the country; sometimes they are more positive, and sometimes they are more negative. For the most part, views are similar between Mexico City and the rest of Mexico, Sydney and the rest of Australia, Seoul and the rest of the Republic of Korea, and Buenos Aires and the rest of Argentina.

More Positive Cities in Saudi Arabia and China

Views about immigration are more positive in major cities in Saudi Arabia and in China. In Saudi Arabia,²² for example, the percentage of residents in Riyadh who would like to see an increase in immigration levels is similar to that in the rest of the country, but adults in this city are also more likely to want immigration levels to stay in their present state.

In China, adults living in the cities of Guangzhou and Shanghai are more likely to want to see increased or the same immigration levels than in the rest of China. Attitudes in Beijing are more like the rest of the country. People living in Guangzhou (53%), Shanghai (58%) and Beijing (49%) are more likely to think that migrants take jobs that citizens want (in the rest of the country, it is only 28%), which suggests that job competition is not the main factor in influencing people's positive attitudes about immigration levels. One of China's long-term migration objectives is to attract more

skilled workers from other countries, and it is possible that residents in these urban centres are more exposed to such policy objectives and in favour of the new laws designed to facilitate the immigration of highly skilled professionals.²³

More Negative Cities in Turkey and the Russian Federation

In Istanbul, residents are more likely than the rest of their fellow Turks to want to see a decrease in immigration levels in their country; nearly two in three in Istanbul (65%) would like to see lower levels, compared with 51 per cent in the rest of the country. This may reflect Istanbul's position as a hub for migrants on their way to Europe either by land or, increasingly, by sea.

Already living in one of the countries with the highest levels of opposition towards immigration globally, Muscovites are even more negative than the rest of the people in the Russian Federation. More than 8 in 10 (83%) Moscow residents would like to see immigration levels decreased, compared with 69 per cent in the rest of the country. This may reflect Moscow's status as one of the chief destinations for millions of migrants who are drawn to the city's plethora of low-skill jobs, and the undercurrent of anti-immigrant sentiment that has been rising there in recent decades.²⁴

More Positive Economic Outlook, More Positive towards Immigration

Like the rest of the world, the G20 residents' outlook on their national economies and their personal living standards is related to their attitude towards immigration. Throughout the G20, residents who feel that economic conditions in their countries are worsening are more negative towards immigration, while those who think that conditions are improving are the most positive. The relationship between their views on immigration and opinions about their personal standard of living is somewhat weaker.

²² H. Østbø Haugen, "Destination China: The country adjusts to its new migration reality" (*Migration Policy Institute*, 4 March 2015). Available from www.migrationpolicy.org/article/destination-china-country-adjusts-its-new-migration-reality

²⁴ H. Mosmuller, "Migrants turn Moscow into Europe's biggest city" (*The Moscow Times*). Available from www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/migrants-turn-moscow-into-europes-biggest-city/435371.html

²² Arabs and Arab expats who could answer the survey in English or Arabic were interviewed.

Table 5.5: Attitudes towards immigration in G20 countries by perception of the country economic conditions and personal standard of living (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Getting better	Staying the same	Getting worse
Economy			
Present level	18	15	14
Increased	29	29	18
Decreased	21	42	49
Don't know/Refused to answer	32	14	19
Personal standard of living			
Present level	18	14	11
Increased	25	24	18
Decreased	25	38	36
Don't know/Refused to answer	31	24	35

Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Notably, this tendency does not hold true in Saudi Arabia. Residents who think that their economic conditions are getting worse are more likely to want to see an increase in immigration than those who say conditions are getting better. Interestingly,

attitudes in other GCC countries that are also home to a large population of migrants, namely the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Qatar, are more similar to the global pattern.

Table 5.6: Attitudes towards immigration by perception of the country's economic conditions and personal standard of living (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Saudi Arabia					
	Country economic conditions			Personal standard of living		
	Getting better	The same	Getting worse	Getting better	The same	Getting worse
Present level	39	33	27	42	30	25
Increased	29	34	46	29	27	52
Decreased	22	27	23	21	30	19
Don't know/ Refused to answer	11	6	5	7	14	4

Note: Figures might not add up to 100% due to rounding.

In the vast majority of the G20 countries, residents at the higher end of the income distribution (the richest 20%) are more positive about immigration and are more likely to express an opinion about it than the poorest 20 per cent. This is likely linked to the higher education levels among those with higher incomes.

In Asian G20 countries, the opinion gap between the richest and the poorest residents is quite large. The biggest gap is in Indonesia, where 55 per cent of the poorest residents said they did not have an opinion about immigration levels or refused to answer, compared with only 17 per cent of the richest residents. At the same time, 59 per cent of the richest in Indonesia said they would like to see levels decreased, while 33 per cent of the poorest Indonesians shared this view.

In China, too, the poorest people are twice as likely to not express an opinion as the richest: 57 per cent

versus 28 per cent. But the pattern among those who have an opinion in China is different from that in Indonesia. The richest Chinese are twice as likely to want to see an increase in immigration (33%) as the poorest people (15%). The Republic of Korea follows a similar pattern.

In countries where anti-immigration sentiment is strong, including the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and Mexico, there are no differences in people's attitudes by income. Factors other than personal economics seem to underlie the strong negative sentiment in some of these places.

In Germany, where the status quo on immigration levels is the preferred option among respondents, income relates to views on immigration: 24 per cent of the richest Germans, compared with 47 per cent of the poorest, would like to see levels decreased and 54 per cent of the richest and 36 per cent of the poorest would like to see them kept the same.

Figure 5.2: Attitudes towards immigration in G20 countries by household income

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

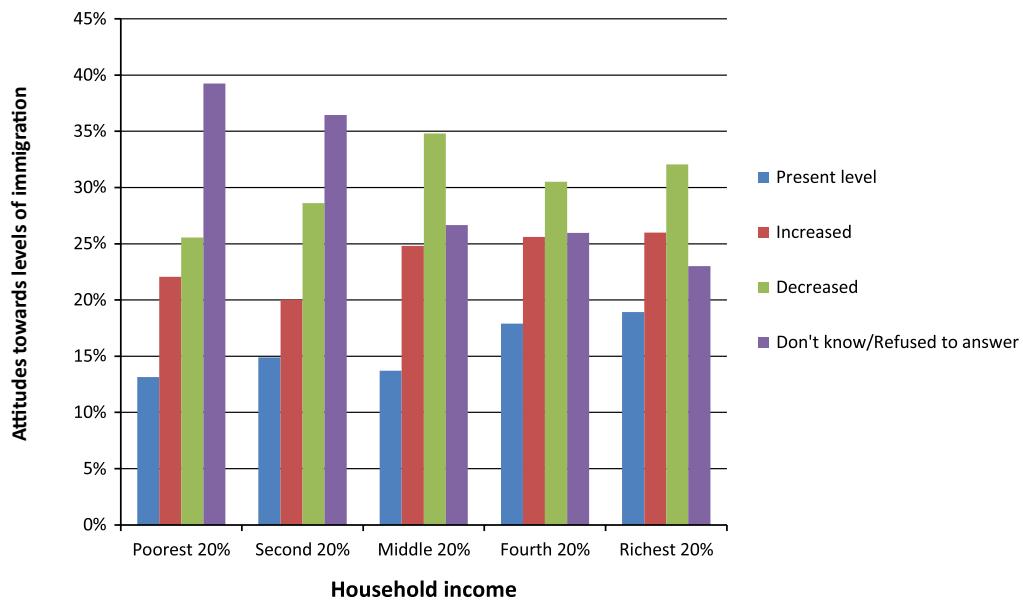
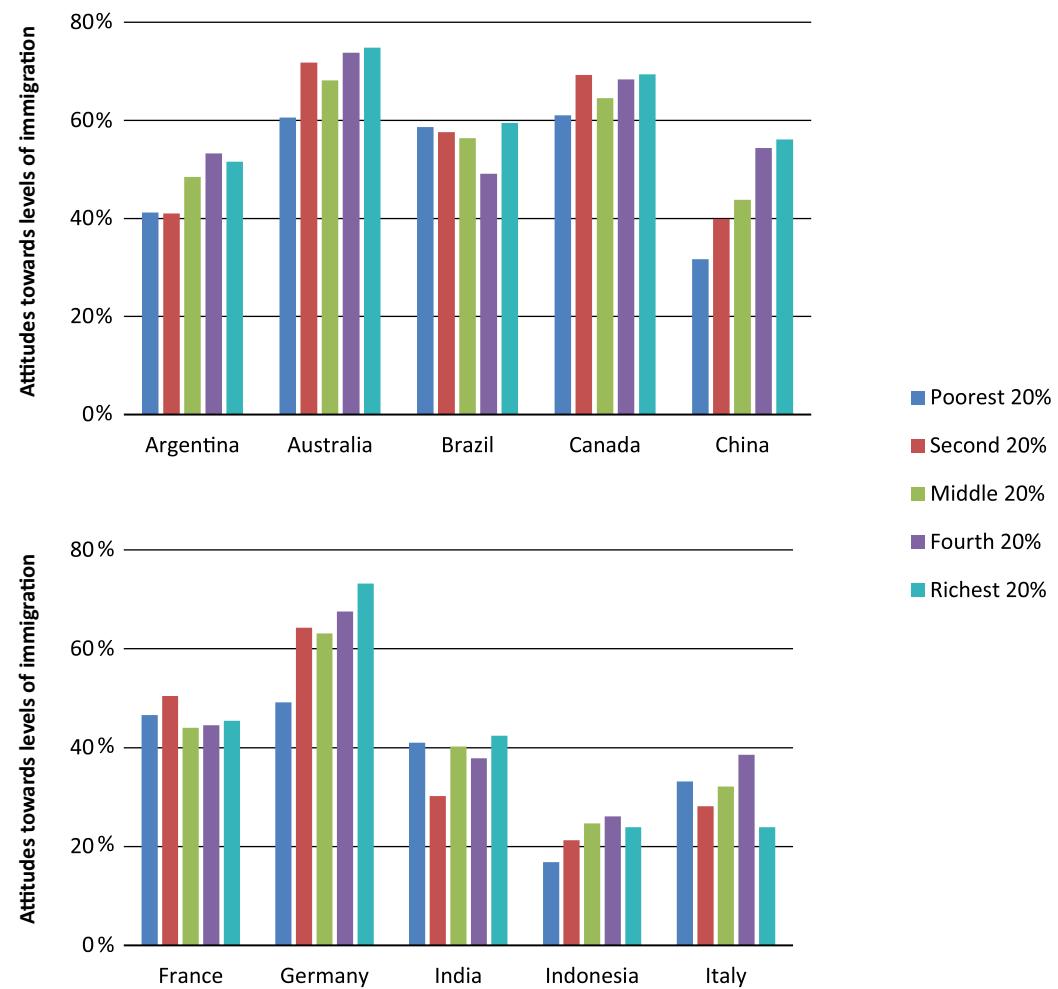
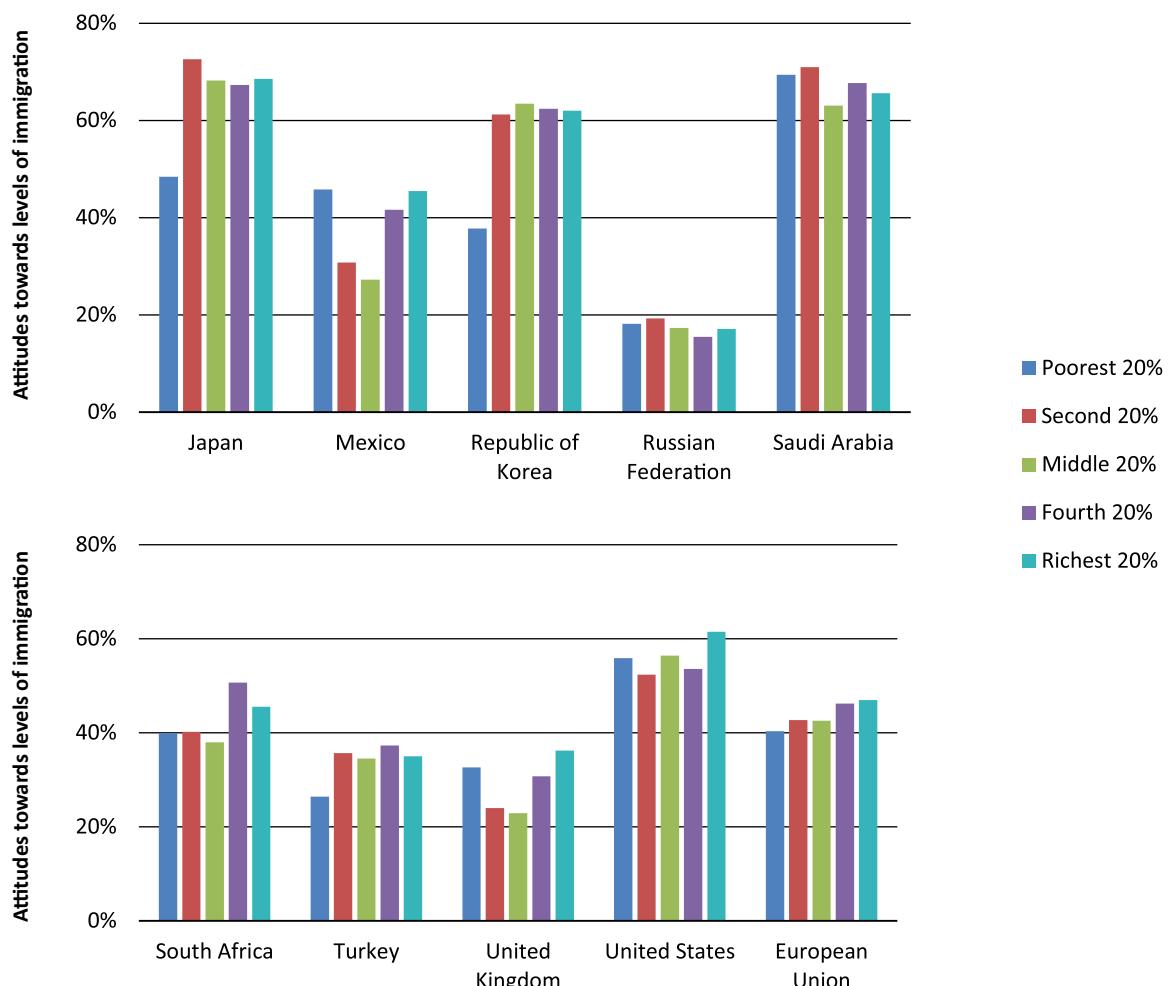


Figure 5.3: Positive attitudes towards immigration in G20 countries (immigration should be kept at present level or increased), by country and economic quintile

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?





Country Spotlight

Russian Federation

The Russian Federation has the second highest international migrant population in the world after the United States. The international migrant stock was 11 million people in 2013 – or about 8 per cent of the country's total population.²⁵ The migrant population has only been growing in recent years. Approximately 482,000 immigrants entered the country to stay permanently in 2013, up from 418,000 the previous year. However, most migration is still for temporary work. About six times as many temporary workers (2.9 million) entered the Russian Federation in the same year –

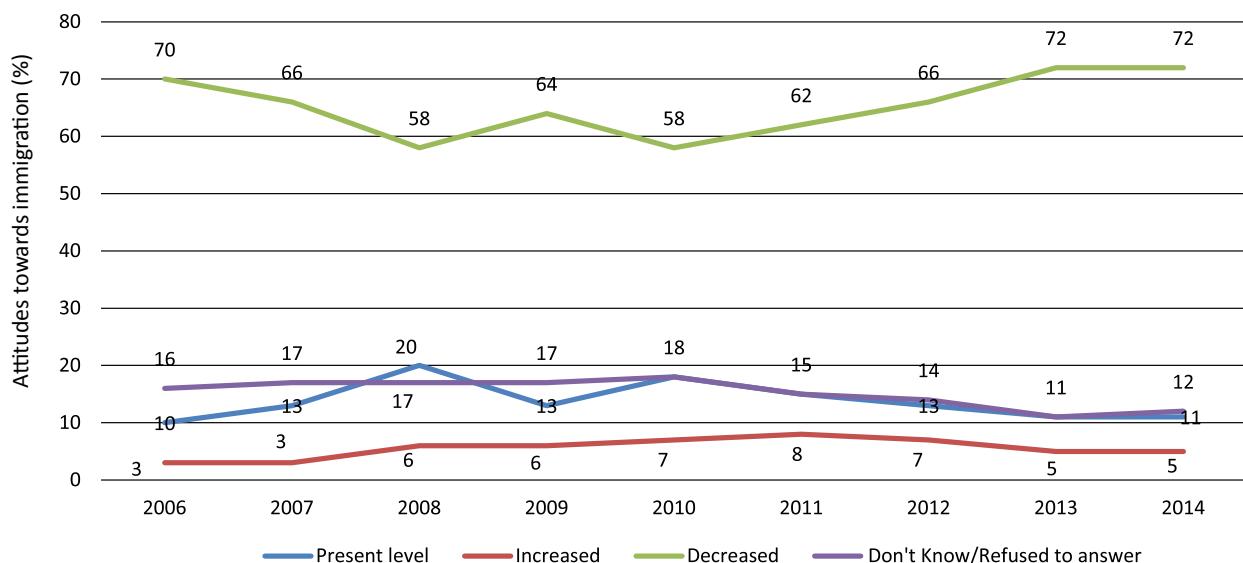
nearly all originating from former Soviet republics. While it is too early to tell what effect the ruble's collapse in 2014 along with tightened migration policies will have on the tide of immigrants, Russians might welcome a decrease, based on their attitudes towards immigration.

For the past nine years that Gallup has been tracking Russians' attitudes towards the level of immigration in their country, views have been consistently negative. Majorities of Russians across all years say immigration levels in their country should decrease. The percentage of Russians who want lower immigration has been on the higher end of the trend, with 72 per cent desiring a decrease in 2013 and 2014.

²⁵ Source: UN DESA.

Figure 5.4: Attitudes towards immigration in the Russian Federation, 2006–2014 (%)

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



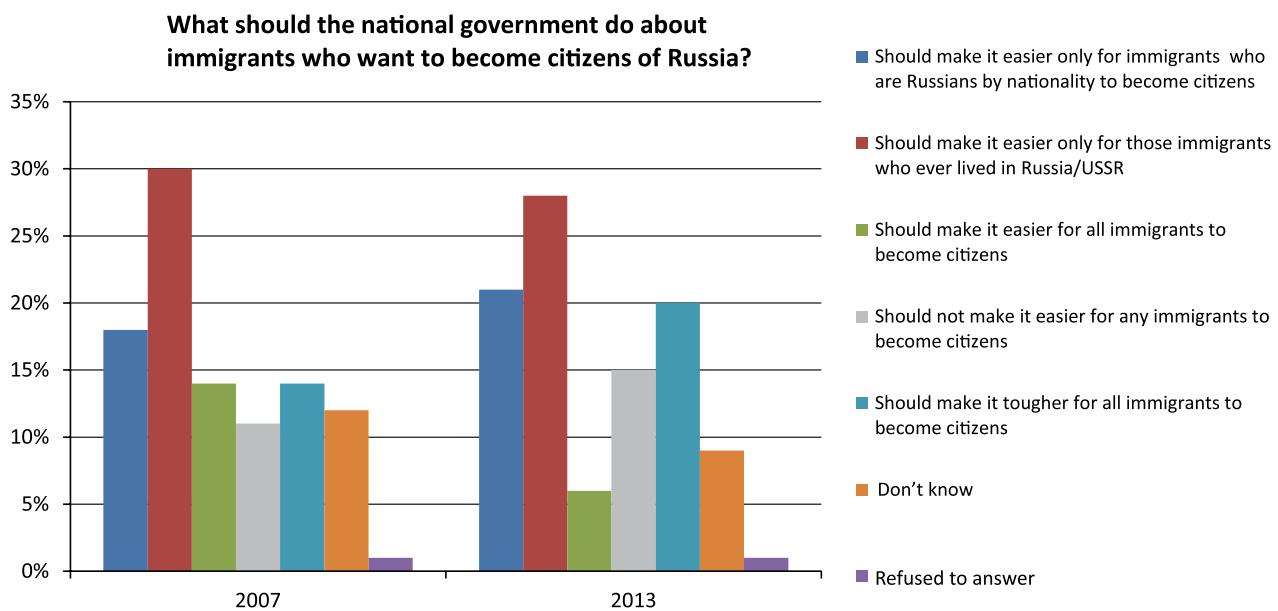
This negative sentiment is present in all segments of Russian society. Russians' age or whether they hold professional or non-professional jobs makes little difference. There are some small differences by education, with Russians with college degrees or higher education being more likely to want to see a decrease in immigration (72%) than those with primary or lower education (62%). Also, those who see the country's economy getting better are somewhat more negative (80% want lower immigration) than those who say the economy is getting better (73% in this group want lower immigration), but the majority in each group are still negative.

However, the reasons Russians want to see less immigration appear to have little to do with the state of the economy and competition for jobs. The majority of Russians with the highest level of education (who are most in favour of decreasing immigration) say that migrants are taking jobs that regular citizens do not want.

Given how negative Russian sentiment is towards immigrants, and that the country has such a large immigrant population, Gallup started asking Russians in 2007 what they think the national government should do about the immigrants who want to become citizens of their country. Since then, it appears that Russian citizens have become increasingly selective about who they think their government should allow to become citizens.

In 2007, 14 per cent of Russians were open to the idea of giving citizenship to all migrants, but this percentage had cut in half by 2013 (6%). At the same time, one in four Russians in 2007 thought that the Government should not make it easier (11%) or make it tougher for all immigrants (14%) to become citizens. But this had risen to more than one in three by 2013.

Figure 5.5: Attitudes towards naturalization of immigrants in the Russian Federation, 2007 and 2013



One in five Russians believes that the Government should make it easier for only those with Russian nationality to become citizens. Another 28 per cent believe it should be easier for compatriots from other former Soviet Union countries. Together, nearly half of Russians in 2013 (49%) believed the Government should make it easier for people in these groups to become citizens – relatively unchanged from 2007 (48%).

When Gallup compares Russian sentiment on the questions about immigration levels and government policies for citizenship, the demographics of support are similar. Russians with secondary or higher education (38%) are more likely to support,

making it tougher or not making it easier for all immigrants to become citizens than Russians with lower levels of education (27%). If respondents believe that the economy is getting worse, they are more likely to want the Government to make it tougher for immigrants (26%) than those who think the economy is getting better (14%).

Those who live in big cities support stricter measures than people who live in small settlements. More than one in four Russian adults living in “big cities” believe that the Government should make it tougher for all immigrants to become citizens, while 16 per cent of people in towns and villages choose the “tougher” option.

Table 5.7: Attitudes towards naturalization of immigrants in Russian cities by population size (%)

What should the national government do about immigrants who want to become citizens of Russia?

	Cities with populations of 1 million or more	Cities with populations between 50,000 and 999,999	Towns/Villages with populations under 50,000
Should make it easier only for immigrants who are Russians by nationality to become citizens	22	19	21
Should make it easier only for those immigrants who ever lived in Russian Federation/USSR	25	31	27
Should make it easier for all immigrants to become citizens	5	4	8
Should not make it easier for any immigrants to become citizens	15	15	16
Should make it tougher for all immigrants to become citizens	27	20	16
Don't know	5	9	12
Refused to answer	1	2	0

Although the strong majority of Russians say they want immigration to the Russian Federation to decrease, half of the population of the country favour giving citizenship to selected immigrants.

United States

The United States has the highest international migrant population in the world; about one in five of the world's migrants live in the country. The foreign-born population residing in the country in 2012 was an estimated 40.8 million – or 13 per cent of the total population. Only in recent years has net immigration to the United States started to grow again after sinking during the 2008–2009 recession. The US Census Bureau estimates net migration to be just shy of 1 million people between 2013 and 2014²⁶ – closer to levels in the early 2000s.

Although Gallup started asking Americans about their preferences on immigration levels in 1965, this has been done on an annual basis only since 1999. Americans' views about immigration levels have varied over the past 15 years. Some surges in Americans' anti-immigration sentiment may reflect their reactions to certain events. For example, the percentage in favour of lowering immigration rose sharply after the 9/11 attacks in 2001. Sentiment also soured in 2009, as unemployment rates soared to their highest levels in 26 years, and the percentage of Americans saying immigration should be decreased hit the 50 per cent mark.

However, there also has been a steady increase in public support for increasing immigration, rising from 10 per cent in 1999 to 21 per cent in 2012 and 22 per cent in 2014. Support for increasing immigration has grown more among Americans with college degrees than it has among those with lower education.

²⁶ See www.census.gov/hhes/migration/data/cps/historical.html

Figure 5.6: Attitudes towards immigration in the United States, 1999–2014

In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

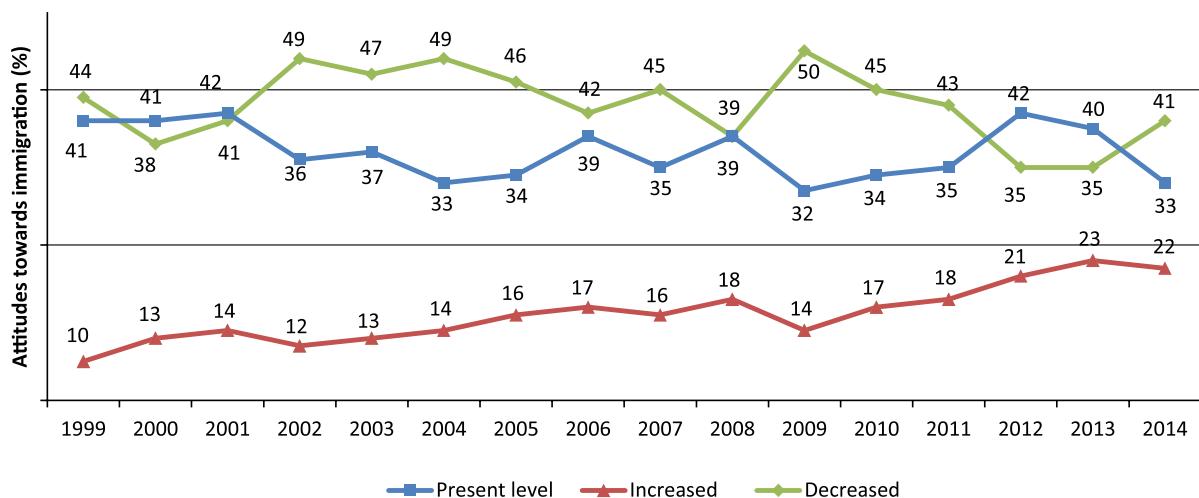
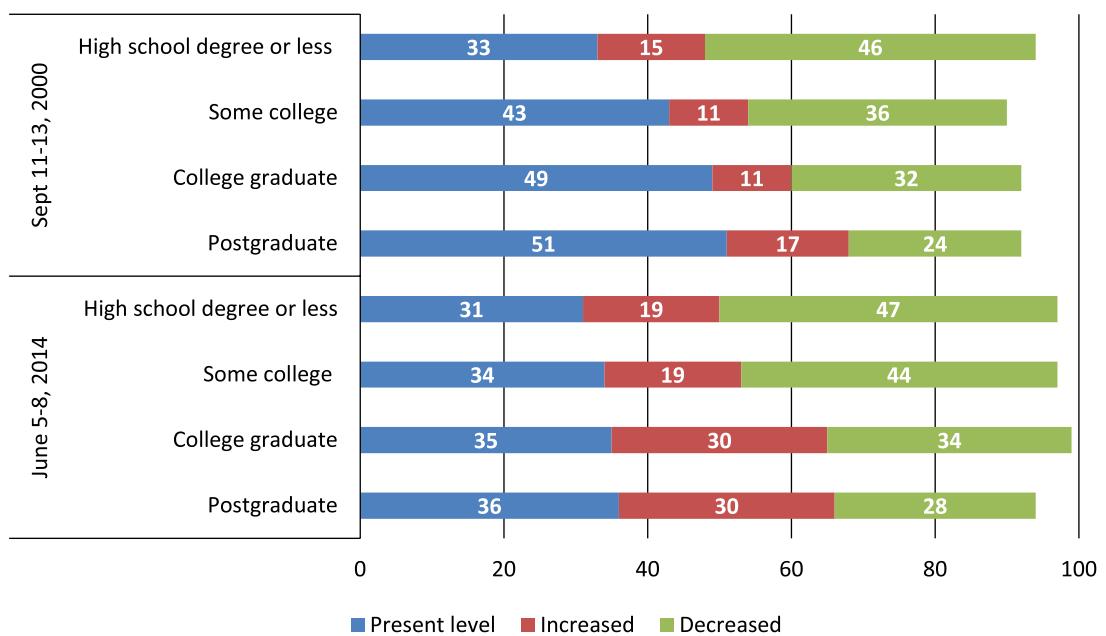


Figure 5.7: Attitudes towards immigration in the United States by highest level of education attained, 2000 versus 2014 (%)

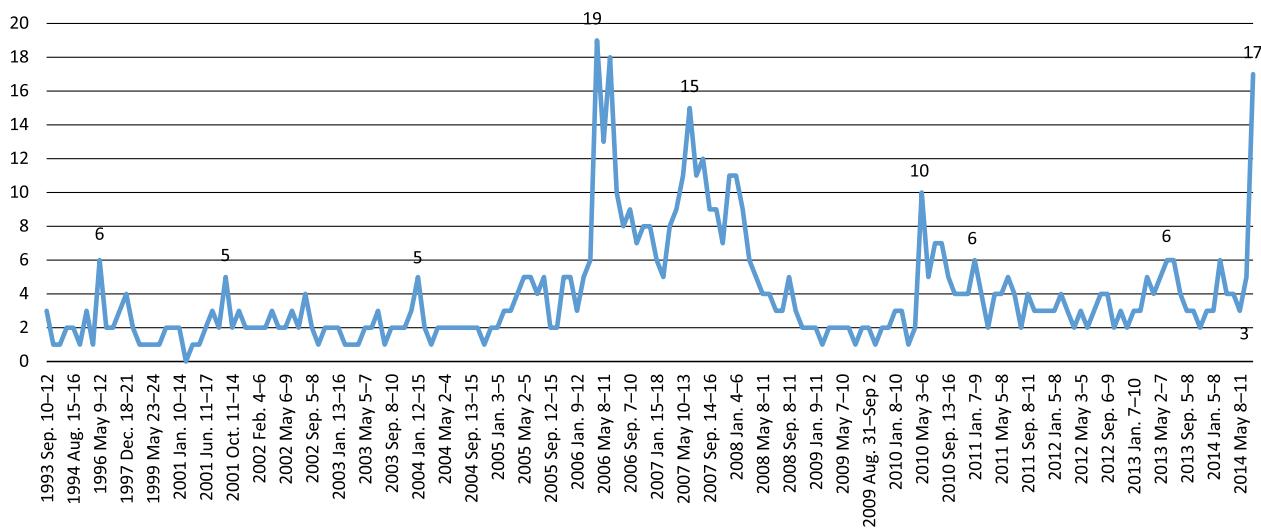
In your view, should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?



Immigration has been a highly contentious topic in the United States, particularly last year, as thousands of undocumented immigrant minors crossed the country's border (about 52,000 between October 2013 and September 2014,

according to the US Department of Homeland Security). The percentage of Americans in Gallup polls citing immigration as the top problem surged to 17 per cent in July 2014 – its highest level since 2006.

Figure 5.8: Percentage of Americans naming immigration as the United States' most important problem

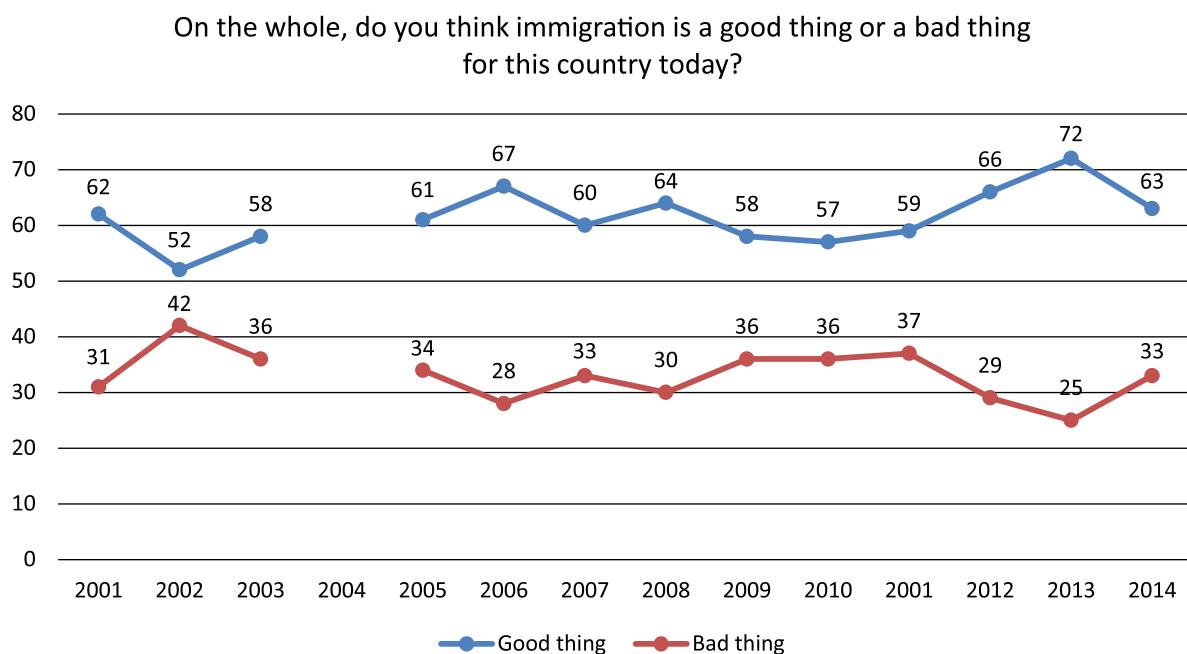


Immigration is also a politically divisive issue. The small percentage of Americans who favour increased immigration included just 14 per cent of Republicans. Raising levels found more support among political independents (23%) and Democrats (27%).

Although a sizable percentage of Americans favour decreasing immigration, they are nowhere as negative as residents in some other top destination

countries, such as the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom. The majority continue to view immigration as positive for the United States, with 63 per cent calling it a good thing. That is down from 2013's high of 72 per cent, but still exceeds the sub-60 per cent readings during the recent recession and, before that, in the wake of 9/11. This positivity is shared by 72 per cent of Democrats, 63 per cent of independents and 55 per cent of Republicans.

Figure 5.9: Perceived impact of immigration in the United States, 2001–2014 (%)



Note: This question was not asked in the 2004 poll; hence, no data for that year.

6. Conclusion

This report attempts to provide a global insight into how people worldwide view migration. The distinctive feature of this study is its global scope, presenting data from more than 140 countries. While individual countries and other organizations may have conducted more recent surveys, this study provides the most recent nationally representative (including rural and urban areas) and rigorous research on public opinion on migration globally, covering the period from 2012 to 2014.

When we begin to look at how most people in the world view migration, rather than a particular region or a particular country, we find that attitudes towards immigration are not as negative as often presented in previous studies.²⁷ At the time when the surveys were carried out, in every major region of the world, with the exception of Europe, people were more likely to want immigration levels in their countries to either stay at the present level or to increase, rather than decrease.

Further, we discovered that people's views about their personal and their countries' economic situations may be the strongest predictors of their views of immigration. Those who perceive economic situations as poor or worsening are more likely to favour lower immigration levels into their countries. The reverse is also true: those who perceive their individual or countries' economic situations as good or improving are more likely to want to see higher levels of immigration.

It is also evident that even where people may not favour an increase in immigration, they accept that migrants are often doing the jobs that nobody else wants to do. This suggests that fears about increasing immigration are not always linked to fears that migrants will "steal jobs" away from local workers. There does seem to be a "North-South" divide, with people in the global South more likely to fear that immigrants will threaten their job prospects. Even within these destinations, however, we also saw differences in attitudes across countries.

Another distinctive feature of this study is that both migrants and non-migrants were surveyed, and the results for each group compared. First-generation migrants, as might be expected, are more likely to welcome an increase in immigration than native-born residents, albeit slightly. This means that attitudes towards immigration in a country could be affected by the size of the foreign-born population.

In addition to providing a snapshot of people's opinions on a wide range of topics from the economy to their well-being, this study focused on two key questions related to attitudes towards immigration. First, whether people around the world would like to see immigration in their country increase, decrease or stay the same. Second, the study explores one of the key issues in current migration debates – whether people around the world perceive that immigrants threaten their job opportunities. Here the study asked whether people think that immigrants take the jobs that citizens in a country do not want, or mostly take jobs that citizens in this country want.

While this study provides an insight into how people view these two topics at one point in time, the capability exists to create a more extensive series regarding migrants' attitudes. The survey could also be expanded to cover different groups, including undocumented workers, refugees, temporary workers and other categories of migrants. The authors of this report recommend that this global survey of public opinion on migration be repeated on a regular basis, perhaps every two years to potentially represent a barometer of public opinion over time.

A regular global survey of public perceptions of migration would also be particularly timely, given the launch of a new global development framework in September 2015. The Sustainable Development Goals include a call to States to implement well-managed migration policies and to ensure that "nobody is left behind," including migrants, and public opinion on migration plays an important role in shaping such policies.

²⁷ See, for instance, Y. Markaki and S. Longhi, (2013) "What determines attitudes to immigration in European countries? An analysis at the regional level", *Migration Studies*, 1(3):311–337.



7. Methodology

Gallup conducted a total of 183,772 interviews in 2012, 2013 and 2014. Most data for this report were collected in 2012 and 2013. In 2014, data were collected for Canada; Australia; Hong Kong, China; Switzerland; and Norway. For this report, typically 1,000 interviews were done per country. A few countries such as India and China have higher sample sizes (more than 2,500 each), and all former Soviet Union countries included multiple survey administrations with a minimum of 1,000 interviews per administration.

With some exceptions, all country samples are probability based and nationally representative of the resident population aged 15 and older. The coverage area is the entire country including rural areas, and the sampling frame represents the entire civilian, non-institutionalized, aged 15 and older population of the entire country. Exceptions

include areas where the safety of interviewing staff is threatened, scarcely populated islands in some countries, and areas that interviewers can reach only by foot, animal or small boat. In Gulf Cooperation Council countries, at the time of data collection Gallup was able to interview only nationals and Arab expatriates.

Telephone surveys are used in countries where telephone coverage represents at least 80 per cent of the population or is the customary survey methodology. In Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the developing world, including much of Latin America, the former Soviet Union countries, nearly all of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, an area frame design is used for face-to-face interviewing.

A total of 142 countries were used in this analysis. Data were aggregated into regions and subregions as listed below.

Region	Subregion	Country/Region/Province
AFRICA	Eastern Africa	Comoros
		Ethiopia
		Kenya
		Madagascar
		Malawi
		Rwanda
		Somaliland region
		Uganda
		United Republic of Tanzania
		Zambia
		Zimbabwe
	Middle Africa	Angola
		Cameroon
		Chad
		Congo
		Democratic Republic of the Congo
		Gabon

Region	Subregion	Country/Region/Province
AFRICA	Northern Africa	Algeria
		Egypt
		Libya
		Morocco
		Sudan
		Tunisia
	Southern Africa	Botswana
		South Africa
		Benin
		Burkina Faso
		Ghana
		Guinea
ASIA	Western Africa	Mali
		Mauritania
		Niger
		Nigeria
		Senegal
	Eastern Asia	China
		Hong Kong, China
		Taiwan Province of China
		Japan
		Mongolia
		Republic of Korea
	South-Central Asia	Afghanistan
		Bangladesh
		Bhutan
		India
		Kazakhstan
		Kyrgyzstan
		Nepal
		Pakistan
		Sri Lanka
		Tajikistan
		Turkmenistan
		Uzbekistan
ASIA	South-Eastern Asia	Cambodia
		Indonesia
		Malaysia
		Myanmar
		Philippines
		Singapore
		Thailand
		Viet Nam

Region	Subregion	Country/Region/Province
ASIA	Western Asia	Armenia
		Azerbaijan
		Bahrain
		Cyprus
		Georgia
		Iraq
		Israel
		Jordan
		Kuwait
		Lebanon
		Nagorno-Karabakh region
		Northern Cyprus
		Qatar
		Saudi Arabia
		Syrian Arab Republic
		Turkey
		United Arab Emirates
		Yemen
EUROPE	Eastern Europe	Belarus
		Bulgaria
		Czech Republic
		Hungary
		Poland
		Republic of Moldova
		Romania
		Russian Federation
	Northern Europe	Slovakia
		Ukraine
		Denmark
		Estonia
		Finland
		Iceland
		Ireland

Region	Subregion	Country/Region/Province
EUROPE	Southern Europe	Albania
		Bosnia and Herzegovina
		Croatia
		former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
		Greece
		Italy
		Malta
		Montenegro
		Portugal
		Serbia
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN	Western Europe	UNSC resolution 1244-administered Kosovo
		Slovenia
		Spain
		Austria
		Belgium
		France
		Germany
		Luxembourg
		Netherlands
		Switzerland
NORTHERN AMERICA	Caribbean	Dominican Republic
		Haiti
		Costa Rica
		El Salvador
		Guatemala
		Honduras
		Mexico
		Nicaragua
		Panama
		Argentina
OCEANIA	Central America	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)
		Brazil
		Chile
		Colombia
		Ecuador
		Paraguay
		Peru
		Suriname
		Uruguay
		Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
Northern America	Northern America	Canada
		United States of America
Oceania	Oceania	Australia
		New Zealand

Data weighting: The Gallup World Poll data are weighted by age, sex and education within each country to make the country-level data representative of the country demographic distribution on these variables. Additional weighting is performed so each country's data is proportional to the world's adult population. Therefore, for all global, regional and subregional data in this report, country data are weighted by their relative population size.

Educational attainment: Countries have unique ways of classifying education levels, and these classifications need to be preserved during data collection for weighting purposes. However, to make comparisons across countries by educational attainment, consistent categories also needed to be created. All education descriptions can be placed within three categories: elementary, secondary and tertiary. All responses regarding education are coded into their relevant category for global comparison.

- Completed primary education or less (up to eight years of basic education)
- Some secondary through three years of tertiary education
- University degree (completed bachelor's degree or equivalent)

Employment metrics: Employment metrics used in this report are collected during the World Poll survey. The Gallup unemployment rate is the percentage of respondents in the workforce who are not employed, who have been actively looking for work within the last four weeks, and who say they would have been able to begin work in the last four weeks. Gallup's unemployment measure is comparable to BLS and International Labour Organization unemployment calculations.

Household income quintiles: The Gallup World Poll collects self-reported household income at the end of the survey. Household income per capita is calculated as household income divided by household size. Household income per capita is used to divide respondents into five groups of equal size within each country data set. This provides a measure of respondent wealth that is relative to other respondents in that country.

- 1 – Poorest 20%
- 2 – 21–40%
- 3 – 41–60%
- 4 – 61–80%
- 5 – Richest 20%



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