

**“ALL CITIZENS NOW”:
INTRA-EU MOBILITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
OF BRITISH, GERMANS, POLES AND ROMANIANS
IN WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE**

MOVEACT PROJECT

SCIENTIFIC REPORT



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CHAPTER 1

Introduction:

Free Movement and the Issue of Active Citizenship within the EU

Ettore Recchi

Viewed through the lens of sociology, the process of European integration is the product of the concrete actions of specific social groups. These include many diverse people. On top, there are political elites and policy-makers who, over the years and in different countries, offices or leadership roles, have promoted the pooling and transfer of nation-state powers to super-national emerging institutions. At lower levels, one must consider the network of civil servants forming the ‘nerves’ of EU multi-level governance, who underpin, elaborate, and enact EU-based and EU-related legislation. Alongside these, there are political activists and opinion-makers at varying levels of influence who sustain European integration directly or, indirectly, by taking advantage of the participation opportunities offered by the EU itself (think, for instance, of the European Citizens’ Initiative). Then, there is the ‘silent majority’ of ordinary citizens. They should not be overlooked, as is frequently the case in legal-political accounts of the European integration process. At the very least, ordinary citizens are voters, and a large share of them express at least a ‘passive consensus’ by supporting pro-European national policies and candidates at the polls, when at the same time growing sectors of the public – especially in times of economic crisis – voice a ‘constraining dissensus’ on deeper EU integration (Hooghe and Marks 2008; Strudel 2006). However, some ordinary citizens, even though not formally engaged in EU support, do more than vote to achieve an ‘ever closer Union’. These are those citizens who organize their lives on the basis of EU-warranted entitlements. Among such entitlements, paramount is the right to free movement. This is ultimately enshrined as the core right of European citizenship (Guild 2004; Rogers and Scannell 2005; De Bruycker 2006; Recchi 2006; Maas 2007).

In line with prior research, we define as ‘EU movers’ the European citizens who have used free movement rights to settle down in a Member State different from the one where they were born or raised. We hold that EU movers are a critical – albeit limited (between 2 and 3% of EU residents) – population for European integration. Demographically, they compose a heterogeneous bunch: manual workers (mostly, but not only, from new Member States), high-skilled globally-oriented professionals, North-to-South retirees, students, life-style movers, bi-national family members (Recchi 2008; Braun and Recchi 2009). But whatever their personal trajectories, expectations and plans, these people can be seen as the ‘carriers’ (Kohli 2000) or the ‘pioneers’ (Recchi and Favell 2009) of European integration ‘from below’. They ‘embody’ EU citizenship as living testimonials of a truly transnational Europe. Their sheer presence in other Member States makes the EU not only institutionally multinational, but sociologically multicultural. To use a metaphor: not just a quilt-like polity, with separate mended pieces, but rather a single, kaleidoscope-like society.

The point is: are EU movers aware of their role? Do they endorse the European integration project and support it or just free-ride on its mobility and no-discrimination benefits? Do they ‘activate’ their citizenship by participating in social and political life? Are they integrated in the localities where they have re-settled? If this is the case, we expect that active EU movers may exert a ‘halo effect’ on the receiving communities, by showing – in flesh and blood – what a European citizen is and how s/he can contribute to the social and political life of such communities. However, we simply do not know – apart from some circumscribed evidence, pre-dating the 2000s enlargements (Muxel 2009) – in which sense, under which conditions and to what extent EU

movers are ‘active EU citizens’. Filling this knowledge gap is precisely the scientific goal of the MOVEACT project.

In the scientific part of the project, we set out to draw and interrogate a random sample of EU movers from four Member States: two new (Poland and Romania) and two old (the UK and Germany) ones. Their countries of origin – Poland, Romania, the UK and Germany – are the four Member States that have sent the largest number of migrants to other Member States in the first decade of the new century (Herm 2008, 3). We focus on four receiving countries: France, Italy, Spain and Greece. These countries show a relatively high rate of immigration for the four selected nationalities – which, in fact, are not *simultaneously* numerous in the other Member States. On the one hand, the four countries are the privileged destination for British and German expatriates within the EU. On the other hand, Spain and Italy have been and still are the favoured destination of intra-EU flows of Romanians, while Greece and France have been hosting a sizeable Romanian community even from before accession; all the target countries have received increasing numbers of Polish movers over the decade (second only to the UK, Ireland and Germany) (Triandafyllidou 2006; Recchi and Triandafyllidou 2010).

In each target country, we sampled and phone-interviewed 500 EU movers – that is, 125 per nationality. Overall, we have created a 2,000 interview dataset, collected between November 2011 and March 2012. A few words on the sample are in order (for more details, see the Methodological Note). Since EU movers form a highly selected population, we carried out ‘onomastic sampling’ out of landline telephone directories, following the successful strategy described in Braun and Santacreu (2009). We are aware of the spread of mobile phones in recent years – especially among migrants, that often stuck to mobile phones only. However, our research interest lies with ‘settled movers’ – i.e., movers that have long-term resident histories or plans of settlement. This is our reference population. After all, we cannot expect social and political participation in the host localities from ‘temporary’ or ‘volatile’ movers – such as seasonal worker or Erasmus students. Thus, we took registration in phone line directories as a proxy of long-term settlement.

In parallel, we explored – mainly via internet search and consulate lists – the universe of migrants’ associations in Italy, France, Spain and Greece, in order to map out organisations and groups (also in the cyberspace) formed by EU movers. After drawing a first map, we contacted all of them either by email or by phone. We were thus able to get additional information – crucially, whether that specific group was still in existence, as we soon discovered that the majority of these associations are short-lived but leave their footprint on the internet even long after their disappearance. At last, we came out with a directory of 194 organisations formed by EU movers of the four nationalities in the four countries. A detailed analysis of this separate dataset is provided in chapter 6 of this report.

Finally, we used the association survey to select 48 politically active movers (12 per country) from the different nationalities at stake, with whom we carried out in-depth interviews about their own experiences of activism and their interpretations of patterns of political participation among co-national movers. Some of these interviewees are leaders of the surveyed associations, while others were named as prominent figures in local or national politics of the host country. We have taken parts of their interview transcripts to elucidate some of the statistical findings of the phone survey (the full transcripts are in a separate annex).

This report is organized as follows. In chapter 2, we start by describing the identity of European movers. In particular, we inquire the ‘triangle’ of attachments to the country of origin, the country of residence and the European Union. As a correlate to the sense of belonging to the EU, we also assess respondents’ awareness and use of their EU citizenship status. In chapter 3, we shift the focus to the forms and levels of EU movers’ interest in politics. In the phone survey, we inquired about not only their current interest and knowledge of political affairs, but also their political socialisation and exposure to the media. We also outline respondents’ self-placement on the traditional left-right scale, as a supposedly bedrock political attitude that orientates more fine-grained assessments of

collective issues. Chapter 4 sharpens our focus on the key political rights granted by EU citizenship: voting for the European Parliament and local elections in the country of residence. We compare movers’ use of these rights with participation in national elections, as well as turnouts among the general population. In chapter 5, we open the black-box of all other kinds of political and social participation, with a special focus on those that take place in the towns or areas of residence of movers. We try to address the question of whether EU movers self-segregate politically when resettling abroad or rather bring ‘Europe’ into local political debates and mobilisations. Finally, as anticipated, Chapter 6 maps out movers’ associations in the four countries of this study, detailing the characteristics, activities, and social penetration of such groups.

A final note on the analytical strategy that we pursued and that is reflected in the presentation of the findings over the next chapters: for each of the dependent variables singled out from the MOVEACT survey data (some were, in fact, reshuffled to generate indexes), we carried out multivariate statistical analyses – either OLS or logit regressions. This helped us identify the significant independent variables at play and discard potential spurious effects. For the sake of simplicity, in the chapters we present graphs and cross-tabulations plotting only those variables that were found significant through this procedure. Thus, we hope to keep the report scientifically most rigorous but also readable for a wider audience of stake-holders.

CHAPTER 2

Am I a European? Citizenship Awareness and European Identification

Anna Triandafyllidou and Michaela Marouf

1. Introduction

This section concentrates on the issue of EU citizenship and EU identity. It seeks to answer the following questions: do mobile EU citizens feel more attached to their country of residence, their country of origin or to the EU? Is there a connection between attachment to COR, COO and EU? What are the meanings that European identity and EU citizenship have for EU movers? Are they predominantly instrumental? Is EU citizenship an important basis for political participation? Do mobile EU citizens know the rights that emanate from their EU citizenship while they are moving between Member States? In the sections that follow we shall first discuss the notions of EU citizenship and European identity. We shall then outline the main features of intra-EU mobility, especially along the East-West axis. Section 3 concentrates on the findings of the MOVEACT survey.

2. EU citizenship and European identity

One of the major and constant aims of European integration and EU citizenship in particular is to create a common European social, economic and political space by diminishing national barriers (Maas 2008). While the idea of the creation of an EEC and consequently an EC citizenship started to manifest itself as early as the mid-1970s, EU citizenship was formally introduced in 1993 with the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty (Hansen 2000). The main target of EU citizenship is the encouragement of an EU identity and the widest possible participation of the Member States' citizens in European integration.

EU citizenship allows citizens of the Member States to circulate, settle and work anywhere within the EU, to participate in European and local elections (both as voters and as candidates) in their country of residence, while promoting citizens' access to EU institutions (e.g. by establishing their right to report to the European Parliament and their access to the European Ombudsman). EU citizenship is based upon the values of democracy, freedom, tolerance and the rule of law. In fact, the European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights (2000) brings together the civil, political, economic and social rights granted to EU citizens and the residents of the EU Member States in one single text. Those rights are divided into six sections: Dignity, Freedoms, Equality, Solidarity, Citizens' Rights, and Justice.

Sociologists, political scientists, social psychologists and discourse analysts studying the process of European integration have looked for the emergence of a European identity. Some considered European identity as a result of the EU integration process, others thought that a common political identity is a pre-requisite for European integration and others still denied it could possibly emerge as it is national identity that dominates people's primary loyalties (Checkel and Katzenstein 2009; Risse-Kappen 2010; Smith 1995).

An EU-funded research project (EURONAT 2001-2004) examined whether European identity develops in ways similar to national identities and how it relates to them. The quantitative (survey) findings of the project suggested that European identity rests mainly on two instrumental features: the right to free movement and the common currency. More specifically, the project found that national and European identities are compatible mainly because national identities are largely cultural while identification with the European Union is primarily instrumental. The findings of the study, however, also showed that there is a sufficient common cultural ground for a European

identity to emerge. The study also confirmed that because national and European identities are different, the development of a European identity does not necessarily imply the transfer of loyalties from the national to the supranational level.

The bulk of the existing body of literature on European identity/identities looks out for quantitative evidence to measure the level of identification with the emerging European polity, and tries to assess the degree of success of the European project. It has repeatedly suggested that the level of popular support for the European polity remains low, which is in turn interpreted as indicative of the lack of legitimacy of the European project. The concern over the ‘democratic deficit’, the absence of a European demos and its implication for democracy in Europe, and ultimately the failure of European integration has been aired on the basis of these studies (Bruter 2004, 2005; Hermann, Risse and Brewer 2004; Duchesne and Frogner 1995 and 2008; Gillespie and Laffan 2006; Risse 2003; Schild 2001).

The attention of scholars has then naturally turned to the ‘why’ question: why is European identity so weak? The conventional answer has been that it is in conflict with national identity (Carey 2002; Smith 2003; McLaren 2006). According to this line of argument, nations possess a strong pulling power over their members for a number of reasons, including a set of powerful myths and symbols, or the state’s capacity of coercion. The emerging European polity, however, does not possess these qualities and as a result, European identity remains weak. European identity needs to be promoted by the creation of historical myths and political symbols so as to prompt citizens’ identification with it. Indeed, European cultural policies such as the adoption of the flag and anthem, and to some extent, the introduction of the single currency, may also be seen as strategies aiming to foster a common European political identity (Shore 2000).

At the same time, there is a growing group of scholars who reject this conflictive model in which national and European identities are understood to be in an antagonistic or zero-sum relationship. Some have put forward a nested identity thesis instead, and have argued that national and European identities are different layers of an individual’s identity structure (Herb and Kaplan 1999; Diez Medrano and Gutierrez 2001). Another suggestion is a marble cake metaphor in which both national and European identities, in addition to other forms of identity, are held to co-exist, influence and blend into one another (Risse 2004). Other scholars have argued that national and European identities are entangled and there is now a European dimension in national identities (Ichijo and Spohn 2005). In fact, Eurobarometer survey results suggest that a large number of citizens of Europe do happily opt for a non-exclusionary ‘nationality first, European second’ option in describing themselves.

This in turn points to an underlying problem in the conventional study of European identity: there is an implicit assumption that European identity is about political loyalty. This assumption has skewed the conceptualisation of European identity and as a result, the area of investigation has been largely restricted to the political dimension. In other words, the accumulation of research into European identity so far is now signaling a fundamental problem: the under-conceptualisation of European identity (Duchesne 2006).

3. Do mobile EU citizens feel European?

As previously discussed, the mobility experiences of intra-EU movers from the ‘old’ and ‘new’ EU member states are notably different with regards to their motivations as well as the public opinion perceptions of them in their country of residence. The following sections aim to present our findings with regard to knowledge of EU citizenship rights, the meaning of EU citizenship and their feelings towards European and national identities.

3.1 Knowing about one’s rights

Four out of ten EU movers in our sample state that they have poor knowledge of their rights as EU citizens. With regards to the respondents’ educational level, university graduates tend to be

better informed. Interestingly enough, those who migrated before 1989, and hence before the emergence of EU citizenship, appear to be more aware of their EU citizenship rights.

Table 2.1. Knowledge of EU citizenship rights (row %)

	Low	Medium	High
By Gender			
Men	38.6	28.8	32.6
Women	40.6	31.3	28.1
By Age Group			
39 and less	39.3	36.0	24.7
40 thru 59	37.8	31.6	30.5
60 and more	42.9	23.2	33.9
By Migration Period			
1989 and before	35.2	26.0	38.9
1990 thru 2003	39.7	33.1	27.2
2004 and after	46.4	28.2	25.4
By Education Level			
University	28.3	27.4	44.3
Lower	48.1	31.6	20.4
By Nationality			
United Kingdom	49.2	21.2	29.6
Germany	31.7	28.8	39.5
Poland	41.4	35.7	22.9
Romania	39.9	33.7	26.4
By Country of Residence			
Greece	51.7	27.0	21.3
France	36.4	32.7	30.9
Italy	36.4	26.4	37.2
Spain	38.0	33.0	29.0
Total	40.6	29.8	29.6

German citizens’ awareness of EU citizenship appears to be significantly higher than other nationalities’. As explained by a German interviewee residing in Spain:

I was reported from the Spanish consulate and from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Germany. Even Lufthansa offers business information brochures in the destination country [German citizen in Spain, M, 60].

Knowledge of rights seems to be particularly low in the case of Greece, with half of our respondents admitting that they have poor knowledge of their rights. Our interviews suggest that in Greece there has been little or no effort to spread information on EU citizenship to EU movers, while at the same time, even public services seem to be poorly informed. But the situation is not brilliant in other countries as well. As a German interviewee residing in Spain describes:

The public administration does not provide good and comprehensive information in general, neither to his citizens nor to the European movers [German citizen in Spain, M, 56].

However, some of our interviewees have pointed out that the information is available as long as one takes the initiative to look for it him/herself, thus it is the lack of interest that generates the lack of awareness over EU citizenship rights. As a Romanian interviewee living in France notes:

You have to ask for the information, you have to be interested to get the information. On the Internet you can find any information you need [...]. I think it's a personal matter, you have to be interested to find information [Romanian citizen in France, F, 41].

In addition many interviewees have pointed out that access to information has been improving over the years. As a Polish interviewee residing in Italy points out:

In my experience, and in light of the research that I've done, awareness and understanding of the rights and opportunities that arise from being a European citizen are growing and progressing in recent years. More and more people are conscious and aware of what they're able to do and what they can request, as well as what they must do and request when living in one of the EU countries [Polish citizen in Italy, F, 34].

3.2 The meaning of EU citizenship for mobile EU citizens

According to the most recent standard Eurobarometer (2011, 20) data, whose fieldwork was conducted at the same time as our phone survey, only 31% of EU citizens have a (very or fairly) positive image of the EU. On the contrary, Europe does conjure up a positive image for the majority of our sample (52%). This should not come as a surprise, since EU movers are the ones actually enjoying what has been identified as EU's most significant feature, namely free movement. A closer look at the data may offer us more insight on how the mobility experience shapes one's image of Europe. As it has been suggested, the length of membership of a state to the EU and the EC does not necessarily make its citizens feel more European or have a more positive view of the EU. The positive or negative image of Europe is rather linked to history and geopolitics (EURONAT 2005). This becomes apparent when comparing the Eurobarometer rates of two of the Union's pioneers, German and UK, or when comparing UK to Romania or Poland. However, what is striking is that in the case of the 'old' Member States' movers, the mobility experience appears to have increased their positive views vastly, while the opposite happened with the negative ones. The rates of positive views of the 'new' Member States' movers, on the other hand, appear to be on the same level as those in their country of origin, while negative views among the movers are more frequent than in the country of origin. Perhaps this could be linked to failed expectations with regards to changes in their mobility experience after their countries' accession to the EU. As described by a Romanian interviewee living in Greece:

For me it's just a coincidence that we are Europeans. But today I do not know if it means something good. We waited so long to become a member; I am talking about the EU. For the freedom to travel, to work in the EU and there is really nothing. On the contrary, you have much more to lose [...] Because you believe that you have equal rights with them but you don't have access anywhere; they only see you as a labor force and only in certain jobs. You're limited even if theoretically you have equal rights [Romanian citizen in Greece, F, 40].

Free movement is indisputably one of the EU's most important attributes, yet attachment to the EU, according to our respondents, does not appear to be directly linked to it. For instance, EU movers who migrated before 1989 appear to have higher rates of attachment to the EU than those who have migrated in later periods, while at the same time the majority of 'older movers' does not consider free movement the most important feature of the EU.

Similar patterns appear with regards to the respondents' COO and COR: nationalities with higher rates of attachment to the EU present lower rates of appreciation of the EU as an area of free movement and vice versa. Although the creation of a common space is valued highly by most respondents, there are also movers who put an emphasis on the EU as a political and economic community. Based on the above trends, as well as our qualitative findings, it seems that certain groups are more likely to frame the EU in an instrumental perspective, while others regard it as a community sharing a rich yet diverse cultural heritage, a significant counter-power in the global arena or a bulwark of equal rights and mutual respect.

Table 2.2. The image of Europe (row %)

	Very positive	Fairly positive	Neutral	Fairly negative	Very negative
MOVEACT Survey					
By Nationality					
United Kingdom	12.2	35.1	25.3	14.9	12.4
Germany	20.2	40.2	22.7	12.0	4.9
Poland	16.2	32.4	38.0	11.2	2.1
Romania	17.7	35.4	24.6	13.9	8.4
By Country					
Greece	14.3	29.6	31.1	14.3	10.9
France	16.7	48.2	21.0	10.5	3.6
Italy	14.9	39.5	28.8	12.9	3.9
Spain	20.4	25.0	30.0	14.5	10.1
Total	16.6	35.8	27.6	13.0	7.0
Eurobarometer 2011					
United Kingdom	1	12	35	30	19
Germany	3	27	44	20	5
Poland	5	37	47	8	1
Romania	4	45	38	8	1
Greece	2	26	35	24	13
France	2	30	40	20	6
Italy	5	37	35	16	5
Spain	2	24	51	19	3
EU 27	3	28	41	20	6

More than half of our respondents adopt a geographical definition of Europe and do not identify it with the EU, while at the same time claim to have a positive image of the EU. The EU's positive image is higher in France than in Italy, Spain and Greece. Several interviewees have expressed their disappointment with the way the EU has dealt with the current economic crisis, exacerbating inequalities between the Member States. As a German interviewee who lives in Italy serving as town councilor in a small city eloquently puts it:

When I was in high school in Germany, they began speaking of Europe, united, without borders, and it was a wonderful idea. But we still have a long way to go to get there. What is lacking is a shared frame of mind for all of the countries. Each country thinks individually and Europe cannot function without a real European government. The Euro - the economic union - isn't enough to keep all the countries together. We need something else [German citizen in Italy, F, 71].

Table 2.3. The most important feature of the EU (row %)

	Free movement rights	A common currency	Common laws and democratic institutions	A common Christian heritage	Other
Gender					
Men	59.1	13.7	20.6	5.9	0.7
Women	57.5	13.6	24.5	3.5	0.9
Age Group					
39 and less	64.3	12.8	20.1	2.4	0.4
40 thru 59	60.4	10.9	24.5	3.4	0.7
60 and more	49.1	18.4	23.2	8.1	1.2
Migration Period					
1989 and before	47.2	18.2	26.5	7.9	0.2
1990 thru 2003	62.5	12.3	21.2	2.9	1.2
2004 and after	60.9	12.0	22.2	4.1	0.9
Education Level					
University	52.6	12.5	28.9	5.3	0.7
Lower	61.9	14.1	19.1	4.0	1.0
Nationality					
United Kingdom	56.8	17.1	17.9	5.9	2.3
Germany	47.4	18.8	29.1	4.1	0.6
Poland	59.0	8.3	27.7	5.0	0.0
Romania	69.3	10.5	16.7	3.1	0.4
Country of Residence					
Greece	67.5	9.0	18.4	4.0	1.0
France	50.0	13.8	29.8	6.5	0.0
Italy	58.9	16.1	21.7	3.1	0.2
Spain	56.6	15.7	21.2	4.4	2.1
Total	58.2	13.6	22.8	4.5	0.8

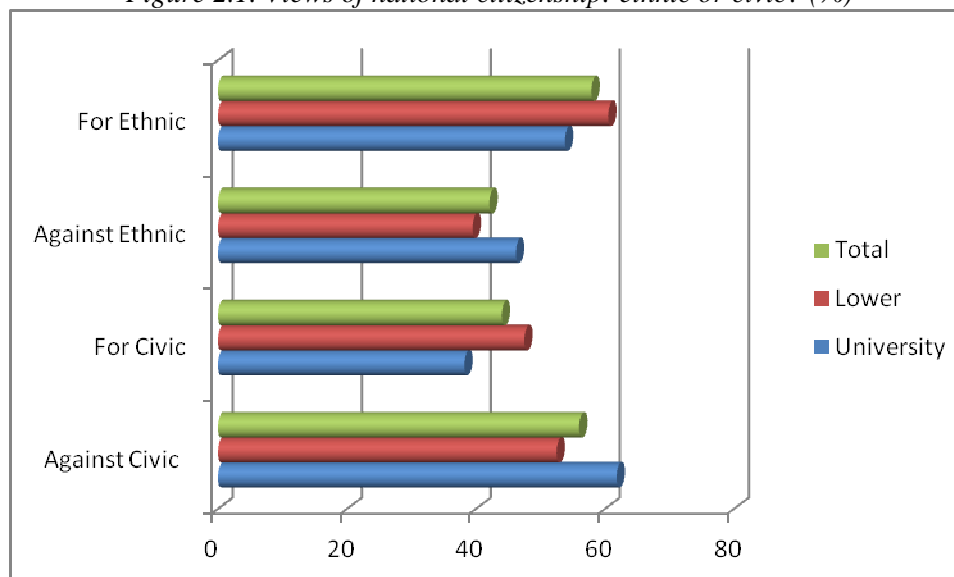
Table 2.4. Borders, images and attachment to the EU (row %)

	No Europe beyond EU		EU is Europe		Positive image of the EU		Attached to the EU	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Age Group								
39 and less	57.5	42.5	56.9	43.1	50.8	49.2	50.8	49.2
40 thru 59	58.5	41.5	63.9	36.1	48.0	52.0	48.0	52.0
60 and more	58.5	41.5	61.7	38.3	44.4	55.6	44.4	55.6
Education Level								
University	68.5	31.5	71.3	28.7	38.3	61.7	23.8	76.2
Lower	51.3	48.7	54.6	45.4	54.0	46.0	39.7	60.3
Nationality								
United Kingdom	66.8	33.2	69.7	30.3	52.6	47.4	45.8	54.2
Germany	58.6	41.4	62.5	37.5	39.6	60.4	22.8	77.2
Poland	60.2	39.8	65.2	34.8	51.4	48.6	20.9	79.1
Romania	46.5	53.5	47.0	53.0	46.9	53.1	44.6	55.4
Country								
Greece	60.9	39.1	58.4	41.6	56.2	43.8	47.9	52.1
France	68.8	31.2	58.8	41.2	35.1	64.9	24.2	75.8
Italy	36.1	63.9	69.2	30.8	45.6	54.4	30.2	69.8
Spain	67.5	32.5	58.2	41.8	54.6	45.4	32.1	67.9
Total	58.1	41.9	61.2	38.8	47.7	52.3	33.4	66.6

4. Feeling European and national identity

The share of our respondents interpreting citizenship as based on ‘ethnicity’ exceeds that of movers opting for a ‘civic’ view. The higher the educational level, the larger the scepticism over both types of citizenship is. What comes as a surprise is that a large number of EU movers disagree with both types of citizenship: 58% of those who do not endorse a civic interpretation of citizenship also disagree with a strictly ethnic one.

Figure 2.1. Views of national citizenship: ethnic or civic? (%)



We also inquired about the attachment to the city and country of residence as compared to those of origin. The vast majority of our respondents (about 80%) either express a stronger attachment to their city and country of residence than to their city and country of origin, or remain neutral between the two. Yet ‘nostalgic’ views are more common among movers from the ‘new’ Member States. This can be attributed to their migration trajectories as well as the public opinion perceptions of them in the CORs. Indeed, many of our Polish and Romanian interviewees have pointed out that they do not fully enjoy their rights as EU citizens.

Table 2.5. Attachment to COR (positive) vs. COO (negative) (row %)

	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
By Education Level							
University	0.5	2.2	12.3	47.7	23.2	9.8	4.2
Lower	0.7	4.8	14.0	40.6	23.4	11.6	4.9
By Nationality							
United Kingdom	0.6	1.6	9.4	34.3	27.7	16.2	10.2
Germany	0.2	3.2	10.2	45.3	24.6	12.4	4.0
Poland	1.0	4.6	18.3	49.6	16.9	6.3	3.2
Romania	0.8	5.7	15.2	44.0	23.8	8.9	1.6
By Country of Residence							
Greece	0.4	4.6	15.4	38.5	22.8	13.8	4.4
France	0.2	1.8	10.1	45.8	27.2	10.1	4.8
Italy	0.8	4.9	16.6	46.5	24.2	5.3	1.6
Spain	1.2	3.8	11.0	42.4	18.9	14.5	8.2
Total	0.7	3.8	13.3	43.3	23.3	11.0	4.8

Table 2.6. Attachment to city of residence (positive) vs. city of origin (negative) (row %)

	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
By Education Level							
University	1.2	3.5	14.2	40.2	21.0	12.9	7.1
Lower	.8	5.2	15.5	36.3	22.3	12.4	7.6
By Nationality							
United Kingdom	.6	3.0	7.8	29.5	25.0	18.6	15.6
Germany	.4	3.7	11.4	39.0	22.0	15.5	8.0
Poland	1.0	4.5	20.6	45.2	17.5	7.2	3.9
Romania	1.8	7.0	19.9	37.6	21.9	9.2	2.6
By Country of Residence							
Greece	.2	4.9	15.2	36.0	22.3	14.8	6.7
France	.6	4.7	13.7	36.7	22.7	13.9	7.6
Italy	1.6	4.5	18.1	39.1	25.8	7.3	3.7
Spain	1.4	4.2	12.6	39.1	15.8	14.6	12.2
Total	1.0	4.6	14.9	37.7	21.6	12.7	7.5

5. Concluding remarks

Our survey shows that British, German, Polish and Romanian citizens residing in France, Greece, Italy and Spain have a more positive view of the EU in comparison to the EU's general population. This is quite significant, especially given the recent decline of positive EU image rates linked to the current crisis.

Broadly speaking, our findings with regard to the citizenship awareness and European identification of EU movers from 'old' and 'new' Member States are in line with existing research. With reference to knowledge of rights, there seems to be a lot of room for improvement on behalf of both the EU and the Member State institutions as well as mobile EU citizens themselves. We also found that citizenship tends to be interpreted in ethnic rather than civic terms. However, one should keep in mind that EU and national identity should not necessarily be seen as antagonistic to each other, but rather as complementing one another. Finally, with regard to the meaning of the EU and EU citizenship, movers are not likely to frame the EU in mere geographical terms. Perhaps it is time to re-launch a discourse on the future of the European Union based on long-term goals and values.

CHAPTER 3

Political Interest and Its Roots

Ettore Recchi and Luca Raffini

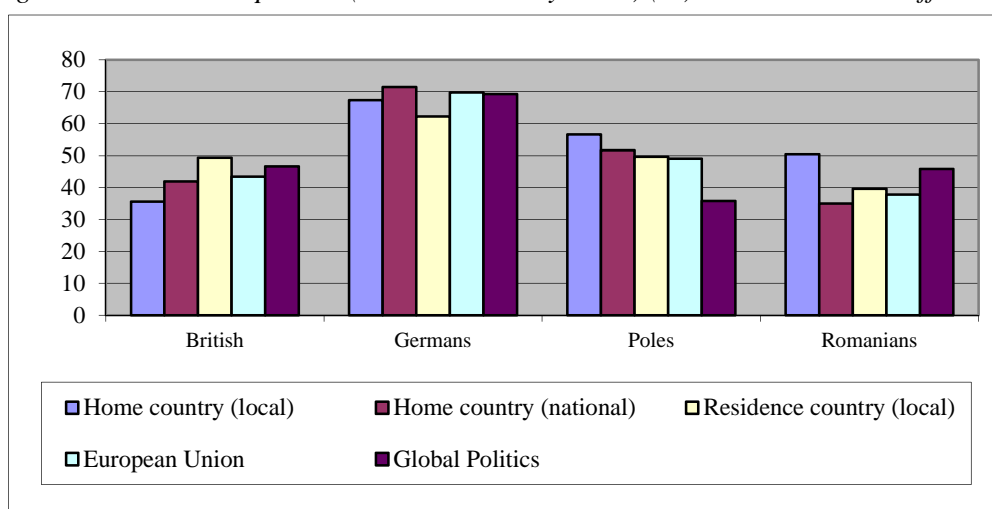
1. Where does political interest among EU movers come from?

In this section, we will map out the forms, levels and determinants of political interest among EU movers. We will rely on a general self-assessment of levels of interest for political life as well as on more detailed questions about the knowledge of political issues (such as the name of the mayor of the town of residence). We will then explore the roots of such interest and knowledge: involvement in political exchanges and discussions with family and friends, exposure to the media, and earlier socialization to politics during childhood. Finally, we will introduce respondents' self-placement on the traditional left-right scale of political positioning (as well as the refusal of such a criterion) as a viable compass for their overall orientation to politics.

A clear result of the MOVEACT survey is that intra-EU migrants are generally more interested in the political life of the country where they live (COR) than the politics of the country of origin (COO). Most of them nevertheless conciliate both dimensions and also pay more attention to EU politics and global politics than the general population. We interpret this finding as indicative of an attitude toward citizenship that gives priority to the local and the supranational level, but never severing ties with the country of origin completely, even when movers have been living abroad for many years.

Although differences between the four countries of residence are small, a slightly higher interest toward COR politics is found in France, which is due, however, to a compositional effect of age – on average, France hosts older migrants. The comparison between nationalities turned out to be more significant. Germans are greatly more interested in all dimensions of politics than the rest of movers, while Romanians are overall the least interested. In a nutshell, the political culture of the country of origin seems to affect EU movers' political interest more than that of the country of residence.

Figure 3.1. Interest in politics (somewhat + very much) (%): COO and COR differences



EU movers also show different levels of interest in different settings. British citizens in France, for example, are more interested in politics (63.4%) than the British in Italy (42.3%) and Spain (40.5%), where many retirees move to enjoy the warmer weather.

From existing research, we know that European movers are migrants of a particular kind (Recchi and Favell 2009). As far as political behaviour was concerned, in 2004 they were more interested in politics than stayers, albeit they did not turn interest into active commitments (Muxel 2009). We find a more nuanced pattern when comparing MOVEACT data with European Social Survey data (2010). German and Polish movers are more interested in politics than their co-nationals, Romanian movers are just as interested as stayers, and British movers are slightly less interested than British stayers.

Table 3.1. Interest in politics (row %): movers and stayers compared

	MOVEACT		ESS*	
	Low interest	High interest	Low interest	High interest
British	49.5	50.5	46.6	53.5
Germans	20.1	70.9	42.5	57.5
Poles	43.5	56.5	60.6	39.4
Romanians	57.2	42.8	56.9	43.1
Total	42.5	57.5		

* Source ESS 2010 – Romanian data refer to ESS 2008

Over time, however, a comparison with the results of the EIMSS survey of 2004 reveals striking similarities. In that survey, the proportion of British and German movers declaring to be ‘somewhat’ and ‘very much’ interested in politics reached about 50% and 70%, respectively – that is, exactly the same proportion found in the MOVEACT survey (Muxel 2009).

Gender does not have a strong correlation with interest in politics, while age does. As research on the young outlines, in a context of widespread anti-political attitudes (Torcal and Montero 2006), political apathy takes a higher toll among the younger generations. Young people are also on the forefront when it comes to experimenting new forms of political involvement, such as political consumerism, engagement in contentious politics and participation through new media (Norris 2002), but they often declare to be not interested in politics because of their detachment from institutional politics.

Interest in COO politics tends to decrease among older movers and, on the contrary, interest in COR politics tends to increase with age. However, such a correlation is not as strong as we might expect. For the bulk of EU movers, there is not a trade-off between interest in COO politics and interest in COR politics, but rather an overlap. People interested in politics are likely to get information both about COO and COR events.

Nationality and the length of migration matter, but we find that education and class have an especially strong impact on interest in politics, supporting Almond and Verba’s (1963) theory on the link between social stratification and ‘political inclusion’. The higher the levels of education and socioeconomic status are, the higher the interest in politics. The difference between people with a tertiary level qualification and the less educated is not simply a difference of ‘quantity’. The divide in the level of interest is in fact relevant in every dimension, but it is particularly striking with regard to interest in international politics; social class factors in as well. Adopting a three-class stratification scale, the main line of division falls between the upper and the middle class, and not between the latter and the lower class¹.

¹ Our analysis by social class is limited to respondents who were in the workforce at the time of the interviews.

Table 3.2. Determinants of political interest among movers (column %)

Interest in politics (somewhat + much)						
	Interest in local politics in home country	Interest in national politics in home country	Interest in local politics in residence country	Interest in national politics in residence country	Interest in EU politics	Interest in global politics
By Age Group						
39 and less	32.1	41.8	47.9	56.5	47.3	49.3
40 thru 59	39.5	58.4	70.6	70.9	64.2	66.6
60 and more	43.3	56.7	64.8	67.6	63.3	68.7
By Migration Period						
1989 and before	42.3	58.8	69.9	73.7	67.7	74.8
1990 thru 2003	35.9	50.6	58.1	64.0	57.0	58.3
2004 and after	39.4	52.5	55.1	61.7	55.3	58.0
By Education Level						
Primary-Secondary	34.3	45.3	52.7	56.6	50.7	51.9
Tertiary	45.3	65.8	71.7	80.3	72.6	78.5
By Social Class						
EGP I-II	42.1	65.2	70.3	80.4	71.4	78.0
EGP III-IV	31.1	45.5	55.5	59.6	43.9	53.3
EGP V-VI-VII	36.6	42.6	51.3	53.5	46.9	48.5
Total	38.6	43.2	60.2	65.8	59.2	62.3

Another question allows us to move from an abstract assessment of interest to a more practical dimension, and can thus be used as an indicator of the effective rootedness in the host society, and especially in the town of residence: the knowledge of the name of the mayor. Answers to this question confirm the stratification of political interest by education and socioeconomic status.

Three out of four university-educated movers know the name of the mayor (73.7%), while only slightly more than one in two of the less educated could answer to this question (54.0%). The difference is similar if we look at occupational status. The unemployed, most of them being new migrants with a stronger propensity to move in order to get a job, are the least rooted in local societies, and only 41.6% of them know who the mayor of the city where they live is, while 65.7% of full-time workers, 63.4% of unpaid house-workers and 63.4% of retirees do. The knowledge of the mayor's name is indeed also influenced by the length of migration: as could be expected, older migrants are more informed than people who moved in the last ten years. Seventy-six and eight tenths percent (76.8%) of movers who settled down in COR prior to 1989 and 60.9% of those who moved from 1990 to 2003 answered positively, as opposed to 50.2% of migrants who moved after 2004.

German movers confirm their higher propensity to be informed about politics, but residence country contexts and opportunity structures are also important. The proportion of movers who know the name of the mayor is the highest in France and in Italy. On the contrary, the majority of migrants living in Greece do not know the name of the mayor of the place where they live.

Table 3.3. The name of the mayor: significant differences among movers (row %)

Knowledge of the name of the mayor of the city of residence		
	No	Yes
By Nationality		
United Kingdom	43.4	56.6
Germany	21.0	79.0
Poland	48.2	51.8
Romania	40.8	59.2
By Country of Residence		
Greece	57.9	42.1
France	23.8	76.2
Italy	27.3	72.7
Spain	45.3	54.7
By Education Level		
Undergraduated	46.0	54.0
Graduated	26.3	73.7
By Migration Period		
Before 1989	23.2	76.8
1990 thru 2003	39.1	60.9
2004 and after	49.8	50.2
Total	38.4	61.7

2. Media consumption and political discussion

To understand the relation of EU movers to their country of origin and country of destination, we asked them where they first look for information if they hear about some important world event. Do they still look for information in COO media or they prefer COR media? We found that attitudes toward the sources of information depend upon nationality more than on the resources and constraints of the country of residence.

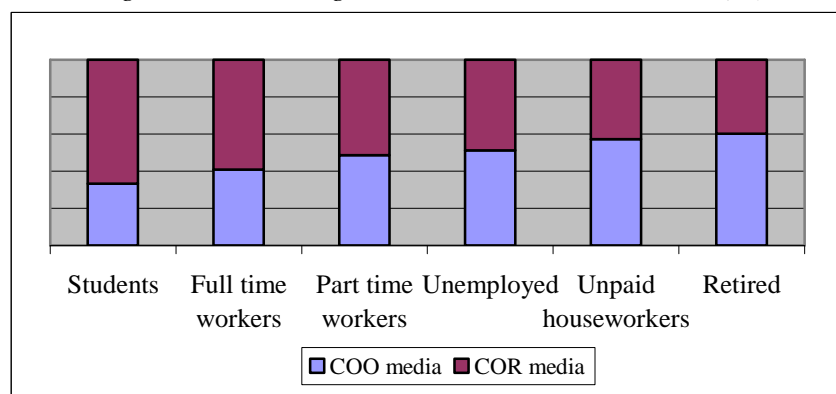
The difference between ‘older’ and ‘newer’ Europeans is remarkable. British and Germans, even when interested in COR politics, are more likely to interrogate COO media, confirming prior findings (Tambini and Rother 2009). On the contrary, Romanians and Poles, despite their younger age, do not follow COO media as much. Possibly, this divergence depends on the different accessibility and reliability of British and German media and the higher usage of internet among British and German movers (in spite of their older age, due to more time availability, being mostly retirees)². German citizens also look to third country media more than other movers. Overall, the preference for COO media is significantly higher among the seniors (55.3% among over 60s), while younger migrants (under 39) are more likely to follow COR media (60%). Finally, there is a relation to the duration of the migration experience. Migrants who moved prior to 1989 are more likely to look at COR media (57.6%); more recent migrants are more likely to inquire through COO media (56.3%).

²The lower proportion of EU movers looking for information in COR media in Greece is also due to problems arising from a different alphabet.

Table 3.4. Sources of political information: COO or COR media (row %)

Source of information in case of important world event			
	COR media	COO media	Third country media
By Nationality			
United Kingdom	31.7	64.7	3.6
Germany	37.2	57.6	5.2
Poland	59.5	39.2	1.2
Romania	69.8	26.9	3.3
By Country			
Greece	38.7	57.6	3.7
France	55.4	38.9	5.7
Italy	58.9	38.6	2.5
Spain	45.0	53.5	1.4
By Age Groups			
39 and less	60.0	36.8	3.1
40 thru 59	48.5	48.5	3.1
60 and more	40.8	55.3	3.9
By Migration Period			
1989 and before	57.6	38.8	3.7
1990 thru 2003	51.5	45.6	2.9
2004 and after	40.1	56.3	3.6
By Knowledge of COR Language			
Almost as well as native language	66.5	30.8	2.7
Quite well	48.8	47.8	3.4
Just so-so	29.1	67.1	3.8
Poorly	17.9	78.2	3.8
No knowledge	14.3	71.4	14.3
Total	49.6	47.1	3.3

Figure 3.2. Choosing between COO and COR media (%)



Education, language knowledge and occupational status intertwine, much as expected. COR media is the realm of the more educated and active in the labour market (or in schools) of the

country of residence. The unemployed, unpaid house-workers and retirees turn more to home country media.

Another remarkable indicator of political interest is the level of political discussion in the family or with friends. The inclination to discuss political matters indicates the ‘politicization’ of respondents, their families and their personal networks. The politicization of individuals, as we will stress in the following section, is only partially influenced by contextual factors, being strongly affected by political socialization. Therefore, differences by country of residence are negligible compared to those by country of origin. Germans, who are the most interested in politics, are also more likely to talk about politics with friends (46.5% do it frequently and 41.9% occasionally; only 11.5% never engage in political discussions).

Table 3.5. Movers’ engagement in political discussions (row %)

Discuss political matters with family and friends						
	Family			Friends		
	Never	Occasionally	Frequently	Never	Occasionally	Frequently
By Nationality						
United Kingdom	32.3	48.2	19.5	21.1	53.0	26.0
Germany	15.2	38.5	46.3	11.5	41.9	46.5
Poland	18.2	58.1	23.8	16.4	56.3	27.3
Romania	28.1	55.1	16.8	28.3	57.2	14.5
By Migration Period						
1989 and before	24.7	38.7	36.6	17.1	41.4	41.6
1990 thru 2003	20.2	55.3	24.5	17.8	55.6	26.7
2004 and after	27.2	51.6	21.3	23.4	55.9	20.7
By Education Level						
Primary-Secondary	27.3	51.9	20.8	24.3	53.0	22.7
Tertiary	17.1	47.4	35.5	11.1	51.2	37.8
By Occupational Status						
Unemployed	30.1	50.0	19.9	26.4	54.8	18.8
Part time workers	16.3	58.4	25.3	15.7	54.7	29.6
Full time workers	21.0	52.9	26.1	17.3	53.6	29.0
Unpaid workers	20.9	42.7	28.2	22.1	49.0	28.9
Retired	29.0	42.7	28.2	20.6	48.7	30.7
Total	23.5	50.0	28.6	19.3	52.1	28.6

On the contrary, 28.3% of Romanians never discuss politics, 57.2% do it occasionally, and only 14.5% do it frequently. Poles and British lie somewhere in between these extremes. Surprisingly, however, the proportion of British movers who declare to be involved in political discussion is quite high if compared to their interest in politics. Political discussion is framed by them, perhaps, as a component of sociability more than a ‘passion’.

Newcomers are less likely to discuss political matters (only 20.7% of those who moved after 2004 do it frequently), while older migrants (moved before 1989) are much more involved in political discussion with friends. We can explain this finding as a result of the weaker social networks of newer migrants but also as a consequence of life priorities, as these movers have to face other personal issues, such as finding a job and a home. Indeed, the unemployed are the least engaged in political discussion. Not surprisingly, politicization, like general interest in politics, is also strongly linked to education and social class.

3. Learning politics at home: How broad are the effects of political socialization?

According to mainstream political sociology (e.g., Almond and Powell 1978), political socialization is the process by which political cultures are formed and transmitted. Political

socialization reproduces principles and values of a national political system, impinges on the development of attitudes and predisposition toward institutions, and teaches basic political information, codes and representations. Political socialization thus provides skills, passes on concepts and meanings, and orientates individuals in the political realm that moulds their identity as citizens.

Political socialization is affected by individual and contextual characteristics: family socioeconomic status and cultural resources on the one hand, characteristics of the political system on the other. In this study, we tapped into political socialization by asking about the frequency of political discussions in the family of origin (that is, when respondents were a ‘boy’ or a ‘girl’). We shall use this indicator to investigate its adult life consequences.

We found out that German movers were socialized in a more politicized environment, that is to say, by parents who discussed political issues frequently. On the contrary, in British and in Romanian families, levels of political discussion used to be much lower. Particularly low levels of political discussion are reported by Romanian movers, which is likely to be the outcome of the constraints and the control imposed by the former communist regime. These were possibly stronger than in Poland. Even if households were theoretically free spaces to express political ideas and feelings, Romanians were not used to talking about politics at all.

Table 3.6. Political discussion in the family of origin (row %)

Parents discussed political matters			
	Never	Occasionally	Frequently
By Social Class			
EGP V-VI-VII	42.7	40.4	16.9
EGP III-IV	34.6	44.2	21.2
EGP I-II	27.1	41.2	31.6
By Education Level of Mother			
Primary-Secondary	36.8	40.8	22.4
Tertiary	17.0	40.9	42.0
By Education level of Father			
Primary-Secondary	36.5	41.9	21.6
Tertiary	20.3	41.9	37.8
Total	35.0	41.1	23.9

At the individual level, the politicization of the families of origin is also contingent on the ‘usual suspect’ predictors – namely, social class and education (of parents, in this case).

Political socialization is what it is because it brings about long-term consequences (Glass et al. 1986). Thus, sons and daughters of parents who discussed politics around the dinner table are also more likely to create a politically sensitive milieu in their homes as adults.

The British and most of the Germans were politically socialized in consolidated democracies, and, when moving to Southern European countries, aside from France, they settled in ‘younger’ democracies (especially when moving to Greece and Spain). On the contrary, Poles and Romanians were politically socialized in non-democratic regimes, or, the youngest movers, in newly re-established democracies, in which political dynamics are very different if compared to those characterizing more established democracies. Differences are not limited to the institutional structure, the functioning of parties, interest groups and associations, and the link between the political and the economic realm. Differences touch upon political culture, the structure of the public sphere and the media. Moreover, the concepts and theoretical frameworks used in everyday life are different. As a consequence, in order to get used to a different political context and culture, movers have to go through some kind of re-socialization. A general interest in politics often does not turn into active involvement because of cultural barriers, which are stronger than bureaucratic

ones. Difficulties in adapting to a different political system are even higher for low-skilled movers, who are not equipped with sufficient cultural resources (Giugni and Morales 2011). On the other hand, younger movers, whose political socialization is still in progress, are more likely to adapt to different political cultures.

Table 3.7. Political discussion in respondents' own family and family of origin (row %)

		Discuss political matters in own family		
		Never	Occasionally	Frequently
Parents discussed political matters	Never	61.8	26.3	12.0
	Occasionally	30.2	52.3	17.4
	Frequently	20.8	32.5	46.7

Table 3.8. The effect of nationality on political discussion in movers' families (row %)

COO	Parents discussed political matters			Discuss political matters in own family		
	Never	Occasionally	Frequently	Never	Occasionally	Frequently
United Kingdom	40.4	40.2	19.4	32.3	48.2	19.5
Germany	30.5	35.7	33.8	15.2	38.5	46.3
Poland	20.1	51.4	28.5	18.2	58.1	23.8
Romania	48.5	37.4	14.2	28.1	55.1	16.8
Total	35.0	41.1	23.9	23.5	50.0	26.6

Summing up, family and national socialization backgrounds continue to have a strong influence in shaping EU movers' attitudes toward politics, even in the adult age and when movers live in very different contexts. EU movers tend to discuss politics more than their parents, especially those coming from former communist countries. This is the consequence of the changed political environment, from authoritarian regimes constraining, or even sanctioning, freedom of speech to democratic societies.

4. Organizing political orientations: left, right and beyond

The left-right scale is a major conceptual tool for navigating political systems. This is true for both migrants and researchers, who can capitalize on the plausible universal recognition of this basic dimension around which political orientations are shaped. Of course, the almost universal usage of Left and Right does not blind us to the possibility of diverse meanings associated to it (Bobbio 1996). For this reason, the analysis of the data regarding the self-placement of movers on the customary left-right scale is integrated with a qualitative analysis, based on in-depth interviews with the politically active movers.

Data reveals that most British and Germans are quite comfortable with the traditional left-right scale. On the contrary, the scale is less effective in capturing the spectrum of political attitudes of the Polish and Romanian respondents. Both are strongly polarized, and centre-left and centre-right categories are almost entirely neglected. But most of all, more than 40% of the Poles and more than 50% of the Romanians just refuse to locate themselves on the scale. The rejection of the left-right paradigm can be explained with an anti-politics trend that spreads all across Europe, but is particularly strong in Central-Eastern European countries, where distrust and political apathy are exacerbated by the shadow of an oppressively politicized past.

Self-placement on the left-right scale is also structured by individual characteristics. Women of all nationalities are less likely than men to acknowledge the scale. Particularly, 45% of Polish women and 56.6% of Romanian women do not express a position on the scale. Age effects are even more significant: about half of younger movers (under 39) refrain/abstain while only 25% of the over 60s do so. Even more significant differences emerge when breaking down our sample by education. University-educated respondents find it much easier to place themselves on the scale

(78.2% vs. 55.6% of the less educated). They also have a clearer left-wing penchant. In the last two-three decades, this has become a rather common finding in empirical research on political attitudes, not only among migrants (e.g., Grunberg and Schweisguth 1997). ‘Left’ does not mean working class by default, and ‘right’ is not the ‘natural’ side of the better off.

Figure 3.3. The Left-Right scale by nationality of movers

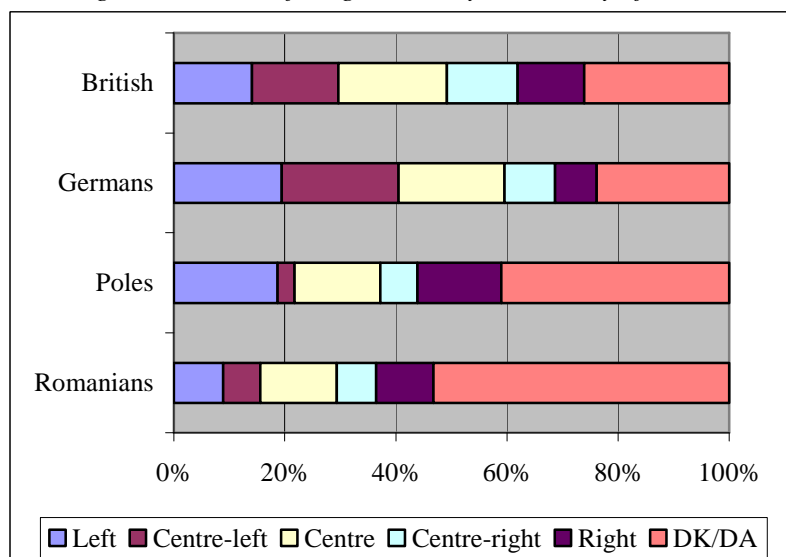


Table 3.9. Left-right self-placement: individual differences (row %)

	Left/right self-placement					
	Left	Centre-left	Centre	Centre-right	Right	DK/DN
By Age Group						
39 and less	12.3	9.8	12.3	6.6	11.4	47.4
40 thru 59	16.5	11.7	17.1	9.0	9.6	36.0
60 and more	16.2	13.0	20.9	10.9	14.0	25.0
By Education Level						
Primary-Secondary	12.4	8.4	15.6	6.8	12.4	44.4
Tertiary	19.7	16.9	19.2	12.4	10.2	21.8
By Social Class						
EGP V-VI-VII	11.3	5.2	17.4	7.0	13.0	46.1
EGP III-IV	13.1	10.5	14.5	7.1	10.0	44.7
EGP I-II	20.6	18.6	15.3	11.5	7.6	26.5
Total	15.2	11.6	16.9	8.9	11.4	35.9

People who locate themselves on the left-right scale are also much more interested in politics and are also more likely to discuss political matters with their family and with friends. Among them, moreover, it is those who favour the left and centre-left that discuss political matters with family and friends more frequently (40.6% and 36.3% respectively).

The (slow) fading of the traditional left-right dichotomy is an ongoing process in all post-industrial societies, where this distinction is losing its salience (Giddens 1993). Such a detachment is generally higher among marginalized people, like the unemployed. For European movers the unease with the left-right paradigm becomes/is amplified by the difficulty in applying such a scheme to a different political context. Mobility experiences in some cases lead to political

‘alienation’ since people must orientate themselves in unfamiliar political systems where the translation of received meanings (like ‘left’ and ‘right’) is not at all mechanical.

What EU movers outline in in-depth interviews is that the meaning of left and right – or better, their use in the political system and everyday life – varies quite significantly across European societies. When asked about differences, British and German movers describe politics in Southern European countries as being more radical, with a larger distance between leftist and rightist parties and a weaker willingness for dialogue. They also stress that democratic values do not seem to be as widely shared as in Northern Europe. The political debate is more violent and leads to a more divided society.

In Britain you vote for the left wing in government, you get the right. In France you vote for the right wing in government you get a lot of left. The things that the British just can’t understand about France, for example [British citizen in France, M, 65].

What happens is that Germany is a very democratic country [...] there is no much difference between left and right. There are left and right also but there is a broader political centre than in Spain [...] In Germany there is a narrower range of parties in the centre (the major parties), except some few small parties that are extreme. Here there is an abyss between the major parties. When they rule they are equal, but before coming to power there is a big difference [German citizen in Spain, M, 60].

Ironically, many Romanian and Polish movers, when comparing their country of origin with the country of residence make opposite judgements, but what is shared is the opinion is that Left and Right are tricky labels that do not travel easily.

I would say that Romanian people are much more ‘Balkanic’, the debates are more violent, the gestures, the way of talking. If you say in Romania that you are leftist, they will immediately see you as a communist. It’s seen as an extreme left, even if that’s not the case [Romanian citizen in France, F, 28].

Maybe in Romania the left is more leftist than here. At the political ideology level they are much on the left. Here the socialist party is more in the centre [Romanian citizen in France, F, 41].

Another heritage of communism is that the Western definition of left-wing as ‘reformist’ and right-wing as ‘conservative’ cannot be applied, even though some signs of convergence are emerging.

If by ‘left’ we intend the desire for reform and by ‘right’ we intend the desire for conservation, then in Romania the labels do not apply, in the sense that after 1989, the forces which have expressed a greater desire for transformation and change have been from the right. If instead we are referring to the definition of the left as the political side which defends the weak then the same definition applies in Romania, where this distinction is beginning to appear [Romanian citizen in Italy, M, 43].

As a consequence of these differences of interpretation of the political game, some movers even declare to have changed political orientation in the country of residence, adapting themselves to a new political context that has pushed them to revise the meanings of political concepts and to reframe their overall attitude toward left and right politics.

In Germany I was close to the Social Democratic Party (SPD). I thought that it would be the same thing in Italy, since Italy is in Europe. But I was wrong. In Italy, on the left, there are the communists, who do not accept anyone who doesn’t think exactly like they do, whereas in Germany, the left-wing party is SPD, which is more a party of the masses. SPD can’t be compared to the Italian left, as they are absolutely not the same. In Italy, I haven’t found an equivalent to SPD, and I feel closer to the Italian right [German citizen in Italy, F, 71].

In term of Romanian politics, I feel I am closer to the right. In Italy I do not feel close to the right at all [...]. Strange things can happen, for example Romanian voters from the left who in Italy become supporters of Fini (a right-wing politician). Or the opposite can happen, that voters who were from the right in Romania feel closer to the political parties of the left in Italy [Romanian citizen in Italy, M, 43].

CHAPTER 4

European Citizenship in Action: EU Movers as Voters

Sylvie Strudel and Karolina Koc Michalska

1. Introduction

The sequence of treaties from Maastricht (1992) to Lisbon (2007) is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it marks the progressive displacement of a plainly economic Union towards a political Union. Secondly, it promotes provisions on European citizenship, which are acting as an engine and symbol of this dynamic. The invention of a European Union citizenship thus inaugurated a new era. In consideration of the original principle of non-discrimination binding the Member States of the Community, this notion outlines the logic of a ‘legal Community’ by establishing the status of the individual within the European Union. Since 1992, any citizen of the Union is eligible to the right to vote and stand for both the European and local elections in any Member State where s/he resides, subject to the same conditions as the host country nationals.

Early analyses of European citizenship concentrated on its legal and the philosophical aspects (Lochak 1991; Habermas 2000; Ferry 2000; Balibar 2001). In a political science perspective, the field remains relatively unexplored by empirical research (Strudel 2007, 2008, 2009), in contrast to more theoretical (Leca 1992; Déloye 1998) or institutional approaches (Wihtol de Wenden 1997; Magnette 1999). This imbalance reveals much about the abstract notion of citizenship but ultimately sheds little light on its political reception amongst ‘ordinary’ citizens. To what extent does the creation of this new category of ‘European voters’ actually contribute to the process of European construction?

The MOVEACT survey allows us to investigate the possible emergence of ‘active European citizens’ on the civic and political level. Do the experience of mobility and transnational contexts have an influence on the relationship that EU movers have with politics? Do EU movers share common political behaviours? How do they use their rights? What are the effects of European citizenship on the core process of democracy – that is, voting?

2. Voting as EU citizens: Who, when, how?

In political science, several different variables (e.g. socio- demographic or political ideology) are used as predictors of electoral participation. We build on this established knowledge to explain voting behaviours of intra-EU migrants. We focus on three sets of characteristics: sociological, migration-related and political.

In the analysis that follows, we use mostly those variables which turned out to be statistically significant in pre-test regression analysis. We have found that most of the variables used have an impact on explaining participation in different elections. However, gender and education were not statistically significant. The absence of gender effects is in line with other studies on the subject (e.g. a study after the 2009 European Elections, Standard EB 71.3, Spring 2009).

2.1 Local first, national last

Municipal or local polls are most popular in our sample: overall, 35.8% of our respondents declared they voted in such elections (28.1% voted in their COR, 7.7% in their COO). Second in importance are elections for the European Parliament (27%) and thirdly general parliamentary elections in the COO (with 21.8% of respondents participating).

Table 4.1. Respondents' participation in elections (column %)

EP elections	Municipal elections		COO general election (excluding UK migrants)	
Voted for MEPs of COO	11.2	Voted in COO	7.7	Voted 21.8 (23.7)
Voted for MEPs of COR	16.2	Voted in COR	28.1	
Did not vote	72.6	Did not vote	64.1	Did not vote 78.2 (76.3)

Table 4.2. COR and COO turnout in elections (%)

Country of Origin COO	EP elections 2009	Municipal or regional elections		COO general election	
	Turnout	Year	Turnout	Year	Turnout
United Kingdom	34.7	n/a	n/a	2010	65.1
Germany	43.3	n/a	n/a	2009	70.8
Poland	24.5	2010	47.3	2011	48.9
Romania	27.7	2008	49.4	2008	39.2
Country of Residence COR					
Greece	52.6	2010	60.9	2012	65.1
Italy	65.0	2010	62.0	2008	80.5
Spain	44.9	2011	66.0	2011	68.9
France	40.6	2010	51.2	2007	60.2

Half of our respondents did not participate in any of the elections. In fact, 23% declared participation in at least one election, 19% in two elections and 8% were the most active migrants who participated in all elections. For the purpose of the following analysis we call ‘COR voters’ (32% of the total) those respondents who voted in the COR in the EP (16%) and municipal elections (28%).

2.2 Sociological explanations of election participation

In this category we have grouped four different independent variables: gender (not statistically significant, however women are slightly more likely to vote), age, education level (positively correlated in all elections – the more educated are more likely to vote – however, significant only for general elections in the COO) and nationality.

In line with other electoral studies, age has a significant positive impact on electoral participation. However, there are small differences. For the EP and municipal elections there is a constant tendency of growth of the participation rate with age, while for general elections in the COO, the most active group is that of 40 to 59 years olds. We assume this is due to the territorial constraint of voting and the necessity to cast the ballot in the institutions representing the COO (embassy or consulate), which most often are located in the capital or other large cities. Transportation may restrict the elderly from voting, a condition which is not present during other elections.

The nationality of the respondents also has its impact on turnout, and shows similar patterns as electoral participation in the respective countries. In general, participation is higher in ‘the old EU’ countries. Participation in the 2009 European Parliament elections was the highest among German respondents (45%). These migrants seemed to be even a little more active than their compatriots

living in Germany (where in 2009 the turnout was 43%)³. British migrants are much less attentive to European elections. In our sample, only 24% of them voted (while in the UK 35% of those eligible did the same). Romanian migrants are also much less likely to vote than their compatriots staying in the home country (19% to 28%, respectively). The participation among Poles is low and stays on a similar level outside and in Poland (21% and 24%, respectively).

Even though the comparison of turnouts by COO for the municipal elections is very difficult due to regional differences within countries, we observe a similar pattern, with migrants from ‘the old EU’ countries being definitely more active than the migrants from ‘the new EU’. Maybe the explanation can be found in the patterns of participation inherited from the COO. In the general parliamentary elections, participation is markedly lower in Poland (2011) and Romania (2008) (49% and 39% respectively) than in Germany (2009) and United Kingdom (2010) (71% and 65% respectively).

However, we find no pattern or heritage of voting among movers in the general elections. The British are the least active, which is most likely due to the fact that citizens are allowed to vote only within the territory of the United Kingdom. There is a higher voting rate among Romanian migrants (23.6%) than among Polish migrants (19.5%).

Table 4.3. Sociological explanation of the vote (row %)

	EP elections		Municipal elections		COO general election	
	Not voting	Voted	Not voting	Voted	Not voting	Voted
By Age Groups						
39 and less	84.8	15.2	80.8	19.2	79.8	20.2
40 thru 59	73.5	26.5	66.4	33.6	76.8	23.2
60 and more	59.3	40.7	45.7	54.3	78.0	21.3
By COO						
United Kingdom	75.5	24.5	62.2	37.8	83.7	16.3
Germany	54.6	45.4	49.2	50.8	72.0	28.0
Poland	78.7	21.3	71.7	28.3	80.5	19.5
Romania	80.6	19.4	73.3	26.7	76.4	23.6

2.3 Migration-related factors

One of the factors that affects electoral participation most sensibly is the length of the migration experience. This factor has a positive influence on participation in the EP and municipal elections (the longer a person has lived in a country, the more eager s/he is to vote there) and is negatively correlated with voting in the COO general elections (people who are longer migrants are less likely to vote in the general elections in the COO).

A similar measure of the assimilation within the COR is the knowledge of its language. As could be expected, the effect has a similar pattern to the number of years spent in the COR (positive for the EP and municipal elections and negative for the general COO elections, however with a lower statistical significance for the latter).

A third significant factor is the attachment that respondents have towards the COO, the COR and the European Union. Attachment to the COO has an important influence on participation in the European and COO general elections. For the latter, those who are attached are twice as likely to vote (25% and 12%).

³ It is clear that turnouts are not strictly comparable as there are possible differences in voting behavior among people voting in their COO and movers, as we assume that voting in COO may be in many respects easier (due to different constraints, such as registration requirements, distance to polling places, etc.)

Surprisingly, we have found that the effect of the attachment to COR is not statistically significant for participation in the municipal elections and general COO elections. Attachment to COR has a significant but negative effect on voting in the European Parliament elections, probably due to the fact that there is no large difference in voting behaviour between those who are and those who are not attached. Attachment to the European Union has, in fact, a positive effect on participation in the European and municipal elections – the more respondents declare attachment to the EU, the more likely they are to participate in those two elections.

As a last migration measure, we include the COR (France, Spain, Italy and Greece). In all migration countries the turnout is generally high but depends on the nature of elections. In the 2009, European Parliament elections in Italy (65%), Greece (53%) and Spain (45%) the turnout was higher than the European average (43%) and was also better than in the COO of our respondents⁴.

Table 4.4. Migration-related explanations of the vote (row %)

	EP elections		Municipal elections		COO election	general
	Not voting	Voted	Not voting	Voted	Not voting	Voted
By Migration Period						
1989 and before	54.5	45.5	43.0	57.0	87.0	13.0
1990 thru 2003	75.6	24.4	66.2	33.8	76.8	23.2
2004 and after	82.5	17.5	78.3	21.7	72.9	27.1
By Knowledge of the language						
As native	65.1	34.9	56.7	43.3	81.0	19.0
Not as native	77.1	22.9	68.6	31.4	76.5	23.5
By Attachment						
COO attachment	70.9	29.1	64.0	36.0	74.7	25.3
not attached	77.1	22.9	64.7	35.30	87.4	12.6
By Country of Residence						
COR attachment	72.2	27.8	63.1	36.9	77.9	22.1
not attached	75.4	24.6	74.2	25.8	81.0	19.0
the EU	66.5	33.5	59.9	40.1	75.8	24.2
not attached	81.7	18.3	71.0	29.0	83.3	16.7
By Country of Residence						
Greece	78.0	22.0	72.8	27.2	73.5	26.5
France	70.4	29.6	59.6	40.4	75.3	24.7
Italy	64.8	35.2	59.6	40.4	77.2	22.8
Spain	77.0	23.0	64.4	35.6	86.7	13.3

Only France (41%) lagged behind the average and other destination countries, but still did better than most of the COOs. Similarly, in our four CORs there is a very high turnout rate in the general elections (Italy 80% in 2008, Spain 69% in 2011, Greece 65% in 2012 and France 60% in 2007).

Among movers, participation patterns are not at all similar. For them, European elections are more popular in Italy (35%) and France (30%) than in Spain (23%) and Greece (22%). Equally, the municipal election turnout is the highest in France and Italy (40%), followed by Spain (36%) and Greece (27%).

According to those first observations, we conclude that there is no direct voting socialization effect through migration and residence in another country. Later on it will be necessary to explore the impact of public policies on voting, since the way a national administration implements voting

⁴ The high level of turnout in Italy is a “heritage” of the time when voting was compulsory (until 1993).

rights can alter its meaning and practice. Does, for example, registration in a COR affect voting behaviours? Are the nationals from a given country exposed to arguments and pressures from their State of origin?

2.4 Political factors

Political factors influencing voting participation proposed here are in line with the prevailing theories⁵. The factor that best predicts any political activity, and also participation in elections, is interest in politics. In our report, we use the cumulated interest towards different issues (interest in local and national politics in the COO, local and national politics in the COR, politics of the EU and global politics). Those interested in politics are two and a half times more likely to participate in the European Parliament elections and in the general elections in their COO, and almost two times more likely to participate in the municipal elections.

Similar patterns are found for the factors accounting for political socialization and opinion leadership. Those whose parents were discussing politics at home when they were adolescent are definitely more predisposed to participate in any kind of elections. Forty-two percent (42%) of those who were politically socialized participate in the European elections, while only 23% of those without such capital participate. The results for voting in the COO elections (32% to 19%) are similar. The difference is less visible for participation in municipal elections. Another factor that describes political socialization is engagement in any other political activity besides voting (e.g. contacting a politician, participating in demonstrations or boycotting products). The more people are engaged in different political activities, the more they are also likely to cast their vote – this is also true among our respondents, and has a particularly strong effect for voting in European elections.

Table 4.5. Political explanations of the vote (row %)

	EP elections		Municipal elections		COO general election	
	Not voting	Voted	Not voting	Voted	Not voting	Voted
By Interest in Politics						
Interested in politics	59.8	40.2	53.8	46.2	68.6	31.4
Not interested in politics	83.8	16.2	73.7	26.3	86.9	13.1
By Political Socialization						
Parents discussing politics	57.8	42.2	53.6	46.4	67.8	32.2
Parents not discussing politics	76.4	23.6	67.3	32.7	81.0	19.0
Engage in any political activity	60.7	39.3	53.8	46.2	72.1	27.9
Don't engage in politics	81.4	18.6	71.8	28.2	82.8	17.2
By Opinion Leadership						
Discuss politics with friends or family	57.8	42.2	50.2	49.8	68.9	31.1
Do not discuss politics	80.2	19.8	71.3	28.7	83.0	17.0
By Political Views						
Having political views	67.0	33.0	59.0	41.0	75.6	24.4
Not having political views	82.5	17.5	73.4	26.6	82.9	17.1
By Political Self-placement						
Left	64.6	35.4	58.2	41.8	73.0	27.0
Centre	66.4	33.6	61.2	38.8	77.8	22.2
Right	70.6	29.4	58.2	41.8	77.0	23.0

⁵ See Lipset and Rokkan (1967); Rose (1974); Michelat and Simon (1977); Campbell et al. (1960); Nie et al. (1979); Zhang and Chia (2006); Lazarsfeld et al. (1944).

We understand ‘opinion leadership’ as active participation in discussions about politics among friends and family. Again, this factor and participation in voting are positively correlated. Those who discuss politics are almost two times more likely to participate in any kind of election than those who do not discuss politics.

The last political factor is the respondent’s ability to position him/herself on the Left-Right scale. We are presenting this aspect in two different ways: firstly, as general capacity to declare or not declare any political views, and secondly, as the position on the scale. While there are disparities among those having and not having a political ideology (however, statistically significant only for the EP and municipal elections), Left-wing oriented movers are only slightly more likely to vote (again, this is not significant for the COO elections).

3. A focus on COR voters

To sharpen our analysis of those EU movers that are best assimilated into COR society, we have created a special variable, called ‘residence voting’, which includes all respondents who declare voting in COR. We characterize them by three groups of variables. Again, gender and education are not statistically significant characteristics (however, women tend to participate slightly more often as well as the more educated). Age is positively correlated, as the older respondents are the most likely to vote in COR. All in all, the most assimilated respondents are from ‘the old EU’: of the Germans and the British, 48% and 37% vote in COR.

Table 4.6. Voting in the EP or/and Municipal election in COR: sociological factors (%)

	No	Yes
General	68.3	31.7
By Age Groups		
39 and less	85.7	14.3
40 thru 59	69.8	30.2
60 and more	50.2	49.8
By Nationality		
United Kingdom	63.2	36.8
Germany	52.3	47.7
Poland	77.3	22.7
Romania	80.2	19.8

As expected, those who have lived longer in COR are the most likely to vote there. Surprisingly, in fact, the knowledge of the language of the country and the attachment to it play no significant role in choosing the place for voting. Attachment to COO has an impact (if a respondent is attached to it, s/he is less likely to choose COR as the voting place), however those who are attached to the EU do vote eagerly in COR.

Italy and Spain are the countries where migrants are more willing to vote, with France following that pattern closely. There is a distinction among those three countries and Greece, where only 17% of respondents wish to vote there (with the general participation rate in the EP and municipal elections at the 25% level).

Political factors are similar to voting in general: they are positively correlated with participation regardless of where the vote takes place.

Table 4.7. Voting in the EP or/and Municipal election in COR: migration-related factors (%)

	No	Yes
By Migration Period		
1989 and before	41.1	58.9
1990 thru 2003	72.1	27.9
2004 and after	85.2	14.8
By Knowledge of the language		
Know language as native	57.1	42.9
Don't know language as native	75.0	25.0
By Attachment		
COO attachement	69.6	30.4
Not attached	65.1	34.9
By Country of Residence		
COR attachement	67.2	32.8
Not attached	78.0	22.0
Attached to the EU	63.9	36.1
Not attached	74.6	25.4
By Country of Residence		
Greece	83.2	16.8
France	64.2	35.8
Italy	63.0	37.0
Spain	62.8	37.2

Table 4.8. Voting in the EP or/and Municipal election in COR: political factors (%)

	No	Yes
By Interest in Politics		
Interested in politics	59.1	40.9
Not interested in politics	76.7	23.3
By Political Socialization		
Parents were discussing politics	58.9	41.1
Parents were not discussing politics	71.0	29.0
Engage in political activities	57.1	42.9
Don't perform any political activity	76.5	23.5
By Opinion Leadership		
Discuss politics with friends or family	56.3	43.7
Do not discuss politics	74.5	25.5
By Political Views		
Having political views	62.7	37.3
Not having political views	78.4	21.6
By Political Self-placement		
Left	61.0	39.0
Centre	66.8	33.2
Right	61.4	38.6

4. Conclusions

Participation in elections among EU movers is lower than among both their compatriots living in their COO and citizens of the COR. However, there is a visible difference in the importance of the elections. Commonly, general elections are the most popular ones (usually turnout is only better in presidential elections), but this is not the case among movers, for whom the most eagerly frequented elections are the municipal/local elections, followed by the European elections.

Our results provide some statistical elements to measure the uptake of new electoral rights as used by the intra-EU migrants and help to draw up a first assessment of it. They also converge with previous findings according to which “EU movers show a high level of interest in politics but a poor level of political participation” (Muxel 2009, 158). Overall, since 1994 and the Maastricht treaty’s implementation we observe a very marginal increase in the electoral participation of EU movers to European elections (Strudel 2009). These results must take into account considerable variations in the registration rates by country. Whilst remaining overall half-hearted, the mobilisation of mobile EU citizens is gaining ground at the local level. Municipal elections, which hold a higher stake and direct bearing on daily life (education, transport, taxes...), are more likely to give shape to a Union citizenship ‘from below’. Thus, what is the impact over time in addition to a gradual familiarisation with new rights and/or mobilisations from below? Obviously it is too soon to judge and it is likely that the two factors can complement each other. On the whole, the electoral participation of EU movers is only a first step toward a fully-fledged European citizenship. Our findings show that only movers who are more integrated into social life at the local level exercise their voting rights. The European Union as a political space is still ‘under construction’.

CHAPTER 5

Building a Civil Society (or Not): EU Movers’ Associative Behaviours

Antonio Alaminos, Clemente Penalva and Oscar Santacreu

1. Introduction: civic culture and political participation

The quality of a democracy depends on the development of civil society, understood as a plural network of associations and groups that structures the control mechanisms of institutional political action and public policy demands (Warren 2001; Rosenblum and Post 2002). As formulated in the classic studies of Locke, Tocqueville and Gramsci, a vital and strong civil society protects societies from the emergence of autocratic political power. Almond and Verba, and lately Putnam, highlight associations as an essential element of modern democracy. A society that maintains regular patterns of civic and political behaviour based on cooperative action to achieve certain goals shows a healthier democratic political culture.

Participation in public affairs is one of the main characteristics of ‘civic communities’ (Putnam 1993). Activities such as membership in voluntary associations and political parties can be named as ‘civic’ because they are oriented towards the community. Therefore the decline of membership in voluntary associations is taken as an indicator of an incipient collapse of the civic community (Putnam 2000).

The model of social capital proposed by Putnam (1993; 2000) implies that the trust resulting from interpersonal relations within voluntary associations will be functional to the ‘civicness’ of a community. Thus, engagement in voluntary associations defines the behavioural component of social capital. Almond and Verba outline that membership in associations does lead to a more competent citizenry, even if the individual does not consider such membership politically relevant, and even if it does not involve his/her active participation (1963, 322; see also Verba et al. 1978 and 1995; Parry et al. 1992). Moreover, in addition to the political control and the channelling of social demands, political institutions may resort to associations as a source for the recruitment of cadres and leaders.

Almond and Verba draw a classification of different forms of political participation that has been updated by various authors, most notably Milbrath (1965). Basically, the forms of participation have been distinguished into two groups: *conventional* (active and passive suffrage) and *unconventional* (petitions, demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, etc.). On the basis of motivations, we should also take into account the distinction between *instrumental* and *expressive* participation (Klandermans 1983).

When dealing with citizens of different nationalities, we can see how different civic cultures of origin (and destination) target these different motivations and forms of political participation. In a context of mobility like the EU, it is essential to consider the different civic cultures of the host countries and countries of origin and the degree of development of their civil societies. Equally, attention must be paid to the formation of social capital in a new social context, as associative and informal networks can play a vital part in view of obtaining information and support for social, economic and cultural integration at different stages of the migration experience.

2. EU movers and civic participation: basic hypotheses

As illustrated, there is a long tradition of research about civic and political participation in Western societies. In the case of the new democracies that emerged in Europe after the fall of the Iron Curtain, some hypotheses and expectations have been formulated as well. In the MOVEACT project we consider the political and civic behaviour of migrants from EU15 (Germany and UK) and from recent democracies (Poland and Romania) living in Southern EU countries. We will

compare them with the patterns established in their countries of origin. As Letki (2003) points out, in communist regimes before 1989 only protest-like forms of participation directed ‘against the state’ (such as mass strikes and demonstrations) were available for expressing citizens’ opinions. Therefore, many researchers thought that this form of participation would produce low conventional participation among citizens of post-communist countries (Miller 1993). Others thought that the prevalence of unconventional and expressive participation would affect the patterns of political engagement and could destabilize the fragile, new democracies (Foley and Edwards 1996). Twenty years after the fall of communist regimes, we can see that apathy and disengagement is a much more widespread outcome (Thomassen and van Deth 1998). These authors conclude that the major factors causing low levels of political participation stem from the communist heritage itself: limited social capital (interpersonal trust and membership in voluntary associations) and the antidemocratic norms and attitudes learned through participation in the non-democratic system. In our context, we thus expect a lower involvement in associations among those EU movers coming from a new democracy.

An influence of associational membership over all forms of political participation is also expected. If we consider the literature about the relationship between civic and political behaviour, the extended ‘original social capital view’ claims that “social capital translates directly into higher political participation” (Krishna 2002, 440).

Special consideration must be given to membership in a political party, as it requires more political competence and involvement in local affairs than any of the other activities. We thus expect a lower involvement in political parties in all cases. First, because this is the general pattern, both in consolidated and new democracies. Second, because migrants may feel estranged from the intricacies of political games in the host country.

Another important source of variation has to do with the political and civic culture of the host countries. We have some expectations about the behaviour of migrants, but we may also consider the possibility of differences in the societies of residence depending on the opportunities to participate in civic life that these offer to migrants.

On the basis of all these theoretical premises, we posit four main hypotheses:

H1. Western EU movers are likely to be more involved in associational life than among their Central-Eastern counterparts.

H2. Belonging to associations has a positive effect on political participation, in all the subpopulations.

H3. Belonging to associations has its lowest effect on the membership in a political party.

H4. Levels of participation in associations vary by COR for all groups of migrants.

Finally, we also expect significant interaction effects by COO and COR controlling by several individual-level variables (age, gender, time living in the country, education level, and social class).

3. Associations as vehicles of civic participation

The higher their age, the larger the number of associations EU movers in our sample are involved in. As might be expected, participation needs time and thus reflects the duration of residence in the host country. Overall, participation is higher among those who migrated prior to 1989. Higher civic participation corresponds to a higher level of education and social class as well.

By nationality, the highest civic participation is found among the British and the Germans, followed by the Poles. Also, we find a greater participation in associations in France and Italy. Moreover, participation is higher among those residents whose partner’s nationality is that of the country of residence.

Table 5.1. Number of associations of which EU movers are member (row %)

	Participated in: number of associations				
	None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-9
By Age Groups					
39 and less	49.2	35.1	12.3	2.5	0.9
40 thru 59	41.2	37.3	17.5	3.5	0.6
60 and more	34.7	40.7	19.6	4.4	0.5
By Migration Period					
1989 and before	29.9	41.6	21.9	6.2	0.4
1990 thru 2003	45.2	35.7	15.8	2.7	0.6
2004 and after	45.9	37.3	13.6	2.3	1.0
By Education Level					
Lower	53.7	33.8	10.4	1.9	0.2
University	22.4	43.5	26.8	6.0	1.3
By Nationality					
United Kingdom	31.4	39.2	23.7	4.9	0.8
Germany	30.2	43.8	21.4	4.6	0.0
Poland	45.0	40.4	13.1	1.2	0.2
Romania	59.7	27.2	8.3	3.2	1.6
By Country of Residence					
Greece	52.5	32.0	12.7	2.8	0.0
France	27.5	44.5	21.9	4.6	1.5
Italy	36.2	38.4	19.6	5.0	0.8
Spain	50.4	35.6	12.4	1.4	0.2
By Inter-ethnic Partnership					
No	50.5	34.0	12.9	1.9	0.6
Yes	32.2	40.9	19.8	6.0	1.1
By Respondent Social Class					
EGP I-II	22.6	42.7	24.9	7.6	2.0
EGP III-IV	51.3	35.0	12.0	1.4	0.3
EGP V-VI-VII	56.1	34.8	7.8	0.9	0.4
Total	40.9	38.1	16.2	3.8	1.0

This comparative evidence does not shade the general pattern. Mobility allows for a wider framework of interpretation of the civic-political realm. For some EU movers-activists interviewed, the experience of mobility leads to a more rich and diverse approach, in contrast with the countries of origin. Sometimes it can also arouse interest in politics from scratch:

My opinions, view of the world is larger. I think I'm involved much more. The migration experience made me engage more than I would had I stayed in Romania. I think that if I had stayed in Romania, I wouldn't be so interested in politics [Romanian citizen in France, F, 31].

This is one of the main effects of mobilization for Polish and Romanian citizens when they reach the destination country. Apart from a significant minority who was politically involved (some Poles mentioned 'Solidarność'), for the bulk of Central-Eastern Europeans on the move the vitality of civil societies found in the receiving countries is a novelty:

At the same time, this political reality is accompanied by a strong presence of civil society, of the third sector and of associations. If we take a look, on the other hand, at the reality of Eastern European countries, this does not exist. [...] Perhaps in terms of politics we are a little bit closer, but not in terms of civil society, if only for the fact that in Eastern European regimes, secular and, above all, religious civil societies were prohibited. This

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was so largely detrimental that at the social level we are still paying the price [...] Politics is perceived as being imposed from above! [Romanian citizen in Italy, M, 43].

This general structure of participation in associations is tempered by the type of association. We will consider four different dimensions in the field of associational participation:

- 1) Sport, recreational or cultural association;
- 2) Associations related to politics and the economy, (such as political parties, trade unions or professional organizations);
- 3) Associations of charitable or religious nature;
- 4) Ethnic associations (i.e., of co-nationals).

These define different dimensions of participation: the first dimension is more related to entertainment and personal motivations, the second and the third show involvement in the social and economic life of the country, and finally, associations of co-nationals express associative interests focused on the country of origin.

Table 5.2. Participation in political/economic organizations (row %)

	Political party		Trade union		Business/professional	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
By Age Groups						
39 and less	0.9	99.1	4.9	95.1	12.6	87.4
40 thru 59	2.2	97.8	7.0	93.0	17.5	82.5
60 and more	3.8	96.2	3.1	96.9	8.8	91.2
By Migration Period						
1989 and before	3.7	96.3	6.1	93.9	14.9	85.1
1990 thru 2003	2.4	97.6	5.2	94.8	12.9	87.1
2004 and after	1.0	99.0	4.5	95.5	13.0	87.0
By Education Level						
Lower	1.3	98.7	3.1	96.9	5.6	94.4
University	3.8	96.2	8.4	91.6	25.5	74.5
By Nationality						
United Kingdom	2.2	97.8	3.2	96.8	14.6	85.4
Germany	4.0	96.0	6.0	94.0	16.8	83.2
Poland	1.4	98.6	6.8	93.2	9.2	90.8
Romania	1.6	98.4	5.0	95.0	13.1	86.9
By Country of Residence						
Greece	0.6	99.4	2.4	97.6	7.6	92.4
France	2.3	97.7	7.6	92.4	24.5	75.5
Italy	3.5	96.5	7.5	92.5	15.2	84.8
Spain	2.8	97.2	3.4	96.6	6.2	93.8
By Inter-ethnic Partnership						
No	1.6	98.4	4.3	95.7	10.5	89.5
Yes	3.2	96.8	7.0	93.0	19.5	80.5
By Respondent Social Class						
EGP I-II	4.1	95.9	12.1	87.9	32.2	67.8
EGP III-IV	2.0	98.0	2.6	97.4	10.6	89.4
EGP V-VI-VII	0.9%	99.1%	8.3	91.7	7.8	92.2
Total	2.6	97.4	7.7	92.3	18.6	81.4

With regard to the first dimension, participation in sports or outdoor groups/activities/clubs/etc. is logically higher among younger people, while participation in cultural associations is higher

among the elderly. In both cases, participation is more common among respondents with a higher education, inter-ethnic partnership or higher social class. This also fits with the larger membership to associations of British and German movers. In the case of cultural associations, participation is higher in France and Italy, and for sport associations participation is higher in France.

Political and economic participation as a whole is much less common. Overall, 2.6% of our respondents belong to a political party, 7.7% to a trade union and 18.6% to a professional organization. Affiliation to political parties is more frequent among older people and with a longer residence time, university degrees, coming from Germany and the UK and residing in Italy, Spain and France. It is also significant to have a partner from COR and to have a higher socioeconomic status. In the case of trade unions, participation is higher among those who are of working age, between 40 and 59 years old, have a university education, form a bi-national couple and live in France or Italy. Lastly, the likelihood of belonging to a professional association is greater among men aged between 40 and 59, with university degrees and belonging to the upper class, coming from Germany, the United Kingdom and Romania. Again, France and Italy seem to encourage a higher affiliation with this kind of associations.

Table 5.3. Participation in charity/religious organization (row %)

	Charity		Religious	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
By Age Groups				
39 and less	12.9	87.1	7.8	92.2
40 thru 59	25.7	74.3	10.8	89.2
60 and more	32.7	67.3	16.3	83.7
By Migration Period				
1989 and before	34.9	65.1	16.0	84.0
1990 thru 2003	21.7	78.3	10.6	89.4
2004 and after	19.2	80.8	9.3	90.7
By Education Level				
Lower	18.4	81.6	9.6	90.4
University	33.9	66.1	14.9	85.1
By Nationality				
United Kingdom	36.8	63.2	11.1	88.9
Germany	32.2	67.8	13.2	86.8
Poland	15.0	85.0	14.2	85.8
Romania	13.1	86.9	8.0	92.0
By Country of Residence				
Greece	25.5	74.5	8.4	91.6
France	29.0	71.0	13.6	86.4
Italy	23.1	76.9	18.0	82.0
Spain	19.4	80.6	6.4	93.6
By Inter-ethnic Partnership				
No	19.3	80.7	10.1	89.9
Yes	28.8	71.2	13.8	86.2
By Respondent Social Class				
EGP I-II	34.3	65.7	13.6	86.4
EGP III-IV	16.1	83.9	10.3	89.7
EGP V-VI-VII	11.7	88.3	8.3	91.7
Total	22.4	77.6	11.2	88.8

Very similar patterns are found as regards participation in religious or charitable associations, in which 22.4% and 11.2% of respondents are involved, respectively.

Associations of co-nationals, to which 9.2% of respondents belong, attract in particular people who have a longer time of residence in COR, are more educated, form a bi-national couple and are of a higher social class. In general, this type of association is more popular in Greece, Italy or France than in Spain.

It is interesting to compare these results with the Eurobarometer and the European Value Survey. In the case of leisure, cultural associations, professional organizations and charities, membership rates are higher among EU movers than in the population of their societies of origin. Participation rates are in fact very similar for membership in political parties, trade unions and religious organizations – with the exception of Polish movers, that show a higher participation in the latter.

Table 5.4. Participation rates: comparison between Moveact, Eurobarometer and European Value Survey (column %)

		Germany			UK			Romania			Poland		
		EVS 2008	EB 2010	MV 2012	EVS 2009	EB 2010	MV 2012	EVS 2008	EB 2010	MV 2012	EVS 2008	EB 2010	MV 2012
Sport/ outdoor	Yes	21.8	19.4	32.1	15.4	8.9	32	3.3	2.5	20	2	4.2	23.4
	No	78.2	80.6		84.6	91.1		96.7	97.5		98	95.8	
	Total		100			100			100			100	
Cultural/ hobby	Yes	6.2	9.2	33.7	10.5	6.5	37.9	3.9	2.6	16.9	1.1	4.3	22.5
	No	93.8	90.8		89.5	93.5		96.1	97.4		98.9	95.7	
	Total		100			100			100			100	
Political party	Yes	3.5	4.2	4	1.9	1.4	2.2	3.7	2.8	1.6	.8	1.1	1.4
	No	96.5	95.8		98.1	98.6		96.3	97.2		99.2	99.9	
	Total		100			100			100			100	
Trade union	Yes	6.8	3.8	6	6.9	1.6	3.2	5.6	6.3	5	4.4	4.7	6.8
	No	93.2	96.2		93.1	98.4		94.4	93.7		95.6	95.3	
	Total		100			100			100			100	
Business/ professional	Yes	5.1	3.6	16.8	7.8	3	14.6	1.9	2.8	13.1	1.9	2.3	9.2
	No	94.9	96.4		92.2	97		98.1	97.2		98.1	97.7	
	Total		100			100			100			100	
Charity	Yes		5.9	32.2		9.6	36.8		4.3	13.1		2.5	15
	No		94.1			90.4			95.7			97.5	
	Total		100			100			100			100	
Religious	Yes	10.8	7.5	13.2	12.3	6.7	11.1	9	6	8	3.9	3.4	14.2
	No	89.2	92.5		87.7	93.3		91	94		96.1	96.6	
	Total		100			100			100			100	
Any other voluntary organization	Yes	6.1	3.4	13	8.5	2.6%	20	1.5	.4	6.9	2.6	1.7	3.8
	No	93.9	96.6		91.5	97.4		98.5	99.6		97.4	98.3	
	Total		100			100			100			100	

Source: EB 73.4 ZA 5234 May 2010; European Value Survey 2008 y 2009; MV(Moveact) 2012

As anticipated in the introduction to this chapter, we expect that respondents who belong to an association – any of them – will have a higher probability of political participation. Indeed, this is the case for all nationalities in all residence countries.

In terms of associational membership, the participation of German and British movers is the highest in all countries. Participation is also greater for all nationalities when residing in Italy and France. It seems that the political opportunity structure and culture of the receiving countries amplify or depress inclinations to associational participation by nationality. This is evident in the different degree of associationism observed among Romanian and Polish movers in countries with different political-civic tradition: their involvement in associations in France and Italy is much higher than in Spain and Greece (countries with dictatorships until the early 1970s). In fact, one respondent noted some parallelism in the autocratic experiences of Poland and Spain:

Freedom is very important, in Poland, freedom is often paid with life, as in Spain under Franco. Only you realize how important it is when you do not. It's like when it's cold and you miss the jacket. The Poles don't like not having freedom [Polish citizen in Spain, M, 43].

We also have the opposite effect for the British and German activists, for whom the political culture and a sense of malfunctioning of institutions in Southern Europe can be annoying or even

inhibit their participation altogether (not in the case of the interviewed activists). We refer to some arrogant attitudes of the Spanish political representatives at the local level:

Politicians in Spain have too much power in the municipalities. As Santiago Carrillo said [former Communist Party general secretary]: there is a ‘Franco’ in every municipality in Spain. In the UK there is more control over local authorities and in Spain they are less prepared, less professional (but lately it is not so exaggerated). In Spain they are more opportunistic and ‘turncoat’ [said ‘chaquetero’ in Spanish] while in the UK there is more vocation. They work more for idealism. I note that in Spain there is too much bureaucracy [British citizen in Spain, M, 42].

The same reactions are elicited by the confusion between public and private spheres in the exercise of political power, and the excessive tolerance of the civil society against the excesses of the politicians involved in scandals:

One thing that has caught my attention are the scandals, what politicians are doing here. In Germany, when they discovered that a politician has used an official car for private use, he had to resign. Here we have a public-private mix. The limit of shame is very low. Here the politician can do what he wants and people will not protest, there he has to resign [German citizen in Spain, M, 60].

4. Conventional and unconventional political participation: more than at home?

Another significant aspect is the extent to which immigrants are involved in the political life of the COR. In other words, in which way a rupture or continuity is established with regard to the participation behaviours movers had in their countries of origin. In this sense, we can distinguish between those who have never participated; those who stopped participating in COR; those who started to participate in COR; and finally those who always participate.

‘Contacts with a politician’ is the most frequent form of political participation: 25% of all respondents did it sometime in their life. This kind of participation is higher among those with a partner of different nationality (mostly from COR). There is a clear relationship with social class as well. This relationship is very clear both in the ‘start participating in COR’ and in the ‘always involved’ categories. We can also appreciate a significant relationship with the age of respondents. This relationship interacts with the time of residence and migration period: the longer you have lived in the country of residence, the more likely you are to have contacted a politician in COR. There is also a significant greater participation for university graduates, especially if they started to participate in COR. By nationality, Germans are most likely to have begun to take part in political actions in the country of residence (24%), also showing the highest likelihood of having ‘always participated’ (11%). Poles have a similar profile (17% and 10% respectively). Romanians show a lower overall participation (9%). There is also a significant difference by country of residence: Increased participation occurs in Greece, where 20% of migrants have begun to participate in the COR, and 12% has always participated.

Membership in a political party is also affected by the usual socioeconomic variables, but major changes are found for the British and Romanians, who ceased to be affiliated with a political party when moving out of their country of origin (11% and 14% respectively). Few people were enrolled in their country of origin and re-enrolled in the destination country (1.4%). Overall, the large majority of EU movers (86%) has never belonged to a political party.

We will now consider the act of ‘taking part in a demonstration’. Among the EU movers surveyed, 88.7% never participated in a demonstration, 8.6% became involved in the destination country, 1.8% has always been involved (COO and COR) and 1% has stopped participating in COR. This form of participation is higher among those who migrated prior to 1989. Participation in demonstrations reaches 14% among those who form a bi-national couple, as opposed to 4% among those with partners of their own nationality. It is also higher in upper social strata and among the more educated. In terms of nationalities, the Poles and Romanians are most reluctant to demonstrate (5% and 9% respectively). On the other hand, 13% of the British and 10% of the Germans have

participated in a demonstration in the country of residence. France and Italy are the countries where this kind of political actions is more likely for EU movers.

We now turn to two even less conventional forms of political participation: ‘boycotting products for ethical, political or environmental reasons’ and ‘write or forward an email with a political object’. The first has a higher response rate among women, older respondents and pre-1989 migrants, with higher education, with a partner of different nationality, and belonging to upper social classes. This kind of participation is much higher among the German and British movers (37% and 29%, respectively), while Polish and Romanian movers are significantly less inclined to these actions (only 5.8% of Poles and 8% of Romanians do so). Likewise, this form of participation is more widespread in France (26.5%) and Italy (23.6%) than in Greece (20%) and Spain (10%).

Finally, as regards the act of writing or forwarding an e-mail with political purposes, 87% of our respondents never did it. Once more, we found the likelihood of this action to be affected by the same significant individual-level factors outlined so far.

5. Concluding remarks

There are significant differences in the structure of civic and political participation by country of origin and residence of EU movers. Participation is higher, both in associations and in political mobilization activities, among British and German movers compared to their Romanian and Polish peers. Also, the civic and political activism of movers is more intense in France and Italy than in Spain or Greece.

Generally speaking, education, age, inter-ethnic partnership, social class and duration of migration have a positive effect on participation. Gender differences are not significant once controlling for all other individual-level variables. We can also observe a cultural preference of Polish and Romanian movers for political activities that have a less institutionalized character, while German and British movers are more involved in political parties and trade unions.

Overall, however, trade union and party membership is as common among movers as it is in the general population of the countries of origin. Finally, for some migrants, and especially Poles, religious associations cater to a wider range of needs than the religious sphere only.

CHAPTER 6

An Empirical Assessment of the Role of EU Movers’ Associations in Southern Europe*Luca Raffini***1. Introduction**

In the footsteps of Tocqueville, the link between associations and democracy has been widely elaborated in sociology and political science. As outlined in chapter 5, the beneficial effects of associations on citizens’ skills, attitudes and individual values are a recurrent theme in political sociology. Involvement in associations enables the spread of mutual trust and the production of social capital (Putnam 1993), promotes a habitus of toleration and cooperation, and the pursuit of the common good (Fung 2003). Associational life, acting as a ‘school of democracy’, is positively linked to political participation, as members of associations are held to be more informed, open-minded and public-oriented. A strong civil society supports the formation of a vibrant public sphere and the making of a pluralistic democratic society (Habermas 1996). Associations favour social integration, legitimacy and efficacy of institutions, both enhancing accountability and allowing for a direct involvement of citizens in policy making processes.

In contemporary Europe, the role of NGOs is expanding as complexity and cultural and social pluralism carry new challenges to social and political integration, requiring a reform of the governance model, promoting cooperation between public institutions and civil society, and providing channels for the expression of the voice of weaker groups, like women, the young, and migrants (European Commission 2001). With the shift from ‘government’ to ‘governance’ (Rhodes 1996), associations are more and more entrusted with an active role in the governance processes and in the making of a ‘welfare society’ (Ascoli and Ranci 2002).

Since one major challenge for European societies is the social and political integration of migrants, associations ‘for’ migrants and associations ‘by’ migrants are important actors in the making of a multicultural society (Ireland 2004), contributing to the promotion of social and political integration of migrants (Fennema 2004; Jacobs and Tillie 2004).

Focusing on the EU, existing research has focused on the role of migrant organizations in promoting social and political participation of migrants (Koopmans and Statham 2000; Vogel 2008). Little is known, however, about the presence and activity of associations formed by intra-EU migrants. Indeed, EU movers are usually not on the forefront of active civic participation, albeit they are generally more interested in politics than the stayer population (Muxel 2009). Prima facie one might hypothesise that this is because they face lower hurdles to social or economic integration compared to migrants from outside the EU. Their EU citizenship puts them on a par (at least in theory) with natives as regards their socioeconomic and political rights. On the other hand, they fall back on a lower social capital compared to natives, which would enable them to participate more actively in political and public life – or rather they probably have more bonding but less bridging social capital (see Putnam 2000).

Many intra-EU movers are not economic migrants properly speaking, but rather people who move for study, family or simply quality of life reasons. Theoretically, people with higher human capital (students, quality of life movers) and higher economic capital (family or quality of life movers) would actually be expected to be more civically active than the average citizen – not least because the European Union provides them with an additional arena for participation (Triandafyllidou 2008).

In this chapter, we concentrate on the role of associations of mobile intra-EU citizens. According to the interviews conducted with politically active EU movers, we can list some important ways in which organizations can provide support to movers and promote their active involvement. First,

they can spread information and raise awareness about the rights of EU citizens. Second, they can establish a bridge between the intra-EU migrant community and the host society, as well as between movers and their home country. Third, they can help low-skilled mobile EU citizens to interpret politics in COR, reducing the cost of individual strategies of integration. Fourth, they can provide access to local, national and European institutions, also promoting migrants candidacies in local councils.

Expat associations may play a role because they are closer than embassy. The members of the council board of associations are obliged, because of the position they have, always to be informed and Romanians, ordinary people, have easier access to a nondiplomatic person rather than to an institution [...]. Of course it depends a lot on how open are those who are inside the community and how much they are interested in the problems of community's member [Romanian citizen in Greece, F, 30].

[Movers' organizations] can play a big role. They can interpose as the missing link between the citizens and Europe, not in opposition to the state, but as an alternative, because I imagine that the individual states are not interested in stepping aside and allowing citizens to go straight to the European Union. States will always have a keen interest in being the citizens' preferred 'middleman'. So associations, too, can play the role of intermediaries, as the link which connects the citizen directly to the European Union. It's an essential role, because various associations, all with various goals, are able to help the citizen understand the many tangible elements that tie him to the EU [Romanian citizen in Italy, F, 34].

The aim of this part of the study is to analyse how movers' association actually act and in which way they promote integration and the social and political involvement of EU citizens living abroad, helping them to exercise their rights.

2. EU movers' associations in Western and Southern Europe: a scattered map

In order to map out the presence and characteristics of British, German, Polish and Romanian movers' associations in Greece, France, Italy and Spain, we have searched embassy databases and national and local association registers. We have also carried out an extensive internet search, in order to include smaller and non-registered associations.

Not all organizations noted down in these preliminary queries were included in the survey. Our target was 'bottom-up' organizations, active in cultural, social and political fields, whose members are (although not exclusively) migrants. For this reason, we excluded organizations who are directly linked to institutional bodies (i.e. consulates, British Council, Goethe Institute, etc.) or for-profit organizations (such as language schools)⁶.

In Greece, only a few organizations were mapped out, due to the smaller size of the country, the lower presence of migrants, and also the larger share of unregistered organizations. The legislation in the four countries is substantially different. In France, all associations need to register officially. In Italy and in Spain there is an incentive for associations to register because only registered organizations can receive public funding. This is the reason why many informal networks (i.e. parish-based communities) are spurred to constitute a formal organization. In Greece, there is no such incentive.

Older associations are found in France, the country with the most established tradition of immigration and where, historically, the comparatively highest share of European movers live. Overall, the number of Romanian and Polish organizations is higher; British and German associations are less widespread, but they are older, bigger and more institutionalised.

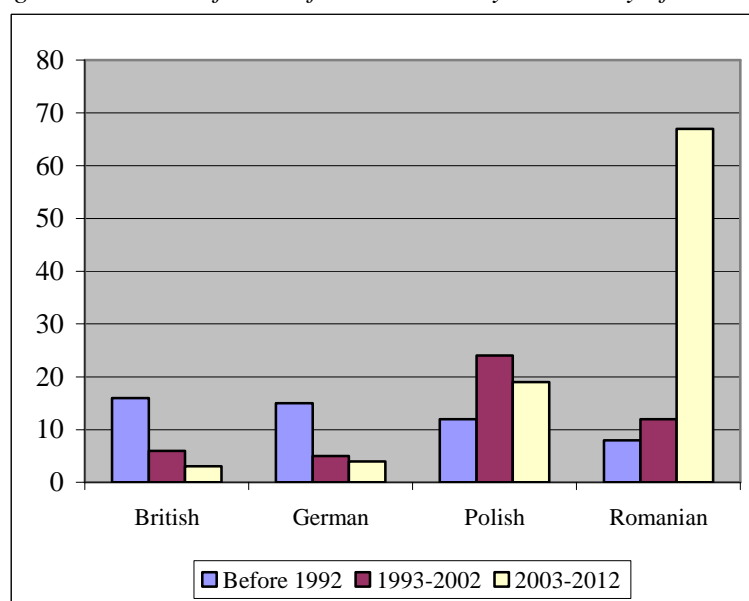
⁶ However, some British and German organizations, especially if in remote places, also offer language courses, which form part of their income.

Table 6.1. Monitored EU movers' associations in Greece, France, Italy and Spain

	Greece	France	Italy	Spain	Total
British	1	12	3	10	26
German	2	8	2	12	24
Polish	5	22	16	12	55
Romanian	2	10	56	21	89
Total	10	52	77	55	194

Most of the associations we mapped were formed more than 20 years ago, and a few were born immediately after WWII or even before⁷. The number of Polish organizations grew after the fall of the Iron Curtain, but some historical organizations were created between the 1960s and the 1980s. Two older Polish organizations were founded in France and in Italy even before WWII⁸. Finally, Romanian organizations have dramatically increased in the last decade.

Figure 6.1. Years of birth of associations by nationality of members



Romanian associations show a high rate of instability. Due to their small membership, they are contingent and dependent on the activity of few volunteers, if not just one. They were often started to face a specific need, for instance, to assist fellow nationals with their papers when Romania and Poland were not yet EU Member States. Many of the first Romanian associations, created during the Cold War, channelled material aid to migrants and to Romania. Most of those associations do not exist any longer, having lost the purpose of their existence.

In other cases, they were a one (wo)man initiative for cultural or social purposes. However, due to the lack of institutional or financial support from the host countries and of a wider membership basis, these associations became inactive after a few years.

⁷ The *Association Franco-Ecossaise* was born in 1895, the *Association France – Grande Bretagne* was born in 1916, the German Association *Villa Romana* in Florence was founded in 1905. With the new wave of mobility of Northern Europeans retirees in Southern Europe, new expat organizations were also founded, i.e. *Pensionistas Alemanes Roquetas de Mar*, founded in 2010.

⁸ The first Polish organization, *Polskie Towarzystwo Kulturaine*, was founded in Troye in 1926. The Polish association of Turin (founded in 1948) and former *Associazione dei combattenti polacchi in Italia*, now *Associazione delle famiglie dei combattenti polacchi in Italia* were established by Polish soldiers who decided to stay in Italy after the rise of Communism in Poland.

Most EU movers' associations have less than 100 members, but there are larger organizations, that have more than 500 members. Even in these NGOs, however, active members are usually less than 50 persons. British citizens have the largest organizations, with an average of 412 members and 104 active members. Polish organizations are the smallest, with a mean of 138 members, 21 of them active (German associations have a mean of 311 members, 65 active; Romanian associations have a mean of 368 members, 83 active).

Leaving aside *Partito Identitae Romaneasca*, a Romanian expat political movement active in Italy (this is the only organization within the survey defining itself a 'party'), having 8,646 members, the biggest organizations are also the oldest and most institutionalised, like *Association France – Grande Bretagna* (4,000 members), but also newer organizations, like *Associatia Romana din Castellon, Valencia and Alicante* (4,000 members).

3. Scope and activities of associations

The majority of monitored organizations are active in the cultural field: they promote the history, tradition and language of their country. Cultural initiatives include self-organized and self-funded music events celebrated in the rooms of churches or public houses, but also embrace bigger events, organized in collaboration with home countries and local and national institutions, in the context of wider projects of inter-cultural exchanges. Some Polish and Romanian associations organize trips in order to promote reciprocal knowledge and tourism in their home country. This is meant to be a way to challenge the prejudices still characterizing the Poles and especially the Romanians in Southern Europe.

In the opinion of the organization leaders we interviewed, reciprocal knowledge represents the most important prerequisite for integration. Cultural associations connect migrants and support international links. They facilitate integration in the host society, carrying out projects and activities in the schools and supporting migrants in learning the host society language (i.e. through language courses) or the knowledge of history, laws, and traditions of the residence country.

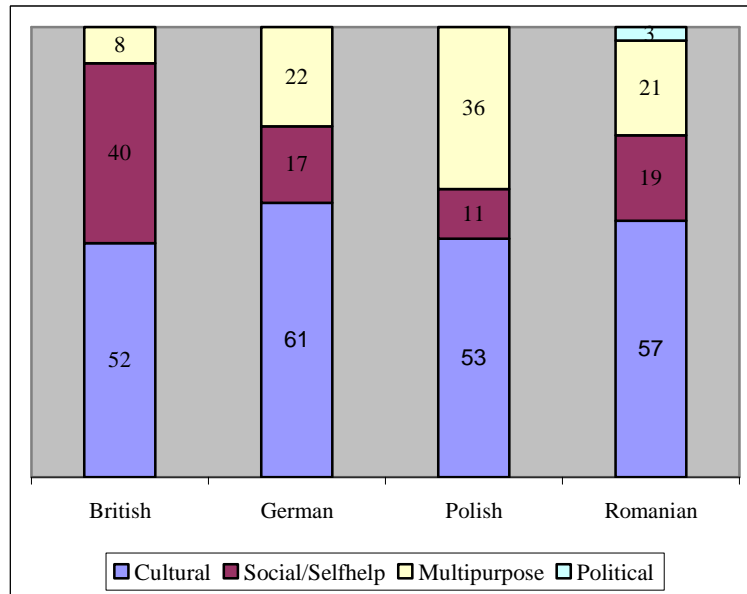
Orientation toward cultural activity tends to increase as first-aid activities become less urgent. When housing and job and school insertion are priorities, movers' associations provide a community network that prevents marginalization. Many Romanian organizations are still involved in this kind of activity, but they are progressively shifting their orientation toward cultural promotion. A relevant number of Romanian associations declare to cater to a variety of purposes, operating both in the cultural and in the social field. They define themselves as organizations committed to 'cultural and social promotion'. Other Romanian organizations, created during the Cold War, especially in France, by expatriates and French people, used to concentrate on material aid to Romania. Most of these associations do not exist any longer.

The gradual shift from self-help to cultural promotion, embracing a more encompassing view of integration, is accompanied by a spread of projects regarding second generations, often in cooperation with schools and local institutions. These projects intend to promote a full integration of second generations in the country where they were born and where they live, maintaining bonds with the culture, the history and the language of the country of origin.

Among British expat associations we find the largest number of self-help organizations, but they do not provide services and self-help mainly for British citizens, being in fact active in aid project directed to disadvantaged people, often in connection with international organizations. They act as 'universally oriented' charitable organizations.

Some British and Germans NGOs are linked to twin organizations in the home country and in other countries (i.e. the *Association of German Lawyers*, active both in Italy and in Spain).

Figure 6.2. The main activity of associations by nationality of members (%)

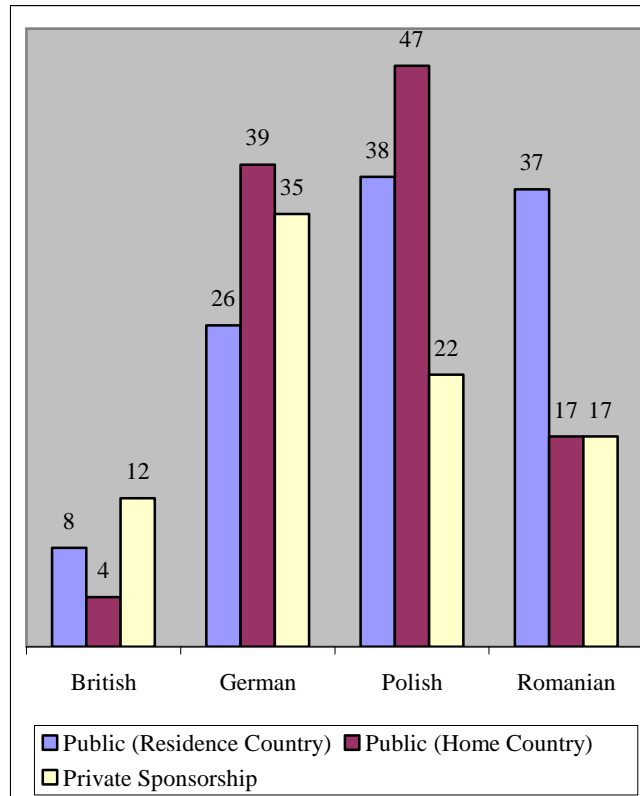


Almost all movers’ associations depend upon self-funding (100% of the British, 87% of the German, 93% of the Polish, 81% of the Romanian). Many organizations also receive private sponsorship from wealthy members of the community or from private companies. Private sponsorships are important for both charitable and cultural or sport-oriented organizations. British associations are generally more autonomous and independent, others (especially Polish and Romanian ones) depend more upon public funding to carry out their ordinary activities.

Romanian associations are especially funded by COR institutions, while German and Polish ones are supported more by their COOs. Some Romanian associations complain that funds from Romanian institutions are given to ‘competitors’ belonging to the same political side of government. Few (most of them in France) include the EU as source of funds; most activists complain that the access to EU funds is technically too complex for them. Language is also a problem, as projects can be submitted in English or French only (this can explain why French NGOs are facilitated). Indeed, part of local institution funding, especially for specific projects, is given through the European Social Fund.

Local institutions are a relatively important source of funding, as found in the POLITIS project (Vogel 2007; Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2007), but the economic crisis has had an impact. Partnership with local associations and local institutions allows small movers’ associations to overcome their lack of resources, to organize their activities and to participate in collective events, such as local celebrations or festivals. However, it is also noted that, as part of their immigration policies, local institutions tend to favour larger non-immigrant organizations as partners in the provision of social service, also when recipients are migrants (Recchi 2006). The existence of privileged channels with organizations ‘for’ migrants rather than ‘by’ migrants actively pushes the latter to be active in the cultural field. In Italy, in particular, the local governance of immigration leads to the spread of Italian-only organizations that are the institutions’ point of reference for all sorts of multicultural projects and act as partners in implementing local policies in this area. Nonetheless, some migrant NGOs are backed by Immigrant Councils, local consultative bodies of representatives of ethnic communities established in the last decade. Such local consultative bodies have also been formed in Greece recently, but have had only a minor impact on the development of intra-EU migrant associations so far.

Figure 6.3. Sources of funding of associations by nationality of members (%)



On the other hand, as several activists observe, it is easier to organize musical events or expositions than to guarantee regular activities in the social field. Cultural events, especially concerts, allow organizations to gain a strong visibility and to gain public and private sponsorship, while long term activities in the social field are more demanding and less visible.

Personally, I got the idea that the associations in reality had failed their objective, that is, that the Romanian associations aren't able to fully perform in their capacity as volunteer associations, whether cultural or social. In the end, since the presidents and members of these associations are people who have to make a living, they view the association somewhat as a means to earn money. They organize activities for publicity, usually cultural activities, in order to perhaps obtain financing from Italy, or from Romania, from the region or the province or the city. So they do a few cultural publicity events and with the little that's left over, they scrape together and move forward, maybe even doing something interesting. But the reality is that often behind these associations there are only a few people [Romanian citizen in Italy, F, 34].

4. The political involvement of EU movers' associations

None of the associations, apart from a few Romanian ones, declare to pursue political goals.

About a third of our universe, however, organized events or activities that touch upon politics. These activities are usually not directly geared toward the support of a political party or in other ways committed to partisan politics, but are rather meant to spread information and raise awareness regarding their members' rights as European citizens, for example, by giving advice on the rules for voting, both in COO elections and in COR local elections. Involvement in political activities of this sort is highest in Italy (where 37.7% of associations declare to have ever organized events with some political relevance), where Romanians organizations are particularly politically active, and lowest in France (14.3%), where the legislation on associations forbids the political involvement of organization leaders, in order to guarantee the apolitical character of organizations.

The political involvement of association leaders raises the important problem of the relationship between non-profit associations and politics. Being active in civil society feeds back onto would-be politicians' visibility and embedded-ness in social networks. As stressed by research on the political integration of migrants, association leaders also weave relations with institutions and political actors, turning them into an ethnic elite that has facilitated access to mainstream politics (Fennema and Tillie 1999). Political parties may well seek “ethnic personalities” to earn consensus among non-national voters such as EU citizens.

The phenomenon of Romanian associationism in Italy is tied to an explosion of interest in recent years. Unfortunately, these associations weren't created to provide support for the Romanians living here, but rather, on the contrary, to take advantage of them in some way. For example, there are members of trade unions who will start associations for their own benefit, various occupational groups who have something to gain directly from opening up a channel with the community. Many associations do not take their role seriously, and it's not a nice thing to witness [...] in this environment of division and fragmentation, it's difficult to find a partner who is a serious counterpart for a dialogue. Not even Romanian citizens respond [Romanian citizen in Italy, F, 34].

Some activists deem that an instrumental use of movers' associations to gain personal visibility and power may stem from the absence of a civil society tradition in the country of origin – particularly in Romania. Earlier studies (Vogel 2008) have shown that people from former Communist countries had been participating in forced voluntary activism and hence have a bad attitude toward associationism. In addition, they do not believe in collective initiatives because of the Communist experience, where collective action was not a free choice.

The concept of associations is poorly understood. Because the association is us, Romanians [...]. A community is associated by ordinary people with the Romanian state. But we are not the Romanian state. We, through our forces, through our work, we support ourselves and we have to pray the Romanian state to help us from time to time. And this depends on each boarding council of the associations; what they do once they are there [Romanian citizen in Greece, F, 40].

5. Scale of activity and cooperation with other associations and institutions

Cooperation and dialogue with COR associations is a possible way to learn how to get by in a foreign environment. Some forms of insertion in local civil society can promote the spread of social capital, allowing mutual learning processes.

Movers' associations indeed operate almost exclusively at the local level in Greece and in Italy, where the governance of immigration also prevalingly takes place⁹. In France, a few NGOs (7.7%) operate mainly at the national level. However, there are comparatively more of them that are mainly active transnationally (27%). This sits well with the dominant orientation to cultural activities, working as ‘bridge’ and thus involving transnational practices. Movers' associations in France also cooperate more with COO institutions, perhaps as an effect of their older establishment and stronger institutionalization.

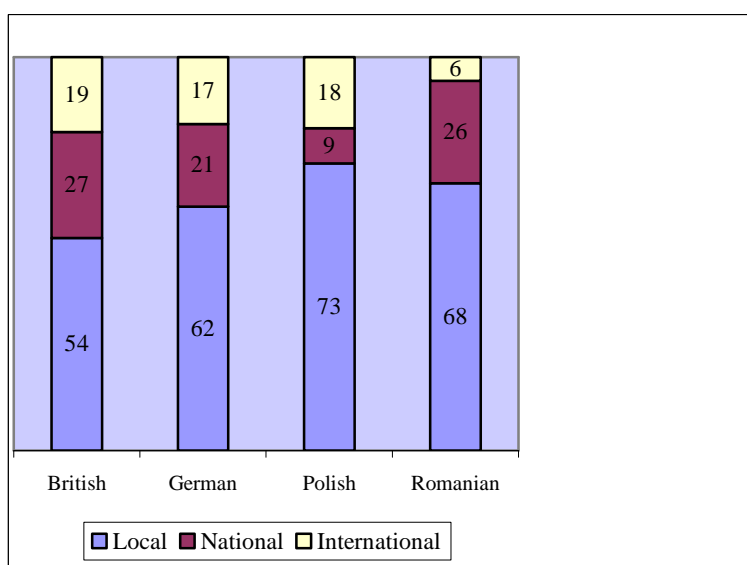
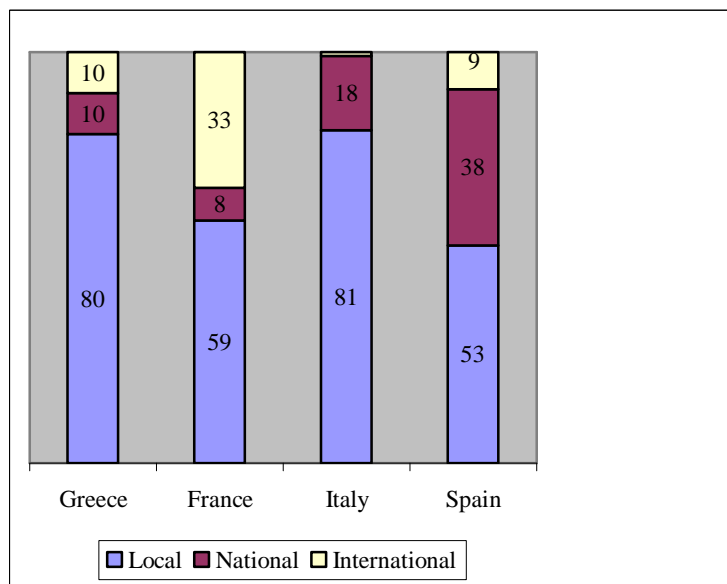
The bulk of movers' associations – with the exception of those formed by Germans – cooperate with both other expat organizations and COR organizations. Cooperation with COO organizations is less frequent, especially among Romanian associations (only 6.8% of them do so). These also show a weaker relation with COO institutions, which is in fact the case for almost one in two Polish NGOs.

The degree of cooperation between associations is different in the four countries. This does confirm that cooperation depends on the political opportunity structure, both at the institutional and discursive level (Koopmans 2004; Giugni and Morales 2011), and thus on the characteristics of national and local civil societies more than on the migrants' attitude, so that we expect more

⁹ In Greece, on the other hand, associations mainly operate in Athens and a few in Thessaloniki, where most intra EU migrants live. They are active at both the local and national level simultaneously.

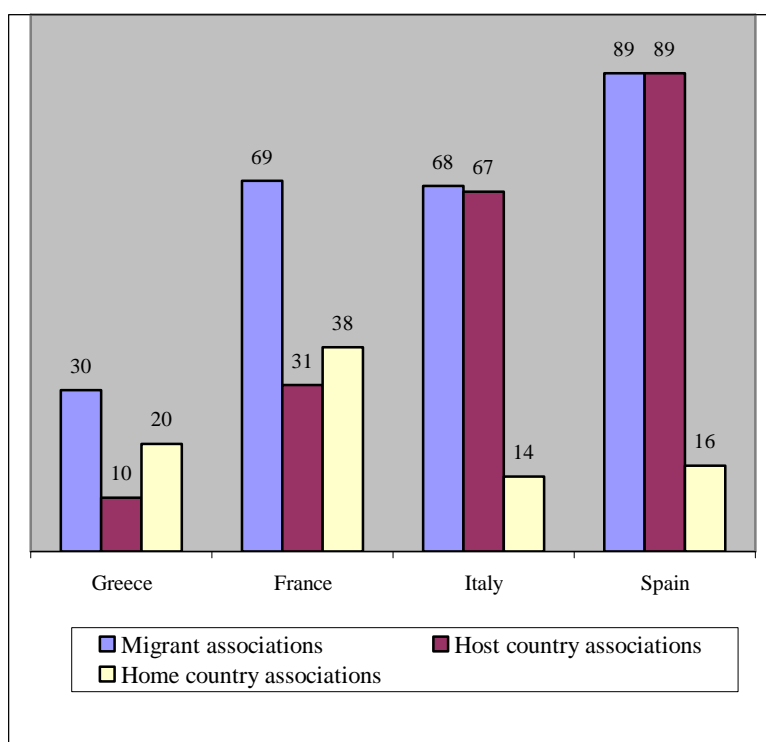
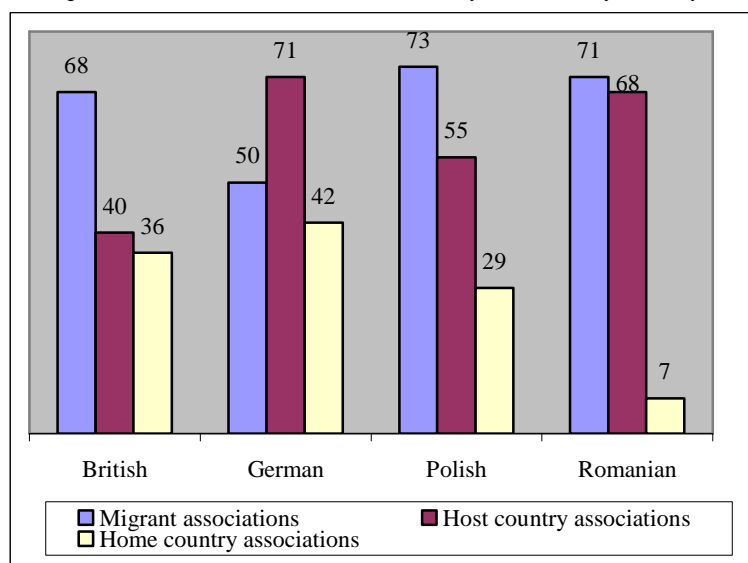
immigrant activism where civil society is stronger and less immigrant activism where local civic society is weaker (Vogel and Triandafyllidou 2006). On the other hand, a longer tradition of migration is usually also correlated to a wider political opportunity structure (Koopmans 2004).

Figures 6.4. and 6.5. The scale of associations’ activities by country of residence and nationality of members (%)



The highest cooperation between associations is found in Spain, and the weakest in Greece, where the overall associative fabric is looser. In Spain and in Italy, they cooperate with both COR organizations and other migrant organizations. In France, cooperation is higher with associations formed by third-country nationals. This might also be contingent on the older history of immigration in France: migrants’ NGOs are more structured and institutionalized.

Figures 6.6. and 6.7. Cooperation with other associations by nationality and by country of residence (%)

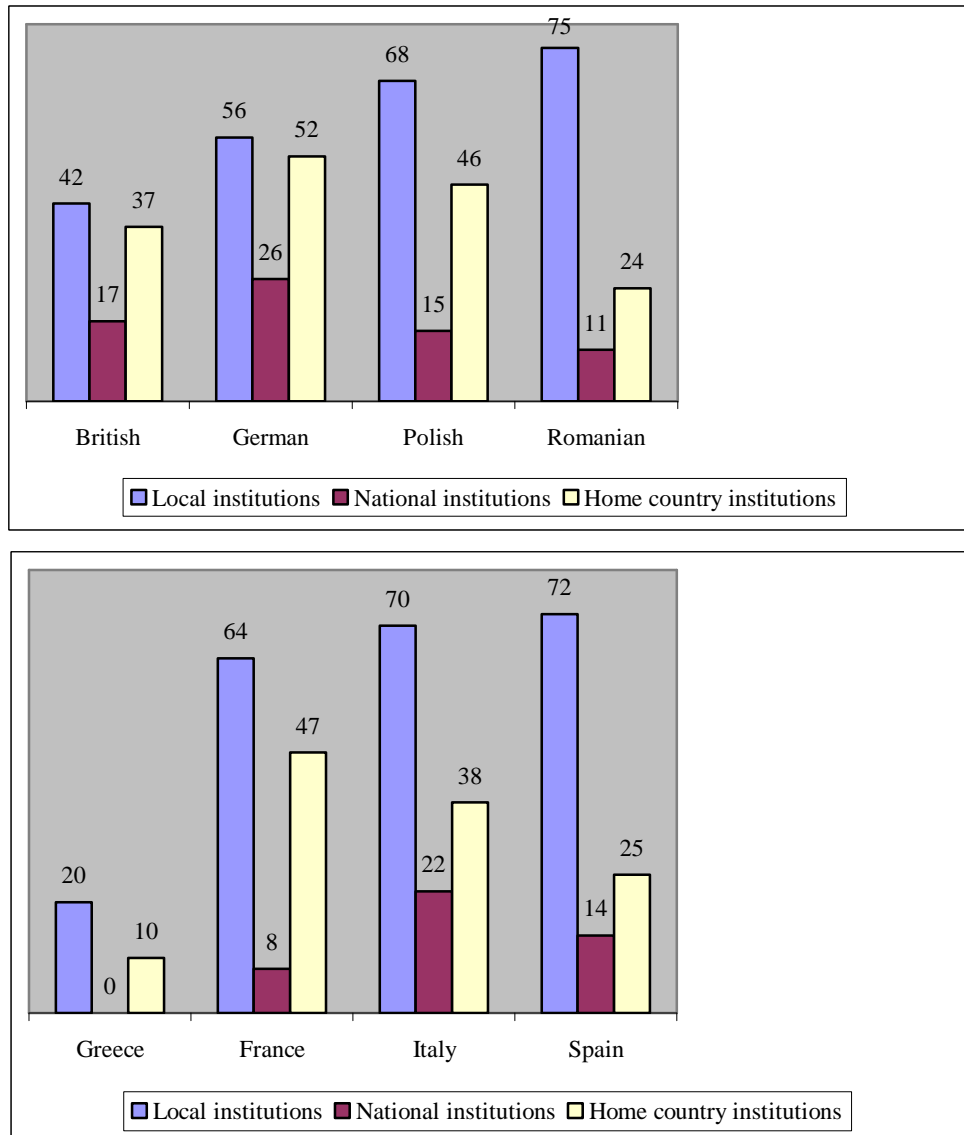


However, in France, cooperation is lower with French organizations. A (Polish) activist in France explains this by suggesting a certain resistance to openness in French civil society, which indirectly feeds back onto a denser dialogue between migrant communities:

In France there is a big problem with bonding with French people. They are very traditional and it's hard to get into this circle. I heard many times from the foreigners, not only from Poland, that they feel pushed in that they socialize with other foreigners, not necessarily from their country. Even if they didn't come with that idea at all. So foreign people in France keep together, but it's not their choice [Polish citizen in France, F].

Cooperation with local institutions is higher among Polish and Romanian organizations, while British and German NGOs also reach out to national-level institutions, due to their more solid institutionalization.

Figures 6.8 and 6.9. Collaboration with institutions by nationality and by country of residence (%)



6. Individual and collective paths of integration

A key finding of our survey is that EU movers’ associations are subjectively more important and objectively more widespread among Poles and Romanians. Among ‘newer’ Europeans, associations act as *migrant* organizations, while among ‘older’ European they are seen rather as *cultural* associations. This fits with the fact that British and Germans abroad tend to adopt de-nationalised and individualised modalities of social and political involvement. Western European movers live their mobility experience as a personal experience, and often they do not feel the need to share much with compatriots.

We well once founded a club of German speaking women and that was quite interesting to see how networking can help. Someone contributed experience in medical matters, others experience with craftsman, someone already had visited a certain doctor, someone another and so on, it simply gave you a stock of information that can be exchanged. But due to the fact that we had very different ways of living the thing did not work out and the club broke up. And I think in Germany you also get to know only people who harmonize with you better and I think if you just look, who lives in Crete and speaks German that must not mean you love them [German citizen in Greece, F, 38].

I've never been member or part of any expatriate organization, that's because I do not consider myself an expatriate - that's odd cause I am – what I consider myself is, I certainly do consider myself a citizen of Europe, my wife is from Austria, my kids were born in Greece [British citizen in Greece, M, 60].

The English don't have networks. I myself don't know of any [British citizen in Italy, M, 54].

'Individual migrants' are more interested in sharing practical information and in participating in discussions about life in the host country than in pursuing any form of collective action. A key novelty of the last decade is the growing use of online forums, web communities, social media, in order to keep in touch with compatriots, share information and points of view about the experience of life in another country. Forums and internet-based social networks are used mostly by German and British citizens. New information and communication technologies contribute to changing the relationship among migrants in many ways, as well as between them and their home countries, often reducing the role of institutional bodies and structured organizations. While in many regards associations' websites and expat forums have similar functions, i.e. giving practical information and offering a space of debate, the lack of an associational structure entails the absence of public representation and a more low-profile presence in the host country public sphere. On the contrary, movers' associations are not merely instruments in solving individual needs, but collective actors supporting collective legitimacy and political integration as well.

Overall, the importance of immigrants' associations is inversely related to the degree of individual integration in the residence country. Even sharing the same condition as EU citizens, Polish and Romanian movers fit into a more traditional migrant experience, requiring some form of collective representation. Romanians are found to be more fragmented and enter the associational arena in a more instrumental way, while Poles have a stronger sense of community and develop their own civil society abroad to preserve their national identity (Webber 2005).

7. Concluding remarks

'Older' Europeans' associations are also older and more institutionalized. The role of movers' associations is inversely related to the degree of integration of individual citizens into the host society, responding to diverse demands in local societies. Over time their goals tend to shift from social/self-help to cultural. At the same time, the older the tradition of migration is, the less associations are 'bottom-up' and based on voluntary work. Therefore, British and German associations are more likely linked to institutional bodies and devoted to cultural activities.

The social and political features of the host countries, in terms of both institutional governance arrangements and associative networks, shape the nature and role of movers' associations as well. Interaction and collaboration with COR civil society is especially relevant for Eastern European migrants who are often inexperienced when it comes to the workings and structuring of associations.

Finally, though still limited, there are signs that the granting of active and passive voting rights in local elections for EU citizens has encouraged the constitution of political movements that have the goal of ensuring the political representation of EU mobile citizens, once their number reaches a critical mass (like Romanians in Italy and Spain).

Methodological Note

Oscar Santacreu

One of the main work-streams in the MOVEACT project was to map and analyse the political participation of migrants from four EU nationalities (British, German, Polish and Romanian) in four European countries: France, Italy, Spain and Greece. To do that, we adopted a mixed approach, 'triangulating' methods to get the most complete picture of the target population.

Thus, the project gathered systematic information through the following field activities:

- a) An overview and analysis of the associations formed by EU movers;
- b) In-depth interviews of active EU movers of all four nationalities;
- c) A phone survey of a random sample of EU movers.

To begin with, we carried out a survey of the expat associations of British, Germans, Poles and Romanians in the four target countries. We explored – via internet search and consulate lists – the universe of migrants' associations in Italy, France, Spain and Greece in order to map out associations, informal networks and groups (also on the internet) formed by EU movers. At last, we came up with a directory of 194 associations out of more than 500 listed. We excluded from the survey those associations that turned out to be directly linked to institutional bodies or active as profit organizations, given that our target was bottom-up and non-profit organizations active in the cultural, social and political field. We contacted all association leaders or representatives, either by email or by phone, in order to submit a short questionnaire on activity, goals, members, institutional and associational partnerships.

We soon discovered that the bulk of these associations, and especially those formed by Polish and Romanian movers, are short-lived. Even if they continue to be listed in official registers, many of them were found to have been closed down. Moreover, some association leaders were impossible to contact, since both their email addresses and phone numbers did not work. Finally, a few leaders refused to answer to the questionnaire.

Even though only a few questionnaires were completed via e-mail, almost all associations' leaders that we were able to contact by phone collaborated and were interviewed. In spite of these limitations, the survey has allowed us to build a large, reliable and novel database on the presence and activity of EU movers' associations in Southern Europe.

In parallel, 48 in-depth interviews were done in the four countries with active EU movers, 12 in each target country. Interviewees were partially selected among association leaders contacted when mapping movers' associations. Other interviewees were selected among local councillors, political bloggers, members of political parties, activists of social movements. The interviews were based on a common open-ended questionnaire tackling mobility experiences and political socialization, social and political activism, opinions about Europe, the main constraints to social and political participation of European citizens living abroad and, finally, possible initiatives to be developed in order to facilitate the political and social participation of European movers. Most interviews were conducted in the native tongue of the interviewee and later transcribed and translated into English for comparative analysis and inclusion in the scientific report (see annex).

Finally, the core field activity of the project was a random telephone survey aimed at obtaining quantitative information on the social and political participation of European movers. The sampling universe was formed by British, German, Polish and Romanian citizens living in France, Greece, Italy and Spain. Eligibility in the survey was conditional upon being of the COO nationality, having settled in COR as adults (aged 18 or more) before January 2011, and having spent at least six

months in COR during 2011. Given these conditions, 125 people of each of the four nationalities (British, German, Polish, Romanian) were interviewed in up to a total of 500 cases per country of residence, that is 2000 individuals in the four target countries (France, Greece, Italy and Spain). This represents a sampling error of $\pm 2,24\%$ with a confidence level of 95,5% (two sigma) and $P = Q$.

The telephone survey was based on a standardized questionnaire drafted by the four academic teams (France, Greece, Italy, Spain). The questionnaire was partially based on previous surveys – particularly, the European Social Survey (ESS) and the European Internal Migrations Social Survey (EIMSS), to maximise the opportunities for comparative and cumulative analysis. The English version of the questionnaire was translated into each of the languages of the target nationalities, as interviews were carried out mostly in the mother tongue of respondents by bi-lingual interviewers.

Several options were considered for sampling: population registers, telephone books, random routes or random-digit combined with screening procedures for migrants, but these options would have been too costly and time consuming. A pure network sampling starting in the country of origin (like in King and Patterson 1998) would have also been inadequate because it could over-represent people who are more connected to the community of origin. Finally, the selected option for the sampling and screening of respondents was to combine telephone registers with linguistic information on names and surnames, replicating the innovative technique developed in the PIONEUR project (5th Framework Programme: cf. Recchi and Favell 2009). Thus, a list of the most frequent names and surnames for each nationality was used in order to select phone numbers corresponding to potential EU movers.

The survey was carried out in the four countries by specialized firms using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) software. The following table resumes the company names and the dates for the fieldwork:

Country	Firm	Field begin date	Field end date
France	Le Groupe CSA /Callson Paris	30 January 2012	10 February 2012
Greece	VPRC	27 November 2011	13 February 2012
Italy	FNA Ricerche	4 November 2011	21 February 2012
Spain	CIDES, Estudios de Mercado, S.L.	15 November 2011	9 December 2011

The fieldwork included the revision of multilingual questionnaires, selection and training the interviewers, preparation of the sampling framework, briefing, monitoring and random telephone control of the sample. In particular, the pre-test provided information to correct some shortcomings in the questionnaire.

The interviews were conducted by bilingual interviewers, most of the required nationality, and the interviews were proposed in two languages (from the COO and the COR) and performed in the language chosen by each respondent. The average duration of each interview was 24 minutes. The next table shows the rates of successful calls in each country. Unsuccessful calls could be due to false positives by nationality (in spite of the sampling procedure: e.g., American instead of British, Austrian instead of German, etc.), lack of selection criteria (e.g., migrated before adulthood), absence from home, refusal to participate in the survey.

In Italy, as there were difficulties in finding eligible respondents to balance apparent gender and age biases, the last 20% of the interviews was completed with “snowball” sampling and circulating the questionnaire online in institutional channels and social media with the support of the UK and German consulates.

	British	German	Polish	Romanian
France	3.0%	2.7%	3.6%	4.2%
Greece	16.5%	26.3%	40.9%	18.9%
Italy	3.8%	4.8%	7.8%	6.7%
Spain	7.4%	5.2%	7.8%	6.9%

Some other problems were found during the fieldwork. For example, the survey firm in Spain was at pains with phone numbers of Polish citizens. This problem was solved by the subsequent expansion of surnames to increase the sampling frame. There were also problems with balancing gender quotas with Romanians and Germans: in general, the percentage of women who answered the call was considerably higher, exacerbated by the fact that, in a systematic way, in German and especially Romanian couples, men asked their partners to answer the interview. Excluding women during the sampling process solved the problem.

On the other hand, as the phone survey is mainly based on phone landlines, it tends to over-represent adults, living in the COR for a long time, as most of younger expats do not have landline because they use mobile phones. This is a minor problem as the reference population of the project is not EU movers altogether, but *EU settled movers* (i.e., those having a phone landline and thus integrated in the host society). This target population is indeed the most interesting one, if we are focusing on citizenship participation.

In this sense, even though it is hard to have a profile of the reference population, education and gender do not match the population structure. The sample, however, is not dramatically unbalanced. Compared to the Labour Force Survey profile of EU movers in the four countries, we found that women are over-represented in all nationalities, between 2% among Poles and 6% among Romanians. Overall, however, it is quite reasonable that women are found in larger numbers in this reference population, as intermarriage data show that male natives are more likely to marry women immigrants than the other way round.

Our sample refers to a population that is actually a subset of the migrant population of the target nationalities, due to the restrictions of the sampling universe (date of arrival, residence time, age...). Unfortunately, we do not know whether those who did not answer or who refused to answer were part of the migrant population of that nationality in that country, but were not part of the subpopulation that fulfilled these requirements. In consequence, it is not possible to evaluate the non-response bias.

After the fieldwork, data cleaning was performed by the MOVEACT team and the datasets from the four countries were merged. To do that, a codebook was generated for each database, double-checking consistency in variable formats and values. In addition, work variables were coded to ISCO88 and then converted into the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero class schema (EGP) by adapting the SPSS syntax used by Leiulfsrud et al. (2010) with the conversion tools developed by Harry Ganzeboom¹⁰.

¹⁰ <http://www.harryganzeboom.nl/isko88>.

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