
DEMONET
**Demography Network of the European Observatory on the
Social Situation and Demography**

Research Note:
International connectedness in the European Union

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1. Introduction

The relationship of European citizens with other countries has always been of interest to the European Union. It is often assumed that with increasing globalization and international migration, combined with increasing political and economic integration of the European Union, a more mobile European citizen will evolve, who is ever more connected internationally, especially within the European Union but also with the wider world. The aim of this research note is to study such cross-border connectedness. To what extent do European Union citizens have international economic, social and cultural relationships? If so, which type of relationships, do they vary between member states, and can we distinguish trends?

International connectedness may come in a variety of forms and may differ in strength. Available statistical data sources provide only limited data, for instance on international migrants and expats, foreign citizens, mixed marriages, international students, cross-border workers and retirement workers. But statistical data availability differs significantly; and comparability between EU countries is often lacking, so that it is difficult to patch together a picture of connectedness for all European Union citizens. Comparative data from surveys such as the Eurobarometer may solve some of these problems and the Eurobarometer round of February-March 2010 (sample size 26,600), which has a special topic on international connectedness, serves well to explore this issue. The sample of the Eurobarometer round of February-March 2010 is restricted to EU citizens aged 15 years or older and residents who do possess citizenship of at least one of the 27 member states of the EU. All tables, figures and maps presented in this Research Note refer to this sample.

2. Basic elements of connectedness

People can be connected to other countries in various ways. The Eurobarometer round of February-March 2010 explores a number of such connections, in four different areas: ancestry, personal relationships, personal experiences abroad and socio-cultural connections. In addition, other questions were asked, on feelings of attachment to one's own country, to other specific countries, or to the European Union in general, and on migration intentions.

Ancestry

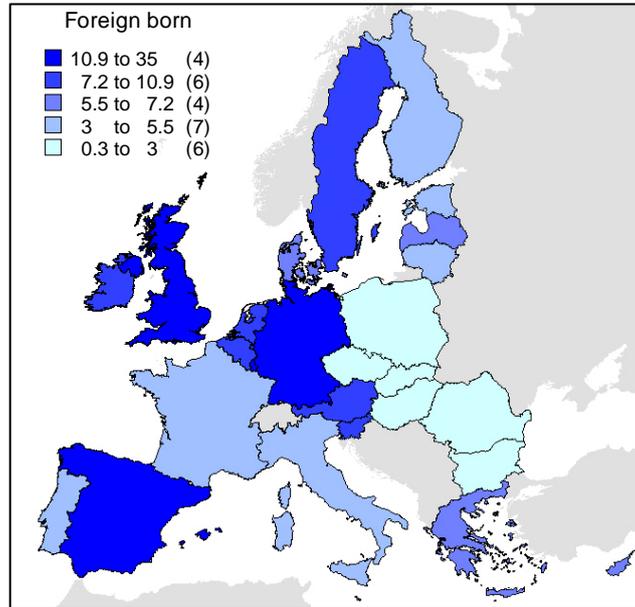
Being foreign born is an obvious element of cross-border connectedness; it is also one of the most frequently available statistics. But it is relatively uncommon: Seven per cent of the respondents in the Eurobarometer sample was born abroad. More people (12 per cent) have at least one parent who was born abroad and even 17 per cent have one or more grandparents who were born abroad. But of only one in twenty Europeans both they themselves, both parents and all four grandparents were born abroad. We should be aware that the survey shows foreign ancestry to be more uncommon than in reality, as the sample excludes both EU citizens younger than 15 and, more importantly, the population that does not have citizenship of one of the 27 member states of the EU.

There is considerable variety among the member states. In general, Eastern European countries as well as Portugal and Italy show low percentages of the population with foreign ancestry (*map 2.1, map 2.2 and map 2.3*).

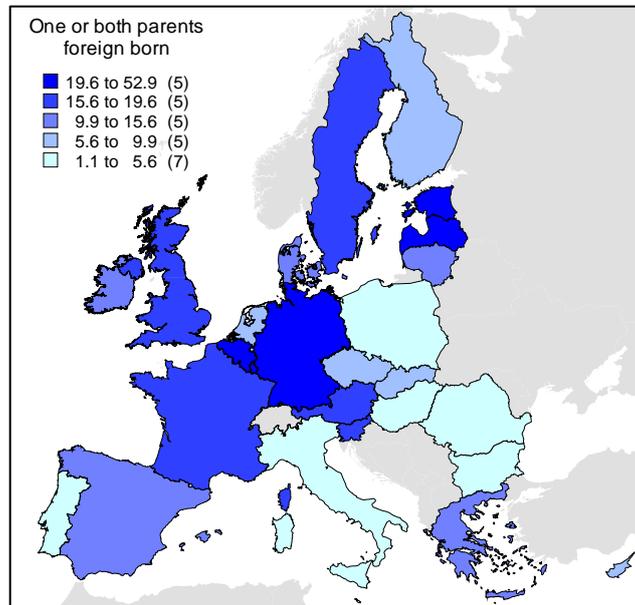
Personal experiences abroad

Having lived abroad could certainly count as an indicator of cross-border connectedness. Such personal experiences abroad, in the domain of personal life choices, are not very common but still involve a considerable number of Europeans: 13 per cent of the respondents have worked abroad for three months or longer, and eight per cent studied abroad (for at least three months), while about ten per cent has lived abroad at least three months for other reasons. Eight per cent live or has lived with a partner with foreign citizenship. Again, there is considerable difference between member states (*map 2.4, map 2.5, map 2.6, map 2.7 and map 2.8*). In most of the eastern European states very few people

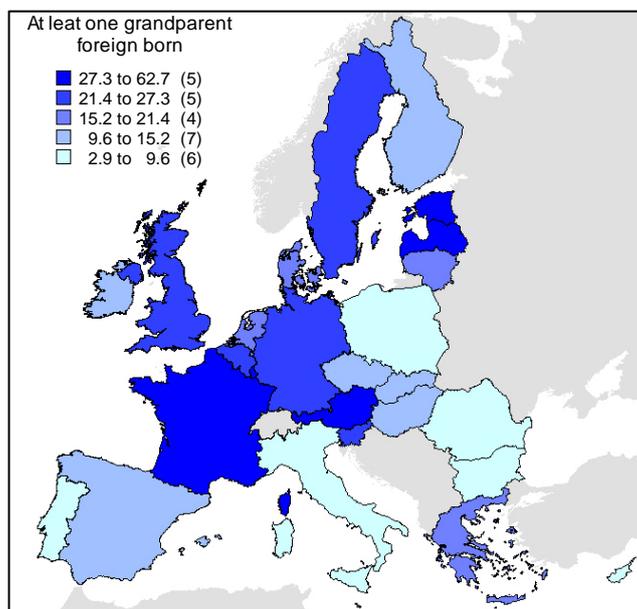
Map 2.1. Respondent born abroad (%)



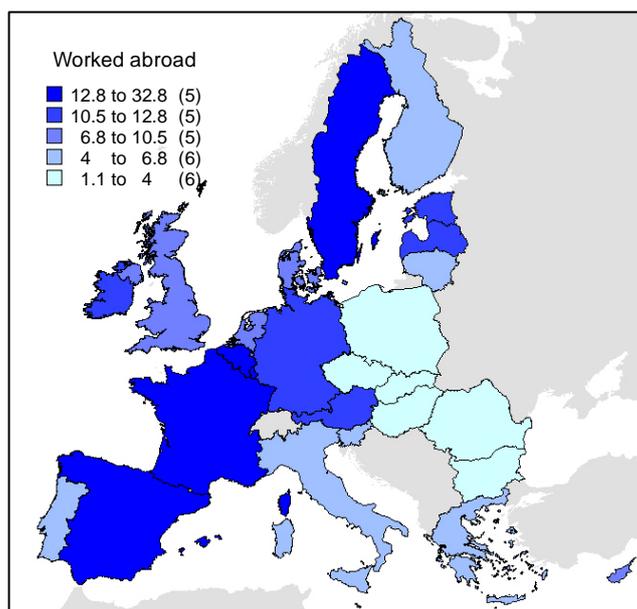
Map 2.2. One or both parents born abroad (%)



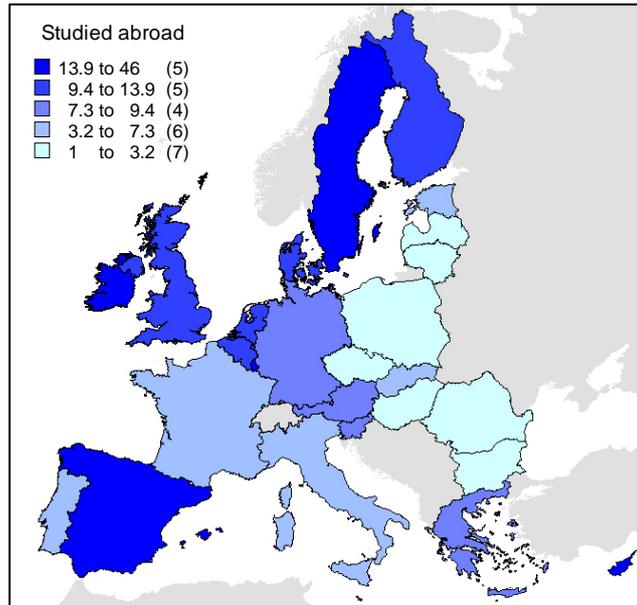
Map 2.3. At least one grandparent born abroad (%)



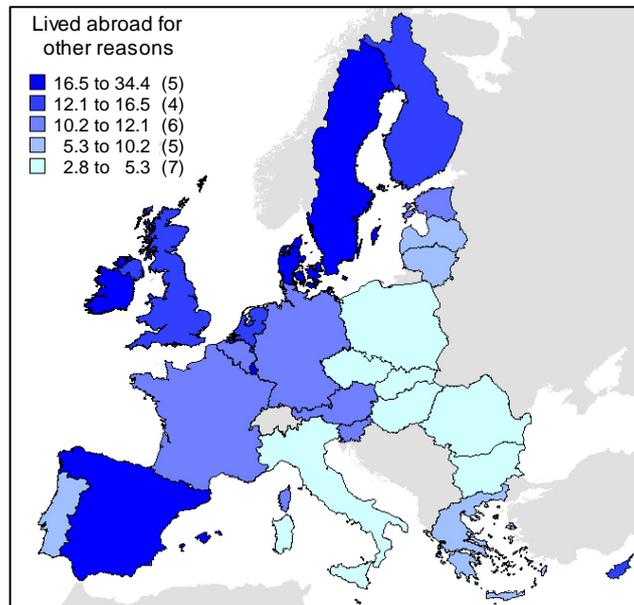
Map 2.4. Worked abroad (%)



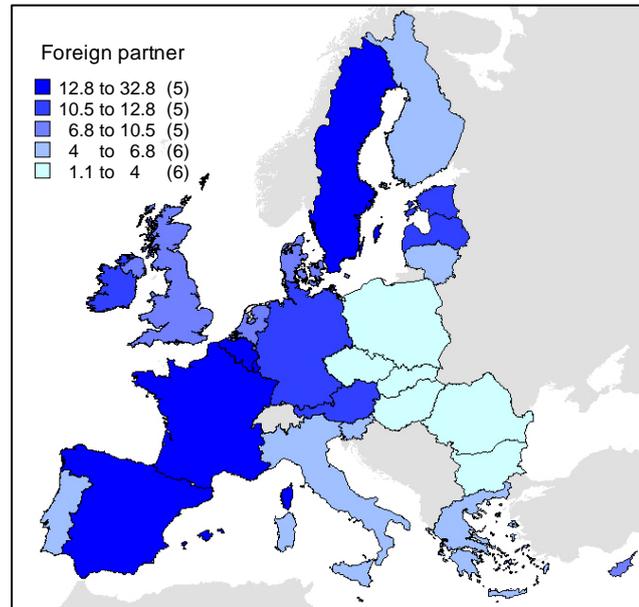
Map 2.5. Went to school or studied abroad (%)



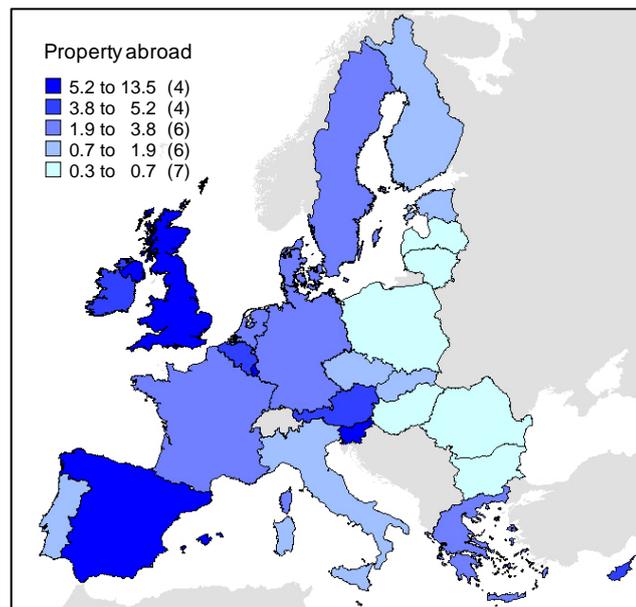
Map 2.6. Lived abroad for other reasons (%)



Map 2.7. Ever had a partner with foreign citizenship (%)



Map 2.8. Owns real estate abroad (%)



have worked or studied abroad or lived abroad for other reasons, own a home abroad or live(d) with a foreign partner. This is probably due to relatively low income levels and the fact that international travel is fairly novel. Residents of Sweden, Belgium, Luxemburg, France and Spain stand out where work experience abroad is concerned. And relatively many residents of, again, Sweden, Luxembourg, and Spain, as well as of the small countries Cyprus and Ireland studied abroad. In Luxembourg and Sweden mixed marriages are more frequent than in other countries. Few people anywhere own real property abroad (a mere three per cent), but Luxembourgers (13 per cent), Spaniards (seven per cent) and Slovenians (six per cent) somewhat more frequently than others.

Personal relationships

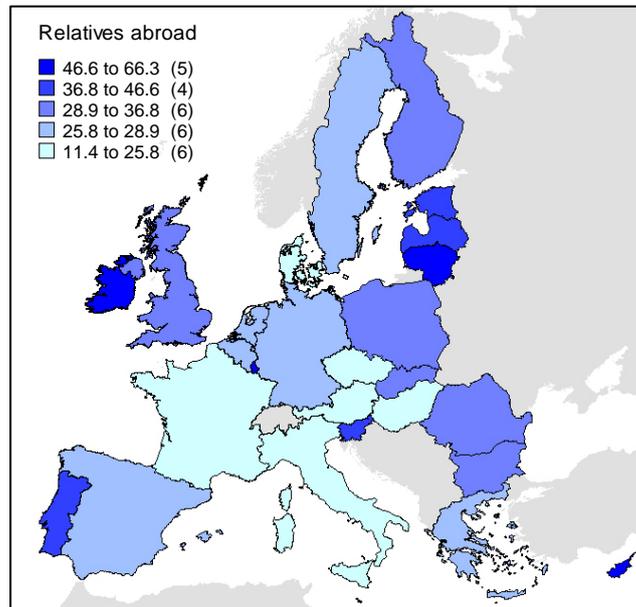
In contrast to cross-border personal experiences, cross-border personal relationships are much more common: More than one in four Europeans have close relatives abroad, and even four in ten have close friends living in another country (although these may be friends from one's own country who now stay abroad). Furthermore, three in ten have friends who came from another country (although, again, these may be same-origin friends). *Map 2.9* and *map 2.10* present country-specific detail. For relatives and friends abroad it is the eastern European countries who show the higher values, although the small countries of Cyprus, Ireland, Lithuania, Malta and —as always— Luxembourg stand out most.

Having immigrant friends is likely to be a function both of exposure (large immigrant communities) and individual and societal openness. In this respect, residents in Luxembourg, Sweden and Spain again, as well as in Denmark, Ireland and Slovenia are most likely to count immigrants among their friends (see *map 2.11*).

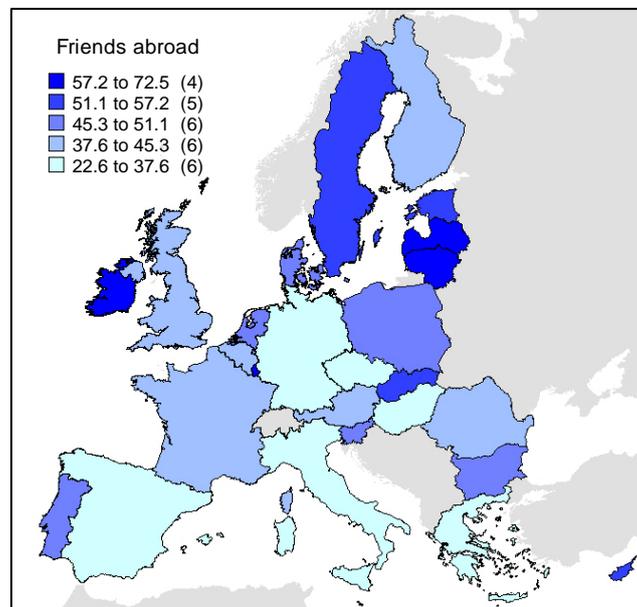
Socio-cultural connections

The Eurobarometer contains a few questions intended to provide some idea about people's openness towards and experience with socio-cultural aspects of other countries. Respondents were asked whether they regularly spend their holidays/weekends in one particular other country than their country of residence. The intention here apparently is to measure frequent exposure to a specific other country, rather than to get an idea of cosmopolitan travellers (who would spend their holidays abroad, but in different countries). Two more questions ask whether respondents regularly follow news, cultural life or sports

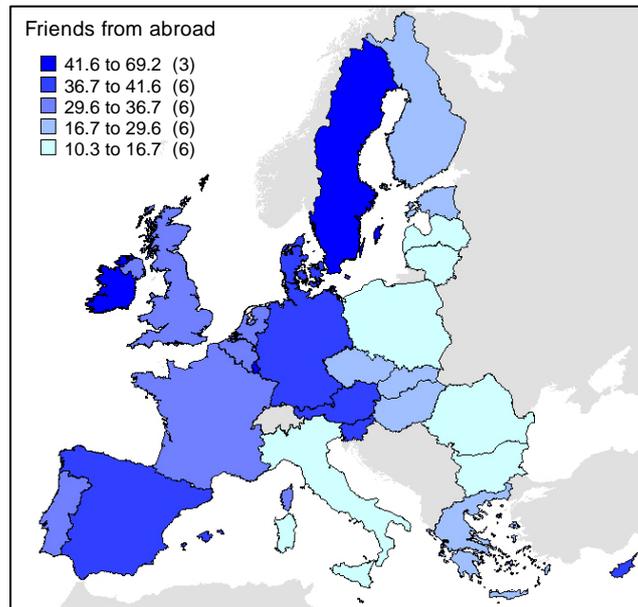
Map 2.9. Close relatives living abroad (%)



Map 2.10. Close friends living abroad (%)



Map 2.11. Having friends from abroad (%)

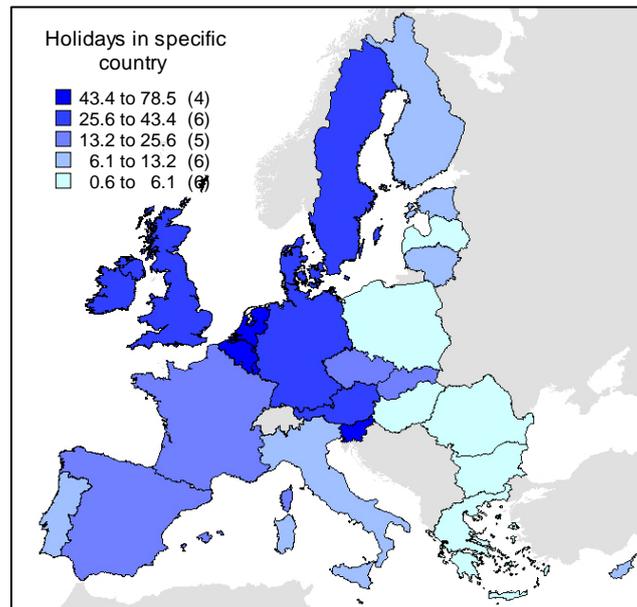


from another country, and whether they regularly eat food at home that is typical of another country. The latter question is somewhat problematic, as it leaves judgement on what is and is not exotic food open to the respondent.

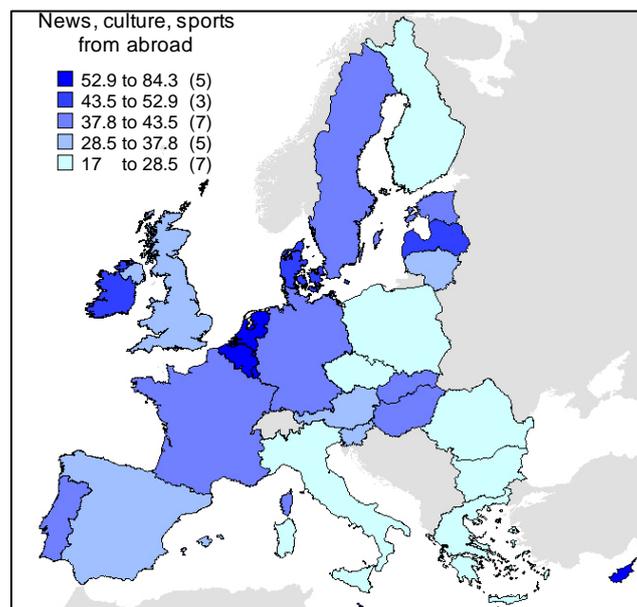
In any case, socio-cultural connections are fairly widespread. One third of the respondents regularly follows news, culture or sports from other countries, or regularly eats food at home that is typical of another country, while one in five regularly spend their holidays in one particular other country.

The likelihood of going on holiday abroad differs significantly between countries. Apparently, the Dutch, Belgians, Austrians, Slovenians and Luxembourgers are most likely to repeatedly go to a specific country to spend their holidays. Residents of Belgium, the Netherlands, Cyprus, Malta and Luxembourg are most likely to follow news, sports or culture from other countries, and this is probably related to linguistic knowledge and/or cultural ties. In the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark and the United Kingdom, people like to eat exotic food, which is possibly partly a function of colonial history (Netherlands, United Kingdom), the large share of the immigrant population (Luxembourg) and perhaps the non-specificity of national cuisines (*map 2.12, map 2.13 and map 2.14*).

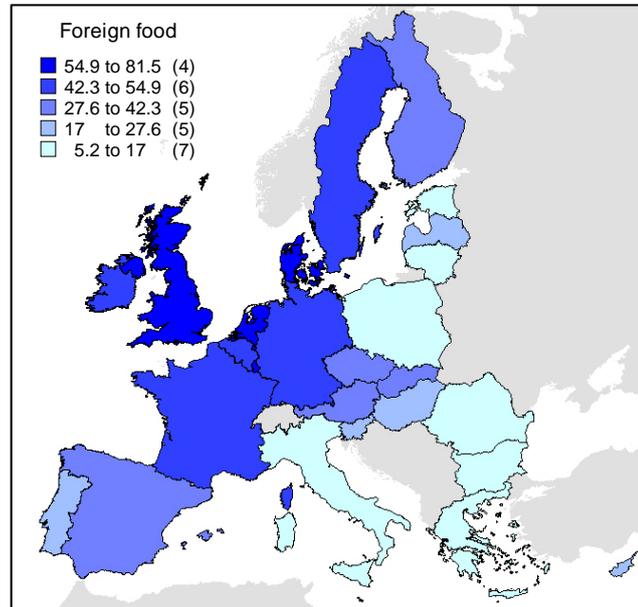
Map 2.12. Regular holidays in one specific foreign country (%)



Map 2.13. Regularly following news, sports or culture from another country (%)



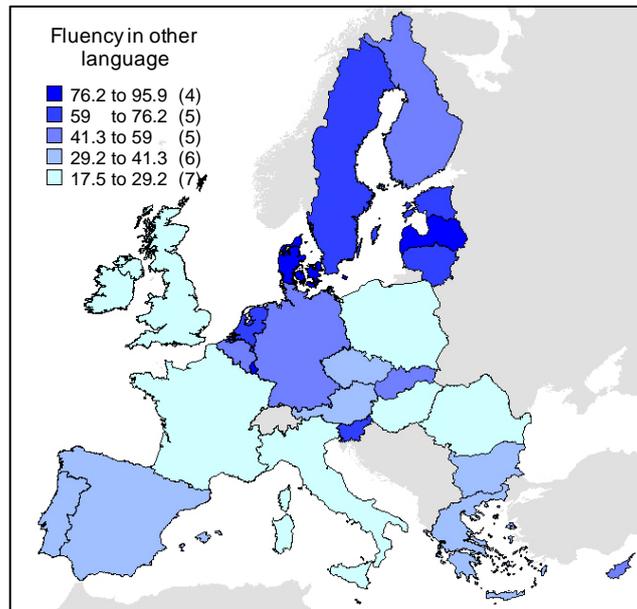
Map 2.14. Regularly eating food at home that is specific of another country (%)



Linguistic knowledge

Cross-border connectedness would be highly facilitated if people speak other languages than their mother tongue, although admittedly this is less necessary for native English speakers. About one in three people consider themselves to be fluent in at least one other language (*map 2.15*). As expected, the English and the Irish show up low, as do the French and Italians, and residents of Poland, Hungary and Romania.

Map 2.15. Fluency in at least one other language (%)



3. Degree of connection: Construction of an index

In order to arrive at a summary measure of connectedness, an overall connectedness index was constructed. The index is based on Eurobarometer questions on the types of connections people may have with other countries, as described in the previous section. The questions used to construct the index are grouped into four themes: ‘Ancestry’, ‘relations’ (personal relationships), ‘life choices’ (personal experiences abroad) and ‘culture’ (socio-cultural connections). For each theme also a separate sub-index was computed, resulting in one overall connectedness index and four sub-indices. All separate index scores range from zero (not connected) to one (fully connected). As the questions are not considered to be all of equal importance in Europeans’ connectedness, different weights have been attached to each constituting element of the indices. The overall connectedness index is computed as the weighted sum of the four subgroup index scores ($0.3 \times \text{ancestry} + 0.3 \times \text{relations} + 0.3 \times \text{life choices} + 0.1 \times \text{culture index score}$) (see *table 3.1*). The rarer events of ancestry and life choices are thought to be more important in creating a real sense of connectedness, as they are more likely to have a pervasive influence on life than merely spending holidays abroad, eating exotic food or following news, sports or culture from a distance.

Table 3.2 presents the scores on the various connectedness indices by country of the European Union. The 0.513 total connectedness index score of Luxembourg is by far the highest score, followed by the 0.283 second place score of Ireland. Italy scores lowest with 0.085 (see also *figure 1*). Luxembourg scores highest on all subgroup indices as well and particularly stands out with the ancestry and the life choices index scores. Italy also scores the lowest on both the relations and the culture index (see *figure 3.1, figure 3.2, figure 3.3, figure 3.4* and *figure 3.5*). The geographical pattern of the total connectedness index scores is visualised in *map 3.1*. The lower scores are mainly found in the southern and central-eastern parts of the European Union, with the exception of Cyprus and Malta. For the subgroup index scores the spatial patterns are slightly different (*map 3.2, map 3.3, map 3.4* and *map 3.5*). Remarkable differences from the geographical pattern of the total connectedness index score are the relatively high ancestry index score of Germany, the relatively high relations index scores of Lithuania and Portugal and the relatively high life choices index score of Spain. Clustering

Table 3.1. Connectedness indices: Items and weights

Question group	Description	Item weight	Group weight
Ancestry	respondent born abroad	0.120	0.300
	mother born abroad	0.042	
	father born abroad	0.042	
	mother's grandmother born abroad	0.024	
	mother's grandfather born abroad	0.024	
	father's grandmother born abroad	0.024	
	father's grandfather born abroad	0.024	
Relations	relatives abroad	0.100	0.300
	friends abroad	0.100	
	friends who moved from abroad	0.100	
Life choices	partner other citizenship	0.075	0.300
	worked abroad	0.075	
	school/study abroad	0.075	
	property abroad	0.075	
Culture	other language	0.025	0.100
	holidays abroad	0.025	
	news/sports/culture from other country	0.025	
	food from other country	0.025	
Total		1.000	1.000

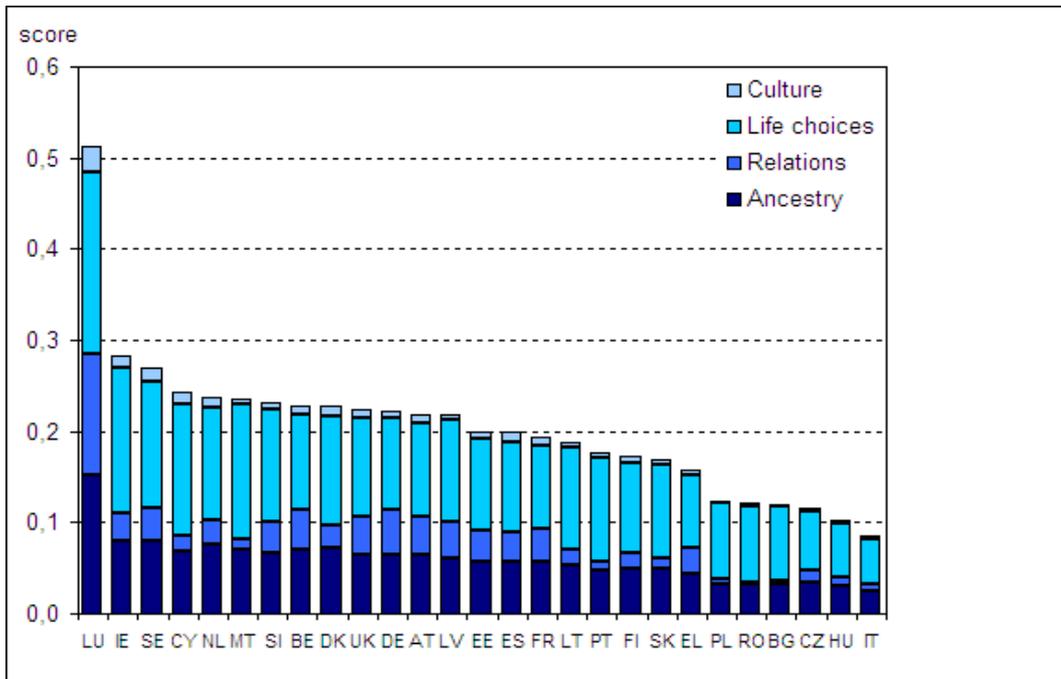
the countries on the base of the four thematic subgroup scores yields basically four groups of countries: (1) the extremely high scoring single country Luxembourg, (2) the high scoring group of countries Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Ireland, Malta, the Netherlands and Sweden (3) the lowest scoring group of countries Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Romania, and (4) the average scoring group of the remaining thirteen countries (see figure 3.6).

Table 3.2. Connectedness index scores by subgroup and country*

Country	Name	Index				
		Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
AT	Austria	0.219	0.142	0.348	0.102	0.400
BE	Belgium	0.227	0.147	0.337	0.094	0.533
BG	Bulgaria	0.120	0.016	0.301	0.032	0.171
CY	Cyprus	0.242	0.060	0.504	0.133	0.348
CZ	Czech Republic	0.115	0.044	0.221	0.031	0.261
DE	Germany	0.222	0.168	0.341	0.089	0.420
DK	Denmark	0.227	0.078	0.374	0.108	0.571
EE	Estonia	0.200	0.122	0.360	0.082	0.351
EL	Greece	0.158	0.103	0.293	0.070	0.200
ES	Spain	0.200	0.116	0.349	0.120	0.276
FI	Finland	0.173	0.056	0.337	0.078	0.311
FR	France	0.194	0.118	0.310	0.092	0.351
HU	Hungary	0.102	0.031	0.198	0.038	0.223
IE	Ireland	0.283	0.103	0.564	0.144	0.380
IT	Italy	0.085	0.026	0.169	0.041	0.142
LT	Lithuania	0.188	0.064	0.402	0.055	0.333
LU	Luxembourg	0.513	0.448	0.672	0.299	0.847
LV	Latvia	0.219	0.137	0.403	0.062	0.407
MT	Malta	0.236	0.036	0.503	0.059	0.572
NL	Netherlands	0.237	0.077	0.381	0.104	0.693
PL	Poland	0.124	0.022	0.310	0.035	0.145
PT	Portugal	0.176	0.036	0.414	0.061	0.245
RO	Romania	0.121	0.009	0.313	0.033	0.168
SE	Sweden	0.270	0.121	0.472	0.146	0.473
SI	Slovenia	0.231	0.120	0.433	0.080	0.432
SK	Slovakia	0.169	0.037	0.352	0.055	0.356
UK	United Kingdom	0.224	0.146	0.383	0.103	0.387
EU27	European Union	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

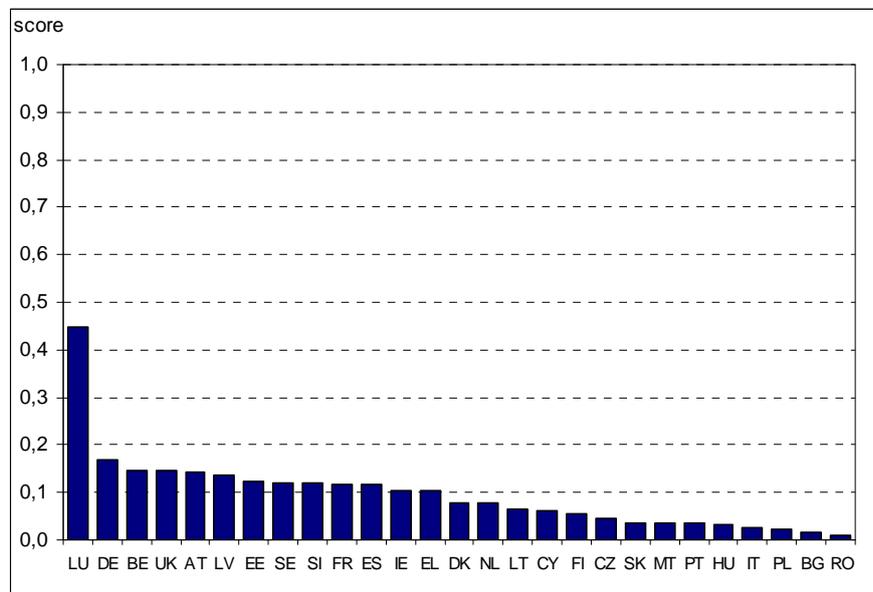
* All index scores are on a scale from 0 (not connected) to 1 (fully connected) and calculated by using sample weight factors (w.ex).

Figure 3.1. Connectedness index scores by country from high to low and composition of the index by subgroups



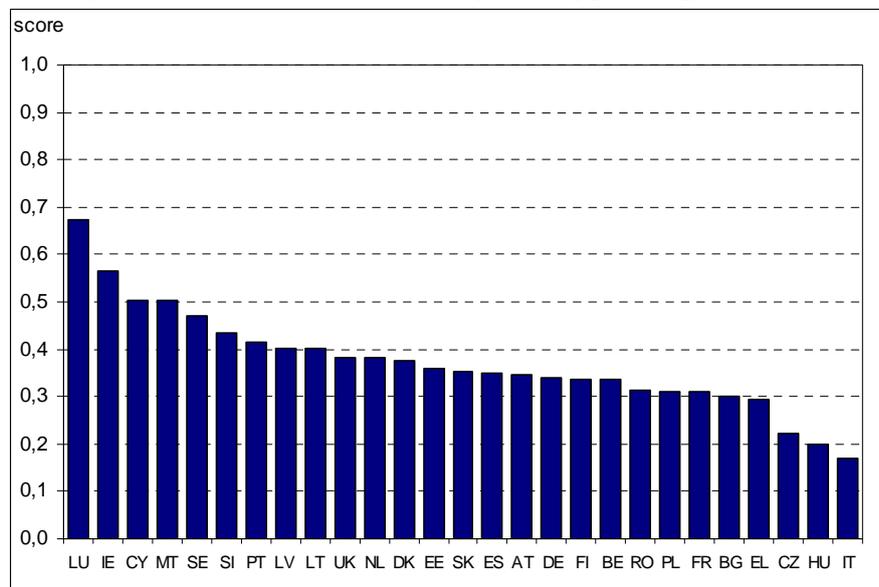
* All index scores are on a scale from 0 (not connected) to 1 (fully connected) and calculated by using sample weight factors (w.ex).

Figure 3.2. Ancestry index scores by country from high to low



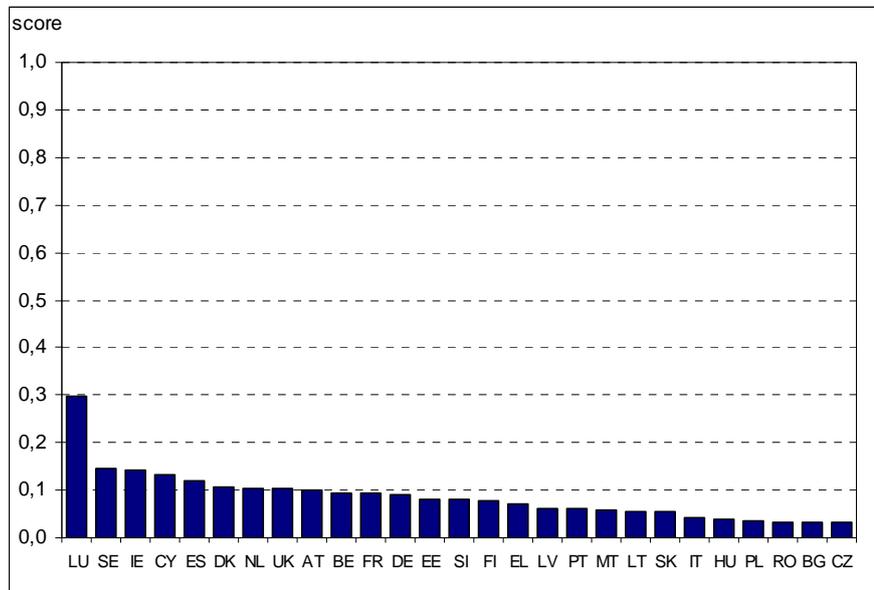
* All index scores are on a scale from 0 (not connected) to 1 (fully connected) and calculated by using sample weight factors (w.ex).

Figure 3.3. Relations index scores by country from high to low



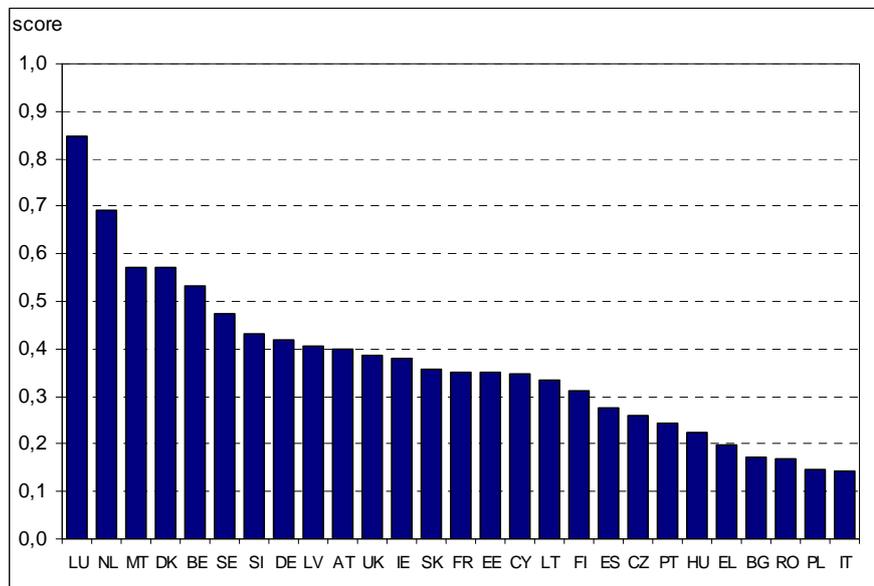
* All index scores are on a scale from 0 (not connected) to 1 (fully connected) and calculated by using sample weight factors (w.ex).

Figure 3.4. Life choices index scores by country from high to low



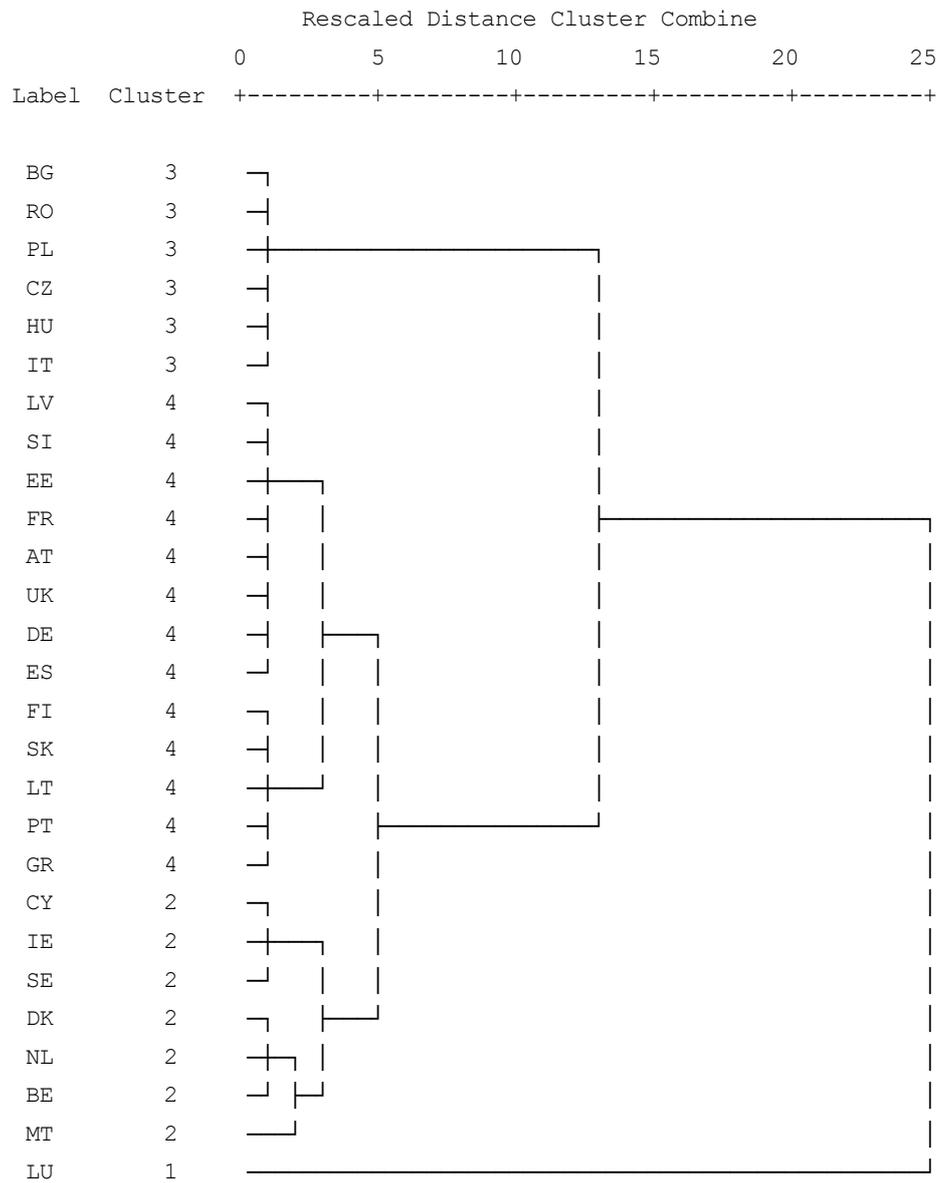
* All index scores are on a scale from 0 (not connected) to 1 (fully connected) and calculated by using sample weight factors (w.ex).

Figure 3.5. Culture index scores by country from high to low



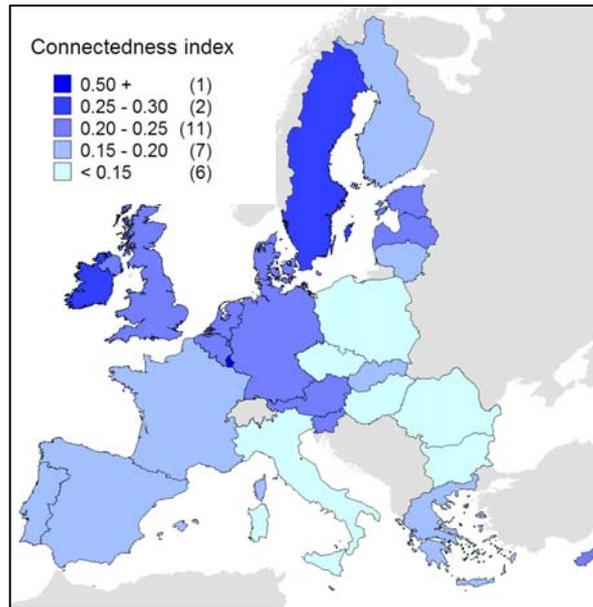
* All index scores are on a scale from 0 (not connected) to 1 (fully connected) and calculated by using sample weight factors (w.ex).

Figure 3.6. Dendrogram for Ward's linkage method cluster analysis of countries by ancestry, relations, life choices and culture connectedness items

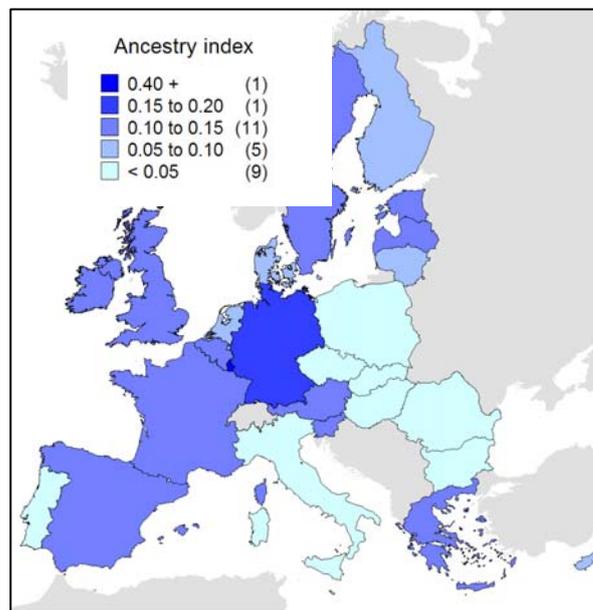


* All index scores are on a scale from 0 (not connected) to 1 (fully connected) and calculated by using sample weight factors (w.ex).

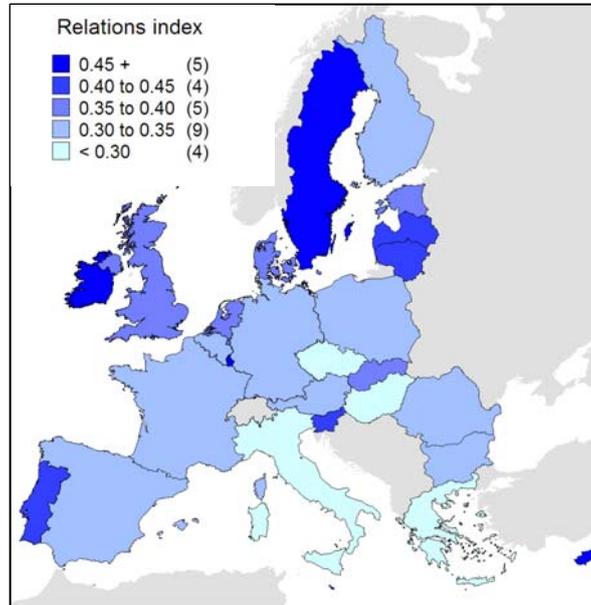
Map 3.1. Connectedness index (ancestry, relations, life choices and culture) (source table 3.2)



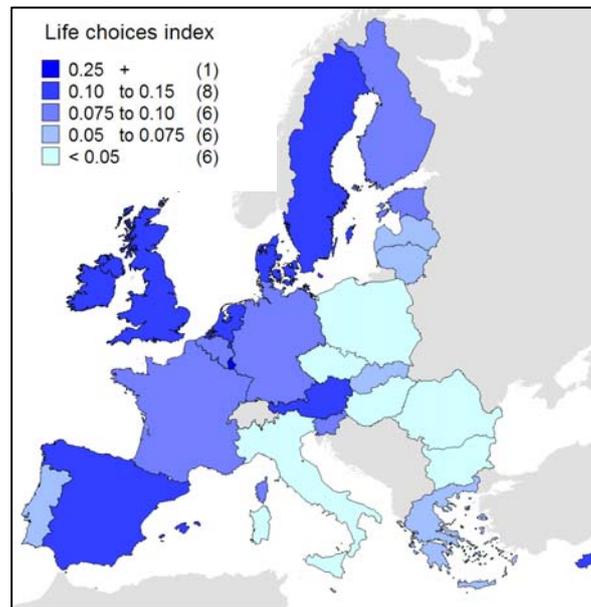
Map 3.2. Ancestry index (source table 3.2)



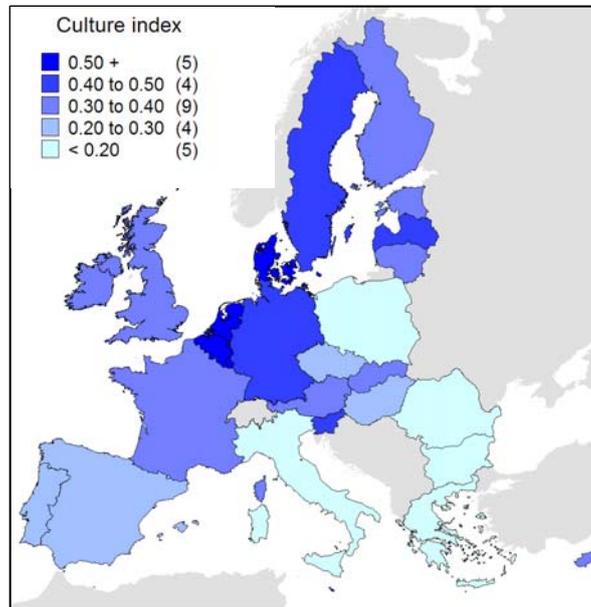
Map 3.3. Relations index (source table 3.2)



Map 3.4. Life choices index (source table 3.2)



Map 3.5. Culture index (source table 3.2)



4. The connectedness indices and other measures of cross-border connectedness

Both the total connectedness index and the subgroup indices can be linked to other questions from the Eurobarometer. This section deals with several variables on nationality, country of birth, linguistic knowledge, intentions to move abroad, feelings of attachment, and minority groups.

Multiple nationalities

Only 1.3 per cent of the citizens of the European Union have more than one nationality. *Table 4.1* presents the connectedness index and subgroup scores for people with one and those with more than one nationality. People with more than one nationality score higher on all connectedness indices: Three times higher on the overall score (all differences between the group means are significant ($p < 0.01$)).

Table 4.2 shows similar results for a breakdown by type of nationality. The group of people with one nationality is subdivided into those with the nationality of the EU country of residence and those with another EU nationality. The group of people with more than one nationality is subdivided in those with EU nationalities only and those with a non-EU nationality as well. Except for the culture index scores for the two groups with more than one nationality, all the differences between the group means are significant ($p < 0.05$). The table in fact shows a consistent ranking: First, the people with only one EU nationality but living in another EU country score highest on all indexes, secondly the people with more than one nationality including a non-EU nationality, thirdly the people with more than one EU nationality and finally those with only the nationality of the EU country they are living in.

Table 4.1. Mean scores on connectedness indices by whether people have more than one nationality

More than one nationality	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
No	0.174	0.088	0.315	0.075	0.314
Yes	0.561	0.598	0.691	0.371	0.622
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

Table 4.2. Mean connectedness index (subgroup) scores by whether people have more than one nationality by type of nationality

Number and EU/non-EU type of nationality	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
One nationality only					
Nationality of EU country of residence	0.162	0.072	0.304	0.065	0.304
Nationality of another EU country	0.727	0.844	0.813	0.527	0.767
More than one nationality					
EU only	0.501	0.504	0.633	0.323	0.611
EU plus other nationality	0.599	0.658	0.728	0.400	0.630
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

Country of birth

Around seven per cent of the citizens of the European Union were born outside their country of residence. All the people born outside the country of residence score much higher on the connectedness overall and subgroup indices (*table 4.3*). In general those born in ‘another country’ outside Europe score the highest, followed by those born in another EU country and those born in another European country. Differences between the groups born outside the EU country of residence are rather small, although differences between the mean overall connectedness index scores are significant ($p < 0.05$).

Almost 80 per cent of the EU citizens have all their grandparents born in their country of residence, whereas 7.5 per cent have all their grandparents born outside their country of residence. The more grandparents of the respondent are born in another country the higher the scores on the various connectedness indices (*table 4.4*). Roughly there are three groups: Those with all grandparents born abroad, those with one to three grandparents born abroad and those with no grandparents born abroad. Differences between the mean overall connectedness index scores are significant ($p < 0.01$).

Knowledge of additional languages

More than one in two people (52 per cent) do not speak another language than the mother tongue well enough to hold a conversation. One third knows one additional language, ten per cent speaks two and five per cent three or more other languages, apart from the mother tongue. There is considerable variation across the EU member states (*figure 4.1*). Not surprisingly, given the importance

Table 4.3. Mean scores on connectedness indices by respondents' country of birth

Country of birth	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
Country of living	0.140	0.033	0.285	0.052	0.290
Another EU country	0.712	0.912	0.770	0.459	0.681
Another country in Europe*	0.677	0.896	0.746	0.365	0.670
USA, Canada, Japan, Australia or New Zealand	0.633	0.698	0.719	0.444	0.676
Another country	0.731	0.944	0.820	0.445	0.691
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

* Including Turkey.

Table 4.4. Mean scores on connectedness indices by number of grandparents born outside the EU country of residence of the respondent

Number born abroad	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
4 grandparents	0.610	0.760	0.708	0.346	0.644
3 grandparents	0.289	0.242	0.441	0.151	0.399
2 grandparents	0.272	0.230	0.430	0.099	0.390
1 grandparent	0.220	0.115	0.373	0.098	0.393
0 grandparents	0.129	0.020	0.270	0.051	0.278
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

of English as an international language, the British and the Irish score low, but also in Italy only three in ten people speak another language. At the top end are the Luxembourgers, Latvians, Dutch and Maltese, with nine out of ten speaking at least one other language.

There is a strong and significant ($p < 0.01$) linear connection between the various indices and the number of additional languages spoken by the respondents: The more languages spoken, the higher the scores on the indices (*table 4.5* and *figure 4.2*).

Only in Luxembourg and perhaps Latvia, both countries with an overwhelming majority of multilingual residents, do people without knowledge of additional languages score higher on connectedness than those who are more versatile linguistically. Index scores differ most for residents of Germany and Italy (*figure 4.3*).

Figure 4.1. Percentage of respondents knowing at least one additional language well enough to hold a conversation, by country

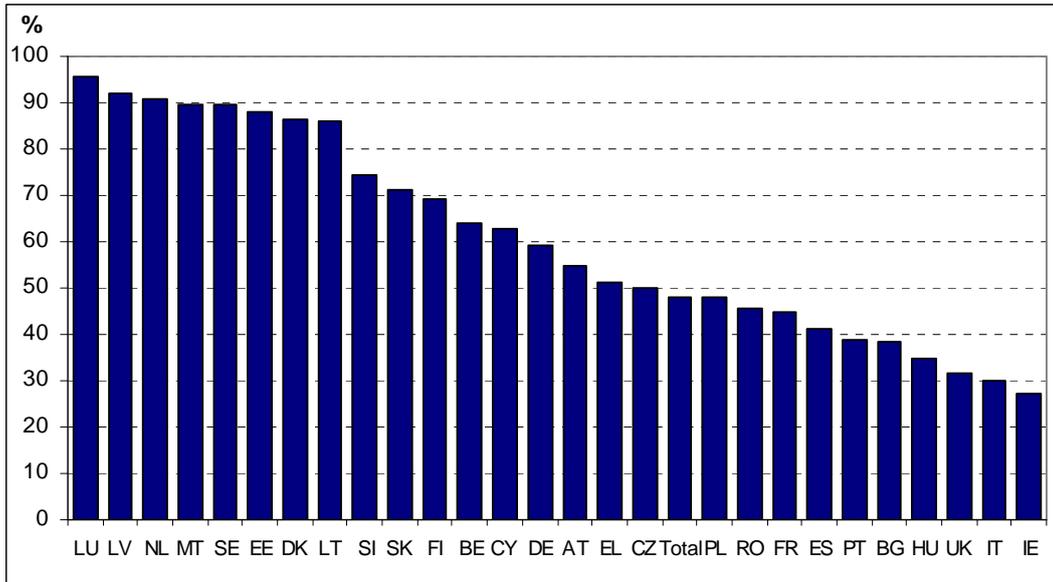


Table 4.5. Mean scores on connectedness indices by number of additional languages spoken well enough to hold a conversation

Nr of additional languages spoken	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
None	0.107	0.053	0.216	0.036	0.162
One	0.228	0.127	0.395	0.099	0.429
Two	0.299	0.146	0.493	0.157	0.585
Three or more	0.381	0.225	0.573	0.242	0.682
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

Likelihood of moving abroad

Considering to move to another country can well be seen as an indication of openness towards other countries and cultures. Within the EU, about one in ten people (11 per cent) think it at least somewhat likely that they may move abroad sometime within the next ten years. Two out of three Europeans do not consider such a move at all, while 20 per cent thinks it is not very likely that they will move. But there is a strong and significant ($p < 0.01$) correlation between the

Figure 4.2. Mean scores on connectedness indices by number of additional languages spoken well enough to hold a conversation (source table 4.5)

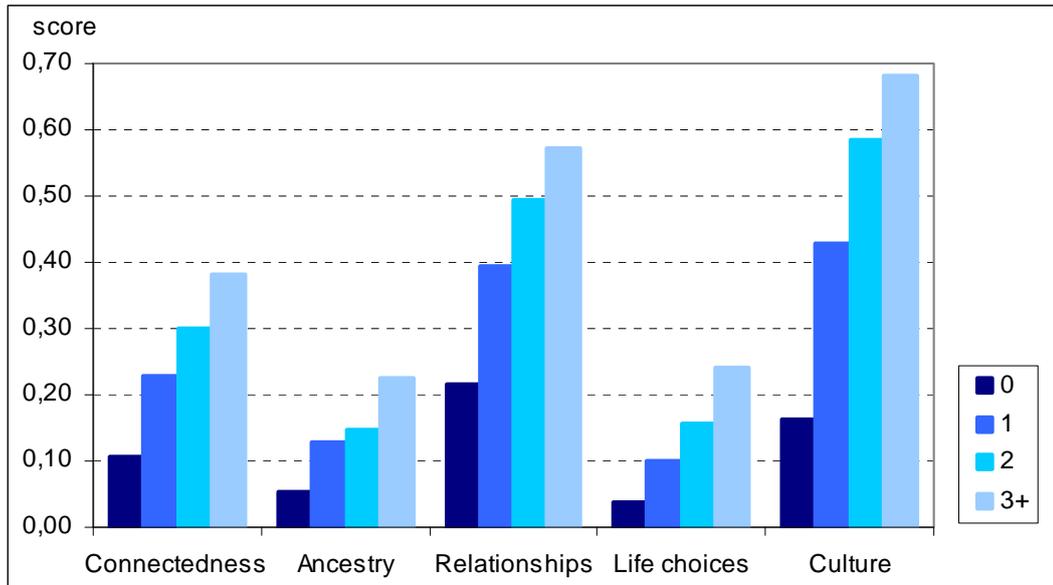
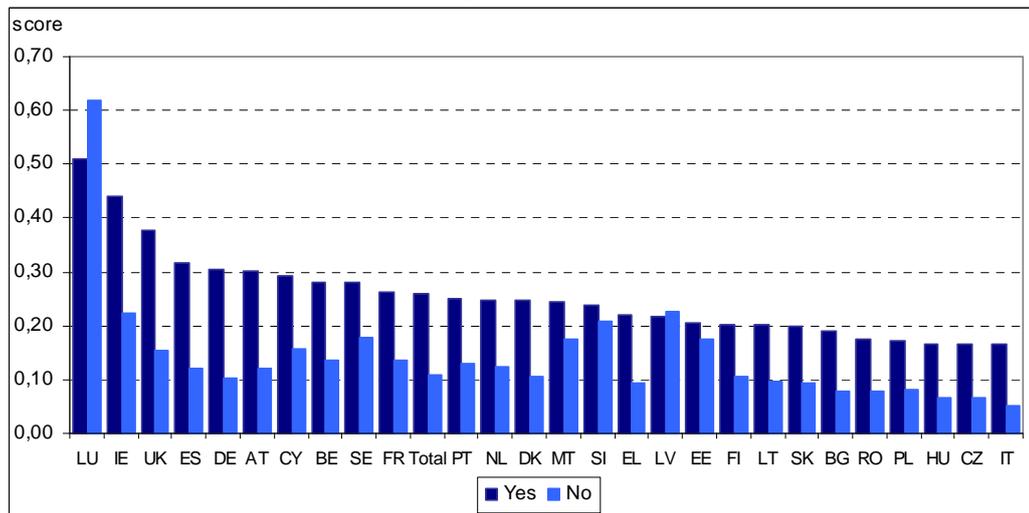


Figure 4.3. Mean scores on connectedness indices by whether one is able to speak additional languages well enough to hold a conversation, by country



intention to move abroad and the connectedness scores (*table 4.6* and *figure 4.4*), indicating that the minority of people who are considering a future move already show a high degree of cross-border affiliation.

The relationship found holds for all individual member states, in varying degrees: The highest differences are found in the Czech Republic, Spain and Italy, the smallest in Luxembourg, Sweden and Malta (*figure 4.5*).

Importance of being European

Respondents were asked how important it is for them personally to be European. For the majority (58 per cent) being European matters, with most people (40 per cent) saying it matters somewhat. For one in four being European does not matter much, for 15 per cent even not at all. There is considerable difference across countries. On the national level, the highest percentages of respondents to whom it personally matters to be European are found in Italy (82 per cent), Hungary (76 per cent), Luxembourg (74 per cent), the Czech Republic (73 per cent), Slovakia (73 per cent), Austria (72 per cent), and Finland (70 per cent). On the other end of the scale, the lowest percentages are found in the United Kingdom (34 per cent) and Latvia (39 per cent) (TNS, p.107).

The more strongly people consider that being European matters to them, the higher they score on the various connectedness indices, but overall the relationship is fairly weak. The connection is strongest for the relationships index and weakest for the ancestry index (*table 4.7* and *figure 4.6*).

Table 4.6. Mean scores on connectedness indices by likeliness of moving abroad within the next ten years

Likelihood of moving abroad within next 10 years	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
Very likely	0.424	0.275	0.644	0.281	0.588
Fairly likely	0.337	0.206	0.546	0.200	0.512
Not very likely	0.230	0.118	0.409	0.102	0.421
Not at all likely	0.132	0.064	0.247	0.046	0.249
DK	0.248	0.160	0.430	0.132	0.381
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

Figure 4.4. Mean scores on connectedness indices by likeliness of moving abroad within the next ten years (source table 4.6)

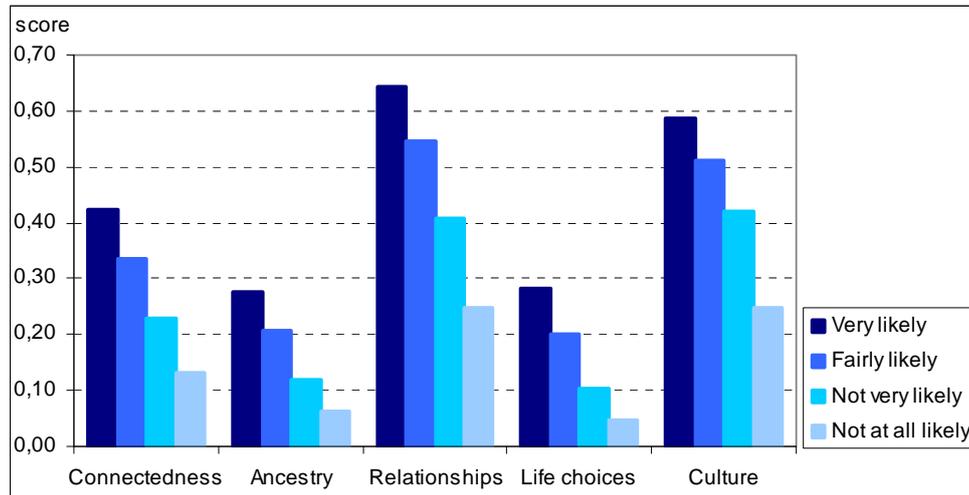


Figure 4.5. Mean scores on connectedness indices by likeliness of moving a broad within the next ten years

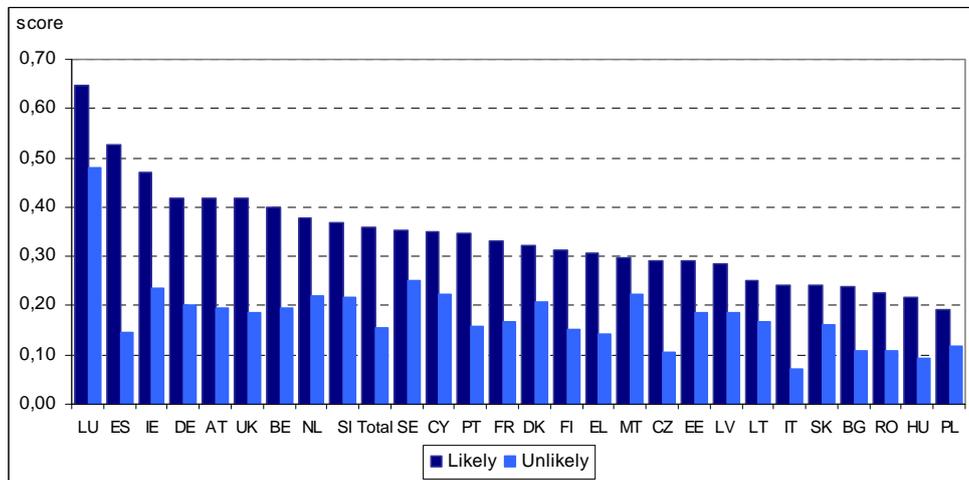


Table 4.7. Mean scores on connectedness indices by personal feeling of importance of being European

How important is being European to you personally?	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
Matters a lot	0.207	0.116	0.356	0.102	0.348
Matters somewhat	0.178	0.089	0.325	0.076	0.316
Does not matter much	0.169	0.094	0.300	0.072	0.312
Does not matter at all	0.167	0.082	0.300	0.072	0.308
DK	0.155	0.124	0.297	0.055	0.219
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

$p < 0.01$ except for the differences between categories 'does not matter much' and 'does not matter at all' and for the ancestry index for difference between 'matters somewhat' and 'does not matter at all'.

The positive relationship found between the importance of being European and the connectedness indices holds for many individual EU member states, most strongly in the UK and Ireland, but it is weak in Denmark, Sweden, Latvia and Slovakia, and non-existent in Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary and Slovenia (*figure 4.7*)

Attachment to the European Union

Somewhat related to the previous section on the importance of being European, respondents were asked to indicate, on a scale from one to four, how attached they feel to the European Union. More than half (53 per cent) of the respondents feel attached to the European Union, but attachment to one's own country is considerably stronger. The countries with the largest shares of the population feeling attached to the European Union are Italy (73 per cent), Luxembourg (69 per cent) and Poland (64 per cent). At the bottom end are the UK, Cyprus (both 29 per cent), Finland, the Netherlands (33 per cent each), Estonia (35 per cent), Sweden, Lithuania (both 37 per cent) and Denmark (38 per cent).

The more people feel attached to the European Union, the higher their score on the various indices; the differences are significant ($p < 0.01$) but the relationship is not very strong. Feelings of attachment to the European Union apparently are not backed up by strong elements of cross-border connectedness (*table 4.8* and *figure 4.8*).

Figure 4.6. Mean scores on connectedness indices by personal feeling of importance of being European (source table 4.7)

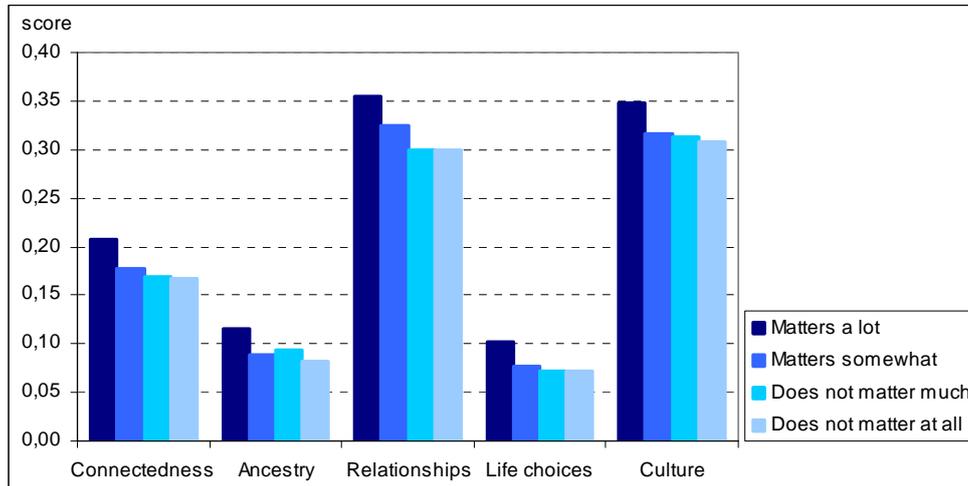
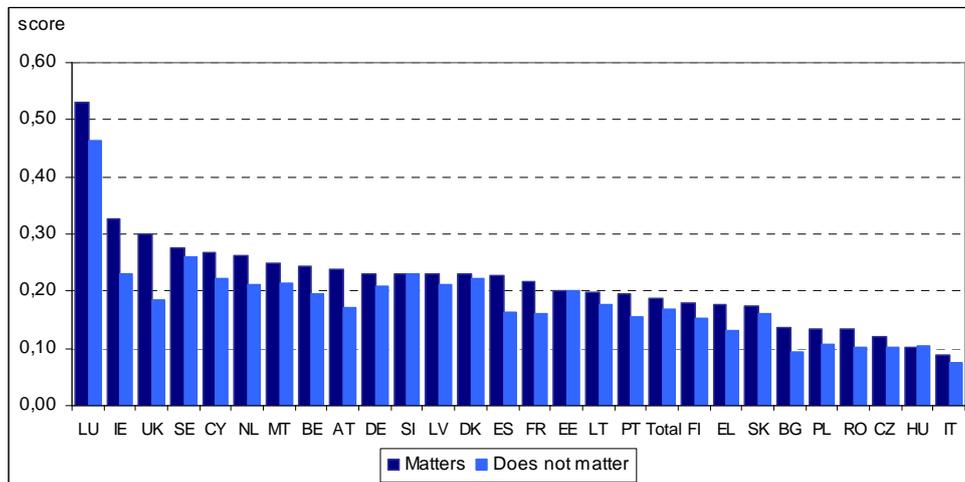


Figure 4.7. Mean score on connectedness indices by the perceived importance of being European, by country

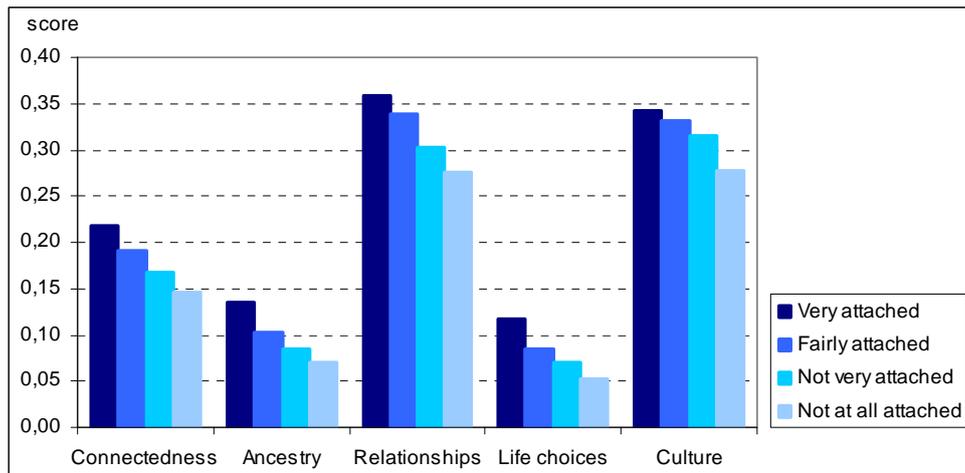


The relationship holds for most individual member states, but is weak or non-existent in Slovenia, Malta, Latvia and Hungary. The largest differences are found in Romania, the UK and Belgium (figure 4.9).

Table 4.8. Mean scores on connectedness indices by degree of attachment to the European Union

How attached do you feel to the European Union?	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
Very attached	0.218	0.136	0.359	0.117	0.342
Fairly attached	0.191	0.103	0.339	0.085	0.332
Not very attached	0.168	0.084	0.303	0.071	0.316
Not at all attached	0.146	0.070	0.276	0.052	0.277
DK	0.116	0.036	0.264	0.032	0.184
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

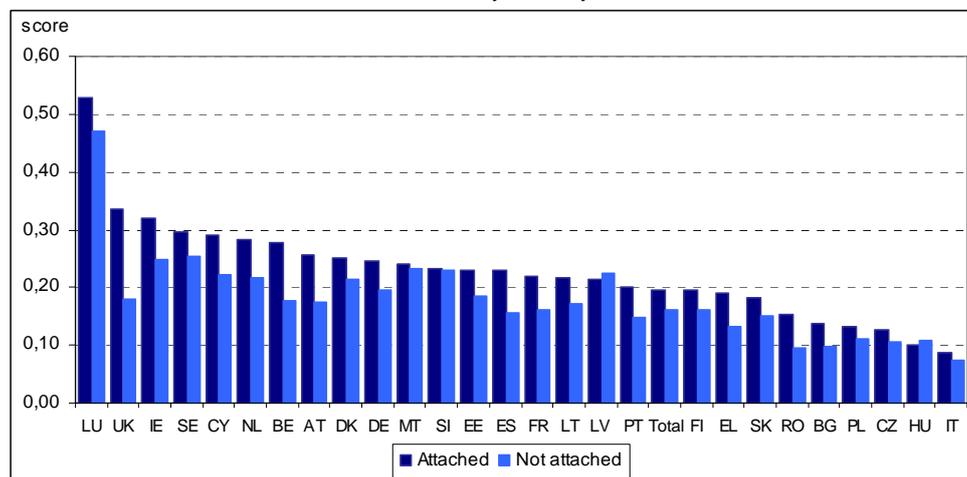
Figure 4.8. Mean scores on connectedness indices by degree of attachment to the European Union (source table 4.8)



Attachment to other countries

Respondents were asked to name two countries to which they felt most attached, other than their country of residence, by order of importance. It is possible that respondents with high connectedness scores fail to show up on attachment to particular countries if they are 'global' or 'cosmopolitan' citizens and do not wish to limit their preference to a specific country. In any case, just over half (51 per cent) feel some attachment to another country. The highest percentages are found in Luxembourg (84 per cent), Sweden (82 per cent), the Netherlands (79 per cent), Malta and Cyprus (both 77 per cent), Belgium and Denmark (both 69

Figure 4.9. Mean scores on connectedness indices by degree of attachment to the European Union, by country



per cent), the Czech Republic (66 per cent), and Slovakia and Germany (both 62 per cent). At the other end of the scale are Italy (31 per cent), Latvia (32 per cent), Poland (35 per cent), Portugal (38 per cent), Slovenia (39 per cent), Greece (40 per cent and Bulgaria and Romania (both 42 per cent). (TNS, p.58)

The more attached the respondents report to be to their first choice other country, the higher their scores on the various connectedness indices (significance $p < 0.01$) (table 4.9 and figure 4.10). The same is true for a second country of attachment mentioned, but the linear relationship tends to be less steep (table 4.10 and figure 4.11). The overall relationships found also hold for all individual countries, except for Luxembourg with respect to a second country of attachment.

The direction of affinity to other countries is very diverse but southern European countries are favourite: The countries most frequently mentioned are France, Italy, Spain (eight per cent), Germany and the United Kingdom (six per cent), the USA (five per cent), Austria (four per cent), and Greece (three per cent)¹.

¹ Answers for the two countries that respondents could mention combined. The results for the two countries separately show similar preferences.

Table 4.9. Mean scores on connectedness indices by degree of attachment to first country of attachment

Feeling of attachment	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
Very attached	0.433	0.368	0.608	0.265	0.607
Fairly attached	0.255	0.126	0.445	0.120	0.466
Not very attached	0.184	0.070	0.348	0.072	0.381
Not at all attached	0.148	0.065	0.276	0.058	0.289
DK	0.134	0.046	0.292	0.044	0.279
Total	0.256	0.145	0.434	0.126	0.454

Figure 4.10. Mean scores on connectedness indices by degree of attachment to first country of attachment (source table 4.9)

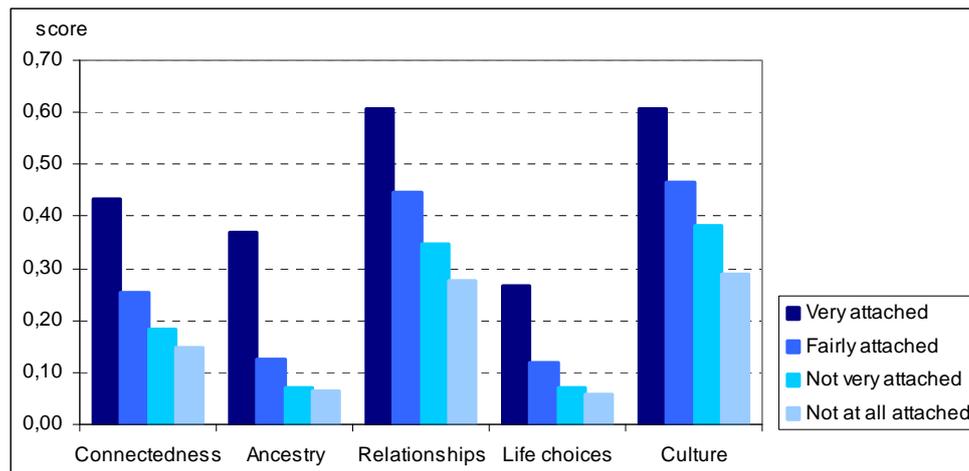
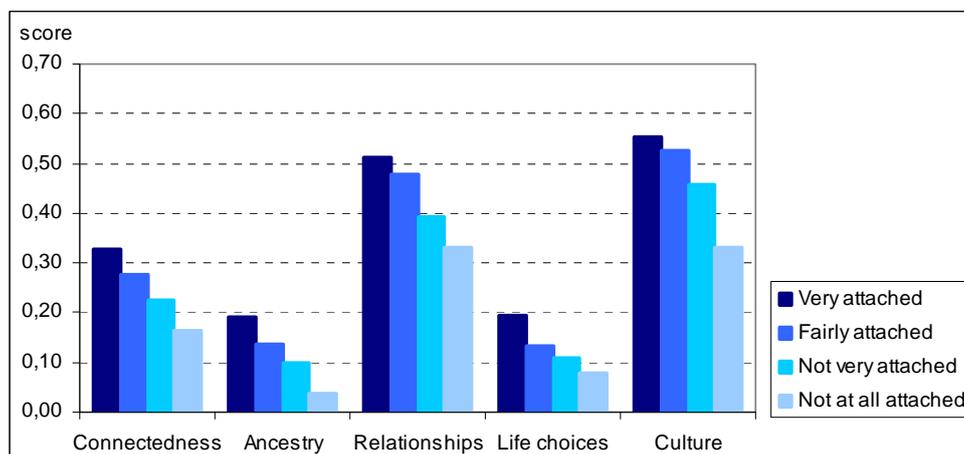


Table 4.10. Mean scores on connectedness indices by degree of attachment to second country of attachment

Feeling of attachment	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
Very attached	0.329	0.190	0.512	0.195	0.552
Fairly attached	0.276	0.137	0.477	0.134	0.525
Not very attached	0.226	0.099	0.392	0.111	0.456
Not at all attached	0.165	0.038	0.332	0.078	0.332
Did not know	0.127	0.024	0.264	0.051	0.274
Total	0.252	0.119	0.435	0.125	0.485

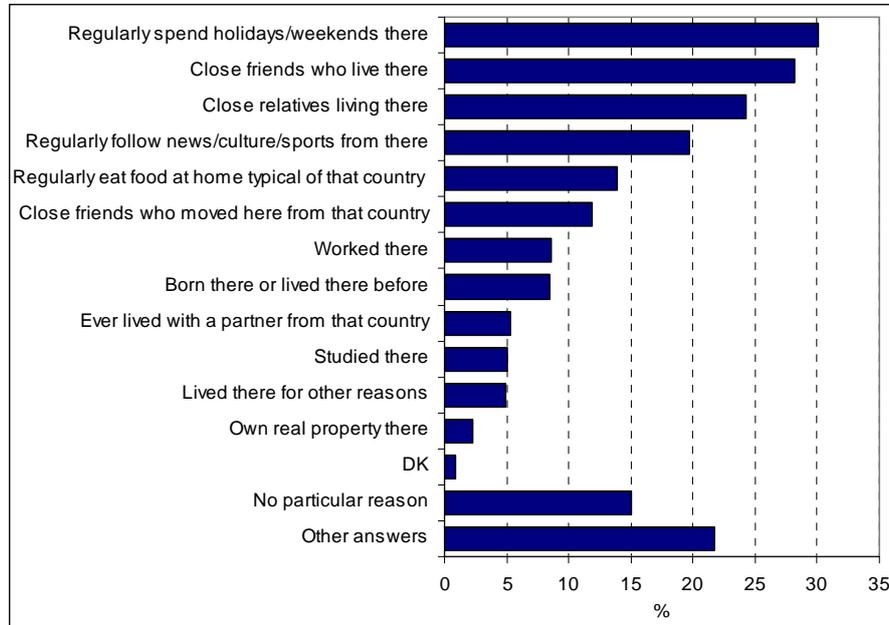
Figure 4.11. Mean scores on connectedness indices by degree of attachment to second country of attachment (source table 4.10)



Proximity and cultural and historical ties are part of the explanation. Six out of ten Cypriots mention Greece, while almost one in two Maltese, one in four Irish and more than one in five Cypriots name the United Kingdom. Every second Maltese mentions Italy, and 17 per cent of the Irish favour the USA. For Luxembourgers, France (40 per cent) and Germany (21 per cent) are favourite. Belgians choose France in 38 per cent of the cases while one in ten name the Netherlands. Slovaks (44 per cent) mention the Czech Republic and in turn 40 per cent of the Czechs name Slovakia (see also TNS, p.59).

In addition, the fact that many of the preferred countries are also popular holiday destination plays a role. The reasons people mentioned for their choice of countries they feel attached to are presented in *figure 4.12*. Regularly spending holidays is the most often mentioned reason for the feeling of attachment, followed by the fact that relatives and friends live there. Other socio-cultural aspects such as following news, sports or culture, or eating the type of food that is typical of that country are another factor in the expressed preferences. Having worked or studied there or having been born there figure less prominently, just as home ownership and a foreign spouse, but that is influenced by the fact that relatively few people have experienced these events.

Figure 4.12. Reasons mentioned for attachment to a particular foreign country*



In most cases, the link between the connectedness scores and the reasons mentioned for attachment to other countries is significant and quite strong, especially in the subgroup index that includes the same variables (*table 4.11*). But for the socio-cultural reasons the connection with the indices other than the culture index, is in reverse order, weak or non-existent. Emotional attachment seems therefore not necessarily connected to the more objective elements of connectedness.

Sense of belonging to the majority or a minority group

Around 75 per cent of the EU citizens have the feeling they belong to one of the majority groups or have the feeling people perceive them to belong to one of the majority groups. But 9.2 per cent have the feeling they belong to one of the minority groups and 8.5 per cent have the feeling people perceive them to belong to one of the minority groups. People who feel they belong to one of the minority groups or who feel people perceive them to belong to one of the minority groups score significantly higher on the various connectedness indices than the others. (see *table 4.12* and *table 4.13*).

Table 4.11. Mean scores on connectedness indices by reasons for attachment to other countries*

Reasons for attachment		Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
Relations						
Close relatives	Yes	0.430	0.325	0.707	0.216	0.555
	No	0.201	0.086	0.347	0.097	0.421
Close friends	Yes	0.350	0.192	0.610	0.184	0.542
	No	0.220	0.127	0.365	0.103	0.419
Close immigrant friends	Yes	0.359	0.201	0.634	0.166	0.554
	No	0.243	0.137	0.407	0.120	0.440
Life choices						
Foreign partner	Yes	0.452	0.270	0.653	0.368	0.629
	No	0.245	0.138	0.422	0.112	0.444
Worked	Yes	0.380	0.153	0.580	0.345	0.572
	No	0.244	0.144	0.420	0.105	0.442
Studied	Yes	0.520	0.403	0.657	0.465	0.657
	No	0.242	0.131	0.422	0.108	0.443
Lived there for other reasons	Yes	0.419	0.278	0.615	0.311	0.613
	No	0.248	0.138	0.425	0.116	0.445
Ownership of real property	Yes	0.587	0.508	0.710	0.511	0.767
	No	0.249	0.136	0.428	0.117	0.446
Socio-cultural						
Holidays	Yes	0.255	0.118	0.422	0.108	0.599
	No	0.257	0.157	0.439	0.133	0.390
News/culture/sports	Yes	0.257	0.122	0.424	0.114	0.573
	No	0.256	0.151	0.436	0.129	0.424
Food	Yes	0.285	0.151	0.464	0.127	0.616
	No	0.252	0.144	0.429	0.126	0.427
Ancestry						
Born there/lived there before	Yes	0.689	0.782	0.797	0.479	0.719
	No	0.217	0.086	0.401	0.094	0.429
Other						
Other reasons	Yes	0.188	0.086	0.339	0.075	0.394
	No	0.275	0.161	0.460	0.140	0.470
No particular reason	Yes	0.122	0.047	0.238	0.046	0.233
	No	0.280	0.162	0.469	0.140	0.493
DK	Yes	0.189	0.126	0.382	0.109	0.337

* Reasons for first and second country of attachment combined.

Table 4.12. Mean scores on connectedness indices whether the respondents have the feeling they belong to one of the majority or minority groups in the country

Group belonging	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
One of the majority groups	0.166	0.071	0.309	0.070	0.317
One of the minority groups	0.339	0.303	0.494	0.186	0.468
Neither one nor the other	0.169	0.097	0.298	0.072	0.277
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

Table 4.13. Mean scores on connectedness indices whether respondents have the feeling people perceive them to belong to one of the majority or minority groups in the country

Group belonging	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
One of the majority groups	0.166	0.070	0.310	0.070	0.320
One of the minority groups	0.367	0.343	0.524	0.200	0.478
Neither one nor the other	0.165	0.094	0.293	0.069	0.273
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

5. Cultural aspects of connectedness

To what extent are Europeans with foreign ancestry more likely to have international socio-cultural connectedness, or speak foreign languages or show a higher degree of attachment to other countries than those who lack foreign ancestry? In other words, is the high degree of socio-cultural connectedness that we found in section 3 something that affects a wide range of Europeans or is it concentrated among those with foreign roots? *Table 5.1* shows that there is indeed a very clear connection between foreign ancestry and cross-border socio-cultural connectedness. Those who were foreign born are 2.5 times as likely as the native born to go to one specific other country for their holidays. The native born who have one or both foreign-born parents, fall neatly in-between². It does not matter much if it is only the respondent who is foreign born or also his or her parents and grandparents: In all such cases a small majority of 51-54 per cent choose to spend their holidays regularly at the same destination abroad. Of those who are one, two or three generations native, just less than one in five do so.

The same strong gradients are found for the other two aspects of socio-cultural connectedness studied. Of those with one, two or three generations foreign roots more than seven out of ten regularly follow news, sports or culture from abroad, or eat 'foreign' food at home, while for the one to three generations native born about three in ten do so. Thus, also among the solidly native, there is a non-negligible cross-border connectedness, at least in this respect.

More or less the same patterns are found for the relationship between ancestry and linguistic knowledge, although the differences are somewhat smaller (*table 5.2*). Europeans with foreign ancestry are more likely to speak at least one other language, and if they do, they are more likely to speak at least three other languages. Of the foreign born three out of four speak at least one other language, while among the native born this is less than one in two. Again, the degree (in terms of the number of generations) of foreign ancestry does not make much difference.

² Note that the grandparents of the native born are not necessarily immigrants.

Table 5.1. Foreign ancestry and socio-cultural connectedness (%)

Ancestry	Regularly spending holidays in specific foreign country	Following news, sports, culture from abroad	Regularly eating food at home specific of other country
Respondent foreign born			
Yes	51.4	70.9	71.3
No	19.6	31.6	33.9
Whether parents and respondent foreign born			
Parent(s) and respondent foreign born	53.4	72.2	73.8
Both parents foreign born, resp. not	41.6	52.8	68.0
One parent foreign born, resp. not	35.8	43.1	54.6
Both parents native born*	18.4	30.8	32.2
Whether grandparents, parents and respondent foreign born			
Respondent, parents(s) and grandparents(s) foreign born	53.7	72.6	74.3
Parent(s) and grandparent(s) only f.b.	39.3	47.2	61.3
Grandparents only f.b.	28.3	37.2	49.6
All grandparents native born	17.9	30.5	31.2
Number of grandparents with foreign nationality at birth			
3-4	45.7	60.2	64.9
1-2	27.3	36.9	47.0
None	18.5	31.3	32.2

* Including a small number of respondents who were born abroad to native parents.

Finally, *table 5.3* presents the connection between foreign ancestry and feelings of attachment to other countries and to the European Union. Again, the pattern is much like that in the previous two tables. A high 83-85 per cent of those with foreign roots feel attached to another country, but such attachment is also not uncommon among those with native roots (about 50 per cent). Attachment to the European Union is lower and the differences are smaller, but follows the same pattern: It is more often found among those with foreign ancestry (65 per cent) than among the natives (53 per cent).

Table 5.2. Foreign ancestry and linguistic knowledge (%)

Ancestry	Able to hold a conversation in at least one other language	Of those who speak at least 1 other language: % speaking 1, 2, 3+ languages		
		1	2	3 or more
Respondent foreign born				
Yes	74.7	62.6	20.6	16.8
No	45.9	69.2	21.8	9.0
Whether parents and respondent foreign born				
Parent(s) and respondent foreign born	76.1	62.5	20.1	17.3
Both parents foreign born, resp. not	58.5	60.3	27.9	11.8
One parent foreign born, resp. not	65.5	62.1	24.3	13.6
Both parents native born*	44.8	69.9	21.5	8.6
Whether grandparents, parents and respondent foreign born				
Respondent, parent(s) and grandparent(s) foreign born	75.9	61.9	20.6	17.5
Parent(s) and grandparent(s) only f.b.	62.2	62.0	26.5	11.4
Grandparents only f.b.	61.5	62.0	28.2	9.9
All grandparents native born	43.9	70.5	20.8	8.7
Number of grandparents with foreign nationality at birth				
3-4	66.3	61.8	23.4	14.8
1-2	61.3	65.9	23.7	10.5
None	44.4	69.9	21.2	8.9

* Including a small number of respondents who were born abroad to native parents

Both ancestry and work or study abroad or ownership of real property abroad, that is, 'life choices' implying international mobility, were considered quite powerful indicators of real cross-border connectedness. How are the elements of these life choices connected with the socio-cultural aspects of connectedness? Is it the case that people who studied or worked abroad or own a home abroad keep up their international connectedness by holidays abroad, following foreign news, sports or culture and cooking or eating 'exotic' food at home, more than those who never went abroad for work or study?

Table 5.3. Foreign ancestry and attachment to other countries and to the European Union (%)

Ancestry	Feeling of attachment to another country	Feeling of attachment to the EU
Respondent foreign born		
Yes	82.7	64.7
No	51.5	52.9
Whether parents and respondent foreign born		
Parent(s) and respondent foreign born	84.1	64.8
Both parents foreign born, resp. not	73.2	59.7
One parent foreign born, resp. not	73.1	52.8
Both parents native born *	50.1	52.9
Whether grandparents, parents and respondent foreign born		
Respondent, parents(s) and grandparents(s) foreign born	84.6	64.7
Parent(s) and grandparent(s) only f.b.	74.6	55.8
Grandparents only f.b.	68.3	46.7
All grandparents native born	48.9	53.3
Number of grandparents with foreign nationality at birth		
3-4	75.7	60.8
1-2	67.7	54.0
None	49.6	52.9

* Including a small number of respondents who were born abroad to native parents.

Comparing *table 5.4* and *table 5.1* clearly shows that having lived abroad for study or for other reasons distinguishes about as much on the socio-cultural aspects of connectedness as foreign ancestry. Having worked abroad is less important, although former expats are still twice as likely to go abroad on holiday, follow the news or eat foreign food at home. Very few people own real property abroad (three per cent), but it is a very strong indicator of socio-cultural connectedness. Obviously, owning a home in another country results very likely in frequent visits there (in that respect, 72 per cent doing so is perhaps even rather low).

People who studied abroad have significantly better linguistic capacities (*table 5.5*). Among those who studied abroad, a high 83 per cent speaks at least one other language, indicating that prospective students do not only go for same-language countries. Quite possibly, learning another language may well be one of the reasons to go and study abroad.

Table 5.4. Life choices and socio-cultural connectedness (%)

Ancestry	Regularly spending holidays in specific foreign country	Following news, sports, culture from abroad	Regularly eating food at home specific of other country
Studied abroad			
Yes	54.4	73.7	73.4
No	19.2	31.2	33.5
Worked abroad			
Yes	41.7	60.1	60.9
No	18.9	30.7	33.0
Lived abroad for other reasons			
Yes	48.2	67.4	67.5
No	18.8	30.5	32.9
Owns real property abroad			
Yes	72.4	79.8	79.5
No	20.1	32.8	35.0

For the other life choices in table 5.5 the figures are not much lower. It is quite notable that many of the mobile Europeans speak three or more foreign languages.

As for the connection between mobility and feelings of attachment to other countries and to the European Union, the pattern is again quite comparable to the connection between ancestry and attachment (*table 5.6* and *table 5.3*). Ownership of real property is the strongest predictor, and having worked abroad the weakest, although still a quite significant one.

Table 5.5. Foreign ancestry and linguistic knowledge (%)

Ancestry	Able to hold a conversation in at least one other language	Of those who speak at least 1 other language: % speaking 1, 2, 3+ languages		
		1	2	3 or more
Studied abroad				
Yes	83.2	50.7	27.6	21.7
No	45.0	71.1	20.8	8.0
Worked abroad				
Yes	75.3	56.0	27.4	16.6
No	43.9	71.5	20.4	8.2
Lived abroad for other reasons				
Yes	77.4	55.5	26.5	18.0
No	44.5	71.0	20.8	8.2
Owns real property abroad				
Yes	78.3	58.4	22.4	19.2
No	46.9	69.0	21.7	9.3

Table 5.6. Foreign ancestry and attachment to other countries and to the European Union (%)

Ancestry	Feeling of attachment to another country	Feeling of attachment to the EU
Studied abroad		
Yes	88.4	63.2
No	50.8	52.9
Worked abroad		
Yes	80.8	59.9
No	49.7	52.8
Lived abroad for other reasons		
Yes	85.1	61.3
No	50.0	52.9
Owns real property abroad		
Yes	92.0	72.3
No	52.4	53.1

6. Trends

Do men have more international connections than women? And are younger Europeans more connected than older ones, and the higher educated more than the lower educated? If so, may we deduce that cross-border connectedness will increase in the future?

Age and gender

The total connectedness index score is slightly higher for men than for women. This is a result of differences in all the non-ancestry sub-index scores. With respect to ancestry there is no gender difference (see *table 6.1*). At the level of the individual countries gender differences are not significant.

Table 6.2 presents differences by ten-year age groups. The connectedness scores are highest in the age group 25-34. In general, the older citizens are, the lower the connectedness scores (see also *figure 6.1*). The age pattern for the ancestry index score is flatter than for the non-ancestry index scores. The youngest age group scores slightly lower than the succeeding age group. Particularly for the life choices index the score for the youngest age group is relatively low (comparable to the level of the oldest age group), probably due to the fact that some of the events included in this index are likely to occur later in life. Except for the youngest age group, the total connectedness index is lower for women than for men (see *figure 6.2*).

With increased migration (ancestry) and increased travel abroad (life choices), which in turn are likely to affect the chances of having foreign relationships and foreign socio-cultural interests, young adults are likely the first group in which these effects will be noticeable on a larger scale. If one assumes that the potentially temporary elements of connectedness (relationships and socio-cultural connections) will be maintained also in later life stages, it is likely that

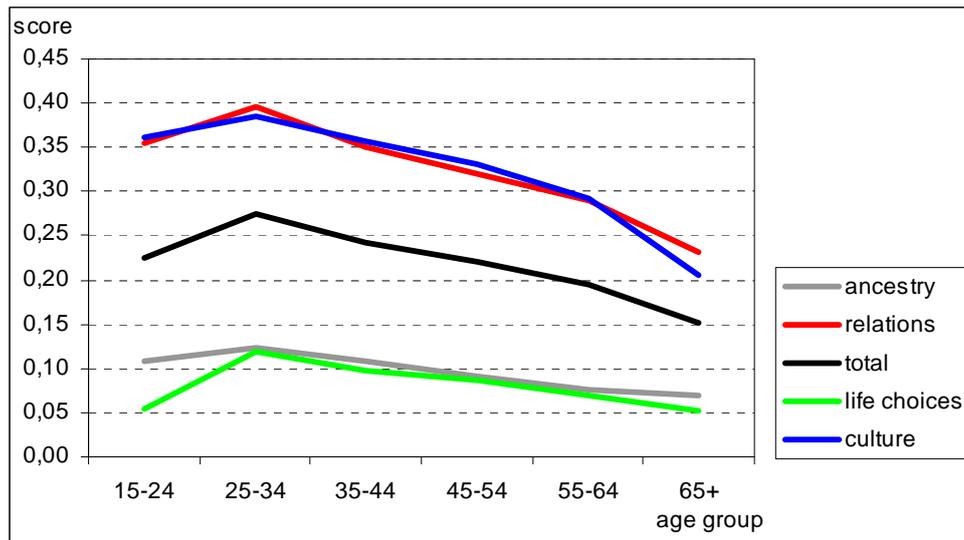
Table 6.1. Mean scores on connectedness indices by gender

Gender	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
Men	0.188	0.095	0.332	0.090	0.341
Women	0.171	0.095	0.309	0.068	0.297
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

Table 6.2. Mean scores on connectedness indices by age group

Age group	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
15-24	0.190	0.108	0.354	0.053	0.362
25-34	0.227	0.123	0.397	0.118	0.385
35-44	0.202	0.109	0.350	0.097	0.357
45-54	0.182	0.090	0.320	0.087	0.331
55-64	0.159	0.075	0.289	0.069	0.292
65+	0.126	0.069	0.232	0.052	0.206
Total	0.179	0.095	0.320	0.079	0.318

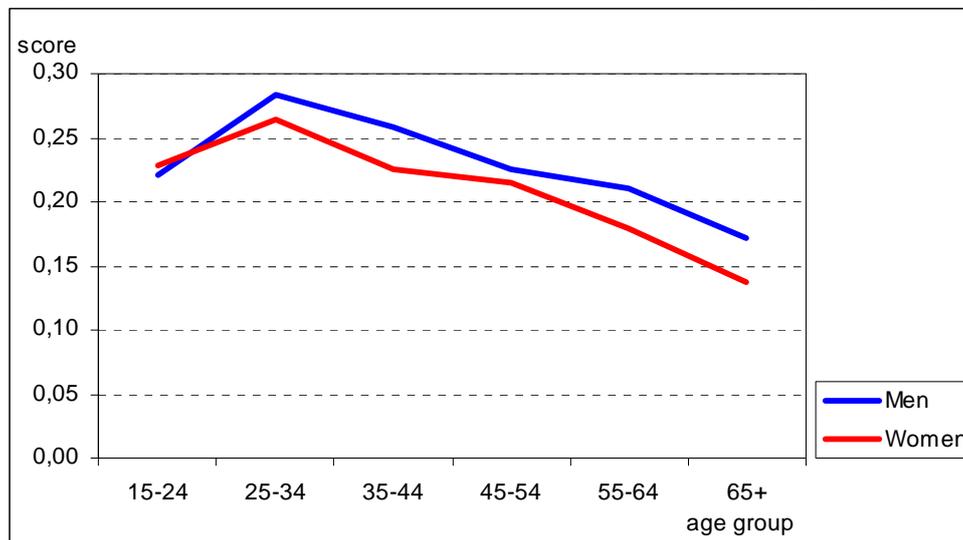
Figure 6.1. Mean scores on connectedness indices by age group



cross-border connectedness will increase in the future, although perhaps not spectacularly. Obviously, other factors are likely to influence future trends as well, such as the economic situation, political developments, the development of language education, and continued integration at the level of the EU, facilitating work and study abroad.

Table 6.3 shows the age pattern for the overall connectedness index scores by member state. As we have already seen the absolute levels of the scores show large differences between the countries, but in general the age patterns of the

Figure 6.2. Mean scores on the overall connectedness index by age group and gender



single countries are in line with the overall age pattern in the European Union with a peak in age group 25-34. However, in a few clusters of countries the age pattern is somewhat different. A first group of countries —the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Slovakia and Slovenia— do not show a clear difference between the age groups. Within this group particularly the Netherlands tends to have higher scores for the older age groups, indicating that young adults are less connected than their parents or grandparents.

A second group of countries —Cyprus, Finland, Malta and Sweden— have their higher scores in the broad age group 25-54, but relatively low scores in the first and the last age group. Thirdly, Spain stands out as a single country, with the biggest difference between the youngest and the oldest age group by combining relatively high scores for the youngest age groups and a very low score for the oldest age group. All other countries are more or less in line with the general European Union pattern, though within this group of countries three subgroups can be distinguished: Relatively low scores for the oldest age group (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Germany, Lithuania and Luxembourg), relatively high scores for age group 15-34 (Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia and Portugal), and relatively high scores for age group 25-34 (Ireland, Italy, Poland, Romania and the United Kingdom).

Table 6.3. Mean total connectedness index scores by age group and country.

Country	Name	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
AT	Austria	0.228	0.220	0.269	0.200	0.200	0.187	0.219
BE	Belgium	0.298	0.256	0.268	0.216	0.183	0.162	0.227
BG	Bulgaria	0.133	0.149	0.142	0.129	0.109	0.073	0.120
CY	Cyprus	0.204	0.268	0.295	0.245	0.227	0.219	0.242
CZ	Czech Republic	0.126	0.116	0.111	0.117	0.123	0.099	0.115
DE	Germany	0.238	0.283	0.261	0.246	0.223	0.141	0.222
DK	Denmark	0.253	0.236	0.252	0.235	0.207	0.186	0.227
EE	Estonia	0.224	0.234	0.209	0.192	0.217	0.144	0.200
EL	Greece	0.151	0.186	0.165	0.157	0.167	0.128	0.158
ES	Spain	0.275	0.300	0.226	0.185	0.132	0.089	0.200
FI	Finland	0.145	0.171	0.196	0.204	0.183	0.140	0.173
FR	France	0.219	0.242	0.232	0.195	0.146	0.142	0.194
HU	Hungary	0.105	0.124	0.114	0.093	0.110	0.069	0.102
IE	Ireland	0.267	0.345	0.330	0.254	0.223	0.224	0.283
IT	Italy	0.079	0.125	0.089	0.085	0.062	0.072	0.085
LT	Lithuania	0.198	0.214	0.220	0.187	0.188	0.128	0.188
LU	Luxembourg	0.481	0.573	0.588	0.541	0.464	0.385	0.513
LV	Latvia	0.224	0.253	0.228	0.218	0.214	0.141	0.219
MT	Malta	0.199	0.265	0.266	0.247	0.239	0.203	0.236
NL	Netherlands	0.222	0.240	0.232	0.253	0.249	0.224	0.237
PL	Poland	0.125	0.155	0.134	0.109	0.119	0.097	0.124
PT	Portugal	0.203	0.234	0.173	0.184	0.159	0.116	0.176
RO	Romania	0.131	0.153	0.135	0.105	0.116	0.072	0.121
SE	Sweden	0.217	0.309	0.313	0.291	0.247	0.244	0.270
SI	Slovenia	0.224	0.252	0.229	0.250	0.228	0.202	0.231
SK	Slovakia	0.170	0.175	0.171	0.149	0.166	0.182	0.169
UK	United Kingdom	0.205	0.298	0.272	0.211	0.203	0.163	0.224
EU27	European Union	0.190	0.227	0.202	0.182	0.159	0.126	0.179

People differ in what they perceive to be important characteristics of national identity and of European identity. How does perceived identity differ by age and gender?

With respect to national identity there are hardly any differences between the age groups. Only with respect to being Christian as an important characteristic of national identity the age group appears to be of importance: Older citizens think this characteristic much more important than younger ones. Also women think this slightly more important than men (*table 6.4*).

Table 6.4. Perceived important characteristics of national identity by age group and by gender (%)

Characteristics	Age group						Gender		Total
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Men	Women	
Being Christian	6.8	6.3	7.1	6.4	9.7	14.8	7.8	9.6	8.8
Share cultural traditions	27.1	33.0	34.8	34.0	36.1	31.2	32.3	33.1	32.7
Born in the country	47.7	47.8	48.0	47.0	49.9	52.2	48.3	49.4	48.9
At least one parent with nationality	19.8	18.9	17.3	17.6	16.9	17.0	17.9	17.8	17.9
Feel the nationality	35.5	34.1	34.8	35.6	34.8	32.0	36.1	32.7	34.4
Master language	36.6	33.2	33.4	34.1	33.6	33.4	34.2	33.8	34.0
Exercise citizens' rights	31.7	34.3	34.5	34.8	33.3	29.7	32.7	33.2	33.0
Brought up in the country	31.6	26.5	27.5	28.5	27.1	27.1	26.8	29.0	28.0
Being active in organisations	4.2	3.5	2.8	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.5
Other	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.9

Several perceived important characteristics of European identity seem to be slightly more related to age (*table 6.5* and *figure 6.3*). A common religious heritage is perceived more important by older citizens, whereas the single currency and common symbols, like flag, hymn and motto, are perceived as more important by younger citizens.

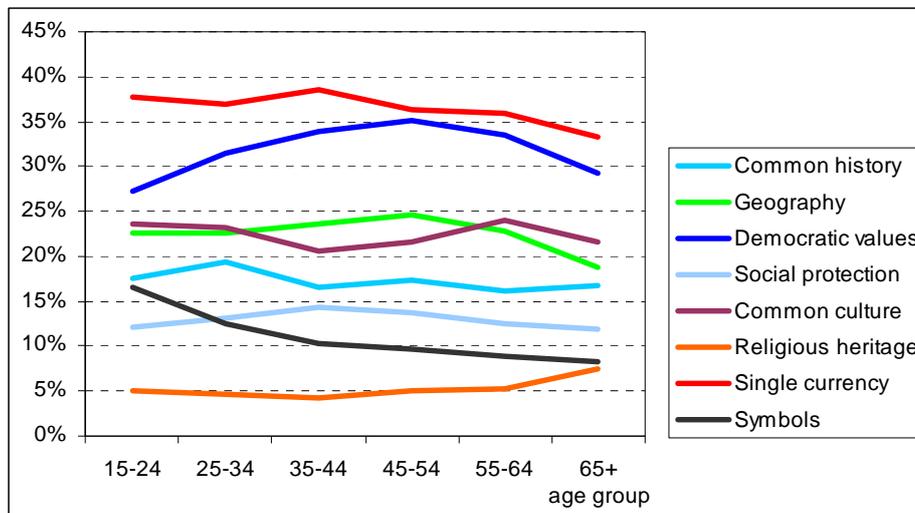
How important 'being European' is to citizens of the European Union of different age groups is shown in *figure 6.4*. The differences between the age groups are only very small. The share of the population to which it matters somewhat or a lot being a European is just slightly higher for younger than for older citizens.

Figure 6.5 shows what percentage of the European Union citizens speaks another language well enough to be able to have a conversation by age group. The figure clearly shows the differences between the age groups. The younger the citizens are, the more likely they are to speak another language beside their mother tongue. Almost two thirds of the youngest age group are able to speak another language, against only less than thirty per cent of the oldest age group.

Table 6.5. Perceived important characteristics of European identity by age group and by gender (%)

Characteristics	Age group						Gender		Total
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Men	Women	
Common history	17.5	19.3	16.6	17.4	16.2	16.8	17.2	17.3	17.3
Geography	22.6	22.7	23.7	24.6	22.7	18.7	24.4	20.5	22.4
Democratic values	27.2	31.4	33.9	35.2	33.5	29.3	32.7	30.8	31.8
High level of social protection	12.1	13.2	14.3	13.7	12.6	12.0	12.6	13.4	13.0
Common culture	23.6	23.2	20.5	21.5	24.0	21.6	22.9	21.7	22.3
Common religious heritage	5.1	4.7	4.3	5.0	5.3	7.5	5.2	5.6	5.4
The single currency (Euro)	37.8	36.9	38.6	36.3	36.0	33.2	35.9	36.8	36.4
Symbols (flag, hymn, motto)	16.5	12.5	10.2	9.6	8.9	8.2	10.3	11.3	10.8
Other	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.5	1.2	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.7

Figure 6.3. Perceived important characteristics of European identity by age group



Around eleven per cent of the citizens of the European Union think it is very likely or fairly likely that they will move to another country to live there within the next ten years. This percentage is higher for men (12.4 per cent) than for women (9.6 per cent). That (international) migration is most likely to be undertaken by young adults is shown clearly in *figure 6.6*: The intention to migrate strongly decreases with age, from almost 30 per cent for the youngest to less than two per cent for the oldest.

Figure 6.4. Per cent distribution of personally perceived importance of being European by age group

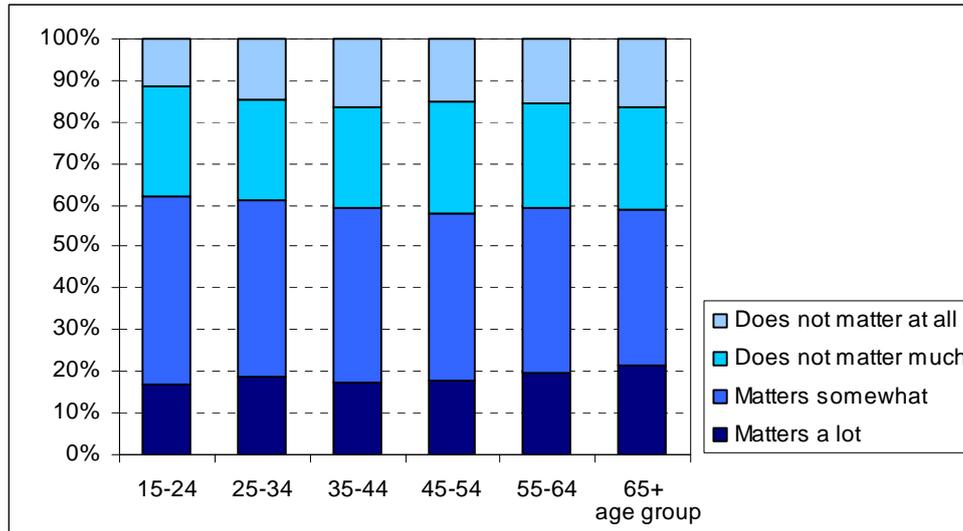


Figure 6.5. Percentage of citizens of the European Union who speak another language well enough to be able to have a conversation, by age group

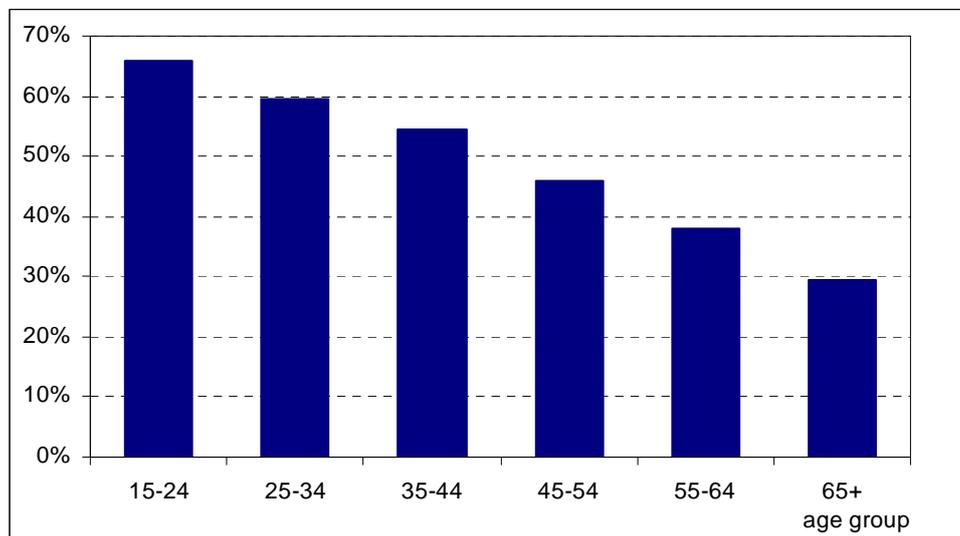
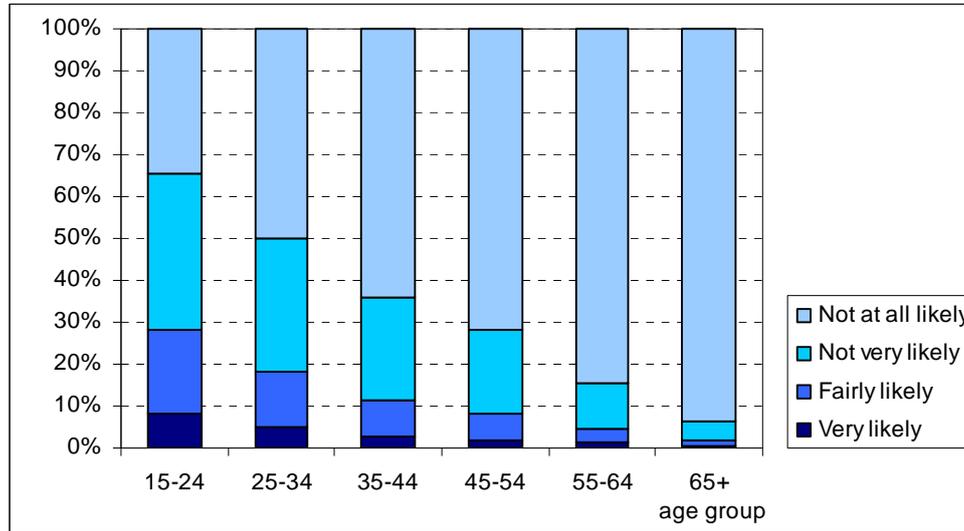


Figure 6.6. Percentage of citizens of the European Union thinking how likely it is that they will move to another country to live there within the next ten years, by age group



Citizens of the European Union may feel different levels of attachment to their country, other countries or to the European Union. *Table 6.6* and *table 6.7* show that the oldest age groups feel slightly more attached to other countries. On the other hand, the youngest age groups feel slightly more attached to the European Union (*table 6.8*). Particularly the percentage of those not feeling attached to the European Union at all is much lower among the youngest age group. Also men feel slightly more attached to the European Union than women.

Table 6.6. Percentage distribution of citizens of the European Union who feel attached to another country (first choice) by age group and by gender

Characteristics	Age group						Gender		Total
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Men	Women	
Very attached	16.7	17.3	14.1	14.1	16.0	18.3	15.1	17.0	16.0
Fairly attached	45.8	47.6	49.9	50.2	52.4	53.2	49.7	49.7	49.7
Not very attached	30.2	28.1	30.1	28.5	26.2	22.9	28.7	26.9	27.8
Not at all attached	5.0	4.4	4.3	5.3	4.0	3.7	4.4	4.5	4.4

Table 6.7. Percentage distribution of citizens of the European Union who feel attached to another country (second choice) by age group and by gender

Characteristics	Age group						Gender		Total
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Men	Women	
Very attached	8.7	10.1	8.4	6.6	7.5	11.2	8.5	8.9	8.7
Fairly attached	40.6	43.4	45.5	45.2	49.2	54.0	46.8	45.0	46.0
Not very attached	40.8	37.2	37.7	39.0	36.8	27.8	36.9	36.8	36.8
Not at all attached	6.9	6.8	6.4	7.2	4.5	5.2	5.4	7.2	6.3

Table 6.8. Percentage of the citizens of the European Union who feel attached to the European Union by age group and by gender

Characteristics	Age group						Gender		Total
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Men	Women	
Very attached	12.3	11.8	11.6	11.2	11.4	12.5	12.6	11.1	11.8
Fairly attached	44.3	45.0	41.0	40.2	40.7	35.6	41.8	39.9	40.8
Not very attached	31.3	30.0	32.3	33.7	32.3	32.0	31.1	32.7	32.0
Not at all attached	9.9	11.1	13.4	13.7	13.8	16.8	12.7	13.9	13.3

Education

In the following section we analyse the relationship between education and cross-border connectedness. The Eurobarometer survey unfortunately does not collect detailed information on the educational level of the respondents. They approximate the level of education by asking the age at which the respondent stopped full-time education. This was categorised into four groups³: Education completed before age 16 (23 per cent), approximately corresponding with primary and lower secondary education; education stopped between ages 16 and 19 (43 per cent), more or less upper secondary education; and education completed at ages 20 or higher (24 per cent), corresponding with tertiary education. Almost ten per cent of the respondents is still studying.

There is a strong relationship between educational level and current age. Among the lowest educated more than two in three (68 per cent) are 55 years or older, in the middle educational level all age groups from 25 years and above are approximately equally represented, while in the high-education group the young

³ Respondents who refused to answer, or a few who did not know or did not receive any full-time education (two per cent) are excluded here.

adult ages are have become dominant. Thus: The younger, the higher educated (*figure 6.7*).

It is clear that connectedness is increasing with the level of education (*table 6.9* and *figure 6.8*). Current students take up a position between those with upper secondary and those with higher education. This is rather in line with their age: 62 per cent of the current students is younger than 20, and 29 per cent is aged 20-24. Given that the higher educated tend to show stronger cross-border connectedness, gradually improving educational levels should result in an increase in connectedness, other things remaining equal.

Women score slightly lower on connectedness than men, except for current students, but the differences tend to be small, except for the lowest educational level (*figure 6.9*).

The pattern in most countries looks much like that of the EU average, but there are a few exceptions (*table 6.10*). Current students show higher connectedness than any other educational category especially in Belgium (but also to some extent in Denmark and Estonia), while in Cyprus, Ireland and the UK the tertiary educated score relatively high compared with the other educational

Figure 6.7. Age at which respondent stopped full-time education, by current age group

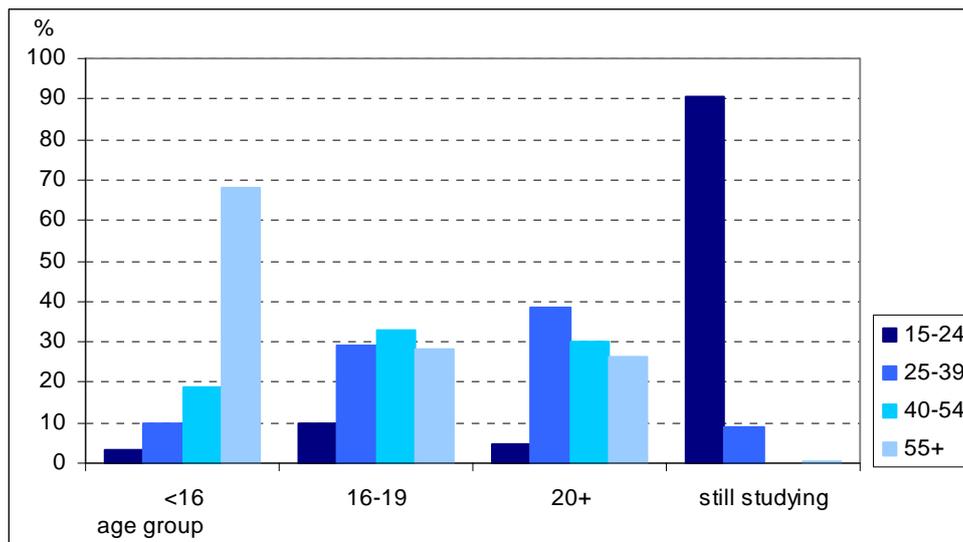
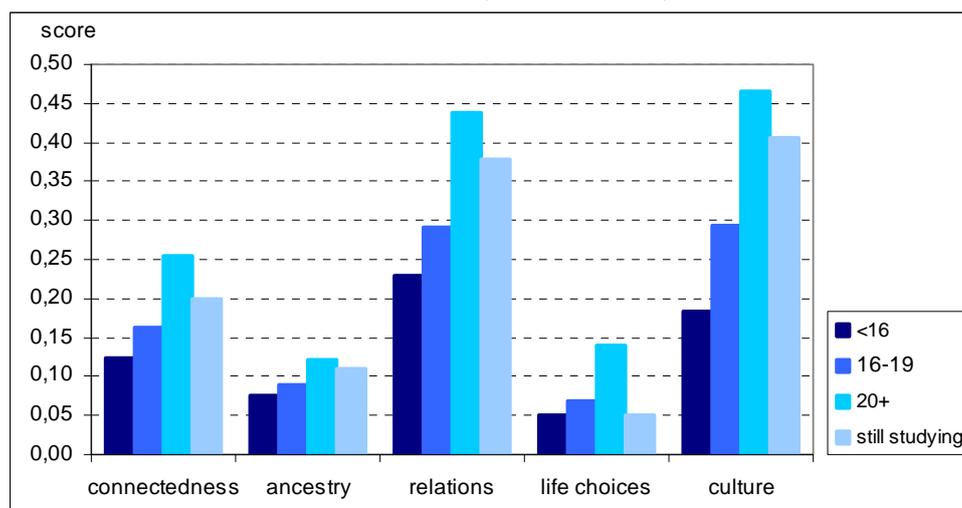


Table 6.9. Mean scores on connectedness indices by age at which respondent stopped full-time education*

Age group	Connectedness	Ancestry	Relations	Life choices	Culture
<16	0.124	0.075	0.229	0.049	0.183
16-19	0.163	0.088	0.292	0.068	0.293
20+	0.256	0.121	0.438	0.139	0.465
Still studying	0.200	0.109	0.378	0.052	0.406
Total	0.180	0.095	0.322	0.080	0.321

* Refusal, unknowns and those without any full-time education excluded.

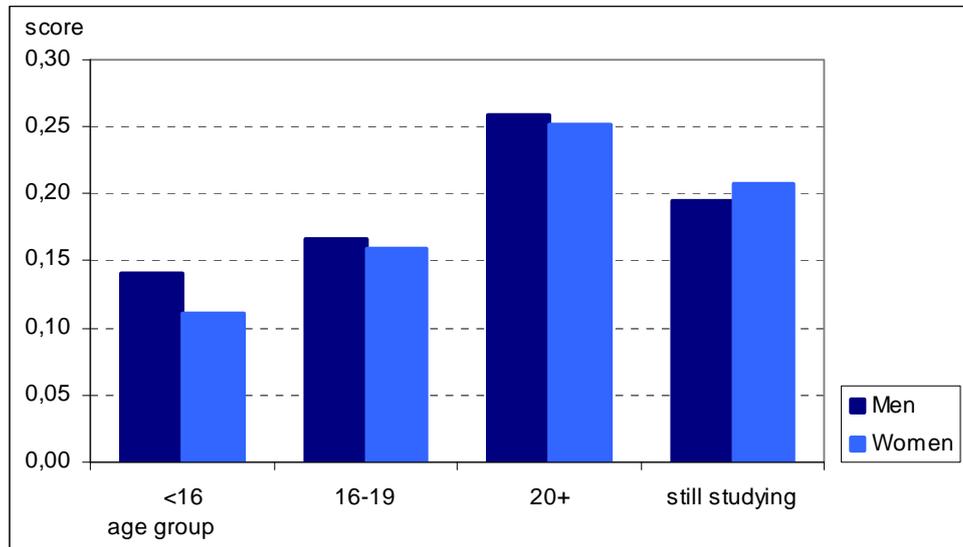
Figure 6.8. Mean scores on connectedness indices by age at which respondent stopped full-time education (source table 6.9)



groups. Furthermore, in some countries the connectedness of the middle educated is either lower than that of the low educated group (Luxembourg most notably, and the Czech Republic), or there is little difference between the two groups (Bulgaria and Finland).

There is some difference between the educational groups in the characteristics that are mentioned as important elements of national identity (table 6.11 and figure 6.10). The most notable difference is with respect to being native born,

Figure 6.9. Mean scores on connectedness indices by age at which respondent stopped full-time education and gender (source table 6.9)



which 57 per cent of the lowest educated consider to be an important element of national identity, against 39 per cent of the highly educated. Equally, the highly educated less often consider being brought up in the country or having at least one parent with the nationality of the country important. On these elements of ancestry, the current students are more in line with the lower educated. Exercising citizens rights, mastering the country's language, and the feeling of belonging to the country⁴ increase with education. The same applies to the sharing of cultural traditions, but this aspect does not count for much with the student category. The importance of being Christian decreases with education, but this is probably strongly influenced by age.

Most of the characteristics considered important for the European identity increase slightly with education (*table 6.12* and *figure 6.11*). Only the importance attached to democratic values shows a strong connection with

⁴ E.g. 'feeling Spanish', 'feeling Dutch', etcetera.

Table 6.10. Mean total connectedness index scores by age at which respondent stopped full-time education and country

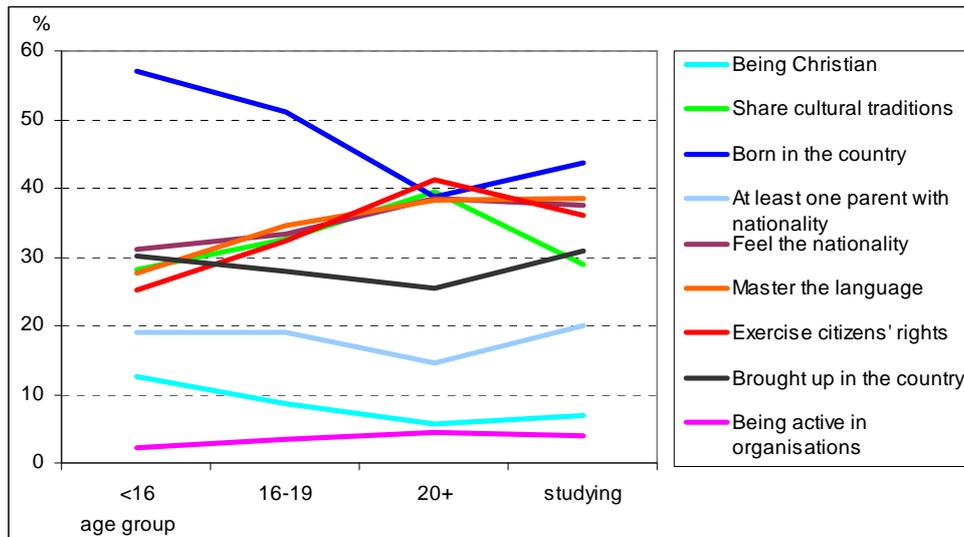
Country	Name	<16	16-19	20+	Still studying	Total
AT	Austria	0.137	0.209	0.311	0.246	0.215
BE	Belgium	0.180	0.193	0.250	0.357	0.226
BG	Bulgaria	0.107	0.109	0.153	0.127	0.122
CY	Cyprus	0.195	0.206	0.378	0.202	0.242
CZ	Czech Republic	0.134	0.101	0.165	0.130	0.116
DE	Germany	0.176	0.216	0.278	0.269	0.223
DK	Denmark	0.146	0.224	0.230	0.255	0.228
EE	Estonia	0.167	0.201	0.197	0.218	0.199
EL	Greece	0.131	0.157	0.204	0.158	0.158
ES	Spain	0.118	0.217	0.330	0.258	0.204
FI	Finland	0.121	0.128	0.200	0.180	0.173
FR	France	0.133	0.164	0.249	0.228	0.193
HU	Hungary	0.050	0.102	0.172	0.137	0.102
IE	Ireland	0.179	0.257	0.413	0.238	0.284
IT	Italy	0.063	0.087	0.120	0.088	0.085
LT	Lithuania	0.102	0.187	0.208	0.197	0.189
LU	Luxembourg	0.581	0.431	0.569	0.450	0.512
LV	Latvia	0.177	0.220	0.241	0.200	0.220
MT	Malta	0.190	0.248	0.302	0.207	0.237
NL	Netherlands	0.144	0.202	0.272	0.238	0.237
PL	Poland	0.091	0.102	0.174	0.136	0.124
PT	Portugal	0.149	0.202	0.232	0.232	0.179
RO	Romania	0.071	0.118	0.156	0.131	0.121
SE	Sweden	0.171	0.228	0.308	0.227	0.269
SI	Slovenia	0.232	0.224	0.249	0.223	0.231
SK	Slovakia	0.122	0.159	0.228	0.158	0.169
UK	United Kingdom	0.139	0.185	0.420	0.256	0.225
EU27	European Union	0.124	0.163	0.256	0.200	0.180

education: While only 23 per cent of the lowest educated think this important, 43 per cent of the highly educated value this as an important aspect of European identity. The single currency and symbols such as the flag and hymn appeal more to students, but this is probably also a function of age, being European matters more to the highly educated and the students (66 per cent) than to the middle and lower educated groups (58 per cent and 54 per cent respectively). The difference is not huge, but it could imply that with increasing educational levels the sense of European identity could increase somewhat (*figure 6.12*).

Table 6.11. Perceived important characteristics of national identity by age at which stopped full-time education (%)

Characteristics	Age at which stopped full-time education			
	<16	16-19	20+	Studying
Being Christian	12.7	8.5	5.7	6.9
Share cultural traditions	28.1	32.6	39.4	29.0
Born in the country	57.1	51.0	38.7	43.7
At least one parent with nationality	18.9	19.1	14.5	20.0
Feel the nationality	31.2	33.3	38.5	37.5
Master the language	27.7	34.5	38.2	38.4
Exercise citizens' rights	25.3	32.3	41.1	36.1
Brought up in the country	30.1	27.8	25.4	31.0
Being active in organisations	2.3	3.5	4.5	4.0
Other	1.0	0.5	1.4	0.8

Figure 6.10. Perceived important characteristics of national identity by age at which stopped full-time education (%) (source table 6.11)

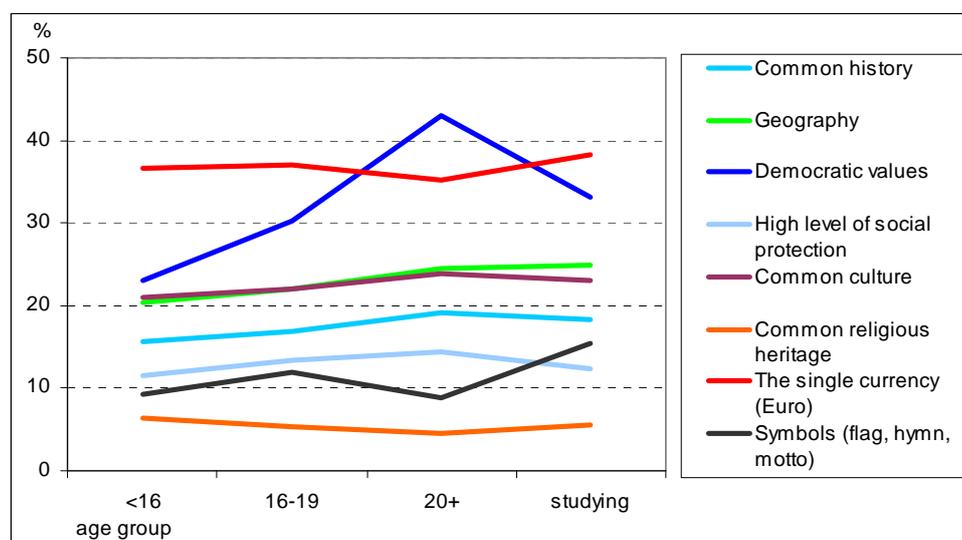


Fully in line with expectations, the higher someone is educated, the more likely it is that he or she speaks another language (*figure 6.13*). Of the lowest educated group only one in five speaks another language. This percentage doubles for the middle educated, and rises steeply to 72 per cent for the highest educated and 76 per cent for the current students, indicating scope for future increases.

Table 6.12. Perceived important characteristics of European identity by age at which stopped education (%)

Characteristics	Age at which stopped full-time education			
	<16	16-19	20+	Studying
Common history	15.6	17.0	19.1	18.3
Geography	20.4	22.1	24.6	24.9
Democratic values	23.0	30.2	43.1	33.1
High level of social protection	11.5	13.3	14.3	12.3
Common culture	20.9	22.0	23.8	23.1
Common religious heritage	6.3	5.3	4.5	5.6
The single currency (Euro)	36.7	37.0	35.2	38.3
Symbols (flag, hymn, motto)	9.2	11.9	8.9	15.4
Other	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.4

Figure 6.11. Perceived important characteristics of European identity by age at which stopped full-time education



The lowest educated are less likely to speak another language. They are also considerably less likely to consider moving abroad sometime in the next ten years (*figure 6.14*). Quite probably, this does not only have to do with the lack of education but also or perhaps most with age: It are the older citizens of Europe who are the least educated.

Figure 6.12. Per cent distribution of personally perceived importance of being European by age at which stopped full-time education

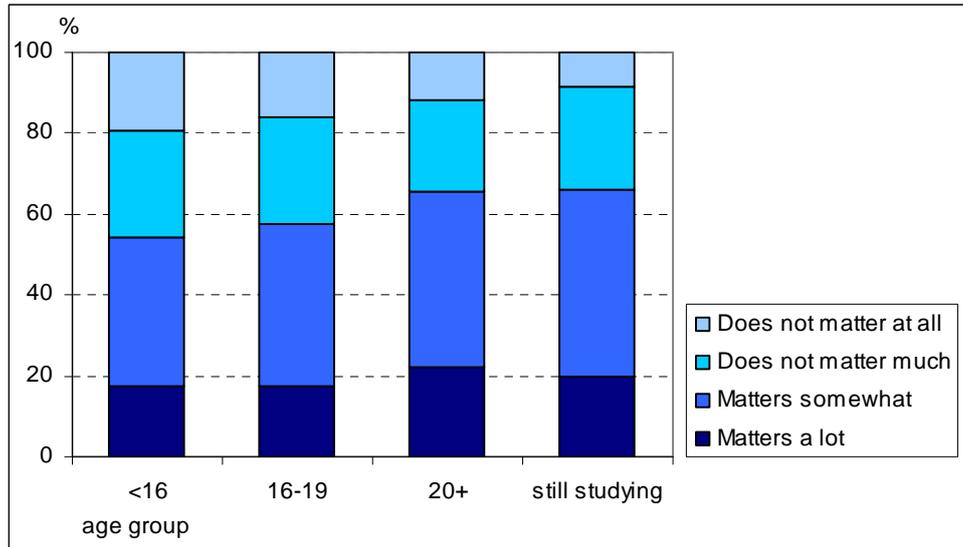


Figure 6.13. Percentage of citizens of the European Union who speak another language well enough to be able to have a conversation, by age at which stopped full-time education

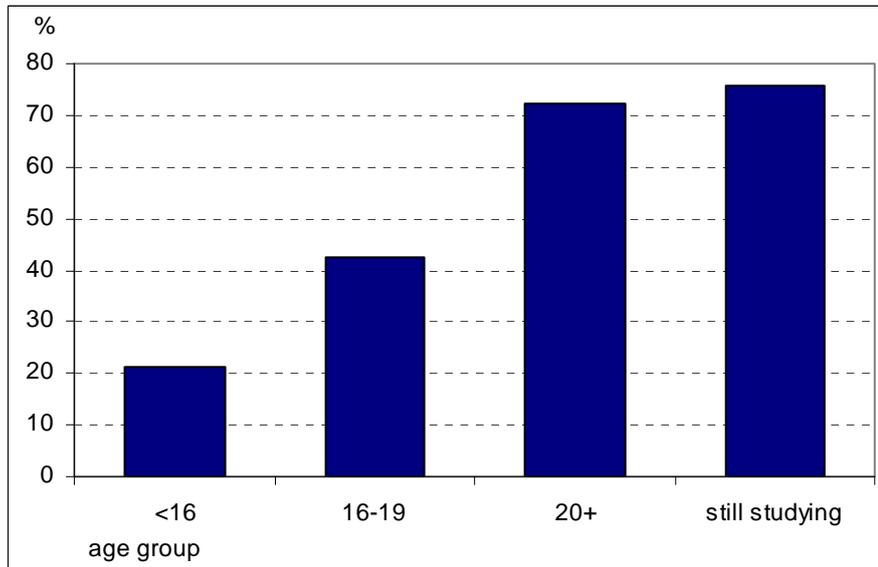
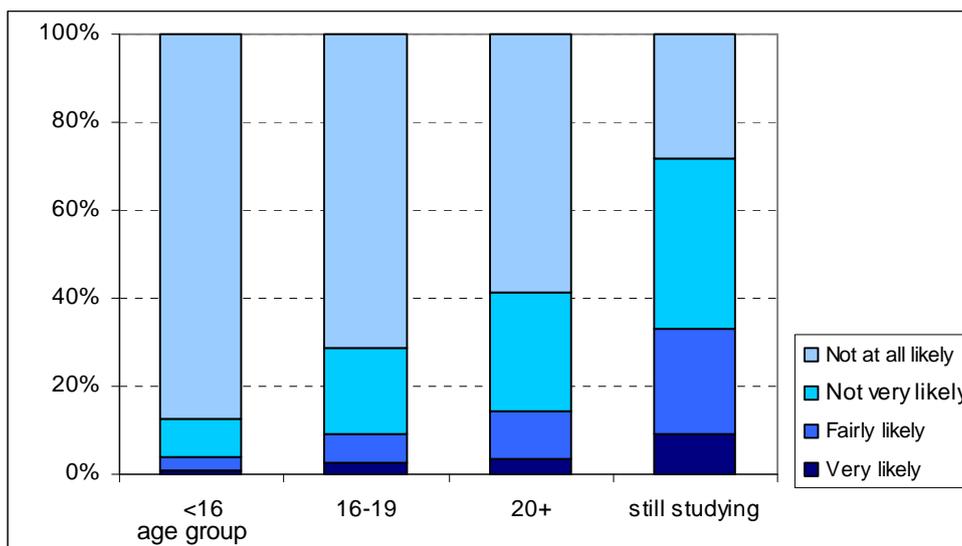


Figure 6.14. Percentage of citizens of the European Union thinking how likely it is that they will move to another country to live there within the next ten years, by age at which stopped full-time education



Whether someone feels attached to another country does not differ much by educational level, only the higher educated report such attachment somewhat more frequently (Table 6.13 and table 6.14). Feelings of attachment to the European Union increase slightly with educational level, which is probably partly a function of age (table 6.15 and figure 6.15).

Table 6.13. Percentage distribution of citizens of the European Union who feel attached to another country (first choice) by age at which stopped full-time education

Characteristics	Age at which stopped full-time education			
	<16	16-19	20+	Studying
Very attached	16.2	15.9	16.6	16.9
Fairly attached	49.9	49.7	53.1	50.0
Not very attached	29.1	29.7	26.4	28.0
Not at all attached	4.8	4.8	3.9	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

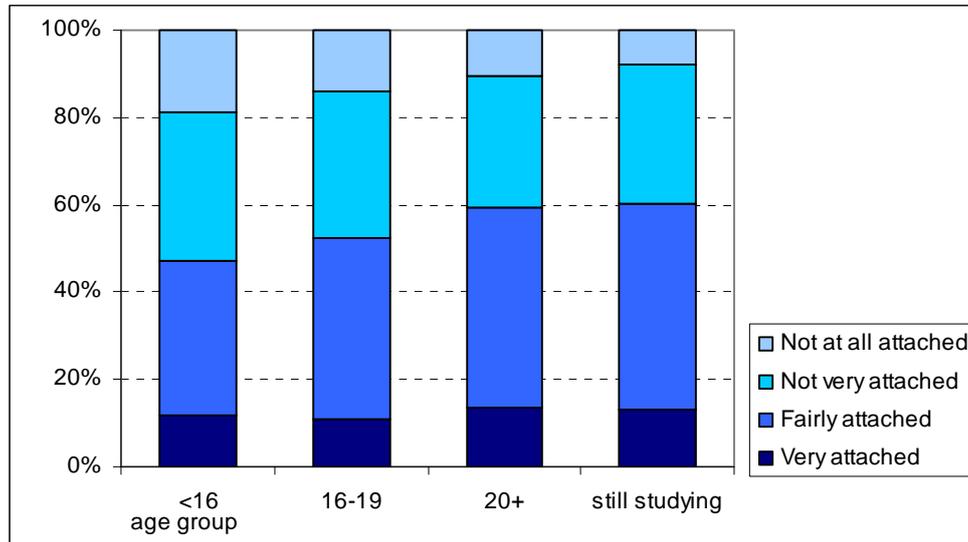
Table 6.14. Percentage distribution of citizens of the European Union who feel attached to another country (second choice) by age at which stopped full-time education

Characteristics	Age at which stopped full-time education			
	<16	16-19	20+	Studying
Very attached	8.3	9.1	9.1	8.5
Fairly attached	43.8	46.5	49.7	43.6
Not very attached	39.5	37.3	36.3	40.9
Not at all attached	8.3	7.1	4.9	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.15. Percentage of the citizens of the European Union who feel attached to the European Union by age at which stopped full-time education

Characteristics	Age at which stopped full-time education			
	<16	16-19	20+	Studying
Very attached	11.8	11.0	13.5	13.0
Fairly attached	35.3	41.5	45.8	47.4
Not very attached	33.9	33.7	30.3	31.6
Not at all attached	19.0	13.8	10.4	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 6.15. Percentage distribution of feeling attachment to the European Union, by age at which stopped full-time education

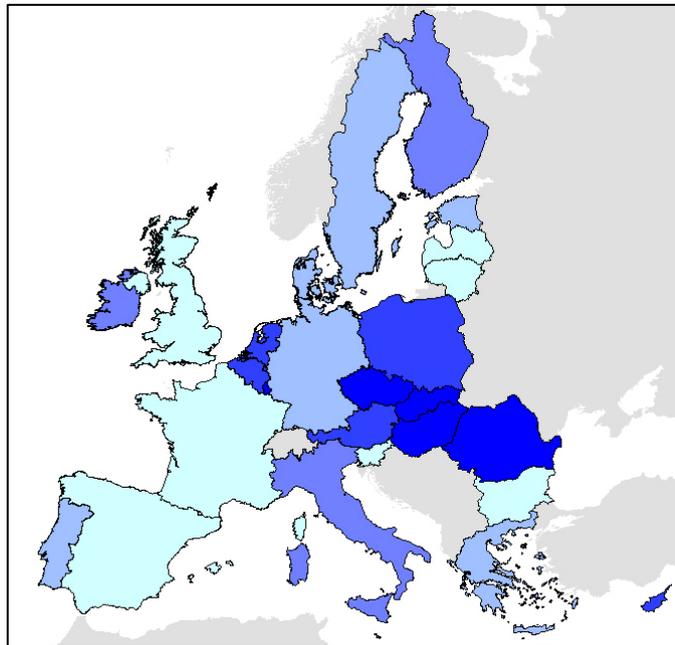


7. Countries of attachment

As was already discussed above, countries differ both in the degree its residents feel attachment to other countries and in the countries to which that attachment is directed.

Quite strikingly, a large majority (81 per cent) of the people who do say that they feel attachment to another country, mentions at least one other member state of the European Union. The remaining 19 per cent mention one or two countries outside the EU only. The degree to which this differs by country is shown in *map 7.1*. Attachment to another EU country varies from 60 per cent in Slovenia, 65 per cent in the United Kingdom and 69 per cent in Latvia, to 97-98 per cent in Luxembourg, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Map 7.1. Percentage of the respondents who feel attached to at least one other member state of the European Union (respondents who do not feel attached to any other country excluded)



In general, the Benelux countries, Austria, Cyprus, and many of the eastern European member states show up highly in the map.

Irrespective of whether the country at which the attachment is directed lies within the European Union or elsewhere in the world, Swedes, followed by the Dutch and the Luxembourgers indicated attachment most frequently, and southern Europeans (Italians, Greek, Portuguese and Spaniards) as well as Bulgarians, Slovenians and Latvians the least. The country-specific preferences follow distinctive patterns. Proximity and cultural-historical ties, economic and migration links as well as popularity of holiday destinations play a role. *Table 7.1* and *map 7.2* provide an overview of these connections. It should be noted that the numbers involved in the country-specific samples are fairly small, and given the large shares of the populations reporting no specific attachments to other countries, the country-specific preferences are no more than indicative.

Map 7.2. Population feeling attached to specific other countries

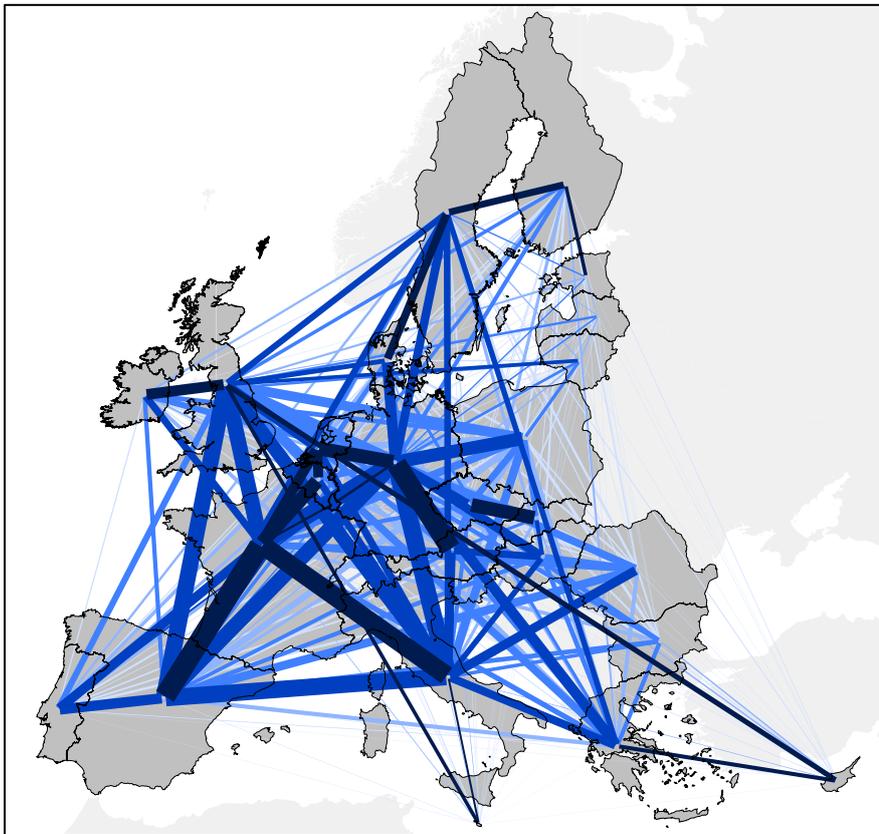


Table 7.1. Percentage of population feeling attached to specific other countries, by country of residence

Country of attachment		Country of residence													
		AT	BE	BG	CY	CZ	DE	DK	EE	EL	ES	FI	FR	HU	IE
AT	Austria		3.0	1.1	0.4	6.9	16.4	2.8	0.8	1.1	0.2	0.7	0.7	15.3	0.6
BE	Belgium	0.4		0.5	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.4	4.8	0.8	
BG	Bulgaria	0.3	0.1		1.4	1.2	0.3		0.1	1.7	0.7		0.3	0.3	
CY	Cyprus			0.8		0.1	0.1			1.2		0.3			
CZ	Czech Republic	1.1	0.1	0.8			1.7	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2			0.7	0.1
DE	Germany	17.7	6.8	7.1	2.4	10.1		14.8	5.8	10.8	3.6	5.8	6.1	17.7	4.3
DK	Denmark	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.7	4.1		0.8	0.5		1.2	0.6	1.4	0.8
EE	Estonia											4.4			
EL	Greece	5.9	2.1	6.2	59.3	4.8	3.7	5.8	0.8		0.4	2.1	0.6	8.2	0.8
ES	Spain	5.1	13.8	5.9	1.1	2.6	8.4	8.3	1.9	4.2		4.9	16.9	6.7	8.8
FI	Finland	0.2	0.5			0.2	0.4	0.3	18.7	0.1	0.4		0.3	1.5	0.1
FR	France	5.3	37.8	3.5	1.8	5.7	8.5	4.8	1.1	6.0	13.1	2.4		6.6	7.7
HU	Hungary	3.2	0.4	0.2	0.4	1.7	1.4	0.2	0.5	0.1		0.4	0.1		0.2
IE	Ireland	1.5	0.5	0.1		0.7	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.6	0.5	2.7	1.5	
IT	Italy	16.8	13.3	5.8	2.3	5.3	11.4	6.9	1.0	7.9	9.1	1.6	12.3	11.8	3.1
LT	Lithuania					0.2		0.2	0.5				0.1		0.5
LU	Luxembourg		2.0			0.1	0.2	0.2			0.1				
LV	Latvia							0.2	1.6						0.1
MT	Malta		0.1												0.2
NL	The Netherlands	0.9	9.2	1.0	0.6	1.4	5.0	1.4	0.6	1.1	1.4	1.0	1.1	2.9	0.5
PL	Poland	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.2	7.8	3.4	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.3	1.0	2.3	3.6
PT	Portugal	1.0	2.2	0.1		0.1	1.0	0.4	0.2	0.1	6.0	0.4	3.5	1.0	1.3
RO	Romania	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.3		1.4	2.2			3.3	0.2
SL	Slovenia														

Table 7.1. (continued)

Country of attachment		Country of residence													
		AT	BE	BG	CY	CZ	DE	DK	EE	EL	ES	FI	FR	HU	IE
SK	Slovakia	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.2	39.9	0.4	0.1		0.2	0.3			0.8	0.2
SE	Sweden	1.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.6	2.5	20.1	5.7	2.0	0.9	23.0	0.9	3.0	0.5
UK	United Kingdom	3.3	4.8	6.2	22.4	6.8	3.7	13.7	4.6	4.8	5.7	5.5	5.4	6.5	26.4
	Croatia	2.3	0.2			1.9	0.8	0.2		0.2	0.1	0.2		0.8	0.1
	Norway		0.3	0.1			0.6	11.9	1.4	0.2	0.1	2.6	0.5	0.3	0.4
	Switzerland	1.2	1.7	0.9	0.2	0.4	3.8	0.8		0.7	1.1	0.8	2.5	1.5	0.1
	Russia	0.1	0.3	9.2	2.0	1.0	3.1	0.3	9.2	1.9	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.5
	United States	4.7	3.6	3.6	4.0	2.7	4.3	7.4	1.9	3.2	4.1	5.4	4.2	5.1	16.8
	Canada	0.2	0.5	1.1	0.6	0.3	1.5	0.7	1.0	0.5	0.2	1.7	3.4	0.3	1.0
	Australia		0.8	0.4	4.4	0.3	0.5	2.7	0.8	1.3	0.5	1.0	1.6	0.7	4.8
	Algeria		0.1			0.1					0.1		1.2		
	Morocco	0.2	1.6	0.1			0.1				1.3		3.7	0.4	0.1
	Turkey	1.9	2.3	5.0		0.5	3.7	2.0	0.1	1.3	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8
	Israël			0.2	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.6		0.1	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.1	
	China	0.4	0.2		0.2		0.3	0.6		0.2		0.4	0.6	0.3	
	Other	4.0	7.2	3.9	4.6	1.8	3.7	5.9	5.5	3.6	10.3	8.6	9.1	2.1	2.6
	None	64.5	51.4	74.8	64.5	49.9	58.1	50.5	45.8	78.9	76.6	68.7	50.1	49.7	62.9
	DK	3.3	1.5	2.7	0.4	6.0	4.0	1.6	21.9	3.2	1.1	4.8	11.2	2.8	3.8

* Feelings of attachment for first and second country combined.

	Important proximity attachments
	Important economy-related and/or historic attachments
	Important holiday destination-related attachments

Table 7.1. (continued)

		Country of residence														
		IT	LT	LU	LV	MT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SL	SK	UK		
Country of attachment		AT	Austria	1.4	0.3	3.9	1.1	2.3	6.3	2.2		2.1	3.2	9.8	4.8	0.7
BE	Belgium	0.5	0.5	14.3	0.2	0.2	15.5	1.3	0.7	0.4		0.3	0.2	0.6		
BG	Bulgaria				0.2	0.1		0.8		0.2	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.4		
CY	Cyprus		0.1		0.2	0.1					0.4			1.3		
CZ	Czech Republic		0.1		0.2	0.5	0.9	2.1			0.4	0.2	44.4	0.2		
DE	Germany	2.9	6.8	21.2	5.4	2.5	18.7	9.1	2.7	8.4	7.6	5.9	5.6	4.1		
DK	Denmark	0.4	1.7	0.7	1.0	0.1	3.5	0.4	0.4	0.6	12.2	0.1	0.5	0.2		
EE	Estonia		0.2		0.4						0.2			0.2		
EL	Greece	2.4	0.4	0.9	0.2	0.3	3.1	2.0	0.1	1.9	9.1	1.4	2.2	2.5		
ES	Spain	9.4	2.9	7.9	0.7	1.6	8.7	3.6	10.2	7.2	12.0	1.3	1.7	11.2		
FI	Finland	0.5	0.2	1.0	0.6		0.3	0.4	0.1	0.4	5.7	0.3	0.4	0.2		
FR	France	9.4	1.7	40.5	0.9	3.1	19.4	4.3	12.6	7.9	8.4	1.1	1.4	9.2		
HU	Hungary			0.4	0.1	0.5	1.1	1.2	0.1	5.7	0.8	0.8	9.5	0.2		
IE	Ireland	0.7	6.8	1.6	2.0	1.5	1.6	1.8		0.6	1.8	0.4	1.8	5.0		
IT	Italy		1.9	13.6	1.3	35.8	9.7	5.6	2.2	12.9	11.9	5.9	2.6	4.9		
LT	Lithuania				1.2			0.5			0.1			0.1		
LU	Luxembourg	0.1			0.1		0.8		0.2				0.1			
LV	Latvia		2.0	0.1										0.1		
MT	Malta						0.2							0.5		
NL	The Netherlands	0.7	1.1	2.4	0.8	0.7		4.2	1.2	1.5	0.8	0.4	0.9	1.7		
PL	Poland	0.5	6.3	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.7			0.1	0.4	0.2	6.8	1.1		
PT	Portugal		0.4	14.5	0.3	0.6	2.0	0.4		0.9	1.8		0.1	1.4		
RO	Romania	0.3	0.2	0.5			0.3	0.2	0.3		0.2		0.3	0.1		
SL	Slovenia															
SK	Slovakia	0.3		0.2		0.1		1.2		0.4		0.2		0.3		

Table 7.1. (end)

	Country of attachment	Country of residence												
		IT	LT	LU	LV	MT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SL	SK	UK
SE	Sweden	0.7	1.9	0.4	2.3	0.9	3.7	1.5	0.3	1.0		0.8	0.1	0.6
UK	United Kingdom	6.4	12.5	3.9	7.3	47.0	10.7	7.3	5.8	4.9	15.6	1.4	3.2	
	Croatia	0.1			0.1		0.6	0.4	0.1		0.6	11.5	1.7	
	Norway	0.1	2.4	0.1	0.8	0.3	2.7	1.1			15.2	0.2	0.1	0.3
	Switzerland	1.4	0.3	3.7	0.3	1.3	1.3	0.3	4.1		1.4	1.4	0.5	0.6
	Russia	0.1	10.9	0.7	11.2	0.2	0.2	1.5	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.3	2.9	0.5
	United States	7.0	3.4	2.8	2.1	6.2	6.0	3.2	2.4	4.2	11.5	1.3	3.1	9.8
	Canada	0.1	0.4	0.9	0.3	3.2	2.9	0.5	0.9		1.7	0.7	0.5	2.7
	Australia	0.5		0.8	0.5	12.0	2.2	0.7	0.7		4.9	1.0	0.1	5.4
	Algeria			0.1				0.1						
	Morocco	0.1	0.1		0.1		0.7	0.1		0.3	0.2			0.2
	Turkey	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.1		2.1	0.1		0.8	2.3		0.2	2.0
	Israël	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.1		0.1		0.2	0.3
	China	0.1			0.4		0.7	0.1	0.1	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.5	0.6
	Other	2.5	5.1	4.2	4.6	1.5	10.3	1.9	5.3	2.2	14.0	6.6	0.9	11.5
	None	73.2	69.5	39.6	75.9	44.0	37.6	67.3	74.4	64.1	28.7	79.7	51.9	63.3
	DK	6.7	4.5	0.9	7.3	2.4	0.9	6.6	9.2	5.8	0.8	1.4	9.4	3.5

* Feelings of attachment for first and second country combined.

	Important proximity attachments
	Important economy-related and/or historic attachments
	Important holiday destination-related attachments

The general pattern of attachment feelings between the population of one country to another is shown in map 7.2. The map visualizes attachment between countries by connection lines between those countries. Since the population sizes of the EU countries are varying greatly, lines between two countries actually represent two aspects of the degree of attachment between them: The absolute number of people feeling attached and the relative number of people feeling attached. The relationship between countries is bi-directional and therefore not easy to visualize. The in thickness varying lines representing the absolute numbers are the sum of the number of persons from country A feeling attached to country B plus the number from country B feeling attached to country A. The relative numbers are calculated as the average of the percentage of the population in country A feeling attached to country B and the similar percentage of the population in country B feeling attached to country A.

The darker the lines between countries are, the higher the percentage of people feeling attached and thus the stronger the relationship. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia on average 42 per cent of the population is feeling attached to the other country. For Austria and Germany this is 17 per cent and for Spain and France 15 per cent. In all these combinations the percentage feeling attached to the other country is high for both countries. A lot of the strong connections (dark lines) however, refer to combinations where the percentage of people in one country feeling attached to the other is much higher than in the reverse situation. Particularly strong examples are the connections between the following combinations of countries: Cyprus – Greece (59 per cent in Cyprus feeling attached to Greece versus only one per cent in Greece feeling attached to Cyprus), Malta – UK (47%-0.5%), Belgium – France (38%-5%), Luxembourg – France (40%-0%), Malta – Italy (36%-0%) and Ireland – UK (26%-5%).

Due to population sizes, numbers of people feeling attached to other countries are in general much higher between two large countries than between combinations of countries including at least one small country. Thus, there are mutual feelings of attachment among large numbers of people in Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the UK. However, feelings of attachment to and from the UK seem to be less important from a relative perspective than in other large countries. In the eastern part of the European Union in general feelings of attachment to and from other countries are much lower both in absolute (thin lines) and in relative numbers (lighter lines).

A more detailed picture is available from table 7.1. The table shows that in some countries preferences are very diverse, as in Poland for example, while in others the population is fairly unanimous in its attachment choices, such as in Cyprus, Malta, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Proximity is a very obvious aspect of attachment, but is clearly modified by the size of a country. For instance, 19 per cent of the Dutch feel attached to Germany, but only five per cent of the Germans mention the Netherlands, and an even stronger one-way connection exists between Cyprus and Greece (59 versus one per cent) and between tiny Malta and Italy (36 per cent versus too few to be picked up in the survey). A country's economic position likely is a factor too, as can be illustrated by Austria and Hungary: Only three per cent of the Austrians feel attached to neighbouring Hungary, while in the latter country 15 per cent mention Austria. Cultural and historical ties, fortified by continued migration linkages are ubiquitous. Again, the Czech Republic and Slovakia —together former Czechoslovakia— form a good example, with around 40 per cent of the people mentioning each other's country. Ireland (26 per cent), Malta (47 per cent) and again Cyprus (22 per cent) show strong attachment to the United Kingdom, and the Finnish (23 per cent) to Sweden. Colonial heritage and linguistic links show up to a limited degree in for instance the United Kingdom (India), the Netherlands (Surinam and Indonesia), Spain (Argentina, Dominican Republic), Portugal (Angola, Brazil), and France (northern and sub-Saharan Africa).

Most countries show a mix of proximity and —influenced by welfare levels— either economy-related preferences or leisure attachments. Thus, Austrians feel mostly attached to neighbouring Germany and Italy, and —in lower percentages— to holiday destinations Greece, France and Spain (Italy probably fulfils a double role here). Another example is Belgium, with strong proximity attachments to France and to a lesser extent the Netherlands and Germany, and to holiday favourites Spain and Italy (and probably also France). The Swedish pattern is more diverse and complex: Neighbours Denmark and Norway show up fairly strongly, together with southern European holiday destinations Spain, Italy and France (and —for about four per cent of the Swedes— Thailand). The Swedish story is completed by (possibly more economically motivated) connectedness to the United Kingdom and the United States.

The combination proximity and economic ties can be illustrated by the case of Lithuania, with neighbouring Poland and Russia and economic attachments to the United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany; and by Bulgaria, with linkages to Greece, Russia, Germany and the United Kingdom.

Romania stands somewhat apart in that proximity does not count for much in the attachments of the Romanians; most of their preferences seem economically motivated and are directed towards Italy, Germany, France and Spain.

Tiny Luxembourg, with its large immigrant population, stands out too. Proximity weighs heavily, especially to France and to a lesser extent Germany and Belgium. In addition, Portugal and Italy show up. It is no coincidence that residents from these five countries form the largest immigrant groups in Luxembourg.

Finally, looking once more at the overall picture, a few countries clearly attract attachment from the residents of many other EU member states, rather than from just a few. Size certainly plays a role in this respect, and otherwise a mix of economic power and favourable holiday climates. Therefore, not surprisingly, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and Spain emerge at the top. These countries in turn have very diverse attachment patterns themselves, with both proximity and holiday destination patterns showing up, but in addition many other, smaller but not negligible, country linkages are present.

8. Summary and conclusions

Do increasing globalization and international migration, in combination with increasing political and economic integration of the European Union produce a more mobile European with more international connections? The aim of this research note was to study various aspects of such ‘cross-border connectedness’ of the citizens of the European Union. International connectedness may come in a variety of forms and may differ in strength. Available statistical data that could shed light on cross-border connectedness tend to suffer from a lack of comparability, are not available for all member states and are limited to specific aspects of connectedness. Data from the February-March 2010 round of the Eurobarometer, which included a special topic on international connectedness, offer a good opportunity to explore not only ‘objective’ aspects of potential connectedness, such as foreign ancestry or work or study experience abroad, but also more ‘subjective’ socio-cultural aspects and cross-border relationships.

Results for individual elements of potential connectedness show that only 7 per cent of the EU citizens (ages 15 or older) was born abroad, but that having foreign parents (12 per cent) or grandparents (17 per cent) is less unusual. Personal experiences abroad are not very widespread although certainly not negligible: Eight per cent ever lived with a foreign partner, and eight per cent studied abroad, 13 per cent worked abroad and 10 per cent lived abroad (for at least three months). Only ownership of real property abroad is exceedingly rare (three per cent). Compared to foreign ancestry and personal experiences abroad, international relationships and socio-cultural connections are much more common. With respect to the relationships category: 27 per cent has close relatives abroad, and 40 per cent close friends, while 29 per cent counts immigrants among their close friends. The rather mixed bag of socio-cultural aspects indicates that many EU citizens keep up with news, sports or culture from abroad (34 per cent), regularly eat food at home that is typical of another country (37 per cent), or go for holidays in one specific other country (22 per cent). Finally, 34 per cent of the respondents consider themselves fluent in at least one other language. For all these aspects, there is considerable difference between EU countries.

A summary index was constructed that incorporates 18 elements of possible international connectedness in four life domains: Foreign roots or ancestry, personal experiences abroad (or ‘life choices’), relationships abroad, and

elements of socio-cultural openness toward other countries. For each of these domains also a separate sub-index was computed. Based on the scores on the sub-indices, four groups of countries may be distinguished: (1) the extremely high scoring Luxembourg; (2) the high scoring group of countries Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Ireland, Malta, the Netherlands, and Sweden; (3) the lowest scoring countries Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Romania; and (4) the average scoring remaining 13 countries.

The indices generally correspond well with individual index items. For instance, the higher the number of grandparents who were born abroad, the higher the scores on the indices. Strong connectedness was also found among the foreign born, and especially those who were born in the group 'Africa, Asia (excluding Japan), middle and south America'. Linguistic knowledge too results in higher scores, and the more languages people speak well enough to hold a conversation, the higher the scores.

The correspondence of the indices with various other variables that could be used to indicate international connectedness is also quite high. People with multiple citizenship for instance score significantly higher on all indices. And although only one in ten Europeans considers a move abroad within the next ten years, this minority shows very clear signs of already being well connected internationally.

Despite the fact that our index measures connectedness indirectly and despite some limitations associated with some of the items included (particularly the ambiguity of 'close friends abroad' and 'close immigrant friends', and the vagueness of 'following news, sports or culture from abroad' and 'eating exotic food at home'), the index does not do badly when compared with other more direct questions on connectedness. Particularly feelings of attachment to another country correlate strongly with the indices. In most cases, the link between the connectedness scores and the reasons mentioned for attachment to other countries is significant and quite strong, especially in the subgroup index that includes the same variables. But for the socio-cultural reasons the connection with the indices other than the culture index, is in reverse order, weak or non-existent. Emotional attachment therefore seems not necessarily connected to the more objective elements of connectedness.

Whether the respondent feels attachment to the European Union also shows a positive linear relationship with all indices, but the association is less strong

compared with the feeling of attachment to another country. With respect to the 'feeling of importance of being European' the indices correlate only partly: Only those to whom being European matters a lot score higher on the indices.

Europeans with foreign ancestry are much more likely to have international socio-cultural connectedness and to speak foreign languages than those without foreign roots, but also among the latter there is substantial socio-cultural connectedness and linguistic versatility. Of the foreign born three out of four speak at least one other language, while among the native born this is just less than one in two. The same differences were found with respect to attachment to other countries and to the European Union: A high 83-85 per cent of those with foreign roots feel attached to another country, but such attachment is not uncommon among the native born too (50 per cent), Attachment to the European Union is lower but shows the same pattern.

Both foreign ancestry and work or study abroad or ownership of real property abroad, that is, 'life choices' implying international mobility, were considered quite powerful indicators of real cross-border connectedness. But do people who studied or worked abroad or own a home abroad also keep up their international connectedness by holidays abroad, following foreign news, sports or culture and cooking or eating 'exotic' food at home, more than those who never went abroad for work or study? The results show that having lived abroad for study or for other, non-work related reasons distinguishes about as much as foreign ancestry on the socio-cultural aspects of connectedness and on attachment to other countries or to the European Union. Having worked abroad is less important, although former expats are still twice as likely to go abroad on holiday, follow the news or eat foreign food at home. Very few people own real property abroad, but it is a very strong indicator of socio-cultural connectedness and attachment. Obviously, owning a home in another country results very likely in frequent visits there. Many of the mobile Europeans speak three or more languages and it is no surprise that having studied abroad significantly boosts linguistic capacities. Quite possibly, the opportunity of learning another language may be one of the reasons to study abroad.

Connectedness scores are generally highest among young adults (25-34 year age group), and decrease with increasing age. The youngest age group (15-24 years) too scores somewhat lower than the young adults, especially in the domain of life choices (that is, work or study abroad, home ownership abroad, or a foreign partner), which can be easily explained by the fact that most of these events tend

to occur somewhat later in life. The average EU age pattern is reproduced in most member states, although in a few countries —particularly the Netherlands but also the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia— young adults seem to be less internationally connected than their parents or grandparents.

The knowledge of foreign languages is strongly related to age: Only one in three Europeans of 65 years or older speaks another language well enough to hold a conversation, but among the 15-24 year olds this has already increased to two in three. Attachment to other countries or to the European Union on the other hand shows little relation with age; the young express slightly more attachment to the EU, the older age groups to other countries.

Increases in migration will result in more residents with foreign roots, and equally, increased travel abroad will lead to more Europeans scoring on connectedness in the domain of life choices. These in turn are likely to affect the chances of having foreign relationships and foreign socio-cultural interests. Young adults are probably the first group in which these effects will be noticeable on a larger scale. If one assumes that the potentially temporary elements of connectedness (relationships and socio-cultural connections) will be maintained also in later life stages, it is likely that cross-border connectedness will increase in the future, although perhaps not spectacularly. Obviously, other factors are likely to influence future trends as well, such as the economic situation, political developments, the development of language education, and continued integration at the level of the EU, facilitating work and study abroad.

There is a strong relationship between educational level and current age. Among the lowest educated more than two in three are 55 years or older, in the middle educational level all age groups from 25 years and above are approximately equally represented, while among the highly educated the young adult ages have become dominant. Thus: The younger, the higher educated. It is therefore no surprise that education shows much the same connectedness patterns as age: Connectedness increases with the level of education. Generally, current students take a position between the middle and higher educated (but not in Belgium and to some extent Denmark and Estonia, where students score higher than all other educational levels). Given that the higher educated tend to show stronger cross-border connectedness, gradually improving educational levels should result in an increase in connectedness, other things remaining equal.

Being European matters more to the highly educated and the students than to the middle and lower educated groups. The difference is not huge, but it could imply that with increasing educational levels the sense of European identity could increase somewhat. Feelings of attachment to the European Union increase slightly with educational level, which is probably partly a function of age.

Countries differ both in the degree its residents feel attachment to other countries and in the countries to which that attachment is directed. Quite strikingly, a large majority (81 per cent) of the people who do say that they feel attachment to another country, mentions at least one other member state of the European Union. The remaining 19 per cent mention one or two countries outside the EU only.

Irrespective of whether the country at which the attachment is directed lies within the European Union or elsewhere in the world, Swedes, followed by the Dutch and the Luxembourgers indicated attachment most frequently, and southern Europeans (Italians, Greeks, Portuguese and Spaniards) as well as Bulgarians, Slovenians and Latvians the least. The country-specific preferences follow distinctive patterns. Proximity and cultural-historical ties, economic and migration links as well as popularity of holiday destinations (particularly the southern European countries) play a role, in addition to countries' size and economic dominance. Most countries show a mix of proximity and

—influenced by welfare levels— either economy-related preferences or leisure attachments. A few countries clearly attract attachment from the residents of many other EU member states, rather than from just a few. Size certainly plays a role in this respect, and otherwise a combination of economic power and favourable holiday climates. Therefore, not surprisingly, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and Spain emerge at the top. These countries in turn have very diverse attachment patterns themselves, with both proximity and holiday destination patterns showing up, but in addition many other, smaller but not negligible, country linkages are present.

In conclusion, quite clear instances of cross-border connectedness were found among the European citizens, although more in the domains of relations and socio-cultural openness than in the domains of ancestry and life choices. Correlations between the various indices and other variables that could serve as direct or indirect indicators of international connectedness tended to be quite significant. The young and the higher educated generally are more connected than older and less well educated Europeans, indicating scope for future increases in international connectedness.

References

TNS (2010), *New Europeans. Special Eurobarometer 346*. Brussels, European Commission.