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MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS IN EUROPE
European citizens' attitudes
First results

by Ilvo Diamanti e Fabio Bordignon

Survey co-ordinated by Pragma Srl

INTRODUCTION

IMMIGRATION: A EUROPEAN ISSUE

1. The fifth survey on the citizens' attitudes towards migration and European integration falls on a significant circumstance. Indeed, the immigration issue, if possible, has become even more important than in the past, as far as the public debate is concerned. This is not just because the phenomenon still has considerable proportions, but also because some events – both at national and international level – have introduced new implications, which are nevertheless critical. Let us mention just four of such events:

- a) The EU enlargement, which dates back to more than a year ago, increased the movement of people among the different Member Countries. In the so-called “old Europe” the citizens fear the competition, on the labour market, of companies and workers at lower costs.
- b) The Islamic terrorist attacks that first hit Madrid, then, some months ago, the United Kingdom and are now threatening Italy.
- c) The rejection of the European Constitution in France and in the Netherlands which is also related to citizens' worries about the “immigration issue”.
- d) Lastly, the rebellion of young French citizens, sons or grandchildren of immigrants - who came to France mostly from the Maghreb -, which broke out in Paris suburbs over the last weeks.

The above mentioned events and some others have increased the attention on immigrants and the immigration issue. And it follows that there are also many other issues to cope with: religious cohabitation or cleavage; integration; social control; national identity; competition on the labour market. And there are also political implications, since these themes tend to divide both the political parties and the public opinion in all the European countries considered. The results of the survey, which was carried out over the last months in six countries of both the “old” and the “new” Europe, provide therefore some interesting suggestions for the public debate which is now spreading across Europe. However, the outcome of the survey seems to contradict what is usually said about migration. The results will be deeper analysed and discussed in the next pages. In this introduction we are going to focus only on some aspects that can be useful in order to describe how this phenomenon is currently developing in Europe.

In order to sum up the outcome of this survey in a few words, we could say, even if it sounds a bit obvious, that migration is today “a European issue”. It affects the public opinion of many European countries but it also has different meanings and implications since every country has its own economic, social and institutional peculiarities. Immigration generates feelings that are strictly related to the citizens' attitude towards the European integration, because – from a political point of view – it is maybe the argument that anti-European parties mostly use and that their voters mostly accept.

2. In each country a significant share of the citizens is worried about immigration. Their reasons, however, are different. If we consider the social groups that are more concerned about migration, there is a clear difference between those countries which belong to the so-called “old Europe” and those of the “new Europe”. The citizens of the new Europe, especially Czechs and Hungarians - the Poles a bit less - are much more worried about immigration than their counterparts in Western Europe. This share is almost the double of the figure registered in three countries of the “old Europe”, namely France, Germany and Italy. However, in these countries migration seems to be an issue

for a relevant share of the population too, the rate standing between 20 and 40% of the people interviewed. Migration is a sort of mirror which reflects and multiplies the problems of each nation. Therefore it has a different “label” in each country. In Italy immigration is considered as a source of personal insecurity and public disorder. In France, Germany and much more in Central-Eastern Europe it is regarded as a threat to employment. Everywhere the presence of immigrants is not a relevant issue as far as the cultural and religious identity is concerned.

In Italy the degree of concern generated by immigrants, which fell in line with the EU average between 1999 and 2002, has been increasing over the last years. And it is now pretty high. It is the highest in Europe if the attention is drawn only on people’s safety and public order. In Germany there is also a widespread concern about immigrants, especially in the former GDR. It is somewhat surprising that French citizens are the least worried about immigrants, since riots have recently broken out in Paris suburbs where people of foreign origin (especially from the Maghreb) reside. And it is also a big surprise that in Paris, where clashes were particularly violent, people have the most positive attitude towards immigrants.

These figures suggest that the concerns generated by migration on the public opinion tend to go beyond migration itself. Indeed, there is no relation between the depth of concern and the share of immigrants on the population (which is particularly low in Central-Eastern Europe). This suggests, as many commentators observed, that the riots in Paris suburbs do not have any relation with immigration. They are related to the integration promised - but not achieved - to the immigrants’ sons and grandchildren and also to the difficulties generated by degraded suburbs.

The survey also reveals that fears are nourished by different factors, which have social, political and institutional roots. Generally, immigration generates major tension in peripheral social contexts, such as people with a low or middle degree of education or belonging to the middle or lower classes, who live in the smallest towns (and not in the metropolis), or those who are less engaged in friendship networks or social activities. Immigrants are therefore considered as a threat by people who live in difficult situations or in closed social contexts.

3. Everywhere the concern about immigration is linked to the resistance towards European integration, which is also pretty widespread. Both in Germany and in France the majority of the population dislikes the European constitution. And this is also the case for the Czech Republic and Poland. Only Hungarians and Italians have a positive attitude towards the new constitution. The share of European citizens who positively evaluate the single currency is also low. In those countries that already belong to the Euro Zone, citizens are realistic and disenchanted and believe that Euro has caused some complications in everyday life but it is still necessary, whereas in the “new Europe” people are looking with suspicion at the perspective of joining the Euro Zone. In each country as the concerns about immigrants get higher, the support for European integration goes down. Xenophobia (fear of foreigners) is linked to mistrust of institutions, both local and national. In other words the attitude towards immigrants reflects the relation with governmental institutions, both local, national and especially European. The mistrust of institutions and of EU generates insecurity and the inability to cope with the “others”, such as the immigrants are. Immigration itself, especially if it is temporary regulated, can stress a sense of vulnerability and the inclination of being “close”. These feelings weaken the relationship with national and – much more – European institutions. That is why immigration is a “European issue”: because it questions European integration and also because European integration tends to make citizens feel that immigrants are a threat.

4. The perception of immigrants is also conditioned by the citizens' political attitude. The concern about immigrants increases noticeably while moving from left to right on the political spectrum. And this reflects the strategies of the political parties. Indeed, in each country of the "old Europe" there are right-wing and extra-parliamentary parties that do promote a euro-sceptical and anti-immigration attitude in their political campaigns and programmes. These parties act in a way that euroscepticism and concern about immigration are becoming their own flag. So, migration is again a "European issue". Or better said, an "anti-European issue".

5. If migration and European integration strictly refer to each other, it is easy to understand that considering them as two different questions is really risky. First, it is difficult to consider migration as a national issue, because it influences European integration too. And it is also difficult to conclude the process of European integration without taking into account the problems posed by migration, such as citizenship rights and the integration of markets and labour forces, not just goods or currencies. Without facing these issues in an appropriate way the concern about migration is going to increase; and this is going to promote euro-sceptical and anti-European social orientations.

MAIN RESULTS – SUMMARY

Migration still generates mixed feelings among European citizens. People are still concerned about immigrants, in spite of being willing to welcome foreigners and to allow them citizenship rights. These attitudes involve a different share of the population in each country and the citizens' feelings are also related to the perspective we choose to analyse the phenomenon. If we look at its effects on the national and cultural identity, on the economic system or on people's safety and the public order, feelings tend to change. As far as these themes are concerned, there is a deep rift between the EU founders (France, Germany and Italy) and the post-communist democracies (Hungary, Czech Republic and Poland), new Member States of the EU since May 2004. However, there is a common thread: the strict connection between the attitudes towards migration and the way people consider the latest development of the European institutions.

There are some frictions on the EU. The new European single currency is severely criticised. In those countries who joined the Euro Zone in 2002 the majority of the people think that euro is still necessary, even if it has brought many complications, and about one third of the population believes that the new currency entails only complications in everyday life. In the new Member Countries the perspective of joining the Euro Zone – which is part of the Adhesion Treaties – gives also rise to increasing reservations among their citizens. The same consideration can be applied also to the new European constitution, which has been rejected over the last months both in France and in the Netherlands and has become a warning sign of an increasing dissatisfaction towards the EU. These are some of the main results of a research that has been carried out by Fondazione Nord Est and LaPolis (an institute of political and social studies based at University of Urbino) in six different European countries.

The attitudes towards immigrants

Citizens of the “old Europe” have a different attitude towards immigrants than those of the so-called “new Europe”. The post-communist democracies are marked by a certain mistrust of foreigners, much more than in Western Europe. There is not a single explanation for such feelings; a series of different factors can be useful in order to explain why Central and Eastern Europeans are so concerned about immigrants. First, their history, since they lived under foreign domination for a long time. We should also not forget the difficulties they had to cope with during the transition to open market economies. In these countries there is no concern about national identity; citizens' worries are much more related to the competition expected on the labour market and, secondly, to personal safety.

In Western Europe citizens are not that concerned about immigrants. However, there are still “significant minorities”, and their share ranges between 20 and 40% of the total population. French people are the least worried about migration and that applies to all the social dimensions and implications proposed by the questionnaire. The share of French citizens concerned about immigrants stands between 23 and 27%.

Concerns about foreigners are deeper in Germany and Italy and the rate goes up to about 40% of the population. However, their reasons are different. Italians are particularly worried about personal safety and crime; this rate – which had been partially reabsorbed over the last years – increases by 2% between 2004 and 2005. About one third of the Italians (35%) look at the immigrants as potential competitors in order to get or to maintain a job. This rate has also increased since last year.

Germans, especially those who live in the former German Democratic Republic, are particularly worried about the consequences of migration on the labour market. Moreover, 29% of German citizens stress the challenges posed by immigration in terms of cultural and religious identity: this is the highest rate among all the Western countries considered. In spite of the terrorist attacks that hit in the heart of Europe over the last years – first in Madrid and later in London – there are not attitudes or feelings typical of the so-called “clash of civilizations”. Different cultures and religions do also generate concerns about immigrants and foreigners, but there are more relevant and explanatory dimensions. Terrorist attacks have strengthened the relation that exists between some kinds of migration and personal insecurity for some sectors of the public opinion. This is confirmed by the fact that European citizens – except French – do not consider immigrants from the Arab countries as those they less trust in.

Citizenship rights

It has to be noted that in the three Western European countries a high share of the population still considers migration in a positive way, as an opening factor. Indeed, the absolute majority of the citizens (the highest rate being registered in Germany, 71%) – and about the half in Poland and Hungary too – think that foreigners do contribute to open up new cultural horizons and fosters the social progress. At the same time, what is relevant and still expanding is the share of those who consider migration as necessary to the European economy and thus consider foreigners as a resource.

There is also a public consensus in favour of allowing citizenship rights to regular immigrants, especially so that they can get access to basic services. In the “old Europe” about 75% of the people – but almost everybody in France and Italy – think that foreigners should be eligible to the national health system. In Central Eastern Europe the majority of the citizens agree with that proposal too. Italians, French and Germans also believe that regular immigrants should be eligible to vote not only in local, but also in general elections. With this regard Italians and French are the most favourable, while Germans seem to be a bit more cautious.

The European Union

The European Union has still some difficulties to cope with as the citizens’ attitudes suggest. Indeed, they assess in a particularly severe way one of the most important and ambitious steps which have been adopted by the European Union over the last years: the introduction of the single currency, the euro. In those countries where the euro has been introduced since 2002, less than 20% of the citizens believe that the new currency has generated and will keep on generating only advantages. In Germany and Italy these figures are more or less the same than those registered last year. In France the citizens are increasingly unsatisfied with the new currency and this figure has been falling in line with the one of the other two countries. The share of euro-enthusiastic decreased from 32 to 19% of the population. A relevant share of the public opinion – which is currently the majority both in France (45%) and in Italy (54%) - considers the single currency as “necessary”: it is causing some complications, but it is still necessary to the European integration. More than one third of the population – 32% in Italy and in 36% in France – rejects the euro, while in Germany – as in 2004 – those who are nostalgic for the mark are the majority of the people interviewed.

Even in the new Member Countries the perspective of changing from the national currencies to the euro is generating increasing doubts. In Hungary and in the Czech Republic – where the changeover is expected to be in 2010 - the majority of the people is still in favour of adopting the euro, while 40% of their citizens are against the introduction of the single currency. In Poland - the only new Member State which hasn't planned the changeover yet and whose government is considering the issue of holding a referendum on euro – there is a deeper opposition. About one half of the people say no to the introduction of the euro (50%, while the same figure stood at 46% in 2004).

The assessment of the new constitution is also another index of the citizens' disenchantment towards European integration. In France the figures seem to confirm the result of the referendum on the European constitution which was held last May. The population is divided in two groups - those who are in favour of the constitution and those who reject it – and each of them reaches about 47% of the preferences. In those countries whose Parliaments already ratified the new constitution, Hungarians and Italians do support the decision of their governments: in both countries the absolute majority of the citizens are in favour of the new constitution (69% in Italy and 56% in Hungary). The situation is quite different in Germany, where the constitution has been also ratified by the Parliament but citizen's attitudes are closer to those registered in France. In the other two Central-Eastern European countries considered, Poland and the Czech Republic, people are still pretty uncertain about the new constitution, even though the majority rejects it.

Factors of concern

There are some factors which are strictly related to the concerns of European citizens about migration. This is true at least for all the three Western European countries, while the new Member States seem to show different and specific patterns. First, there is a strict relation between the attitudes towards migration and the opinion on European issues. This applies to all the six countries considered and this stresses that it is necessary to cope with immigration from a European perspective.

Concerns about immigrants are deeper among those who do not support the process of European integration. In Germany and Italy citizens' worries are related to a negative assessment both of the single currency and the new European constitution. The last factor is less relevant in France, where a more general assessment on Europe influences the attitude towards migration.

Politics is also an important factor. In each Western European country the concerns about immigrants goes higher while moving from left to right on the political spectrum. This is the case especially for Italy, where this relation seems to be closer than in France and Germany.

It is also interesting to note the relation between the attitude towards immigrants and some indicators of social capital. In France and Italy people that are involved in a political and social network are less worried about foreigners and generally do trust much more in others. Concerns about immigrants – both in France and in Italy – decrease in case of a deeper institutional integration and trust in politics.

Considering the social and demographic dimensions, it has to be noted that almost in each country the most educated people are less worried about immigrants. Looking at the age, there is a similar relation: younger people are less concerned about foreigners than adults and old people. From this perspective Italy is an exception to the rule. In Italy, indeed, there is no relation between age and the degree of concern about

foreigners, whereas in all the other five countries concerns increase while moving from young to old people, which are the most worried about migration.

There is also a significant relationship between the degree of concern and the place where people reside. This is particularly important especially after riots broke out in Paris suburbs and people's attention has been drawn on the integration of immigrants in major urban areas. The results of the research seem to contradict the current debate. There is no strict relation between a negative attitude towards immigrants and urban areas. In Italy and France people living in the smallest towns or villages are the most concerned about immigrants. Furthermore, Paris – at least some months ago – is the area where the lowest degree of concern about foreigners has been registered.

The French case

The survey which was carried out in France provides some interesting results, especially if we look at the events that occurred over the last months: the riots in Paris suburbs and the rejection of the European constitution. Some commentators considered these events as a warning sign of the increasing difficulties generated by migration, even though these countries – like France - have been promoting the social integration of foreigners for a long time. This is not true, since the degree of concern about immigrants in France is one of the lowest registered by the research. In France citizens are increasingly mistrusting the political and monetary integration among European countries. In Paris people are also the least worried about foreigners. This stimulates to reconsider the opinion on the riots as the consequence of a “migration issue”. This seems not to be right. There are other issues, which are related to the integration policies adopted in France.

- 1) In France the attitude towards foreigners and immigrants is wide-open, because citizenship is a wider idea (and maybe a wider ideology too). All foreigners can become French citizens, if they accept the basic rules and principles of the Republic. This is much more true in Paris, because of both historical and sociological reasons, such as the political and cultural traditions or the role of middle and well-educated classes. Foreigners that become French citizens – and their sons or grandchildren much more – therefore have more violent reactions, because there is a clear cleavage between promises and reality. The promises of integration on the labour market and a better life standard have not been achieved and there is also a limited chance to get into the main professional, cultural and political fields. The consequence is an increasing mistrust of political institutions and this stimulates riots and protests among immigrants.
- 2) It has to be noted that in France concerns about immigrants have also political roots. Extreme right-wing groups, mistrust of the European Union and of the single currency, fear of the globalisation do play a significant role in generating citizens' worries.

In other terms, in France migration is a sign of the concern about all the processes that are decreasing the sovereignty and identity of the national States.

The Italian case

In Italy concern about immigrants is strictly related to personal safety. About 40% of the Italian citizens fear that crime is going to increase in the years to come because of migration. Concerns about foreigners have decreased since the end of the nineties (46%)

but it is still a special feature of Italy. Citizen's worries about personal safety – whose rates are highest in the Northern regions, especially in the North East - are deeper than those about employment. However, the last ones have been increasing over the last two years because of a lasting difficult economic situation and they stand at a pretty high rate – as in the past – in the South. Cultural and religious aspects – as in the other European countries – do not play a relevant role in citizens' attitudes towards migration. As in France, in Italy there isn't a strict relation between concern about migration and urban areas. The smallest villages are indeed the areas where citizens' worries are highest. In Italy politics plays a significant role in influencing people's opinions. Both in Germany and France the most worried citizens are those who place themselves at right or centre-right on the political spectrum. This relation is more relevant in Italy, as consequences of the policies on migration adopted and promoted by the current government.

As far as European integration is concerned, the results confirm the intensity of Italians' Europeanism, even though it stands at a lower level than in the past. A significant share of the Italian population is disappointed about the effects generated by the introduction of the single currency: about one third of the Italians – more or less the same as in France – do think that the euro entails only complications in their lives. If we look at other dimensions, Italy is still supporting with great firmness the process of European integration. This is, for example, the case of the new constitution, which has been already ratified by the Parliament and is supported also by the majority of the citizens, about 70% of the people interviewed, the highest rate among the six countries considered.

Ilvo Diamanti and Fabio Bordignon

THE SURVEY – METHODS AND RESPONSIBILITY

- ✓ Universe Population of six different European countries (France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic) aged 15 or more
- ✓ Kind of research Quantitative survey
- ✓ Sample Nationally stratified according to the main social and demographic variables
- ✓ Methods CATI (computer assisted telephone interviewing) in France, Germany and Italy; face-to-face interviews were carried out in Hungary, Poland and in the Czech Republic
- ✓ Size of the samples 5.927 cases (France: 902, Germany: 901, Italy: 900, Poland: 1020, Czech Republic: 964, Hungary: 1240)

- ✓ Period The interviews were carried out from June 14th until September 29th 2005
- ✓ Research institutes involved The research has been co-ordinated by Pragma S.r.l., which has also carried out the survey in Italy.
The other polling institutes involved are:
 - France: CSA*
 - Germany: GMS Dr Jung*
 - Poland: IPSOS*
 - Czech Republic: Factum Invenio*
 - Hungary: Median*

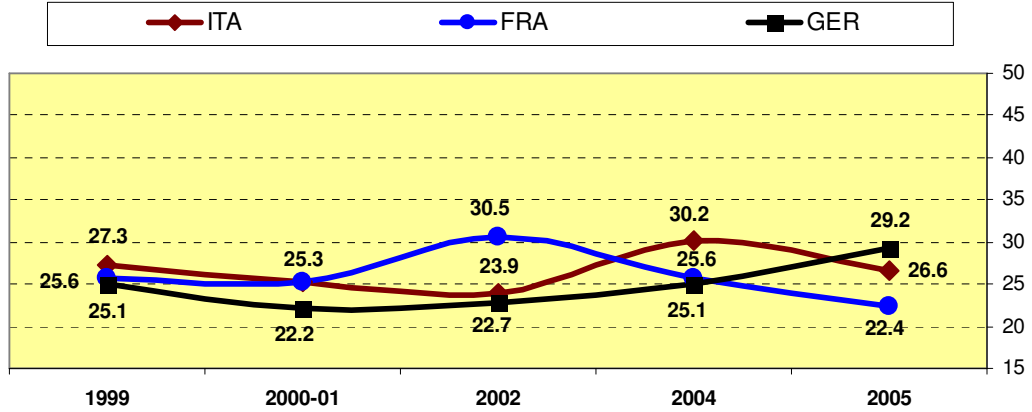
- ✓ Responsibility The survey has been carried out by Fondazione Nord Est and LaPolis (an institute of political and social studies at University of Urbino). The research has been directed by Ivo Diamanti in co-operation with Fabio Bordignon, who has been in charge of all the methodological and organizational issues as well as of the data mining. Federico Ferraro has translated the paper in English.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRATION						
I am going to read you a list of statements concerning topical issues. Could you please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, slightly disagree or strongly disagree? (% Strongly Agree or agree, without Non Response)						
	ITA	FRA	GER	POL	CZE	HUN
Immigrants are a danger for our culture, our identity and our religion	26.6	22.4	29.2	32.5	46.6	46.3
Immigrants pose a threat to employment	35.1	26.7	39.9	60.5	65.1	72.3
Immigrants pose a threat to public order and people's safety	39.2	22.8	34.1	40.0	61.1	61.8
Immigrants are a resource for our economy	46.9	59.7	57.1	12.2	35.5	61.1
The presence of immigrants enhances our cultural openness	51.4	71.7	64.2	52.2	28.8	49.7
<i>Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)</i>						

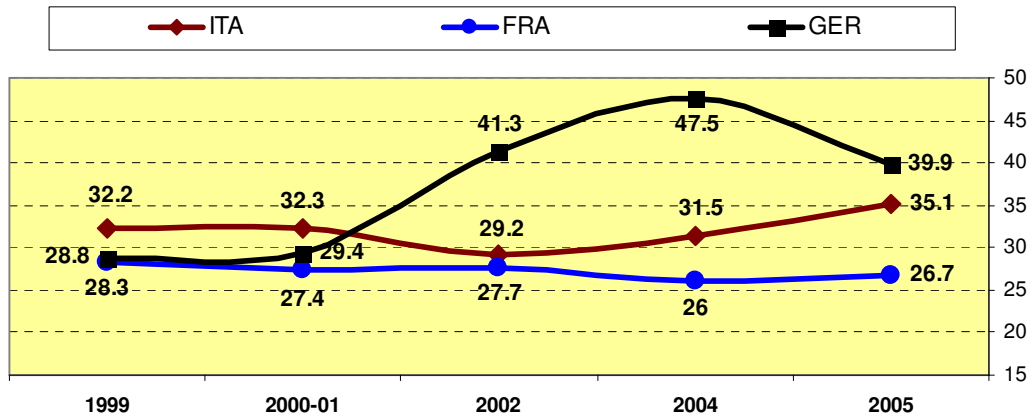
ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRATION: TRENDS

I am going to read you a list of statements concerning topical issues. Could you please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, slightly disagree or strongly disagree? (% Strongly Agree or agree, without Non Response)

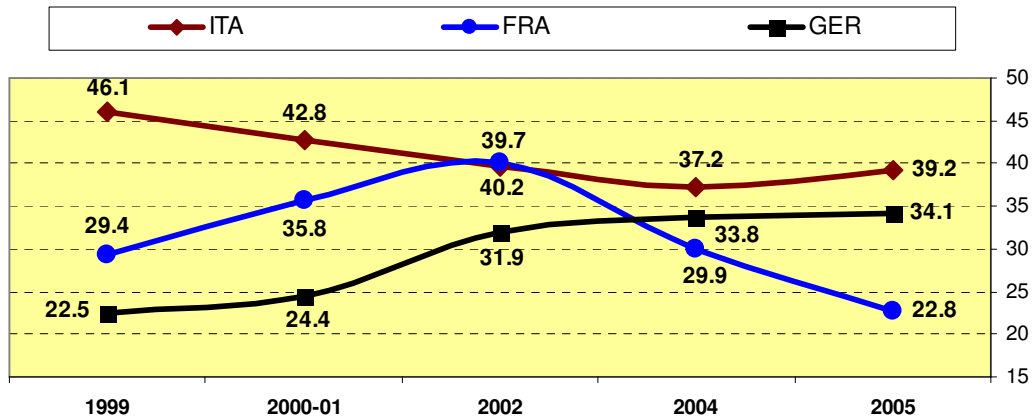
IMMIGRANTS ARE A DANGER FOR OUR CULTURE, OUR IDENTITY AND OUR RELIGION



IMMIGRANTS POSE A THREAT TO EMPLOYMENT



IMMIGRANTS POSE A THREAT TO PUBLIC ORDER AND PEOPLE'S SAFETY



Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS						
According to your opinion, is it right that legal immigrants who also pay taxes, ... (% Yes)						
	ITA	FRA	GER	POL	CZE	HUN
...they are eligible to vote in local elections at city level	73.9	82.1	62.0	56.0	44.6	31.9
...they are eligible to vote in general elections	65.3	67.1	57.7	46.6	38.5	27.0
...they and their families are eligible to use the national health system	97.1	89.8	75.0	79.6	69.5	61.1
<i>Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)</i>						

TRUST IN PEOPLE BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN						
How much do you trust people coming from....? (% A lot or somewhat)						
	ITA	FRA	GER	POL	CZE	HUN
USA	68.0	59.7	74.5	64.8	55.6	46.9
China	44.0	52.7	69.0	24.9	16.4	17.5
Former Soviet Union countries	47.5	51.5	59.7	26.0	18.9	17.5
Turkey	36.4	44.1	58.1	24.5	14.0	19.0
Third World countries -developing countries	56.0	58.7	57.8	31.1	18.3	14.0
Balkan countries (ex-Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria)	37.0	48.8	57.5	33.7	23.0	19.9
Arab countries	31.2	49.0	51.1	13.9	8.4	10.6
<i>Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)</i>						

THE NEW CURRENCY: THE "OLD EUROPE"						
Since January 2002, Euro has been introduced. In your opinion, the single currency ... ?						
	ITA		FRA		GER	
	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004
It has generated and will keep generating advantages	13.2	11.1	18.7	31.7	18.6	19.9
It's causing some complications, but this is necessary for Europe	53.8	46.5	45.3	28.9	38.3	34.4
It just entails complications in your life	32.4	42.1	35.7	38.0	42.1	44.3
Don't know/No answer/Refusal	0.7	0.3	0.4	1.4	1.0	1.4
<i>Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)</i>						

THE NEW CURRENCY: THE “NEW EUROPE”

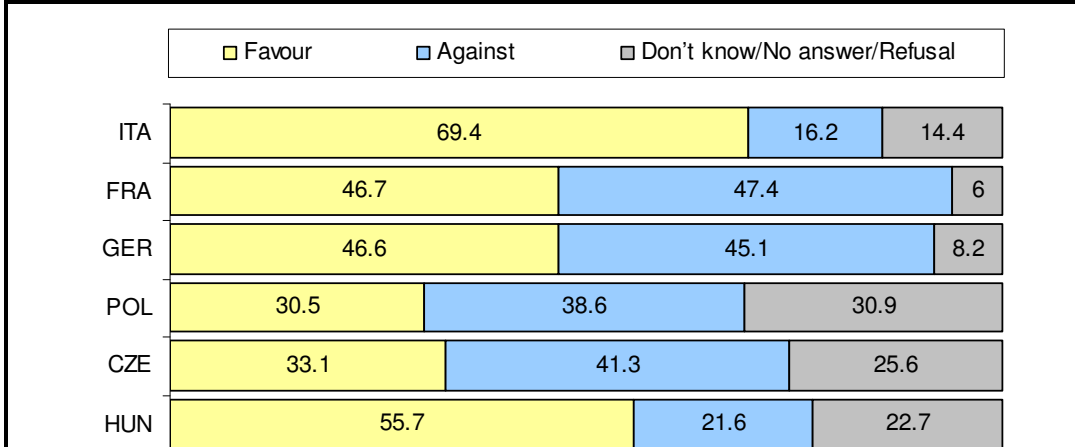
Would you be favorable or unfavorable if your country, like other European countries, would join the single currency: the Euro?

	POL		CZE		HUN	
	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004
Favorable	38.5	33.7	49.8	45.0	47.2	68.6
Unfavorable	50.1	46.2	36.9	31.0	42.4	25.3
Don't know/No answer/Refusal	11.4	20.1	13.3	24.0	10.4	6.2

Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

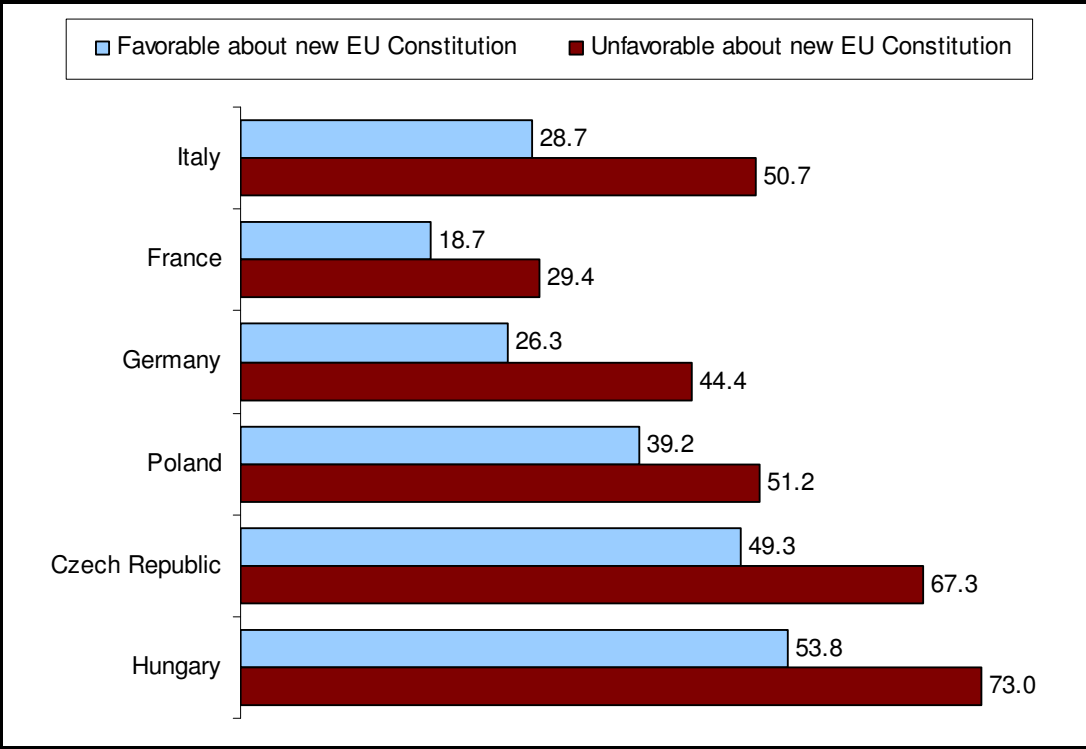
Overall, are you in favor or against the new European constitution?



Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRATION AND THE EU CONSTITUTION

Mean number of people concerned about migration *



* The Index is computed as the mean percentage of interviewed who agreed with the following three statements: 1) Immigrants are a danger for our culture, our identity and our religion; 2) Immigrants pose a threat to employment; 3) Immigrants pose a threat to public order and people's safety

Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRATION BY AGE Mean number of people concerned about migration *							
	AGE CLASS						ALL
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
Italy	33.0	33.6	33.9	28.5	34.4	36.8	33.6
France	11.4	15.5	22.9	27.8	31.1	35.0	24.0
Germany	22.8	33.7	31.1	30.5	37.8	45.4	34.4
Poland	41.1	41.2	40.9	44.3	50.1	51.8	44.4
Czech Republic	51.7	57.1	53.7	52.4	63.4	69.8	57.6
Hungary	55.4	58.4	57.8	56.2	61.6	69.8	60.1
* <i>The Index is computed as the mean percentage of interviewed who agreed with the following three statements: 1) Immigrants are a danger for our culture, our identity and our religion; 2) Immigrants pose a threat to employment; 3) Immigrants pose a threat to public order and people's safety</i>							
Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)							

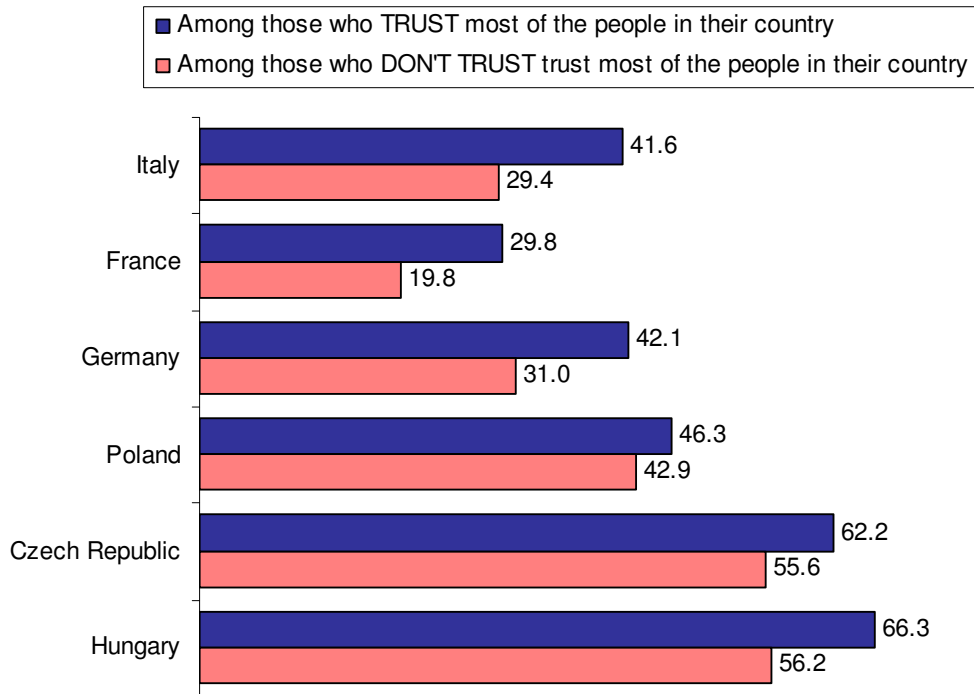
ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRATION BY URBAN DIMENSIONS Mean number of people concerned about migration *						
	URBAN DIMENSIONS (number of inhabitants)					ALL
	Less than 2,000^a	2,000-19,999	20,000-99,999	100,000-499,000	More than 500,000^b	
Italia	34.6	36.8	33.9	27.9	27.5	33.6
Francia	29.6	31.2	19.2	23.4	13.0	24.0
Germania	35.3	34.4	30.9	40.4	32.5	34.4
Polonia	49.7	42.2	42.6	34.1	49.7	44.4
Repubblica Ceca	65.8	53.6	51.1	62.6	58.0	57.6
Ungheria	67.4	62.4	56.2	51.5	59.2	60.1
* <i>The Index is computed as the mean percentage of interviewed who agreed with the following three statements: 1) Immigrants are a danger for our culture, our identity and our religion; 2) Immigrants pose a threat to employment; 3) Immigrants pose a threat to public order and people's safety</i>						
^a Rural Zone, in Poland						
^b Paris, in France						
Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)						

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION							
Mean number of people concerned about migration *							
	SELF-PLACEMENT ON LEFT-RIGHT SCALE						ALL
	Left	Centre-Left	Centre	Centre-right	Right	Don't know/No answer/Refusal	
Italy	21.1	26.5	33.4	35.7	53.2	39.1	33.6
France	17.7	13.4	30.1	23.4	37.1	26.6	24.0
Germany	25.4	23.5	33.5	45.4	48.9	46.1	34.4
* The Index is computed as the mean percentage of interviewed who agreed with the following three statements: 1) Immigrants are a danger for our culture, our identity and our religion; 2) Immigrants pose a threat to employment; 3) Immigrants pose a threat to public order and people's safety							
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ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION							
Mean number of people concerned about migration *							
	SELF-PLACEMENT ON LEFT-RIGHT SCALE						ALL
	Left	Centre-Left	Centre	Centre-right	Right	Don't know/No answer/Refusal	
Poland	40.9	54.6	42.2	42.1	44.9	44.8	44.4
Czech Republic	64.8	64.2	59.0	49.6	53.8	57.5	57.6
Hungary	65.1	53.9	64.0	53.6	61.8	59.2	60.1
* The Index is computed as the mean percentage of interviewed who agreed with the following three statements: 1) Immigrants are a danger for our culture, our identity and our religion; 2) Immigrants pose a threat to employment; 3) Immigrants pose a threat to public order and people's safety							
Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)							

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRATION AND TRUST IN PEOPLE

Mean number of people concerned about migration *



* The Index is computed as the mean percentage of interviewed who agreed with the following three statements: 1) Immigrants are a danger for our culture, our identity and our religion; 2) Immigrants pose a threat to employment; 3) Immigrants pose a threat to public order and people's safety

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**CONCERN ABOUT IMMIGRATION
THE MAIN FACTORS (in order of importance *)**

ITALY	FRANCE	GERMANY
Political Orientation (right)	Age: Old People	Low Education
Low Satisfact. about how Democracy works	Low non-conventional Political Participation	Low Satisfact. about National Economy
Negative Opinion about the Euro	Political Orientation (right)	Age: Old People
Negative opinion about new EU Constitution	Negative Opinion about the Euro	Political Orientation (right)
Low trust in People	Low trust in Local Institutions	Negative opinion about new EU Constitution
Low Associational Involvement	Small urban centers	Sachsen - Thüringen
Low trust in National Institutions	Low Education	Negative attitude on Europe
Low social class	Negative attitude on globalisation	Negative Opinion about the Euro
Low non-conventional Political Participation	Negative attitude on Europe	Nordrhein-Westfalen
Negative attitude on globalisation	Negative attitude on Politics	
Negative attitude on politics	Low trust in People	
Noth East Area		
* <i>The importance of each factor has been assessed through a series of regression models</i>		
<i>Fondazione Nord Est/LaPolis-Univ. di Urbino, conducted by Pragma Srl, GMS for Germany, July-Sept. 2005 (N=5927)</i>		