

EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION AND THE EU FOLLOWING THE PEAK OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS

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SUMMARY

This Policy Paper, following on from the study published in 2016 by the Jacques Delors Institute, entitled “The EU, despite everything? European public opinion in the face of crisis”, starts by providing an overview of opinion on the European Union in its various member states, analysing the results of the European Commission’s Eurobarometer surveys, in addition to some aspects based on data from the European Parliament’s Parlemeter surveys.

At the end of 2015, the difficult recovery, following the economic crisis, of favourable attitudes to the EU stopped: between the spring and autumn, the EU’s image, the trust expressed in it, opinions on the direction taken and the level of optimism for its future fell again, with all these indicators reaching levels substantially lower than those prior to the crisis. In 2016, they were further eroded (except the degree of trust—but its decline in 2015 had been particularly sharp), alongside a deterioration in citizens’ morale with regard to the economic situation. However, citizens’ opinions on membership of the EU and the resulting benefits for their country remained relatively stable year on year, at a level comparable to pre-crisis levels. In short, a majority of citizens are not breaking away from the European project but are increasingly expressing dissatisfaction and concern.

Analysis (including multivariate data processing) of opinion in the different countries confirms the observation of a great disparity within the EU, and of differences between member states which are not based on a single criterion: opinion in different member states may be close in spite of their geographic location, level of economic development or the amount of time since their accession. In addition, some countries which were highly Europhile have fallen into Eurogloom, while on the contrary others which were formerly very reserved are now satisfied with the EU.

The study then examines in detail attitudes on immigration—which, in 2015, had become the top cause for concern for the European Union by far, and an important source of concern for citizens’ own countries.

As the peak of the migration crisis passed, despite a decline in 2016, immigration clearly remains the most important concern for the EU in citizens’ opinion, and a problem for their country amid other economic and social concerns. It has been noted that while member states in which it is mentioned as a source of concern for the country are in fact among the most exposed to the problem, this is not necessarily the case for citations concerning the EU.

Overall, immigration (of people from outside the EU) evokes much more negative feelings than positive ones; immigrants’ contribution to the countries in which they settle is viewed negatively, though less so; but help for refugees is a very widely acknowledged obligation.

The principle of a common European migration policy is approved by a majority of European citizens, who are also in favour of the idea of a better distribution of asylum-seekers among member states, and of the allocation of financial support to the most exposed countries.

The analysis conducted on these points does, however, highlight highly contrasting attitudes. Immigration is considered most positively in countries, above all in Western Europe, which are unevenly affected. Conversely, the new member states in Central and Eastern Europe, while believing they are not directly concerned, express reticence; and among the most negative of these countries, a genuine hostility and an aversion to actions of solidarity are clearly expressed. There is a divisive element—which does not coincide with the differences between positive and negative attitudes on the EU.

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INTRODUCTION

This Policy Paper follows on from the study published by the Jacques Delors Institute in 2016, “The EU, despite everything? European public opinion in the face of crisis (2005-2015)”, which analysed a decade of change in the opinion indicators measured in the European Commission’s Eurobarometer surveys, in addition to some aspects based on data from the European Parliament’s Parlemeter surveys.

That study revealed that the difficult rise, following the economic crisis, of favourable attitudes to the EU suddenly stopped at the end of 2015—a year which saw the development of a major migration crisis. The purpose of this document is to start by examining how these attitudes have changed since then and the state of public opinion one year on. We will then provide a detailed analysis of the attitudes of citizens in European countries with regard to immigration, as they emerged from the answers to all the questions asked on this issue in the surveys of the aforementioned EU institutions.

After a conventional presentation, these results were subject to factorial correspondence analysis: multivariate (or multi-dimensional) data processing, which affords a more in-depth understanding of the opinion phenomena studied in the different member states.

The main author of this document is Daniel Debomy, who has written studies and policy papers for the Jacques Delors Institute. Alain Tripier contributed to this paper, in particular by carrying out the aforementioned correspondence analyses, the results of which were interpreted together.

1. EU opinion indicators: stability or erosion, between continued support for the European project, dissatisfaction and concern

In this section, we will review the indicators for which changes over the last decade were analysed in our 2016 study: primarily general opinion indicators, and some indicators which reflect the level of economic optimism or pessimism.

1.1. General opinion indicators deteriorating, although judgements on EU membership are unchanged

1.1.1. Opinions of membership of the EU and the benefits of membership: citizens are not breaking away from the European project

These indicators were published systematically every six months in the European Commission’s Eurobarometer survey until 2010-2011. They were then used in the European Parliament’s Parlemeter survey (though less frequently).

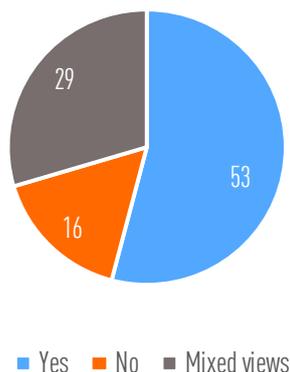
In the aforementioned study, we had noted that, **following a significant correlative drop due to the economic and financial crisis, these indicators returned to levels close to those recorded prior to the crisis at the end of 2015**: 55% of opinions were in favour of membership of the EU as against 15% negative and 28% mixed views (the peak recorded in the autumn of 2007 was 58%)¹; and 60% of citizens considered

1. Poll question: “In general, do you think that the fact that (our country) is part of the European Union is: a good thing, a bad thing, neither good or bad?”

that membership of the EU provided positive benefits for their country, as against 31% negative opinions (58% of opinions were favourable in the autumn of 2007).²

In the autumn of 2016, positive opinions with regard to the first indicator had dropped slightly to 53% (as against 16% negative and 29% mixed views); the second indicator is stable at 60% (as against 31%).

FIGURE 1 ▶ “All things considered, do you think that (our country) has or has not benefited from EU membership?”



The most positive opinions on membership are recorded in Luxembourg (81% against 4%), Ireland (74% against 9%), other Benelux countries (the Netherlands, 72% against 8%; Belgium, 65% against 11%), Germany (71% against 9%), and in two Baltic States (Lithuania, 67% against 8% and Estonia, 63% against 7%), then in the Nordic countries, Sweden (64% against 13%), Denmark (62% against 12%) and Finland (60% against 10%), and in Poland (61% against 9%).

Conversely, the **lowest scores** were recorded in Greece (31% against 29%), Cyprus (34% against 20%), in the Czech Republic (32% against 19%) and in Austria (37% against 24%). It should be noted, however, that even in these countries the number of citizens who believe that EU membership is a bad thing does not exceed the number of people who consider it a good thing.

As regards the **acknowledgement that their country has benefited from its membership**, those the most in agreement with this statement are in Lithuania (86% against 10%), Luxembourg (85% against 10%), Malta (84% against 8%), Ireland (84% against 12%), Poland (81% against 10%), Estonia (80% against 13%), then in Slovakia (79% against 16%), Denmark (77% against 14%), the Netherlands (75% against 19%) and Belgium (73% against 25%).

In three countries, citizens who believe that their country has benefited are proportionately fewer than those with the opposite opinion: Greece and Cyprus (in both cases, 44% against 52%) and, more clearly still, Italy (38% against 51%). Austrians are also **particularly gloomy** (48% against 44%).

1.1.2. The EU's image: a slight decline, highly contrasting views from one member state to another

At the end of 2015, 37% of citizens polled claimed to have a (very or quite) positive image of the EU, as against 23% with a negative image and 38% with a neutral image³: there had been a **4-point drop from the spring** (while the two previous years saw an improvement from a low point at 30% at the end of 2012 and the start of 2013).

In the spring of 2016 this drop gathered pace (34% of positive images against 27%, and 38% neutral opinions), **before a very slight improvement in the autumn** (35% against 25%, and 38% neutral views).

2. Poll question: “All things considered, do you think that (our country) has or has not benefited from EU membership?”

3. Poll question: “In general, is your image of the EU very positive, quite positive, neutral, quite negative or very negative?”

More specifically, only 4% of those polled have a very positive image of the EU (31% a quite positive image); 6% have a very negative image (19% a quite negative image)—in most cases, citizens shy away from extreme opinions.

In three member states, the positive image score is greater or equal to 50%: Ireland (55% against 13%), Poland (51% against 10%) and Romania (50% against 13%). Very clear **relative majorities** have also been recorded, in particular in Bulgaria (49% against 16%), Portugal (48% against 16%), Luxembourg (47% against 19%), Lithuania (44% against 7%) and Malta (42% against 7%).

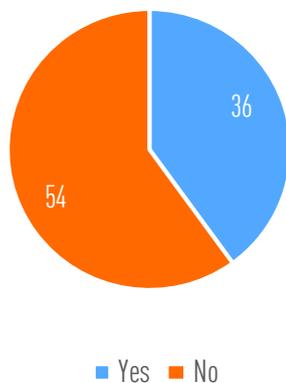
There are fewer positive scores than negative scores in Greece (17% against 47%), Cyprus (26% against 35%), Austria (28% against 35%), the Czech Republic (28% against 32%) and in France (29% against 31%). The scores are also **close** in Italy (32% against 30%), in the United Kingdom (34% against 32%) and in the Netherlands (33% against 28%).

1.1.3. Trust in the EU: a continued gloomy outlook, despite a partial recovery in the last year; and great disparities within the EU

Concerning this point, **the autumn of 2015 was marked by a considerable drop (8 points)** from the spring—32% expressed their trust in the EU, as against 55%—while in the previous twelve months there had been a real improvement (yet without coming anywhere close to the much higher level prior to the crisis—the trust rating for the spring of 2007 was 57% as against 32%).⁴

2016 saw a partial recovery, of 1 point in the spring and then 3 in the autumn. Trust is now expressed by 36% as against 54%. It remains, however, a minority.

FIGURE 2 ▶ “Do you tend to trust the European Union?”



Trust is expressed by more than 50% of polled citizens in a few member states: Lithuania (55% against 29%), Malta (52% against 28%), Romania (52% against 41%), Luxembourg (51% against 41%) and Finland (51% against 43%). **In addition,** it enjoys **relative majorities** in Bulgaria (49% against 34%), Ireland (49% against 42%), Portugal (48% against 42%), Estonia (44% against 36%), Latvia (45% against 40%) and Poland (45% against 42%).

The lack of trust is, on the other hand, more marked in Greece (20% express trust against 78%) and in Cyprus (28% against 63%), France (26% against 65%), the Czech Republic (29% against 66%), Italy (30% against 58%), the United Kingdom (31% against 56%), Spain (34% against 54%), Austria (35% against 58%) and in Slovenia (37% against 57%).

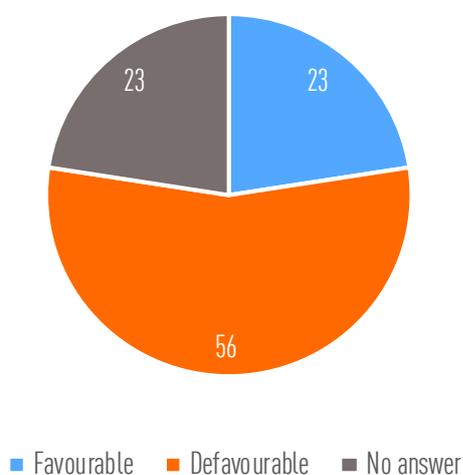
4. Poll question: “I would like to ask a question about how much trust you have in certain media and certain institutions. For each of the following media and institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?: (...) The European Union”

1.1.4. The right or wrong direction currently taken by the EU: more or less pessimistic opinions, but overall a rise in negative opinions

With 23% stating that things are going in the right direction in the EU (against 43% for a wrong direction and 34% who did not state a position)⁵, **a decline was observed in the autumn of 2015 (3 points) from the spring**—while a slight rise had been in play up to then since the lowest ebb in the autumn of 2011 (when 19% of favourable opinions were recorded against 55%).

2016 began with a sharp drop in the spring (17% against 50%); in the autumn, the difference between favourable and unfavourable opinions remained the same, with both gaining 6 points (23% against 56%)—the proportion not taking up a position dropped correlatively to 23%.

FIGURE 3 ► “At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in the European Union?”



The most positive on this point (proportions of “right direction” greater than the proportions of “wrong direction”—though still under 50%) are the citizens of Ireland (47% against 36%), Romania (46% against 37%), Bulgaria (43% against 30%), then Lithuania (39% against 35%) and Malta (34% against 27%).

The most negative are found in Greece (11% against 82%) followed by France (13% against 72%), Denmark (17% against 66%), Luxembourg (19% against 60%), Italy (19% against 58%), Germany (19% against 53%), Cyprus (19% against 49%), Sweden (21% against 66%), the United Kingdom (21% against 56%), Austria (23% against 61%) and the Netherlands (25% against 63%).

1.1.5. Opinions on the EU’s future: an erosion of optimism a great disparity of results among member states

In the autumn of 2015 the majority of citizens polled said they were optimistic for the EU’s future (53% against 41%) despite, once again, a drop of a few points in comparison to the three previous survey waves, which had recorded a recovery from the lower levels observed prior to this time (between 48% and 50% from the end of 2011 to the start of 2013).⁶

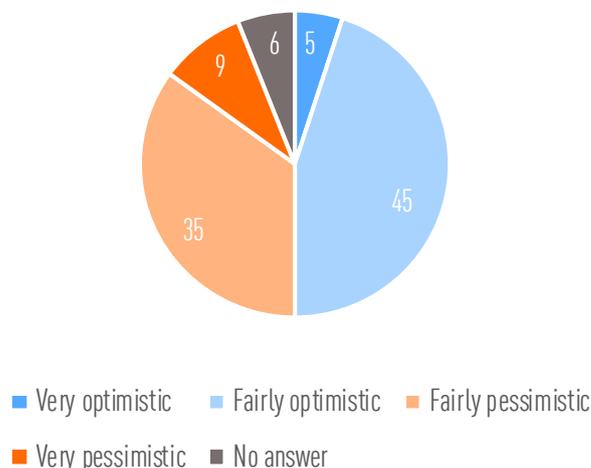
In the spring of 2016, optimism lost another 3 points, with the scores remaining the same in the autumn (50% against 44%, 6% not giving an answer).

This is a far cry indeed from the great majority of optimists recorded in 2007 (in the spring, 69% were optimistic and 24% pessimistic).

5. Poll question: “At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in the European Union?”
6. Poll question: “Would you say that you are very optimistic, fairly optimistic, fairly pessimistic or very pessimistic about the future of the EU?”

Moreover, only 5% are very optimistic (45% fairly optimistic); while the number of very pessimistic responses is slightly higher at 9% (35% fairly optimistic).

FIGURE 4 ▶ “Would you say that you are very optimistic, fairly optimistic, fairly pessimistic or very pessimistic about the future of the EU?”



The countries whose citizens are the most confident for the future are Ireland (77% against 18%), Lithuania (70% against 25%), Malta (67% against 23%), Romania (67% against 29%), Poland (66% against 27%), Luxembourg (65% against 34%), then Slovenia (62% against 36%).

Conversely, the countries with the **gloomiest outlook** are Greece (30% of optimists against 68%), Cyprus (39% against 56%), France (41% against 56%), the United Kingdom (40% against 51%), Italy (42% against 50%), Austria (48% against 49%) then Sweden (49% for both positions).

1.2. An erosion of citizens' morale regarding the economic situation

Our study published in 2016 examined three questions included in the Eurobarometer surveys: on the expectations of an improvement or worsening of the economic situation in the next twelve months, for the EU and for the citizen's own country, and on the expectations with regard to an improvement, or not, of the job market in relation to the crisis.

The following section will focus on changes to these opinions in 2016.

1.2.1. Expectations with regard to the economy: continued bleak attitudes in a climate of uncertainty

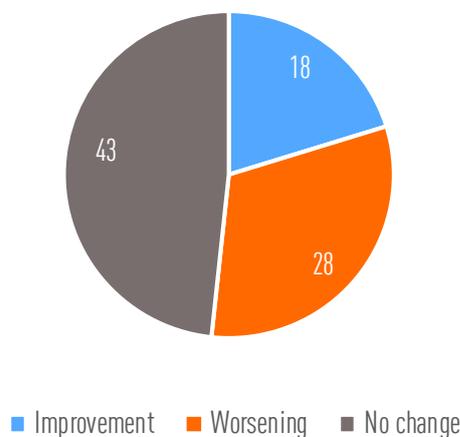
As regards their **expectations** for the next twelve months **in relation to the economic situation in the EU**, European citizens proved to be **very divided in the autumn of 2015**: 20% believed in an improvement, 26% in a worsening of the situation, 42% thought that the situation would not change (and 12% did not give an answer).⁷

This marked a **4-point drop in optimism** in comparison to the previous survey wave—the results of which, following ups and downs, reflected a (modest) improvement since the lowest levels of the crisis.

2016 saw an additional slide: 18% of optimists, against 26% (and 43% for “no change”) in the spring; **18% of optimists, against 28%, and 43% of “no change” in the autumn.**

7. Poll question: “What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to the economic situation in (our country)?” Same question for “The economic situation in the EU”.

FIGURE 5 ► The future of the economic situation in the EU



In all member states except three (Luxembourg, Sweden and the United Kingdom which tend towards pessimism), it can be noted that the most selected answer is that of a situation of no change, which bears witness to the **uncertainty** felt by many citizens.

It can also be observed that the **score of optimistic responses is only greater than that of pessimistic responses** in around one in three countries; and the differences are often rather slight (18 points in Bulgaria and 11 points in Ireland, but only 8 points in Spain, Lithuania and Malta, 7 points in Portugal, between 5 and 2 points in Romania, Slovakia, Italy, Estonia and Cyprus).

The greatest differences are **the other way around**—considerably more pessimists than optimists—as recorded in Greece (33 points), Sweden (33 points), Luxembourg (31 points), Germany (29 points), Belgium (26 points), the United Kingdom (23 points) and Denmark (21 points).

At the end of 2015, the same question as regards their country⁸ gave a slightly less gloomy result, 24% believing in a better situation against 26% (and 44% foreseeing no change). Once again, the slow and irregular **rise observed since the worst of the crisis until the previous spring seemed to have ended** (optimism down 2 points, pessimism up 5 points).

As for the EU, **the spring of 2016 was marked by an additional decline: optimism fell 3 points to 21%**, pessimism remained stable at 26%, a no-change situation was up 2 points at 46%. **In the autumn, optimism gained 1 point at 22%, pessimism remained at the same level at 26%, and the “no change” response gained 1 point at 47%** (those who did not answer fell by 2 points).

The same caution in the prognostics as for the EU’s economic situation appears in the most frequent choice of a “no change” response in all countries except two, namely Greece (due to a great majority of pessimists) and the United Kingdom.

Citizens in almost every other country seem **more (or at least as) optimistic than pessimistic**: quite clearly Malta (29 points), Ireland (25 points), the Netherlands (24 points), then Cyprus (16 points), Estonia (15 points), Finland (11 points), Portugal (9 points) and Lithuania (8 points); then come (with differences ranging from 5 to 0 points) Spain, Slovakia, Denmark, Luxembourg and Slovenia.

One country stands out for a **negative score** that is by far dominant, Greece (53 points in difference). In addition, negative scores have been recorded in Belgium (14 points), Sweden (12 points), Croatia (12 points), Germany (9 points), the United Kingdom (8 points), Bulgaria and Hungary (7 points).

8. Poll question: “What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to the economic situation in (our country)?” Same question for: “The economic situation in the EU”.

In most member states, optimism for the country is more frequent (or pessimism is less frequent) than for the EU. The exceptions are Greece, Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, and (only slightly) Italy, Hungary, Latvia and Spain.

1.2.2. Job prospects: shared hopes and fears and once again a highly heterogeneous picture

In the autumn of 2015, the proportion of citizens who thought that the job situation would continue to worsen (46% of those polled) was very slightly greater than those who tended to believe in an improvement (44%)—with optimistic opinions in decline by 4 points in comparison to the previous survey wave (the score of which resulted from an irregular rise from the record low reached in the autumn of 2011: 23% against 68% of pessimistic opinions at the time).⁹

In 2016, the measurement taken in the spring observed an additional 3-point decline in optimism for the situation on the job market (41% believing in an improvement, 47% thinking the opposite); it was **followed in the autumn by a very slight recovery (42% against 45%)**.

For this question, **the most confident** nations are the Netherlands (73% against 23%), Ireland (69% against 25%), Portugal (63% against 25%), Denmark (62% against 30%), then the Czech Republic (57% against 36%), Spain (55% against 40%), Finland (55% against 42%), Croatia (53% against 44%), Hungary (51% against 40%), Slovakia (51% against 41%) and Malta (49% against 34%).

On the other hand, **the gloomiest outlooks** are found in Greece (27% of optimists against 70%), Latvia (32% against 62%), France (32% against 61%), the United Kingdom (30% against 54%), then Estonia (33% against 49%), Lithuania (39% against 53%), Luxembourg (39% against 52%) and Belgium (44% against 54%).

In short, when examining the results related to these three questions, there is an overall deterioration of citizens' morale since the spring of 2015 (with a stabilisation in the most recent survey wave at the end of 2016): **these changes are generally in line with those of the general opinion indicators on the EU**.

1.2.3. Attitudes on the Euro: consolidated support, a clear majority across the Eurozone

In the autumn of 2015, 56% of citizens, against 37%, claimed they were in favour of the EMU with a single currency, the Euro: a score one point lower than that of the spring (which was the result of a regular improvement since a low point at 51% in the spring of 2013).¹⁰

Support for the Euro lost another point six months later (55% against 38%), but gained 3 points in the autumn of 2016, at 58% against 36%.

Within the **Eurozone**, favourable opinions were now given by 70% of citizens, a 2-point increase in comparison to the three last survey waves. 25% of citizens were opposed to the Euro.

In short, support for the Euro is continuing and becoming consolidated, despite dissatisfaction regarding the EU and concerns for the economic and job situations.

In the Eurozone, support for the single currency was noted by more than two thirds of citizens polled in all countries except three (where it remains clearly a majority opinion: Austria at 62% against 34%, Italy at 53% against 37% and Cyprus at 52% against 43%). It exceeds 80% in Luxembourg, Ireland, Slovenia, Estonia, Germany and Slovakia.

Outside the Eurozone, support for the Euro is only a majority opinion in Romania (55% against 35%), Hungary (52% against 41%) and in Croatia (52% against 43%). Elsewhere, opposition is generally very clear (though less so in Bulgaria).

9. Poll question: "Some analysts say that the impact of the economic crisis on the job market has already reached its peak and things will recover little by little. Others, on the contrary, say that the worst is still to come. Which of the two statements is closer to your opinion?"

10. Poll question: "What is your position on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement whether you are for it or against it. (Among the statements is: an economic and monetary union with one single currency, the euro).

1.3. Overview of public opinion of the EU at the end of 2016

A majority of European citizens continue to consider their country's membership of the EU favourably, recognise the benefits, and furthermore express optimism for its future.

In the autumn of 2016, the average score in favour of membership (53%) remains above the 50% mark, which it had again reached in 2014 following a decline related to the crisis (despite a slight fall from the 2015 figures), and only 16% consider membership to be a bad thing. The idea that their country has benefited is shared, as it was one year earlier, by 60% against 31%—a level similar to that prior to the crisis.

However, while those citizens who claim to be optimistic for the future continue to be in greater numbers than those who are pessimistic, the gap between them, which had closed at the end of 2015, continued to shrink in 2016: the figures are 50% and 44% respectively in the autumn and in the spring.

The EU's image, following the decline already recorded at the end of 2015, has been further eroded in 2016 (despite a very slight improvement of 1 point between the spring and the autumn). **The positive image score, at 35% at the end of 2016, is indeed higher than the negative score of 25%** (38% expressing a neutral view) **but this does not reflect an idyllic vision of the European Union.**

Trust expressed in the EU has progressed slightly in 2016, but has only recovered a portion of the significant loss recorded at the end of 2015; at 36% against 54%, **it does remain a minority.**

As regards opinions on the current direction taken by the EU, the deterioration recorded in 2015 continued in 2016, and the outlook is gloomy: in the autumn, only 23% of citizens polled believed that the EU is going in the right direction, against 56% who believed the contrary (with a percentage of mixed opinions—neither right nor wrong direction—in decline at 23%).

This goes hand in hand with the erosion of citizens' morale as regards the economic situation observed in the autumn of 2015 then in the spring of 2016—the indicators analysed on this point remain stable on the whole six months later (while support for the Euro, following a slight and brief drop, has been consolidated at the end of this period).

Overall, the following statements can be made to sum up the situation: a majority of citizens are not severing ties with the European project, though at the end of 2016, they increasingly expressed their dissatisfaction and concerns.

The analysis of data on each member state can be used to identify countries in which opinions are along the same lines—all more positive or all more negative than average, but this is not always the case: in other countries, public opinion may prove to be more favourable on some points and less favourable on others.

To gain **an in-depth understanding of citizen's attitudes on the EU in the different member states**, we have used multivariate data processing, namely factorial correspondence analysis.

BOX 1 ► What is the impact of Brexit?

Has the outcome of the referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the EU played a part in the observed erosion in attitudes?

The recent surveys of EU institutions have not tackled this issue.

We do, however, have a measurement taken for the Bertelsmann Stiftung in August 2016, re-using a question already asked in the March: the citizens polled were asked to say how they would vote if a referendum were held on whether their country should stay in the EU.

It appears that in the interval before and after the UK referendum, votes to stay in the EU gained 5 points (from 57% to 62%) on a general European level.

This gain represented 9 points in Poland (at 77%), 8 points in Germany (69%), 3 points in France (53%), and 2 points in Italy (51%)—with a 2-point drop observed in Spain, where the pro-EU score remained high (69%).

This clearly suggests that Brexit has not resulted in diminished general support of the EU—and the contrary is even true according to the Bertelsmann Stiftung. In the United Kingdom itself, 56% said in August that they would vote to stay in the EU should a (new) referendum be held, as against 49% in March.

Moreover, the comparison of the British responses to various Eurobarometer questions between the spring and autumn of 2016 does not indicate a hike in the country's Eurodefiance:

- Opinions on the EU's current direction became more radical: up 7 points (21%) for the idea of the right direction, up 10 points (56%) for a bad direction—to the detriment of the intermediary response of "neither good nor bad".
- Optimism for the future of the EU dropped by 4 points (to 40%), while pessimism gained 5 (51%).
- However, positive attitudes with regard to the EU's image improved by 3 points (34%), and negative opinions fell by 4 points (32%).
- Trust in the EU gained 1 point (31%), with responses to the contrary losing 3 points (56%).

BOX 2 ► Factorial correspondence analysis

FCA is a method used to analyse survey results set into cross-tabulation (with, in this case, rows representing the various answers given to all questions under consideration and columns representing the countries for which the results are cross-analysed). This highlights the phenomena found in the links between the data on these rows and columns. The row and column data are described by their coordinates on so called correspondence axes in a mathematical space with n dimensions which is made up of: axis 1, which is the most useful to explain the data, then axis 2, axis 3, ... axis n .

In practice, it is sufficient to consider the first two or three axes in most cases to explain most of these relationships: in our case, the first two axes explain 76% of relationships and form a plan on which we can view the position of each variable in relation to the axes.

The variables used to create this spatial structure are known as active variables. Subsequently, other variables, known as passive variables, can be projected on the obtained plan(s). It is then possible to compare the position of these variables to that of the active variables. If two variables are projected at two close points, there is a strong correlation between them (at least on the plan created by these two axes. Areas of divergence can then be analysed where necessary by using a third axis, etc.). Conversely, if they are diametrically opposed on the plan, they are inversely correlated.

In addition, the more a projected variable is far from the centre in the direction (positive or negative) of an axis, the more it is correlated to (this direction of) this axis—which can be used to interpret the axes in relation to the variables which are close. The analysis also provides the measurement of the contribution of each variable to the axis under consideration.

NB: positive and negative have no connotation of value in this method, it is simply the usual mathematical convention which places a positive direction towards the right or the top of an axis, and a negative direction towards the left or the bottom.

The factor analysis conducted used the six general opinion indicators on the EU in each country as active variables: feelings on membership of the EU, assessment of the benefit for the country, the EU's image, trust in the EU, opinions on the current direction taken by the EU, optimism or pessimism with regard to its future. The projected passive variables are the opinions on the economic prospects over the next twelve months for the EU, the economic prospects for the country, and optimism or pessimism for the job market situation.

The meaning of axis 1 (horizontal)—which alone contributes to an understanding of 57% of relationships between the variables—is apparent. For all questions used as active variables, the opinions favourable to the EU are projected on the left section of the plan, while negative opinions are in the right section: in short therefore, **Eurofavour** and conversely **Eurodisfavour**. In particular, trust in the EU and optimism with regard to its future, and their opposites, can be clearly seen along this axis, as can the positive and negative images of the EU; this opposition is also observed for the passive variables regarding the economic prospects for the country and (less clearly) for the job market.

The meaning of axis 2 (vertical)—which contributes to an understanding of 19% of relationships—is less immediately clear. Here, we can see in particular correlations (independently of the correlation that they also have with axis 1) of the positive feeling with regard to EU membership and (less strongly) the benefits enjoyed by the country, with the favourable answers to these questions being projected in the upper (left) part of the plan, and the opposite answers (and neutral answers for membership) in the lower (right) part. In general terms, it can be observed that the mixed views given to the questions where such responses were possible and non-responses are found in the lower area (mainly to the left) of the plan.

Axis 2 can be interpreted as opposing, towards the top, individuals particularly attached to **acquis** of the European Union and, towards the bottom, individuals who are more uncertain or more indifferent: **promotion of the acquis**, and conversely **less sensitivity to the acquis** (less sensitivity rather than lack of sensitivity—these are the relative positions of the different variables reflected on the graph. The point of intersection between the two axes corresponds to the European average).

FIGURE 6 A ▶ Public opinion of the EU¹¹



11. See wordings' meaning on page 32.

It can also be observed that negative opinions on the current direction taken in the EU are projected in the upper (right) part of the graph, while positive or mixed opinions are found in the lower (left) part; and the respectively gloomy and cheerful opinions on the EU's economic prospects (passive variable) are projected in a similar fashion: **the promotion of the acquis may come with concerns over its direction.**

It can be seen that the **variables created by the various opinion indicators on the EU are only partially correlated with each other. Overall, they are correlated on axis 1, but much less so on axis 2:** therefore, feelings on membership and the benefits for the country generally go hand in hand, but not with opinions on the EU's current direction, and axis 2 does not differentiate the respectively positive and negative opinions on trust in the EU and confidence in its future; on this point, it is the non-responses that contrast with the expression of opinions.

An analysis of the projection points of the various member states on the plan highlights the following elements:

- **The particular general Eurofavour expressed by citizens in Ireland** (slightly above the axis), **Malta, Lithuania, then Poland, Estonia and Romania** (located more or less clearly in the lower part of the plan, showing less sensitivity to the acquis), can be clearly observed, related to the negative direction (towards the left) of axis 1. The citizens in these countries express **more Eurofavour than the average on all general opinion indicators** (the citizens of Romania are more moderate with regard to EU membership and its benefits, but we know through our previous qualitative investigations that they assign part of the responsibility for this to themselves, for not having placed themselves in a situation in which they could enjoy all the opportunities offered by the EU). In Ireland and Malta, the economic optimism indicators are all above-average; in Poland, they are close to average while in Lithuania optimism for the job market situation is slightly less and in Estonia much less.
- Also in the lower left section of the plan, though **significantly less correlated in the Eurofavourable direction of axis 1 are the citizens from Portugal, Bulgaria and Latvia, moderately positive towards the EU in general and undecided about its current direction** (cf. their proximity with the answer to the intermediate question on direction and in addition the area of the graph in which non-responses are concentrated.) They are **more optimistic on average with regard to the EU's economic prospects but differ in their assessments on their own countries** (Portuguese citizens are more optimistic on this point and on employment; Bulgarians are close to average. This is also the case for Latvians as regards the economic situation, but they have a gloomier outlook on the job market).
- Very correlated in the positive direction of this axis, we can see in the upper left section of the graph the **citizens of Luxembourg, very positive on the whole** like the countries in the first group, **but also critical of the EU's current direction.** They do not foresee a positive economic outlook for the EU (while the outlook for the country is deemed better). Also in the positive direction of axis 2 and slightly to the left are **the Netherlands, Denmark and Finland** whose citizens express in this way a **general feeling that is slightly more Eurofavourable than average, with a promotion of their membership of the EU and the benefits for their countries, but with some reservations and concerns:** the EU's image is scarcely above average, strong criticisms in the first two countries of the direction taken and economic pessimism for the EU (though on the contrary a positive outlook for their countries' economies and for the job market). In addition, citizens from **Belgium projected practically on axis 2** close to the Netherlands (they clearly endorse EU membership and the benefit for their country, but are not above average for their image of the EU, and are more pessimistic for economic prospects, particularly those of the EU), **Germany** (with the same endorsement of the acquis and a better image, and yet an average position on the other general opinion indicators, and lower economic indicators) **and Slovakia** (moderately positive in the same quarter of the plan though in a position close to the centre—with slightly more positive assessments than average for most indicators). Also, highly correlated in the positive direction on axis 2, slightly to the right, is **Sweden**, which fully recognises the justification of EU membership, but is only in an average position on other Eurofavour indicators. The Swedes are particularly critical of the current direction taken by the EU (they are very close to the projection point for this variable) and tend towards economic pessimism, like the Belgians.

- Close to the centre of the axes, **in a slightly more Euroreticent position than average, are citizens from Slovenia, Hungary, Croatia and Spain.** The scores of answers regarding EU membership and its benefits are average or mediocre (lower than average, close to average or slightly above average), while the scores of the other opinion indicators are generally higher. There is above-average optimism emerging for economic prospects and employment (except in Hungary and Croatia for their domestic economies).
- Lastly, located very clearly in the right section of the plan, **Greece, France, Austria and the Czech Republic demonstrate a great disenchantment with the EU, as do citizens from Cyprus, Italy and the United Kingdom.** The projection points of the former countries, along axis 1, are particularly close to those indicating low levels of trust in the EU, pessimism for its future and also a negative image—as well as passive variables of negative economic outlooks for the country and for employment. The latter countries, in the lower right quarter, just as Eurogloominess, seem to be less inclined to endorse the European acquis. The scores of the Greek citizens are the lowest of all countries for all general indicators (except for one for which they are the second gloomiest)—and are the most pessimistic with regard to the economy. Following behind them, comparatively few Italians, Cypriots and Austrians acknowledge the justification for and benefits from their country’s membership of the EU, the same can be said for Czech citizens on the first point—while the French and British, with attitudes that are admittedly less favourable than average, are more moderate in their reservations. It is in Cyprus and Austria where citizens have the most negative image of the EU.

As regards trust in the EU, these six countries are at similar levels, slightly below average (with the exception of Austria, where the level is almost equal to average).

On the direction currently taken in the EU, the French, after the Greeks, are the most negative (with the citizens of the other countries not far from an average which is admittedly very low).

The economic optimism for the EU is (still after the Greeks) lowest for the British, followed by the Czechs and the Austrians. The economic optimism for their country is lower than average in the United Kingdom, but higher in Cyprus, and close to average elsewhere. As regards the prospects of the job market, the British are particularly gloomy, with the French, while the Czechs are more optimistic (the citizens in other countries are in an average position).

This analysis can be used to place countries into five categories, which can be named as follows:

- **Satisfied with the EU:** with the exception of Ireland, these are new member states, some of which already had a previous positive opinion (Malta, Romania, Lithuania) while some of which entered the EU with questions (Estonia) and even major concerns (Poland).
- **Tentatively Eurofavourable:** Latvia and Bulgaria traditionally reserved, and Portugal, where the great love for the EU of the past has suffered from the effects of the economic crisis.
- **Concerned Europhiles:** with the exception of Slovakia (barely different to the average European attitude) these are the older member states of North-West Europe, Benelux, Germany, the Nordic countries.
- **Circumspect Europeans,** with mixed attitudes (but no extremes): Slovenia has partially come back on its great Euroconfidence from the time of its accession, Hungary, where attitudes have fluctuated from that time, Croatia with a logically cautious position due to the short time it has been a member state, and Spain, which has changed (like Portugal) from its previously much more favourable attitude.
- **Eurogloominess:** this category includes member states which have always been critical (the United Kingdom and the Czech Republic), another with changing attitudes over the years (Austria) and Southern-European countries which were once very positive but which have fallen into Europessimism (Greece, Cyprus, Italy, France).

We are able to observe, as was also the case in the 2015 results, a great disparity within the European Union, and differences between member states which are not based on a single simple criterion: opinion in different member states may be close in spite of differing their geographic location, level of economic development or the amount of time since their accession.

2. Citizens' views on immigration issues

2.1. Attitudes on immigration and immigrants

2.1.1. Immigration is still citizens' main concern for the EU, in member states exposed to the problem to different extent.

In the autumn of 2015, following the influx of migrants on the EU's borders, **immigration had become by far the leading concern** cited in answers to the Eurobarometer question on the European Union's main problems¹³: 58% rated immigration as one of the two most important issues facing the EU.

In descending order, cited issues were terrorism (25%), then the economic situation (21%), unemployment (17%) and the state of member states' public finances (17%).

The other issues suggested in the list of possible answers were cited by less than 10% of citizens polled.

This situation is the result of a **spectacular rise in immigration-related concerns**: the ratings of answers to the same question, between 8% and 10% from the spring of 2012 to the spring of 2013, rose to 16% in the autumn of 2013, 21% in the spring of 2014, 24% in the autumn, and to 38% in the spring of 2015, before reaching the aforementioned 58% mark in the autumn.

In 2016, immigration was still by far the leading issue of concern despite a decline in the score (48% in the spring, **45% in the autumn**), while **terrorism-related concerns** rose sharply, fuelled by a series of attacks in several European countries since the previous survey wave: **39% in the spring, followed by a slight drop to 32% six months later**.

The other areas of concern remained stable overall. At the end of 2016, the ratings of the answers were 20% for the economic situation, 16% for unemployment and 17% for the state of member states' public finances.

Then came the EU's influence in the world (an increase in one year from 6% to 10%), with climate change (a 2-point rise to 8%)—the only issues for which a variation of more than 1 point was recorded—then rising prices/inflation/cost of living (8%), insecurity (8%), the environment (6%), taxation (4%), pensions (4%) and energy supply (3%).

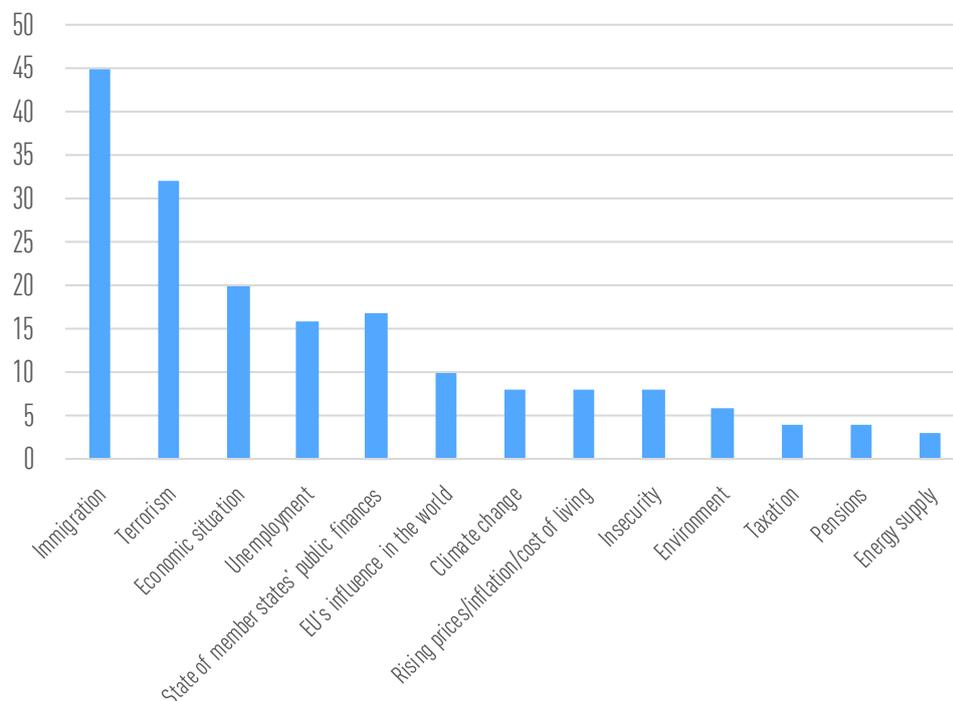
In conclusion, the main change was the rise in terrorism-related concerns in 2016, which was for the most part related to a decline in immigration concerns. This does not necessarily mean that immigration concerns declined in the same proportions: given that the number of possible answers was limited to two, when new concerns appear or rise, the scores of other responses will mechanically drop by as much.

In addition, we can see that some Europeans draw a correlation between these two issues; and indeed a rather great parallelism can be therefore observed between the rise in concerns regarding the former and the latter, when recent years are considered: as regards terrorism, concerns represented 4% in the two survey waves of 2012, between 6% and 7% in the following three waves, 11% at the end of 2014, 17% at the start of 2015 and in excess of 30% in 2016.

There is also a drop of a few points for these two sources of concern between the spring and autumn of 2016, a time when the peak of migration flows of the previous year and the attacks in some member states were less prominent in the news (any new event of this type is, however, likely to cause a sudden hike in these scores).

13. Poll question: "What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?"

FIGURE 7 ▶ “What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?”



An analysis of the data for each country demonstrates the **priority given to the immigration issue**, in particular in Estonia (70% of responses), Malta (65%), Hungary (65%), the Czech Republic (63%), Bulgaria (62%), Denmark (59%), Slovenia (58%), Sweden (57%), Latvia (57%), the Netherlands (56%), Lithuania (53%), Slovakia (51%), Poland (50%), Germany (50%), etc.—**this list includes member states which are unevenly exposed to the issue.**

The lowest scores are those for Portugal (23%), Spain (32%), France (36%), Romania (36%), Finland (38%) and Austria (39%).

High scores for immigration-related concerns come with particularly high scores for terrorism in many of these countries—Sweden and Denmark are the notable exceptions.

2.1.2. Immigration is also a sensitive issue for one's own country alongside other economic and social concerns, but to very different degrees

Answers (taken from a slightly different list) to the same question concerning the respondents' country¹⁴ placed **immigration in the top position on an equal footing with unemployment in the autumn of 2015** (with a score of 36%). Then followed the economic situation (19%), health and social security (14%), rising prices/inflation/cost of living (14%), terrorism (11%), pensions (10%), government debt (10%), crime (10%), then housing, taxation and the education system (all three at 8%), and the environment, climate and energy issues (6%).

It was noted that the lower incidence of answers concerning immigration (and terrorism) reflected the more or less strong feeling, according to the country of the citizen, of being directly affected by these issues, while it is believed that they affect (other member states of) the EU (to a greater extent).

The **increase** in immigration responses did, however, follow the same trend as that observed for the same question concerning the EU: starting at 8% in the spring and autumn of 2012, they rose successively to 10%, 12%, 15%, 18%, 23%, then 36%.

In 2016, this score fell, but remained high at 28% in the spring, and **26% in the autumn.**

14. Poll question: “What do you think are the two most important issues facing (our country) at the moment?”

Terrorism, for which responses also rose to 11% (from a low 2% at the start of the period), was illustrated by a rating that continued to rise in the spring of 2016 (16%) before falling very slightly to 14% in the autumn.

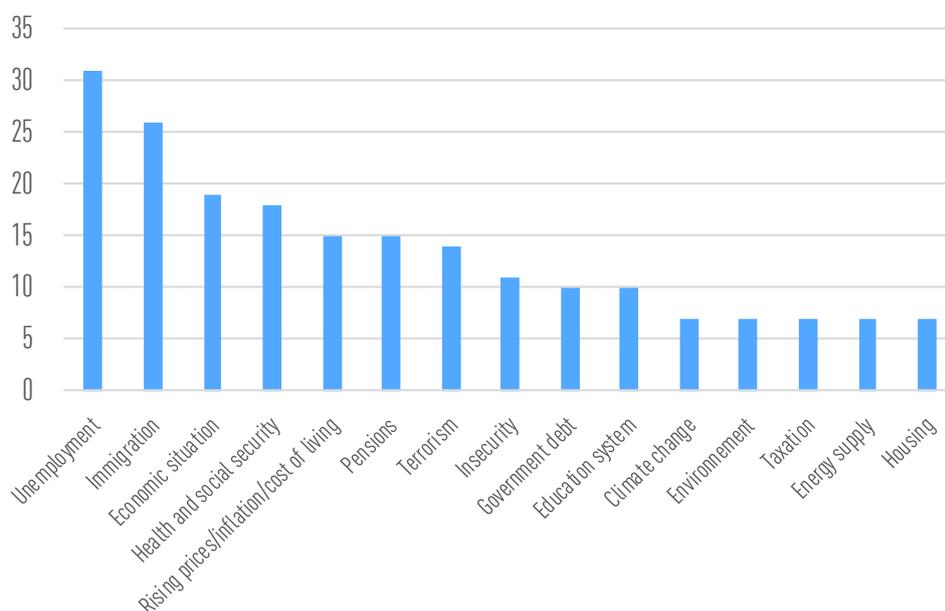
Unemployment regained its position as top concern despite another slight drop (to 31% in the autumn). Then followed the economic situation (stable at 19%) and, slightly on the rise, various concerns with a more direct impact on daily life: health and social security (18%, a 4-point rise in one year), pensions (15%, a 5-point rise), rising prices/inflation/cost of living (15%, 1 point up in relation to the autumn of 2015), and the education system (10%, up 2 points), as well as crime (11%, up 1 point). Government debt was cited by 10% (no change), taxation and housing by 7% (down 1 point in both cases), and also the environment, climate and energy issues (up 1 point).

Depending on the member state, **immigration-related concerns for citizens' own countries vary significantly. The most concerned** seem to be in Malta (46% of responses), Germany (45%), Italy (42%), Denmark (41%), then Austria (36%), Sweden (35%), the Netherlands (34%), Hungary (30%), etc. —**most of these countries are faced with this issue in one way or another** (it should be noted that the score for Greece is not among the highest—probably because citizens are focused as a priority on the country's major economic difficulties, which “crush” the scores of the other items).

In some member states, immigration is particularly low in the scores as a dominant concern for the country (less than 10% in Portugal, Romania, Croatia, Cyprus, Spain and Latvia).

As regards terrorism, the most sensitive are France (31% of responses), Germany (28%) and Belgium (23%)—then the Netherlands (18%), the United Kingdom (15%) and Denmark (13%).

FIGURE 8 ▶ “What do you think are the two most important issues facing (our country) at the moment?”



2.1.3. Feelings on immigration: still mostly negative, with the exception of a few countries

Since the sudden emergence of the migration crisis, the Eurobarometer has included a question in which respondents are asked which feelings are evoked by various issues, including that of immigration¹⁵.

In the autumn of 2015, immigration (of people from the outside of the EU) evoked positive feelings in 34% of citizens polled (of which 6% very positive and 28% quite positive) as against 59% of negative feelings (of which 24% very and 35% quite negative), with 7% of respondents not answering the question.

15. Poll question: “Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or a negative feeling for you: (...) Immigration of people from outside the EU.”

Over 2016, the negative feeling of a great majority of European citizens fell slightly: practically unchanged in the spring (34% positive, 58% negative), it softened somewhat **in the autumn: positive for 37%** (of which 7% very positive) **as against 56%** (of which 20% very negative).

In three countries, an absolute majority of **positive feelings** on immigration was recorded: Sweden (at 64% against 34%), Ireland (at 57% against 38%) and Spain (at 52% against 36%). In three other countries, relative majorities were observed: the United Kingdom (at 49% against 43%), Luxembourg (49% against 46%) and Portugal (48% against 44%); and the percentage of positive feeling reaches or exceeds 40% in the Netherlands (44% against 53%), Croatia (41% against 53%) and Germany (40% against 53%).

Very strong **opposition** has emerged, however, in particular in Latvia (14% positive feelings, 83% negative feelings), in the Czech Republic (14%, 82%), Estonia (14%, 81%), Hungary (15%, 81%), Slovakia (17%, 79%), Bulgaria (15%, 77%), Cyprus (22%, 75%), Malta (23%, 69%), Italy (24%, 69%), Lithuania (26%, 71%), and in Greece (27%, 70%).

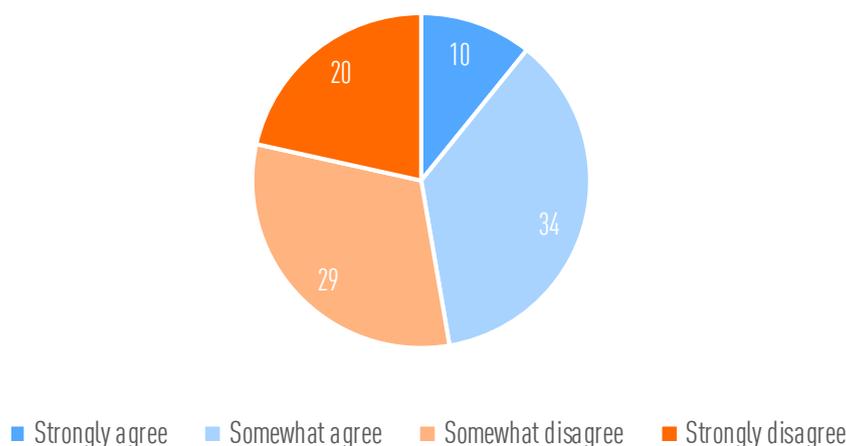
2.1.4. The perceived contribution of immigrants in the country in which they settle: slightly more acknowledged but deemed less positive than negative overall, and very unevenly from one member state to another

The question asked in the Eurobarometer survey on this point is part of a series of questions in which respondents are asked to state their agreement or disagreement with various statements.

At the end of 2015, 41% believed that immigrants contributed a lot to their country (of which 10% claimed to be in total agreement and 31% less strongly), against 50% of opposite opinions (of which 22% in total disagreement and 28% who tended to disagree somewhat)—the percentage of non-responses was 9%¹⁶.

2016 started with attitudes in this respect becoming slightly more inflexible (in the spring, 40% of favourable opinions against 52%) **before a move in the opposite direction: in the autumn, 44% of respondents acknowledged a positive contribution made by immigrants** (of which still 10% strongly agreed, and 34% somewhat agreed), **49% of respondents believed the opposite** (of which 20% strongly disagreed and 29% somewhat disagreed).

FIGURE 9 ▶ “To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) Immigrants contribute a lot to (our country).”



On this issue, the **differences between member states are also significant**. The contribution of immigrants is deemed positive by very high majorities in Sweden (81% against 17%), Luxembourg (77% against 18%), Ireland (77% against 19%), the United Kingdom (71% against 22%), Portugal (69% against 27%) and

16. Poll question: “To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) Immigrants contribute a lot to (our country).”

Spain (61% against 33%); this opinion is also shared by an absolute or relative majority in Finland, Denmark, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands.

The opposite opinion prevails in other countries, with a particularly significant percentage in Latvia (the contribution is deemed positive by 6%, against 90%), in the Czech Republic (12% against 86%), Bulgaria (11% against 84%), Estonia (11% against 81%), Slovakia (13% against 82%), Hungary (14% against 81%), Croatia (20% against 77%), Lithuania (21% against 74%), Greece (26% against 72%), Cyprus (28% against 67%), Italy (28% against 65%), Slovenia (29% against 68%) and in Poland (31% against 60%). It must be noted, however, that these answers may reflect either an opposition to immigration in general or, in countries in which there are hardly any immigrants, the difficulty to judge their contribution.

These answers can be cross-analysed with those given in response to a question asked to citizens polled by the **European Parliament survey** in the autumn of 2015, **on the need for legal migrants to work in certain sectors** in their country: at the peak of the migrant influx towards the EU, 51% of citizens agreed with the idea that there was a need for immigrant labour, against 42%¹⁷.

2.1.5. Help for refugees: still a widely acknowledged obligation in 2016, but strong opposition observed in some countries

In the Eurobarometer survey of the autumn of 2015, 65% of citizens polled claimed to agree with the idea that their country should help refugees (of which 22% strongly agreed and 43% somewhat agreed), against 28% (of which 12% strongly disagreed and 16% more moderately disagreed- non-responses accounted for 7%¹⁸).

These opinions remained **stable in 2016**: following a slight fall in the spring (63% against 30%), positive attitudes were almost identical in the autumn to what they were one year earlier: 66% (of which 21% strongly agreed and 45% somewhat agreed), against 28% (of which 11% strongly disagreed and 17% somewhat disagreed), with 6% of non-responses.

Citizens who were the most **in agreement** with the idea of a duty to help refugees were from Sweden (90% against 9%), Germany and the Netherlands (87% against 10%), Spain (84% against 9%), Luxembourg (84% against 11%), Denmark (84% against 14%), Ireland (81% against 14%), Malta (79% against 16%), the United Kingdom (also at 79% against 16%), Portugal (74% against 21%), Cyprus (71% against 24%) and Finland (70% against 26%).

Conversely, citizens from the following countries demonstrated their **strong disagreement** with this statement: Bulgaria (18% in favour against 73%), the Czech Republic (23% against 72%), Hungary (26% against 67%) and Slovakia (31% against 61%); those who disagreed were also in greater numbers than those who agreed in Latvia, Romania and Italy, while Estonia is practically split down the middle between the two positions.

2.2. Expectations in terms of the European immigration policy

2.2.1. The principle of a common European policy: a great majority in agreement; exceptions particularly in Central and Eastern Europe

Among several statements presented to respondents to the Eurobarometer survey, one was on this subject¹⁹.

In the autumn of 2015, more than two thirds of European citizens expressed their agreement with the idea of a common European policy on migration (68%) against less than a quarter (24%)—with non-responses accounting for 8% of opinions.

17. Poll question: "In the current context of migratory flows from outside the EU, to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) (Our country) needs legal migrants to work in certain sectors of the economy."

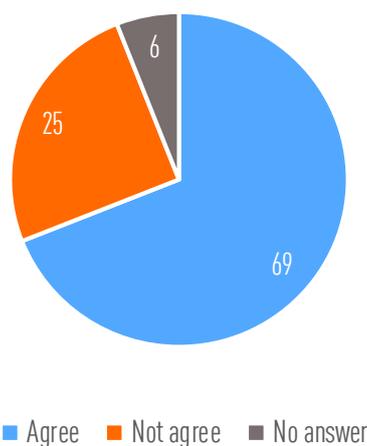
18. Poll question: "To what extent to do agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) (Our country) should help refugees."

19. Poll question: "What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it: (...) A common European policy on migration."

Again, **the situation one year later remains unchanged: 69% in agreement, 25% in disagreement**, and 6% responding “don’t know” (the interval wave of the spring of 2016 gave slightly less positive results, with 67% against 26%).

The percentages of **agreement are highest** in Luxembourg (85% against 11%), Germany (85% against 12%), the Netherlands (83% against 15%), Spain (82% against 14%), Greece (77% against 22%), Ireland (76% against 17%), Sweden (76% against 21%) and Portugal (74% against 17%).

FIGURE 10 ➤ “What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it: (...) A common European policy on migration.”



Conversely, in one member state, opposition to a common policy was expressed by the majority, namely the Czech Republic (41% for, 55% against), while in Estonia, an equal number of positive and negative answers were recorded (45%). While remaining clear, majorities were smaller than elsewhere notably in Hungary (54% against 41%), Slovakia (54% against 39%), Austria (55% against 43%), Latvia (55% against 36%), Poland (56% against 35%) and the United Kingdom (56% against 32%).

It should be noted that a question from the **Parlemeter** survey of autumn 2015 gave similar percentages of responses to a question on the **preferred decision-making system for migration**²⁰: 66% were in favour of more decisions being made at a European level, against 23% who wished to see fewer decisions at this level (with 5% of spontaneous responses for no change, and 6% of non-responses).

For another question, 79% of respondents were in favour of having a single legal migration procedure for all member states, against 15% (and 6% “don’t know” responses)²¹.

Lastly, in the same survey, 66% of respondents were in favour of simplifying legal migration procedures as this would help the EU to fight more effectively against illegal migration—against 23% (and 11% “don’t know” responses)²².

2.2.2. The EU recognised as a relevant level on which decisions should be taken to fight against illegal immigration

This question asked in the Eurobarometer survey²³ gave rise to relatively lukewarm reactions.

20. Poll question: “When it comes to the issue of migration, please tell me if you believe that more or less decision-making should take place at a European level?”

21. Poll question: “In the current context of migratory flows from outside the EU, to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) Legal migration procedures should be the same in all EU member states.”

22. Poll question: “In the current context of migratory flows from outside the EU, to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) Simplifying the legal migration procedures would make it possible to fight effectively against illegal migration.”

23. Poll question: “In your opinion, should additional measures be taken to fight irregular immigration of people from outside the EU? Yes, preferably at an EU level, Yes, preferably at a national level, Yes, at both levels (EU and national—spontaneous), No, there is no need for additional measures.”

In the autumn of 2015, 32% of respondents preferred decisions to be taken on an EU level, 21% preferring on a national level, while 36% called for both (spontaneously), 7% believed that there was no need for additional measures and 4% did not know.

On this issue, **opinions have changed significantly.**

In the spring of 2016, the number of citizens in favour of strictly European decisions dropped by 5 points (27%) but rose by 12 points six months later, reaching 39%.

At the same time, the number of respondents in favour of strictly national decisions increased slightly: from 21% at the end of 2015 to 22% in the spring of 2016, and **24% in the autumn.**

At the end of 2016, the number calling for **both European and national decisions fell significantly;** from 36% in the autumn of 2015, and even 40% six months later, to 23% (10% believing that there is no need for additional measures and 4% giving no response).

After analysing the data for the different member states, it must first of all be noted that a percentage of respondents well over the average believe that there is no need for additional measures in Sweden (27%) and in France (18%).

Secondly, there is a **particular propensity to back European-level decisions** in the Netherlands (70%), Luxembourg (60%), Denmark (57%), Finland (52%), Malta (51%), Latvia (51%), Spain (50%), Sweden (49%), France (49%), Lithuania (49%), Greece (46%) and in Portugal (45%)—this propensity was conversely very low in the United Kingdom (16%).

Those in favour of **action only on a national level** are in greater numbers in Romania (41%), Slovakia (40%), the Czech Republic (39%), Austria (37%), Cyprus (36%), Croatia (34%), Ireland (34%), Hungary (31%) and Italy (31%).

Those in favour of **joint European and national action** are found in particular in Germany (41%), the United Kingdom (39%), Estonia (38%), Bulgaria (37%) and in Belgium (34%).

2.2.3. An immigration policy implemented in consultation with countries of origin: still perceived as important, together with joint action against terrorism

In 2016, the **Parlemeter** survey included a question in which respondents were given six possible areas of European policy promoted by the Parliament, asking them to state which of these policies should be the priority in their opinion (followed by others, stating up to four policies). One of the areas is an immigration policy implemented in consultation with countries of origin²⁴. The percentages of responses must be considered with caution—as they depend on the other areas stated to respondents (it can be argued, in addition, that the proposal of a policy in consultation with countries of origin is not very clear for all respondents). It can be noted that the policy in question ranks third – far behind tackling poverty and social exclusion, and behind combatting terrorism, but ahead of the security and defence policy, improved consumer and public health protection, and the coordination of economic, budget and tax policies.

It is also important to take stock of the **changes in responses between the end of 2015 and the end of 2016: a 5-point drop**, from 38% to 33% (**while combatting terrorism rose by 8 points**, and the responses for other areas varied little).

Let us also note the **highest scores** in favour of this policy as a priority area were recorded in Austria (49%), Malta (48%), Germany (46%), the Netherlands (44%), Estonia (44%), Hungary (43%), Bulgaria (42%), Italy (42%) and in the Czech Republic (41%). Conversely **particularly low scores** were recorded in Portugal (12%), Croatia (16%), Romania (17%), Luxembourg (18%), Spain (20%) and Slovenia (21%).

²⁴. Poll question: “The European Parliament promotes the development of certain policies at EU level. In your opinion, which of the following policies should be given priority? Firstly? And then? (Max. 4 answers): (...) An immigration policy implemented in consultation with countries of origin.”

2.2.4. The idea of a better distribution of asylum seekers among member states is approved by a majority, but reluctance, opposition and disputes concerning how can be seen in Central and Eastern Europe

Data for this issue comes from the questions of the **Parlemeter survey of the autumn of 2015** (and was not asked again in 2016)²⁵.

The idea that the number of asylum-seekers should be better distributed among member states was strongly approved: 78% against 16% (and 6% of non-responses).

This approval was the **most** unanimous (90% or more) in Germany, Sweden, Malta, the Netherlands, Greece and Belgium, followed by Cyprus, Luxembourg, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Austria, etc.

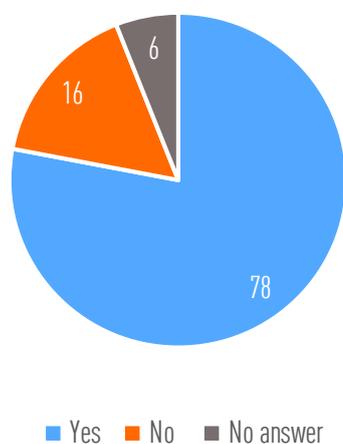
A notable **exception** to this considerable consensus is Slovakia (31% against 60%) and the Czech Republic (33% against 61%); and the lowest majorities in favour were all recorded in the other Central- and Eastern-European member states (with the exception of Croatia).

Those who expressed their approval of the previous proposal were then asked to what extent they agreed with the idea of **distribution “decided at EU level on the basis of binding quotas”**²⁶.

75% expressed their agreement: and in the proportions ranging from more than 90% to 80% were Cyprus, Germany, Croatia, Malta, Greece, Austria, Sweden, the Netherlands and Slovenia—for the most part, the citizens of member states directly affected by this issue.

Those less in favour of such a measure were Romania (a minority in agreement), then Slovakia, the Czech Republic, followed by Estonia, France, Lithuania, Latvia and the United Kingdom.

FIGURE 11 ▶ “To what extent to do agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) The numbers of asylum-seekers should be better distributed among all EU member states.”



2.2.5. EU financial support for the member states currently facing the most migratory flows: widespread approval, but once again, some notable reluctance.

In the same 2015 survey of the Parliament, 62% believed that the EU’s decision to allocate support as a matter of priority to the member states currently facing the most migratory flows was a good thing—against 15% who believed it was a bad thing and 20% who said it was neither good nor bad (3% answering “don’t know”)²⁷.

25. Poll question: “To what extent to do agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) The numbers of asylum-seekers should be better distributed among all EU member states.”

26. Poll question: “To what extent to do agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (...) The distribution of asylum seekers should be decided at EU level on the basis of binding quotas.”

27. Poll question: “The EU has recently decided to allocate financial support as a matter of priority to the member states currently facing the most migratory flows on their coasts and borders. Do you think it is: a good thing, a bad thing, neither good nor bad?”

The most in favour of this proposal were (at 80% or more) Sweden, the Netherlands and Denmark, followed by (with scores ranging from 75% to 70%) Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Finland, Germany, Luxembourg, Malta and Spain.

Those least in favour of this decision were in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, but also in Italy (levels of agreement lower than 50%). These countries were followed by Poland, Latvia, France and Lithuania (scores of 50% to 55%), etc.

2.3. Overview of attitudes with regard to immigration

Despite a certain decline in 2016, immigration remains the leading cause for concern for the EU (cited by 45% of respondents as one of the two top concerns among a list of problems facing the EU), **ahead of terrorism** (mentioned by 32%) and far ahead of various concerns related to the economy in particular. **Citizens also consider immigration to be significant problem for their own countries, but to a lesser extent** (cited by 26%), among other concerns—unemployment, terrorism, the country’s economic situation, economic and social concerns affecting daily life, etc. According to the country, citizens are more or less strongly concerned by this problem, though it affects (other member states of) the EU (to a greater extent).

While member states in which immigration is the most mentioned major concern for the country are on the whole among the most exposed countries, this is not necessarily the case for the citations for immigration as an important problem for the EU.

Immigration (of people from outside the EU) **evokes more negative than positive feelings** (37% against 56%). **Immigrants’ contribution** to the country in which they settle **is negatively viewed, but not as harshly**: 44% positive responses, against 49%. Conversely, **help for refugees is a widely acknowledged duty**, at 66% against 28%.

On these subjects (despite a few differences between them) **the most open attitudes** (or least reticent) generally come from member states in North-West Europe and the Iberian Peninsula (to which the Mediterranean islands can be added for the duty to help refugees). **The least open** are (on average, for these three questions) citizens from member states in Central Europe (except from more moderate Poland), and from Bulgaria, the Baltic States, and also (though less strongly) citizens from several Mediterranean countries: Italy, Greece and Cyprus (except with regard to help for refugees).

The principle of a common European policy on migration receives widespread approval (at 69% against 25%). The **most favourable** member states are predominantly those which are more open to immigration in general, and also Greece. Conversely, a **high level of opposition or reluctance** is recorded, in particular in new member states in Central Europe, in two of the Baltic States (Estonia and Latvia) and in two traditionally reserved older member states (Austria and the United Kingdom).

As regards the **preferred decision-making method to fight against illegal immigration, opinions differ but most acknowledge that the EU has a role to play**: 39% are in favour of decisions being made on an EU level, 24% only on a national level, 23% on both levels together (10% believing that there is no need for additional measures). It can be noted here that **those in favour of action on a European level** are both in countries open to immigration and in others which are not, or to a lesser extent. Those in favour of strictly national measures are in greater numbers in some particularly reticent member states but also in some (relatively) better disposed countries.

The idea of a better distribution of asylum-seekers among member states (measured in 2015) **was approved by a large majority** (at 78% against 16%). This **approval** appears to be **the most unanimous** in older member states in the North of Western Europe but also in older or more recent member states in the Mediterranean—most of which probably think, or fear, that they would have to bear a significant proportion

of the burden. Conversely, **the lowest scores of agreement** all come from the new member states in Central and Eastern Europe (with the relative exception of Croatia)—even with a majority rejecting this idea in two of these States (the Czech Republic and Slovakia).

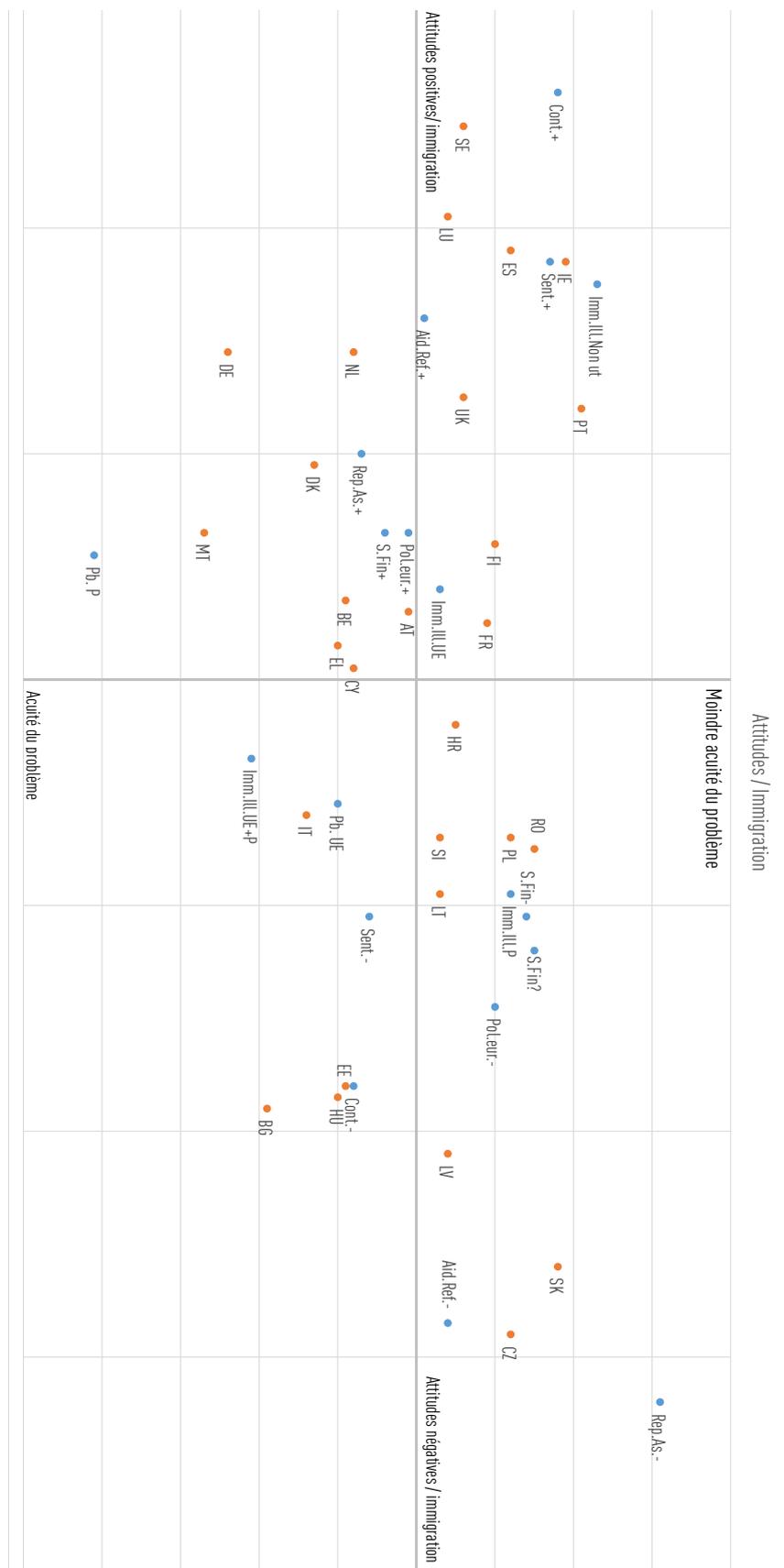
In terms of the **EU's decision to allocate financial support to the most exposed member states** (measured in 2015), this was deemed **a good thing** by 62%, against 16% (and 20% believed it was neither good nor bad). **The most in favour** of this decision were both citizens in countries open to immigration in general and those in countries already or potentially concerned by the influx of migrants, in North-West Europe and in Mediterranean countries. Citizens in various member states are among **the least in favour** (the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Italy (at less than 50%), followed by Poland, Latvia and Lithuania in the East of the EU and France and Portugal to the West).

Attitudes on immigration, and common European action on this issue, are not unequivocal. Going beyond attitudes which are in the main open or reticent, and alongside member states in which citizens are more in favour than average of the proposals evaluated in all or almost all areas, there are some member states in which positions vary more depending on the subject.

Particularly strong levels of reticence have been recorded in most new member states in Central and Eastern Europe while the level of openness is generally greater in Western Europe. It is, however, useful to refine the description of the European landscape with regard to this problem.

As for opinion indicators concerning the EU, **we have conducted factorial correspondence analysis, taking as active variables the main questions on immigration in the surveys under study:** the fact of considering immigration as a problem for the EU and for one's country, the positive and negative feelings it evokes, opinions on immigrants' contributions to the country in which they settle, attitudes on help for refugees, support for or opposition to a common policy on migration, and on European or national measures against illegal immigration, approval or disapproval of the principle of a better distribution of asylum-seekers among member states, and agreement or disagreement with the allocation of financial support to the most exposed countries (to avoid overloading the graph, only expressed responses have been selected as active variables, as the addition of non-responses does not provide substantial elements of explanation).

GRAPHIQUE 12 B ► Attitudes with regard to immigration²⁹



29. See wordings' meaning on page 32.

The resulting graph is organised in **axis 1** (horizontal), **which clearly opposes positive attitudes on immigration** (on the left side) **and negative attitudes** (on the right side)—the most correlated variables on this axis come from questions on immigrants’ contributions to their host country and on the duty of providing help to refugees—and **axis 2 which is highly determined by whether immigration is considered to be an important concern** for the respondent’s own country (and also for the EU in general). These two axes contribute to 74% (62% and 12% respectively) of our understanding of interrelations between the variables.

The positions of the citizens of different member states as projected on the graph can be described as follows:

- **Those who are the most inclined to be in favour, or to be understanding, of immigration or immigrants** (in the left part of the plan) **are almost all old member states of Western Europe** (with the exception of Malta, projected in this area, and Cyprus, which is practically on axis 2 with Greece): Sweden Ireland, Spain, Luxembourg, then Germany and the Netherlands are in this section. **Those which are the most reticent are almost all** (except Italy) **new member states of Central and Eastern Europe**, with the most determined in their opposition in the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, followed by Bulgaria, Latvia, Hungary and Estonia.
- **Among the former**, in the lower left quarter of the graph, **we can see many member states, citizens of which experience more directly the acute problem for their own country**, led by **Malta and Germany, followed by Denmark and the Netherlands** (all countries in which the problem is also particularly considered as problem for the EU) **and Austria** (less sensitive to the importance of the problem for the EU in general); **Belgium** is also in this area, in a more average position for these two criteria. The citizens of the first four countries are markedly more open than average on all (or almost all) subjects related to immigration and common EU actions, with Belgium being close to the average on these points, Austria (which is practically projected on axis 1) is moderately open to immigrants but more reticent than average with regard to a common European policy and more in favour of strictly national measures against illegal immigration (but more in favour of the proposal of a better distribution of asylum-seekers).
- **In this area of the plan, the positive answers to several questions concerning European actions are projected:** the principle of a common European policy (highly correlated to axis 1), measures aimed at a better distribution of asylum-seekers among member states, and the allocation of financial support to the member states most exposed to migratory flows.
- Also located in the left section of the graph, slightly above axis 1, **Sweden** has similar characteristics to aforementioned countries, proving to be as sensitive to the importance of the problem (for the EU and for the country), having positive attitudes on immigrants (more than any other country, as seen by its leading position on axis 1) and being open to common European actions and policy.
- Relatively close to this group on the graph, very close to the negative direction of axis 2, citizens from **Greece and Cyprus** cite immigration less as a major problem for their country (they are relatively close to the average for the EU)—but as noted previously (at least for the former) that the scores for these questions were most likely artificially “crushed” by predominant economic concerns. Very negative in their feelings on immigration and their opinions on immigrants’ contribution, they do have a higher than average favour for the idea of a duty to help refugees. They are somewhat more in favour of a common European migration policy (while preferring to a greater extent national actions against illegal immigration), and are among the most in favour of the proposals regarding the distribution of asylum-seekers and financial support for the most exposed member states.
- **Italy**, which is projected in the lower right part of the plan, though not far from the citizens of Greece and Cyprus, shares an average assessment of the importance of the problem for the EU (their assessment of the impact for their country is also close to average), while they have more negative feelings and vision of immigrants’ contributions than average. Italy differs by being particularly poorly (a minority) disposed to

the idea that refugees should be helped. The country follows the European average on the principle of a common European migration policy (although it calls slightly more for national action and slightly less for EU action to fight against illegal immigration); and, alongside Greece and Cyprus, it is very much in favour of a better distribution of asylum-seekers among member states (although less inclined to allocate financial support to the most exposed countries). **In short, with a considerably more negative vision of immigration than the citizens of the previous countries, Italians seem to be particularly expecting concrete European measures to help to solve the problems it causes for them.**

- **In the top left quarter of the graph, we see member states in which citizens express opinions on immigration that are generally more positive than average** (or at least as positive). Projected here are positive opinions on immigration, the acknowledgement of immigrants' positive contribution, etc. **without feeling concerned to the same extent by the problem: in Ireland, Spain and Portugal, immigration is much less cited among the major areas of concern for the country (and also for the EU); this is also the case in Luxembourg, Finland and France, and it is not more cited in the United Kingdom** (which may be surprising in the latter two countries given the importance given to this issue in recent political debate). As regards the feelings that immigration evokes for them, the perceived contribution of immigrants in the country in which they settle or help for refugees, attitudes are more positive than the European average, except in France for the last two points. **These member states differ, however, partially in their opinions concerning common European action, of which Spain, Luxembourg, Ireland and Portugal are more in favour.** In comparison to the European average, Spain and Luxembourg are more positive to the four tested proposals, Ireland to at least three proposals (their score preferring strictly national action to fight against illegal immigration is higher than elsewhere), while Portugal is more in favour of the principle of a common immigration policy and actions to curb illegal immigration, but not of the idea of a better distribution of asylum-seekers among member states, nor of financial support for the most exposed countries. Citizens in Finland are on the whole reserved but are in favour of the idea of financial assistance for the most affected countries, while the British are less positive with regard to the first two proposals and are in average position for the last two; and the French have scores close to the average, except for the financial support measure, of which they are less in favour.
- **Towards the right of the graph, and in particular in the upper section, are projected countries which are reticent of and even hostile to immigration, although they do not feel particularly directly affected by it** (this area is opposed on the graph to the perceived acuteness of the problem for citizens' own countries). **These member states mostly disagree with common actions** (in this area, opposition to a European immigration policy, the idea of a better distribution of asylum-seekers among member states, that of financial support for affected countries, and preferences for strictly national measures against illegal immigration are projected). **Most of the new member states of Central and Eastern Europe are in this section: most clearly the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Latvia, and also, more moderately, Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Slovenia and** (in a somewhat average position near the axis origin) **Croatia. Immigration is perceived much less than average as a problem for the country in these member states** (except for the Czech Republic, which the frequency of citation is close) - **although it is more or equally considered a problem for the EU in most of them** (except in Romania, where this is less the case, and in Croatia, which is close to average opinion). **Attitudes on immigration are more negative**—in terms of the feeling it evokes, the perceived contribution of immigrants or help for refugees—**in all these countries except one in which opinions are more nuanced** (Croatia is more open on the first point, less so on the second, equally on the third). On these points, the strongest resistance comes from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Latvia, then Lithuania. **With regard to common actions within the EU, the idea of a better distribution of asylum-seekers among all member states is much less accepted than the European average in six of these countries** (opposed less strongly in Slovenia, equal to average in Croatia)—and there is even a large majority in opposition in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. **The same can be said for financial assistance measures for the most affected countries** (lower level of agreement in six countries, in particular the Czech Republic and Slovakia, an equal degree of acceptance in Romania and Croatia). **The principle of a**

common European policy also meets with less approval than average in five countries; it is equal to average in three others, Lithuania, Slovenia and Croatia. **As concerns the fight against illegal immigration**, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Croatia and Lithuania favour **strictly national measures** more than average, with citizens in the three other countries giving average opinions.

- **The lower right quarter of the graph demonstrates attitudes which are also negative as regards immigration**, which is considered much more than average **as an important problem for the EU in the three member states in this section, Estonia, Hungary and Bulgaria**, and more than average for citizens' own country in the latter two countries. **The feelings** evoked by immigration are **very negative, as are the opinions on immigrants' contributions** to the countries in which they settle (equal to the most negative opinions in the previous countries). **Opinions on European actions are not particularly positive, but are not systematically in opposition.** Estonians and Hungarians are **less in favour of a European migration policy** than average (Bulgarians are in an average position); in the three countries there is much reticence with regard to the proposal on the **distribution of asylum-seekers** among member states; however, the acceptance **of financial support** for particularly exposed countries differs little from the European average (with Estonians being somewhat less in favour).

In conclusion, the following can be observed:

- **Countries particularly exposed to the problem** (or which consider themselves to be), **but with overall open attitudes, and generally in favour of common European action.**
- **With the exception of Malta, these are old member states of North-Western Europe**—Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, and to a lesser extent Austria—which the previous analysis on general attitudes on the EU placed in the category (except for the latter, also more reserved on the development of a common European policy) as concerned Europhiles.
- **Three Mediterranean countries exposed and inflexible in their somewhat negative attitudes to immigration**, which show **lukewarm favour for common actions** (despite their general negative opinions on the EU) **but above all, it seems, expecting concrete measures** to resolve the problems they must face: Greece, Cyprus and Italy.
- **Countries** in which citizens do not feel **very affected by the problem, and which tend to consider immigration relatively graciously.** Ireland, Spain and Portugal most likely remember being countries of emigration themselves; the Irish and the citizens of Luxembourg, also know what they owe the foreigners who have come to work in their countries. France and United Kingdom are present in this moderate category of member states despite the regular denunciation of immigration in recent political debate. These are **Western-European countries**—which differ in their degrees of Eurofavour or Eurocriticism.
- **Countries which are reticent of or even clearly hostile to immigration and immigrants while most of them are not directly affected** in their own words, and which are **reserved or even opposed to the idea of a common European policy** and the measures it could include: **these are all new member states in Central and Eastern Europe. While some are more moderate on the latter point, the strongest views indicate a genuine aversion to actions of solidarity.** It can be noted that general opinions on the EU in these countries range from very positive to very negative.
- **There is clearly a real divide on the subject of immigration between** (most of the member states in) **the West and the East of the European Union**—while it must be also noted that this divide does not coincide with the differences between general positive and negative attitudes on the EU.

CONCLUSION

The deterioration of opinion indicators concerning the European Union as observed at the end of 2015 after a period of struggle to climb back from the low related to the economic crisis continued in 2016, be it in terms of its image, the highly critical opinions on its current direction or optimism for its future. These indicators are at much lower levels than prior to the crisis, as is trust in the EU (which did not deteriorate in 2016 but had dropped considerably the previous year). This goes hand in hand with an erosion in citizens' morale as regards the economic situation (while support for the Euro has not been affected).

Opinions on the justification of membership of the EU and the resulting benefits for the country have, however, remained quite stable in the last year, and are at a level comparable to that prior to the crisis: in short, average European citizens are not breaking away from the European project, but are expressing their dissatisfaction and concern in increasing numbers.

This average European overview illustrates considerable disparities, which are not based on a single criterion. There are countries in which citizens are satisfied with the EU, and others which are tentatively Eurofavourable, concerned Europhiles, circumspect Europeans or Eurogloomy. In particular, while there are predominant factors, none of these categories is entirely composed of old or new member states; and the positions of some countries have undergone significant change over time, both positively and negatively.

As regards immigration, it remains, on average, by far citizens' leading concern for the EU, despite a drop in 2016 once the peak of the migration crisis was over, and also a problem for their own countries amid other economic and social concerns. It evokes much more negative feelings than positive ones, even though the contributions of immigrants to the countries in which they live is judged less negatively, and help to refugees is a very widely acknowledged humanitarian obligation. The principle of a European policy receives majority approval, as do the few more specific measures which were tested.

Attitudes on this issue are, however, extremely contrasting. Alongside member states—more or less directly affected by it—which are reasonably amenable to immigration and immigrants, and in which common European action is more or less strongly approved, there are countries which are generally not very exposed to the problem themselves (they consider themselves as such) but which express the greatest levels of reticence; among the most negative of these countries, a genuine hostility and an aversion to actions of solidarity are clearly expressed.

The list of these countries overlaps with that of new member states of Central and Eastern Europe, in which it has been observed that citizens are generally in agreement with the positions taken by their governments.

Within the EU, there is a serious and probably long-term divisive element, irrespective of the positive or negative general opinions of it.

ANNEX: WORDINGS OF THE AFC FIGURES

Figures 6 on public opinion in the EU

App.+ Membership of the EU good thing
 App.- Membership of the EU bad thing
 App.+/- Membership of the EU neither a good nor a bad thing
 App. ? Membership of the EU no answer (NA)

Benef.+ Benefit of membership
 Benef.- No benefit of membership
 Benef. ? Benefit of membership (NA)

Ima.+ Positive EU's image
 Ima.- Negative EU's image
 Ima.+/- Neutral EU's image
 Ima. ? EU's image NA

Conf.+ Trust in the EU
 Conf.- No trust in the EU
 Conf. ? Trust in the EU NA

Dir.+ Current good direction of things in the EU
 Dir.- Current wrong direction of things in the EU
 Dir.+/- Current direction neither good nor bad
 Dir. ? Current direction NA

Fut.+ Optimism about the future of the EU
 Fut.- Pessimism about the future of the EU
 Fut. ? Opinion on the future of the EU NA

Eco.UE+ Expectation of an improvement of the economic situation in the EU
 Eco.UE- Expectation of a worsening of the economic situation in the EU
 Eco.UE= Expectation of the same economic situation in the EU
 Eco.UE ? Expectation of an evolution of the economic situation in the EU NA

Eco.P+ Expectation of an improvement of the economic situation in the country
 Eco.P- Expectation of a worsening of the economic situation in the country
 Eco.P= Expectation of the same economic situation in the country
 Eco.P ? Expectation of an evolution of the economic situation in the country NA

Empl.+ Expectation of an improvement of the job situation
 Empl.- Expectation of a worsening of the job situation
 Empl. ? Expectation of an evolution of the job situation NA

Figures 12 on immigration

Pb.UE Immigration leading issue for the EU
 Pb.P Immigration leading issue for the country

Sent.+ Positive feeling on immigration

Sent.- Negative feeling on immigration

Cont.+ Agree with the idea of an important contribution of immigrants

Cont.- Disagree with the idea of an important contribution of immigrants

Aid.Ref.+ Agree with the idea of helping refugees

Aid.Ref.- Disagree with the idea of helping refugees

Pol.eur.+ Agree with a common European immigration policy

Pol.eur.- Disagree with a common European immigration policy

Imm.Ill.UE In favour of European additional measures against illegal immigration

Imm.Ill.P In favour of national additional measures against illegal immigration

Imm.Ill.UE+P In favour of both European and national additional measures against illegal immigration

Imm.Ill.Non ut No need of additional measures

Rep.As.+ Agree with a better distribution of asylum seekers among member states

Rep.As.- Disagree with a better distribution of asylum seekers among member states

S.Fin+ EU financial support for the member states currently facing the most migratory flows good thing

S.Fin- EU financial support for the member states currently facing the most migratory flows bad thing

S. Fin ? EU financial support for the member states currently facing the most migratory flows neither a good nor a bad thing

Countries

AT Austria

BE Belgium

BG Bulgaria

CY Cyprus

CZ Czech Republic

DK Denmark

DE Germany

EE Estonia

IE Ireland

EL Greece

ES Spain

FI Finland

FR France

HR Croatia

HU Hungary

IT Italy

LV Latvia

LT Lithuania

LU Luxembourg

MT Malta

NL Netherlands

PL Poland

PT Portugal

RO Romania

SI Slovenia

SK Slovakia

SE Sweden

UK United Kingdom

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