

**Young people's attitudes towards freedom of movement and
immigration in Europe**

Results from ICCS 2016

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Abstract

This paper will describe in a comparative perspective the extent to which young people endorse freedom of movement and equal rights and opportunities for immigrants, both across countries as well as with results from the previous ICCS survey in 2009 (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, & Burge, 2010).

The analyses presented in this paper will be based on surveys of lower-secondary students (13-15 years of age) across 14 European countries participating in ICCS 2016. They will be conducted in two stages. In a first step, descriptive results will be presented in comparative perspective across countries as well as with the previous survey in 2009. In a second step, multivariate analyses will further investigate the relationship between student attitudes to freedom of movement and equal rights for immigrants with student background (sex, immigrant family background, and home context), students' civic interest and knowledge, as well as opportunities for civic learning at school.

Results based on our analyses are consistent with the predictions that there is a strong relationship between civic knowledge, interest and learning and students' attitudes to freedom of movement and equal rights for immigrants. Student background variables are also correlated with their immigration attitudes, but they don't always have a significant predictive association.

Introduction

The freedom of movement and residence for persons in the EU is the basis on which European citizenship has been developed since the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, with the ultimate aim to create an integrated economic area for EU citizens. European citizens tend to consider positively the free movement within the European Union and they have benefited from it for different purposes. According to survey data from 2015 (European Commission, 2016), almost all citizens had moved freely in the EU at least once in their lifetime. While findings from Standard Eurobarometer 85 survey (European Commission, 2016) also highlighted generally positive attitudes toward the topic of immigration among adults, it has become a key argument for Eurosceptic criticism of European Union membership, as exemplified by the referendum on EU membership in the United Kingdom where a majority of participating voters opted for leaving the EU.

It has to be noted that the available data on refugees in Europe show a rapid growth of the number of asylum seekers from non-member countries within the European Union rose to 431 thousand in 2013, 627 thousand in 2014 and close to 1.3 million in 2015 (EUROSTAT, 2016). According to Eurobarometer survey data (European Commission, 2016), immigration is considered by respondents one of the most important issues at European level. While a large majority of respondents (61%) judged immigration of people from other EU member states as positive, 56% of respondents expressed concerns about immigration of people from outside the EU. A recent survey results suggest that the attitudes towards immigration may have become more negative (IPSOS, 2016).

Fourteen countries from across Europe participated in the recent second cycle of the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2016) which surveyed lower-secondary students in their eighth year of schooling. The students were between ages of 13 and 15 years. The study provided a rich data set with unique possibilities for comparative analyses of young people's attitudes toward Europe (Losito, Agrusti, Damiani, & Schulz, 2017). This paper will describe in a comparative perspective the extent to which young people endorse freedom of movement and equal rights and opportunities for immigrants, both across countries as well as with results from the previous ICCS survey in 2009 (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, & Burge, 2010).

Theoretical background

The context for civic and citizenship has changed rapidly in Europe in the last decade. One of the main drivers for change has been the movement of peoples, from countries outside Europe, as well as between countries in Europe. This phenomenon has had considerable political, economic, social, cultural and, increasingly, educational impact (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, & Burge, 2010). It has brought challenges for civic and citizenship at national and supra-national level in Europe (Banks, 2009) as well as for citizenship education.

Scholars have highlighted the challenge brought to established notions of identity and citizenship built around the dominant national/nation-state identity that confers citizenship rights and status (Modood, 2007). There are now rival, competing identities at local, regional (European) and global levels. The notion of 'cosmopolitan citizenship' is becoming of increasing interest in the political debate (Nussbaum, 1996, 2002; Soysal, 1998). UNESCO (UNESCO, 2014) developed the notion of global citizenship, defines as "a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity, promoting a «global gaze» that links the local to the global and the national to the international, it is also a way of understanding, acting and relating oneself to the environment in space and time, based on universal values, through respect for diversity and pluralism. In this context, each individual's life has therefore implications in day-to-day decisions that connect the global with the local and vice versa" (UNESCO, 2014, p.14).

Changes to the notion of how citizenship and migration are viewed are due to the increasing reality of ethnic, cultural, religious and language diversity in countries across Europe and society in general. The result is a tendency toward increased multiculturalism in local communities as well as societies in general (Merryfield & Duty, 2009). In addition, concerns about social and community cohesion are related to the rise of xenophobia, intolerance and racism in society with evidence of increasing cases of violence and prejudice across European countries in particular affecting certain groups in society, such as recent immigrants or migrants, and ethnic or racial minorities.

Findings from the European Social Survey (ESS) suggested that public attitudes towards immigration are closely linked to people's educational background (Masso, 2009; Paas, & Halapuu, 2012, Heath & Richards, 2016) and that young and high-educated people show more favourable attitudes towards immigrants than older and low- educated people do. Reviews regarding the causes of Brexit, also suggest that those who voted for Leave were generally more apprehensive of EU membership and its implications for immigration, tended to be less educated and were particular strong in the age groups above 65 (Arnorsson & Zoega, 2016).

Salamońska (2016) suggests that although free movement is one of the key rights of European citizens, it does not seem that intra-European mobility is always positively embraced by residents of the EU countries, perhaps due to an increase in xenophobic sentiment across Europe. The author argues that

it in particular more vulnerable groups (those less educated and worse off, and those with negative perceptions of their economic situation) feel that they face more economic competition from foreigners and thus hold more negative views about the immigration. While acknowledging the likely link between anti-immigrant sentiment and Euroscepticism, Kentmen-Cin and Erisen (2017) argue that it is necessary to differentiate between the different immigrant groups and their respective perception in each country.

This paper will investigate the extent of the endorsement of equal rights for immigrants as well as their support for freedom of movement or the restriction of migration in Europe among young people in lower-secondary education. It also reviews which factors (student background, school context and learning, and attitudes toward Europe) influence variation in these attitudes.

Study design

Data

This paper used data from European countries participating in the latest cycle of IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). In 2016, ICCS gathered data from more than 53,000 students (in their eighth year of schooling) at 2200 schools in 15 countries from the European region. Student survey data were collected using a student test of civic knowledge, an international student questionnaire (administered in all participating countries) and region-specific European questionnaire (administered in participating countries in Europe except the Russian Federation). These student data were augmented by contextual data from school principals and teachers in those schools.

Multivariate analyses will focus on the 14 countries in ICCS 2016 that satisfied the participation requirements established by the IEA to reduce the risk of non-participation bias. Twelve European countries had participated (with sufficiently high sample participation rates) in ICCS in both 2016 and its previous cycle in 2009, and these provide the bases for reviewing changes over time.

ICCS employed two-stage cluster sampling procedures within countries. During the first stage, schools were sampled from a sampling frame with a probability proportional to their size. During the second stage, students were randomly sampled within schools. More detailed information about the study design can be found in the ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz, Carstens, Losito, & Fraillon, 2018).

Measures

Dependent Variables

The European regional questionnaire included a question exploring student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants within Europe, using a question which had also been included in the previous ICCS 2009 survey as part of its international student questionnaire. The resulting scale, with comparable scale scores across the two survey cycles, is another relevant dependent variables in our analyses.

Furthermore, ICCS 2016 investigated attitudes of students towards migration within the European region with data from another question in the European student questionnaire. In particular, the following two scales were a focus of our analyses as dependent variables that gauged the following aspects related to freedom of movement for European citizens:

- Students' attitudes toward equal rights for citizens from other European countries
- Students' attitudes toward restricting movement between European countries

Students were asked to rate their agreement with equal opportunities for immigrants. The following five Likert-type items (with response categories “strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” “strongly disagree”) were used to measure the European students’ attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants: (a) “Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language” (on average across European countries 69% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement); (b) “Immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have;” (94%); (c) “Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections” (76%); (d) “Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle” (74%); and (e) “Immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has” (89%).

These five items formed a scale with a high average reliability for the combined international sample (Cronbach’s alpha = 0.80), with the higher scores on the scale reflecting greater endorsement of equal opportunities for immigrants.

The ICCS 2016 European regional questionnaire included a six-item question designed to elicit students’ attitudes toward European citizens having freedom to pursue work in EU member countries or toward having that freedom restricted. Although used in ICCS 2009, this question was heavily modified for ICCS 2016 so that it is not possible to compare results with those from the previous cycle.

Three of the six items related to students’ attitudes toward freedom of movement within Europe using the statements: (a) “Allowing citizens of European countries to work anywhere in Europe is good for the European economy” (on average across European countries 94% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement); (b) “Citizens of European countries should be allowed to work anywhere in Europe” (94%); and (c) “Allowing citizens of European countries to work anywhere in Europe helps to reduce unemployment” (89%).

The remaining three items focused on students’ attitudes toward restriction of migration within Europe with the following statements: (d) “Citizens of European countries should be allowed to work in another European country only if their skills are needed there” (on average across European countries 64% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement); (e) “Citizens of European countries who wish to work in another country should be allowed to take only the jobs that no one in the other country wants to do” (37%); and (f) “Only a limited number of people should be allowed to move for work from one European country to another” (37%).

Students were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” or “strongly disagree”) with the six statements. The resulting IRT-based scales had an average reliability at the international level—Cronbach’s alpha of 0.74 for students’ attitudes toward freedom of movement within Europe, and 0.63 for students’ attitudes toward restriction of movement within Europe. Higher scores on the first scale indicate greater endorsement of freedom of movement, while higher scores on the second scale reflect greater endorsement of restricting migration.

Independent Variables

We used the following predictor variables for multiple regression analyses explaining variance in the four criterion variables:

- Student background:
 - *Students’ gender* (female = 1, male = 0); this variable was only used for analysis of endorsement of equal rights for ethnic/racial groups.

- *Immigrant background* was defined by the country of birth of student and parents, with both (or single) parents born in another country indicated immigrant family background.
- *Socioeconomic background* using a composite indicator from parental occupation and education and nationally standardized with averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1.
- *Student perceptions of their individual future* was measured as a scale based on five items with satisfactory reliability across participating countries (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.80$); scale scores were nationally standardised with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.
- Aspects of civic learning:
 - *Students' (positive) perceptions of student-teacher relations* at school as reported by students and measured as a scale based on five items with satisfactory reliability across countries ($\alpha = 0.81$); scale scores were nationally standardised with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.
 - *Student reports on learning about Europe* at school and measured as a scale based on four items with satisfactory reliability across participating countries (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.77$); scale scores were nationally standardised with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.
 - *Civic knowledge* was measured based on a test with 87 items, which included 42 items from ICCS 2009 (Fraillon, Gebhardt & Schulz, 2018)). In the (preliminary) analyses underlying the results presented in this paper we used the first plausible value in a nationally standardised metric with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.
- Attitudes toward Europe:
 - *Students' sense of European identity* was measured as a scale based on four items with satisfactory reliability across countries (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.80$); scale scores were nationally standardised with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.
 - *Students' (positive) attitudes toward the European Union* was measured as a scale based on five items with satisfactory reliability across countries (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.80$); scale scores were nationally standardised with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.

Analyses

This paper includes comparisons of the country means of the students' endorsement of equal rights for immigrants between 2016 and 2009, a description of the two scales measuring endorsement of freedom of movement and restriction of immigration for 2016, and an examination of the results of multivariate regression analyses to review factors associated with variation in these scales. In the reporting of national scale score averages as well as national regression parameters, we estimate standard errors using jack-knife repeated replication (JRR) for the computation of standard errors. For the comparison of students' endorsement of equal rights for immigrants we also added an equating

error term to the formula for the standard error of the difference between countries because the process of equating the tests across the cycles introduces additional error into the calculation of any test statistic (see further details in Schulz, 2018).

Multiple regression analysis was used to investigate the associations between each of the three attitudinal scales and the range of predictor variables. Because we found relatively low proportions of between-school variation in the dependent variables and because the non-response rates in ICCS 2016 were higher for the teacher and school principal questionnaires than for the student instruments, we chose a single-level multiple regression approach when analysing the factors explaining variation. Estimates of the percentage of explained variance by each of these models were obtained by multiplying R^2 by 100.

Results

Students' attitudes toward migration

Table 1 shows the national average scales scores indicating students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups. The national averages are reported for both 2016 and 2009 study, where applicable. All results are presented with their corresponding standard errors.

Table 1 National average scales scores indicating students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016 - 2009)	40 45 50 55 60
Belgium (Flemish)	47 (0.2) ▽	46 (0.3)	1.6 (0.8)	
Bulgaria	46 (0.3) ▽	52 (0.2)	-5.6 (0.7)	
Croatia	50 (0.2) △	-	-	
Denmark†	49 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	0.0 (0.7)	
Estonia ¹	46 (0.1) ▽	48 (0.2)	-1.7 (0.7)	
Finland	48 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.7)	
Italy	49 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	0.1 (0.8)	
Latvia ¹	43 (0.2) ▼	47 (0.2)	-3.4 (0.7)	
Lithuania	49 (0.2) △	51 (0.2)	-1.6 (0.7)	
Malta	48 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	-1.0 (0.8)	
Netherlands†	47 (0.3) ▽	-	-	
Norway (9) ¹	51 (0.2) △	48 (0.4)	2.8 (0.8)	
Slovenia	50 (0.3) △	50 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.8)	
Sweden ¹	53 (0.4) ▲	52 (0.4)	1.5 (0.9)	
European ICCS 2016 average	48 (0.1)			
Common countries average	48 (0.1)	48 (0.3)	-0.6 (0.2)	
Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements				
North Rhine-Westphalia ¹	53 (0.5)	-	-	

National ICCS 2016 average

- more than 3 score points above European ICCS 2016 average ▲
- significantly above European ICCS 2016 average △
- significantly below European ICCS 2016 average ▽
- more than 3 score points below European ICCS 2016 average ▼

2016 average score +/- Confidence

2009 average score +/- Confidence

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this colour have more than 50% probability to indicate:

	Disagreement
	Agreement

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

- No comparable data available.

Table 1 summarises results for the questions in the student questionnaire that measured student's endorsement of ethnic and racial rights for immigrants. The rationale behind this question was to measure students' endorsement of equality and opportunity to immigrants, regardless of whether it is in the country they live in, or any other country. Average students in each of the participating countries tended to agree with statements endorsing equal rights for immigrants. In some countries, like Sweden and Norway, national averages were about three points above the European ICCS 2016 average. The lowest national average (about five points below the ICCS 2016 average) was recorded in Latvia.

We also compared the ICCS 2016 results with those from the previous cycle in 2009. While we found statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) increases in national average scores in Sweden, Norway and Belgium, students in Bulgaria, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania had significantly lower average scores than in the previous cycle. In all other countries, no significant differences were recorded. It is interesting to note that countries with decreases in average scale scores were all relatively new democracies.

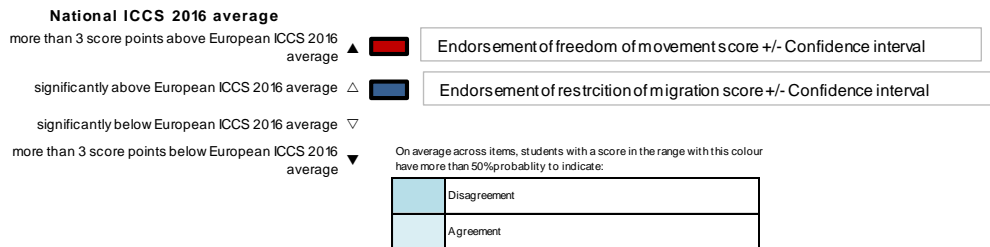
Table 2 shows the national averages for students' attitudes toward freedom of movement and restriction of migration within Europe. The results indicate that average students across countries tended to agree with statement about the freedom of movement for European citizens. The highest national average score reflecting endorsing freedom of movement was recorded in Croatia (with four points above the European ICCS 2016 average) and Italy (almost three points above average). The relatively lowest endorsement was found in Latvia and the Netherlands (both almost three points below average).

There was also country-level variation regarding students' agreement with statements about restriction of movement within Europe. Notably, Finland had significantly the highest national average regarding the endorsement of restriction of movement within Europe (3 points above the European ICCS 2016 average), while among Norwegian students we registered the relatively lowest levels of support for restricting inner-European migration (4 points below average).

We also reviewed the correlations between the two scales within countries. Interestingly, there were only low or rather weak correlations between the two scales in most countries. This suggests that students who expressed higher levels of support for the principle of free movement within Europe, were not necessarily also rejecting possible restrictions of migration. In Norway, the only country which is not a member of the European Union, there was even a positive correlation between the two scales.

Table 2 National averages of students' endorsement of freedom of migration within Europe and restriction of migration within Europe

Country	Freedom of movement	Students' endorsement of...					Restriction of migration						Correlation between scales
		40	45	50	55	60		40	45	50	55	60	
Belgium (Flemish)	48 (0.2) ▽			■			50 (0.3)			■			-0.01
Bulgaria	51 (0.3) △			■			49 (0.3) ▽			■			0.09
Croatia	54 (0.2) ▲				■		50 (0.3)			■			0.01
Denmark†	48 (0.2) ▽		■				50 (0.2)			■			-0.06
Estonia ¹	51 (0.2) △			■			52 (0.2) △			■			-0.07
Finland	51 (0.2) △			■			53 (0.3) ▲			■			-0.13
Italy	53 (0.2) △				■		50 (0.2)			■			-0.07
Latvia ¹	47 (0.2) ▽		■				50 (0.2)			■			0.01
Lithuania	52 (0.2) △			■			50 (0.3)			■			-0.07
Malta	50 (0.2)			■			48 (0.2) ▽			■			0.08
Netherlands†	47 (0.3) ▽		■				51 (0.3) △			■			-0.08
Norway (9) ¹	49 (0.2) ▽		■				46 (0.1) ▼		■				0.20
Slovenia	51 (0.2) △			■			52 (0.2) △			■			-0.10
Sweden ¹	49 (0.2) ▽		■				48 (0.2) ▽			■			0.11
European ICCS 2016 average	50 (0.1)						50 (0.1)						-0.01
Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements													
North Rhine-Westphalia ¹	50 (0.2)			■			50 (0.4)			■			0.08



() Standard errors appear in parentheses.
 (9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
 † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

Factors associated with attitudes toward migration

Multiple regression was used to investigate the net influence of predictor variables representing student background, aspects of civic learning and attitudes toward Europe on the following three dependent variables: students' endorsement of equal rights for immigrants, freedom of movement in Europe, and restriction of migration in Europe. Each regression analysis was conducted separately for each country to enable a comparative review, while regression results (for countries meeting sample participation requirements) were also reported as averages with at the bottom of each table.

Table 3 Multiple regression coefficients for students' endorsement of equal rights for immigrants

Country	Student background				Variables reflecting school context and civic learning			Perceptions of Europe	
	Gender (female)	Immigrant background	Indicator of socioeconomic background	Positive perceptions of individual future	Positive student-teacher relations at school	Student reports on learning about Europe	Students' civic knowledge	Sense of European identity	Positive attitudes toward the EU
Belgium (Flemish)	2.0 (0.5)	4.8 (0.7)	0.0 (0.2)	1.1 (0.4)	0.7 (0.2)	0.5 (0.3)	0.8 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.3)	1.0 (0.2)
Bulgaria	1.9 (0.4)	2.3 (4.3)	-0.8 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	1.4 (0.2)	0.9 (0.3)	0.7 (0.2)	1.5 (0.3)
Croatia	2.3 (0.4)	-0.3 (0.6)	0.3 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)
Denmark [†]	1.4 (0.3)	6.2 (0.5)	0.7 (0.1)	0.4 (0.1)	1.0 (0.1)	0.6 (0.1)	1.7 (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)	1.1 (0.2)
Estonia ¹	1.3 (0.3)	0.9 (0.7)	0.2 (0.1)	0.0 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)
Finland	3.1 (0.3)	7.2 (0.9)	0.9 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)	1.4 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	2.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	1.6 (0.2)
Italy	1.8 (0.3)	5.8 (0.5)	0.2 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)
Latvia ²	1.1 (0.4)	2.0 (0.8)	-0.5 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	1.0 (0.3)
Lithuania	1.6 (0.4)	2.2 (0.9)	-0.3 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	1.4 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)
Malta	2.0 (0.4)	4.4 (0.5)	0.5 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	0.8 (0.1)	0.8 (0.2)	1.7 (0.2)
Netherlands [†]	1.5 (0.3)	7.0 (0.5)	0.9 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)
Norway (9) ¹	1.9 (0.3)	6.6 (0.4)	0.5 (0.2)	0.4 (0.1)	1.7 (0.2)	0.6 (0.1)	1.2 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)
Slovenia	2.1 (0.3)	2.1 (0.6)	0.0 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)
Sweden ¹	2.5 (0.5)	6.5 (0.6)	0.5 (0.4)	0.3 (0.3)	1.5 (0.3)	1.1 (0.2)	2.7 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	1.4 (0.3)
ICCS 2016 average	1.9 (0.1)	4.1 (0.2)	0.2 (0.0)	0.5 (0.0)	1.0 (0.0)	0.7 (0.0)	1.3 (0.0)	0.3 (0.0)	1.2 (0.0)

* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

Table 3 shows the unstandardised multiple regression coefficients for the effects of students' background, students' school context and civic learning, and their perception of Europe on students' endorsement of equal rights for immigrants. The results suggest that, across countries, females, those of immigrant background, and to some extent those who are positive about their future are more likely to score higher on their support for equal rights for immigrants. However, socio economic home background had only weak or insignificant effects. Positive perceptions of student-teacher relations and civic learning were significant positive predictors in all countries. After controlling for other variables, students' civic knowledge was another positive predictor in all national samples. While a positive attitudes towards Europe were significantly associated with equal rights for immigrants in all countries, in only about a third of countries there was a significant association between their sense of European identity and this dependent variable.

Table 4 Multiple regression coefficients for students' endorsement of freedom of movement in Europe

Country	Student background				Variables reflecting school context and civic learning			Perceptions of Europe	
	Gender (female)	Immigrant background	Indicator of socioeconomic background	Positive perceptions of individual future	Positive student-teacher relations at school	Student reports on learning about Europe	Students' civic knowledge	Sense of European identity	Positive attitudes toward the EU
Belgium (Flemish)	-0.2 (0.4)	1.0 (0.9)	0.1 (0.2)	1.1 (0.3)	1.0 (0.2)	0.8 (0.3)	0.5 (0.2)	1.3 (0.3)	1.5 (0.3)
Bulgaria	-0.9 (0.4)	1.1 (2.2)	0.3 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	1.5 (0.2)	2.2 (0.3)	1.7 (0.2)	2.0 (0.2)
Croatia	-0.6 (0.4)	0.4 (0.6)	-0.6 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	1.7 (0.2)	2.2 (0.2)	2.0 (0.2)
Denmark [†]	0.1 (0.3)	1.7 (0.5)	0.2 (0.2)	0.8 (0.1)	0.5 (0.2)	0.9 (0.1)	0.6 (0.2)	1.5 (0.2)	1.8 (0.1)
Estonia ¹	-0.5 (0.4)	0.6 (0.7)	-0.4 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.3)	0.7 (0.2)	2.3 (0.2)	1.9 (0.2)	1.7 (0.2)
Finland	0.5 (0.4)	0.6 (0.8)	0.1 (0.2)	1.6 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	1.4 (0.2)	1.6 (0.2)	2.1 (0.2)
Italy	-0.9 (0.3)	0.7 (0.5)	-0.1 (0.1)	0.7 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)	2.0 (0.2)	1.4 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)
Latvia ²	-1.2 (0.4)	1.5 (1.1)	-0.5 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.9 (0.3)	1.4 (0.3)	1.5 (0.4)
Lithuania	-1.5 (0.4)	0.6 (1.0)	-0.5 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)	2.8 (0.2)	1.7 (0.2)	1.9 (0.2)
Malta	0.1 (0.3)	2.1 (0.6)	0.3 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)	2.2 (0.2)	2.0 (0.2)	2.1 (0.2)
Netherlands [†]	-0.4 (0.4)	2.8 (0.6)	0.5 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.6 (0.3)	0.9 (0.2)	0.3 (0.3)	1.7 (0.3)	2.2 (0.2)
Norway (9) ¹	0.0 (0.3)	1.3 (0.5)	0.1 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.5 (0.1)	1.3 (0.1)	0.8 (0.2)	1.8 (0.2)	2.0 (0.2)
Slovenia	-0.1 (0.4)	0.9 (0.6)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)	2.3 (0.2)	2.0 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)
Sweden ¹	0.1 (0.3)	2.3 (0.4)	0.0 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	1.6 (0.2)	1.6 (0.3)	1.4 (0.2)	2.4 (0.3)
ICCS 2016 average	-0.4 (0.1)	1.2 (0.2)	0.0 (0.0)	0.9 (0.0)	0.3 (0.0)	1.0 (0.0)	1.5 (0.0)	1.7 (0.0)	1.8 (0.0)

* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

Table 4 shows the unstandardised regression coefficients for the variables reflecting students' background, students' school context and civic learning, and their perception of Europe on or students' endorsement of freedom of movement in Europe. It shows that there are only few statistically significant gender differences: In Bulgaria, Italy, Latvia, and Lithuania females were more likely to endorse freedom of movement in Europe. Results also showed that immigrant background and socioeconomic home background were not consistently related to the dependent variable. However, having positive perceptions about their future was recorded as a significant predictor in all countries. Students' report of civic learning and civic knowledge had a significant predictive value across countries while students' perceptions of student-teacher relations were not consistently associated with support for freedom of movement. Positive attitudes towards Europe, as well as having a sense of European identity were significantly and positively associated with students' endorsement of freedom of movement for European citizens.

Table 5 Multiple regression coefficients for students' endorsement of restriction of movement in Europe

Country	Student background				Variables reflecting school context and civic learning			Perceptions of Europe and future	
	Gender (female)	Immigrant background	Indicator of socioeconomic background	Positive perceptions of individual future	Positive student-teacher relations at school	Student reports on learning about Europe	Students' civic knowledge	Sense of European identity	Positive attitudes toward the EU
Belgium (Flemish)	-1.0 (0.4)	0.4 (0.6)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	-3.0 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)
Bulgaria	-1.1 (0.4)	1.3 (2.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	1.7 (0.3)	-4.1 (0.2)	1.0 (0.3)	1.1 (0.3)
Croatia	-3.2 (0.4)	-1.0 (0.6)	0.2 (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	-1.0 (0.3)	0.7 (0.2)	-3.1 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	0.8 (0.3)
Denmark [†]	-1.6 (0.4)	-0.6 (0.5)	-0.5 (0.2)	0.3 (0.1)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.5 (0.3)	-2.0 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)
Estonia ¹	-2.2 (0.4)	0.3 (0.6)	-0.4 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	-2.9 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)
Finland	-3.6 (0.4)	-0.3 (1.2)	0.2 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	-3.4 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	0.4 (0.3)
Italy	-1.8 (0.3)	-0.9 (0.6)	0.2 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	-3.5 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)
Latvia ¹	-1.6 (0.3)	-0.4 (0.8)	0.0 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	-2.5 (0.3)	0.5 (0.2)	1.2 (0.3)
Lithuania	-2.4 (0.5)	0.3 (0.9)	0.2 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.3)	0.5 (0.2)	-4.3 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	0.8 (0.3)
Malta	-1.6 (0.3)	-1.0 (0.6)	0.2 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	-3.9 (0.2)	1.2 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)
Netherlands [†]	-1.0 (0.4)	0.0 (0.8)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.3)	1.2 (0.3)	-2.8 (0.3)	0.6 (0.3)	0.2 (0.3)
Norway (9) ¹	-1.3 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.4)	0.1 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.1)	1.2 (0.2)	-2.0 (0.2)	0.7 (0.1)	0.7 (0.1)
Slovenia	-0.5 (0.4)	0.8 (0.6)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.3)	-0.7 (0.3)	1.0 (0.2)	-4.4 (0.2)	0.1 (0.3)	1.2 (0.3)
Sweden ¹	-2.0 (0.4)	0.8 (0.7)	-0.2 (0.3)	-0.4 (0.3)	-0.4 (0.2)	1.0 (0.3)	-2.6 (0.2)	1.3 (0.3)	0.8 (0.3)
ICCS 2016 average	-1.8 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.0)	0.1 (0.0)	-0.4 (0.0)	0.9 (0.0)	-3.2 (0.0)	0.6 (0.0)	0.7 (0.0)

* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

Table 5 shows the results of multiple regression results for students' support for restricting migration of European citizens in Europe. Females were significantly less likely to endorse restriction of movement in all countries (except Slovenia), while immigrant background and socioeconomic home background did not have significant associations with the dependent variable. However, having positive perceptions about their future was a significant predictor of support for restricting migration in some countries (Bulgaria, Lithuania, Malta, and Slovenia) while it was a negative predictor in Finland. In half of the countries, students who perceived more positive student-teacher relations at their schools were also less likely to endorse restriction of migration, while student reports of higher levels of civic learning had positive net effects on the dependent variable.

Students with higher levels of civic knowledge scale were significantly less likely to endorse restriction of movement in all countries, on average one (national) standard deviation in civic knowledge scores was associated with three scale score points on the dependent variable (about a third of standard deviation). Surprisingly, after controlling for all other variables both a positive attitudes towards Europe and a greater sense of European identity tended to be positive predictors of restriction of movement endorsement in most countries.

Table 6 Percentage of variance in students' attitudes explained by multiple regression model

Country	Students' endorsement of gender equality	Students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups	Students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups
Belgium (Flemish)	12	11	14
Bulgaria	13	26	25
Croatia	15	21	16
Denmark†	16	14	7
Estonia ¹	9	20	17
Finland	22	21	19
Italy	15	17	16
Latvia ¹	7	12	15
Lithuania	14	26	21
Malta	14	25	19
Netherlands†	18	16	12
Norway (9) ¹	16	17	11
Slovenia	11	18	19
Sweden ¹	22	20	15
ICCS 2016 average	15	19	16

* Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

² Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.

Table 6 summarise the explained variance in the dependent variables by the model in each European ICCS 2016 country. For students' endorsement of equal rights for immigrants, the model explained 15 percent on average, ranging from seven percent in Latvia to 22 percent in Finland and Sweden. For students' endorsement of freedom of movement for European citizens, the model explained 19 percent on average ranging from 11 percent in Belgium (Flemish) to 26 percent in Bulgaria and Lithuania. The variance explanation for students' support for restriction of migration in Europe was 16 percent on average, ranging from seven percent in Denmark to 25 percent in Bulgaria.

Conclusion

In this paper we have reviewed European results from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) reflecting young people's perceptions of equal rights for immigrants and freedom of movement in Europe. With regard to students' endorsement of immigrant rights the results show a mixed picture. While overall majorities of students tend to support statements reflecting equal rights and opportunities for immigrants, in some (Eastern European) countries we found significantly lower support than in 2009, while only in two countries there were significant increases.

Most students across participating countries also tended to agree with positive statements about freedom of movement for European citizens, but there was also considerable support for restrictions in many countries, for example 63 percent on average agree that European citizens should only be allowed to work in another country if their skills were needed (see more details in Losito et al., 2017). Interestingly, we found no clear associations between the two variables which suggests that many young people express general support for freedom of movement at the same time as endorsement for some restrictions.

While student background variables generally have only relatively weak associations with students' endorsement of immigrant rights and attitudes toward freedom of movement in Europe, it is interesting to note the positive associations of students' civic knowledge with both endorsement of immigrant rights as well as support for freedom of movement for European citizens. Likewise, this variables had strong negative effects on students' endorsement of restricting migration within Europe. This suggests that students with higher levels of knowledge tend to have a more open and positive outlook on migration issues in general. Furthermore, perceptions of good student-teacher relations (indicating a more positive school climate) had positive net effects on the endorsement of equal rights for immigrants, as well as negative ones for support of restricting migration in Europe. These results are similar to those found in analysis of ICCS 2016 results regarding students' endorsement of gender equality and equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups in society (Schulz & Ainley, 2018).

As expected, students' attitudes toward the European Union were positive predictors of equal rights for immigrants and support for freedom, the latter was also positively associated with a stronger sense of European identity. However, having positive attitudes toward the EU and a stronger sense of European identity had also positive net effects on endorsement of restricting migration within Europe. This indicates that perceptions of issues related to migration, at least among young people at this age, appear to be somewhat inconsistent: While having generally positive attitudes toward the underlying idea of European integration and an increasing sense of European identity, young people at the same time also tend to harbour perceptions of the necessity of imposing certain restrictions on the European principle of free movement within the EU.

Last not least it is also noteworthy to highlight that students who expressed more optimistic views about their future were more inclined to endorse equal rights for immigrants and support freedom of movement in Europe. This findings is in accordance with research indicating that individuals who perceive themselves as less advantaged (relative deprivation) tend of express more negative attitudes toward immigration (see for example Aleksynska, 2011).

Some of the findings presented in this paper warrant further investigations, in particular those with regard to the unexpected associations between positive attitudes toward Europe and support for restricting migration within Europe, or the absence of clear negative correlations between endorsement of freedom of movement and support for restrictions of migration. ICCS 2016 provides a rich database for further secondary analyses which is available to interested researchers. It is also important to keep in mind that ICCS is cyclical study which is currently preparing another student survey scheduled for 2022, in which issues related to migration will continue to play an important role.

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