

Navigating the European space: physical and virtual forms of cross-border mobility among EU citizens

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**The Europeanisation of Everyday Life:
Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identifications
among EU and Third-Country Citizens**

**Navigating the European Space:
Physical and Virtual Forms
of Cross-Border Mobility among EU Citizens**

Justyna Salamońska, Lorenzo Grifone Baglioni and Ettore Recchi

EUCROSS Working Paper # 5

July 2013

This series of working papers originates from the research project *The Europeanisation of Everyday Life: Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identities among EU and Third-Country Citizens* (acronym: EUCROSS).

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Executive Summary

Drawing on earlier works in the EUCROSS series, this working paper proposes a comprehensive picture of physical and virtual mobility practices. Physical mobilities are characterised with regards to the time factor, thus distinguishing between high and low permanence practices (or ‘migration-like’ and ‘tourism-like’ mobilities). Virtual mobilities may have personal or impersonal character (taking a ‘facebook-like’ or an ‘eBay-like’ form). A short discussion of each mobility type is additionally described with existing sources (mainly from Eurostat). This range of cross-border practices is then mapped within the European countries in which the EUCROSS survey was carried out (Germany, the UK, Denmark, Italy, Spain and Romania). Quite against conventional wisdom which suggests that EU citizens make modest use of their free movement rights and are rather immobile, we found that one in six Europeans of the EUCROSS sample has spent at least three months in another EU country in their lifetime. Furthermore, 51 per cent have visited another EU member state, even if for a short vacation, in the last two years. Europeans cross borders in a non-physical sense as well (almost three quarters of our sample), when they connect online or on the phone with significant others who migrated or with friends they met during their physical trips. Finally, Europeans increasingly engage in cross-border transactions (almost one third of EUCROSS sample), shopping online but also transferring money abroad. All these practices are socially structured, their likelihood depending significantly on education, socioeconomic status, gender and age in differing degrees, as multivariate analyses detail. National contexts matter as well. Danes are most mobile when it comes to low permanence physical mobility and impersonal virtual moves. In turn, Britons and Romanians – possibly with different purposes – have definitely higher odds of having migrated, even in the wider sense of migration as ‘long-permanence mobility’ that we used. This reverberates on being more strongly networked with other persons abroad than any other nationality examined.

Navigating the European Space: Physical and Virtual Forms of Cross-Border Mobility among EU Citizens

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Introduction

Multiple cross-border mobilities occupy our every-day lives – from online searching for shopping deals across the world, to talking to friends abroad on Skype, to travelling for holidays or relocating in other countries for longer spells. While many researchers examine the plurality of mobilities under the transnationalism agenda, the EUCROSS project proposed ‘cross-border practices’ as the umbrella concept to bring more clarity to ongoing discussions of mobilities. As Favell et al. (2011: 19) outlined in the EUCROSS state of the art report, with cross-border practices ‘we intend to focus on behaviours that are performed by any possible individual agent in any aspect of everyday life’. The cross-border practices concept allows for a broad understanding of activities and behaviours that span across national borders and it stresses the individual-level picture ‘from below’, giving a more focused perspective to an otherwise rather general debate on space of flows (e.g. Castells 2000). Furthermore, as suggested by previous working papers in the EUCROSS project series, by focusing on diverse forms of mobilities, this research project seeks to overcome the implicitly assumed and over rigid distinction between movers and stayers (Favell et al. 2011) drawing a map of mobilities in which nationals in European countries are increasingly involved. This working paper examines how such mobilities are enacted in the physical and virtual dimensions on the basis of the six-country survey data generated by the EUCROSS project in 2012.

This paper adopts a comprehensive picture of mobilities. To begin with, the analysis of mobilities requires a clear distinction between its different manifestations. The mobilities paradigm in social sciences is still a relatively recent theoretical approach, and while distinctions between corporeal and virtual mobilities are made, there is still need to draw sharp and exhaustive classifications. Recchi (2012) offers one way to classify individual cross-border practices distinguishing between physical mobilities of different permanence and virtual mobilities of personal/impersonal character. This proposal is taken up in the analysis of European mobilities presented in this paper, which differentiates physical ‘migration-like’ and ‘tourism-like’ mobilities on the one hand, from virtual ‘facebook-like’ and ‘eBay-like’ mobilities on the other. This range of cross-border practices is then mapped within the six European countries in which the EUCROSS survey was carried out.

This classification of mobilities is expected to lead to a better understanding of the determinants of different forms of mobility. The ‘mobility turn’ (Urry 2000) suggested that movement has become a central concept to the understanding contemporary societies. However, even if we are living in a world dominated by mobilities, access to them has never been equal. For instance, although in Europe a theoretically free movement space exists, it is interesting to question which mobilities are more accessible and for whom. The EUCROSS survey, carried out in six European countries, gives an excellent opportunity to sketch out how different forms of mobility are determined by the ascribed and achieved characteristics of persons engaging in them and by the contexts from which these persons come from.

This paper proceeds as follows. It first illustrates a classification of mobility forms along the lines of the EUCROSS project rationale. Then, a short discussion of each mobility type is additionally described with existing sources (mainly from Eurostat). Finally, the EUCROSS dataset is used to outline micro- and macro determinants of mobilities in Europe, thus seeking to answer the key question about social and cultural differences in access to diverse forms of cross-border mobility.

Mapping mobility forms

In the search for a more structured analysis of different forms of mobility, Recchi (2012) outlined a classification of cross-border individual activities by separating physical and virtual practices. Physical mobilities can be characterised with regards to the time factor, thus distinguishing between high and low permanence practices. The former are best described by migrations and the latter may be exemplified with short term stays of tourist character. On the other hand, virtual mobility may be described as involving personal connections or different types of transactions across national borders. Personal mobility which does not involve physical movement takes place when people communicate with others based abroad through different kinds of media, including phone, email and increasingly important social media like Facebook (or its competitors). Individuals also move internationally when they engage in transactions of different character that cross national borders, like shopping online and sending or receiving money from abroad.

Distinguishing between different types of mobility also gives an opportunity to examine their social patterning. For instance, in migration studies there is evidence of a growing incidence of middle-class mobility (e.g. Conradson and Latham 2005). Low permanence mobility for professional reasons is common for some occupations at the highest skill levels (e.g. Beaverstock 2005; Wickham and Vecchi 2009), but higher social position may also come with more resources facilitating other forms of international movement (like transferring savings or making investments abroad). Age remains an important factor for virtual mobilities, with younger cohorts more accustomed to life embedded in the new technologies (Duggan and Brenner 2013). Furthermore, bringing country contexts in to the analysis is crucial to understanding how international movement is enacted. Newcomers to the EU free movement regime have very different international mobility patterns when compared to EU15 citizens, who have enjoyed opportunities of unrestricted intra-European exchanges for decades.

Physical/high permanence mobility (migration-like)

International migration is traditionally the most researched form of physical mobility across borders. For a long time, migration has been understood as a move from a place of origin to a destination of (more or less) permanent character. Migration statistics reflect this trend, as they usually define migrants as persons who are resident in a country other than their country of origin for at least a year. Yet a plethora of international moves do not necessarily last a year or more, and migration horizons for many become much broader and go beyond the origin and destination dichotomy. This in particular is the case of intra-European mobility strategies, which are likely to have become more flexible in the free movement regime space. Recently published studies challenge the conventional view on migrations as taking place between origin and destination and as high permanence moves. What they have in common is the focus on diverse motivations for migrations. Especially within the 'old' EU, the 'guest-worker' conceptualisation of migration does not fit the reality of people moving

for better quality of life, for studies, for family, or simply because they fall in love with somebody residing in another country (Benson 2010; King 2002; King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Recchi and Favell 2009 for a comparative picture of intra-European migrants in the EU15). Furthermore, in the aftermath of the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007, population flows from East to West in Europe grew substantially. While the movements of Central and Eastern Europeans are still largely regarded as labour migration due to the economic rationale behind the moves (European Commission 2010), a growing literature points to non-economic factors involved, including life-style issues, social networks, quality of life, and life course related rationales (Cook et al. 2011; Eade 2007; Grabowska 2003; Koryś 2003; Wickham et al. 2009; Recchi and Triandafyllidou 2010; Krings et al. 2013). Generally, intra-European migrations both of Western and Central-Eastern Europeans are illustrated by numerous and rich qualitative accounts that describe in detail trajectories that develop across countries, labour markets and individual life course, adding colour to our understanding of individual migration projects in Europe.

Existing data provide a more detailed quantitative picture with regards to the scale and motivations of such movements. In 2012, 20.7 million non-EU migrants and 13.6 million intra-European movers resided in the EU27, that is 4.1% and 2.7% of the total population respectively (Eurostat 2012, Table 1). Non-EU migrants constituted 60.3% and intra-EU movers 39.7% of the migrant population in EU27. Excluding Cyprus (12.6%) and Luxembourg (37.9%), small countries with a peculiar position in the European context, the highest percentage of movers in relation to the total population is in Ireland (8.5%), Belgium (7.0%), and Spain (5.1%). At the opposite end we find Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovenia, each one with no more than few thousands of intra-EU movers. In addition to movers, who avail of European citizenship rights, we can also count 7.2 million Europeans from outside the EU, coming from Turkey, Albania and Ukraine (Eurostat 2010), that is, countries that in the future could become the EU members. Therefore, over 20 million Europeans, from within and outside of the EU, travel, study or work on the EU27 territory in a country that is not their country of birth. They make up two-thirds of all non-national residents in the EU.

Turning to EU movers only, we can locate origins and destinations of high permanence physical mobility flows in the EU27. Most movers come from Romania (23.0%), Poland (16.6%), Italy (8.8%), United Kingdom (7.3%), Germany (5.7%), and France (4.6%). The most popular destinations are Germany (24.5%), Spain (22.7%), the United Kingdom (19.0%), and Italy (14.3%). The largest outflows originate from new member states of the EU. Inflows are predominantly directed towards larger EU founding countries and Spain. Migration flows have not been immune to the current economic crisis. The impact of the recession may be investigated by comparing intra-European mobility between 2008 and 2012. We can note a sharp increase in outflows from Romania (+13.2%) and, on the contrary, a very strong decrease in outflows from Germany (-36.6%). Inflows declined most notably in Germany (-8.7%), Spain (-5.2%), and Belgium (-3.5%).

Table 1 Resident population in EU by group of citizenship, 2012

	Total	Nationals	Migrants	Mig (%)	Movers	Mov (%)
EU-27	503,663,600	468,706,308	20,699,798	4.1	13,613,640	2.7
Austria	8,434,455	7,475,176	564,984	6.7	382,733	4.5
Belgium	11,094,850	9,866,885	446,331	4.0	778,573	7.0
Bulgaria	7,330,215	7,287,717	31,094	0.4	11,329	0.2
Cyprus	862,011	683,994	64,098	7.4	108,329	12.6
Czech Republic	10,505,445	10,082,454	271,710	2.6	151,256	1.4
Denmark	5,580,516	5,221,658	223,827	4.0	134,887	2.4
Estonia	1,318,005	1,110,933	192,161	14.6	14,397	1.1
Finland	5,401,267	5,218,134	113,438	2.1	68,259	1.3
France	65,327,724	61,469,429	2,505,162	3.8	1,353,133	2.1
Germany	81,843,743	74,433,989	4,664,977	5.7	2,744,777	3.4
Greece	11,290,067	10,314,693	824,220	7.3	151,154	1.3
Hungary	9,957,731	9,750,157	79,705	0.8	127,869	1.3
Ireland	4,582,769	4,031,974	99,105	2.2	388,793	8.5
Italy	60,820,696	55,960,451	3,375,426	5.5	1,450,147	2.4
Latvia	2,041,763	1,708,870	326,153	16.0	6,740	0.3
Lithuania	3,007,758	2,984,909	17,619	0.6	2,966	0.1
Luxembourg	524,853	294,983	31,189	5.9	198,681	37.9
Malta	417,520	396,999	-	-	10,603	2.5
Netherlands	16,730,348	15,944,291	336,894	2.0	360,847	2.2
Poland	38,538,447	38,472,199	39,025	0.1	18,425	0.0
Portugal	10,541,840	10,102,729	331,140	3.1	107,971	1.0
Romania	21,355,849	21,319,018	29,522	0.1	7,014	0.0
Slovakia	5,404,322	4,980,227	16,720	0.3	54,007	1.0
Slovenia	2,055,496	1,969,941	79,477	3.9	6,078	0.3
Spain	46,196,276	40,634,209	3,207,566	6.9	2,354,501	5.1
Sweden	9,482,855	8,827,755	370,052	3.9	276,043	2.9
United Kingdom	62,989,551	58,162,534	2,458,203	3.9	2,344,128	3.7

Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_pop1ctz)

Our interest in mobility experience leads us to pay attention not only to current migrants, but also to people who have some migration-like background. Such data are hard to find. However, a Eurobarometer survey (EB73.3, March-April 2010) shows that 12.7% of European citizens have worked abroad (including volunteering and traineeships) for at least three consecutive months, 7.6% have attended school or studied abroad for at least half an academic year, and 10.4% have lived abroad for reasons other than study or work for at least three consecutive months (Table 17 in Appendix). These data highlight the variety of motivations among movers. In substance, almost one in five Europeans has experienced life abroad at least for a few months, immersed in another social and cultural space, getting to know people speaking different languages, and having different customs. One in five Europeans has breathed the air of an EU member state other than his or her own.

Altogether 17.8% of respondents spent at least three consecutive months in another EU country. Among these, 10.4% performed only migration-like mobility (without any experience of tourism-like mobility) and 7.4% made both migration-like and tourism-like mobility. Movers who have experienced only migration-like mobility (without any tourism-like experience abroad) are mostly men (57.3%), aged 25-39 (30.8%) or 55 and more (33.1%), graduates (42.7%), middle (34.0%) or working class (38.6%). Migration-like *and* tourism-like movers are mostly men (56.5%), aged 25-39

(36.3%) or 40-54 (27.5%), graduates (53.7%) and are upper (37.6%) or middle class (38.1%) (see Appendix, Tables from 9 to 12). The first profile resembles that of classic (including high-skilled) migrants, while the second is rather that of a mobile *bourgeois*. Overall, it seems that physical mobility practices are more common as the levels of human capital increase – maybe as a means of social distinction and reproduction (Bourdieu 1986).

Data shows that the experience of working abroad is more frequent among residents of Luxembourg (26.9%), Ireland (26.8%), Sweden (23.0%), and Denmark (21.9%). The habit of studying abroad is more frequent among people living in Luxembourg (46.0%), Cyprus (20.8%), Sweden (15.9%), and Ireland (15.0%). Residence in another country for reasons other than study or work is more common among residents of Luxembourg (34.4%), Sweden (19.5%), Ireland (17.6%), Denmark (17.2%), and Spain (16.5%). As we can see, there seem to be patterns of mobility for some countries. The case of Luxembourg should not surprise, as its geographical and financial centrality in Europe leads to a high level of transnationalism (also eased by its tiny size, which makes borders within arm's reach). Cyprus and Ireland also show high mobility levels, with historical, national, religious, and linguistic factors underlying the cross-border propensities of their residents.

Why do people decide to start a physical mobility experience in EU? The Pioneur survey (Santacreu et al. 2009) shows that three main motivations drive mobility in the EU15: love/family (29.1%), work (25.2%), and quality of life (24.0%). These choices are gendered. Men move predominantly for work (33.1%) and quality of life (24.3%). Women move in the first place for love/family reasons (37.4%) and then for quality of life (23.6%). Men moving mostly for work on one side and women as tied movers seem to reproduce the classical social roles divisions based on gender. The 'male-breadwinner' and 'female-homemaker' profiles still loom large in a category of people – that is, intra-EU15 migrants – which are distinguished by their transnational orientation, supposedly an avant-garde of individuals projecting themselves out of a national, established and conventional framework.

Physical/low permanence (tourism-like)

Migration is only one of the physical forms of mobility, and the 'mobility turn' described by Urry (2000) points to a much broader world of mobilities. Originally inspired by the implications of 'the tourist gaze' (Urry 1990), Urry turned the sociologist's interest to varieties of mobilities: corporeal travel, mobilities of objects, imaginative mobilities, and virtual travel (Urry 2000). While undermining the importance of nation-state containers, Urry's contribution highlights the growing salience of cross-border practices in their variety. However, it is necessary to provide a more fine grained and nuanced recognition of differing kinds of mobility in order to avoid hyperbole, and this aim lies behind the concerns of the EUCROSS project.

The importance of short term mobility may be measured in economic terms, with tourism being among the biggest industries of the world, its growth being undeterred even by the global recession (WTO 2012). In 2011, the number of international tourist arrivals reached 982 million globally. The World Tourism Organization defines tourists as people 'traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes'. More specifically, the 'tourist' is the visitor that makes at least one overnight stop and stays for at least 24 hours. In turn, the 'excursionist' stays for less than 24 hours (for instance as a

day-tripper or people on a cruise). The UN defines ‘outbound tourism’ as a form of tourism ‘involving residents traveling in another country’.

Tourist trips are possibly the most common form of short-term physical movements, but short trips for work trigger mobility as well (for an interesting example of the importance of physical travel in otherwise highly virtual software sector, see Wickham and Vecchi 2009). The expansion of travel has been examined in the context of social change in the last century (Kaelble 2004; Recchi and Kuhn 2013) and as a socially stratified phenomenon (Frändberg 2009). Travel themes were also picked up by the migration literature. Researchers study how new migrant destinations may become gates to further travels (Dobruszkes 2009; Conradson and Latham 2005; Kennedy 2010), and how ‘new’ European migrants (but also ‘old’ EU residents) travel to access medical services in Central and Eastern Europe (Krings et al. forthcoming), just to name a few aspects of travel. The growing scale of physical tourist-like mobility within the EU is largely facilitated by the fast growth of transport, and especially, low-cost air carriers.

Table 2 Number of trips made by EU27 residents by group of citizenship, 2011

	Total	Inbound	In (%)
EU-27	1,152,484,194	833,575,050	72.3
Austria	20,058,679	10,184,981	50.8
Belgium	12,010,635	Na	
Bulgaria	5,890,560	5,114,090	86.8
Cyprus	1,923,174	Na	
Czech Republic	35,759,284	29,847,408	83.5
Denmark	32,034,168	23,940,608	74.7
Estonia		Na	
Finland	42,836,000	35,561,000	83.0
France	224,939,600	199,646,460	88.8
Germany	270,487,078	185,795,317	68.7
Greece		Na	
Hungary	20,077,921	15,663,802	78.0
Ireland		Na	
Italy	69,059,102	55,527,938	80.4
Latvia	4,723,399	3,471,953	73.5
Lithuania	4,005,829	2,479,358	61.9
Luxembourg	1,644,780	Na	
Malta	480,681	216,996	45.1
Netherlands		Na	
Poland	35,110,000	30,068,300	85.6
Portugal	12,035,507	10,783,176	89.6
Romania	12,894,441	11,985,610	93.0
Slovakia	8,608,962	5,324,128	61.8
Slovenia	4,766,000	1,356,000	28.5
Spain	137,383,858	125,436,403	91.3
Sweden	49,878,000	36,941,000	74.1
United Kingdom	142,688,775	92,194,053	64.6

Source: Eurostat (online data code: tour_dem_ttg)

Interestingly, a large part of European tourism takes place within the EU. Indeed, 72.3% of the arrivals in EU27 countries come from another EU country (Eurostat 2011). Particularly, comparing the different types of tourism and counting the number of trips, we find that inbound tourism is

most prevalent in short holiday trips (without overnight stay) (91.0%), more than in all holiday trips (76.0%) (excursions from one to three overnight stays), and long holiday trips (59.0%) (holidays with at least four overnight stays). Intra-EU trips are prevalent among citizens of Romania (93.0%), Spain (91.3%), Portugal (89.6%), France (88.8%), Bulgaria (86.8%), and Poland (85.6%). At the opposite end, there are the citizens of Malta (45.1%) and Austria (50.8%), who however still choose intra-EU destinations relatively often. Slovenia (28.5%) is a notable exception as the only European country where tourism directed towards outside the EU is highly prevalent – but this is largely explained by trips to Croatia, which now counts as EU (Table 2). Overall, nearly three in four European tourists spend their holidays in the EU: that is, abroad, but not in *entirely* abroad.

With regards to the frequency of low permanence physical mobility, the Eurobarometer survey (EB73.3, March-April 2010) shows that 21.9% of European citizens regularly spend their holidays/weekends abroad, out of which 14.5% reported only tourism-like mobility (without any experience of migration-like mobility) and 7.4% experienced both tourism-like and migration-like mobility spells. Just over one in five Europeans have made tourist trips within the EU, thus experiencing a short period (less than three months, in this case) of stay in another European country. Movers who have experienced only tourism-like mobility (without any migration-like experience abroad) are both males (49.5%) and females (50.5%), more likely aged 40-54 (28.5%) or 55 and older (30.8%), holding undergraduate degree (43.5%) and middle class (46.0%) (see Appendix, Tables from 9 to 12).

Virtual/personal mobility (facebook-like)

While people have been physically mobile for centuries, one of the new features of mobilities is virtual travel, which is instantaneous and simultaneous, but does not include physical movement (Urry 2000; Cooper et al. 2002). While lowering costs of transport facilitated the growth of physical mobility, development of information and communication technologies had an enormous impact on the ways people communicate with each other. Studies of transnational social networks were initially the domain of migration studies which explored how mobile people kept in touch with significant others back home. These ‘travelling-in-dwelling’ practices of communication by email or phone were becoming cheaper and more easily accessible, especially when compared with previous generations (e.g. Clarke 2005). What is more, social networking sites have developed fast over the last years as new platforms of communications in addition to phone and email, and are used in order to keep in touch with family and friends but also to reconnect with old friends (Smith 2011). For instance, Polish migrants in Ireland who accessed the social networking platform ‘nasza-klasa’ (based on school connections) turned it into the 11th most accessed website in the country (Komito and Bates 2009). However, if migrants’ practices are an extreme illustration of information and communication technologies’ use linked to physical mobility, the recent success of several other social network platforms challenge the ways we think about mobility. Thus, instead of drawing a dichotomy of migrants and stayers, or mobile versus immobile, we suggest thinking about a continuum of mobilities. Mau’s work (2010) on social transnationalism based on a survey carried out in Germany points precisely to that: almost half of the residents in Germany have social contacts that cross national borders, although the geography of these international social networks is not random, but embedded in specific geographical, cultural and historical contexts.

Eurostat data (2012) shows that connecting to the internet has become a daily practice for the large majority of European citizens (59.0%) or, at least, is a weekly habit (11.0%). Internet has become an

almost inexhaustible supply of contacts for leisure or for work. Today, 65.0% of Europeans use the internet to send and receive e-mails, 26.0% to telephone or video call via computer, 38.0% share their profiles and their ideas on general social media (like Facebook or Twitter) and 11.0% on professional social media (like LinkedIn or Xing) (Table 3).

Table 3 Individual use of social and professional media by main citizenship group, 2012

	E-mailing (%)	Phoning or video calling via computer (%)	Social media (%)	Professional media (%)
EU-27	65	26	38	7
Austria	73	23	35	11
Belgium	74	26	40	6
Bulgaria	42	40	30	4
Cyprus	46	35	33	3
Czech Republic	69	40	27	5
Denmark	86	40	55	16
Estonia	70	46	37	13
Finland	81	21	45	17
France	72	23	36	6
Germany	76	22	42	8
Greece	41	21	28	4
Hungary	67	31	52	10
Ireland	66	29	40	8
Italy	48	18	26	5
Latvia	63	45	55	8
Lithuania	54	48	36	2
Luxembourg	87	36	46	15
Malta	60	25	45	11
Netherlands	89	39	46	19
Poland	51	24	36	4
Portugal	53	19	32	6
Romania	38	22	25	3
Slovakia	70	47	48	2
Slovenia	57	20	32	3
Spain	62	22	35	7
Sweden	86	38	54	10
United Kingdom	78	35	50	11

Source: Eurostat (online data code: isoc_bde15_cua)

E-mailing is more frequent in the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland. Phoning or calling via computer is more widespread in Lithuania, Slovakia, Estonia, and Latvia. General social media use is more frequent in Latvia, Denmark, Sweden, and Hungary, while professional social media use is more widespread in the Netherlands, Finland, Denmark, Luxembourg, and Estonia.

Compared to traditional media, internet makes it possible to connect to people and places that otherwise would be difficult to reach. Eurobarometer shows that 27.3% of European citizens have close relatives who live in a foreign country, and 39.7% have close friends who live abroad. Another 29.1% of Europeans have family roots and friends in their countries of origin, and 8.2% have lived

with a partner of a different citizenship than their own (EB73.3, March-April 2010). For all of these people, new media becomes ever the more necessary for keeping in touch frequently and affordably.

Virtual/impersonal mobility (eBay-like)

Finally, people engage in non-physical mobility when they participate in transactions that cross national borders, sending money or purchasing goods or services in a country other than their country of origin or residence. Before the economic crisis, one important trend of virtual impersonal mobility (especially for middle- and upper-class citizens of the richest Central-Northern European countries) was that of buying a second property abroad. At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, 3.3% of European citizens claim to have purchased real property in a foreign country (EB73.3, March-April 2010). Wickham (2007) analyses precisely the development of second home ownership as one of the aspects of contemporary mobilities. From the end of 1990s until 2003-04, ownership of property abroad among the UK households grew by almost 50% to reach over quarter of a million (Aspden 2005). Smaller scale transactions of online shopping are becoming more widespread, and this form of consumption is perceived as a more convenient and time saving option, although consumers may raise concerns about disclosing personal and credit card details online (Horrigan 2008).

Table 4 Individual internet purchase by main citizenship group, 2008-2012

	2008 (%)	2012 (%)
EU-27	24	35
Austria	28	39
Belgium	14	33
Bulgaria	2	6
Cyprus	7	17
Czech Republic	13	18
Denmark	47	60
Estonia	7	17
Finland	33	47
France	28	42
Germany	42	55
Greece	6	16
Hungary	8	15
Ireland	30	35
Italy	7	11
Latvia	10	18
Lithuania	4	14
Luxembourg	36	57
Malta	16	37
Netherlands	43	55
Poland	12	21
Portugal	6	13
Romania	3	3
Slovakia	13	30
Slovenia	12	22
Spain	13	22
Sweden	38	58
United Kingdom	49	64

Source: Eurostat (online data code: isoc_ec_ibuy)

If we think about impersonal virtual mobility as an ‘eBay-like’ experience we can see that the share of Europeans who made a purchase on the internet increased by 50% in four years. If in 2008 24% of EU residents had used the world wide web for shopping, in 2012 they reached 35% (Eurostat 2012). Despite the crisis, or just coinciding with it, the decrease of consumption in the real market has been compensated by an expansion in consumption in the virtual market (Table 4).

The picture of mobilities sketched on the basis of existing datasets gives some indications as to who moves and how, but it also leaves many open questions. The EUCROSS survey enquiry was intended to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge about mobilities. The following section presents the dataset and explains how the survey may add to our understanding of cross-border activities.

Data and methods

This paper is based on the quantitative data coming from the EUCROSS survey¹. The survey provides an up-to-date and detailed picture of physical and virtual mobility practices as reported by nationals of six European countries (Denmark, Germany, Italy, Romania, Spain and the United Kingdom). In total, 6000 respondents were interviewed in 2012 – that is, 1000 per country. As outlined in Pötzschke (2012), the EUCROSS survey focused on three dimensions of cross-border practices: physical mobility, virtual mobility and cosmopolitan consumption and competences. This paper looks in detail at physical and virtual mobility practices taking place within Europe. As anticipated, the analysis makes a distinction between high and low permanence physical mobility on the one hand and personal and impersonal forms of virtual mobility on the other. Spatial and virtual dimensions of mobility are measured by the items listed in Table 5.

With regards to physical mobility of high permanence, our analysis expands Eurobarometer 73 (see also Table 6) by looking at the experiences of mobility that took place in childhood/adolescence versus experiences as an adult. This seems an important distinction, as it may point to how migration as a child affects the propensity to migrate independently as an adult. On the macro level, this distinction allows for drawing comparisons between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ EU member states, as for Romanians freedom of movement within the EU is a very recent right. Similarly, when examining low permanence physical mobility, EUCROSS makes a distinction between moves that took place before and after becoming an adult and takes into consideration a variety of reasons for short mobility, not limited to vacation, but also taking into account personal, professional, educational or volunteering reasons. Regarding virtual mobility of a personal character, Eurobarometer focuses on the presence of affective links with family or friends based abroad and friends coming from abroad in the country of residence, or alternatively, having a partner of different citizenship than the respondent’s. EUCROSS broadens the scope of enquiry by looking at the modes of communication in more detail and including the work sphere as well. Finally, in examining non-physical impersonal mobility, EUCROSS poses more detailed questions about increasingly common transactions in online

¹ EUCROSS fieldwork took place between June 2012 and January 2013 and it was carried out by Sozialwissenschaftliches Umfragezentrum GmbH (SUZ) based in Duisburg (Germany). SUZ conducted survey in all countries examined (Denmark, Germany, Italy, Romania, Spain and the United Kingdom) in order to assure consistency of fieldwork across different national contexts. Computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI) were carried out by trained interviewers, all of whom were native speakers. Sample selection was based on random digit dialling (RDD).

shopping and money transfers across borders. Generally, EUCROSS draws a more comprehensive and theoretically sound map of different forms of mobility, which we will now turn to.

Table 5 Forms of mobility and their indicators

Mobility dimension	Items
Physical/high permanence mobility within EU (migration-like)	Lived in another EU country for three or more months before turning 18
	Lived in another EU country for three or more months since turning 18
	Ever participated in an international exchange program funded or co-funded by the EU
Physical/low permanence mobility within EU (tourism-like)	Visited one or more EU countries before turning 18
	Visited one or more EU countries in the last 24 months
Mobility virtual/personal (facebook-like) ²	Talked to family members, in-laws and friends abroad by phone/computer in the last 12 months*
	Communicated by mail or e-mail with family, friends*
	Communicated via social networks with family, friends*
	Received email messages from abroad*
Mobility: virtual/impersonal (eBay-like)	Ever sent money abroad for reasons other than purchasing goods or services*
	In the last 12 months, received money from someone in another country*
	Own property in another EU country
	Purchased goods or services from sellers or providers who were located in another EU country
	At work, interacted with people located in another EU country during the last 12 months*

**For these items breakdown for the EU not possible*

² EUCROSS did not distinguish between European and non-European virtual mobilities (with the exception of property ownership, shopping and work relations), considering that in all other instances virtual mobility may depend on the origins of the people one is communicating with or their physical location. In the case of highly mobile individuals, the situation becomes even more problematic, as virtual communication media allow reaching a person when he or she travels.

Table 6 Mobility indicators – comparison between Eurobarometer and EUCROSS

High permanence physical mobility indicators
Eurobarometer
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have you worked abroad (including volunteering and traineeships) for at least three consecutive months? [yes, no]; - Have you attended school or studied abroad for at least half an academic year? [yes, no]; - Have you lived abroad for reasons other than study or work for at least three consecutive months? [yes, no].
Eucross
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1.5.1 In which year did you settle in CoR? [note date]; - 2.3 Why did you decide to settle in CoR? [work, education, quality of life, family/love]; - 2.4 Have you ever lived in another country for three or more consecutive months before you turned 18? [yes, no]; - 2.4.1 In which country or countries? [note country - multiple response]; - 2.4.2a When did you live in this country? [note period - multiple response]; - 2.4.2b In which of these countries have you lived the longest and when did you live there? [note country and period]; - 2.6 Have you lived in another country for three or more consecutive months since you turned 18? [yes, no]; - 2.6.1 In which country or countries? [note country - multiple response]; - 2.6.2a When did you live in this country? [note period - multiple response]; - 2.6.2b In which of these countries have you lived the longest and when did you live there? [note country and period]; - 2.6.3 Why did you move there? [work, education, quality of life, family/love].
Low permanence physical mobility indicators
Eurobarometer
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you regularly spend your holidays/weekends abroad? [yes, no].
Eucross
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2.5 Please think about all your journeys abroad before you turned 18 (e.g. with your parents, other relatives, school or alone). How many countries did you visit before you turned 18? [none, 1, 2, 3-5, 6-10, more than 10]; - 2.11 Please think of trips abroad which included at least one overnight stay. How many of these trips have you had in the past 24 months? [none, 1, 2, 3-5, 6-10, more than 10]; - 2.11.1 Which country or countries did you visit? [note country - multiple response]; - 2.11.2 Which were the main reasons for those trips? [vacations (including short and week-end trips etc.); to visit friends and/or relatives; other private reasons; professional reasons (e.g. business trips, conferences); education (e.g. language classes, internships); volunteering (e.g. doing unpaid work for an NGO)].
Personal virtual mobility indicators
Eurobarometer
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have you close relatives (brothers, sisters, children, parents) who live in a foreign country? [yes, no]; - Have you close friends who live in a foreign country? [yes, no]; - Have you close friends in their country who have moved here from abroad? [yes, no].
Eucross
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2.13 Please think about all family members, in-laws and friends you have who live in [CoR]. I would like to know how many are originally from other countries [A lot, a few, none]; - 2.14 Please think about all family members, in-laws and friends you have who live in [CoR]. I would like to know... How many are originally from your country of birth? [A lot, a few, none], And how many are from [CoR]? [A lot, a few, none], And how many are originally from other countries? [A lot, a few, none]; - 2.15 Please think about those family members, in-laws and friends who live in other countries... How many are originally from your country of birth and also live there? [A lot, a few, none]; How many are from your country of birth but live neither there nor in [CoR]? [A lot, a few, none]; In which country or countries are they living? [note country - multiple response]; - 2.16 Please think about the last 12 months: How frequently did you talk to family members, in-laws and friends abroad by phone or using your computer? [every day, at least once a week, at least once a month, less often, never]; - 2.17 And how frequently did you communicate with them by mail or e-mail? [every day, at least once a week, at least once a month, less often, never]; - 2.18 And how frequently via social networks? (e.g. Facebook, Hi5, Google+, etc.) [every day, at least once a week, at least once a month, less often, never];

- 2.23 Please think about all private and business related messages you received by e-mail and, if you use them, via social networking sites during the last 12 months. Approximately which percentage of them came from abroad (excluding spam and junk messages)? [note estimated percentage].

Impersonal virtual mobility indicators

Eurobarometer

- Have you own real property/properties in a foreign country? [yes, no];
- Do you regularly follow news, cultural life or sports from a foreign country? [yes, no];
- Do you regularly eat food at home that is typical of a foreign country? [yes, no];
- Are you fluent in at least one foreign language? [yes, no].

Eucross

- 2.25 Do you ever send money abroad for reasons other than purchasing goods or services? [yes, no];
- 2.25.1 How often? [at least once a month, at least once a year, less than once a year];
- 2.25.2 Who do you send money to? [to my partner, close relatives, other relatives, other persons, an own bank account];
- 2.26 In the last 12 months, have you received money from someone who is living in another country? If yes, could you tell me who from? [from my partner, close relatives, other relatives, other persons, no];
- 2.27 Do you or your partner own property in your country of residence or in another country? [yes in CoR, yes in another country, no];
- 2.27.1 And in which country is this property? [note country - multiple response];
- 2.28 Thinking about the last 12 months, have you purchased any goods or services from sellers or providers who were located abroad (that is, for example, via websites, mail, phone, etc.)? [yes, no];
- 2.28.1 In which countries were these sellers or providers located? [note country - multiple response];
- 4.6 In your work, how often did you interact with people (e.g. business partners, clients, colleagues) who are located in another country during the last 12 months? [every day, at least once a week, at least once a month, less often, never].

EUCROSS data analysis

Descriptive analyses: forms of mobility across countries³

The indicators of different mobility forms were first examined in order to map how nationals of the six countries engage in activities that cross national borders. While sketching the picture of European mobilities, we first present descriptive statistics of four forms of mobility across the countries and discuss their differences.

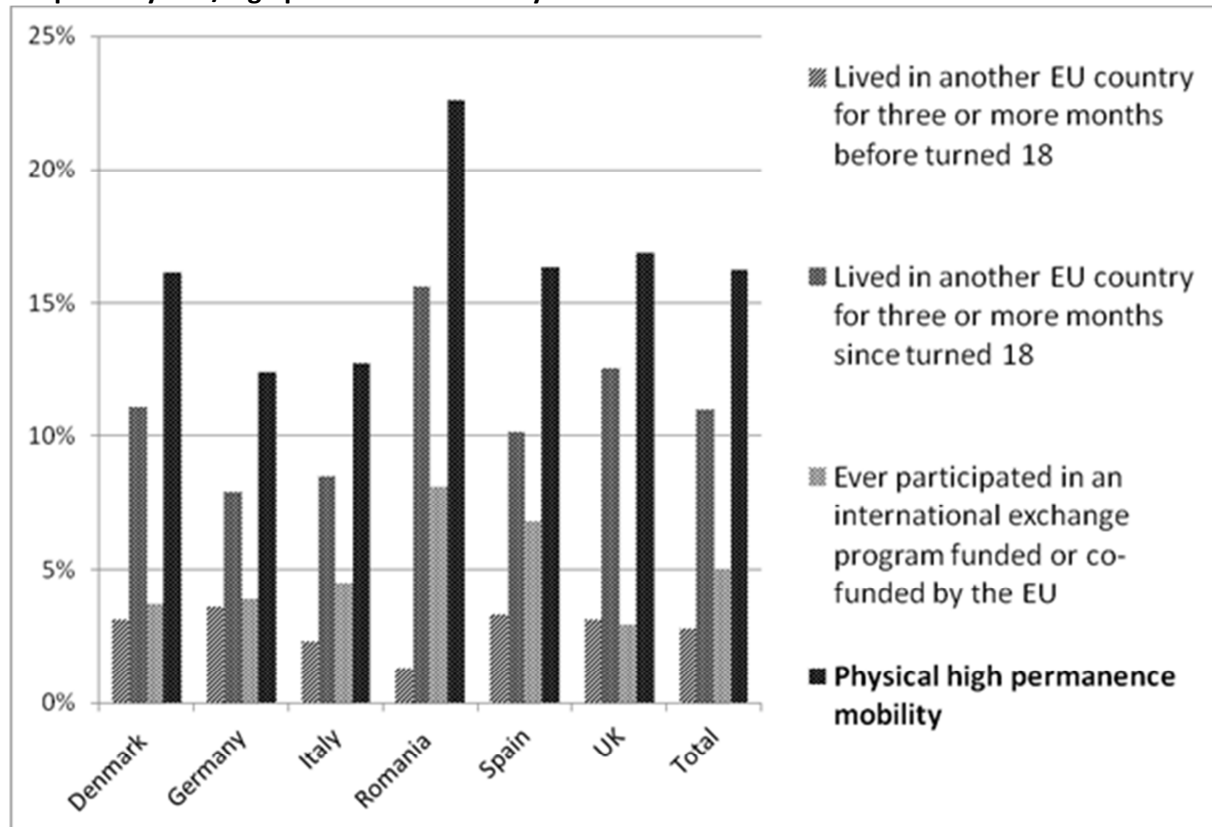
Physical/high permanence (migration-like) mobility within EU

Most respondents in the six countries surveyed did not have the experience of living in another EU country for three months or more before they turned 18. Just over one per cent of Romanians lived in another EU country as a minor, over two per cent of Italians and over three per cent of Danes, Germans, Spaniards and Brits. More respondents reported having lived in another EU country as adults: the percentages vary between around eight per cent in Germany and Italy and more than 15 per cent in Romania, reflecting the development of short term migrations from Romania in the recent two decades. The high share of migration experiences among Romanians reflects the Eurostat findings presented earlier, according to which Romania is the country with the highest migration outflows in the EU. EUCROSS also shows that popularity of international exchange programmes funded or co-funded by the EU is the highest in the new member state: in Romania, eight per cent of

³ Descriptive analyses are based on unweighted data.

respondents declare that they took part in it⁴. The programs were also relatively popular among Spanish nationals (almost seven per cent). Respondents from the UK were the least likely to participate (see Graph 1).

Graph 1 Physical/high permanence mobility



Source: EUCROSS (2012). N=5977

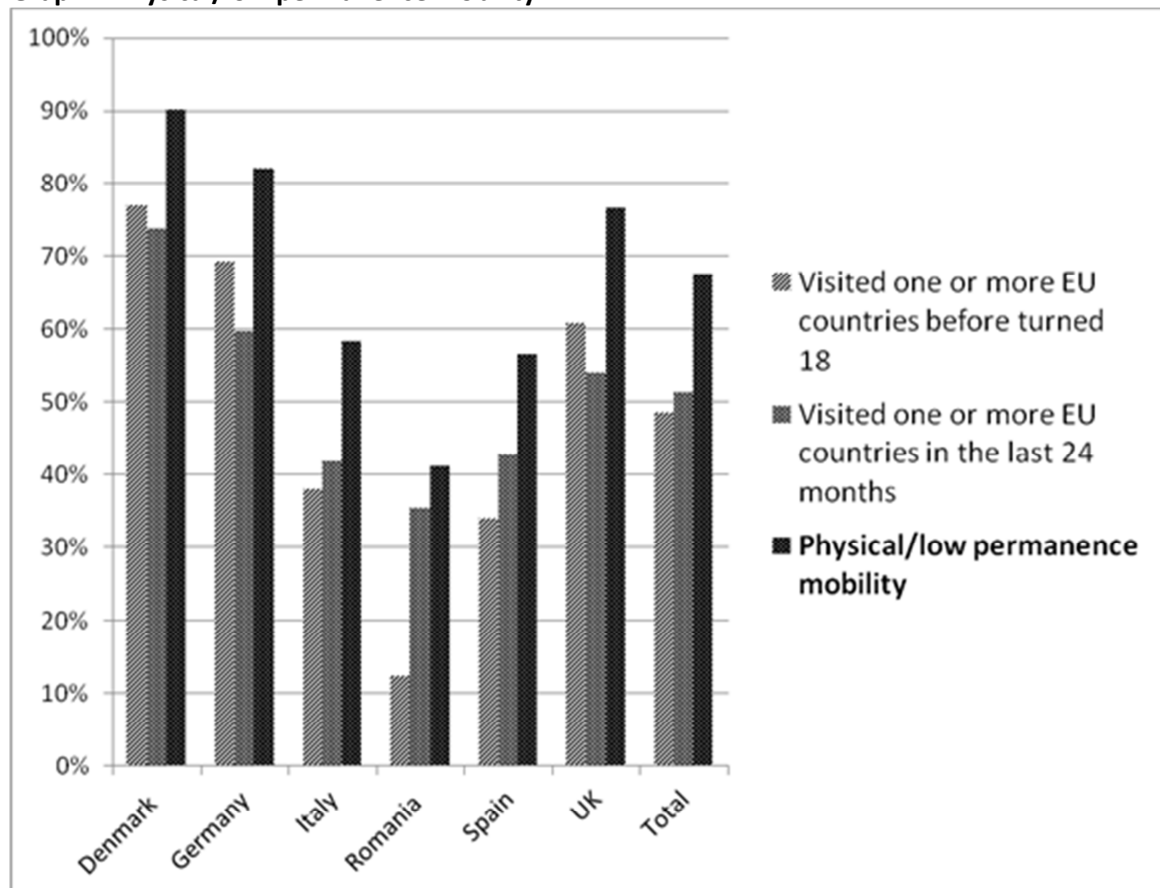
Even more interesting is a general picture of long term physical mobility in the six countries examined. Thus a new dichotomic variable is created which takes into account all of the long term physical mobility forms examined above. This variable takes the value of 1 for individuals who score 1 on at least one of the physical/high permanence variables analysed above. Migration is most often declared in Romania. Italians and Germans are the least likely to have migrated of all six groups. Overall, over 16 per cent of EUCROSS respondents declared an experience of long term-mobility, which compares with almost 18 per cent of EB respondents. The slight difference may be due to a combination of three factors: the selection of countries of EUCROSS, the fact that EB asked about any experience abroad, while our variable refers to EU countries only, or to sampling and time divergences. Overall, however, the findings look remarkably similar.

⁴ This share is even more impressive considering that Romanian students could participate in Erasmus exchanges from 1997 only, while all other nationalities were eligible from ten years earlier.

Physical/low permanence (tourism-like) mobility within EU

With regards to short term mobility, almost 80 per cent of Danes visited at least one EU country before they turned 18. This is the case for almost 70 per cent of Germans and 60 per cent of Britons. Possibly, in these countries, travels to the EU stand out as a form of a quasi-generalised pre-adulthood, if not emancipatory, event. The experience of short term mobility is much rarer in Italy or Spain, where the majority of respondents did not visit another EU country as children or adolescents. Only 12 per cent of Romanians travelled to the EU at all before turning 18 – a proportion which of course depends on both political and economic constraints that differentiate Romania from the other surveyed countries. Similarly, in the last two years, Danes were again most mobile within the EU with (74 per cent). Over half of respondents in Germany and the UK travelled within the EU in the last 24 months. Although nationals of Italy, Spain and Romania were least likely to travel abroad in the last two years, more respondents from these countries travelled in the last two years than as children/adolescents (Graph 2).

Graph 2 Physical/low permanence mobility



Source: EUCROSS (2012). N=5994

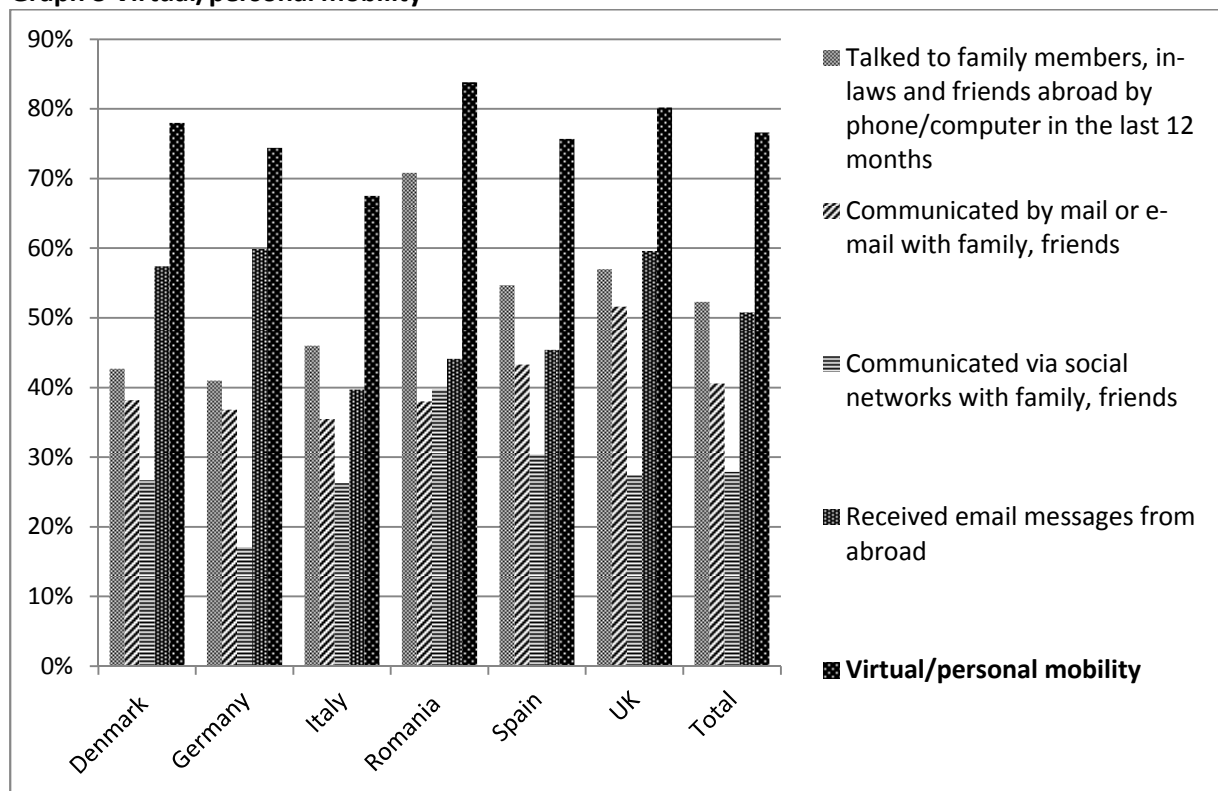
Unsurprisingly, the picture of low permanence physical mobility is very different from the high permanence one. This type of mobility involves a relatively lower share of Romanians. Oppositely, short trips within the EU are extremely common for Danes, Germans and Britons.

Virtual/personal mobility (facebook-like)

In Romania, seven out of ten respondents talked to relatives or friends abroad by phone/computer in the last 12 months. This mode of communication was also popular in the UK and Spain, with more than half of respondents declaring this method of contact with friends or relatives abroad. Email and mail communication was most often chosen by the respondents based in the UK. Social network sites, such as Facebook or Google+, were most popular in Romania, and least popular in Germany. Finally, emails from abroad were most often received by persons in the UK, Germany and Denmark (over half of the sample). According to EUCROSS, between 44 and 45 per cent of Romanians and Spaniards receive email messages from abroad, compared to less than 40 per cent of Italians.

When considering general engagement in different forms of virtual mobility, Italians seem least connected to people abroad via virtual links. Romanians are particularly well connected across borders through virtual personal contacts, perhaps due to growing ties with friends and family-migrants abroad, followed by Britons and Spaniards (Graph 3).

Graph 3 Virtual/personal mobility

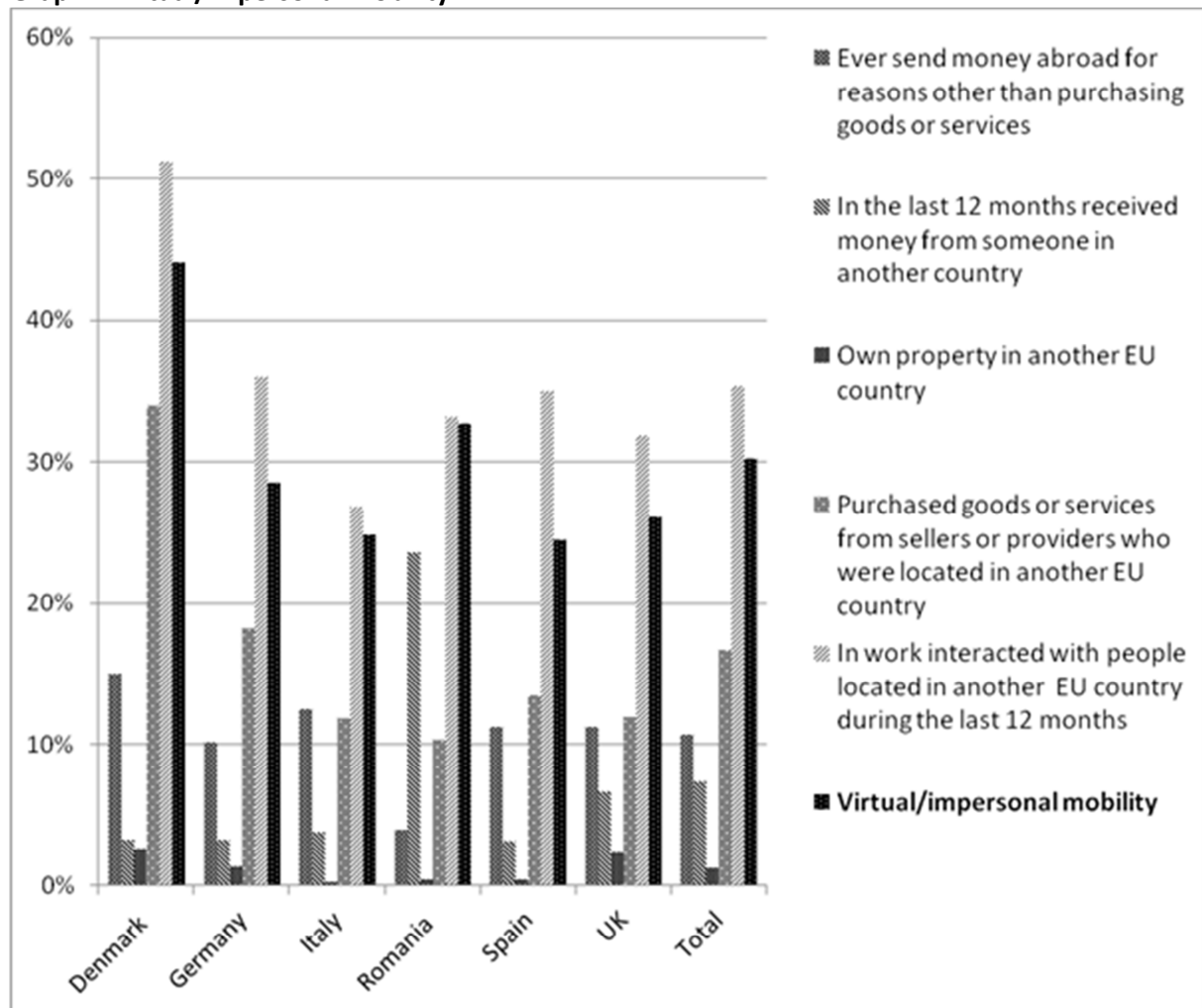


Source: EUCROSS (2012). N=5592

Virtual/impersonal mobility (eBay-like)

The spread of cross-border virtual relations is framed into macro-level differences that affect their feasibility. One of these is national income. Therefore, as might be expected, Romanian nationals are least likely to send money abroad for reasons other than purchasing goods or services. However, they are also most likely to receive money coming from someone in another country – basically, migrant remittances. Very small percentages of respondents own property in another EU country, and they are mostly Britons and Danes. Online shopping within the EU is used by one in three Danes, and almost two in five Germans, but the practice is less widespread in Italy, Romania, Spain and the UK. The Danish population has many more work interactions with people located in other EU countries than others. Italians are the least likely to have interacted with people located abroad for work reasons in the last 12 months (only a quarter of respondents). In the aggregated picture of virtual impersonal mobility, Danes are again much more mobile than the other examined groups (Graph 4).

Graph 4 Virtual/impersonal mobility



Source: EUCROSS (2012). N=5822

Multiple regression analyses

Our understanding of forms of mobility distinguishes between physical and virtual movement. In particular, quite against the sociological tradition, migration is treated as one of the high permanence mobility forms. Going beyond the interest in migrants' settlement and integration in host countries, we also track migrations of shorter duration (with a limit of at least three months).

Descriptive analyses, however, pointed to how traditional sociological themes of interest (like socioeconomic and cultural-cognitive characteristics, at both macro and micro level) are likely to matter for mobilities. The classification of mobilities allows us to examine similarities and differences between taking up migration spells, vacations, connecting to significant others abroad, and shopping online. In the following analysis, we propose to use traditional sociological lenses in order to understand how mobilities are shaped. To do so, we conduct a systematic investigation of how personal resources, cognitive skills, and national contexts affect different physical and virtual mobility forms.

We expect physical mobilities to be highly dependent on the cognitive and material resources individuals possess. Among physical mobilities, we can presume that some are taken up as a form of investment (migration-like mobilities) and others as a form of consumption (tourism-like mobilities). In the case of migration-like mobility, we expect individuals to engage in it as a form of investment to better their economic status. In particular, people with fewer resources may see international migration as a means to improve their socioeconomic standing. Tourism-like mobility, in turn, as a mostly consumption-oriented practice, requires material resources and thus should be chosen more often by persons of middle-upper class background.

While socioeconomic background is expected to facilitate or hamper access to physical mobilities (depending on the low and high permanence form), we hypothesise that access to virtual mobilities is more 'democratic', including both onerous (i.e., buying property) and cheap (i.e., talking through Skype) practices. As outlined earlier, virtual mobilities are in fact more likely related to cognitive skills and generational cultures, with younger cohorts more competent in making use of information and communication technologies (Duggan and Brenner 2013).

On the country level, modernisation and globalisation are expected to have an impact on short term international movements and social networks that cross national borders (Mau and Mewes 2012). In this analysis, particularly interesting is the difference in mobility patterns between EU15 countries and Romania, a newcomer to the free movement regime space.

This section looks in detail at the four dichotomic variables epitomising each of the mobility forms described in the previous section: physical/high permanence mobility, physical/low permanence mobility, virtual/personal mobility, virtual/impersonal mobility. Four binomial logistic regression models examine determinants of different forms of mobility, focusing on how individual factors and country characteristics affect varieties of mobility. Favell et al. (2011) summarise some of the literature describing how individual factors affect mobilities. The following analysis pinpoints a set of individual characteristics in our dataset. Independent variables include age, gender, educational level, ISEI socioeconomic status score of the respondent's job, and ISEI socioeconomic status score of the respondent's parent job (the highest among parents). Following Mau and Mewes (2012), country variables are investigated as well in order to control for differences on a macro level.

Table 7 Logit regression models with four mobility form dummies as dependent variables

Explanatory variables	Categories	High permanence physical mobility		Low permanence physical mobility		Personal virtual mobility		Impersonal virtual mobility	
		Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald	Exp(B)	Wald
Age group (ref 65+)	18-24	0.66	2.45	6.95 ***	53.41	5.24 ***	45.77	4.20 ***	53.02
	25-34	0.84	0.87	4.01 ***	64.17	5.39 ***	85.33	6.51 ***	153.44
	35-44	0.83	1.57	3.56 ***	74.00	3.04 ***	65.27	5.49 ***	174.80
	45-54	0.79	2.43	2.91 ***	61.57	2.68 ***	61.33	4.99 ***	172.75
	55-64	0.65 **	7.36	1.90 ***	22.39	1.61 ***	14.72	2.63 ***	61.29
Gender (ref male)	Female	0.86	2.45	0.75 **	10.46	0.88	2.28	0.63 ***	36.60
Education (ref less than higher secondary)	Higher secondary education (university entrance requirement)	1.44 *	6.06	1.53 ***	12.20	1.22	3.02	1.30 *	6.15
	Tertiary education	1.86 ***	18.45	1.71 ***	16.83	2.13 ***	37.77	1.42 **	10.58
ISEI		1.23	0.50	6.50 ***	50.28	3.69 ***	26.39	3.22 ***	27.01
Parental ISEI		3.14 ***	23.82	7.52 ***	68.57	1.43	2.60	1.89 ***	11.13
Country (ref Germany)	Denmark	1.51 *	5.92	2.14 ***	16.71	1.00	0.00	2.91 ***	64.25
	UK	1.18	1.01	0.73 *	3.94	1.69 ***	12.83	0.99	0.00
	Italy	1.22	1.35	0.26 ***	80.32	0.74 *	4.91	0.67 **	9.83
	Romania	2.10 ***	17.95	0.10 ***	201.37	1.22	1.55	0.94	0.18
	Spain	1.35	2.54	0.23 ***	85.02	0.92	0.28	0.78	3.27
Constant		0.07 ***	140.73	0.38 ***	24.34	0.40 ***	25.09	0.14 ***	126.41
Nagelkerke R Square			0.061		0.343		0.166		0.207

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Source: EUCROSS (2012). N=3348

At first glance, younger persons and males are more mobile in general, but this effect does not hold for migration-like mobility, for which the effect of gender is not significant and older respondents translate their higher age into a higher 'risk' of having long-term mobility experiences in their background. Furthermore, education is an important predictor of *all* cross-border activities types, with least educated persons being significantly the least mobile in any respect. Since we control for socioeconomic status, this may well mean that mobilities – in any of its declinations – require cognitive skills that are nurtured in the educational system. Equally, mobilities may be based on and reinforce cultural capital. In future analyses we may seek to disentangle these underlying rationales, distinguishing for instance language and geographic competences from 'distinction-like' motives as triggers of mobilities.

Economic resources matter for mobilities as well, with the SES of the respondent's job having a large effect on all forms of mobility except migration. While the effect on migration is in line with our expectations, our claim that virtual mobility is class-free does not stand the test. Similarly, family socioeconomic status has a large positive effect on all forms of mobility except facebook-like mobility. This particular type of mobility is thus more 'democratic', as expected, representing a cheap opportunity for cross-border activities regardless of parental origins – but still being more accessible for those who have higher education and belong to younger cohorts. Interestingly, in the case of tourism, the impact of parental SES is even bigger than one's occupational position.

When country level variables are examined, Romanian and Danish residents are more likely to have migrated than Germans. Probably with different trajectories and individual projects (to be examined in greater detail in further analyses), Danes are open to experiencing life abroad almost as much as Romanians, *ceteris paribus*. Their long-permanence mobility perhaps intertwines with more short-term travelling practices, which they also champion. All other national groups have sensibly lower propensities to short-term mobility. British nationals have the highest likelihood to engage in international social networks and Italians, the lowest. Finally, Danes have a much higher inclination to engage in virtual impersonal mobility than all other respondents, while Italians' experience with such practices is significantly the lowest.

The associations between pairs of dependent variables were also examined (analysis not shown). However, in all cases, the lambda coefficient was not statistically significantly different from zero. Small associations were found between some of the pairs at the country level⁵. This seems to go against Urry's (2007: 157 ff.) and Woolgar's (2002: 17 ff.) claims that spatial and virtual mobilities amplify one another. But of course, a more fine-grained examination of the interconnections among specific forms of mobilities (e.g., study abroad and facebook ties) is needed to further qualify this finding.

⁵ In Romania, low permanence physical mobility improves prediction of high permanence physical mobility (lambda =.109) and impersonal virtual mobility (lambda=.087). In Denmark, impersonal virtual mobility improves prediction of high permanence physical mobility (lambda =.066). In Italy, low permanence physical mobility improves prediction of personal virtual mobility (lambda=.194). Similarly, in Spain, low permanence physical mobility improves prediction of personal virtual mobility (lambda=.177).

Conclusions: mobilities and European citizenship

At the heart of European citizenship lies the right to mobility. Most noticeably, unrestricted geographical mobility across national borders, for both long- and short-permanence travels, which is a unicum of the EU in the worldwide regulation of individual movements (Recchi 2013). But perhaps less spectacularly, every citizen of EU member states also enjoys the liberty of communicating with people from any other country, navigating the web, buying goods, properties and services all over the EU, and shopping across the Union's frontiers. These 'options' are part and parcel of citizenship rights, enlarging the package of individual 'life-chances' remarkably (Dahrendorf 1988). However, we know little on how options turn into real practices. A sociological take on citizenship cannot stop at formal rights. Citizenship rights translate into a 'set of practices [...] which define a person as a competent member of society' (Turner 1993: 2). This reading of citizenship brings to the forefront not only individuals' *rights* of action, but also their actual '*capability* of doing things' (Giddens 1984: 9; emphasis added). Considering mobilities as critical rights implied in EU citizenship, in this first exploration of the EUCROSS data we have overviewed Europeans' exercise of their capabilities to move in both physical and virtual space.

Quite against conventional wisdom that EU citizens make modest use of their free movement rights and are rather immobile, we found that one in six Europeans of the EUCROSS sample have spent at least three months in another EU country in their lifetime. Moreover, 51 per cent have visited another EU member state, even if for a short vacation, in the last two years. Europeans cross borders in non-physical sense as well, when they connect online or on the phone with significant others who migrated or with friends they met during their physical trips (almost three quarter of our sample). Finally, Europeans increasingly engage in cross border transactions (almost one third of our sample), shopping online but also transferring money abroad.

Overall, this paper delves into the richness of European mobilities, furnishing a first outline of four basic modalities of international movements. While Eurobarometer data suggest national and individual differences to these mobilities, EUCROSS allows for further investigation of the impact of micro and macro factors on mobility practices. Interestingly, even in a free movement context, cross-border mobility remains selective, being conditioned by individual and country-level characteristics. Human capital is a mighty predictor of all forms of persons' mobilities, but socioeconomic status also makes a huge difference. Age is a significant factor as well, with younger cohorts more easily embracing different forms of movement (except migration-like practices, which net of education effects are in fact more common among senior respondents). The young are notoriously more skilled in the new technologies that shape the virtual world; their geographical mobility is in fact comparatively higher when it comes to low permanence travels – in a 'bite and go' interpretation of mobility.

Having said this, individual characteristics do not tell us the whole story about European mobilities. Broader national contexts from which people come are important for understanding differences, especially for comparing EU15 citizens with newcomers to the free movement regime. In general, Danes are most mobile when it comes to low permanence physical mobility and impersonal virtual moves. In turn, not surprisingly, Romanians have twice the odds of Germans of having migrated – even in the wider sense of migration as 'long-permanence mobility' that we used. This reverberates on being more strongly networked with other persons abroad than any other nationality examined.

While the four forms of mobilities are overall independent one from the other, articulating a diversity of cross-border experiences, in some particular instances they lend themselves to cumulation and self-reinforcement. Taking stock of the wealth and detail of EUCROSS data on diverse mobility experiences, future analysis is envisaged to shed light on the interactions between specific forms of mobility and possible 'mobility patterns' that characterize different clusters of Europeans.

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Appendix – Tables

Table 8 Movers flows in EU by group of citizenship, 2012

	from CoO (%)	in CoR (%)
Austria	0.6	
Belgium	1.0	4.5
Bulgaria	3.8	0.1
Cyprus	0	
Czech Republic	0.9	1.5
Denmark	0.8	1.3
Estonia	0.5	
Finland	1.1	0.7
France	4.6	
Germany	5.7	24.5
Greece	3.1	
Hungary	1.4	0.6
Ireland	4.0	3.7
Italy	8.8	14.3
Latvia	1.2	
Lithuania	2.6	
Luxembourg	0.2	
Malta	0	
Netherlands	3.5	3.0
Poland	16.6	0.2
Portugal	4.1	
Romania	23.0	0.1
Slovakia	2.3	0.5
Slovenia	0.3	0.1
Spain	2.0	22.7
Sweden	0.8	2.6
United Kingdom	7.3	19.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_pop1ctz)

Table 9 Social profile of Europeans on the move (gender)

	Male	Female	Total
Both migration-like and tourism-like movers	56.5	43.5	100.0
Migration-like movers only	57.3	42.7	100.0
Tourism-like movers only	49.5	50.5	100.0
Stayers	45.8	54.2	100.0

Source: Eurobarometer 73.3

Table 10 Social profile of Europeans on the move (age)

	15-24	25-39	40-54	55 or more	Total
Both migration-like and tourism-like movers	10.5	36.3	27.5	25.7	100.0
Migration-like movers only	9.6	30.8	26.6	33.1	100.0
Tourism-like movers only	16.1	24.6	28.5	30.8	100.0
Stayers	15.7	23.0	24.8	36.6	100.0

Source: Eurobarometer 73.3

Table 11 Social profile of Europeans on the move (education)

	High (finished education aged 20 or later)	Medium (finished education aged 16-19)	Low (finished education aged 15 or less)	Total
Both migration-like and tourism-like movers	53.7	34.0	12.3	100.0
Migration-like movers only	42.7	36.8	20.6	100.0
Tourism-like movers only	40.9	43.5	15.5	100.0
Stayers	28.6	42.8	28.6	100.0

Source: Eurobarometer EB73.3

Table 12 Social profile of Europeans on the move (social class)

	Upper class	Middle class	Working class	Total
Both migration-like and tourism-like movers	37.6	38.1	24.3	100.0
Migration-like movers only	27.4	38.6	34.0	100.0
Tourism-like movers only	30.3	46.0	23.7	100.0
Stayers	16.9	44.3	38.9	100.0

Source: Eurobarometer 73.3

Table 13 Movers in CoR 2012 (%)

	AT	BE	BG	CY	CZ	DK	EE	FI	FR	DE	EL	HU	IE	IT	LV	LT	LU	MT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SK	SI	ES	SE	UK	Total
Belgium	0.6		4.6	0.1	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.7	0.0	8.9	0.3	1.1	0.9	3.6	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.1	27.5	12.5	8.0	9.6	1.3	0.2	11.4	1.0	5.5	100.0
Bulgaria	2.3	1.5		1.1	3.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	3.7	10.9	16.2	1.5	0.8	6.1	0.7	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	9.4	0.5	4.7	1.9	0.4	1.9	0.8	29.5	100.0
Czech Republic	2.2	0.4	5.0	0.1		0.2	0.1	0.2	1.8	10.6	0.6	0.6	0.4	2.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	12.8	0.1	3.3	54.6	0.2	0.5	0.4	3.3	100.0
Denmark	1.0	0.7	3.1	0.0	0.7		0.9	1.8	4.2	17.1	0.9	1.7	1.1	3.9	3.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	19.0	1.0	7.3	0.8	0.2	3.1	10.2	11.6	100.0
Finland	0.6	0.5	1.6	0.1	0.6	1.0	51.6		2.6	5.8	0.9	2.3	0.7	2.6	1.8	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.4	0.6	2.3	0.4	0.1	2.2	12.9	5.6	100.0
Germany	0.8	1.0	4.1	0.0	1.9	0.9	0.3	0.7	5.1		12.0	3.2	0.4	21.1	0.9	1.4	0.6	0.0	5.8	20.5	4.9	7.0	1.4	0.9	0.5	0.8	3.9	100.0
Hungary	6.9	1.3	2.3	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.7	3.8	36.8	0.9		0.7	3.4	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1	2.0	4.7	0.4	12.4	13.6	0.4	1.3	1.8	4.4	100.0
Ireland	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.0	1.5	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	2.9	0.1	2.2		2.0	5.6	9.9	0.0	0.0		33.1	0.7	4.7	2.9	0.1	1.8	0.4	30.4	100.0
Italy	0.5	0.4	3.8	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1	2.4	3.0	0.1	0.6	0.2		0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.6	7.7	0.4	74.5	0.7	0.2	1.5	0.3	2.1	100.0
Netherlands	1.3	9.3	0.6	0.1	1.0	0.9	0.3	0.8	6.1	24.4	0.0	2.6	1.6	0.8	0.1	1.2	0.1	0.1		21.8	0.6	3.1	1.2	0.2	6.8	1.3	13.9	100.0
Poland	3.7	1.4	5.9	0.1	4.9	1.9	0.1	0.3	6.7	28.8	3.7	2.5	1.6	8.1	0.8	4.8	0.1	0.1	2.2		0.5	3.8	2.9	0.3	2.9	3.3	8.6	100.0
Romania	2.2	1.7	3.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.1	8.3	11.3	23.9	4.1	0.3	31.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.9	1.4	0.3		0.6	0.1	1.6	1.4	5.5	100.0
Slovakia	4.3	0.8	3.4	0.1	27.1	0.5	0.1	0.2	2.9	8.0	0.6	17.2	0.4	3.9	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6	12.8	0.3	10.6		0.4	1.1	0.5	3.4	100.0
Slovenia	6.9	1.0	24.8	0.0	2.7	0.4	0.3	0.5	3.1	13.6	0.3	2.8	0.7	16.2	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.6	3.2	0.4	4.2	7.2		1.2	1.1	6.7	100.0
Spain	0.5	1.5	7.7	0.0	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.5	5.3	8.1	0.2	0.4	0.8	8.4	0.2	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.4	5.9	38.0	0.4	0.1		1.0	16.3	100.0
Sweden	1.2	0.5	1.6	0.1	0.5	15.6	1.5	26.1	2.6	10.7	0.2	2.0	0.8	2.5	1.5	3.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	16.4	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.2	2.1		7.0	100.0
United Kingdom									7.3	6.1			18.0	6.2	3.3	6.9				35.2	5.4	4.8	3.2		3.7			100.0

Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_pop1ctz)

Table 14 Movers from CoO 2012 (%)

	AT	BE	BG	CY	CZ	DK	EE	FI	FR	DE	EL	HU	IE	IT	LV	LT	LU	MT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SK	SI	ES	SE	UK
Austria																			1.8								
Belgium	4.4		5.5	12.3	3.4	3.5	1.7	2.8	0	6.9	0.5	3.6	1.0	1.8	0.1	0.7	2.8	15.2	35.2	3.4	8.8	1.9	2.5	2.9	25.8	5.3	3.4
Bulgaria	0.4	0.2		4.0	0.4	0.1	0.1	0	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.1	0	0.1	0.1	0	0	0.3	0	0.1	0	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
Czech Republic	5.5	0.5	2.0	3.3		0.4	0.2	0.2	0.6	2.7	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.1	1.1	0.1	0.2	35.4	1.0	0.4	0.8	0.7
Denmark	2.1	0.9	1.1	1.4	0.9		2.3	2.1	1.2	3.8	0.4	1.6	0.4	0.6	3.2	3.0	0.2	2.1	0.2	1.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.8	2	16	2.1
Finland	0.7	0.3	0.3	1.5	0.4	0.8	67.4		0.4	0.7	0.2	1.1	0.1	0.2	1.0	0.4	0.1	0.6	0.3	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.7	10.4	0.5
Germany	31.6	25.5	26.6	35.8	49.9	26.3	12.2	15.6	26.8		94.9	57.4	2.7	58.5	17.3	13.2	87.2	19.9	40.4	30.3	29.1	7.4	14.9	72.8	6.1	24.5	13.3
Hungary	6.8	0.8	0.4	6.7	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.5	3.8	0.2		0.1	0.2	0.1	0	0.2	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	3.5	0.8	0.4	1.3	0.4
Ireland	1.2	1.0	0.5	2.8	5.9	0.9	0.5	0.8	0.2	1.9	0.2	5.9		0.8	17.2	14.3	0.2	6.7		7.4	0.6	0.8	4.7	0.6	3.3	2.0	15.6
Italy	11.6	6.3	14.7	6.8	6.8	0.3	2.2	1.7	7.3	7.4	0.2	5.8	0.8		0.2	1.9	2	32.4	2.3	6.7	1.4	46.5	4.1	11	10.6	4.5	4.1
Luxembourg																			1.1								
Malta																			0.1								
Netherlands	6.6	27.7	0.4	8.3	3.2	3.3	1.7	2.2	3.9	12.6	0	5.7	1.1	0.3	0.2	1.4	2.4	6.8		3.9	0.4	0.4	1.6	2.2	10.3	4.6	5.7
Poland	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.9	1.0	0.4	0	0	0.3	0.9	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1		0	0	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.2
Portugal																			1.9								
Romania	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.2	0	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Slovakia	3.8	0.4	0.5	1.2	15.7	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.1	6.7	0.1	0.2	0.1	0	0.1	0.7	0.1	0.4	0	0.2		0.8	0.3	0.3	0.3
Slovenia	0.7	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0.1	0	0.1	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0.2		0	0.1	0.1
Spain	18.0	34.8	46.3	7.5	10.3	14.9	3.6	11.4	25.8	32.1	1.5	7.1	4.5	21.7	3.5	8.9	4.3	9.8	14.2	0.5	32.5	37.5	3.7	4.5		29.1	50.8
Sweden	5.2	1.2	1.1	7.3	1.4	48.5	7.6	62.5	1.4	4.8	0.2	3.7	0.5	0.7	3.3	3	0.3	3.3	1.9	2.6	0.4	0	0.5	2.1	2.8		2.5
UK									31.2	21.1			88.5	14	53.4	52.6				42.0	26.1	4.1	28		36.9		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_pop1ctz)

Table 15 Movers in CoR (difference years 2012-2008) (%)

	AT	BE	BG	CY	CZ	DK	EE	FI	FR	DE	EL	HU	IE	IT	LV	LT	LU	MT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SK	SI	ES	SE	UK	CoR difference
Belgium	0.2		3.5	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.2	-21.6	8.3	-2.2	0.6	0.3	-24.4	-0.1	0.2	0	0.1	7.1	7.4	3.1	9.3	0.8	0.1	4.3	0.3	1.3	-3.5
Bulgaria	1.4	1.1		-2.7	-1.9	0.3	0.4	0.2	1.5	2.3	-28.4	-0.9	0.7	2.8	0.3	0.3	0.1	0	-0.3	-5.9	0.4	-0.4	-0.4	0.1	1.3	0.2	27.6	0
Czech Republic	-0.8	0	0.5	0		-0.1	0	0	1.6	10.5	-0.1	0.1	0	-0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0	-5.6	0	0.4	-6	0	0.1	-0.1	-0.5	0
Denmark	1.0	-0.2	2.1	0	0		-0.1	-0.9	-1.3	-4.8	-0.1	0.5	0.9	3.4	1.1	1.7	0	0	-0.2	2.2	-0.1	4.4	0.2	0	-0.5	-4.5	-5	0.2
Finland	-0.2	0	0.6	0	0	-0.3	9.2		-0.3	-1.2	0	0.4	0	-0.2	0.5	0.3	0	0	-0.6	-2.7	0	0.4	0	0	0	-4.8	-1.1	0.1
Germany	-6.8	0	2.1	0	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5		-0.6	0.8	0	-1.6	0.5	0.6	0.2	0	0.2	4.1	0	3.4	0.4	0	-4.1	0.1	-0.3	-8.7
Hungary	4.3	0.9	1.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	2.3	22.5	0.5		0.5	2.2	0.2	0.1	0	0.1	0.8	2.1	0.3	-53.0	8.7	0.3	1.1	1.1	2.3	-0.7
Italy	-0.2	-0.2	0.2	0	-0.2	-0.2	0	-0.1	-0.9	-1.3	-0.7	0	-0.1		-0.2	0	0	0	-0.3	-2.0	-0.1	7.6	-0.1	-0.1	-0.4	-0.1	-0.7	2
Netherlands	-0.3	8.2	-2.2	0	0.9	-0.2	0.1	0.7	-0.4	-2.5	-3	1.3	1.6	-7.4	-0.1	0.6	0	0		10.5	-5.0	1.0	0.3	0	-0.3	-0.1	-3.5	-0.1
Poland	2.5	0.7	1.2	0	2.1	0	0	-0.3	4.0	-24.3	-1.8	0.5	1.4	5.8	0.6	2.8	0.1	0.1	0.4		0.4	2.8	1.8	0.2	2.3	-9.2	5.9	-0.1
Romania	0.2	0.3	-0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0	-0.3	-0.3	-2.3	-0.3	0	2.1	0	0	0.1	0	-0.3	0.4	0		0.2	0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0
Slovakia	-1.6	-0.1	-0.6	0	3.1	-0.3	0	-0.1	2.4	-3.6	-0.1	6.3	-0.1	0	0.2	0	0	0	-0.7	-3.3	0	-1.5		-0.1	0	-0.1	-0.4	0.2
Slovenia	-0.3	0.1	5.8	0	-0.2	0	0.2	0	-1.1	-1.6	0.1	-0.3	0.3	3.0	0.1	-0.2	0	-0.1	-0.7	-0.9	0.1	-1.3	-3.9		0.2	-0.2	0.5	0
Spain	0	-0.1	0.4	0	0	-0.1	0	0	-0.1	-0.5	0	0.1	0.1	0.9	0.1	0	0	0	-0.1	-3.3	-0.1	3.2	0	0.1		-0.1	-0.5	-5.2
Sweden	0	0.1	0.8	0	0.1	-0.4	0.3	-7.2	0.2	0.4	-1.6	0.7	0.1	0.4	0.8	1.5	0	0	-0.2	4.4	0.1	-1.4	0.2	0	0.4		0.5	-0.6

Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_pop1ctz)

Table 16 Movers from CoO (difference years 2012-2008) (%)

	AT	BE	BG	CY	CZ	DK	EE	FI	FR	DE	EL	HU	IE	IT	LV	LT	LU	MT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SK	SI	ES	SE	UK
Belgium	3.3		3.1	2.4	0.4	3.1	-0.1	0.2	-29.1	6.1	-3.7	0.9	-7.9	-15.6	-3.1	-0.9	-0.5	3.6	-0.7	-0.9	0.9	1.8	0.3	1.4	6.8	0.1	0.0
Bulgaria	0.4	0.2		-1.9	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
Czech Republic	4.0	-0.1	0.2	0.9		0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.7	0.1	0.1	-0.9	0.1	-0.3	-0.4	-0.1	-0.3	0.0	-1.8	0.1	0.0	-13.9	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1
Denmark	2.1	-0.1	0.8	0.2	0.1		-0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.6	-3.9	-2.7	0.0	0.4	0.0	-0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.7	1.6	0.3
Finland	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	6.1		0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3	-0.8	0.1	-1.8	-0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.1
Germany	-52.7	-7.5	8.5	-4.8	-1.8	1.8	-1.2	3.4	1.0		8.2	1.6	-25.2	-0.3	-32.7	-21.4	5.8	-0.3	-0.7	-27.5	-3.4	1.6	-4.0	11.0	-44.9	2.2	-0.9
Hungary	5.7	0.3	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.9	0.1		-0.5	0.1	-0.1	-0.1	0.1	0.8	0.0	-0.2	0.1	-3.9	-0.1	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.1
Italy	8.7	-1.4	2.7	-0.4	-1.0	-2.3	0.0	0.2	0.4	-0.6	-1.7	0.7	-6.3		-7.1	-3.0	-0.4	-4.5	-0.1	-5.9	0.1	6.6	-1.3	2.4	2.9	0.4	0.5
Netherlands	5.0	24.2	-1.9	3.2	2.9	0.1	0.6	2.0	0.5	0.2	-1.9	3.0	1.0	-1.7	-2.4	-1.0	0.1	0.8		0.2	-3.0	0.1	0.0	1.1	2.9	0.7	0.3
Poland	1.0	0.1	-0.1	0.3	0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	0.2	-1.5	-0.1	-0.1	0.0	0.1	-0.1	-0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	-2.6	0.1
Romania	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Slovakia	3.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	7.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	4.2	-0.2	0.1	-0.1	-0.1	0.1	0.3	0.0	-0.2	0.0	0.0		0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2
Slovenia	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.1		0.0	0.0	0.1
Spain	13.7	-10.4	-9.3	-0.1	-1.1	0.1	0.0	1.9	0.6	-4.0	0.4	1.0	-35.4	5.3	-8.3	-25.8	-0.2	1.3	-0.2	-10.5	-1.3	-9.3	-1.7	1.6		2.5	3.1
Sweden	3.9	-0.1	0.4	0.7	0.2	1.9	-1.0	-6.2	0.1	-0.1	-1.0	0.8	-3.7	0.2	-4.5	-2.9	0.1	0.5	-0.1	-1.4	0.0	-0.3	-0.1	0.5	1.0		0.4
CoO difference	0.6	0.5	1.1	0	-2	0.5	0.4	0.7	4.4	-36.6	2.2	-5.4	3.7	4.1	1.1	2.4	0	0	1.3	4.1	4.1	13.2	-3.2	-2.2	1.1	-0.2	4.6

Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_pop1ctz)

Table 17 Transnational practices by main citizenship group, 2010 (%)

	Worked abroad (%)	Studied abroad (%)	Lived abroad (%)	Holiday abroad (%)
<i>EU-27</i>	12.7	7.6	10.4	21.9
Austria	17.2	8.1	11.5	43.4
Belgium	10.7	9.4	11.8	47.7
Bulgaria	9.9	1.4	3.4	0.7
Cyprus	17.5	20.8	15.3	8.9
Czech Republic	6.2	2.7	2.9	15.4
Denmark	21.9	12.0	17.2	39.1
Estonia	12.5	7.3	10.7	8.6
Finland	14.4	9.9	12.9	12.6
France	13.5	6.7	12.1	21.6
Germany	13.0	7.9	11.1	38.0
Greece	11.7	9.2	9.3	4.3
Hungary	8.8	2.8	4.3	2.5
Ireland	26.8	15.0	17.6	29.3
Italy	7.2	3.5	5.1	9.8
Latvia	10.9	2.6	8.7	3.9
Lithuania	14.4	3.2	7.3	7.6
Luxembourg	26.9	46.0	34.4	78.4
Malta	11.2	5.4	10.0	20.1
Netherlands	17.7	12.3	14.6	51.5
Poland	10.0	1.7	4.2	4.6
Portugal	13.3	4.7	6.8	6.1
Romania	8.3	1.0	4.6	5.0
Slovakia	14.9	3.3	5.3	22.2
Slovenia	11.4	8.7	10.2	45.3
Spain	14.8	13.9	16.5	13.2
Sweden	23.0	15.9	19.5	25.6
United Kingdom	15.4	12.6	14.8	33.2

Source: Eurobarometer EB73.3

Table 18 Transnational practices by main citizenship group, 2010 (%)

	Relatives abroad	Friends abroad	Friends from abroad	Partner from abroad
<i>EU-27</i>	27.3	39.7	29.1	8.2
Austria	25.4	39.3	39.6	10.5
Belgium	25.8	41.8	33.3	13.1
Bulgaria	28.9	50.7	10.4	1.1
Cyprus	54.5	57.2	39.4	10.0
Czech Rep	15.1	32.9	18.5	2.6
Denmark	25.5	45.3	41.6	6.9
Estonia	37.2	53.4	17.7	11.7
Finland	30.7	43.1	27.5	4.9
France	21.5	37.6	34.1	13.4
Germany	27.9	37.5	37.1	10.8
Greece	28.7	34.3	24.8	4.2
Hungary	17.3	25.2	16.7	3.3
Ireland	59.3	67.8	42.5	11.5
Italy	11.5	22.6	16.5	4.2
Latvia	42.8	61.5	16.5	10.8
Lithuania	46.6	59.0	15.1	4.0
Luxembourg	60.2	72.4	69.1	32.7
Malta	66.2	53.3	31.7	6.8
Netherlands	26.8	51.1	36.7	8.4
Poland	32.9	49.3	10.9	1.9
Portugal	45.2	49.3	29.6	5.0
Romania	36.7	43.4	14.1	3.6
Slovakia	31.5	51.8	22.4	2.6
Slovenia	38.1	50.3	41.6	5.5
Spain	26.7	37.4	40.5	12.8
Sweden	28.6	55.7	57.1	17.3
United Kingdom	36.8	45.0	33.1	8.2

Source: Eurobarometer EB73.3