

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

# CANDIDATE COUNTRIES EUROBAROMETER

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE COUNTRIES APPLYING FOR  
EUROPEAN UNION MEMBERSHIP

Report Number 2002.2

BY THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, HUNGARY

**Release: December 2002**

**Fieldwork: September -  
October 2002**

Directorate-General Press and Communication  
Rue de la Loi 200 (BREY 7/150)  
B - 1049 Brussels

Telephone: (32.2) 299.30.85  
Fax: (32.2) 296.17.49  
E-mail: [eurobarometer@cec.eu.int](mailto:eurobarometer@cec.eu.int)

Internet: [http://europa.eu.int/comm/public\\_opinion](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion)

Reproduction is authorized, except for commercial purposes, provided the source is acknowledged.

## Introducing the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer

The European Commission launched a new series of surveys on the model of the Standard Eurobarometer in the countries that are applying for European Union membership. This new tool's function is to gather information from the societies that are to become members of the European Union in a way that is fully comparable with the Standard Eurobarometer. Using this tool, the Commission is able to provide decision makers and the European public with opinion data that helps them understand similarities and differences between the EU and the Candidate Countries. The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer (CC-EB) continuously tracks support for EU membership, and the change of attitudes related to European issues in the Candidate Countries.

The present report covers the results of the first wave of surveys conducted in September 2002 in the 13 Candidate Countries: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Turkey.

An identical set of questions was asked of representative samples of the population aged fifteen years and over in each Candidate Country. The regular sample in Candidate Countries Eurobarometer surveys is 1000 people per country, except for Cyprus and Malta (500). The achieved sample sizes of the 2002.2 wave are:

Bulgaria	1,000	Latvia	1,000	Slovakia	1,123
Cyprus	500	Lithuania	1,008	Slovenia	1,000
Czech Rep.	1,000	Malta	500	Turkey	1,000
Estonia	1,000	Poland	1,000		
Hungary	1,015	Romania	1,001	Total	12,147

In each of the 13 Candidate Countries, the survey is carried out by national institutes associated with and coordinated by The Gallup Organization, Hungary. This network of institutes was selected by tender. All institutes are members of the "European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research" (ESOMAR), and comply with its standards.

The figures shown in this report for each of the Candidate Countries are weighted by sex, age, region, size of locality, education level, and marital status. The figures given for the Candidate Region as a whole (CC-13) are weighted on the basis of the adult population in each country.

Due to the rounding of figures in certain cases, the total percentage in a table does not always add up to 100%, but a number very close to it (e.g. 99 or 101). When questions allow for several responses, percentages often add up to more than 100%. Percentages shown in the graphics may display a difference of 1% compared to the tables because of the way previously rounded percentages are added.

### Types of Surveys in the Eurobarometer Series

The European Commission (Directorate-General Press and Communication) organizes general public opinion, specific target group, as well as qualitative (group discussion, in-depth interview) surveys in all Member States and, occasionally, in third countries. There are four different types of polls available:

- Traditional standard Eurobarometer surveys with reports published twice a year.
- Telephone Flash EB, also used for special target group surveys (e.g. Top Decision Makers).
- Qualitative research ("focus groups"; in-depth interviews).
- Candidate Countries Eurobarometer (replacing the Central and Eastern EB).

The face-to-face general public standard Eurobarometer surveys, the EB Candidate Countries surveys, the telephone Flash EB polls, and qualitative research serve primarily to carry out surveys for the different Directorates General and comparable special services of the Commission on their behalf and on their account.

**The Eurobarometer Website address is:**  
[http://europa.eu.int/comm/public\\_opinion](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion)

## Key Findings

This Candidate Countries Eurobarometer report presents an analysis of public opinion towards the European Union in the 13 Candidate Countries during the autumn of the year 2002. The key findings follow.

### **Eurobarometer found a bright but blurred image of the European Union. Support for membership in the Candidate Countries remains high — but it is far from an informed consent.**

Six people in 10 (61%) in the Candidate Countries now feel EU membership would be a 'good thing' for their country. But the overwhelming majority claim to be poorly informed about the accession of their own country to the European Union (70%).

- Eurobarometer found no significant change in support over the past six months (+1) or the past one year (+2) on the CC-13 level. While one can see stability in support for EU membership both on CC-13 and Laeken-10<sup>1</sup> level, the proportion of those with explicitly negative opinions is decreasing. Especially so in the Laeken-10 countries, where the proportion saying that EU membership is a 'bad thing' has shrunk to about one-third of the value that the Eurobarometer measured one year ago (10%, -18). In the 10 countries invited to join, possibly as soon as in 2004, the support levels are stable, around the 50% mark (52%, +1).
- Eight in 10 respondents (78%) in Romania think that membership to the European Union would be a good thing. Almost 7 in 10 in Bulgaria (68%), and about two-third of the citizens of Hungary (67%) and Turkey (65%) share this opinion.
- Over the past half year, support levels have increased the most in Malta (+7, 45%), Lithuania (+5, 48%), and Bulgaria (+4, 68%). Over the same period, we saw decreasing support in (Republic of) Cyprus (-6, 47%), Slovakia (-3, 58%), and Estonia (-3, 32%). In the other countries, support levels did not change significantly since March 2002.
- The highest proportion of those who think membership would be a 'bad thing' is in Malta, where 25% of the citizens share this opinion. But the dominant opinion in the countries where support is not overwhelming is uncertainty: 42% of Estonians, 37% of Slovenians, and 34% of those living in the Republic of Cyprus do not have a clear opinion in this question.
- 44% of citizens living in the Candidate Region think they have little knowledge about the European Union, and less than 1 in 10 people (8%) believe they are knowledgeable in EU matters. Every seventh respondent (14%) claimed not to know anything at all about the Union.
- In those 10 countries, where the public might face a real decision over the course of the next 12 months, 8% has the perception that they know much about the EU, and 38% rate their knowledge as low. In the Laeken-10 countries, 7% even claim they know nothing about the European Union. In this group, the Maltese and the Slovenes stand out as the citizens with the highest level of information.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Laeken Summit in 2001 concluded that up to 10 countries may join in 2004 if the pace of the accession negotiations were to be maintained. The Seville Summit in June 2002 listed the 10 possible new members as: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

- Those who claim they are well informed about the European Union are significantly more likely to support the membership of their country. Not having a clear opinion whether membership would be a good or a bad thing is more than three times as likely among those who claim to be poorly informed (31%), compared to the well informed citizens (9%).
- The citizens of the Candidate Countries are very poorly informed about the basic facts of the European Union. Only 61% of the people in the Candidate Countries would recognize the European flag. Further questions in a trivia quiz revealed that there is a high level of EU illiteracy persisting even in countries that are usually considered as the most prepared for accession. One-third of the citizens of the Laeken-10 countries fell to the trick question, and confirmed that the president of EU is elected by the citizens. More than half (56%) said that the flag has 15 stars. Some of the countries in the Laeken-10 group might take part in European Parliament (EP) elections as soon as 2004, but 52% of the public in these countries do not know if the members of EP are elected directly, and 16% mistakenly believe that they are not. Twenty percent of the Czech and Slovenes, and 24% of Hungarians, believe that EP members are not elected by the citizens.
- More than twice as many citizens in the Candidate Region claim to be poorly informed about the accession of their own country to the European Union (70%) as are satisfied with their level of information in this respect (28%). People who feel well or very well informed (W) about their country's accession process are in the minority everywhere but Slovenia (W: 58; not, or not well informed (N): 40). In Malta the two groups are equal, both account for 48% of the citizens. In other countries, being informed is rather the exception than the rule, only 30% of the Candidate Region, and 33% of the Laeken-10 citizens, feel well informed. The Estonians (W: 20%, N: 77%) and the Turkish (W: 20%, N: 77%) are the most likely to claim that they are not well informed about the accession process of their country.

**Low turnout rates — rather than strong EU scepticism — can threaten the success of referendums about EU membership across the Candidate Region.**

In the Candidate Countries, seven in 10 teenagers and adults (69%) would vote for their country's European Union Membership, if a referendum were to be held in this issue, which is up three percentage points since spring. However, a strikingly high proportion is not very likely to show up at the ballots.

- Two-thirds (69%, +3) of the citizens in the Candidate Countries declare that they would support their country's membership to the EU with their votes if a referendum were to be held in this issue. In the Laeken-10 countries, the proportion of those who would vote for the accession also grew, compared to the level detected in spring 2002 (61%, +4). And now fewer, one in five people (17%), would cast a vote against accession, thereby actively opposing the membership of his or her country (-2). It remains a question whether the significant proportion of undecided voters (17% without intention to vote or opinion in CC-13, and 22% in Laeken-10 group) indicates a lack of interest in the issue, or if it indicates a latent opposition to EU membership.
- Proportion of 'pro' votes range from 84% in Romania and 77% in Hungary to 39% in Estonia, 45% in Latvia, and 47% in Malta. These proportions improved the most in Poland (+8), Slovenia (+6), and Malta (+5). Support shrank by seven percentage points in Cyprus, and the low Estonian number reflects a decrease of five percentage points as well.
- Just a bit more than half (54%) of the citizens in the Laeken-10 group think that they are likely to participate on the EU referendum, and only a third (33%) say they would definitely vote. The turnouts would be closer to the second figure, if referendums

would be held right now. The proportion of those who say they will definitely participate in the Laeken-10 group ranges from 53% in Malta, 52% in Hungary, and 48% in Slovenia, to only 21% in Estonia, 28% in the Czech Republic, and 31% in Cyprus.

- In each Candidate Country, those who would support their country's EU membership on a referendum outnumber those who would oppose it by a convincing margin. The table below shows that supporters are currently much more mobilized to cast their ballots than are EU sceptics, which further strengthens the position of the 'for' throughout the region.

**Likelihood of Participation, and Voting Intention on EU  
Referendum  
(CC-13 level)**

WOULD CAST A VOTE	LIKELIHOOD OF PARTICIPATION ON EU REFERENDUM		
	Low (score 1-3)	Medium (score 4- 7)	High (score 8-10)
For	19%	65%	89%
Against	42%	16%	8%
Undecided, wouldn't participate	39%	19%	3%
<i>Total</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>

**Accession to the European Union is perceived as a golden opportunity for the country and its future generations, but many citizens are sceptical about the direct personal benefits of membership.**

Proven by the high level of general support and the widely shared belief that Candidate Countries could benefit from European Union membership (CC-13: 67%, LAEKEN-10: 60%), people have little doubt that there is something good about the accession to the EU. But in the Laeken-10 group, almost as many people believe they would not get any benefits from the membership (37%) as expect to benefit from it (41%).

- Two-thirds (67%) of the citizens in the Candidate Countries believe that their country would benefit from membership to the EU — this is up four percentage points since March. This proportion has increased even more in the Laeken-10 group since spring, now reaching 60% (+6). The opinion that their country could benefit from EU membership is shared by 78% of Romanians, 76% of Hungarians, and 73% of Turkish. On the other hand only 41% are optimistic in Estonia, 45% in Latvia, and 48% in the Czech Republic. Despite this wide variation, there is no country in the Candidate Region in which the majority claims that their country would not benefit from the accession.
- The highest increases in optimistic responses were recorded in Poland (+8), Latvia, and Lithuania (+6 both) In Cyprus (-5) and Estonia (-2), fewer people now than in March think that their country could benefit from EU membership.
- We see a completely different picture if we ask people about their expectation of personal benefits brought by their country's EU membership. In the Laeken-10 group, only three countries have an optimistic majority — Hungary (expect benefits (B): 48%, does not expect benefits (N): 31%), Slovakia (B: 44%, N: 34%), and Lithuania (B: 40%, N: 20%, with 38% do not know what to expect. In Poland (B: 40%, N: 39%) and Malta (B: 40%, N: 36%) the personally optimistic and pessimistic groups are about the same size. And finally, we have five countries where the number of people who think that they will not benefit from membership outnumber the optimistic citizens: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Latvia, Slovenia, and Estonia.

- Still, among those who do not think they would benefit from the accession, 34% in the Laeken-10 countries, and 36% in the whole Candidate Region, would vote for the EU membership of their country, even if they do not expect personal advantages from it.

**Despite the speed-up in the accession process, the citizens in the Candidate Countries desire even faster enlargement.**

- In Turkey, 27% characterize their country's accession process as 'standing still', while 22% of the Maltese told us that their process of accession is 'running as fast as possible'. On average, the region's citizens rated the speed of their countries' accession process at 3.53 on a 7-point scale, a bit faster than they thought it was a year ago (3.23). But the desired speed increased even more, from 5.22 in autumn 2001 to 5.87 now. The pattern of desiring a shift into higher gears when negotiations seem to speed up persists throughout the Candidate Region.
- The gap between the speed at which the accession process is perceived to be progressing and the speed at which people desire it to progress varies significantly from country to country. In most countries citizens would like to see their country's accession process to be faster than the perceived current speed, with the largest positive net difference found in Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria, and Poland. The Maltese and Estonians think that the process has been over-accelerated, and they want a speed that would be slower than the current one. Latvia and Slovenia are the countries where the perceived speed matches the desired speed.

**The European Union retains relatively high trust levels in the Candidate Countries, but many citizens lack an opinion.**

- Overall trust level has not changed since autumn 2001; 59% of people living in Candidate Countries trust the European Union. In the Laeken-10 group, the average trust level is not dramatically different from the larger region (57%).
- Trust levels range from 76% in Hungary, 75% in Romania, and 65% in Bulgaria to 43% in Estonia, 46% in Latvia, and 50% in Malta. 29% of Lithuanians, 28% of Czechs, and 24% of Poles can't tell if they trust the EU or not, and on average 22% of the Laeken-10 citizens have trouble formulating an opinion in this question.

**Candidate Countries support a European Constitution and the Euro, but are divided about whether the enlarged Union should keep veto power for the Member States.**

- Sixty-five percent of the citizens in the Candidate Countries believe that the European Union should have a constitution. There is no country among the 13 in which the proportion of opponents would reach one-fifth of the population, but approximately half of the Lithuanians and 40% of the Czech and Bulgarian citizens have no opinion on that subject.
- Except for Turkey, citizens across the Candidate Region are attracted to the Euro. In the whole region, 59% are in favour of changing their currency to Euro once their country joins the EU, 28% oppose such a change, and 13% are undecided on this subject. The highest level of support for the Euro that we have found is in Slovenia, where the local currency is just a little more than a decade old (84%). In each country in the Laeken group, the majority support the change to Euro. The opponents are the majority in Turkey (50%), and are strong in Estonia (37%) and Malta (35%).

- Finally, there is no agreement in the Candidate Region about whether the enlarged European Union should keep its decision-making mechanism that is based on unanimous vote of all Member States, or if it should switch to decision-making based on majority vote. On average, 39% of the citizens in the Candidate Region prefer to keep unanimous vote and reserve their country's future right to veto (V), and 44% say that a system based on majority vote would better serve its purpose (M). In the Laeken group, the citizens lean more towards replacing the unanimous voting system (V: 34%, M: 49%). Some countries clearly support the majority vote system, most notably Hungary (V: 28%, M: 56%) and the Czech Republic (V: 22%, M: 49%), and to a lesser extent Cyprus, Poland, and Slovakia. On the other hand, Romanians (V: 51%, M: 28%) and Maltese (V: 50%, M: 29%) are keen supporters of unanimous decision-making, accompanied by the Slovenian citizens who also prefer to keep the situation in which even the smallest Member States can exercise their right to veto.

# REPORT



## Table of contents

Introducing the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer .....	2
Key Findings .....	3
Table of contents .....	9
Introduction .....	12
1. Life in the Candidate Countries .....	13
1.1 Commodities .....	13
1.2 Life Satisfaction .....	14
Current life satisfaction .....	14
Life satisfaction compared with five years ago .....	17
Life satisfaction over the next five years .....	19
Dynamics of change in subjective well-being .....	21
1.3 People's expectations for the year 2003 .....	22
Personal situation .....	23
Economic situation in the country .....	24
Financial situation of the household .....	25
Employment situation in the country .....	26
Personal job situation .....	26
1.4 Trust in institutions .....	28
Trust in political institutions .....	28
Satisfaction with how democracy works .....	30
Trust in other social institutions .....	31
1.5 Media use .....	34
News viewership on television .....	34
News readership of daily newspapers .....	34
News listenership on the radio .....	35
Trust in the media .....	36
1.6 Access to modern information technology .....	37
2. Attachment to nationality and identification with Europe .....	38
2.1 National pride .....	39
2.2 European pride .....	40
3. Contact with other countries, cultures .....	41
3.1 Languages .....	41
Knowledge of foreign languages .....	41
Which foreign languages are the most useful to know? .....	43
3.2 Contacts with foreign countries .....	43
3.3 Tolerance towards other people .....	46
Are people of other races, nationalities, religions disturbing? .....	46
Are there too many foreigners in the country? .....	48

4. Attitudes towards the European Union .....	49
4.1 Spontaneous image and meaning of the EU .....	49
What comes to mind when people think of the European Union .....	49
Image of the European Union .....	53
Meaning of the European Union .....	54
Meaning of being a citizen of the European Union .....	55
4.2 Trust in the European Union and its institutions .....	57
Trust levels in the European Union .....	58
Trust levels in the institutions and bodies of the European Union .....	59
Trust in European Parliament .....	60
Trust in European Commission .....	61
4.3 Support for European Union membership .....	62
Membership: a 'good thing' or a 'bad thing'? .....	62
Referendum about membership .....	65
4.4 Perceived benefits of European Union membership .....	81
Personal benefits .....	81
Benefits for the country .....	84
Expected benefits for various social groups .....	93
4.5 The European Union in the coming years .....	96
The expected and desired role of the European Union in five year's time .....	96
Benefits of European Union in 10 years time .....	99
4.6 Support for joint EU decision-making .....	100
Preferred decision-making mechanism of the enlarged European Union .....	103
5. Information about the European Union .....	104
5.1 Knowledge and awareness .....	104
Self-perceived knowledge about the European Union .....	104
Knowledge of basic EU-related facts .....	107
Awareness of the European Union, its institutions, bodies .....	108
5.2 Interest in European Union news .....	111
5.3 Preferred methods for receiving information about the European Union .....	113
5.4 EU topics people would like to know more about .....	114
5.5 Preference for national versus EU originated information .....	116
6. Attitudes and knowledge about enlargement and the accession process .....	117
6.1 Attitudes towards enlargement .....	117
Perception of support levels for country's membership in the Member States .....	123
6.2 Awareness of country's bid for EU membership .....	124
6.3 Timeframe of the EU accession .....	125
6.4 Feeling informed about enlargement and the accession process .....	126
Enlargement .....	126
Accession .....	127

Pre-accession funds .....	128
7. Mutual support of membership in the Candidate Region.....	129
8. Attitudes towards the Union's current policies .....	132
Priorities of the European Union .....	132
European Constitution .....	133
Support for the Euro .....	134
Participation on EP elections .....	135

## Introduction

This third report of the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer (CC-EB) presents results on several issues related to the social situation from the 13 Candidate Countries. The survey was fielded in all 13 Candidate Countries during September-October 2002. In many instances, the reader will note that the results are compared with those from the 15 Member States of the European Union, to provide comparisons between the EU and the Candidate Countries.

The report begins with a general description about life in the Candidate Countries. First we focus on ownership of certain **commodities** in the Candidate Countries, followed by an examination of **overall satisfaction levels among the citizens of the Candidate Countries** at the beginning of the third millennium, how people feel about their present personal situation compared to five years ago, and how they think their situation will evolve over the next five years. In this chapter we also examine **media use, trust, and access to modern information technology** in the region. Chapter 1 also examines **trust in political and social institutions** in the Candidate Countries as well as satisfaction with how **democracy works** in each of the countries., foreigners.

Chapter 2 examines levels of **identification with Europe** in the Candidate Countries, as well as the issue of **national and European pride**.

Chapter 3 deals with contacts among the different cultures, including **knowledge of foreign languages**, and **travels** to EU and other Candidate Countries, including **work experience**. It also includes an overview about **attitudes towards minorities, foreigners**.

Chapter 4 introduces the reader to the general sentiments and attitudes towards the EU in the Candidate Countries. It looks at the different **meanings of the European Union**, the **meanings of being a citizen of the European Union**, the **image** of the EU, and the **people's feelings towards the European Union** —does the EU conjure up a positive image for those who live in the Candidate Countries? We examine the levels of **support for European Union membership** in the Candidate Countries, and present the **perceived benefit from EU membership**. This chapter also analyses people's **trust in the European Union and in nine of its institutions and bodies**. It reports on **support for joint EU decision-making**, and the **expected and desired role of the European Union** in these countries.

Chapter 5 investigates information issues related to the European Union. First, it examines respondents' **self-perceived levels of knowledge about the European Union** as well as their levels of **awareness of nine of the Union's institutions and bodies**. We report on the extent to which people pay **attention to news about the European Union** in comparison to news about other issues. Also in this chapter, we present the **EU-related topics that are the most interesting** for people in the Candidate Countries. Finally, the chapter looks at the **sources people are most likely to use when they look for information about the European Union**, and which **sources of information they prefer**.

Chapter 6 presents an examination of **attitudes and knowledge about the process of accession** and about **enlargement** in general. This chapter includes information about the **desired and expected year of accession** in the Candidate Countries.

Chapter 7 analyses the levels of **mutual support** of each other's EU membership in the region, we will find out which countries are the closest together.

Finally, Chapter 8 will take a look on several current policy areas, such as the **Euro, priorities of EU policies, European constitution**, and likelihood of participation on upcoming **EP elections**.

□ □ □

**We wish to thank all respondents in the Candidate Countries who have taken part in the survey. Without their participation, this report could not have been written.**

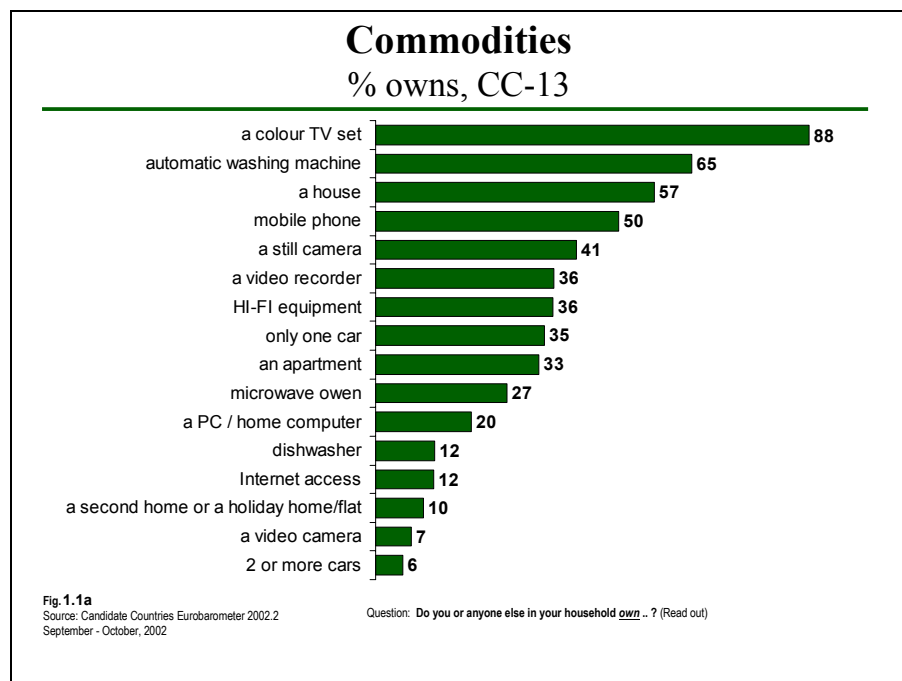
# 1. Life in the Candidate Countries

In this chapter, we will take a closer look at some particular aspects of life in the Candidate Countries. First we will focus on ownership of certain commodities in the region, then we continue with an examination of overall satisfaction levels among the citizens — how people feel about their present personal situation compared to five years ago, and how they think their situation will evolve over the next five years. Later in this chapter, we will examine trust in political and social institutions in the Candidate Countries, and finally we take a look at media use, trust in media, and access to modern information technology in the region.

## 1.1 Commodities

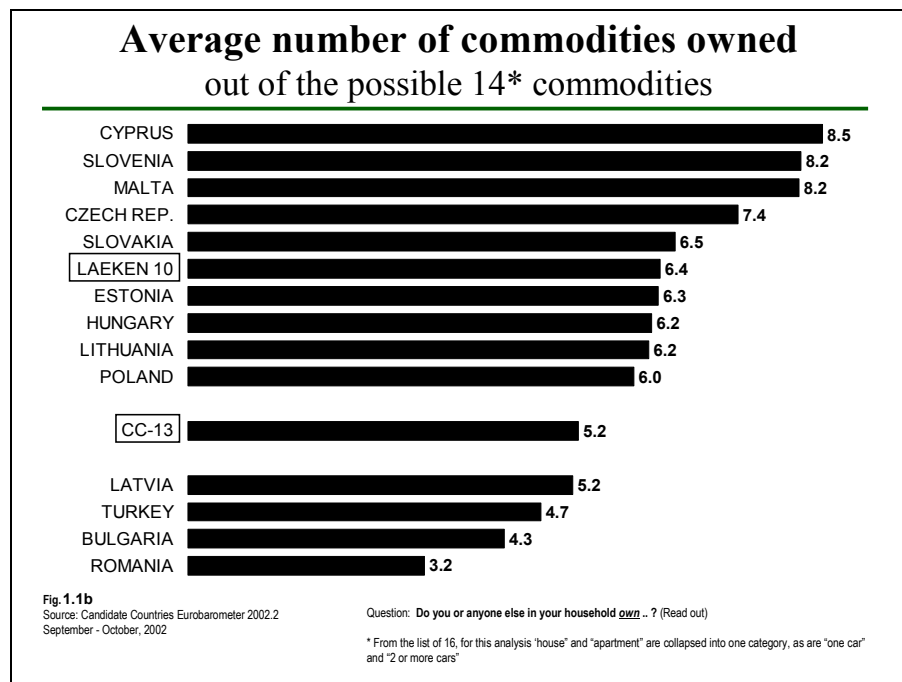
Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found that the middle class basket of consumer goods in the region may be defined as a colour television, an automatic washing machine, a still camera, a mobile phone, hi-fi equipment, a car, and a video recorder. Fifty-five percent of Candidate Countries' citizens own their house, and 35% own their flat. (FIGURE 1.1a)

Ownership of more than one car is rare (in fact, 59% do not have a car at all). One in five people have a PC in their household (20%), and 12% have Internet access at home.



Looking at *Figure 1.1b*, the size of the inventories seems to reflect the actual wealth of these societies (for detailed information about gross national income in Candidate Countries, refer to Chapter 1.2, Table 1.2a). On average, a citizen of the Candidate Region possesses 5.3 of the 14 possible commodities<sup>2</sup>. Four countries emerge as the wealthiest ones: Cyprus (8.5), Slovenia (8.2), Malta (8.2), and the Czech Republic (7.4). At the bottom end of this ranking we find that Romanians have the least of the listed commodities (3.2). Bulgaria (4.3) is well below the Candidate Region average, too. (ANNEX TABLE 1.1)

<sup>2</sup> The original list has 16 items, but for this analysis we treat the two options for home (house and flat), and for car (one car, 2 or more cars) ownership as single items



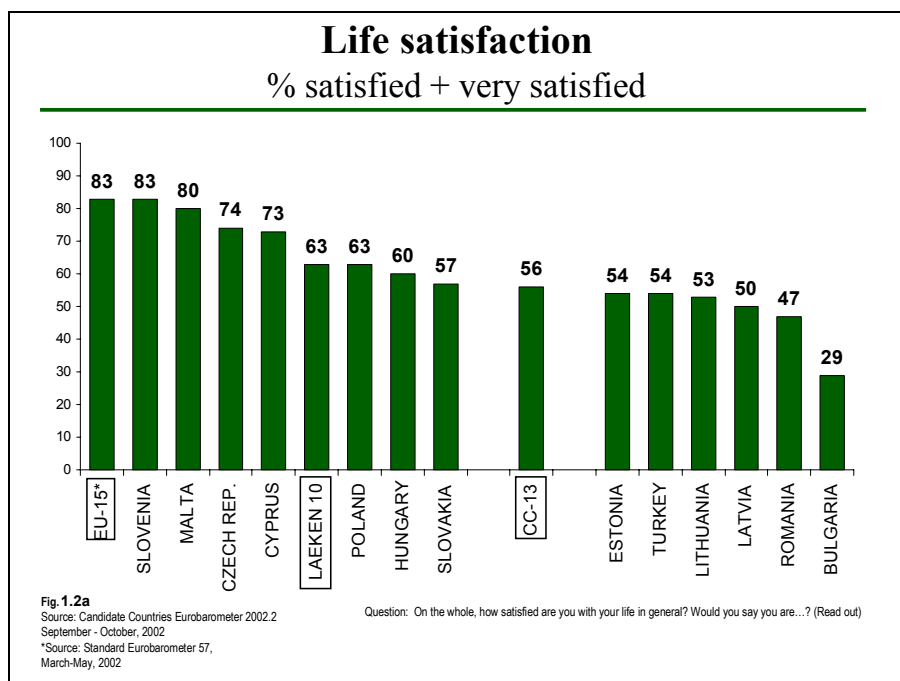
## 1.2 Life Satisfaction

The life satisfaction question is a summary measure in the Eurobarometer series of how people feel about things related to their lives. It ranges from personal happiness, health, family, and economic situation to their views about society in general. This indicator of subjective well-being is regularly asked in the 15 Member States and the 13 Candidate Countries.

### Current life satisfaction

In autumn 2002, Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found a very significant but decreasing gap between the life satisfaction levels in the Candidate Countries and the European Union<sup>3</sup>. This remains probably the most significant difference we find between current and future Member States. While only a bit more than one in two people in the Candidate Countries (56%) say they are very or fairly satisfied with the life they lead, in the Member States life satisfaction has stabilized over the eighty percent mark, currently at 83%.

<sup>3</sup> EB57, Spring 2002



Eurobarometer once again found a direct link between life satisfaction in the Candidate Countries and the per capita Gross National Income – there is no doubt that those in richer countries are more likely to be satisfied than those living in low-income countries. (TABLE 1.2A)

The average per capita GDP in Purchasing Power Standard (PPS) of the 13 Candidate Countries is about one-third of that in the EU-15 region. As of 2000, 11 out of the 13 countries had a lower per capita national income than the poorest country in the European Union (Greece, having a gross domestic product in PPS equal to that of Slovenia). Differences in national product in current prices (where consumer price inequalities are not balanced out) are even wider between the EU and the countries that are invited to negotiation talks with the EU.

**Table 1.2a GDP per capita in PPS\* vs. Life satisfaction**

	GNI per capita*	% Satisfied + very satisfied	change from Autumn 2001
<b>EU-15</b>	<b>€ 22,500</b>	<b>83</b>	
<b>CC-13</b>	<b>€ 7,800</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>(+ 5)</b>
CYPRUS	€ 19,400	73	(- 4)
SLOVENIA	€ 15,600	83	(- 2)
CZECH REPUBLIC	€ 13,200	74	(—)
MALTA	€ 12,600	80	(+ 4)
HUNGARY	€ 11,500	60	(+ 3)
SLOVAKIA	€ 10,800	57	(+ 3)
POLAND	€ 8,900	63	(+ 2)
ESTONIA	€ 8,600	54	(+ 4)
LITHUANIA	€ 7,500	53	(+ 13)
LATVIA	€ 6,700	50	(- 5)
BULGARIA	€ 6,300	29	(- 4)
TURKEY	€ 5,900	54	(+ 8)
ROMANIA	€ 5,200	47	(+ 7)

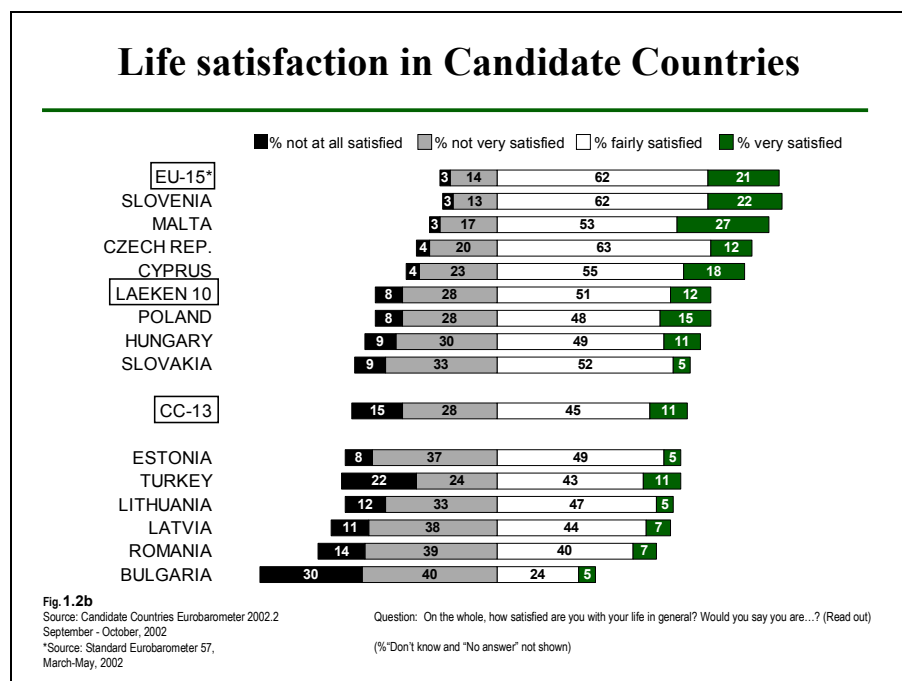
Source: Eurostat, The GDP of the Candidate Countries, 2001  
GDP per capita on PPS figures from 2000, annual.

Slovenia is the only nation in the Candidate Region that maintains a subjective well-being level that is equal to the EU-15 average. If we compare EU-15 and CC-13 rankings, we find that the lowest life satisfaction measured within the Union (Greece with 62%) would rank 6th on the list of Candidate Countries.

In Romania, less than half of the 15 year old and older population were satisfied with their lives, while at the bottom end, in Bulgaria, three in 10 people said they were to some extent satisfied with the life they led (29%).

Accordingly, quite a few of the Candidate Countries' citizens are to some extent unsatisfied with their lives (43%). An even more articulate difference is that only 3% of the European Union citizens say they are "not at all satisfied" with their lives, but this figure is five times higher in the Candidate Region (15%). (FIGURE 1.2b)

In Bulgaria, the ratio of the not-at-all satisfied respondents reaches almost one-third of the population, while virtually nobody in Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Cyprus, and Malta shared this opinion.



In the majority of countries, a positive change has been recorded since autumn 2001. On the CC-13 level, life satisfaction increased by five percentage points in this period. Bulgaria, Latvia, and Cyprus are the countries where people are now less likely to feel satisfied, whereas satisfaction levels have increased as much as 13 percentage points over the past year in Lithuania, eight percentage points in Turkey, where the effects of the economic crisis in 2000-2001 seem to slowly fade away, and a significant seven percentage points in Romania as well. (ANNEX TABLE 1.2A)

Demographic analyses show no significant differences between men and women. Among the four age groups (those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 39, 40 to 54, and 55 and over) we find that the proportion of very satisfied people is significantly higher for the youngest segment of the population (20%) than it is for the other age groups. Large variations are found among the various occupational groups in the population, with satisfaction levels ranging from 42% among unemployed people to 69% among managers. People who stayed in school until the age of 20 or older (66%) have significantly higher levels of subjective well-being than people



who left school when they were aged 15 or younger (49%) or aged 16 to 19 (55%)<sup>4</sup>. (ANNEX TABLE 1.2B)

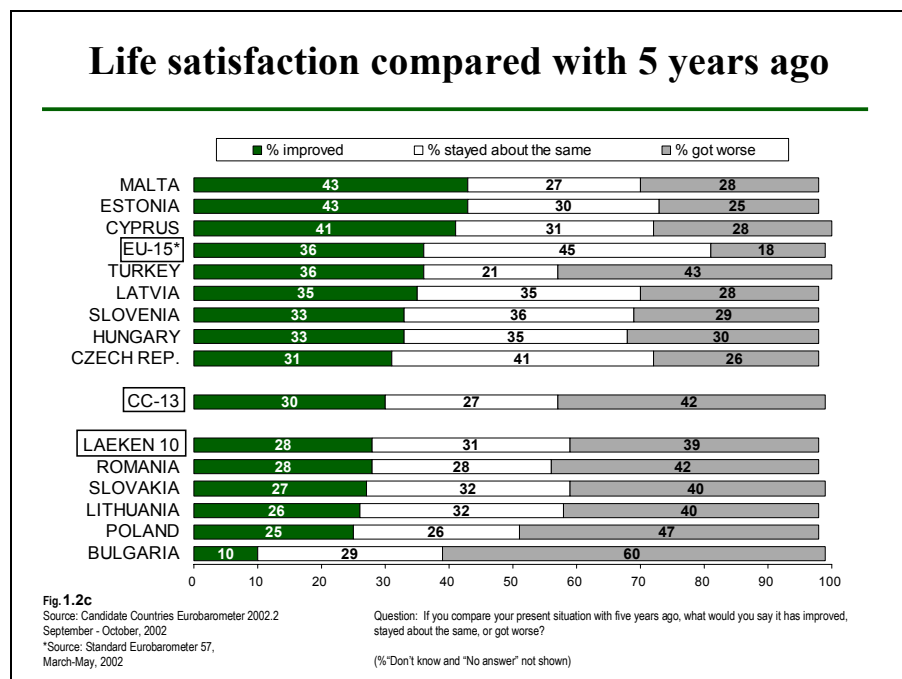
### Life satisfaction compared with five years ago

Figure 1.2c shows that the self-perceived past dynamics of life satisfaction, or quality of life, of the Candidate Countries was not nearly as favourable as in the EU<sup>5</sup>. Thirty percent of Candidate Countries' citizens feel that their present situation has improved as compared to five years ago; only 27% feel it has stayed about the same, and the largest group (42%) feel it has gotten worse. Within the Union, that last number is 18%.

The citizens of Candidate Countries feel that they have experienced many changes in their lives; a relatively small fraction of these societies thought that the quality of their lives had remained stable in the course of the past five years. In contrast, approximately twice as many European citizens feel that their own life is as satisfactory as it was five years ago (45%).

Obviously, there are large differences among the populations of the 13 Candidate Countries. While most of them report stable or improving conditions over the past five years, Bulgarians have been experiencing deteriorating conditions in dramatic proportions, and the perception in Poland and Turkey is at least mixed in this respect. (FIGURE 1.2C)

The Maltese and the Estonians are most likely, at 43%, to feel that their present situation has improved, with 41% of Cypriots sharing this view. In Turkey (36%) and Latvia (35%) more than one-third, and in Slovakia and Hungary exactly one-third (33% both), feel their situation has improved during the past five years. The countries that are well below average in this respect are Poland (where every fourth citizen said their situation improved) and Bulgaria with only 10%. (ANNEX TABLE 1.3A)



<sup>4</sup> Appendix C.4 provides more details about demographic variables.

<sup>5</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

The Czechs are the most likely to feel that their situation is the same as it was five years ago (41%), followed by Slovenian (36%) and Latvian (35%) respondents. At 60%, people in Bulgaria are most likely to say that their situation got worse during the past five years, followed closely by people in Poland (47%) and Turkey (43%). The Czechs (26%) and the Estonians (25%) are the least likely to think that their situation deteriorated over the past half decade.

The next table shows a mixed association between life satisfaction and how people feel about their present situation compared to five years ago. We can clearly see that those who are currently not satisfied with their lives tend to think that their situation worsened in the course of the past five years.

Nevertheless, more than a quarter of those who are currently satisfied with their lives also claimed a decrease in their quality of life during the past five years. This group is a bit more likely to think that their situation did not change in the recent past than are those who are currently not satisfied with their lives.

**Table 1.2b Relationship between life satisfaction and views about one's present situation compared with five years ago**

	Views about life in general:	
	Satisfied %	Not satisfied %
Improved	42	15
Stayed about the same	29	24
Got worse	28	60
(DK / no answer)	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

The demographic breakdowns show that managers (46%) and young people (53%) are most likely to feel that, compared with five years ago, their present situation has improved. These also indicate that the older cohorts are most likely to feel that their present situation has gotten worse. Interestingly, those people who are about to finish their careers are more likely to report worsening conditions than the elderly (40-54 years: 53%, 55 years and over: 50%), the retired, or the unemployed (52% both).

Finally, attitudinal analyses show that people who see their country's membership of the EU as a good thing are significantly more likely to feel that their present situation, compared to five years ago, has improved (34%) than are those who regard their country's membership as a bad thing (19%). Among the latter group, 55% feel their present situation has gotten worse, compared to only 39% of people who view their country's membership of the EU as a good thing. (ANNEX TABLE 1.3B)

### Life satisfaction over the next five years

For the next five years, four in 10 Candidate Country citizens forecast that their personal situation will improve and only two citizens out of 10 feel it will get worse. Twenty-nine percent in the Candidate Region feel their personal situation will stay about the same.

These data suggest that people in the Candidate Region generally feel positively about the development of their personal situation over the course of the next five years. However they are slightly less optimistic than current EU citizens<sup>6</sup> are.



The 41% optimism level in the Candidate Region is not significantly different from the 40% level the Eurobarometer measured within the European Union, but the 20% pessimism level about the future is almost twice as high as the percentage found in the Member States (11%).

In previous surveys, we used to find that in countries where the general satisfaction is relatively high and the past dynamics have also been satisfactory, people are more likely to be optimistic about the future as well. This is not the case anymore. The top ranking, most optimistic countries did not report particularly favourable past dynamics or current well-being; they simply seem to trust in their future (in Romania, 52% think they will be better off in five years as do 49% in Hungary). Forty-six percent of the Maltese, as well as 42% of the Turkish and Latvians, also expect their personal situation to improve in the course of the next five years.

We find that Lithuanians are the least likely to feel their situation will improve (27%), and Czechs are the most likely to feel that it will stay about the same (41%). People in Turkey are the most likely to feel that their situation will get worse (25%). In the other Candidate Countries, the proportion of people who hold this view ranges from 8% in Latvia to 23% in Cyprus. About one in five respondents in Latvia (20%) and Lithuania (19%) could not tell what they expect regarding their future. (ANNEX TABLE 1.4A)

<sup>6</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

The demographic analyses show that pessimism is primarily found among elderly people in the Candidate Countries. The age group with the worst expectations for the next five years, behind the oldest one (26% pessimistic), is the middle-aged group in the Candidate Region (40-54 years – 23% pessimistic). Similar to the European Union, students and other young people (71% and 64%, respectively) are most likely to be optimistic. (ANNEX TABLE 1.4B)

Again we find that people who regard their country's future membership of the EU as a good thing are significantly more likely to feel that their situation will improve (49%) than people who regard their country's membership as a bad thing (22%). (TABLE 1.2C)

The following table shows that people who are satisfied with the life they lead are more likely to feel that their personal situation will improve than are those who are not satisfied. There are about as many people in the latter group who think that their situation will get even worse as there are people who are optimistic about their mid-term future.

<b>Table 1.2c Relationship between life satisfaction and expectations of one's personal situation in five years</b>		
	<b>Views about life in general:</b>	
	<b>Satisfied %</b>	<b>Not satisfied %</b>
Improve	<b>49</b>	<b>30</b>
Stay about the same	28	<b>29</b>
Get worse	12	<b>29</b>
(DK / no answer)	10	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

### Dynamics of change in subjective well-being

Satisfaction is always relative. The recent past and expectations regarding the near future together determine to what extent people think they have a chance to improve their quality of life. In the paragraphs below we will profile certain patterns we found in each Candidate Country in this respect. For this analysis, we combined past experience and future expectations in the following groups:

Improving satisfaction: those who believe that two years ago their satisfaction levels were not better than today, and expect positive change in the future; and those who experienced improvement in the past two years and do not expect deterioration in the near future.

Deteriorating satisfaction: those who believe that their satisfaction levels were better two years ago than today, and do not expect positive change in the future; combined with those who experienced stability over the past two years but expect deterioration in the near future.

Stable satisfaction: those who did not experience change in the recent past, and expect stability in the future as well.

All other cases, where there is no clear and consistent directionality of the experienced and expected change over time, are excluded from these analyses.

In the Candidate Region we find that a consistent positive change over this one decade period is perceived by every third citizen (34%), only a bit more than one in 10 (13%) report no change, and 28% expected — or experienced — change pointing in a negative direction. (Twenty-four percent reported mixed directionality in the past and future change of their subjective well-being.)

	CURRENT LEVELS OF SATISFACTION	IMPROVING	STABLE	DETERIO- RATING	NET DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS OF IMPROVEMENT AND DETERIORATION
<b>CC-13</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>(+ 6)</b>
<b>LAEKEN 10</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>(+ 7)</b>
SLOVENIA	83	41	21	22	(+ 19)
MALTA	80	46	10	18	(+ 27)
CZECH REP.	74	33	24	22	(+ 11)
CYPRUS	73	38	15	25	(+ 13)
POLAND	63	29	16	30	(- 2)
HUNGARY	60	40	15	19	(+ 22)
SLOVAKIA	57	35	15	29	(+ 6)
ESTONIA	54	44	15	22	(+ 22)
TURKEY	54	36	11	31	(+ 5)
LITHUANIA	53	30	15	30	(- 1)
LATVIA	50	39	15	16	(+ 23)
ROMANIA	47	39	8	21	(+ 18)
BULGARIA	29	20	11	42	(- 21)

In most Candidate Countries, the net balance of the consistent directionalities of change points to the positive direction as far as subjective well-being is concerned. This is not the case only in Lithuania and Poland, where deterioration marginally outweighs improvement; positive and negative reports sum up to -1 and -2 percentage points, respectively. Bulgaria

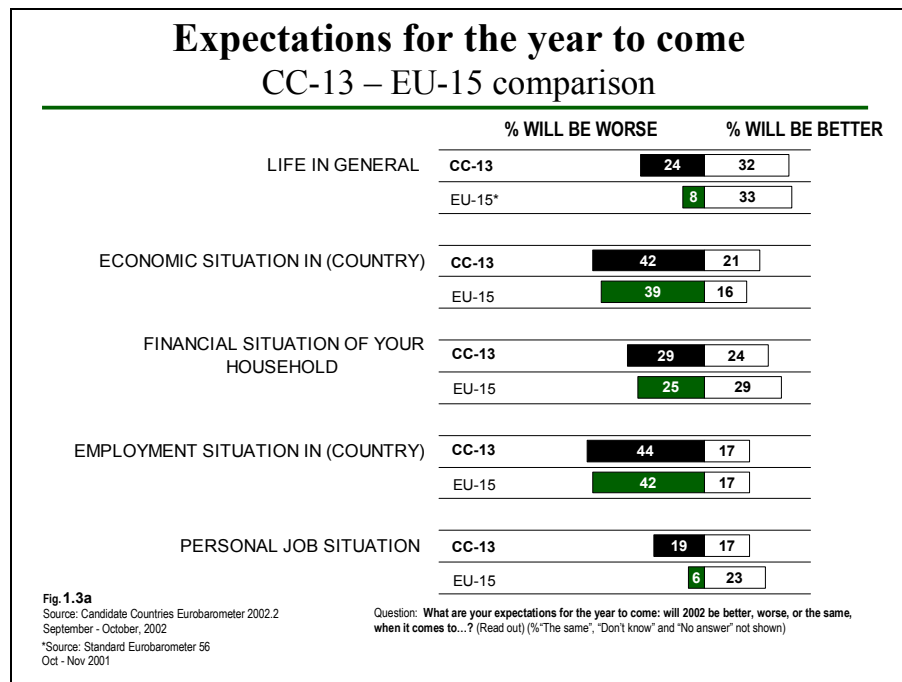
has not nearly hit rock bottom — with a negative balance of -21 percentage points, people definitely expect further deterioration of their situation.

The highest level of positive change can be observed Malta (+27), which is among those topping the ranking of subjective well-being in the CC-13 region. Among the countries, where current quality of life is reported to be relatively low, we found clearly positive tendencies almost everywhere, most notably in Estonia and Hungary (both +22), and in Latvia (+23 percentage points). Romanians and Slovenes also have a positive balance of improvement and decline (+18 and +19 percentage points respectively).

The Czech report the highest stability in life satisfaction; 24% of them did not experience significant change in the recent past, and do not expect one in the future either. The same is true for only 8% of the Romanian citizens.

### 1.3 People's expectations for the year 2003

Respondents were also asked about their expectations for the year to come. Thirty-two percent believe their life in general will be better in 2003; at the same time 24% feel it will be worse. In the Member States, 54% expect stability, whereas only 44% in the Candidate Countries do not forecast any change for the upcoming year. There were three times as many people in the Candidate Region being generally pessimistic about their coming year than there were in the Member States a year ago.



As Table 1.3a on the next page shows, we have not observed dramatic changes over the past one year on the CC-13 level in immediate future expectations in any of the investigated domains of life.

Candidate Countries' citizens are still highly concerned about their national economies: 42% think that their economy will perform worse in 2003, and 44% expect that there will be fewer employment opportunities in their country. Citizens of Candidate Countries feel relatively secure at their present workplace – however, not nearly as secure as European citizens. Twenty-four percent of the people in the Candidate Region expect that the financial situation

of their household will be better in 2002, whereas a bit more people think the opposite (will be worse: 29%). When looking at short-term expectations in the Candidate Region, with 24% of the people expecting their life to get worse, the mood is certainly less optimistic compared to that in the EU Member States last year<sup>7</sup>.

**Table 1.3a Expectations for the year to come, change from past year, %, on CC-13 level**

	Will be better			Will be worse		
	2002 AUTUMN	2001 AUTUMN*		2002 AUTUMN	2001 AUTUMN*	
Life in General	32	31*	34	24	20*	24
Economic Situation in (country)	21	21*	21	42	35*	37
Financial Situation of Your Household	24	23*	22	29	26*	29
Employment Situation in (Country)	17	16*	16	44	41*	43
Personal Job Situation	17	15*	16	19	14*	14

without Turkish results. In 2001, Turkey was hit by an economic crisis that resulted in very pessimistic expectations that would have distorted the regional average to a large extent. See CCEB 2001.1 report for details. For better comparison, the 2002 autumn results have been computed without Turkey as well (the second column)

As far as immediate expectations are concerned, the Romanians are the most optimistic among all nations of the Candidate Region, and the Turkish overall expectations increased the most by far over the past year. In the following paragraphs we present the results for each domain.

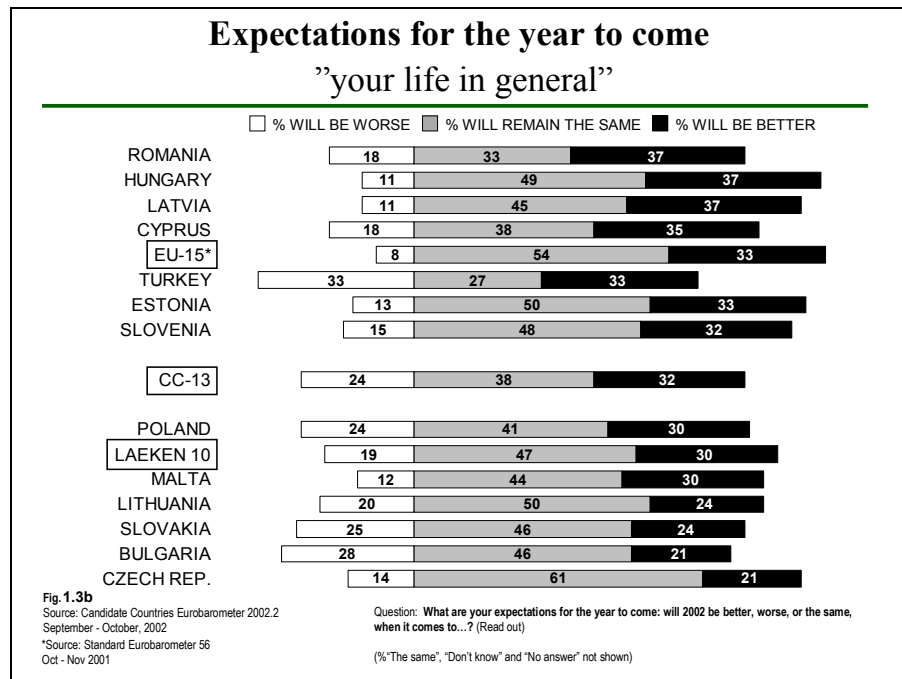
### Personal situation

Country results show that people in Romania, Hungary, and Latvia (37% each) are most likely to believe that 2003 in general will be better. People in Turkey (33%) and Bulgaria (28%) are most likely to feel that their life in general will get worse in 2003. (FIGURE 1.3B)

In Turkey, which has just got over a very serious financial crisis, we still have a very high proportion of pessimistic people, but their ratio shrunk 16 percentage points from last year. At the same time, we found a 13 percentage points increase among citizens (33%) who felt next year would be better for them, as compared to last year

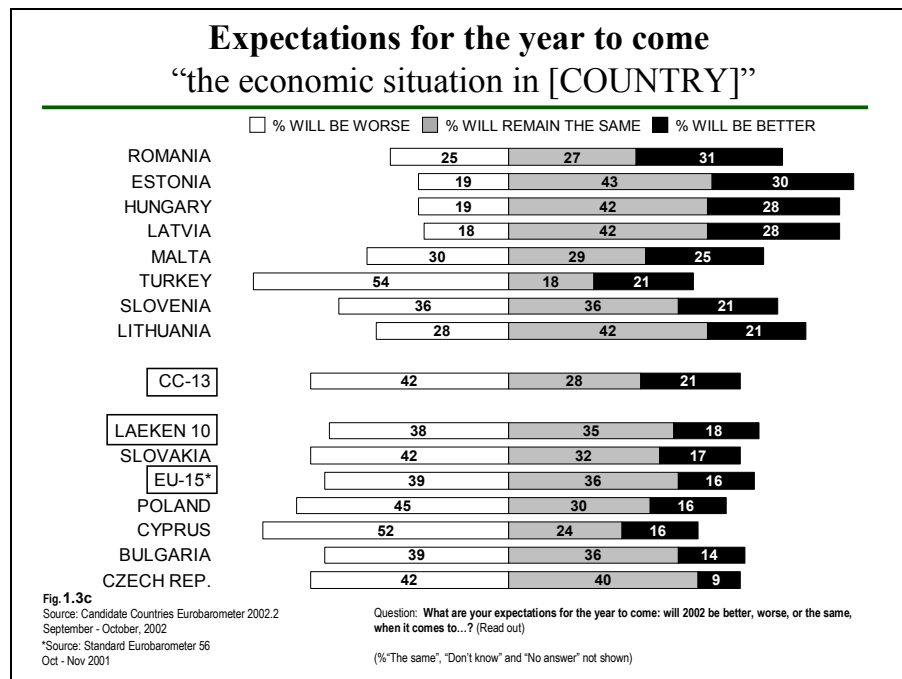
Though not as much as the Turkish, people in Malta (+6), Slovakia (+4), and Hungary (+3) are now significantly more likely to believe the year to come will be better than the previous year. However, there are several countries where the mood is clearly more restrained. In Bulgaria, people are now even less likely to be optimistic and more likely to be pessimistic (-5 and +4 respectively). In many countries, the proportion of those expecting no change for 2003 increased, such as in Romania (+5), Lithuania (+5), Bulgaria (+4), Cyprus (+4), Hungary (+4), Turkey (+4), Poland (+4), and Estonia (+3). From the past year, we observed a decrease in the levels of expectations of change for the better in two otherwise optimistic countries — Cyprus (-9) and Romania (-5). (ANNEX TABLE 1.5)

<sup>7</sup> EB 56, Autumn 2001



### Economic situation in the country

The same end-of-the-year question was used to measure people's expectations for their country's economy in the year to come. The proportion of respondents who feel that the economic situation in their country will be better in 2003 ranges from 9% in the Czech Republic to 31% in Romania. (ANNEX TABLE 1.6)





Comparing the current results with those from one year ago, a series of countries show a higher level of economic confidence for the coming year. Among those we find Turkey, where many more people are optimistic (+11), and pessimism has shrunk even more sharply (-20), and similar patterns prevail in Slovakia (+9, -13), Lithuania (+4, -14), Malta (+5, -8), as well as in Estonia (+4, -10). Reverse tendencies — shrinking optimism and growing pessimism — were found in Bulgaria (-5, +9), the Czech Republic (-5, +8), and in Cyprus (-3, +5).

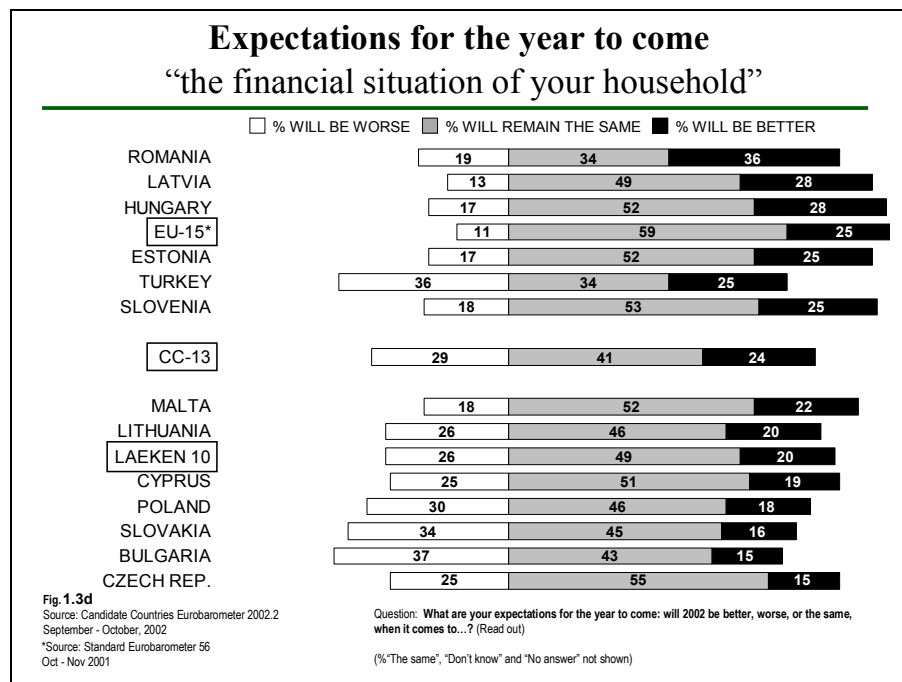
### Financial situation of the household

The survey also measured what people expect to happen to their household financial situation in the year to come. Twenty-four percent of citizens in the Candidate Countries believe their household's financial situation will improve, and 29% believe it will get worse. As Table 1.3a above shows, this is very similar to the forecast respondents made at the end of the year 2001.

Turkey — in spite of being increasingly optimistic — remains divided on this issue: Turkish citizens are relatively likely to think that their household's financial situation will improve in 2003 (25%), and at the same, they have the second largest proportion (36%) who expect negative change in household finances.

Eurobarometer found relatively high levels of optimism regarding household finances in Romania (36%) and Latvia (28%). The lowest levels of optimism were found in Bulgaria and the Czech Republic (both 15%). But whilst most of the Czech respondents expect their financial situation to remain the same next year (55%), we found that 37% of Bulgarian citizens think that it will deteriorate. (ANNEX TABLE 1.7)

Levels of pessimism were relatively high in the aforementioned Turkey, Slovakia (34%), and Poland (30%) as well.

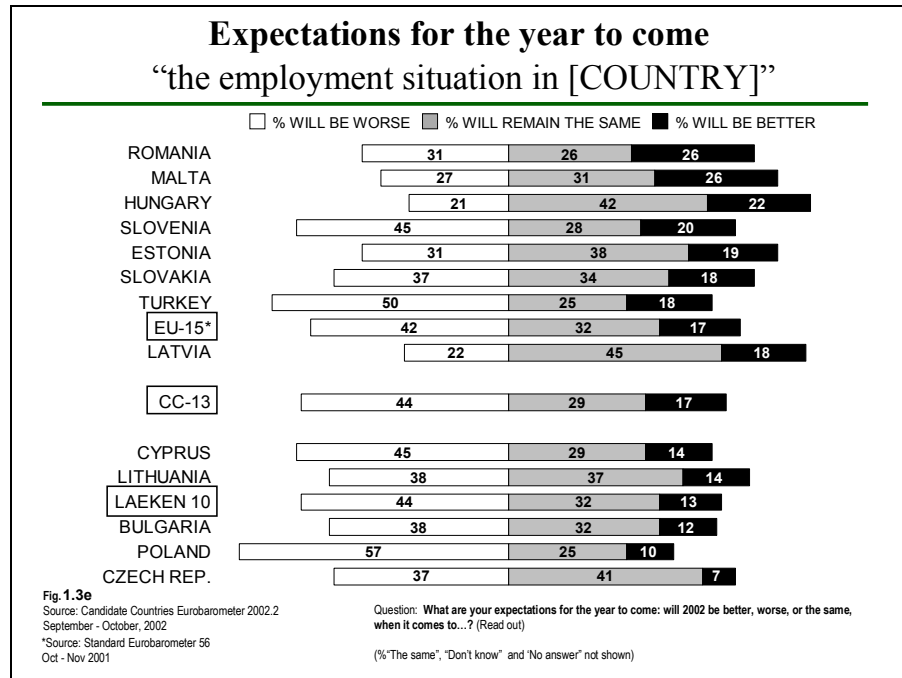


Comparing the current results with those from a year ago, in many countries the survey found a higher level of optimism regarding household finances. Among these we find, of course, Turkey, where many more people are now optimistic (+12 percentage points), and pessimism has shrunk enormously as well (-18). Similar patterns in a much milder form can be observed

in Slovakia (+4, -5), Lithuania (+5, -4), and Malta (+4, -3), as well as in Hungary (+3, -5). Reverse tendencies - shrinking optimism and growing pessimism -- is prevalent in Bulgaria (-6, +8), and markedly prevalent in Cyprus (-8, +11).

### Employment situation in the country

People in Malta, Romania (26% both), and Hungary (22%) are the most relatively optimistic regarding the labour market changes for 2003. People in Poland (57%) and in Turkey (50%) are overwhelmingly pessimistic (ANNEX TABLE 1.8)



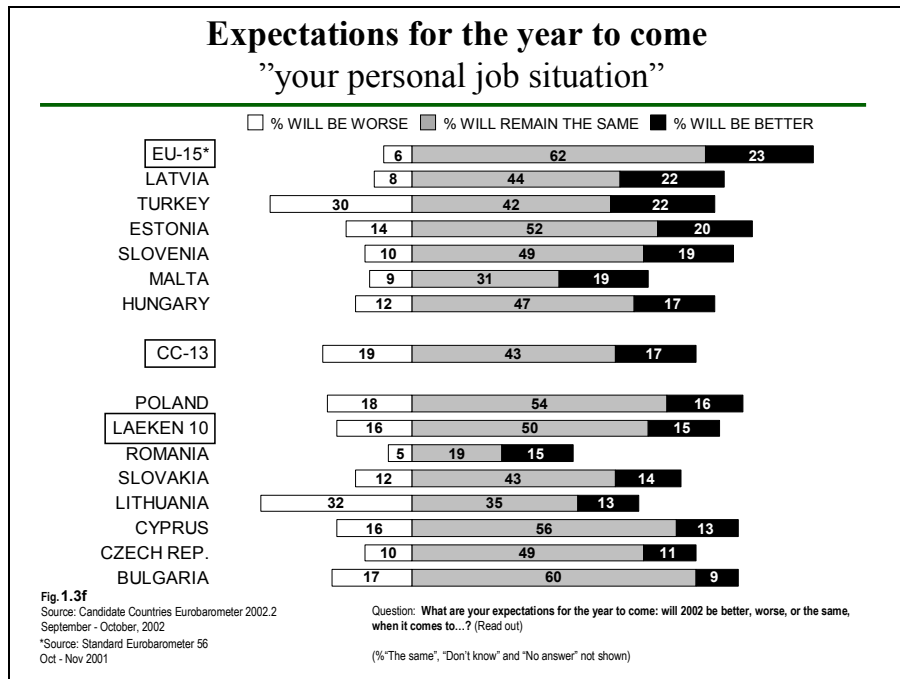
A comparison of the forecast for the year 2003 with last year's forecast for 2002 indicates that the proportion of people who are optimistic has fallen in Bulgaria (-6) and in the Czech Republic (-2). The pessimistic mood in these countries has risen significantly as well (+8 and +9, respectively). The mood changes towards the optimistic direction in several Candidate Countries, including, first of all, Turkey (optimism +9, pessimism -24), then Slovakia (+11, -17), Estonia (+5, -12), and Malta (+3, -11), as well as Lithuania (+3, -10) and Romania (+6, -5).

### Personal job situation

When asked about their expectations regarding their own job situation, most citizens of the Candidate Countries expect no significant change for 2003 (43%), and the general mood is rather neutral. On the CC-13 level, about as many people expect their personal job situation to deteriorate (19%) as count on improvement (17%).

Expectations vary considerably from country to country. People in Turkey and Latvia are the most likely to feel that their personal job situation will get better in 2003 (22%), followed by people in Estonia (20%), Malta, and Slovenia (19% both). People in Lithuania (32%), Turkey (30%), and Poland (18%) are the most likely to feel that their personal job situation will get

worse. In all countries the prevailing attitude is that things will stay the same – except for Romania, where most people can't predict the future in this aspect. (ANNEX TABLE 1.9)



## 1.4 Trust in institutions

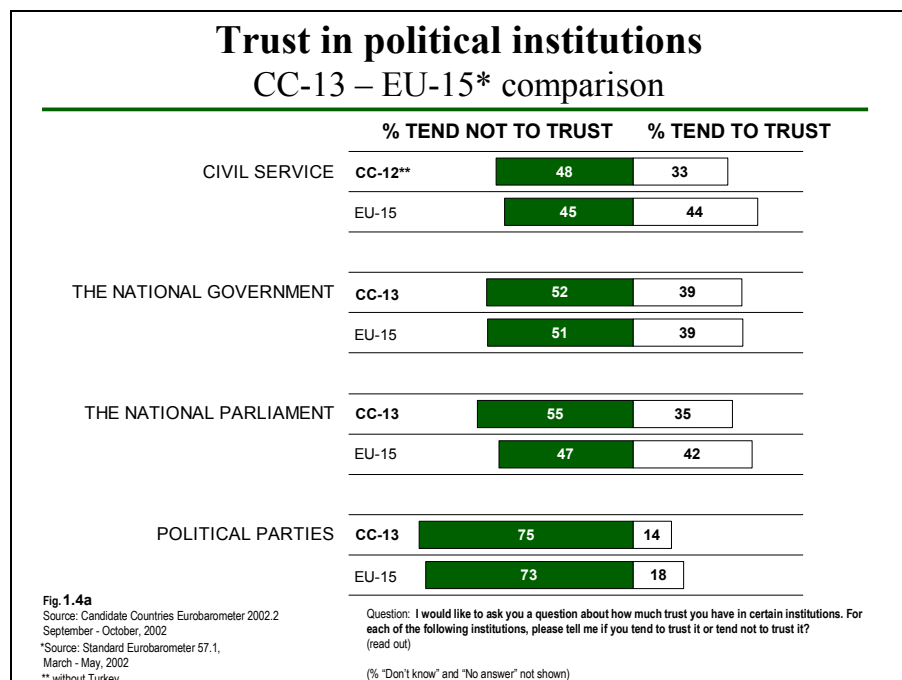
### Trust in political institutions

Next we look at trust in four political institutions: the national governments, the national parliaments, the civil service, and political parties. Like other surveys, the Eurobarometer shows that confidence in these institutions is low in the Member States<sup>8</sup>, and is even lower in the Candidate Countries. Political institutions are trusted by an average of 29% in the Candidate Countries vs. 35% within the Union.

**Table 1.4a Trust in political institutions**  
(Average trust level of four institutions)

Country	%	Country	%
CYPRUS	52	SLOVENIA	27
HUNGARY	45	CZECH REP.	25
MALTA	41	POLAND	24
<b>EU-15</b>	<b>36</b>	LATVIA	23
ESTONIA	35	SLOVAKIA	21
<b>CC-12</b>	<b>29</b>	LITHUANIA	21
ROMANIA	29	BULGARIA	19

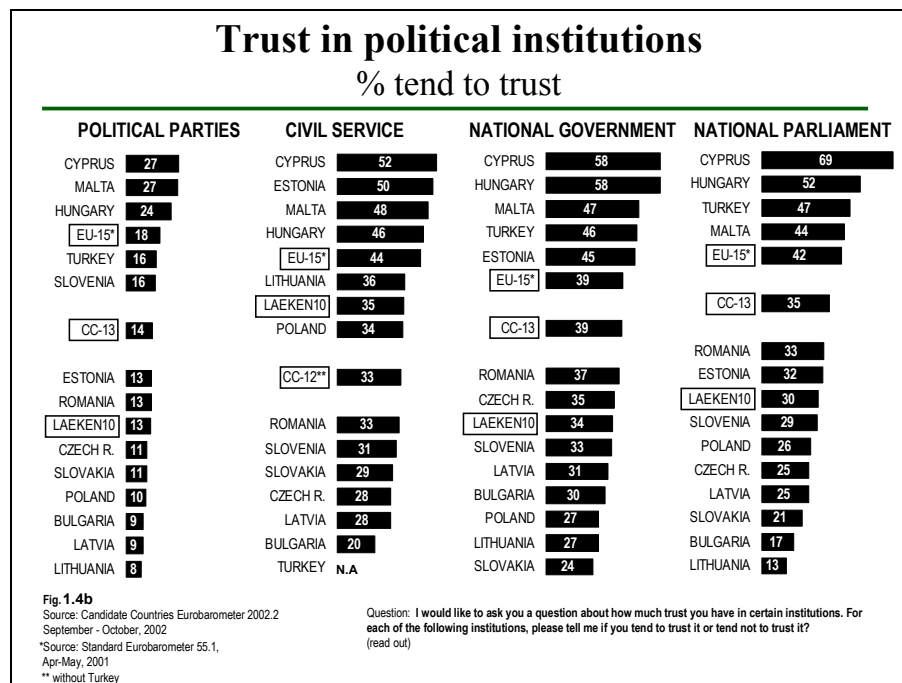
The most trusted political institution in the Candidate Region is the national government (39%), followed by the national parliament (35%). Political parties are trusted by only 13% of the region's population. While the citizens of the European Union trust their legislative bodies the most, citizens in the Candidate Region have the most confidence in their executive branches.



<sup>8</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

The average level of trust in political institutions ranges from 19% in Bulgaria to 52% in Cyprus. Generally, Hungarians, Maltese, and Cypriots tend to trust their political leaders more than do other nations. In Turkey, the improving economic situation brought a significant increase in trust towards the government and the parliament; now Turkey ranks among the countries with the highest support towards their political leadership. In the Candidate Countries, the general tendency is that political leadership is regarded higher than the public service. (ANNEX TABLE 1.10)

The most generally sceptical countries are Slovakia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria. Slovakia's government is only trusted by 24% of the citizens. The Lithuanian Seim is the least trusted national parliament among all (13%), and Lithuanian political parties attain the trust of only 8% of the people. Bulgarians are the least likely to trust their civil service (20%).

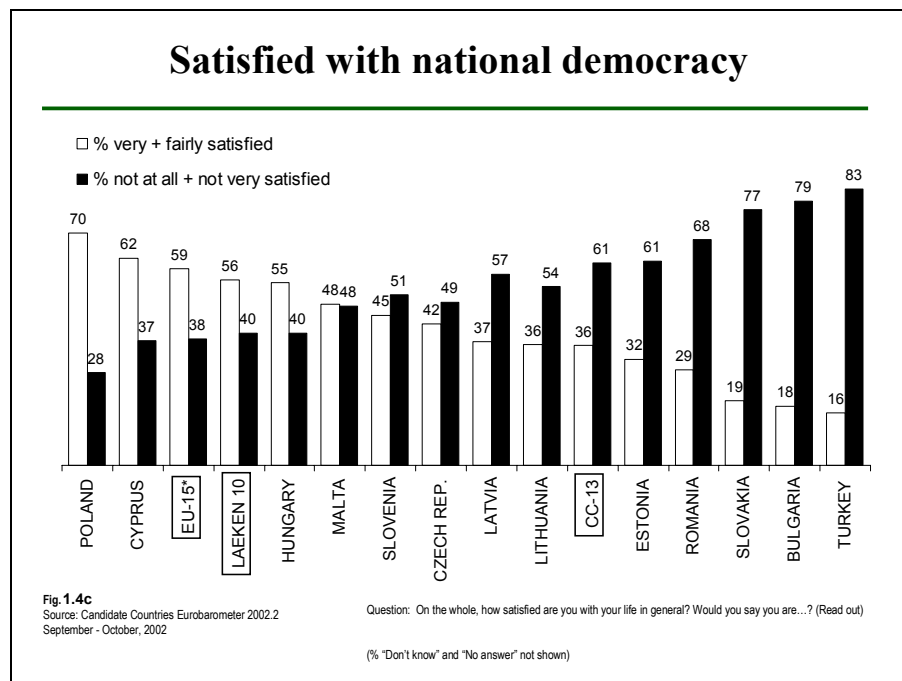


### Satisfaction with how democracy works

More than half of the Laeken-10 citizens (56%), but only 35% in the CC-13, are very or fairly satisfied with the way democracy works in their country. While the differences concerning the political institutions are not particularly significant, in the Member States levels of satisfaction are generally higher (59% satisfied overall).

Satisfaction is by far most widespread in Poland; seven in 10 Poles (70%) are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country. In Cyprus (62%) and Hungary (55%) the majority give their country's democracy a positive assessment. In Malta about the same proportion of citizens are satisfied as are unsatisfied with the way the democracy works in the country. In all other countries, people who are not satisfied with the way democracy works in their country outnumber those who are satisfied, particularly in Turkey (83% unsatisfied), Bulgaria (79%), and Slovakia (77%). (ANNEX TABLE 1.11A)

Demographic analyses show no significant variance between the different social groups. Those belonging to the elites are, however, slightly more satisfied with the way democracy works in their country. Managers (44%), white collar workers (48%), and the well-educated (46%) are most likely to feel satisfied, while house persons (20%), the youngest (33%), and the self-employed (32%) are the groups with the lowest level of satisfaction. Attitudinal analyses show no difference in satisfaction levels between people who see their country's membership to the European Union as a good thing and those who regard it as a bad thing. (ANNEX TABLE 1.11B)



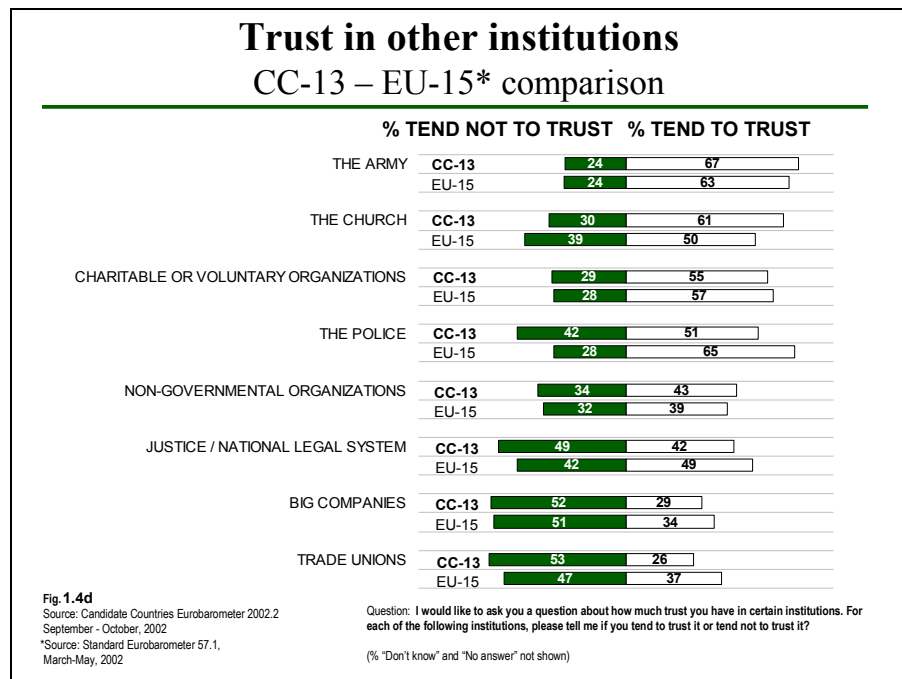
## Trust in other social institutions

Next we look at trust in the following institutions:

- *Big companies*
- *Charitable or voluntary organizations*
- *Justice / national legal system*
- *Non-governmental organizations*
- *The Army*
- *The Church / Religious organizations*
- *The police*
- *Trade unions*

The next graph shows that Candidate Countries' citizens are most likely to trust the Army (67%), followed by the church (61%). People living in the Candidate Region have significantly less confidence in the police (51%) than European citizens do, for whom it is the most trusted institution among those listed (65%)<sup>9</sup>. A similar but tighter gap can be observed in the domain of justice, citizens in the Candidate Countries are not nearly as confident as current EU citizens are. Within the European Union, almost half of the citizens say that they have confidence in their countries' legal systems, but only 42% have the same attitude in the Candidate Region.

In the Candidate Countries less than half of the people tend to trust NGOs (43%), and big corporations (29%). The least trusted institutions in the 13 countries are trade unions (26%), with less credibility than big businesses.



The next table shows the three other institutions that are most widely trusted in each Applicant Country. The **Army** tops the list in eight of the 13 Candidate Countries, comes in second place in three countries, and third place in one country. Malta is the only country where the Army is not included in the top three. The **Church** tops the list in three Candidate Countries, comes in second place in four countries, and third place in three countries. It is not

<sup>9</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

included in the top three in Slovenia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. **Charities** top the list in Poland and Malta, come in second place in Hungary, Cyprus, and Latvia, and third place in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Turkey, and Estonia. The **Police** make the list in several countries as well, come in as second most trusted institution in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia, and proved to be the third most widely trusted organization Hungary, Malta, and Romania. None of the other institutions makes the top three. (SEE ALSO ANNEX TABLE 1.10)

**Table 1.4b Top three most widely trusted institutions (% , by country)**

<b>Bulgaria</b>		<b>Malta</b>	
Army	57	Charity	89
Police	50	Church	74
Church	46	Police	71
<b>Cyprus</b>		<b>Poland</b>	
Army	88%	Charity	61
Charity	73	Army	60
Church	67	Church	57
<b>Czech Republic</b>		<b>Romania</b>	
Army	46	Church	86
Police	41	Army	73
Charity	40	Police	38
<b>Estonia</b>		<b>Slovakia</b>	
Army	60	Army	56
Church	51	Church	51
Charity	45	Charity	50
<b>Hungary</b>		<b>Slovenia</b>	
Army	52	Army	54
Charity	51	Police	50
Police	48	Charity	37
<b>Latvia</b>		<b>Turkey</b>	
Church	63	Army	81
Charity	45	Church	68
Army	44	Charity	67
<b>Lithuania</b>			
Church	53		
Army	39		
Charity	34		

For the first time, Eurobarometer included the *United Nations* and the *European Union* in the list of organizations for which we have measured trust levels among the citizens of the Candidate Region (we will go into detailed analyses of trust levels found towards these



institutions in Chapter 4.2). Here we will take a look at how these two organizations compare to national institutions and to each other.

As Table 1.4c below shows, on the CC-13 level the European Union is a bit more trusted than the United Nations, the two organizations being the fifth and sixth respectively. In the Laeken-10 group, the UN ranks higher among the listed 10 institutions (3.) than the EU (5.).

In seven of the 13 Candidate Countries, the European Union - being higher ranked - attains more trust than the United Nations. There are countries where trust levels are as high towards the EU that, if included, it makes the top three. These countries are Hungary (where EU is the most trusted among the 10 listed institutions - 1), Bulgaria (2), Lithuania, Romania, and Slovakia (3).

<b>Table 1.4c Rank of the European Union and the United Nations among institutions according to expressed trust levels</b> (rank among 10 entries, by country)		
	rank of EU	rank of UN
<b>CC-13</b>	<b>5.</b>	<b>6.</b>
LAOKEN-10	5.	3.
<b>BULGARIA</b>	<b>2.</b>	<b>4.</b>
<b>CYPRUS</b>	<b>6.</b>	<b>8.</b>
CZECH REPUBLIC	5.	1.
ESTONIA	8.	3.
<b>HUNGARY</b>	<b>1.</b>	<b>2.</b>
LATVIA	6.	4.
<b>LITHUANIA</b>	<b>3.</b>	<b>5.</b>
MALTA	7.	6.
POLAND	6.	4.
<b>ROMANIA</b>	<b>3.</b>	<b>4.</b>
<b>SLOVAKIA</b>	<b>3.</b>	<b>5.</b>
SLOVENIA	4.	3.
<b>TURKEY</b>	<b>7.</b>	<b>8.</b>

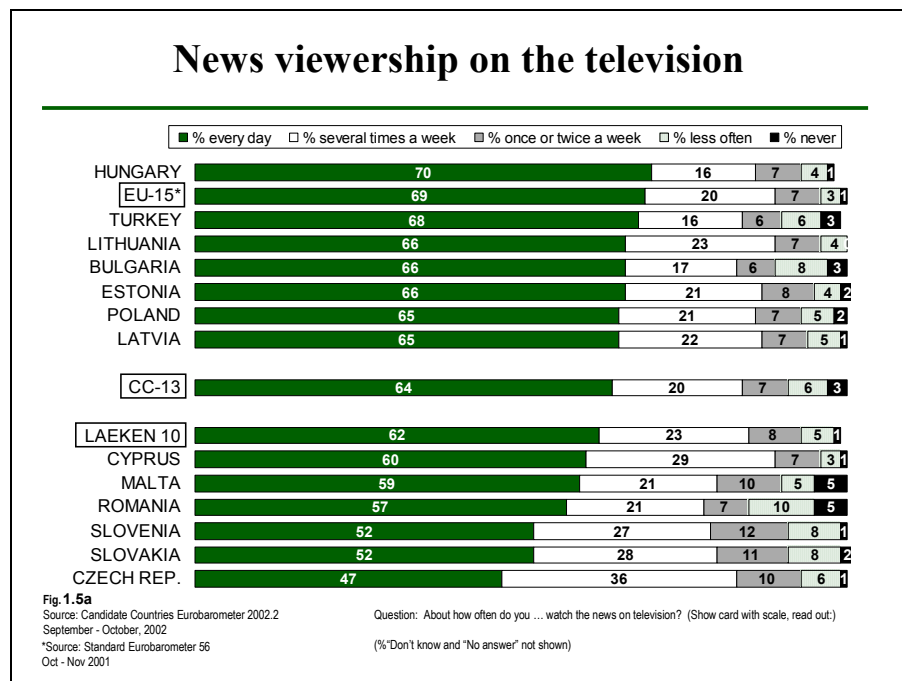
Another group of the Candidate Countries expressed higher trust levels towards the United Nations than towards the EU. The most marked difference we have found is in the Czech Republic, where the United Nations is the most trusted among all institutions, while the European Union comes in only at the fifth place. The ranking difference in Estonia is very high as well (UN: 3.; EU: 8.). The other countries where citizens have higher trust towards the UN than the European Union are Latvia, Malta, Poland, and Slovenia.

## 1.5 Media use

This section of the chapter reports on how frequently citizens of the Candidate Countries watch the news on television, read the news in daily newspapers, and listen to the news on the radio. After reporting how much people trust the media in the Candidate Region, it also shows the extent to which citizens have access to modern information technology.

### News viewership on television

As *Figure 1.5a* shows, 64% of respondents watch the news programmes on television on a daily basis, with a further 20% watching it several times a week. Czechs (47%), Slovaks, and Slovenes (52% both) are the least likely and Hungarians are the most likely (70%) to watch the news on a daily basis. (*ANNEX TABLE 1.12*)



### News readership of daily newspapers

Unlike in the EU, where a total of six in 10 respondents read the news in daily newspapers every day (40%) or several times a week (19%), the people of the Candidate Region use this source of information much less often. In Candidate Countries, only 23% read news every day, while an additional 18% use this source of information several times a week. This may be the result of the lower purchasing power of the region, but the low ranking of Cyprus and Poland suggest that cultural factors play a role as well.

Slovenes, Estonians, and Hungarians are the most frequent users of daily papers if they are looking for news information, whilst less than one in five Romanians and Poles read newspapers every day. (*ANNEX TABLE 1.13*)

## News readership of daily papers

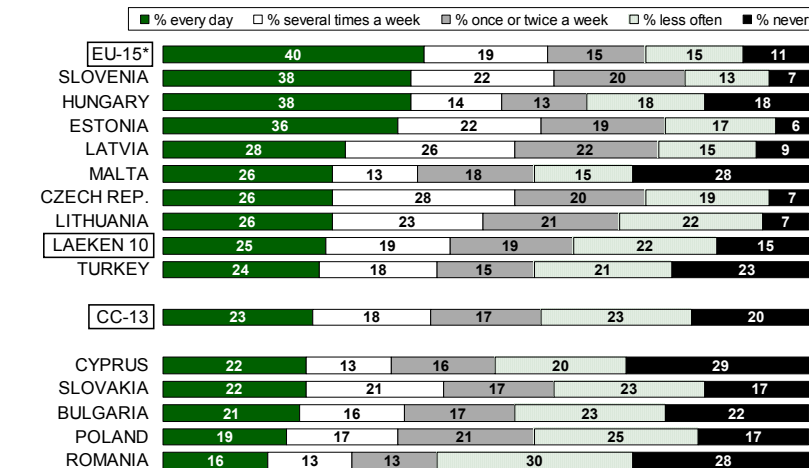


Fig. 1.5b

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2

September - October, 2002

\*Source: Standard Eurobarometer 56

Oct - Nov 2001

Question: About how often do you ... read the news in daily papers? (Show card with scale, read out)

(% "Don't know and "No answer" not shown)

## News listenership on the radio

Nearly equal proportions of respondents in the Candidate Countries and in the EU listen to the radio news either every day (33% in the CC-13 and 38% in EU-15 region) or several times a week (15% and 18%, respectively). The radio plays an important role in providing news on a daily basis for Estonians (56%) and Hungarians (54%), while in Turkey less than one in five people listens to radio news every day (17%). (ANNEX TABLE 14)

## News listenership on the radio

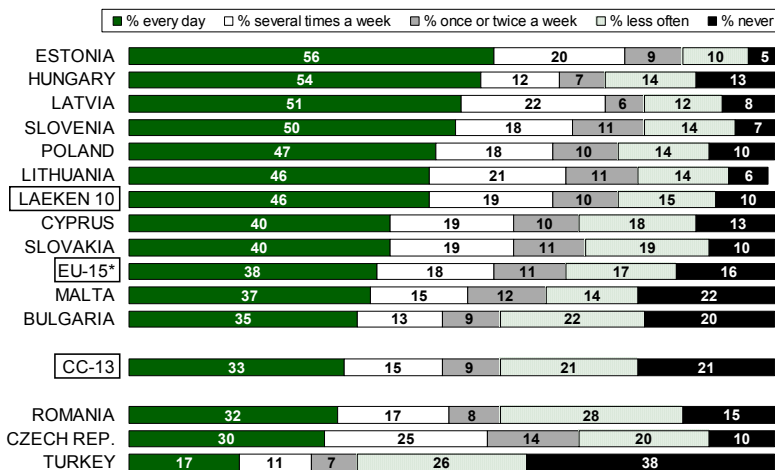


Fig. 1.5c

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2

September - October, 2002

\*Source: Standard Eurobarometer 56

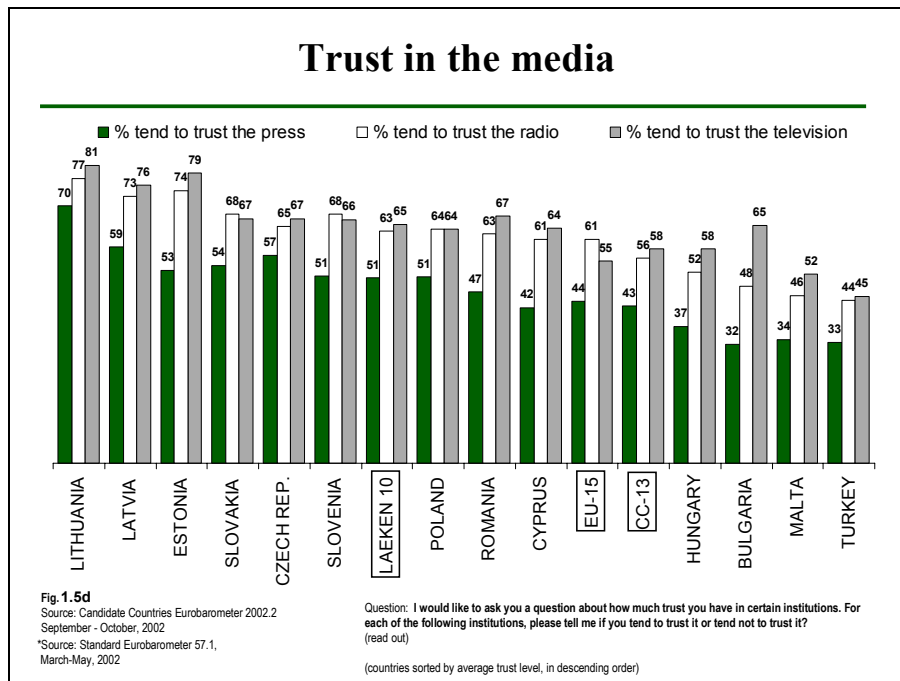
Oct - Nov 2001

Question: About how often do you ... listen to the news on the radio? (Show card with scale, read out)

(% "Don't know and "No answer" not shown)

## Trust in the media

Eurobarometer also measured the level of trust in the printed press and in the electronic media. The levels of trust in the media are similar in the Candidate Region and the European Union<sup>10</sup>. Television remains the most trusted source of information in the Candidate Countries, 58% of respondents say that they tend to trust television (EU15: 55%); 56% say they tend to trust the radio (EU15: 61%), and 43% say they tend to trust the press (EU15: 44%).



The country-by-country analyses show that the same pattern is followed everywhere, but actual levels of trust vary on a wide range. Confidence in **radio** is highest in Lithuania (77%), Estonia (74%), and Latvia (73%), and lowest in Turkey (44%), Malta (46%), and Bulgaria (48%).

Trust levels for **television** are highest in the three Baltic States: Lithuania (81%), Estonia (79%), and Latvia (76%), and lowest in Turkey (45%) and Malta (52%).

Trust levels for the **press** are highest in Lithuania (71%), the Czech Republic (61%), and Estonia (57%), and lowest in Turkey (26%), where there is very low confidence in all three media. (ANNEX TABLE 1.15)

In comparison to autumn 2001, the results show that trust in the electronic media has dropped (TV -8, Radio -5), and trust in the press has not changed significantly at the CC-13 level (+1).

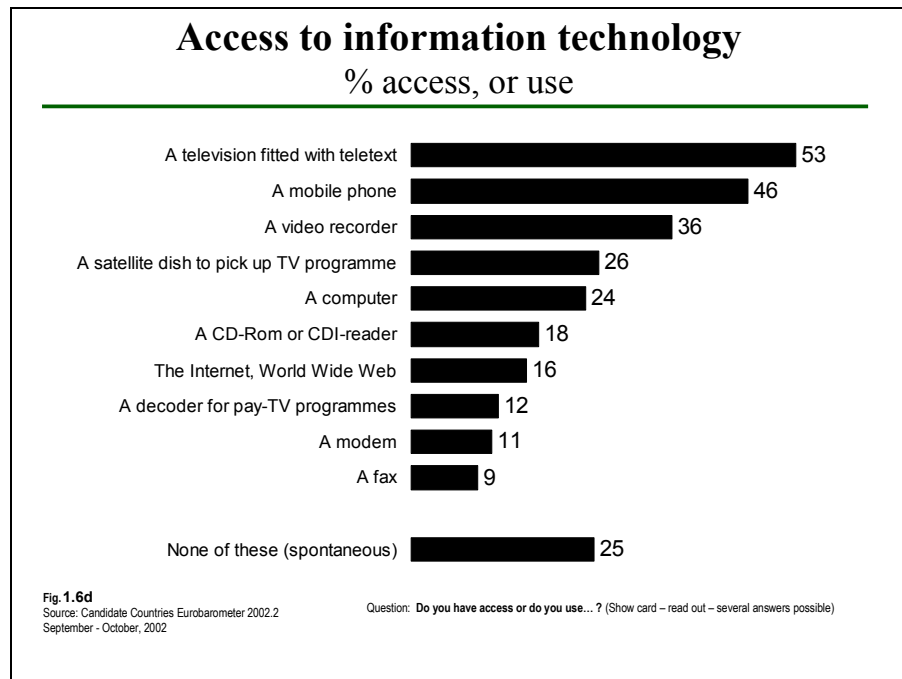
<sup>10</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

## 1.6 Access to modern information technology

The survey also measures the extent to which people have access to information technology. In the Candidate Countries, access is most widespread for traditional means of information, such as televisions fitted with teletext (53%), and video recorders (36%), but mobile phones, which are increasingly used for information services, are accessible to a significant proportion (46%) of the citizens, as well. (ANNEX TABLE 1.16)

One in four respondents claimed they don't use or have access to any of the information technologies listed in the survey (25%).

Since the autumn of 2001 there has been no change in these figures in the Candidate Countries.

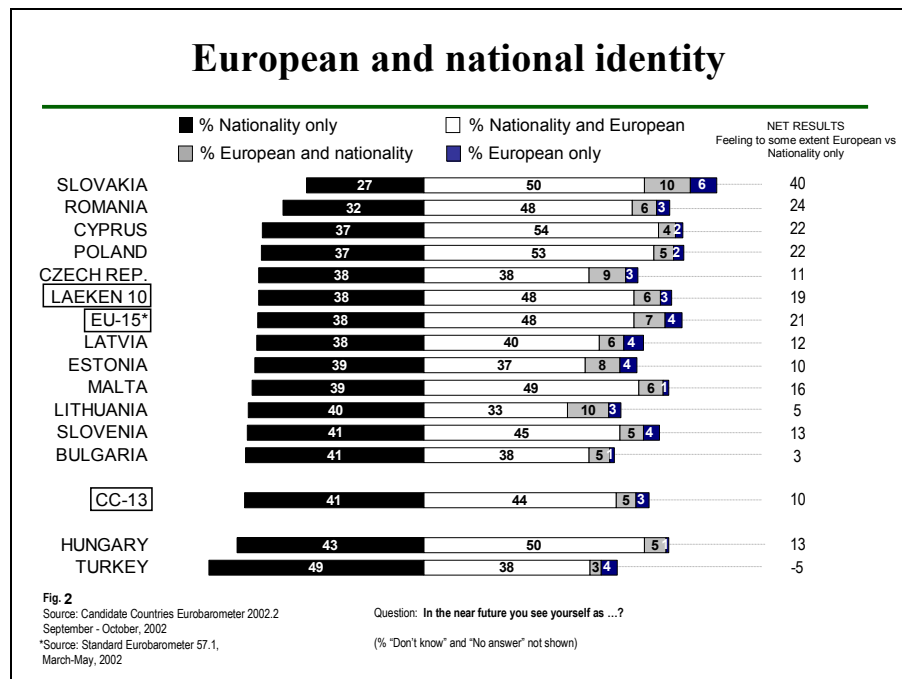


## 2. Attachment to nationality and identification with Europe

When asked how they see themselves in the near future, people who say that they feel European are in the majority in nine of the 15 Member States<sup>11</sup>. Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found that only in Turkey has national identity remained the primary source of self-definition of the majority of respondents to a significant extent, as opposed to the idea of being attached to Europe.

In the other countries, those who see themselves as European to some extent in the near future outnumber those who expect to continue to identify themselves with their nationality only, though – just as in the Member States – very few respondents regard themselves as exclusively European (from 1 % in Malta, Bulgaria and Hungary, to 6 % in Slovakia).

60% of EU citizens associate their identity to some extent with being European; we find only 52% sharing this feeling in the Candidate Countries. There are six countries among current Member States and Candidate Countries, where national attachment exclusively determines the identity of the majority of the people; five of those are current members of the European Union. In the Candidate Region, Turkey was the only country where nearly 50% told us they would see themselves 'Turkish only' in the near future. (ANNEX TABLE 2.1A)



We find that people in Slovakia are most likely to feel European only (6%), followed by people in Latvia (4%), Estonia (4%), Slovenia (4%), and Turkey (4%). In all other countries, 3% or less of the population shares this feeling. When we include people who feel somewhat European, Slovakia tops the list at 67%, followed by Poland and Cyprus (both 59%). The four other countries where people who feel (to some extent) European are in the majority are Romania (56%), Malta (56%), Hungary (56%), and Slovenia (54%). As mentioned before, in Turkey (49%), national identity is clearly the prevailing sentiment.

The demographic analyses show that managers (71%), people who are still studying (70%), and those who left full-time education and are aged 20 or older (68%) are most likely to feel European to some extent. Fifty-four percent of men and 49% of women share this feeling.

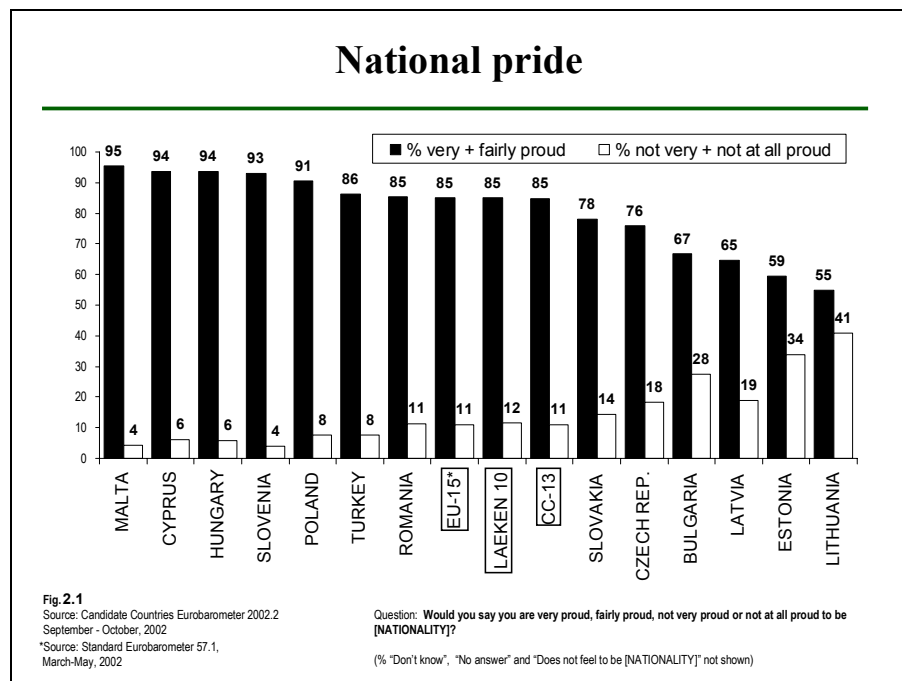
<sup>11</sup> EB54.1, Winter 2000, Chapter 2.2

People who left school before the age of 15 (52%), the self-employed (51%), the persons older than 55 years, and the house persons (both 49%) are most likely to identify with their own nationality.

The attitudinal analysis shows that 64% of people who regard their country's membership to the European Union as a good thing feel European to some extent (as do 18% of those who answered that their country's membership will be a bad thing). At the other extreme we find that 72% of people who regard their country's membership as a bad thing identify with their own nationality. (ANNEX TABLE 2.1B)

## 2.1 National pride

The following graph shows that the extent to which people are proud of their nationality varies greatly from country to country. On average, the levels of national pride in the Member States (83%) and in the Candidate Countries (85%) are very similar. People in Malta are most likely to feel proud (95%) and levels of national pride are also high in Cyprus (94%), in Hungary (94%), and in Slovenia (93%), whilst people in the Baltic region are least likely to share this view. (ANNEX TABLE 2.2A)

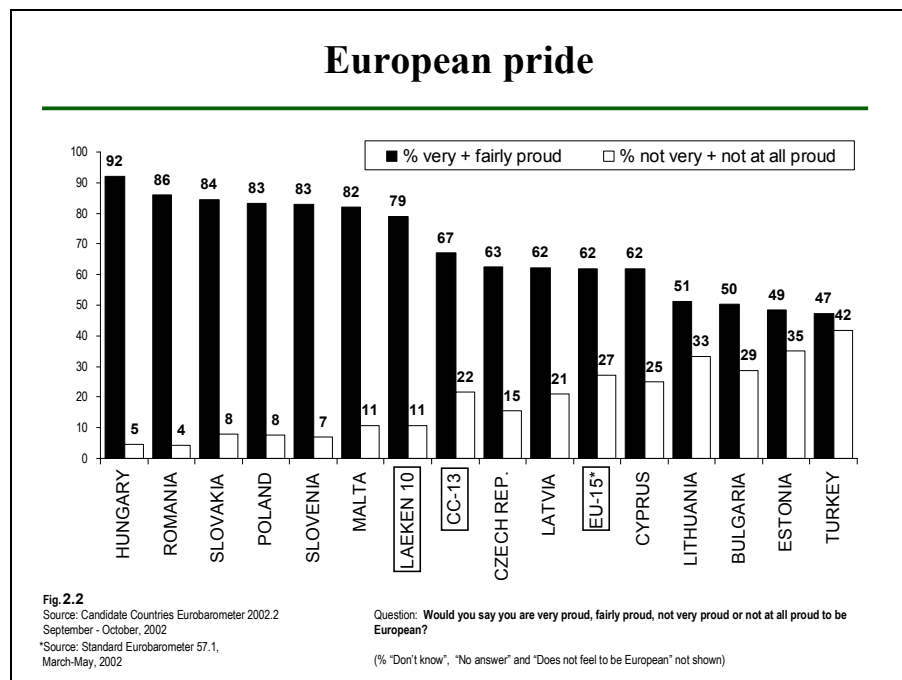


## 2.2 European pride

When asked about how proud people are to be European, levels of pride<sup>12</sup> vary considerably across the Candidate Region (67%), but are, on average, slightly higher than in the Member States (62%). Those who are proud to be European are most likely to be found in Hungary (92 %), followed by Romania (86%), Slovakia (84%), Poland (83%), Slovenia (83%), and Malta (82%). Levels of pride are lowest in Turkey (47%) but a little higher than in the previous wave (41%), in Estonia (49%), and Bulgaria (50%). But in all countries people who feel proud to be European outnumber those who do not feel proud. (ANNEX TABLE 2.3A)

Demographic analyses show significant differences along all demographical variables. Sixty-eight percent of men and 66 % of women are proud to be European, and 23% of men and 20% of women are not.

Education is an important determinant of people's pride in being European. Seventy-nine percent of people who stayed in full-time education until the age of 20 or older feel proud to be European, followed by 75% of people who are still studying, and 74% of people who were in education until 16 to 19 years of age. Those who left school before they reached the age of 15 are, at 55%, the educational group who are least likely to feel proud. Among the various occupational groups we find that managers are most likely to feel proud (78%). Self-employed people (59%) and house persons (50%) are least likely to feel proud. However, there is no demographic group with pride levels below 50%. (ANNEX TABLE 2.3B)



One might think that high levels of national pride would 'prevent' high levels of European pride, as though these sentiments are mutually exclusive. In fact, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found a strong positive, a statistically significant correlation between the two feelings. In other words, a high level of national pride makes an individual more likely to be proud of being European as well<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> This is the sum of percentages of those who answered they are very proud and fairly proud to be European.

<sup>13</sup> Pearson correlation: 0.501, correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), and the Gamma Association Coefficient between the two ordinal variables is: 0.399, significant at 0.000 level.



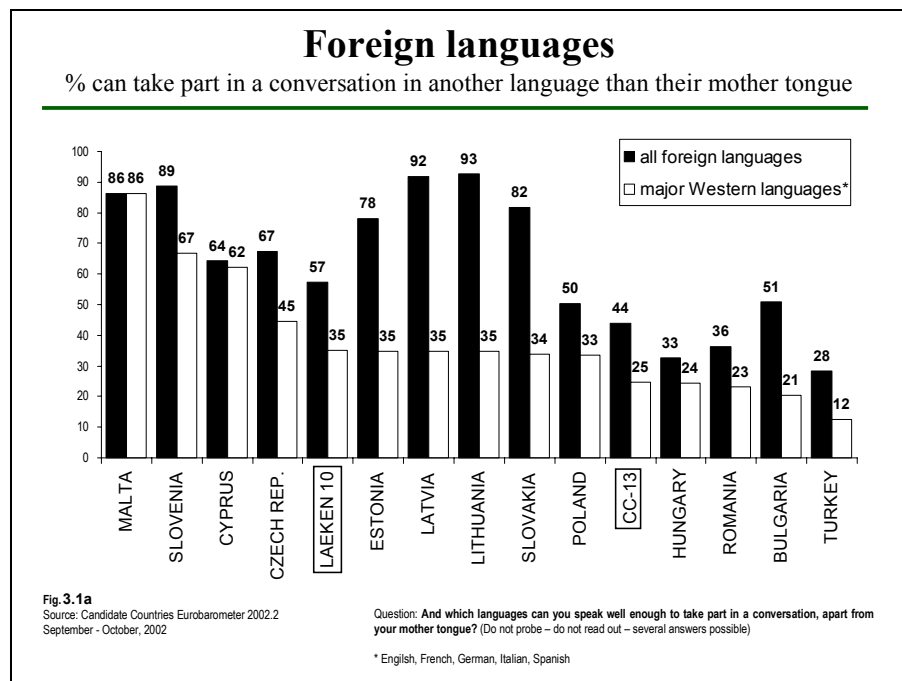
### 3. Contact with other countries, cultures

#### 3.1 Languages

##### Knowledge of foreign languages

Almost half of the Candidate Region's population can take part in a conversation in a language other than their mother tongue (44%), which is lower than the percentage from October 2001 (48%), but is marginally higher than what Eurobarometer found in the Member States<sup>14</sup> (47%). However, there is a significant difference in the composition of the known foreign languages in the Candidate Countries.

Two factors explain this high level of bi- or multilingualism. On the one hand, several nations in this region speak a Slavic language and these people can converse to some extent with other Slavic-speaking people with little difficulty (Slovenes, Slovaks, Czechs, Poles, and Bulgarians). On the other hand, there are large ethnic minorities in some of these countries, who speak the official language of their countries as a "second language".



Those newborn countries where, until recently, the official language was different from the present one, top the foreign-language ranking. The exception is Malta where English has been the official language, along with Maltese, for quite a while. At the very top of ranking of percentages of people who can take part in a conversation in foreign language we find citizens of Lithuania, a post-Soviet country with a large Russian minority (93%), followed by Latvia with similar characteristics (92%), and Slovenia, which seceded from Yugoslavia about 10 years ago (89%). And at the bottom of this ranking we find those countries whose native languages have no linguistic relatives in the region: Turkish speaking Turkey (only 28% can take part in a conversation in a foreign language), the Finno-Ugric Hungary (33%), and Romania, with her Latin language (36%).

It may be more enlightening to see the extent to which people living in the Candidate Countries are familiar with the major Western European languages. Overall, 25% of the

<sup>14</sup> EB55.1, Spring 2001, Chapter 5.2

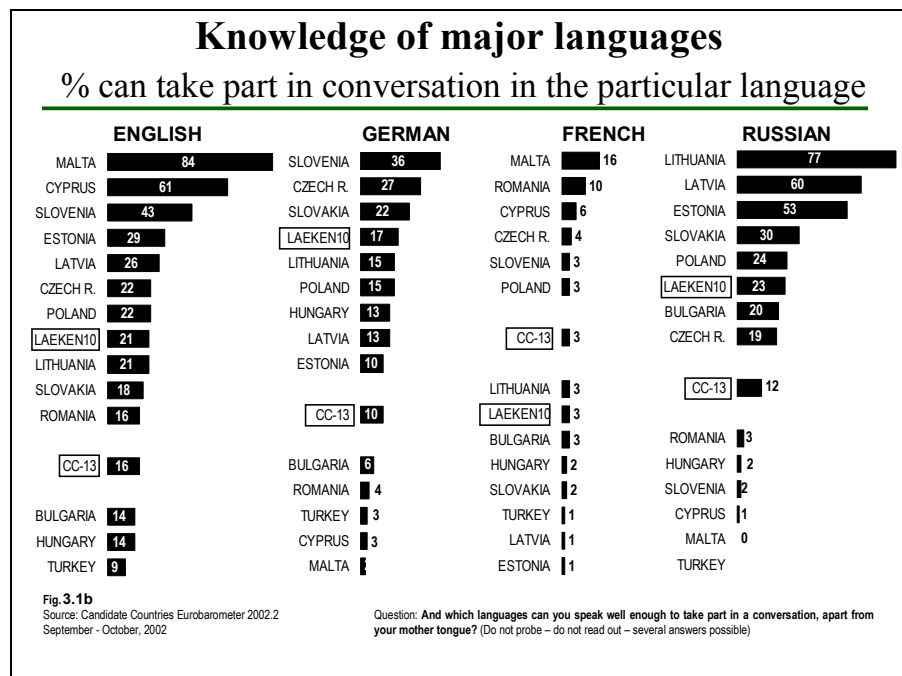
citizens of the Candidate Countries are able to converse in English, German, French, Italian, or Spanish. 86% of the 15 year old or older population in Malta can take part in a conversation in one of the Western languages. Slovenia has the second highest proportion of speakers of a Western European language — 67% of the adults and teenagers report that they can take part in a conversation in at least one of the five major Western languages. Cyprus (62%) and the Czech Republic (45%) follow. On the other hand, the Turkish are the least likely to speak one of the major Western languages (12%), followed by Bulgarians (21%), Romanians (23%), and Hungarians, of whom only one in four speak English, German, French, Spanish, or Italian.

On average, among the citizens of the Candidate Region, 16% can take part in a conversation in English, one in 10 speak German, 3% speak French, and 12% speak Russian. In terms of **English** knowledge, obviously Malta is in first place with 84% English proficiency, followed by Cyprus (61%), and Slovenia (43%). Relatively few people speak English in Turkey (9%), Hungary, and Bulgaria (both 14%).

**German** knowledge is the most widespread in Slovenia, with 36% of Slovenians speaking German well enough to take part in a conversation. The Czech Republic comes second (27%), and Slovakia third (22%). On the other hand, it is very difficult to use German in Malta (2%), Cyprus, or Turkey, where 2-3% of the people speak this language.

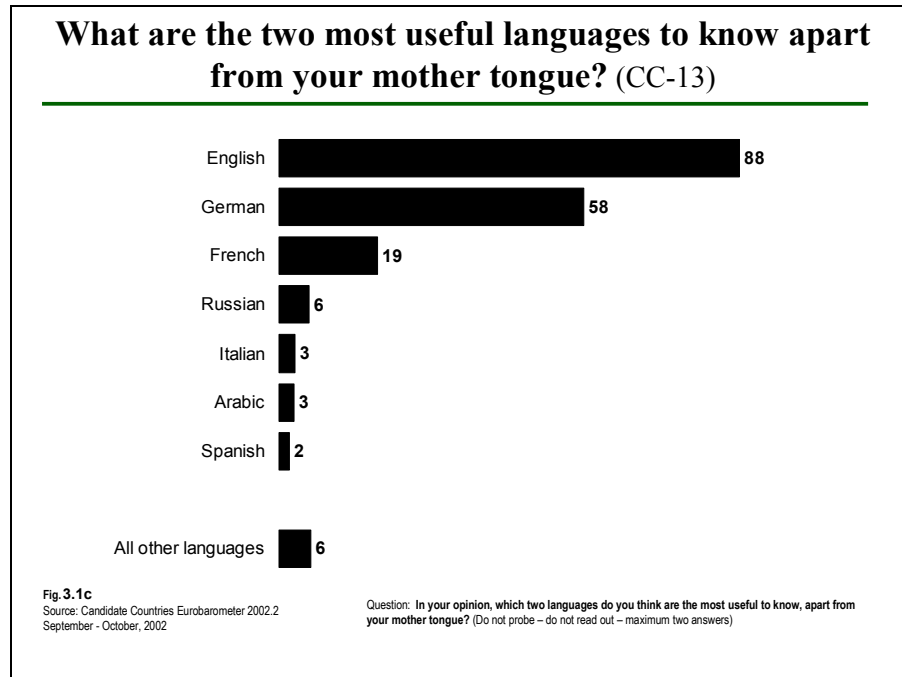
**French** is the least popular among these four languages in the Candidate Countries. The Maltese are the most likely to understand French, with 16% of the population speaking the language, followed by Romanians (10%). Six percent from Cyprus and 4% from the Czech Republic speak French. In Estonia, Latvia, and Turkey only 1% of our respondents said they were able to conduct a basic conversation in this language.

However, **Russian** speakers have a much better chance of being understood in the majority of the Candidate Countries. Even in the Laeken-10 group, Russian proficiency (23%) is marginally higher than English (21%). The regional average of Russian proficiency is not very high though, because in the two largest countries there are no, or just very few Russian speakers (Turkey and Romania), but in seven of the 13 countries surveyed we found that at least on in five people understand Russian. In the Baltic States, in particular, there is a very high level of Russian proficiency, with Lithuania being the first on the list (77%), followed by Latvia (60%), and Estonia (53%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.1)



### Which foreign languages are the most useful to know?

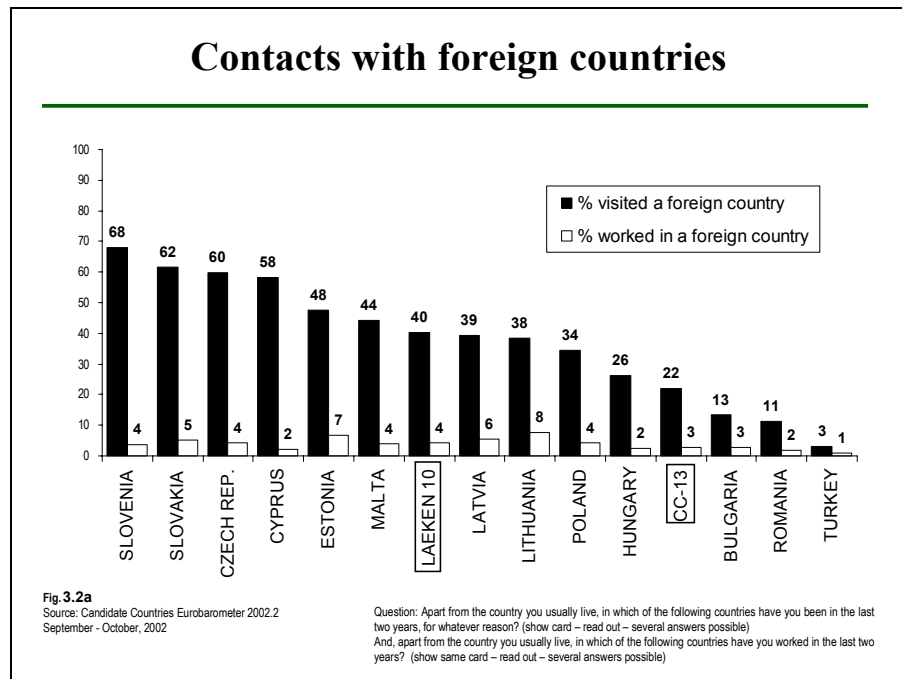
Having already noted that English is the most widely known foreign language, it is not surprising to find that it is also most widely considered to be the language that is most useful to know in addition to the mother tongue. Eighty-eight percent of respondents chose English as one of the two most useful languages. Russian, however, which is almost as widespread as English, was only mentioned by 6% as one of the most important foreign languages. Fifty-eight percent selected German, while 19% favoured French. Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found 3% of respondents said Arabic is one of the two most useful languages to know, followed Italian (3%), and ahead of Spanish (2%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.2)



### 3.2 Contacts with foreign countries

While one in five citizens living in a Candidate Country visited at least one foreign country in the past two years (22%), the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found very few respondents who had worked in another country (3%). When we examine visits to other countries, we find large variations among the countries investigated. On the other hand, there is much less variation in patterns of past work-experience in foreign countries: the ratio of those who have been recently working abroad ranges from 1% to 8%. The highest proportions were found in Lithuania (8%), followed by Estonia (7%), Latvia (6%), and Slovakia (5%). On the other hand, only 1% of Turks, and 2% of Romanians, Hungarians, and Cypriots told us that they had worked abroad. In Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Malta and Poland this figure was 4%, and 3 % in Bulgaria.

Looking at visits to other countries, the ratios range from 3% in Turkey to 68% in Slovenia. Slovenians are followed by Slovaks (62%) and Czechs (60%), they are the most likely to have visited a foreign country in the past two years. Bulgarians (13%) and Romanians (11%) are, though to a lesser extent than the Turkish, not very likely to travel abroad. (ANNEX TABLE 3.3)



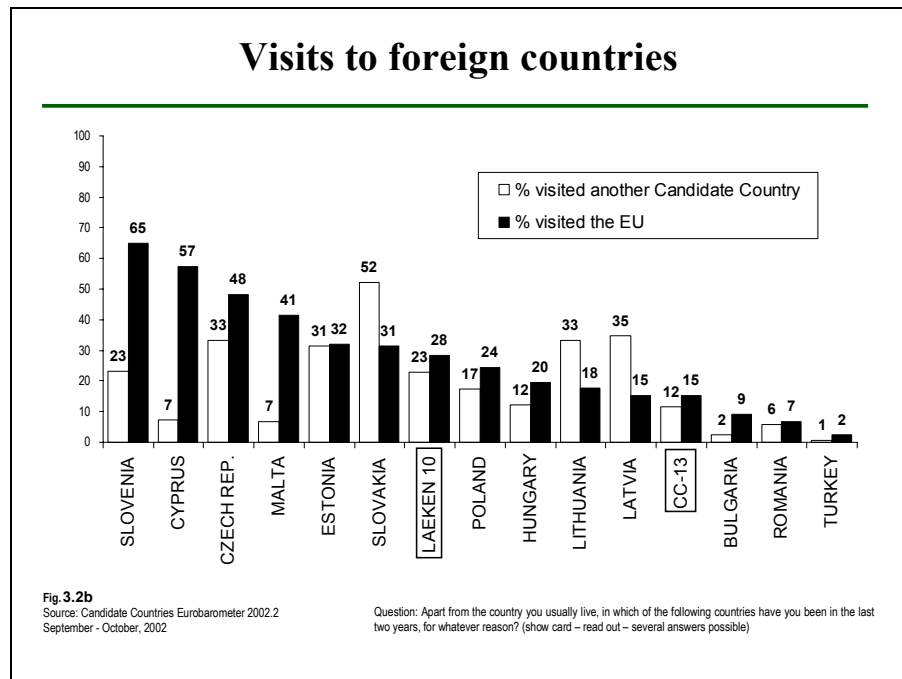
It is more likely that those who have been working abroad have been working in the European Union than in another Candidate Country. Four percent of Poles, Estonians, Lithuanians, Maltese, and Czechs had worked in one of the Member States of the European Union in the past two years.

**Table 3.2 Work experience abroad**

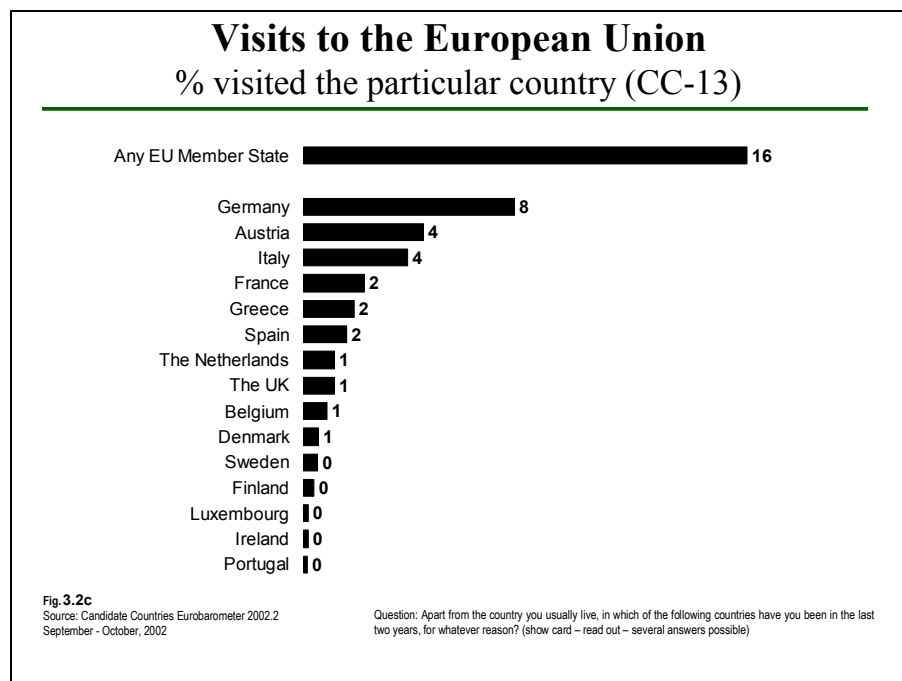
	% worked in the EU	% worked in another Candidate Country		% worked in the EU	% worked in another Candidate Country
LITHUANIA	4	1	SLOVAKIA	2	3
POLAND	4	0	BULGARIA	2	0
ESTONIA	4	1	CC-13	2	0
MALTA	4	0	CYPRUS	2	0
CZECH REP.	4	1	HUNGARY	2	0
LATVIA	3	1	ROMANIA	1	0
SLOVENIA	3	1	TURKEY	1	0

If we investigate foreign visits in the same breakdown, we find that some countries are significantly more likely to send visitors to the Member States than to other countries.

Slovenia tops the ranking of EU visits as well: 65% of the Slovenian teenager and adult population have visited the European Union in the past two years. The Cypriots (57%) and the Czechs (48%) are also rather likely to have travelled in the EU lately. On the other hand the well-travelled Slovaks are more likely to have visited another Candidate Country than the European Union (52% visited another CC but only 31% the EU). Similarly, in two of the Baltic States, travellers were more likely to have visited countries in the Candidate Region than in the EU (Lithuania: 33% CC versus 18% EU; Latvia: 35% CC versus 16% EU). Maltese and Cypriots are also relatively frequent travellers, but they travel mainly to the EU (57% and 41% respectively) and rarely visit another Candidate Country (7% - 7%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.4)



Among those who visited an EU country in the past two years, Germany was the most likely destination: 8%, half of those who visited an EU country in the past two years, visited Germany (as well). It is followed by Austria (4%) and Italy (4%). Portugal, Ireland, Luxemburg, Finland, and Sweden are the least popular destinations: each of these countries was visited by less than 1% of respondents in the past two years.



### 3.3 Tolerance towards other people

#### Are people of other races, nationalities, religions disturbing?

One of the most important developments of building Europe is the increased ability of people belonging to different cultures, religions, or races to travel across national borders, and to change residence within the European Union. Many citizens see this as important progress, but others consider its effects dangerous, or simply uncomfortable. Candidate Countries Eurobarometer measured to what extent citizens tolerate coexistence with people belonging to other races, nationalities, or religions.

To do that we have asked our respondents:

*Some people are disturbed by the opinions, customs, and way of life of people different from themselves.*

- a) Do you personally find the presence of people of another nationality disturbing in your daily life?*
- b) And do you find the presence of people of another race disturbing?*
- c) And do you find the presence of people of another religion disturbing?*

Of course, our culture does not favour expressing xenophobic and intolerant views, so we can't believe that we capture the real extent of racial, national, and religious intolerance in the societies of the Candidate Region. But comparing the results for the three groups and for each of the countries, we have a comparative measure that ranks the nations according to their level of tolerance.

**Table 3.3 Levels of intolerance in the Candidate Region**  
(averages disturbed by people of other races, nations, religions, nationalities)

COUNTRY	%	COUNTRY	%
CYPRUS	29	LATVIA	9
MALTA	21	BULGARIA	8
CZECH REP.	18	SLOVENIA	8
ESTONIA	13	HUNGARY	8
LITHUANIA	12	SLOVAKIA	8
TURKEY	11	POLAND	6
CC 13	9	ROMANIA	6

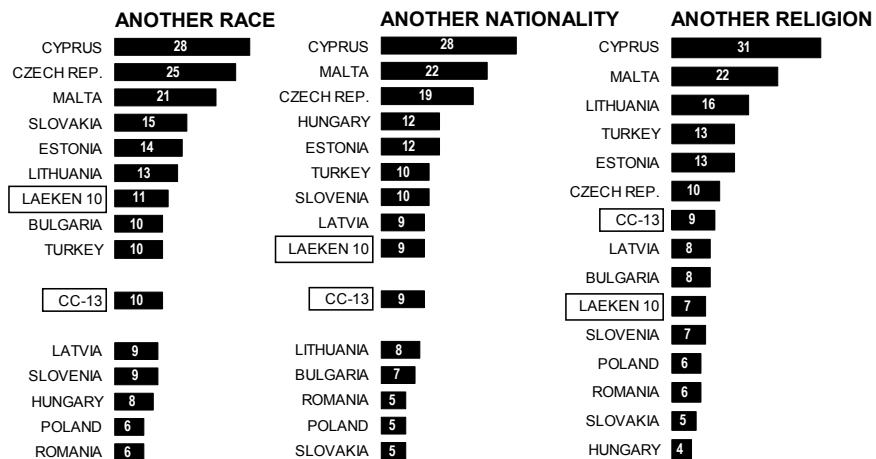
We find that our Cypriot respondents are the most likely to express their discomfort towards people belonging to other cultures or races, followed by the Maltese and Czech citizens. On the other hand, Romanians, Poles, and Slovaks are either more tolerant, or the taboos regarding this issue are stronger than they are in the other Candidate Countries.  
(ANNEX TABLE 3.5A)

There is no significant difference in intolerance according to the targeted group; for the three groups about the same proportion of people (9-10% on the CC-13 level) express intolerant attitudes. This is true for the countries that express the highest (Cyprus, Malta, Estonia) and lowest levels of intolerance as well (Romania, Poland, Slovenia).

But certain countries show a strong hierarchy in this respect. An example would be the Czech Republic, where one in four citizens, 25%, 'are disturbed' by people of different races, 19% by people of another nationality, and only 10% by people belonging to another religion. Hungary is another country where intolerance has a hierarchy, but Hungarians say they are the most disturbed not by people of another race (8%), but by people of another nationality (12%). Only four percent of Hungarians say that people from other religions disturb them. In Slovakia, citizens are far more intolerant of people belonging to other nationalities (15%) than to different races or religions (5% each). Finally, Lithuanians serve as an example of a nation where religious intolerance is the strongest (16%), followed by racial (13%), and national intolerance to decreasing extent (8%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.5)

### Intolerance towards different races, nationalities, religions

% find presence of people belonging to a given group disturbing



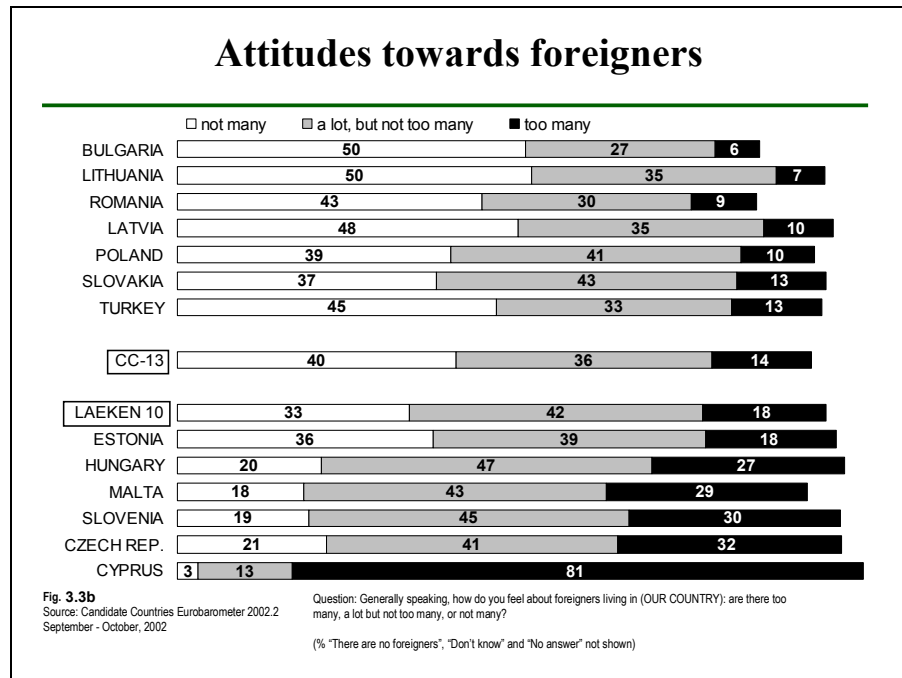
**Fig. 3.3a**  
Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September - October, 2002

Question: Some people are disturbed by the opinions, customs and way of life of people different from themselves.  
a) Do you personally find the presence of people of another nationality, disturbing in your daily life? b) And do you find the presence of people of another race disturbing? c) And do you find the presence of people of another religion disturbing?

### Are there too many foreigners in the country?

Fourteen percent on the CC-13 level, and 18% in the Laeken-10 group, say there are. In Cyprus, where in fact the proportion of foreign citizens is very high compared to other countries in Europe, 81% people say there are too many foreigners in their country.

In Bulgaria, Lithuania, Romania, Turkey, and Latvia the majority does not believe that there are many foreigners in the country. The majority opinion in most countries is that there are many, but not *too* many, foreigners. This tolerant attitude is the most widespread in Hungary (47%), Slovenia (45%), Malta, and Slovakia (43% both). (ANNEX TABLE 3.6A)



There is a surprisingly low variation of the judgement of the numbers of foreigners in the country as too many, many, or not many. The analysis of the economic activity scale shows some difference; while only 9% of the managers think that there are too many foreigners in their country, 17% of retired people and manual workers share this opinion.

Looking at our attitudinal groups at the same time is enlightening. While only 12% of those who think their country's EU membership would be a good thing complain about having too many foreigners in their country, 23% of those who regard their country's future European Union membership as a bad thing say there are too many foreigners in their country. (ANNEX TABLE 3.6B)



## 4. Attitudes towards the European Union

This chapter introduces the reader to the general sentiments and attitudes of the Candidate Countries towards the EU. It looks at the different meanings of the European Union to the Candidate Countries, and the meanings of being a *citizen* of the European Union. Later, we will look at the main trend-indicators of support for the European Union in the Candidate Countries. We will report on the image of the EU, the people's feelings towards the European Union — does it conjure up a positive or negative image for those who live in the Candidate Countries? Levels of support for European Union membership are discussed here, along with the perceived benefit of EU membership. The chapter also analyses people's trust in the European Union, and in nine of its institutions and bodies. It reports on support for joint EU decision-making, and the expected and desired future role of the European Union in these countries.

### 4.1 Spontaneous image and meaning of the EU

In this subchapter, we examine the context under which the European Union is interpreted in the Candidate Countries, i.e. what does membership of the European Union mean for the people of the candidate region.

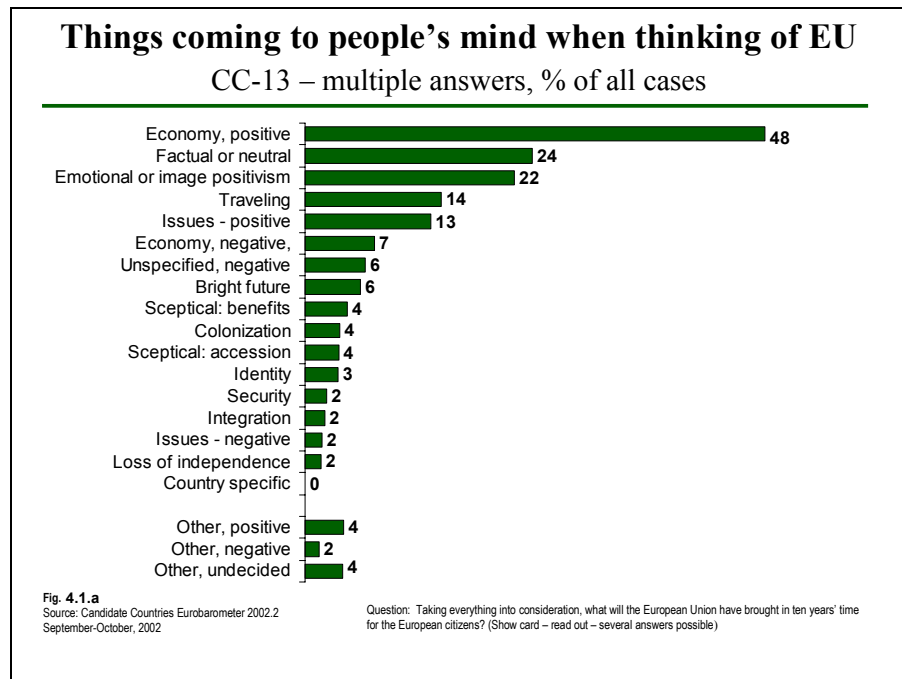
First we will look at the unaided responses — what comes to mind when people think of the European Union. Then we look at how these thoughts add up; whether people have a positive or a negative image of the European Union as a whole. We will also investigate how people see certain aspects of the European Union.

#### What comes to mind when people think of the European Union

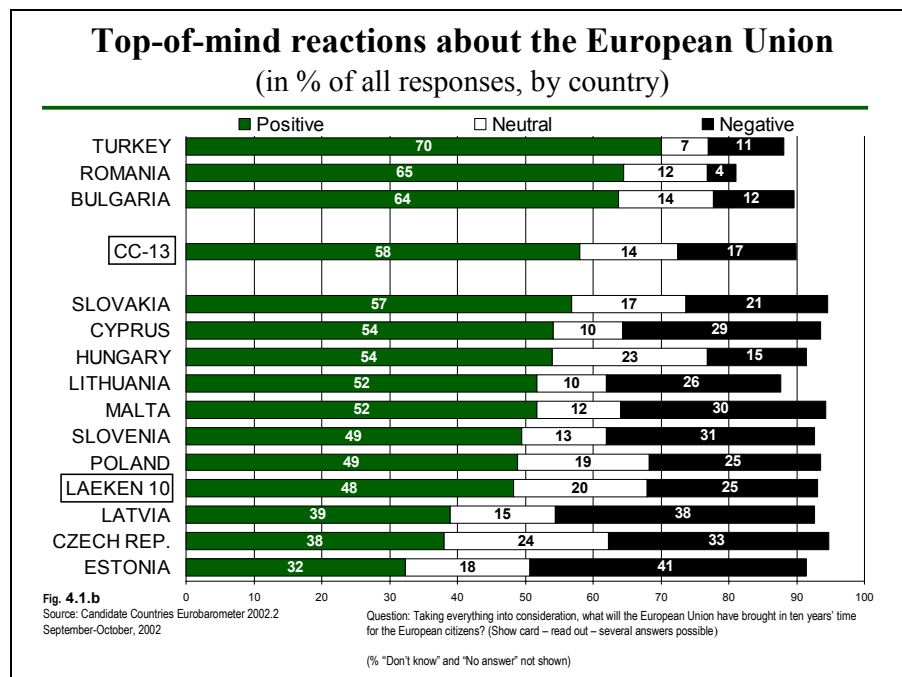
The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer asked the respondents to tell us what their first thoughts were when they had to say something about the European Union. We left this question open-ended to better explore the underlying structure of opinions about the EU. We collected almost 20,000 verbatim statements from the 13 countries, and grouped these into 20 substantive answer categories, as follows:

**Table 4.1a Categories applied in the analysis of open-ended questions**

Positive categories	Negative categories	Neutral categories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Integration helps</li> <li>▪ Economically positive</li> <li>▪ Unspecified positive statements based on emotions or general image perception ("General positive")</li> <li>▪ "Bright future"</li> <li>▪ Enhanced (military) security</li> <li>▪ Travelling, visa, movement of labour</li> <li>▪ Issues, policies – positive</li> <li>▪ Other, positive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Economically negative, protectionism, unspecified negative emotions, hostile statements</li> <li>▪ Hate speech, unspecified negative statement</li> <li>▪ Loss of political independence</li> <li>▪ "Colonization"</li> <li>▪ Issues, policies - negative</li> <li>▪ Identity issues, nationalistic or xenophobic attitudes</li> <li>▪ Sceptical about accession</li> <li>▪ Sceptical about benefits</li> <li>▪ Other, negative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Factual or neutral statements</li> <li>▪ Country-specific issues</li> <li>▪ Other, undecided (statements that can hold both positive or negative meanings)</li> </ul>



The majority of people in the Candidate Countries have a positive image of the Union, mainly for economic reasons. The Union is seen as the source of prosperity and the guarantee of richness. The five most frequent answer categories are positive or neutral. The most frequent negative answer category ("Economy negative, protectionism") was mentioned only by 6% of the respondents. Forty percent of all respondents, when asked for their first thoughts about the European Union, came up with a statement expressing **positive expectations regarding the economy of their own country**, 20% of the respondents gave us at least one **neutral, factual response** (e.g. the flag, enlargement), and 18% responded with **general positive statements** (saying, for instance, that the EU is was a "good thing").



More than half of all collected responses (58%) were positive on average in all 13 countries. Seventeen percent were negative statements. If we look at respondents instead of responses, we find that 94% of people living in a Candidate Country had a positive concept of the European Union when asked for a top-of-mind response, and only 28% gave us a statement with a negative connotation.

The Turkish are the most likely react positively when asked to think about the EU (70% of all responses are positive), followed by the Romanians (65%), and the Bulgarians (64%). We find the highest ratio of negative responses in Estonia (41%), Latvia (38%), and the Czech Republic (33%).

The next table shows the three categories that Candidate Countries Eurobarometer used to classify the verbatim responses, and were mentioned the most in each Candidate Country. The **Economy, positive** category tops the list in 10 of the 13 Candidate Countries and takes third place in one other country (Cyprus). However, the Czech Republic and Estonia doesn't make the top three. The **Factual, neutral** category tops the list in two Candidate Countries, and comes in second or third place in eight countries. It does not make the top three in Cyprus, Malta, and Turkey. **Economy negative, protectionism** tops the list in Cyprus, and ranks second or third in the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, and Malta. It is not among the top three in Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Turkey. The **General, positive** category does not have top ranking anywhere, but reaches the second place in four countries. We find "**Travelling**" among the top three in five countries. Malta and Slovenia are the only countries where "**Bright future**" ranks in the top three.

**Table 4.1b Three most frequent top-of-mind thoughts about the European Union**  
(%, by country)

<b>Bulgaria</b>	
Economy, positive	19
Emotional or image positivism	8
Factual or neutral	8

<b>Malta</b>	
Economy, positive	11
Economy, negative, protectionism	7
Bright future	4

<b>Cyprus</b>	
Economy, negative, protectionism	10
Issues - positive	9
Economy, positive	7

<b>Poland</b>	
Economy, positive	12
Factual or neutral	12
Emotional or image positivism	8

<b>Czech Republic</b>	
Factual or neutral	14
Traveling	9
Economy, negative, protectionism	7

<b>Romania</b>	
Economy, positive	12
Emotional or image positivism	10
Factual or neutral	5

<b>Estonia</b>	
Factual or neutral	7
Economy, negative, protectionism	7
Traveling	5

<b>Slovakia</b>	
Economy, positive	12
Factual or neutral	8
Traveling	7

<b>Hungary</b>	
Economy, positive	17
Factual or neutral	12
Traveling	4

<b>Slovenia</b>	
Economy, positive	7
Bright future	5
Factual or neutral	5

<b>Latvia</b>	
Economy, positive	8
Factual or neutral	7
Economy, negative, protectionism	5

<b>Turkey</b>	
Economy, positive	16
Issues - positive	7
Emotional or image positivism	5

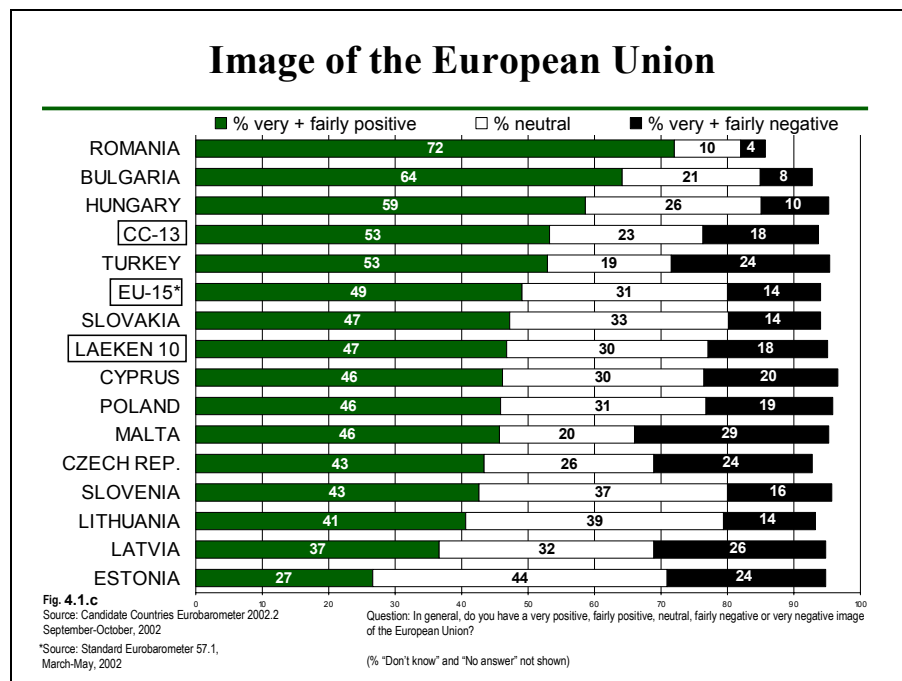
<b>Lithuania</b>	
Economy, positive	9
Traveling	7
Factual or neutral	5

## Image of the European Union

The following question provides an indication of people's emotive stance towards the European Union:

*In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative, or very negative image?*

On average, 53% of Candidate Country citizens have a positive image of the European Union (of which 17% view it 'very positively'). This is four percentage points higher than the level Eurobarometer found within the European Union<sup>15</sup> (49%). Twenty-three percent view the EU in a neutral way. Only 18% say that the EU conjures up a negative image, of whom 5% feel very negatively.



As the graph above shows, more than half of the people in Romania (72%), Bulgaria (64%), Hungary (59%), and Turkey (53%) have a positive image of the EU. The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer did not find any country in which the majority view of the EU is negative (although Estonia is close). The worst image was found in Malta, where the population is split with 46% feeling positive, a fifth (20%) feeling neutral, and almost a third (29%) feeling negative. Estonia is also split, but has many fewer respondents on the positive or negative side. It is in Estonia that the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found the highest proportion of those for whom the EU conjures up a neutral image (44%), followed by Lithuania (39%), and Slovenia (37%). Accordingly, these countries do not score high on the positive side (27%, 41%, and respective 43%), although the number of those who view the EU positively outscore those who view it negatively. (ANNEX TABLE 4.1A)

An analysis of the various demographic groups in the population shows that 68% of those who are still studying say that the EU conjures up a positive image. Sixty-six percent of managers and 63% of the youngest age group share this feeling. At 44%, the people aged 55 or older are the least likely to share this view. Besides the oldest age group, less than 50% of

<sup>15</sup> Standard Eurobarometer 57.1, March-May, 2002

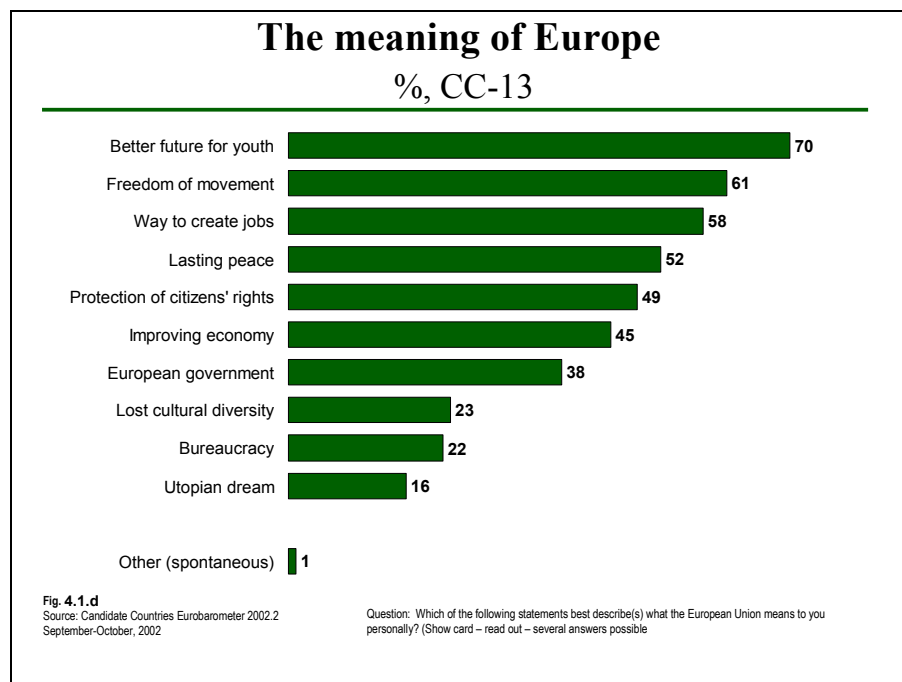
the following groups have a positive view of the EU: retired persons (45%), those who have finished their education up to 15 years (47%), and those from rural settlements or villages (49%).

Furthermore, as one would expect, most people who support their country's EU membership have a positive image (77%) of the EU. Conversely, 80% of people who regard their country's membership as a bad thing have a negative image. (ANNEX TABLE 4.1B)

### Meaning of the European Union

The citizens of Candidate Countries were shown a card with 10 different statements about the European Union and were asked which one of these statements best described what the Union meant to them personally. Seventy percent said that the EU is a 'way to create a better future for young people'. Freedom of movement was the second most important meaning of the EU — 61% of our respondents chose this statement as the one that best describes what the EU means for them personally. Better future for youth is among the top three mentions in all but Cyprus, and freedom of movement is among the top three, except in Hungary and Romania.

More than half (58%) of the people living in the Candidate Region agreed that the EU is a way to create jobs. This statement ranks among the top three in Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Turkey. Fifty-two percent of the respondents told us that they see the EU as the guarantee of lasting peace in Europe. Relatively few, one in five, respondents said that the EU is a risk to the preservation of cultural diversity in Europe (23%), or that the EU is just a big bureaucratic organization (22%). Finally, just over one in 10 respondents agreed that the EU is just a utopian idea (16%). The EU means 'European government' only for 38% of the Candidate Countries' citizens. (ANNEX TABLE 4.2)



## Meaning of being a citizen of the European Union

Another question examined awareness of the rights that accompany EU citizenship. Freedom of movement is the most widely known liberty available to the European citizen (with 72% mentioning it in the Candidate Countries).

Sixty-nine percent of people living in the Candidate Region named the ability to study anywhere in the Member States. In the Candidate Countries, more than half of the people surveyed agreed that freedoms enjoyed by European citizen are the right to move permanently to another Member State (68%), and the right of access to healthcare and social care in any of the Member States (58%). Relatively few are aware that EU citizens can vote in elections (local, national, or European) wherever they permanently reside (31%, 30%, and 32%, respectively).

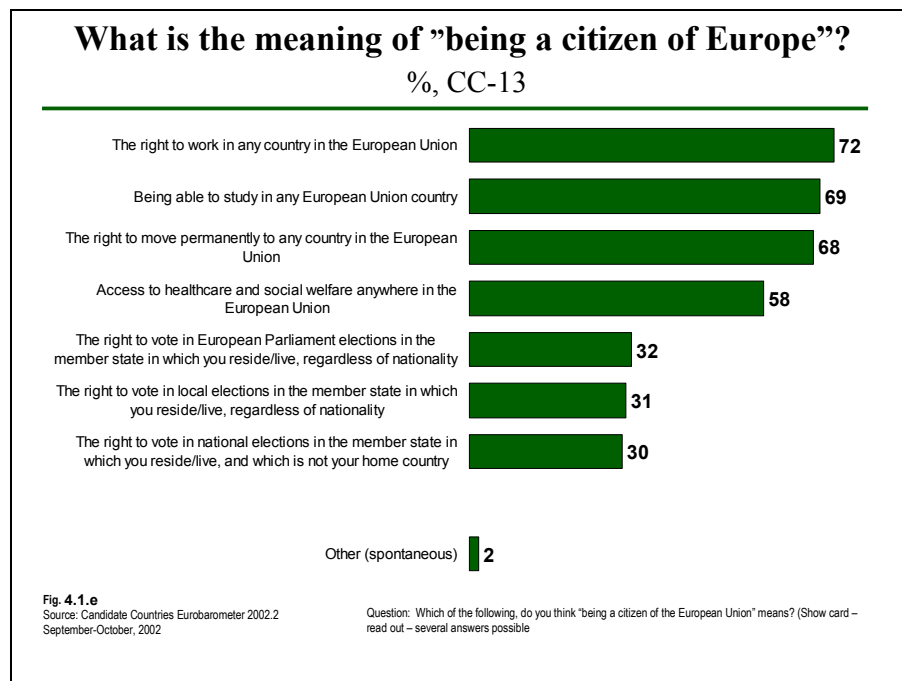


Table 4.1c on the next page shows the three most frequently mentioned rights of European citizens in each country. **The right to work** tops the list in eight of the 13 Candidate Countries, comes in second place in four countries, and comes third in one other country. This means that it ranks within the top three responses in each country. **The right to study anywhere within the Union** category tops the list in four Candidate Countries, comes in second or third place in nine countries – so, this is also mentioned among the top three from the list in all countries. **The right to move permanently** tops the list in Turkey, and comes in second and third places in nine other countries, except for Bulgaria, Slovakia, and Slovenia. (ANNEX TABLE 4.3)

**Table 4.1c Three most frequently mentioned rights of the European citizen**

<b>Bulgaria</b>		<b>Malta</b>	
Right to work	71%	Right to work	64%
Ability to study	59	Ability to study	63
Access to welfare, healthcare	55	Right to move	61
<b>Cyprus</b>		<b>Poland</b>	
Ability to study	85%	Right to work	67%
Right to work	83	Ability to study	67
Right to move	81	Right to move	64
<b>Czech Republic</b>		<b>Romania</b>	
Right to work	69%	Right to work	69%
Ability to study	65	Right to move	68
Right to move	63	Ability to study	62
<b>Estonia</b>		<b>Slovakia</b>	
Right to work	82%	Right to work	79%
Ability to study	81	Ability to study	74
Right to move	67	Access to welfare, healthcare	53
<b>Hungary</b>		<b>Slovenia</b>	
Right to work	80%	Ability to study	63%
Ability to study	77	Access to welfare, healthcare	57
Right to move	67	Right to work	56
<b>Latvia</b>		<b>Turkey</b>	
Ability to study	73%	Right to move	75%
Right to work	71	Right to work	73
Right to move	63	Ability to study	71
<b>Lithuania</b>			
Ability to study	75%		
Right to work	73		
Right to move	60		



## 4.2 Trust in the European Union and its institutions

If we look at the raw results, the European Union is the most trusted international or supra-governmental organization in the Candidate Countries. One in six citizens in the Candidate Region trusts the European Union (59%), 57% trust the European Court of Human Rights, and 56% trust the United Nations. Half of the population from Candidate Regions trusts NATO (51%).



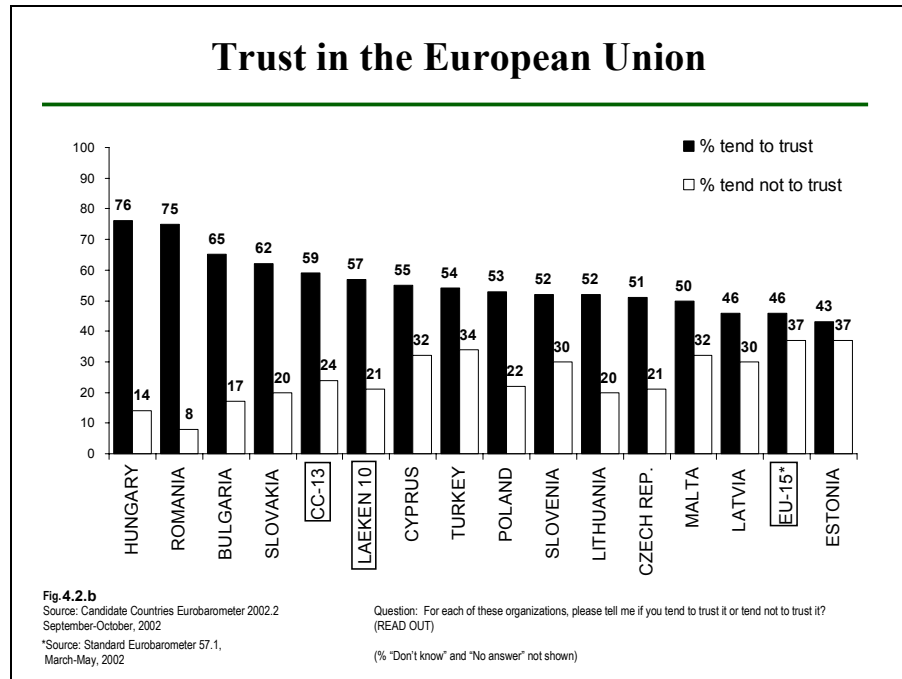
However, many respondents are not aware of many of these institutions, and accordingly, are likely to say that they do not know if they trust them or not. (About awareness of EU, international organizations, and European institutions and bodies, see Chapter 5.1.) Filtering out this effect<sup>16</sup>, we find that, with 62% net percentage difference, the European Court of Human Rights is the most trusted institution in the candidate region, followed closely by the International Court of Justice (61% net percentage difference). The United Nations (45%), OSCE (43%), the European Union (42%), and the Council of Europe (41%) are ahead of NATO (38%) among the listed institutions. (ANNEX TABLE 4.5)

<sup>16</sup> To do so, we analyze the net difference as the percentage of meaningful answers. For example, if an institution is trusted by 20% and not trusted by 10% (the rest have no opinion), then the net percentage difference is  $((20-10)/(20+10)) \times 100 = 33$ . If trust is 50% and mistrust is 30% (so the net difference is higher than in the previous case), the formula will produce a relatively smaller net percentage difference  $((50-30)/(50+30)) \times 100 = 25$ .

If trust is 30% and mistrust is 50% (i.e. higher levels of mistrust than of trust), then the net percentage difference will be negative  $((30-50)/(30+50)) \times 100 = -25$ .

## Trust levels in the European Union

The European Union retains relatively high trust levels in the Candidate Countries, but many citizens lack an opinion. Overall trust level has not changed compared to autumn 2001; 59% of people living in Candidate Countries trust the European Union. In the Laeken-10 group, the average trust level is not dramatically different from the larger region (57%). In the Candidate Countries, 17% of all respondents could not decide if they trusted the European Union or not. Within the EU, the level of trust towards the EU is lower (46% tend to trust and 37% tend not to trust it).



Country-by-country analyses show large variations between the Candidate Countries. People in Hungary and Romania are most likely to trust the European Union (76% and 75%), with more than six in 10 of the citizens of Bulgaria and Slovakia (65% and 62%) sharing this view. More than half of the public in seven countries trust the European Union (from 50% in Malta to 55% in Cyprus). People from Estonia (37%) and Turkey (34%) are most likely not to trust the EU, followed by people in Malta (32%), Cyprus (32%), Latvia (30%), and Slovenia (30%). (ANNEX TABLE 4.4A)

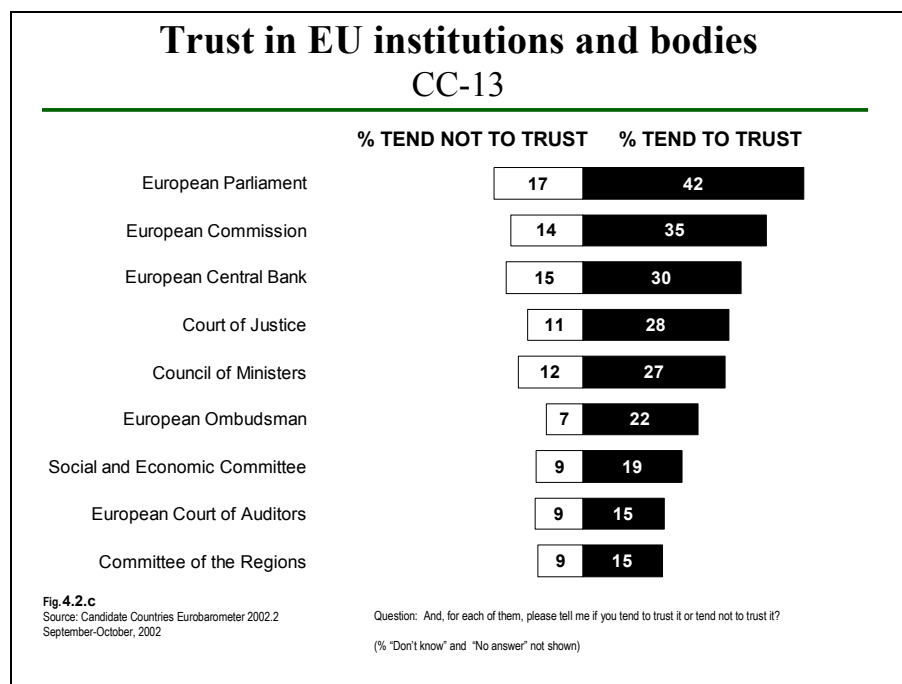
Twenty-nine percent of Lithuanians, 28% of the Czech, and 24% of Poles can't tell if they trust the EU or not, and on average 22% of the Laeken-10 citizens have trouble formulating an opinion on this question.

Demographic analyses show that men are more likely than women to both trust and to lack trust in the EU, with women more likely to lack an opinion. The two youngest age groups are significantly more likely (56% and 53% respectively) to trust the European Union than older people are (43%). Among the various educational groups we find that people who are still studying (60%) and people with the most education (55%) are most likely to trust the EU, while only 45% of people who left school before the age of 15 say that they trust it. At 56%, managers represent the occupational group that is most likely to trust the EU, while self-employed people (43%) and retired people (45%) are most likely to lack trust in the European Union.

Furthermore, the analyses show that 67% of people who regard their country's membership as a good thing trust the European Union, while 78% of those who regard it as a bad thing say they tend not to trust it. (ANNEX TABLE 4.4B)

### Trust levels in the institutions and bodies of the European Union

The survey has investigated trust levels towards nine of the European Union's institutions and bodies<sup>17</sup>. The public is most likely to trust the European Parliament (42%), followed by the European Commission (35%), and the European Central Bank (30%). People are least likely to trust the Committee of the Regions (15%) and the European Court of Auditors (15%). The Social and Economic Committee is trusted by 19% of the respondents. The rank order of the extent to which people trust these institutions and bodies reflects their awareness of these institutions rather than the different confidence levels. Since many people are not aware of most of these – as discussed in Chapter 5.1 – the probability of being unable to decide is very high, at the expense of both trust and distrust.



Once again, we apply the calculation introduced a few paragraphs above to examine trust in international institutions. The rank order by net percentage difference between the proportions of those who tend to trust and tend not to trust these institutions puts the European Ombudsman at the top (with +52 net percentage difference), followed by the Court of Justice (+45% net percentage difference), the European Commission (+44% net percentage difference), and the European Parliament (+43% net percentage difference). The net percentage difference for the European Central Bank is +35%, for the Council of Ministers it is +37%, for the Social and Economic Committee it is +36%, and for the Committee of Regions it is +28%. Finally the European Court of Auditors has a net percentage difference of +26%.

The following table ranks the 13 Candidate Countries according to the extent to which they trust the nine listed institutions on average. In this respect Hungary leads the Candidate Region — the nine institutions on average claim 36% confidence among Hungarians. This score is also relatively high in Romania (33%), Slovenia (32%), and in Cyprus (31%) as well. On the other hand, the Czech, Turkish, Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians have the lowest

<sup>17</sup> The question asks about the extent to which people trust these institutions. Chapter 5.1 reports on whether respondents have ever heard of the institution in question.

average trust in EU institutions (from 20% in the Czech Republic to 23% in Lithuania). In the Candidate Region these institutions have a 26% average trust level. (ANNEX TABLE 4.6)

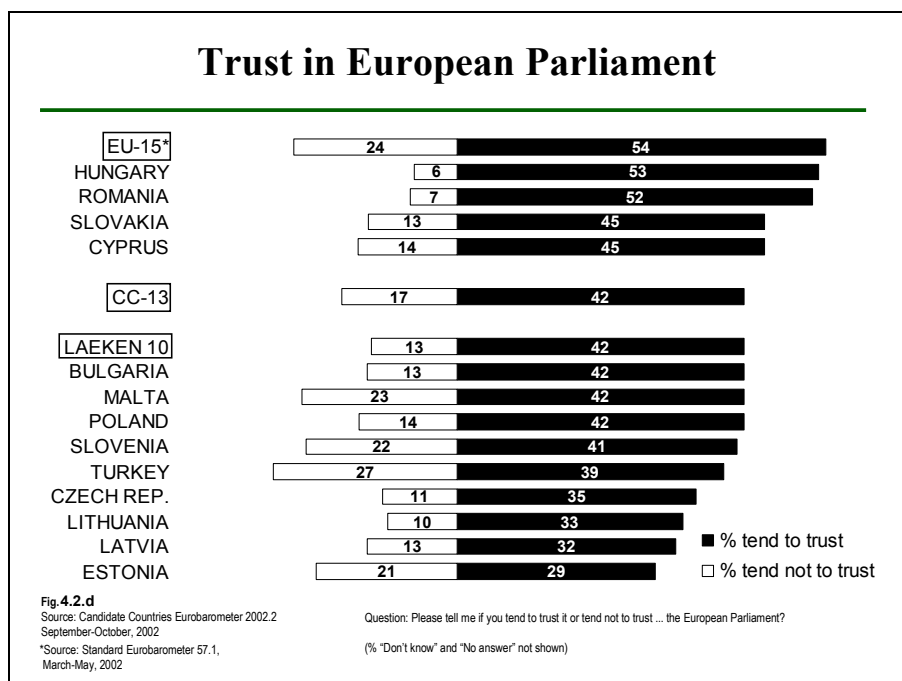
**Table 4.2 Trust in the institutions and bodies of the European Union**  
(Average trust level of 9 institutions & bodies, in % by country)

Country	%	Country	%
HUNGARY	36	MALTA	27
ROMANIA	33	<b>CC-13</b>	<b>26</b>
SLOVENIA	32	LITHUANIA	23
CYPRUS	31	ESTONIA	21
SLOVAKIA	30	LATVIA	21
POLAND	28	TURKEY	21
BULGARIA	28	CZECH REPUBLIC	20

We find similar rankings among the countries when we look at trust levels in the two most widely known institutions of the European Union (72% of Candidate Countries' population *have heard of* the European Parliament, and 59% *have heard of* the European Commission).

### Trust in European Parliament

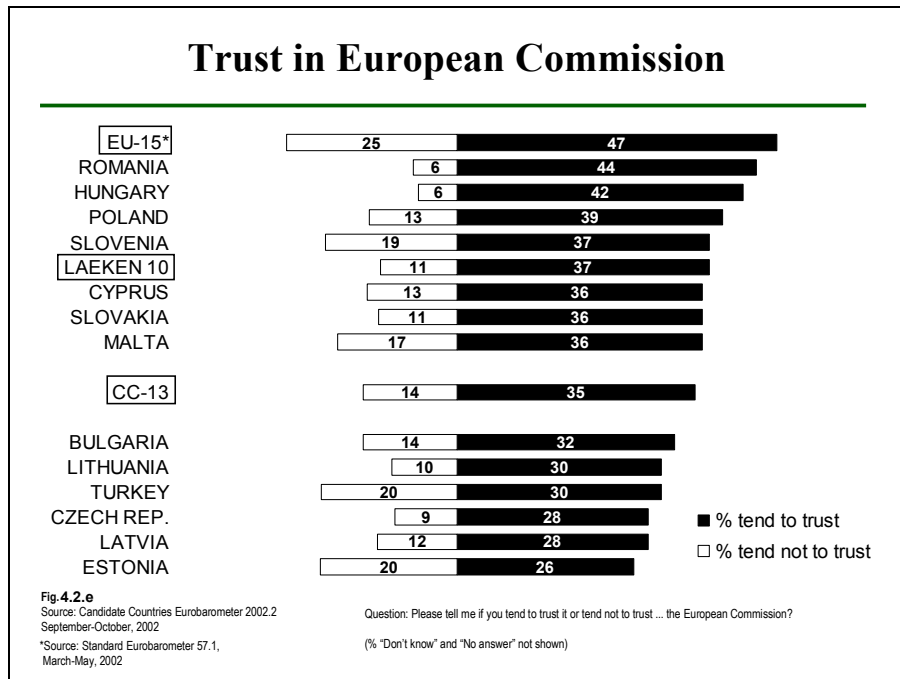
We now look in more detail at the country results for the European Parliament (EP). These show that people in Hungary (53%) and Romania (52%) are somewhat more likely to trust the EP than are citizens of the European Union<sup>18</sup>. However, in all the other Candidate Countries, trust levels are lower than the EU-15 average, due to the significantly higher percentage of those who do not know this institution. People in Turkey (27%), Malta (23%), Slovenia (22%), and Estonia (21%) are most likely to lack trust in the European Parliament.



<sup>18</sup> EB57.1, Spring 2002

## Trust in European Commission

Looking at the country-by-country results for trust in the European Commission shows almost the same results. Romanians (44%) and Hungarians (42%) top the list, and again, we find that they are slightly less likely to trust the Commission than the European Union average (47%). However, in the case of the European Commission, we did not find any country where levels of mistrust reached the levels found in the Member States.

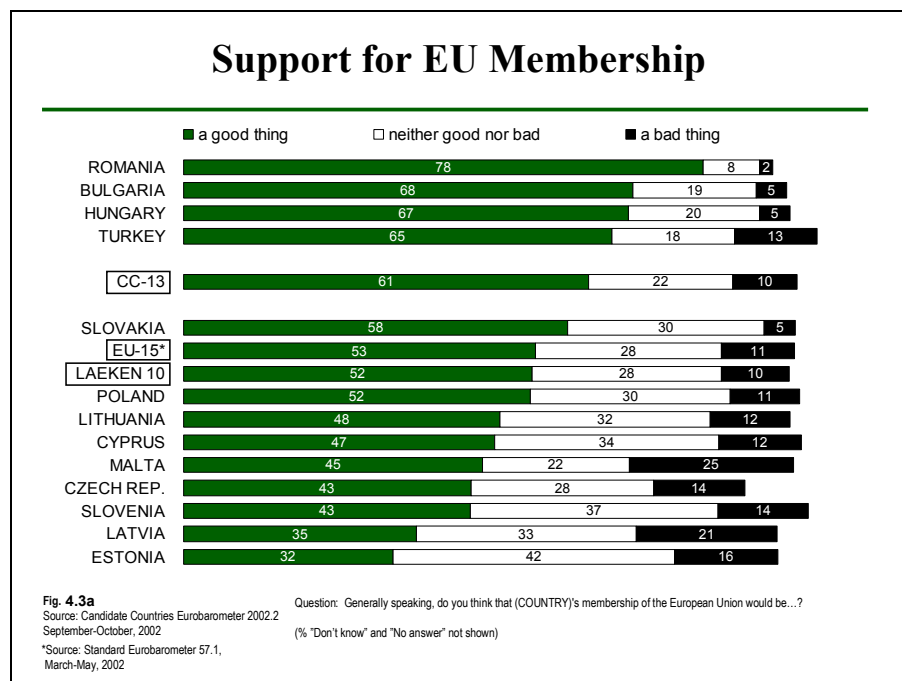


### 4.3 Support for European Union membership

In this subchapter, we look at developments in some of the standard indicators of support for the European Union in each of the Candidate Countries. The overall indication is that the citizens of the Candidate Region are now as likely to hold favourable views about the Union as they were this spring or in the autumn of 2001, and the majority in all countries would approve the accession of their country to the European Union if a referendum were held on this issue.

#### Membership: a 'good thing' or a 'bad thing'?

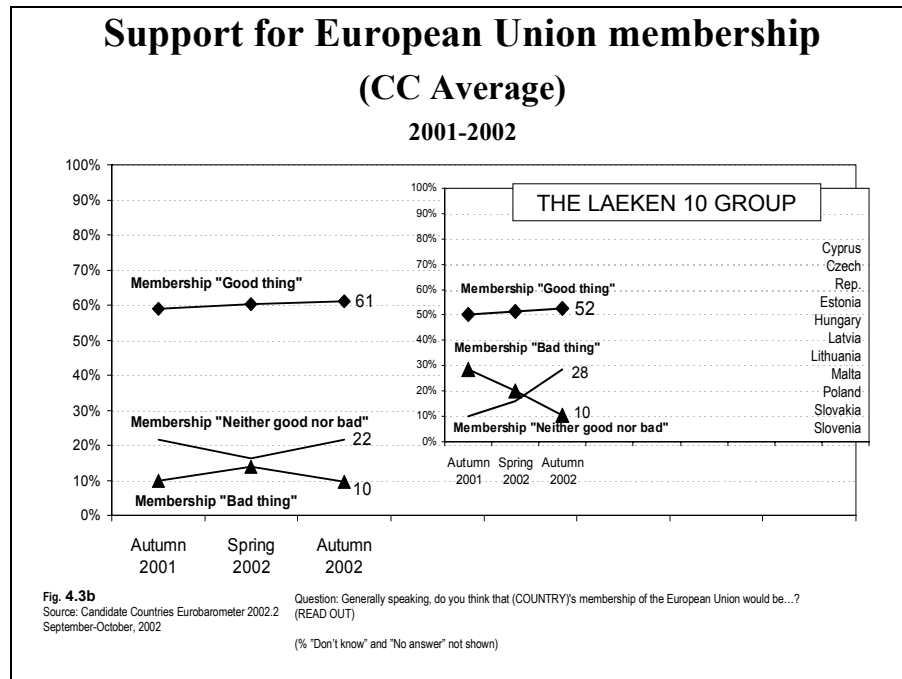
In autumn 2002, 61% of people in the Candidate Region regarded their country's future membership to the European Union as a 'good thing'. The proportion of people who regarded their country's coming membership as a bad thing was only 10% on average in the region. A further 22% view their country's future membership in a neutral manner. Support for future membership in the region is higher compared to the support measured among present members (53%)<sup>19</sup>.



The graph above shows that eight in 10 respondents (78%) in Romania think that membership to the European Union would be a good thing. Almost seven in 10 in Bulgaria (68%), and about two-thirds of the citizens of Hungary (67%) and Turkey (65%) share this opinion. Hungary remains the country with the highest level of support in the Laeken-10 group. Generally, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found that levels of support for the EU membership were significantly higher in the countries that were not among the 10 countries named as prepared to join the Union in 2004. Lowest levels of support were recorded in Estonia (32%), Latvia (35%), and Slovenia (43%). Articulate opposition is not particularly high in these countries either; differences in support levels are thus mostly explained by relatively large variations in the proportion of those who are not able or willing to take a stance in the question.

<sup>19</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

Opposition to European Union membership ranges from 2% in Romania to 25% in Malta, and similar to the latest results of the Standard Eurobarometer, there is no country in the Candidate Region in which those who would regard EU membership as a bad thing outnumber those who see it as a good thing. (ANNEX TABLE 4.7A)



While one can see stability in support for EU membership both on the CC-13 and Laeken-10 level, the proportion of those with explicitly negative opinions is decreasing. Especially so in the Laeken-10 countries, where the proportion saying that EU membership is a 'bad thing' has shrunk to about one-third of the number that the Eurobarometer measured one year ago (10%, -18). In the 10 countries invited to join, possibly as soon as in 2004, the support levels are stable, around the 50% mark (52%, +1). (FIGURE 4.3B)

The trend analyses show an increase in support levels since spring 2002 in Malta, Lithuania (+6 each), Bulgaria (+4), and Latvia (+3). The support levels decreased in Cyprus (-6), Slovakia (-3), and in Estonia, where, at the same time, the proportion of the opponents decreased as well (-4 both). Though the level of outright support has not changed significantly in Poland, people are now much less likely to see their country's membership as a bad thing (-11). (See also individual country graphs, FIGURES 4.3F - 4.3AE)

It appears that men and women have different affinities for the idea of unified Europe. As with the Standard Eurobarometer, the demographic analysis shows that men are more likely than women to regard their country's future membership as a good thing (64% vs. 58%), and that women are significantly more likely than men to lack an opinion (11% vs. 4%).

The importance of education as a powerful explanatory variable of attitudes to the European Union continues to show up in the analyses. Levels of support for the European Union vary with education levels —only 57% of people who left school at age 15 or younger see their country's membership as a good thing, compared to 69% of people who left full-time education when they were 20 or older. Levels of support decrease by age, with those aged 15 to 24 significantly more likely (68%) than those aged 55 and over (54%) to support their

country's membership. Analyses of the economic activity scale show a gap of 19 percentage points in support levels between managers (73%) on the one hand and retired people (54%) on the other hand.

Those who say they know a great deal about the European Union are much more likely to regard their country's membership as a good thing (80%) than are those who have a medium level of knowledge (69%), or who said that they knew little or nothing about the EU (49%).  
(ANNEX TABLE 4.7B)

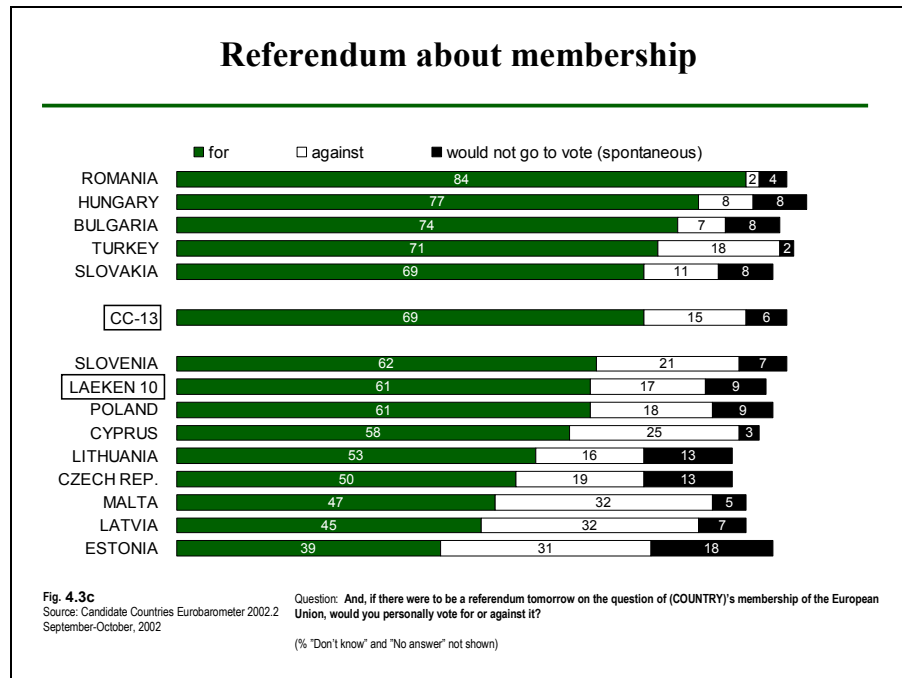


## Referendum about membership

Respondents were also asked about a slightly different measure of support:

*If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?*

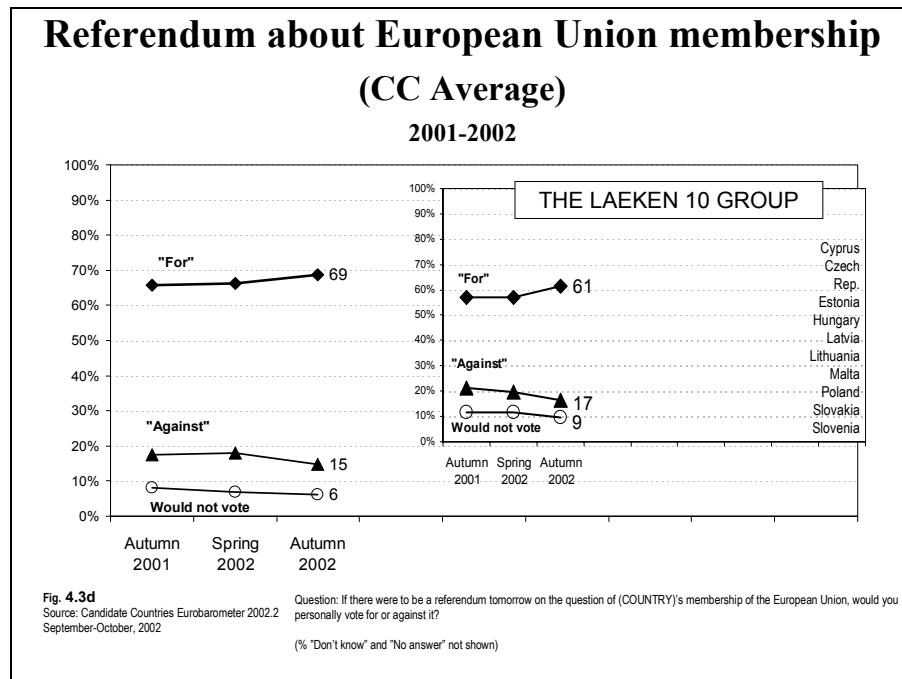
In the Candidate Countries, seven in 10 teenagers and adults (69%) say they would vote for their country's European Union membership, if a referendum were to be held in this issue, which is three percentage points up since spring. However, a strikingly high proportion is not very likely to show up at the ballots.



The proportion of 'pro' votes range from 84% in Romania and 77% in Hungary, to 39% in Estonia, 45% in Latvia, and 47% in Malta. (ANNEX TABLE 4.8A)

These proportions improved the most in Poland (+8), Slovenia (+6), and Malta (+5). Support shrank by seven percentage points in Cyprus, and the low Estonian number reflects a decrease of five percentage points as well. (See also individual country graphs, FIGURES 4.3F - 4.3AE)

Outright opposition is the highest in Malta and Latvia, where almost one-third of the citizens (32%) say they would vote against European Union membership. Many Estonians (31%) share this view as well. Still, in each Candidate Country, those who would support their country's EU membership on a referendum outnumber those who would oppose it by a convincing margin. (ANNEX TABLE 4.8A)



As Table 4.3a below illustrates, supporters are currently much more mobilized to cast their ballots than are EU sceptics, which further strengthens the position of the 'for' throughout the region.

Table 4.3a Relationship between level of mobilization and voting intention on EU referendum (On CC-13 level)			
WOULD CAST A VOTE	LIKELIHOOD OF PARTICIPATION ON EU REFERENDUM		
	Low (score 1-3)	Medium (score 4-7)	High (score 8-10)
for	19%	65	89
against	42%	16	8
undecided, wouldn't participate	39%	19	3

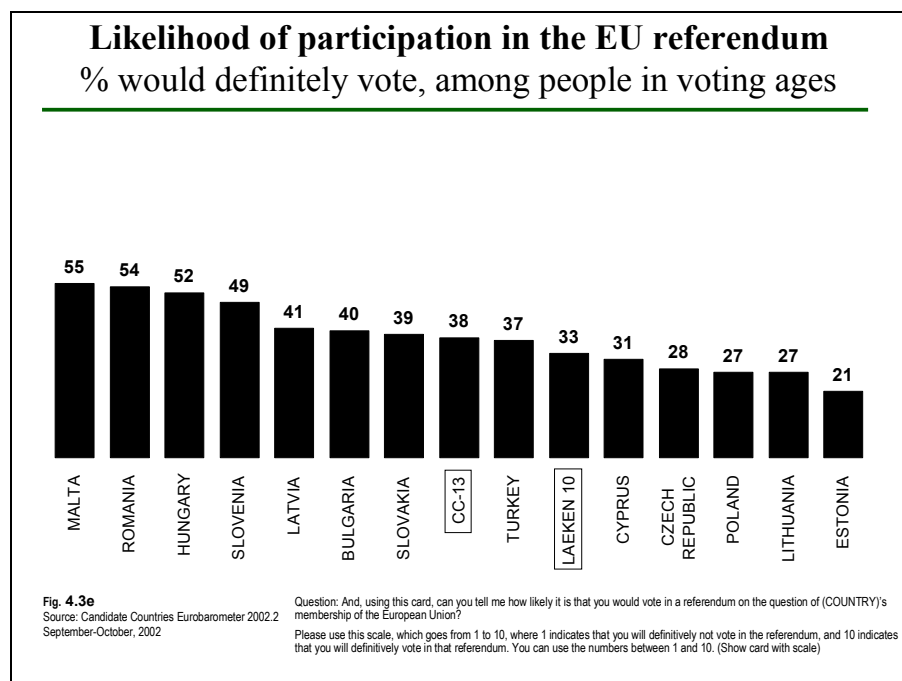
Country-by-country analyses of voting intentions of 'definite' voters – see table below – show that in all 13 countries, at the time of the survey, the majority of the voters who claimed they would participate would have voted in favour of joining the EU (90%)<sup>20</sup>. Even in those countries where support levels are usually lower, the 'for' leads with a very convincing margin.

Table 4.3b How would you vote in a referendum about EU membership? respondents aged 18 and over, who indicated they would 'definitely' vote					
	% for	% against		% for	% against
ROMANIA	97	1	LITHUANIA	85	14
BULGARIA	97	3	<b>LAEKEN-10</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>12</b>
TURKEY	92	5	CZECH REP.	80	18
<b>CC-13</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>7</b>	SLOVENIA	78	17
CYPRUS	90	6	MALTA	65	31
HUNGARY	90	5	ESTONIA	62	35
SLOVAKIA	89	10	LATVIA	53	40
POLAND	86	12			

<sup>20</sup> The analysis includes the non-citizen permanent residents of Estonia and Latvia.

Nearly every 'definite' voter would cast a vote for the EU membership in Romania and in Bulgaria (97% both). About nine in 10 Turkish, Cypriot, Hungarian, Slovakian, and Polish voters would support the membership with their ballots. About eight in 10 voters would approve of membership in Lithuania (85%), the Czech Republic (80%), and in Slovenia (78%). The proportions of the opponents who would definitely vote is only significant in three of the Candidate Countries — Latvia (40%), Estonia (35%), and Malta (31%).

But participation rates, as they seem to be right now (Figure 4.3e), are extremely low throughout the region. The accession referendum is a historic moment for any country, where citizens deliberately give up a significant portion of their country's national sovereignty, and make a firm commitment to belong to the supra-national systems that are now building out in Europe. Even if there were no participation-rate criteria for legal validity of referendums in any of Candidate Countries (there are in some), a referendum with a very low turnout rate would in itself undermine the legitimacy of a country's accession to the European Union.



Current numbers are disappointing, even if the low predicted turnouts are the reflection of people's certainty about 'for' winning, rather than their apathy in the question.

Only three of the Candidate Countries have a slim majority who think they would definitely vote if a referendum would be held on European Union accession: Malta (55%), Romania (54%), and Hungary (52%). Usually, however, actual turnout rates are lower than what people foresee and tell an interviewer. In 10 of the 13 countries the majority would stay at home. Turnout would remain under the 30% threshold in the Czech Republic (28%), Poland, Lithuania (27% both), and Estonia (21%). (ANNEX TABLE 4.9)

### Support for European Union membership (Bulgaria) 2001-2002

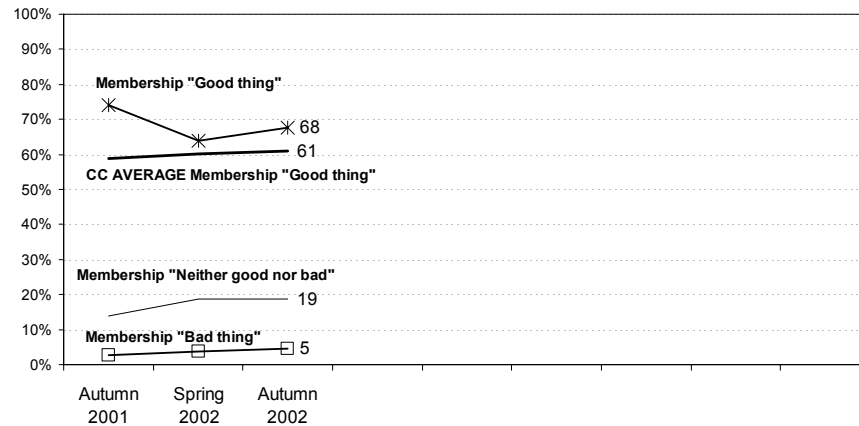


Fig. 4.3f

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Referendum about European Union membership (Bulgaria) 2001-2002

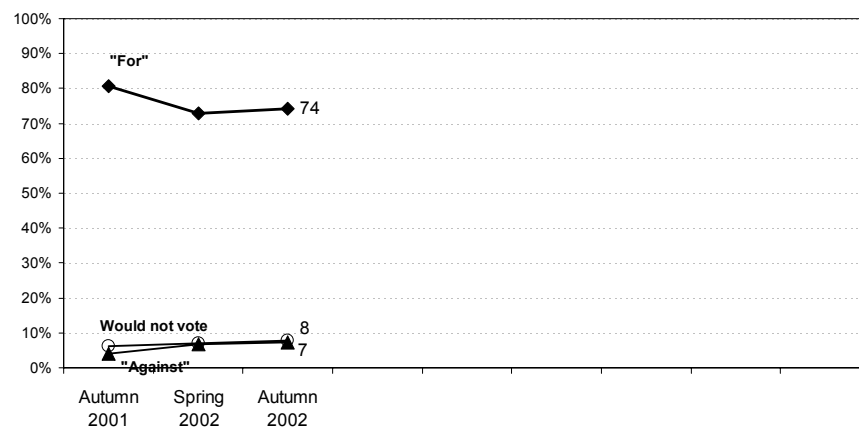


Fig. 4.3g

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Cyprus)

2001-2002

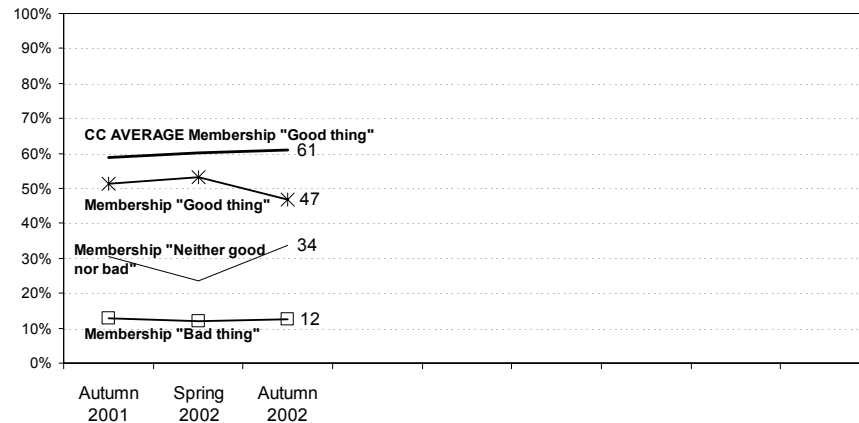


Fig. 4.3h

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Cyprus)

2001-2002

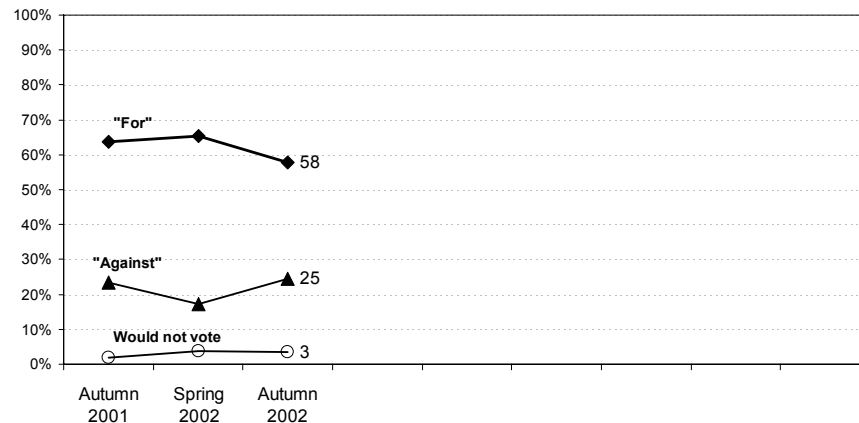


Fig. 4.3i

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Czech Republic)

2001-2002

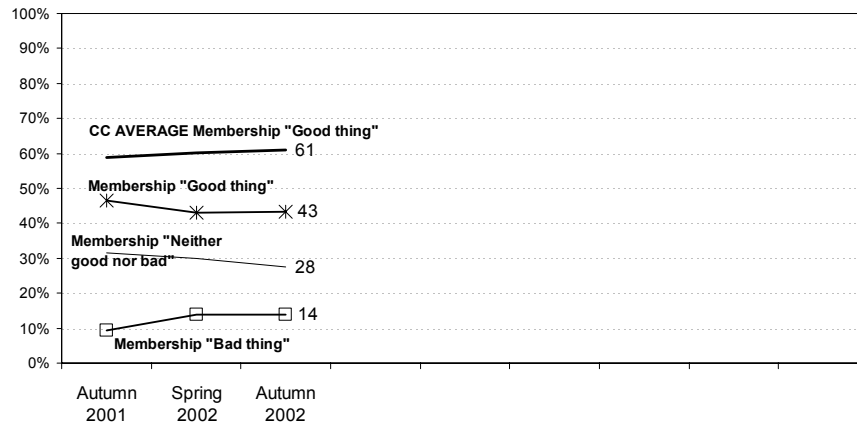


Fig. 4.3j

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Czech Republic)

2001-2002

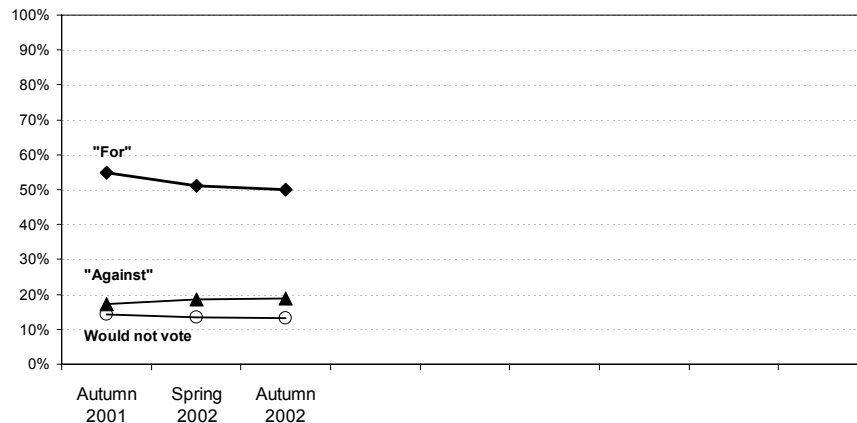


Fig. 4.3k

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Estonia)

2001-2002

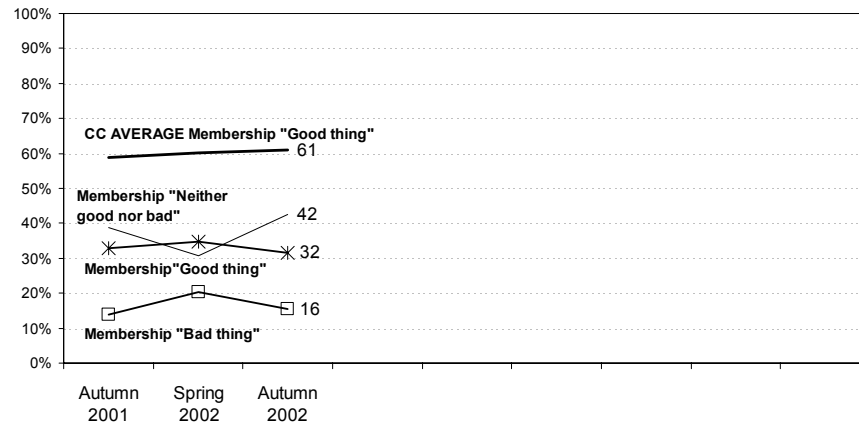


Fig. 4.31

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Estonia)

2001-2002

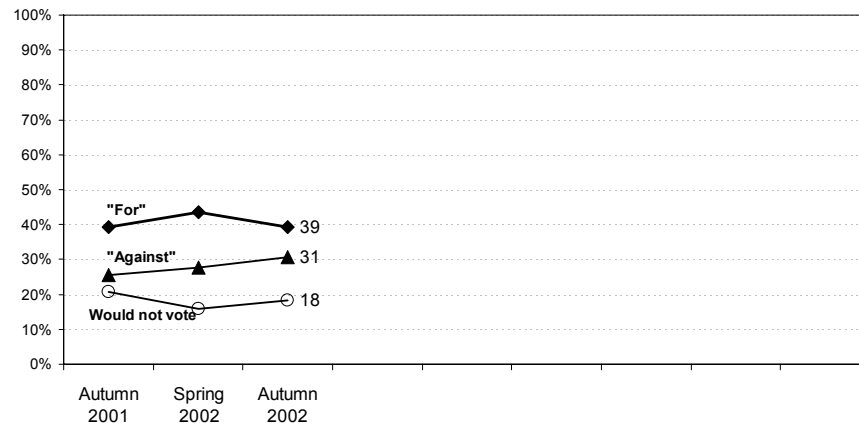


Fig. 4.3m

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Hungary)

2001-2002

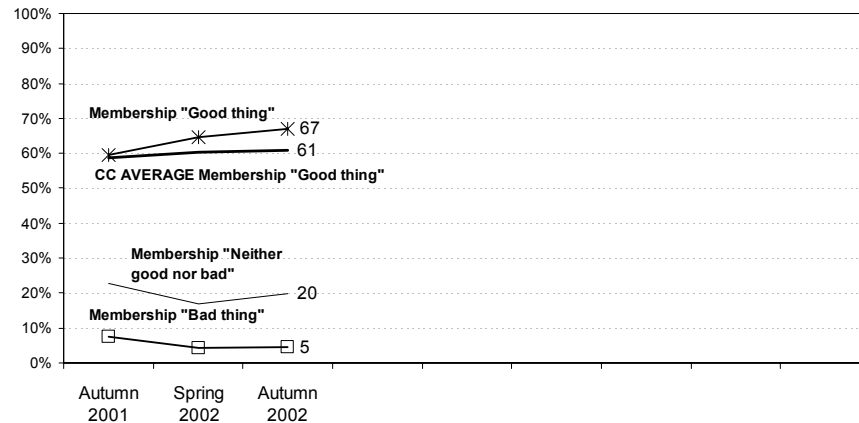


Fig. 4.3n

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Hungary)

2001-2002

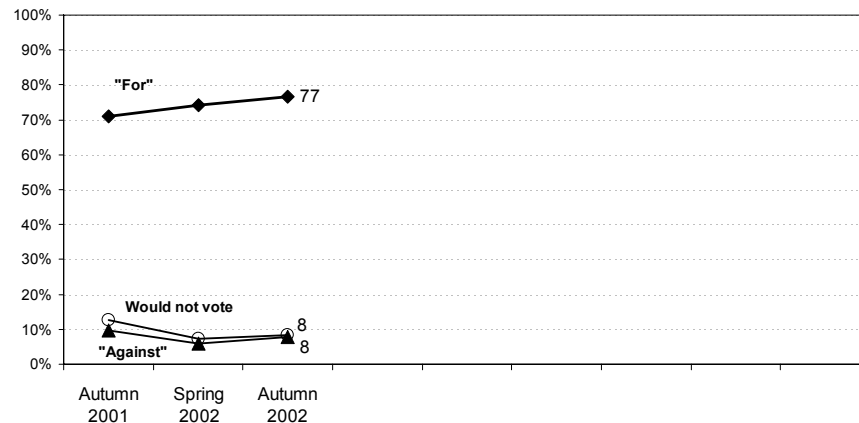


Fig. 4.3o

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)



## Support for European Union membership (Latvia)

2001-2002

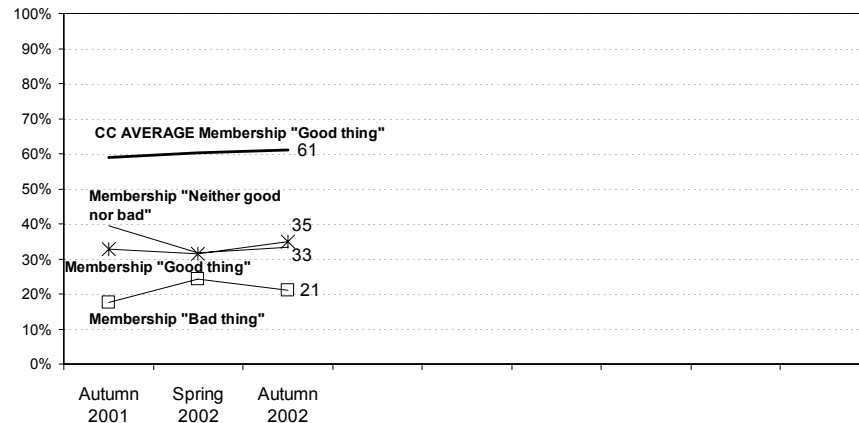


Fig. 4.3p

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Latvia)

2001-2002

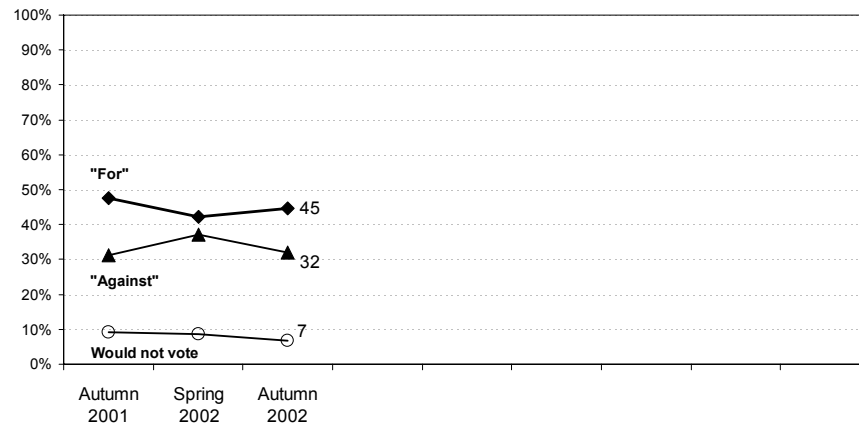


Fig. 4.3q

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Lithuania)

2001-2002

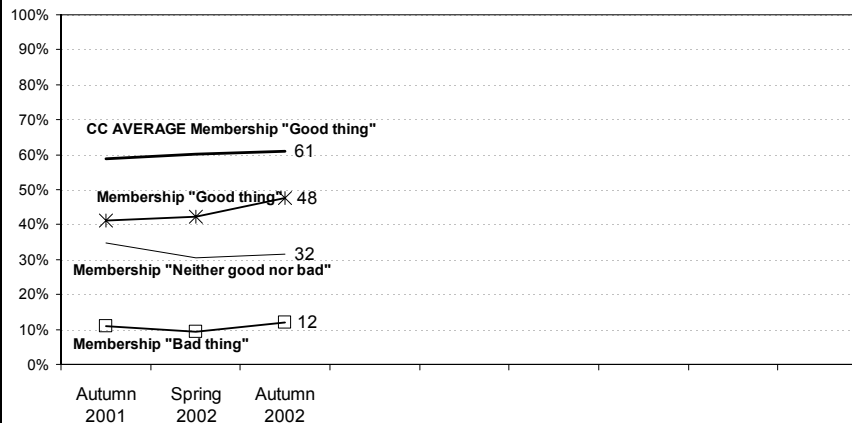


Fig. 4.3r

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Lithuania)

2001-2002

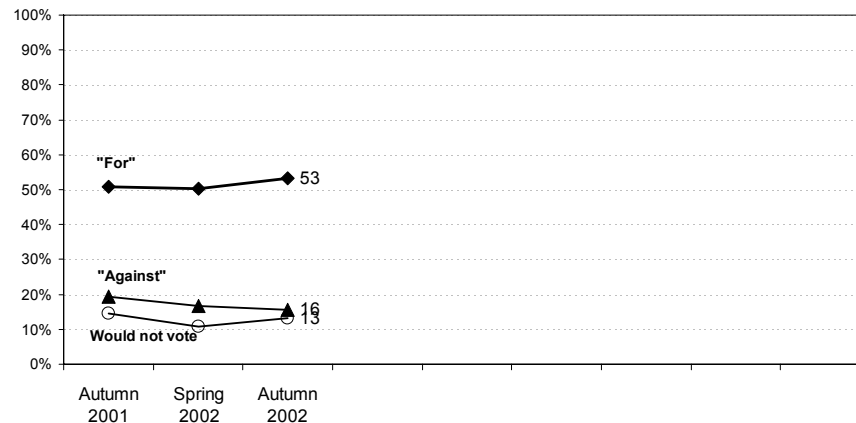


Fig. 4.3s

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Malta)

2001-2002

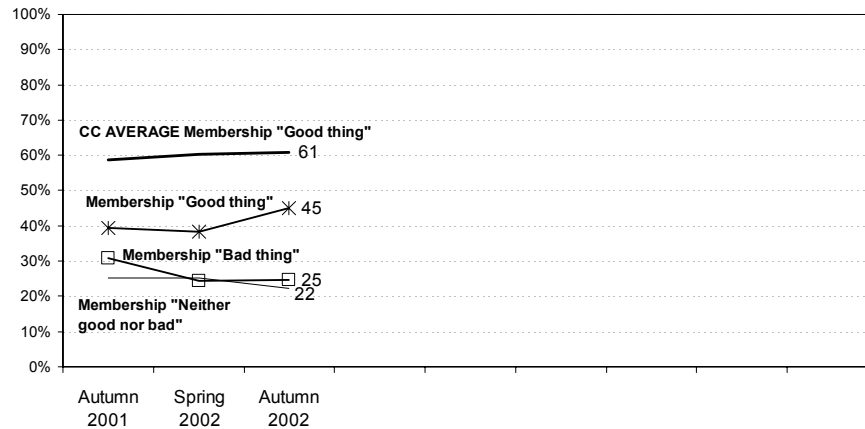


Fig. 4.3t

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Malta)

2001-2002

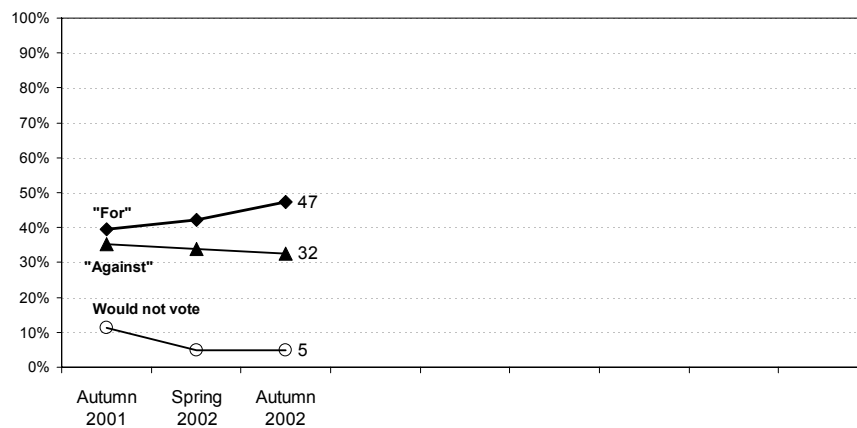


Fig. 4.3u

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Poland)

2001-2002

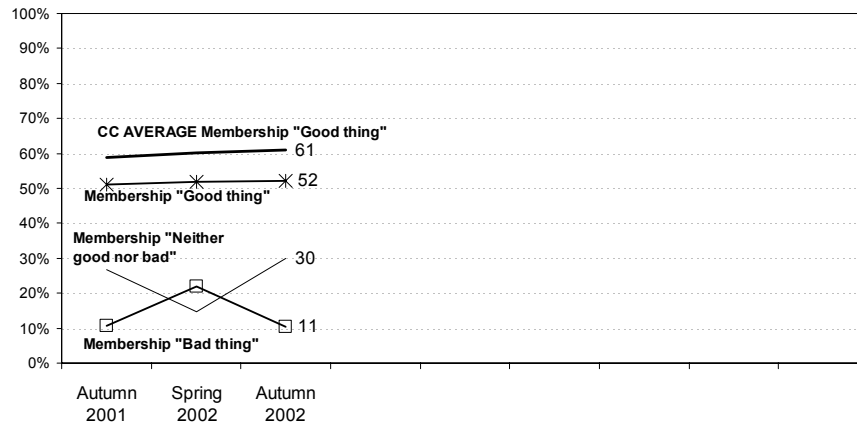


Fig. 4.3v

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Poland)

2001-2002

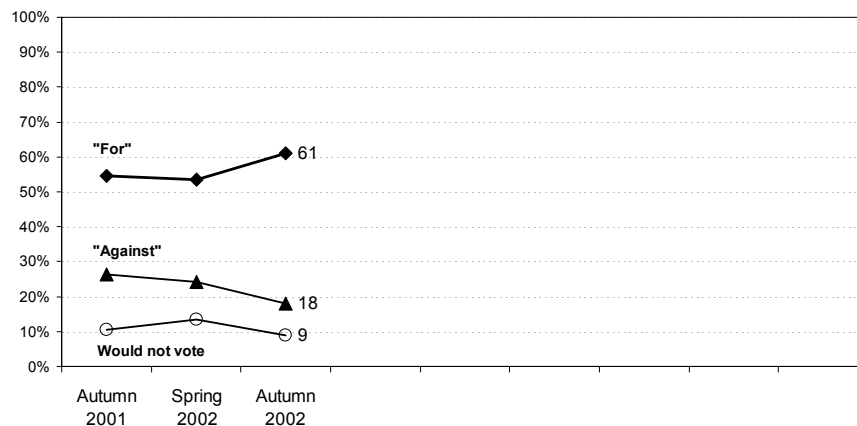


Fig. 4.3x

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Romania)

2001-2002

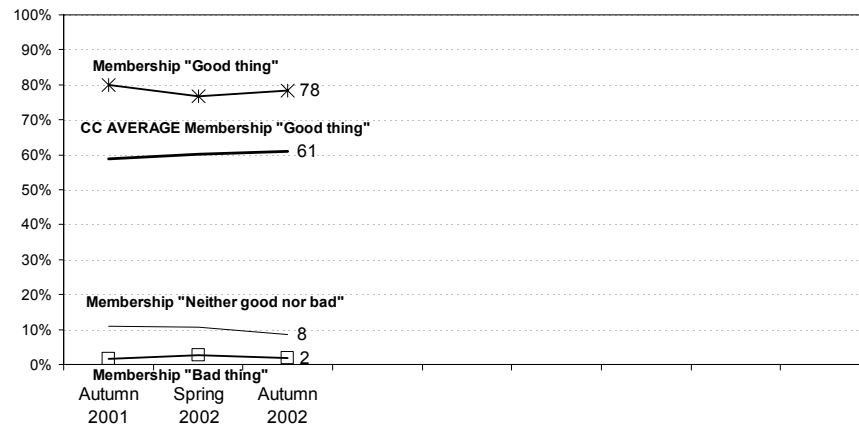


Fig. 4.3y

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Romania)

2001-2002

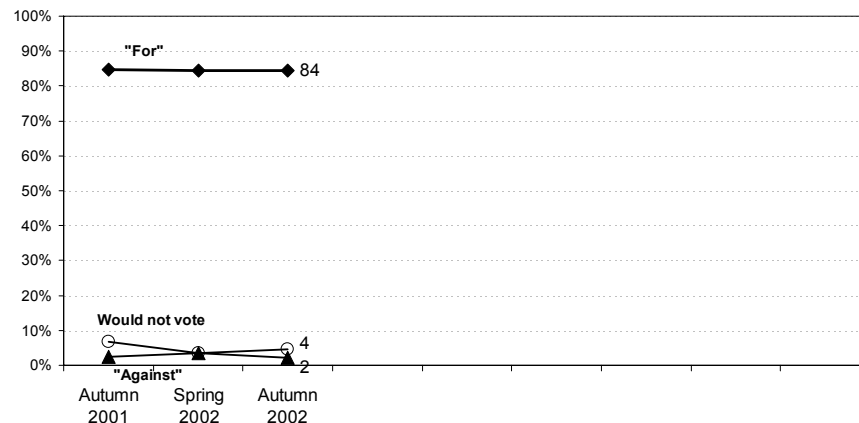


Fig. 4.3z

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Slovakia)

2001-2002

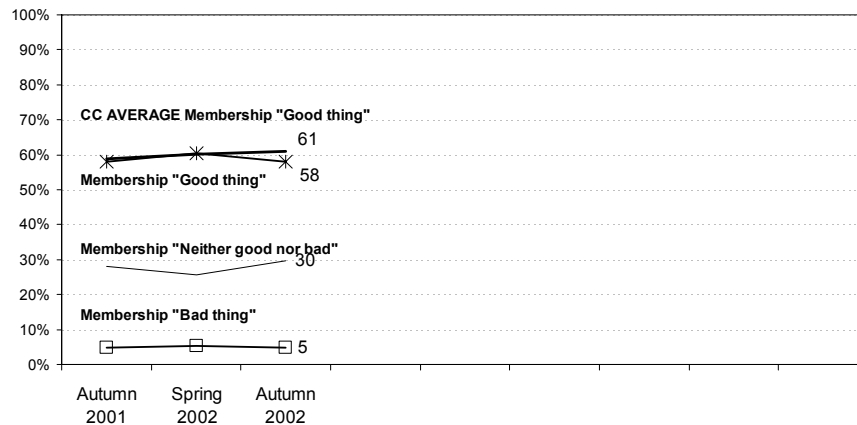


Fig. 4.3aa

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Slovakia)

2001-2002

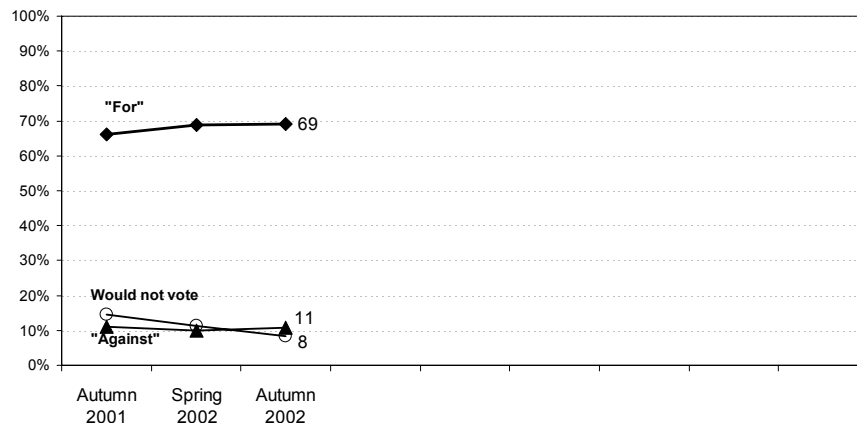


Fig. 4.3ab

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Slovenia)

2001-2002

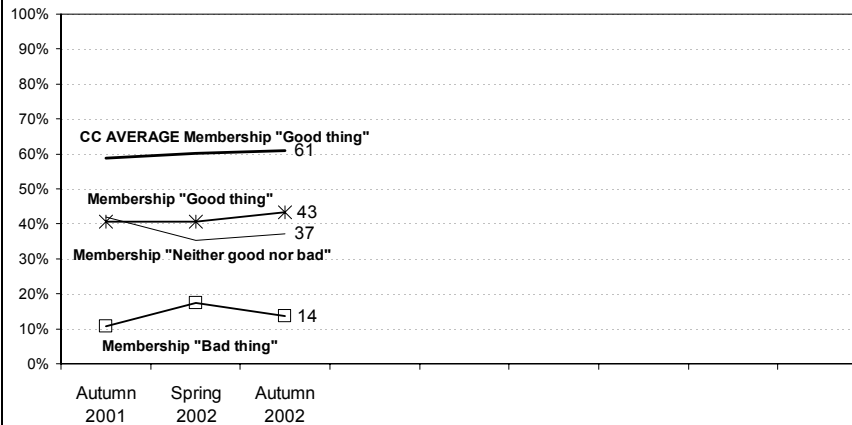


Fig. 4.3ac

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Slovenia)

2001-2002

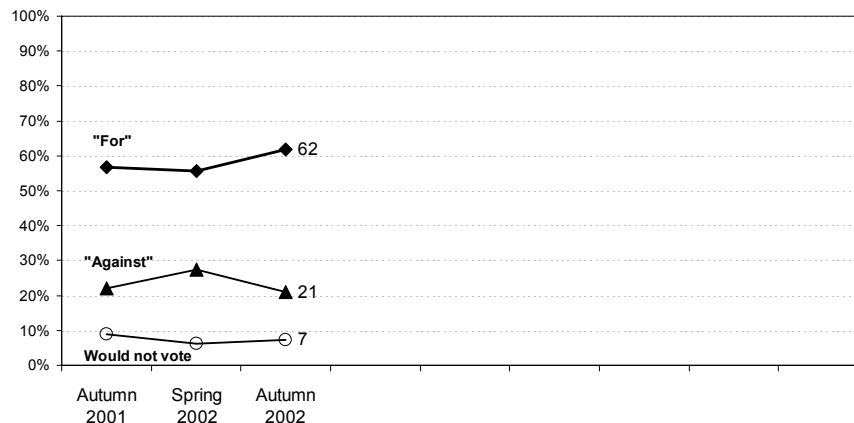


Fig. 4.3ad

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Support for European Union membership (Turkey)

2001-2002

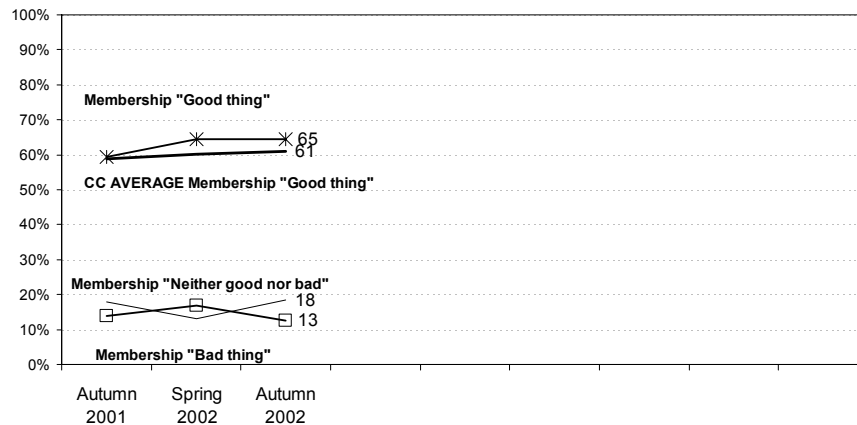


Fig. 4.3ae

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?  
(READ OUT)

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

## Referendum about European Union membership (Turkey)

2001-2002

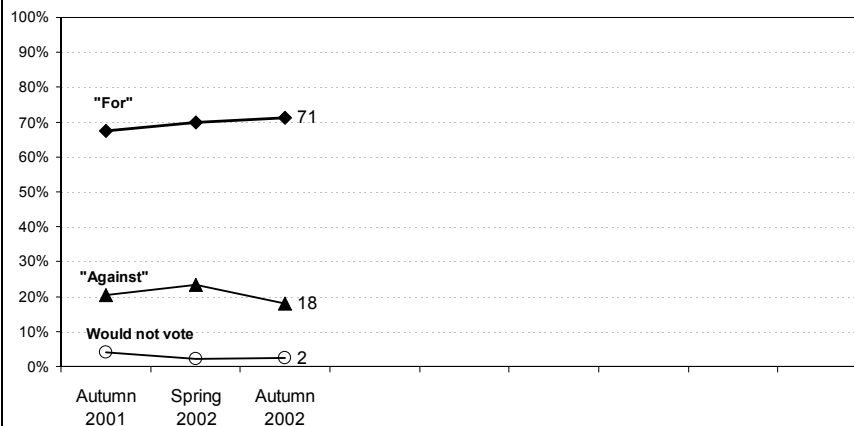


Fig. 4.3af

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)



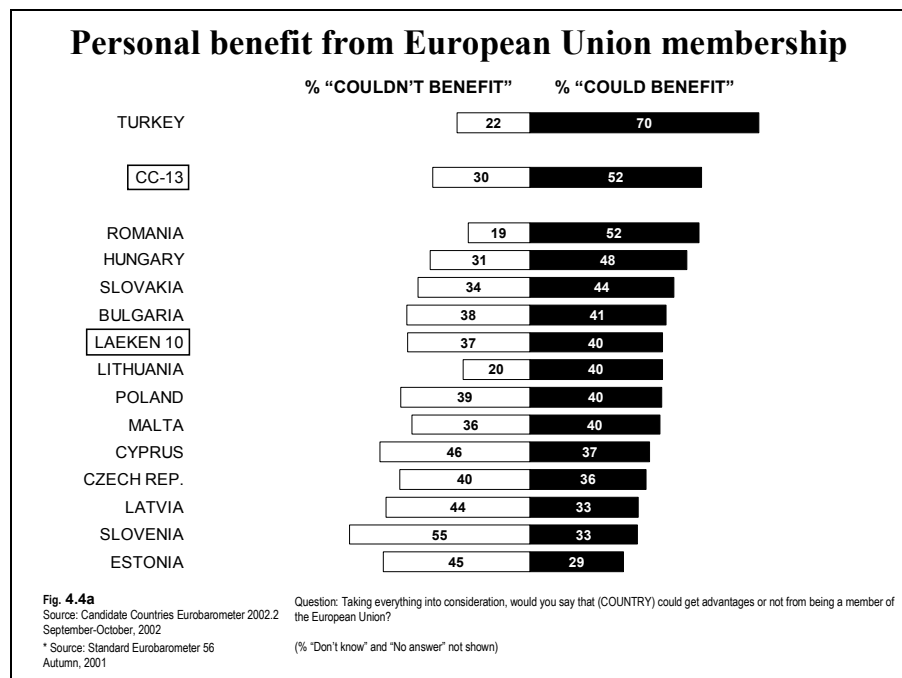
## 4.4 Perceived benefits of European Union membership

This section will examine the projected advantages of European Union membership for the Candidate Countries on the national level as well as on the personal level. We will take a look at who people think will win by the EU accession, and who they suspect will be losers of the European integration.

### Personal benefits

When Candidate Countries Eurobarometer asked about the personal benefits expected from one's country's membership in the European Union, citizens were divided in their opinions. Fifty-two percent on the CC-13 level think that they would personally benefit from EU accession, 30% think that they would not benefit, and 18% are not sure how membership would affect their personal lives. In Turkey, we found solid optimism about the personal benefits of possible EU membership (70%). Romania was the only other country where at least half of the citizens expect advantages from their country's future membership to the European Union.

In Estonia, we registered extremely low optimism regarding expected personal advantages from future EU membership. Only three in 10 Estonians think that they would personally benefit from accession, making Estonians the least optimistic among the 13 Candidate Countries. But not the most pessimistic — while 45% of Estonians are pessimistic about their personal future after accession, in Slovenia more than half of all citizens (55%) expect that they would not benefit from their country's EU membership. At 40%, we find in Lithuania the highest proportion of those who lack an opinion about the benefits they may receive from their country's EU membership. Twenty-seven percent of Estonians, and three in 10 Romanians, are also unable to decide if their lives would be positively affected by the accession, or not.



The trend analyses show an increase of expected personal benefits since autumn 2001 in Turkey (+12), Hungary (+6), the Czech Republic, and Estonia (+3 both). A decrease in positive expectations was recorded in Cyprus (-9) and Bulgaria (-6). In both countries, at the

same time, the proportion of those who now believe they would not personally benefit from the country's EU membership has increased as well (+8 in Cyprus, and +3 in Bulgaria). Though the levels of outright optimism have not changed significantly, people in Malta (-5) and Romania (-6) are now much less likely to believe they will not benefit from the country's accession.

We used another measure as well to determine the balance of expected advantages and disadvantages. The following question links with the discussion about whether people would regard their country's future membership as beneficial, too.

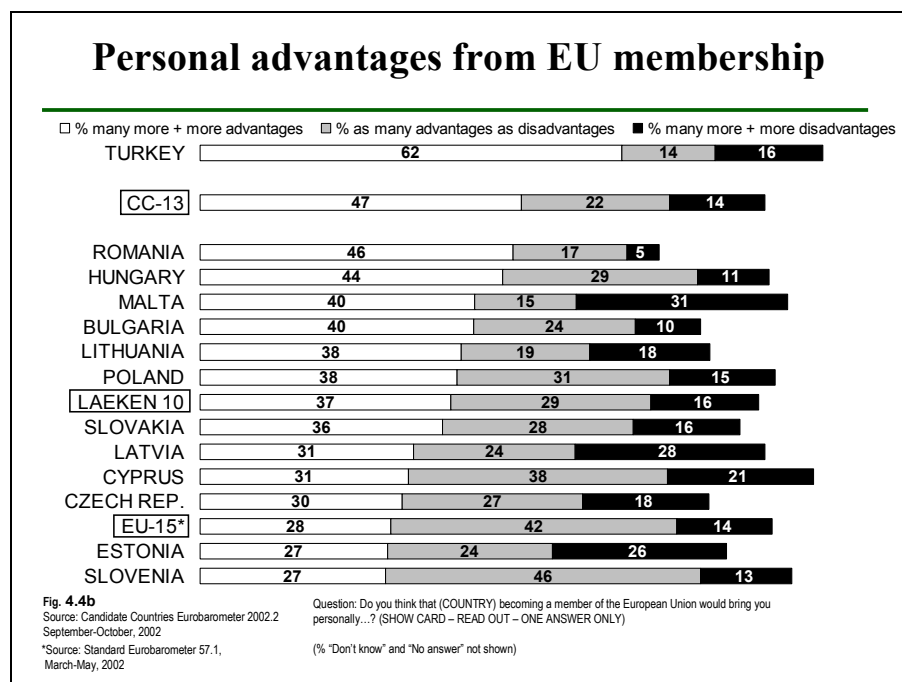
*Do you think that (COUNTRY) becoming a member of the European Union would bring you personally...?*

At the CC-13 level, the breakdown of responses is as follows (in parenthesis we present the results from autumn 2001):

▪ Many more advantages	14%	(12%)
▪ More advantages	33%	(30%)
▪ As many advantages as disadvantages	22%	(23%)
▪ More disadvantages	9%	(10%)
▪ Many more disadvantages	5%	(4%)
▪ (Don't know / No opinion)	17%	(21%)

People in the Candidate Countries are now a bit more optimistic compared to a year ago. Significantly more citizens think that they will personally have more advantages than disadvantages once their country has joined the European Union. Only 14% think that the disadvantages will outweigh the advantages. The proportion of those who could not tell the balance of the expected advantages and disadvantages decreased four percentage points since last autumn.

Clearly, the future members of the European Union are more optimistic compared to present EU citizens' experience, as Figure 4.4b shows.



The country-by-country analyses show that Turkey is the only country where more than half of the population (62%) feel that EU membership would give them more advantages than disadvantages. Though less than half feel this way in the other countries, it is still the most popular view in all but two countries: Slovenia, and Cyprus, where most think their personal advantages and disadvantages will be balanced. There is no country among the Candidates where the proportion of people who feel membership would bring more disadvantages outweighs the proportion of people who feel membership will have more advantages, although these proportions are very close to each other in Estonia. The proportion of respondents who weren't able or who didn't want to give an opinion is generally high; it ranges from 9% in Turkey to 33% in Romania. (ANNEX TABLE 4.11)

**Table 4.4a Expected personal benefits from future EU membership, net results**

differences between % more + many more advantages and % more + many more disadvantages are shown, by demographics

Group	Net benefit	Group	Net benefit
Still studying	60	Unemployed	33
EU knowledge +	57	Media Use Index --	32
Aged 15-24 years	55	Other white collars	32
Accession: very + well informed	53	Female	31
Managers	46	Educated up to 15 years	30
Large town	42	Rural area or village	30
EU knowledge +/-	42	Manual workers	29
House Persons	42	Small or middle sized town	29
Opinion Leadership Index ++ high	40	Self-employed	28
Educated up to 20+ years	39	Media Use Index ---	27
Opinion Leadership Index +	39	Accession: not + not at all informed	26
Aged 25-39 years	37	Aged 40-54 years	26
Media Use Index +++	36	Educated up till 16-19 years	25
Male	36	Opinion Leadership Index - - low	23
Media Use Index ++	34	EU knowledge -	20
Opinion Leadership Index -	34	Retired	17
CC-13	33	Aged 55+ years	17

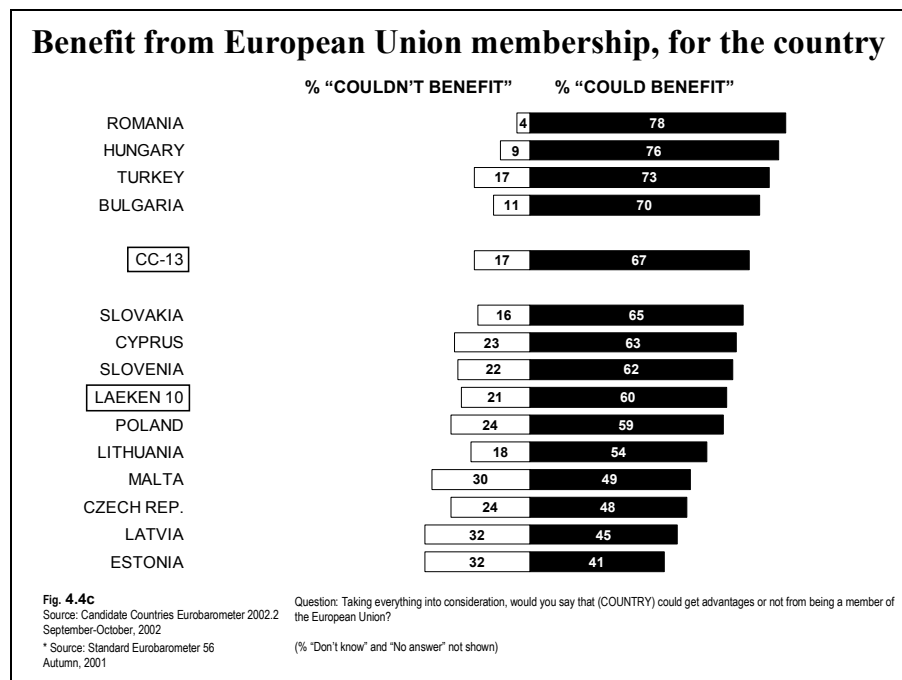
As shown in the table above, different social groups vary to a significant degree in their evaluations of the balance of their personal benefits from European integration. Students, the young, and those who think they know a lot about the accession of their country see the most favourable personal balance of costs and benefits. The retired, elderly and middle-aged respondents, those who know little about the EU, those who score low on media use and opinion leadership indices envision their balance as being much less favourable. The rank order of the different groups did not change significantly from 2001, but it is an interesting development that, unlike a year ago, there are now no groups that have an expected negative balance of advantages and disadvantages.

### Benefits for the country

If we examine the perceived costs and benefits to one's country as a result of its accession to the EU, we do not find as high a variation of views as we have seen studying the same issue at the personal level. Predominantly, the citizens of Candidate Countries anticipate a more positive balance of advantages and disadvantages on a national scale.

Within the Member States, we do not find this noteworthy gap between the evaluation of personal advantages and the perceived benefits to the country. In general, people do not think that membership can be better for the country than it is for themselves personally<sup>21</sup>. At the same time, there seems to be an almost unanimously shared view in the Candidate Region that the present generations have to 'sacrifice' their interests to some extent to ensure a brighter future for their countries and for the younger generations.

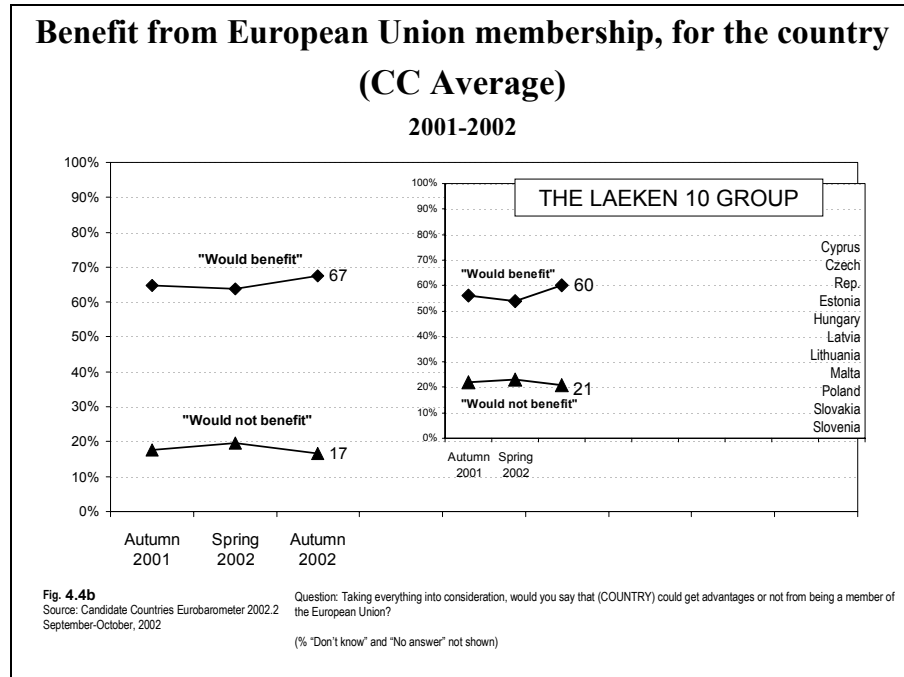
Looking at the figures, two-thirds (67%) of the people living in the Candidate Countries expect that their country would benefit from membership to the European Union (compared to 52% who expect to benefit personally). Only 17% do not share this expectation, consequently, 16% are not able to formulate a positive or negative opinion in this question.



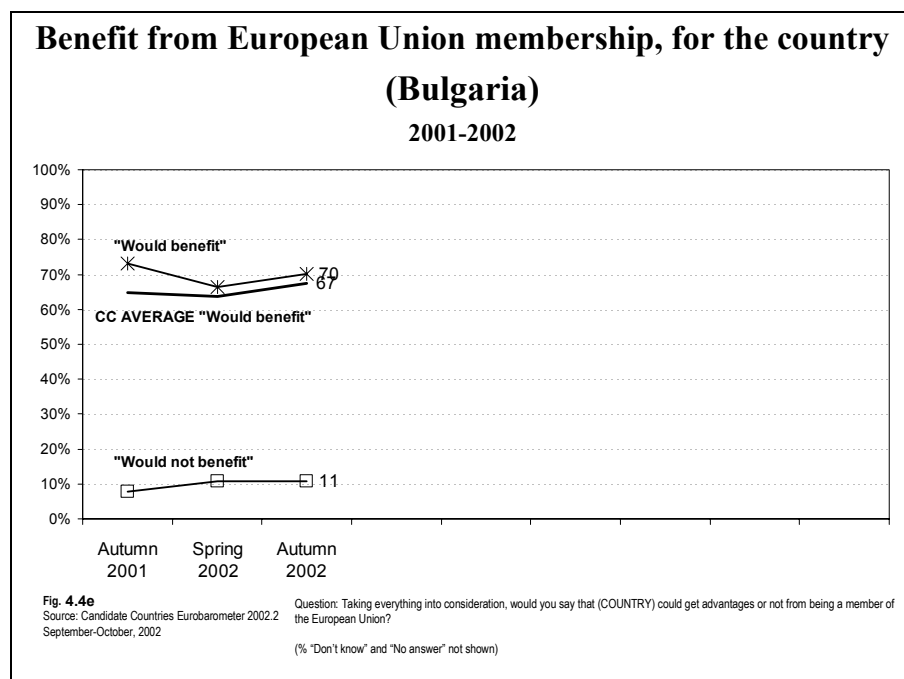
In every Candidate Country, most people think that the accession would bring advantages for their country. Seventy-eight percent share this opinion in Romania, 76% in Hungary, and 73% in Turkey. However, fewer than half of the Czech, Maltese, Estonians, and Latvians agree that their country would benefit from European Union membership. The proportion of people who lack an opinion ranges from 10% in Turkey to 28% in the Czech Republic and Lithuania. (ANNEX TABLE 4.12A)

<sup>21</sup> Assessment of country benefits within the Member States was last covered in EB57, Spring 2002.

The trend analyses show an overall increase of expected country benefits since spring 2002 on both the CC-13 (+3) and Laeken-10 level (+6).



Countries that drive this increase are most notably Poland (+8), Latvia, Lithuania (both +6), the Czech Republic (+5), Slovenia (+4), Bulgaria (+4), Hungary, and Slovakia (+3 both). A decrease in positive expectations was recorded in Cyprus (-6), where the proportion of those who now believe the country would not benefit from EU membership has significantly increased as well (+9). On the following pages, Figures 4.4e - 4.4p present the trends for each Candidate Country.



### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Cyprus)

2001-2002

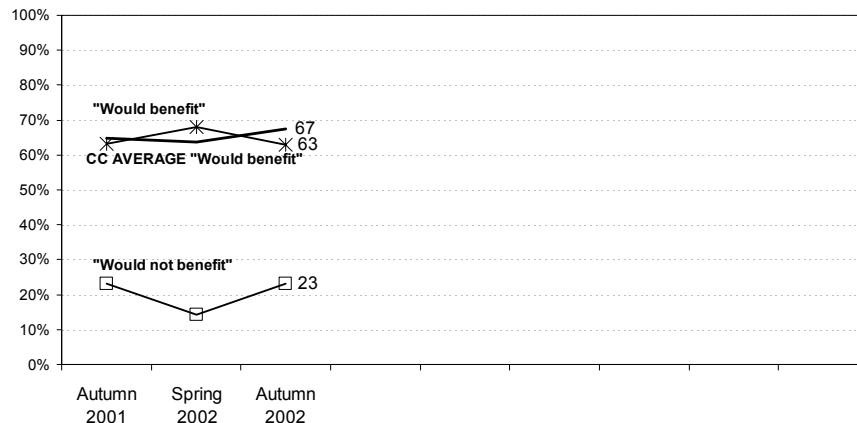


Fig. 4.4f

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Czech Republic)

2001-2002

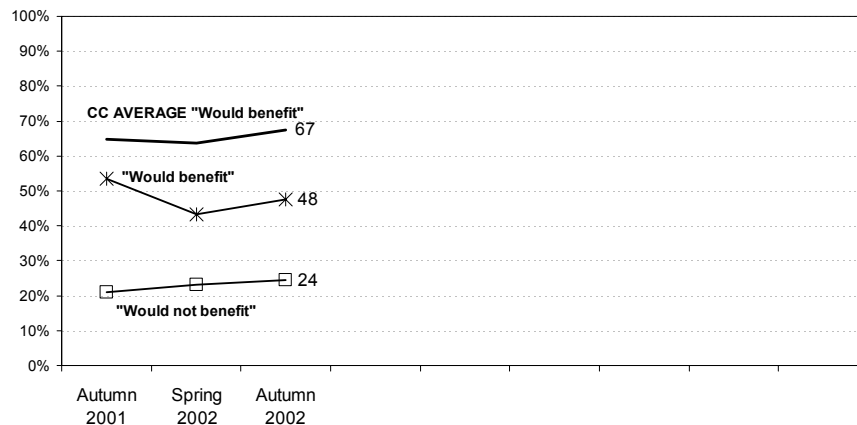


Fig. 4.4g

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Estonia) 2001-2002

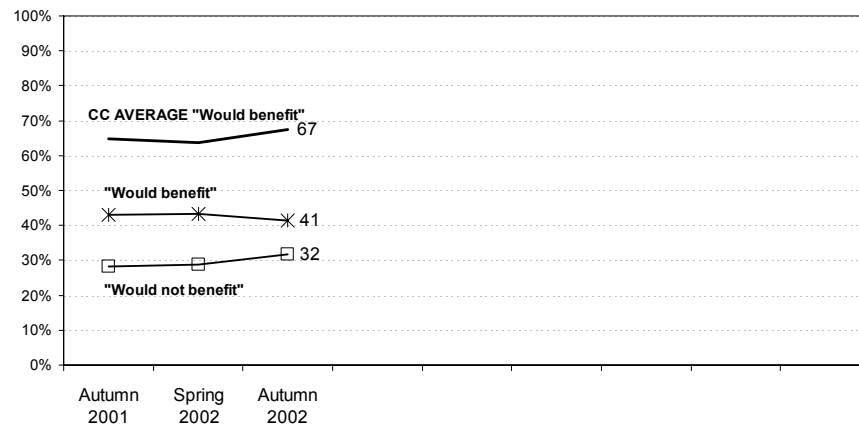


Fig. 4.4h

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Hungary) 2001-2002

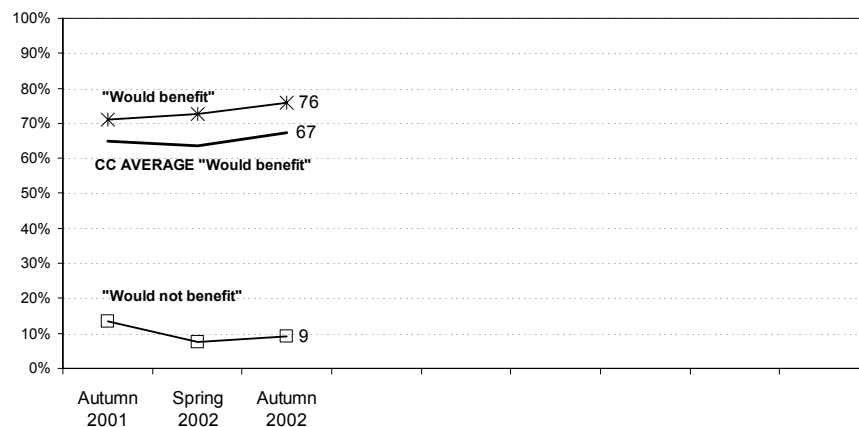


Fig. 4.4i

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Latvia) 2001-2002

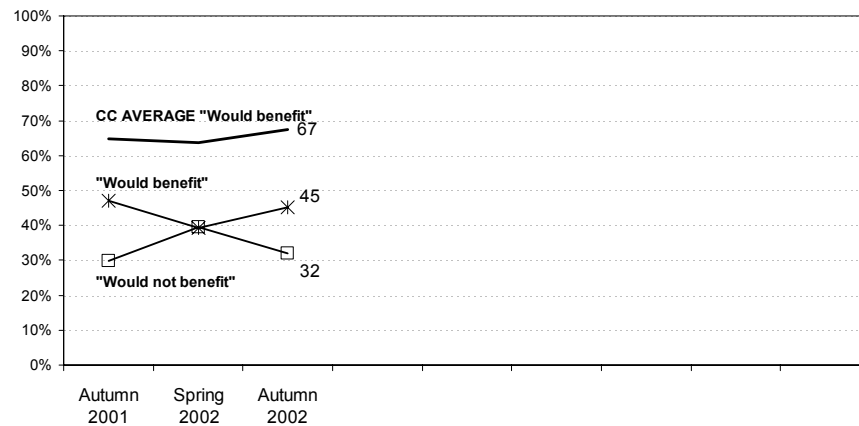


Fig. 4.4j

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Lithuania) 2001-2002

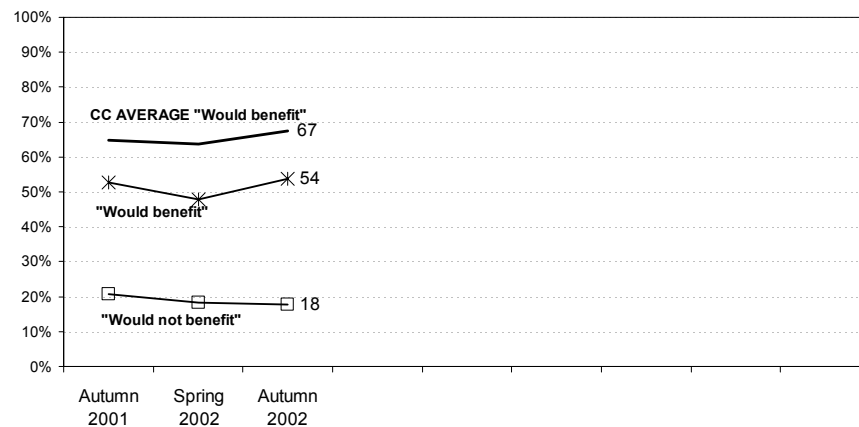


Fig. 4.4k

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)



### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Malta) 2001-2002

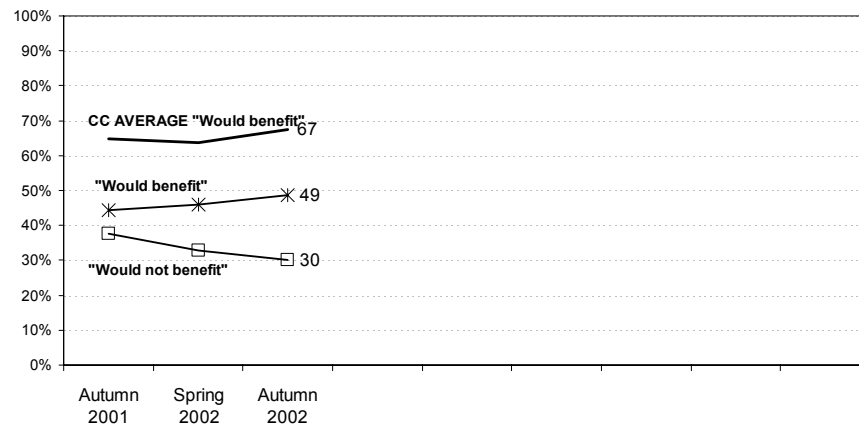


Fig. 4.4l

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Poland) 2001-2002

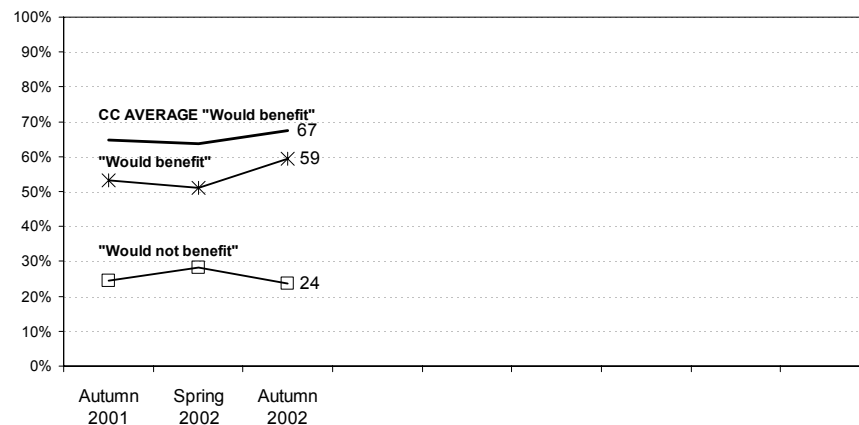


Fig. 4.4m

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Romania) 2001-2002

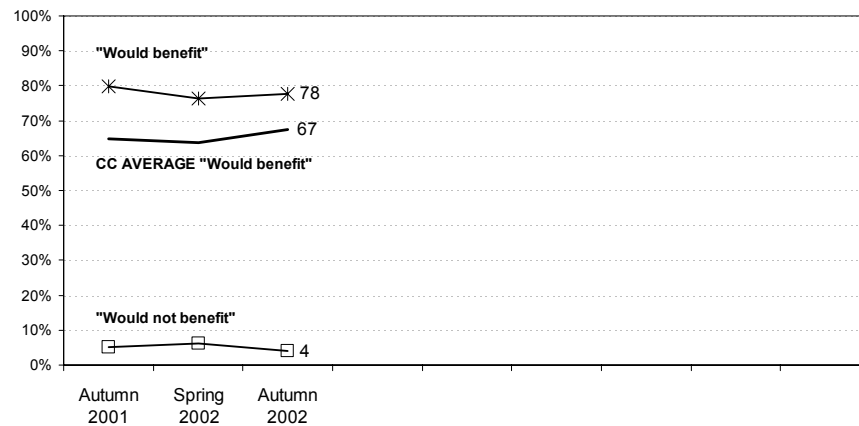


Fig. 4.4m

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Slovakia) 2001-2002

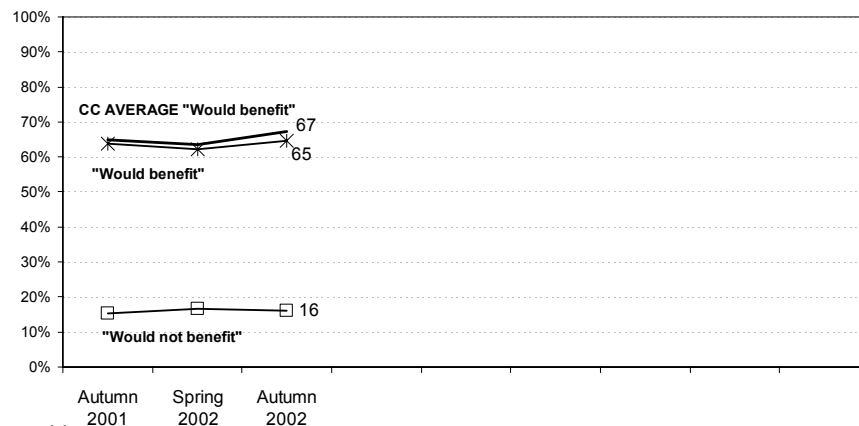


Fig. 4.4n

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Slovenia) 2001-2002

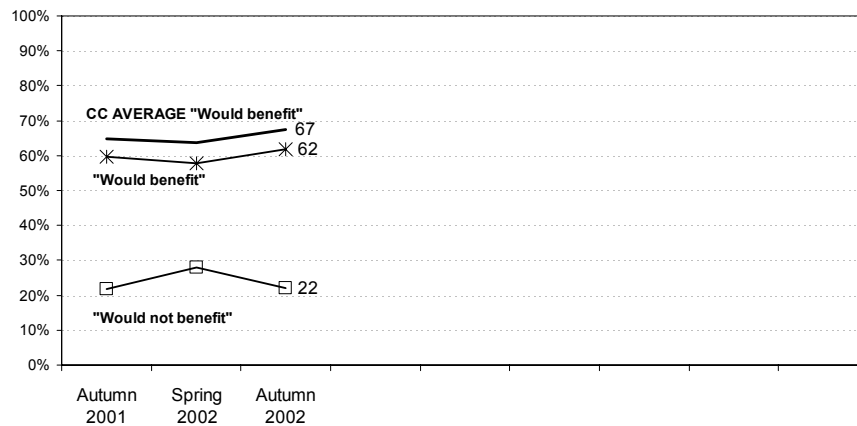


Fig. 4.4o

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

### Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Turkey) 2001-2002

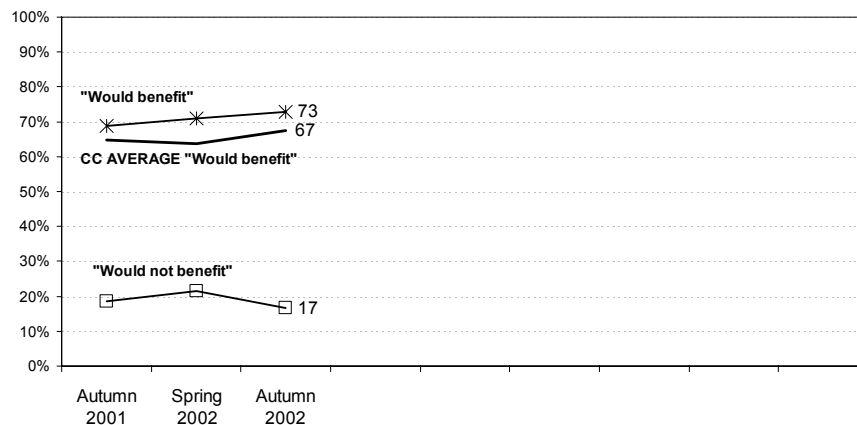


Fig. 4.4p

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) could get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

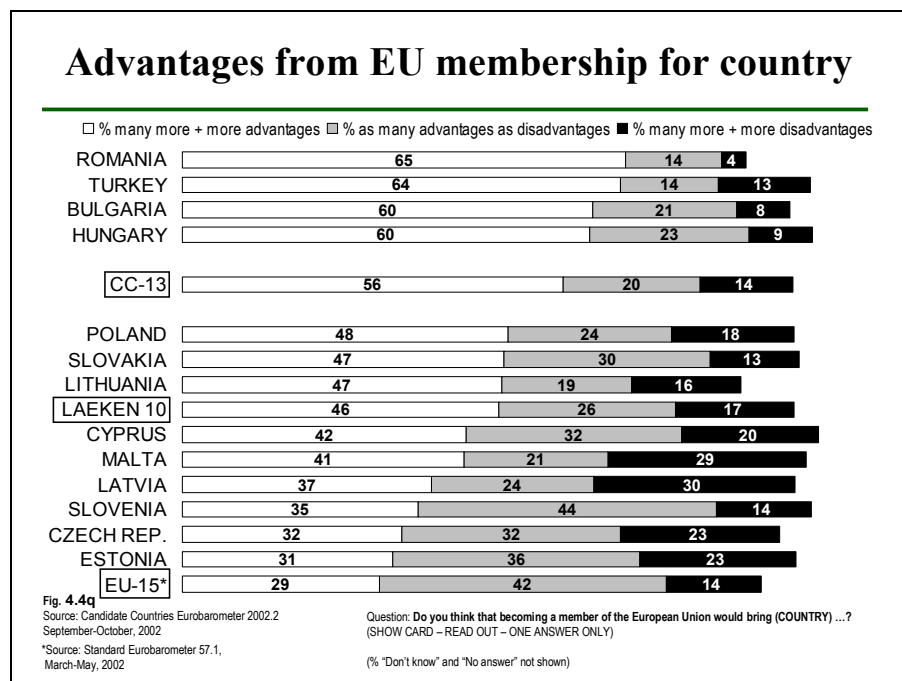
(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

We used the five-scale measure again to determine the **net balance** of expected advantages and disadvantages at the country level. At the CC-13 level the breakdown of responses for the following question is as follows (the results of the autumn 2001 wave are in parentheses):

*Do you think that becoming a member of the European Union would bring (COUNTRY) ...?*

▪ Many more advantages	20%	(18%)
▪ More advantages	36%	(36%)
▪ As many advantages as disadvantages	20%	(20%)
▪ More disadvantages	9%	(10%)
▪ Many more disadvantages	5%	(4%)
▪ (Don't know / No opinion)	10%	(12%)

Again, the future members of the European Union feel more optimistic compared to present EU citizens' experiences. Half as many people in the Candidate Countries as in the EU think that the advantages and disadvantages their country will experience will be balanced once they have joined the European Union, while at the same time believing that advantages will outweigh disadvantages.



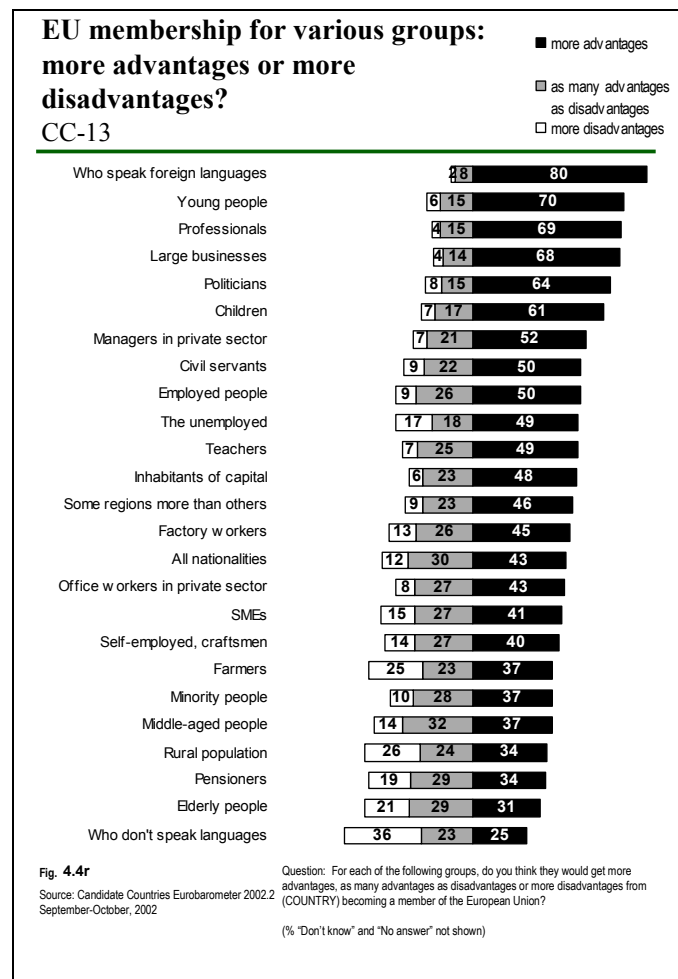
Looking at individual country results we find very apparent differences. Sixty-five percent of Romanians, 64% of Turks, and 60% of Bulgarians and Hungarians currently share the opinion that, on balance, their country would get more advantages than disadvantages from becoming a member of the European Union. Candidate Countries Eurobarometer did not find any country in the region where the ratio of pessimists exceeded the number of optimists, or a third of the population. (ANNEX TABLE 4.13)

Comparing these results with those measured twelve months before, there are very few shifts to observe. On the CC-13 level, the extent to which people are optimistic about the net benefits of their country's European accessions has not changed significantly. We see a positive shift in Malta, where people are now more likely to think their country will get more advantages (+5) and less likely to think the opposite (-9). The proportion of those who expect a positive net balance of advantages and disadvantages has increased in Turkey as well (+6). Negative tendencies were detected in Bulgaria (+4 'disadvantages', -4 'advantages'), the

Czech Republic (+4 'disadvantages', -4 'advantages'), Latvia (+7 'disadvantages'), and slightly in Cyprus as well (-5 'advantages').

### Expected benefits for various social groups

The survey also asked respondents to judge whether a wide variety of different groups, ranging from politicians to the elderly, will receive more advantages or more disadvantages from EU membership.



As the graph shows, from the list included in the questionnaire, people are most likely to pick those who speak foreign languages as the group most likely to receive more advantages than disadvantages (80% -- for more information on foreign language proficiency in the region refer to Chapter 3.1). The next most advantaged groups are seen to be young people (70%) and professionals (69%). Large businesses (68%) and politicians (64%) were also frequently mentioned as beneficiaries of accession. Generally, the current elites and the future generations are thought to be the winners of the EU accession.

At the other end of the spectrum, we find that people are most likely to think that the elderly (31%, pensioners 34%), the rural population (34%, farmers 37%), and the middle-aged (37%) are not among those who would be advantaged by their country's EU membership. At the very bottom of the list we find those who do not speak foreign languages (25%). Table 4.4b shows the country-by-country results for each of the groups included in the questionnaire. The table does not include the group that does know, and the group that doesn't know, a

foreign language, since these two groups top the list of the likely winners and losers, respectively.

**Table 4.4b Social groups attributed with the most advantages, and with the most disadvantages (without the groups defined by foreign-language knowledge)**

<b>Bulgaria</b>		<b>%</b>		<b>Malta</b>		<b>%</b>
<b>Large businesses</b>	<b>75</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Politicians</b>	<b>68</b>	
<b>Politicians</b>	<b>73</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Professionals</b>	<b>66</b>	
Rural population	24		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Farmers	42	
Elderly people	22		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Rural population	41	
<b>Cyprus</b>				<b>Poland</b>		
<b>Large businesses</b>	<b>78</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Large businesses</b>	<b>67</b>	
<b>Professionals</b>	<b>62</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Politicians</b>	<b>66</b>	
SMEs	66		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Farmers	37	
Factory workers	48		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Rural population	36	
<b>Czech Republic</b>				<b>Romania</b>		
<b>Professionals</b>	<b>69</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Young people</b>	<b>68</b>	
<b>Young people</b>	<b>62</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Politicians</b>	<b>66</b>	
Farmers	55		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Elderly people	16	
Rural population	50		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Pensioners	16	
<b>Estonia</b>				<b>Slovakia</b>		
<b>Politicians</b>	<b>82</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Young people</b>	<b>76</b>	
<b>Young people</b>	<b>68</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Professionals</b>	<b>72</b>	
Rural population	47		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Elderly people	38	
Farmers	46		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Farmers	37	
<b>Hungary</b>				<b>Slovenia</b>		
<b>Professionals</b>	<b>82</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Professionals</b>	<b>70</b>	
<b>Young people</b>	<b>73</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Large businesses</b>	<b>66</b>	
Rural population	24		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Farmers	62	
Elderly people	23		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Rural population	49	
<b>Latvia</b>				<b>Turkey</b>		
<b>Politicians</b>	<b>76</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Large businesses</b>	<b>73</b>	
<b>Large businesses</b>	<b>69</b>		<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Politicians</b>	<b>60</b>	
Rural population	55		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Rural population	16	
Farmers	54		<i>Disadvantages</i>	Politicians	15	
<b>Lithuania</b>						
<b>Young people</b>	<b>72</b>		<b>Advantages</b>			
<b>Politicians</b>	<b>69</b>		<b>Advantages</b>			
Rural population	41		<i>Disadvantages</i>			
Farmers	39		<i>Disadvantages</i>			

As the table shows, *colour locale* has not much to do with which groups people consider to be the future winners and losers from accession<sup>22</sup>. In most countries, the main beneficiaries are seen to be young people, large businesses, and politicians. In Estonia, Latvia, and Malta we

<sup>22</sup> For detailed net advantage scores for different social segments in the Candidate Countries see Table 4.16 in the Annex

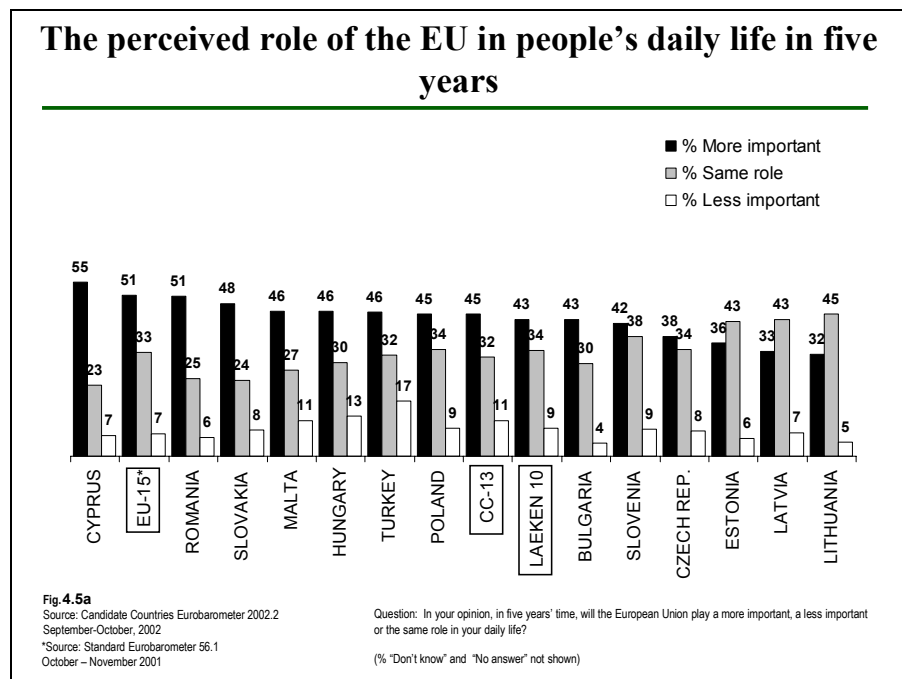
find that people think that politicians will be the most likely to benefit from accession -- signalling their discontent with the process again.

We find similar patterns if we examine the groups that, in other people's perception, will suffer the most disadvantages. The main rule is that, as with the CC-13 average, in most cases the rural population and elderly people and farmers are considered to be the chief losers from accession. In Cyprus, the people feel that small and medium enterprises and factory workers will suffer the most from accession to the European Union. (*ANNEX TABLE 4.14*)

## 4.5 The European Union in the coming years

### The expected and desired role of the European Union in five year's time

Forty-five percent of people living in the Candidate Region believe that in five years' time the European Union *will* play a more important role in their daily life, 32% believe it will play the same role, and only 11% believe it will play a less important role. Fewer people in the Member States tend to think that the EU will play a greater role in their personal lives than did one year ago<sup>23</sup>. We should note that there is no significant difference between the expectations of the Laeken-10 group (who can securely believe they will be members of the Union in five years) and the other three countries where accession is a more remote possibility.



Comparing these results with those from autumn 2001 (when the accession seemed to be a more distant possibility for the public of most if not all Candidate Countries), we find no change on the CC-13 level. The proportion of those who expected an increased role of the European Union was just one percentage point less than today.

But country-by-country analyses reveal that there is an opposite dynamic behind this steady regional average. In seven of the 13 Candidates Countries, citizens expect a greater role of the European Union in their lives for the next five years, very much so in Slovakia (+10), Latvia (+5), but also in Malta (+4) and Poland (+4), as well as in Lithuania (+3), Estonia (+3), and the Czech Republic (+3). At the same time, expectations in countries that weren't invited to join the EU in the first round decreased significantly. Eurobarometer detected a 6 percentage-point decrease in Bulgaria, and a change of -4 percentage points in Romania. In the remaining five countries the expectations only changed within the margin of error.

Right now, Cypriots are the most likely to expect the EU to play a greater role in their daily life over the next five years (55%), followed by Romanians (51%) and Slovaks (48%). In the other

<sup>23</sup> EB56.1, October-November 2001

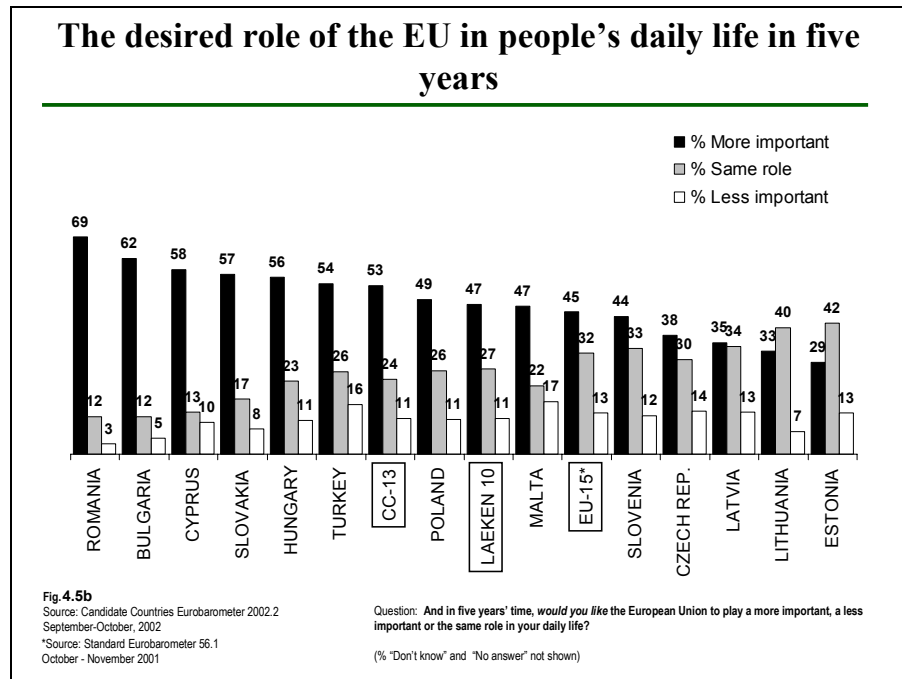


countries, public opinion is still divided. The Baltic States - Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania - are the countries where the proportion of people who feel the EU will play the same role outnumbers the proportion of those who believe the EU will play a more important role in five years (43% versus 36% in Estonia, 43% versus 33% in Latvia, and 45% versus 32% in Lithuania). The view that the EU will play a less important role is low throughout the Candidate Region, and ranges from 4% in Bulgaria to 17% in Turkey. (ANNEX TABLE 4.15A)

An analysis of the demographic variables shows that people with less education are less likely to expect the EU to play a greater role in their daily lives (39%), as are the people belonging to the oldest age group (33%), the retired (33%), and women (41%). At the same time, people who still are studying (63%), the youngest age group (57%), the managers (56%), and those who spent the most time in education (52%) think that the European Union will be more important in their lives than it is currently.

There is more diversity of opinion concerning attitudes toward the EU. Being more pessimistic, now 24% of those who think their country's membership to the EU would be a bad thing expect the EU to play a less important role in their daily life in five years' time. Last year it was 30%. The corresponding figure for those who regard EU membership as a good thing is only 9%; that is, less than one in 10 people who regard their country's future membership in the EU as a good thing don't expect membership in the Union to have an effect on their daily lives. (ANNEX TABLE 4.15B)

When we look at the role that citizens of the Candidate Countries *would like* the European Union to play in their daily life in five years' time, we find that 53% (compared to 45% in the Member States<sup>24</sup>) desire a more important role, 24% desire the same role (32% in the Member States), while only 11% desire a less important role for the European Union in their daily lives (13% in the Member States).



The citizens of Romania (69%) and Bulgaria (62%) are by far the most likely to wish the EU to play a more important role in their daily life, with close to six in 10 people in Cyprus (58%) sharing this view. In only three of the remaining countries do more than half of the population want the EU to play a more important role in their lives. This is nonetheless also the majority opinion in Slovakia, Hungary, Turkey, Poland, Malta, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic. In Latvia there is an equal number of those who desire the EU to play a more important role and those who desire the EU to play the same important role in five years (35% versus 34%). In Lithuania and Estonia, the most frequently expressed desire is for the EU to continue to play the same role (40% and 42% respectively).

There is no country in the Candidate Region where those who want the EU to play a less important role outnumber those who desire the same or a more important role. The percentages of those who desire the EU to play a less important role range from 3% in Romania to 16% in Turkey. (ANNEX TABLE 4.16)

The proportion of those who prefer higher involvement of the European Union in their daily lives did not change significantly. The countries where we find an increase in desire for more EU influence in people's everyday lives are Malta (+8), Hungary (+6), and Slovenia (+4).

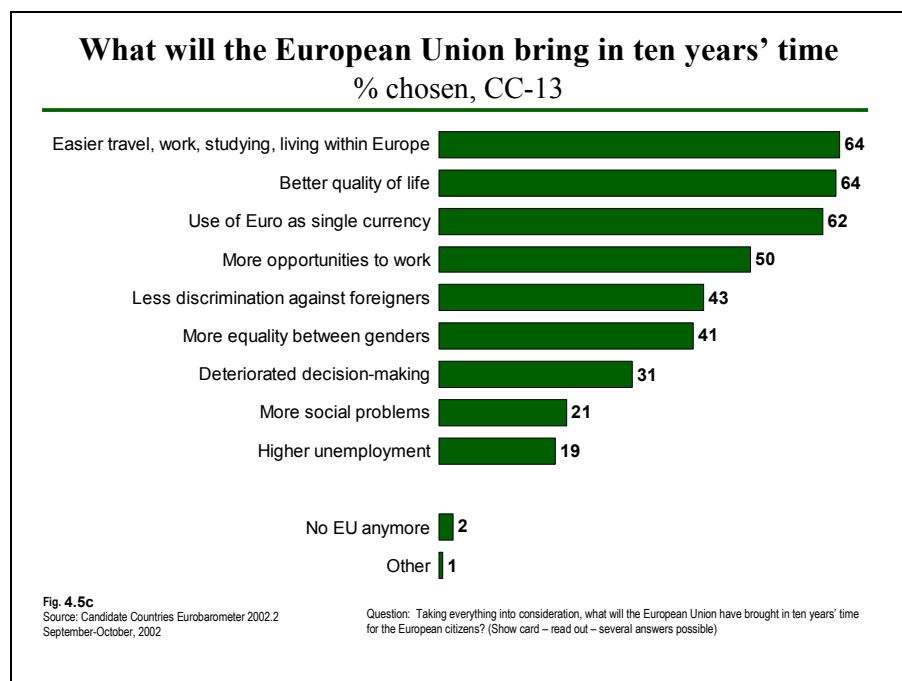
<sup>24</sup> EB56.1, October-November 2001

### Benefits of European Union in 10 years time

When asked about the future benefits of being a European citizen, the people in the Candidate Countries agree that it will be much easier to move around the Member States for any purpose (64%) and there will be a better quality of life for most people (64%). A large majority think that the Euro will be used as the single currency in the whole territory of the Union (62%). Half of respondents agree that the European Union will bring more job opportunities (50%). (ANNEX TABLE 4.17)

Between one in five and one in three citizens of the Candidate Region agrees that within the next 10 years there will be more problems within the Union: higher unemployment (19%), more social problems (21%), or deterioration in decision-making because of the enlarged Union (31%). The majority of inhabitants from the Candidate Countries also feel rather pessimistic about future progress in human rights areas: only 41% agree that the EU will bring more equality between men and women in 10 years' time for the European citizens, and less than half mentioned in this context that discrimination against foreigners will decrease (43%).

There are very few respondents thinking there will be no European Union at all (2%), which was a spontaneous answer category in this questions (that is, it was not offered for the respondents).



## 4.6 Support for joint EU decision-making

We continue by looking at the results of a question that asks whether decisions after the accession of the Candidate Countries should be made at the national or at the EU level. The questionnaire listed 25 policy areas over which the Union has, to varying degrees, decision-making powers in the Member States. On average, 55% of the Candidate Region's public supports joint EU decision-making in these areas, and favour it over national decision-making in 21 of the 25 policy areas. It shows marginally higher average support for delegating decisions to the European Union level, compared to the results Eurobarometer found in the Member States<sup>25</sup> (54%, 19 of the 27<sup>26</sup> areas to be delegated).

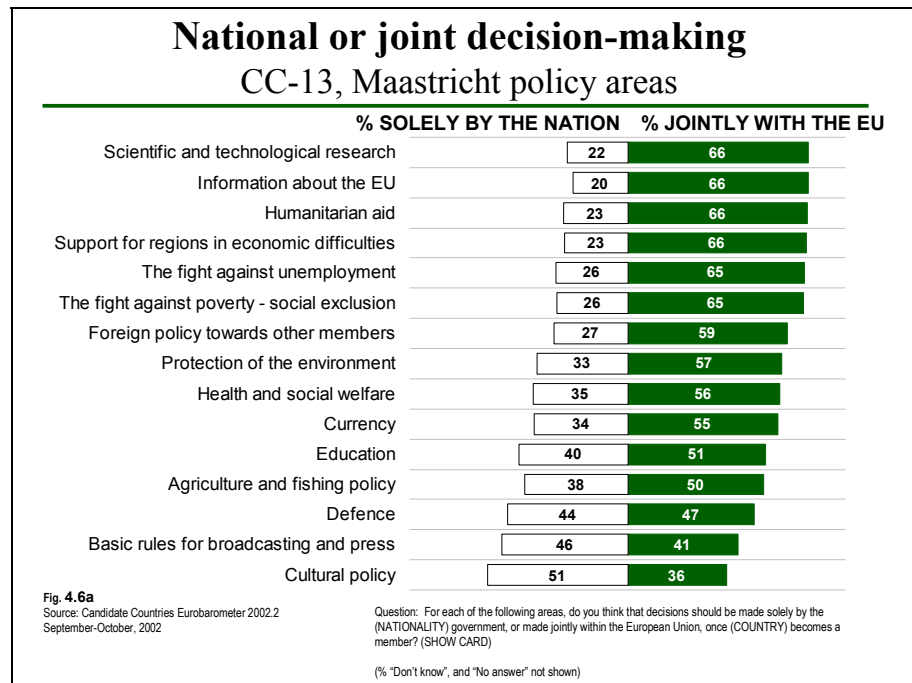
<b>Country</b>	<b>Average level of support for joint EU decision-making (for 25 areas)</b>	<b>Number of areas where joint EU decision-making is more popular than national decision-making (25 areas maximum)</b>
SLOVENIA	68%	25
CYPRUS	66%	23
LATVIA	65%	21
SLOVAKIA	64%	22
ROMANIA	62%	25
HUNGARY	62%	23
POLAND	62%	23
ESTONIA	59%	18
CZECH REP.	57%	20
<b>CC-13</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>21</b>
LITHUANIA	55%	19
<b>EU-15</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>19 (of 27)</b>
BULGARIA	52%	16
MALTA	47%	13
TURKEY	44%	11

Support for joint EU decision-making is the highest in Romania and Slovenia, where it is favoured over national decision-making in all 25 policy areas. The highest average score in support of EU decision-making was also recorded in Slovenia (68%) --Romania (62%) is in fifth place. There are another six countries where joint decision-making is favoured over national decision-making in more than 20 of the policy areas. Malta and Turkey would prefer decisions on the majority of the policy areas to be made nationally; accordingly, they have the lowest average support for joint decision-making. Interestingly, Bulgarians, who are solid supporters of their country's membership, are relatively unwilling to give up sovereign decisions in the policy areas where the European Union also has powers at the present time.

<sup>25</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

<sup>26</sup> The list that was asked in the Member States included two extra items: 'fight against international terrorism', and 'tackling the challenges of an ageing population'.

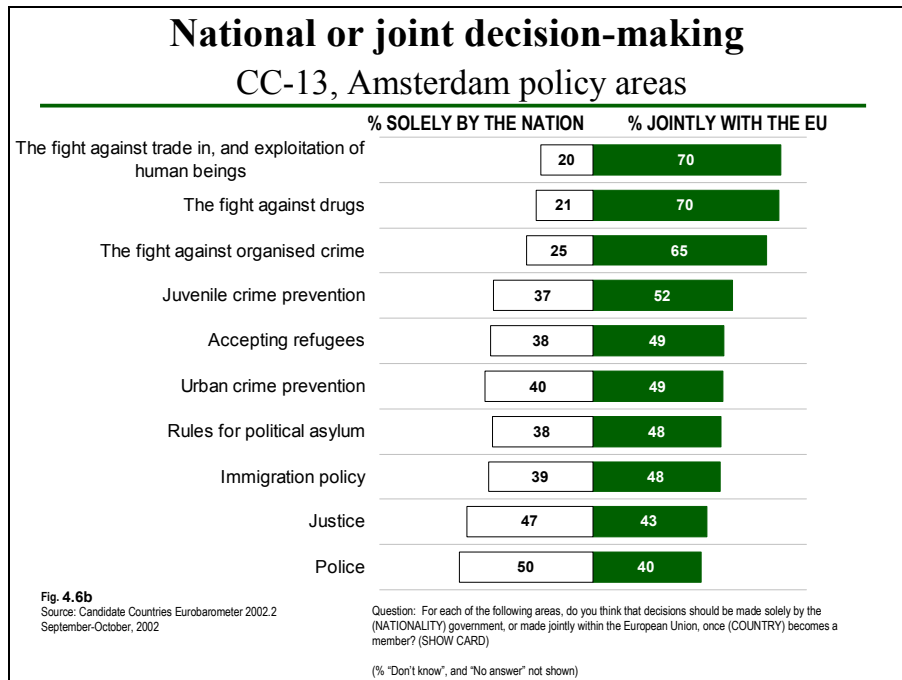
In the survey, the questions were divided into policy areas covered by the three pillars of the Maastricht Treaty (ANNEX TABLE 4.18), and the new policy areas covered by the Amsterdam Treaty (ANNEX TABLE 4.19). We first look at people's views concerning the Maastricht Treaty policy areas.



About a third (66%) of the respondents would delegate to the EU decisions on scientific and technological research, "information about the European Union", humanitarian aid issues, and support for regions in economic difficulties. Sixty-five percent of respondents support joint decision making in fighting against unemployment and poverty-social exclusion. Issues regarding foreign policy towards other members (59%), protection of the environment (57%), health and social welfare (56%), currency (51%), and education (51) are mentioned by more than half of the Candidate Countries' inhabitants as areas that, they think, decisions should be made jointly within the EU as they become members. The remaining policy areas where joint decision making is supported by half or slightly less than half of the respondents are agriculture and fishing policy (50%), defence (47%), and basic rules for broadcasting and press (41%).

The most sensitive issues seem to be related to national culture. Support for joint decision-making in cultural policy is as low as 36%. Half of the respondents (51%) have the opinion that decisions on cultural policy issues should be made solely by the national governments.

With regard to the Amsterdam Treaty policy areas, we find that support for EU joint decision-making is most widespread for the fight against trade in, and exploitation of, human beings and against drugs (both 70%), while people are most likely to support national decision-making in the areas of policing and justice (50% and 47%, respectively).

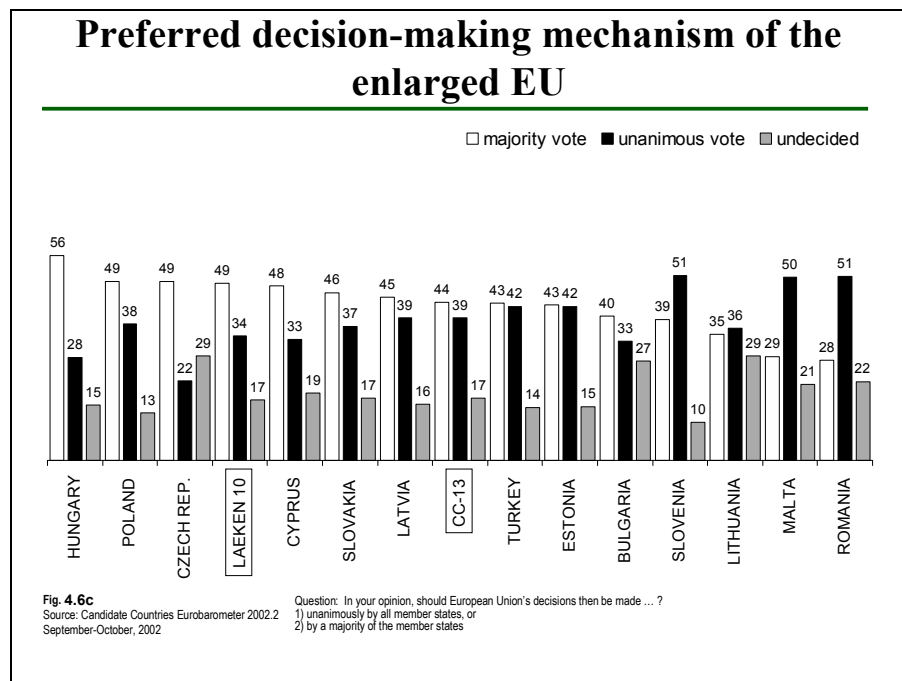


### Preferred decision-making mechanism of the enlarged European Union

There is no agreement in the Candidate Region about whether the enlarged European Union should keep its decision-making mechanism that is based on unanimous vote of all Member States, or if it should switch to decision-making based on majority vote.

On average, 39% of the citizens in the Candidate Region prefer to keep unanimous vote and reserve their country's future right to veto (V), and 44% say that a system based on majority vote would better serve its purpose (M). In the Laeken group, the citizens lean more towards replacing the unanimous voting system (V: 34%, M: 49%).

Some countries clearly support the majority vote system, most notably Hungary (V: 28%, M: 56%) and the Czech Republic (V: 22%, M: 49%), and to a lesser extent Cyprus, Poland, and Slovakia. On the other hand, Romanians (V: 51%, M: 28%) and Maltese (V: 50%, M: 29%) are keen supporters of unanimous decision-making, accompanied by the Slovenian citizens who also prefer to keep the situation in which even the smallest Member States can exercise their right to veto. (ANNEX TABLE 4.20)



## 5. Information about the European Union

First, we will look at respondents' self-perceived levels of knowledge about the European Union, as well as their levels of awareness about nine of the Union's institutions and bodies. We report in this chapter on the extent to which people pay attention to news about the European Union compared to news about other issues. Also in this chapter, we present the EU-related topics that are the most interesting for people in the Candidate Countries. Finally, we examine the sources people are most likely to use when they look for information about the European Union, and which sources of information they prefer.

### 5.1 Knowledge and awareness

#### Self-perceived knowledge about the European Union

A standard feature of the Eurobarometer is a question that asks respondents how much they feel they know about the European Union<sup>27</sup>. The comparative results presented in the table below show that 23% of Candidate Country citizens feel they know "quite a lot" to "a great deal" about the European Union (i.e. those choosing the numbers 6 through 10 on the scale), only one percentage point up from a year ago. This shows a lower level of perceived knowledge compared to the results measured in the Member States (28%)<sup>28</sup>. This difference in citizens' perceived levels of EU-related knowledge is also reflected in the averages we measured on the 10-point scale. People in the Candidate Countries scored at about 4, lower than their European fellows who also evaluate their knowledge below medium.

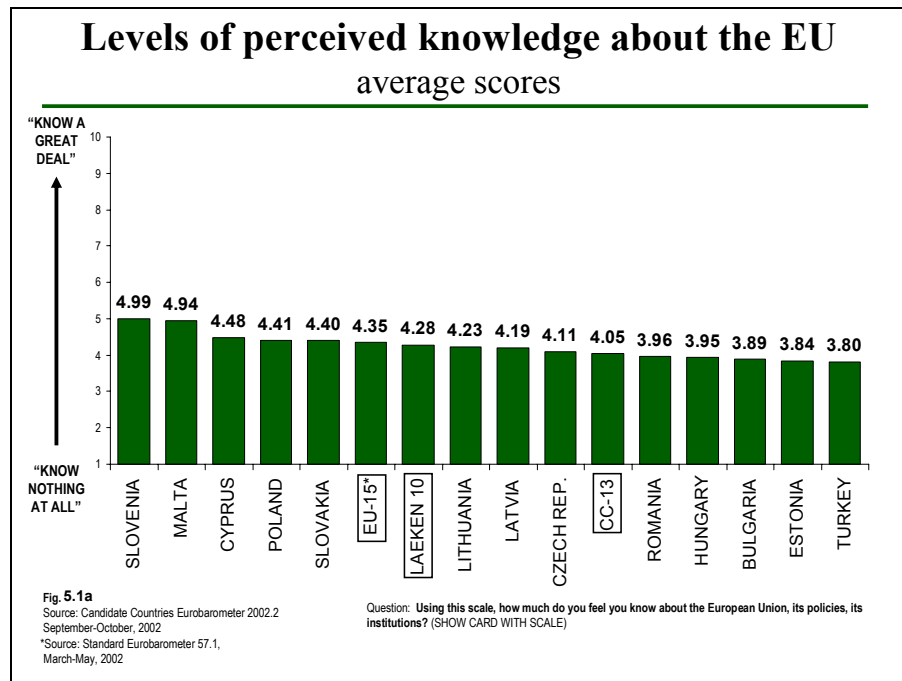
<b>Table 5.1a Self-perceived knowledge of EU affairs</b>			
	CC-13 Autumn 2001	CC-13 Autumn 2002	EU-15 Spring 2002
<b>Scale</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
1 (knows nothing at all)	14	14	10
2	14	14	11
3	16	16	15
4	14	14	15
5	20	17	19
6	9	9	12
7	6	6	9
8	4	4	5
9	1	2	1
10 (knows a great deal)	2	2	1
Don't know / No answer	2	2	1
<b>Average</b>	<b>3.99</b>	<b>4.05</b>	<b>4.35</b>

<sup>27</sup> The question is: "how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies and its institutions". Respondents were asked to select a number (1 through 10) from a card to represent their knowledge about the European Union. The higher the number they selected, the more they felt they knew about the EU.

<sup>28</sup> EB57.1, Spring 2002, Chapter 2.2



The following graph depicts the average scores for each of the 13 Candidate Countries and the EU-15 average. It shows that self-perceived knowledge levels vary significantly from one country to the next.



As of autumn 2002, knowledge levels are highest in Slovenia, where the average score is 4.99, and lowest in Turkey and Estonia, where the average scores are 3.80 and 3.84, respectively. It is worthwhile to note that citizens of Hungary and Estonia (two likely members of the European Union by 2004), currently feel less informed than people living in Romania or Bulgaria, who will not join the Union before 2007.

The responses shows that 35% of people in Slovenia and 45% of the people in Malta feel they know "quite a lot" to "a great deal" (i.e. score 6 and higher on the scale) about the European Union. At 28%, people in Slovakia come in third place, followed by people in Cyprus (27%), Poland (25%), Lithuania (25%), Romania (23%), Turkey (22%), Latvia (22%), the Czech Republic (21%), Hungary (21%), and Bulgaria (20%). Fewer than two in 10 people in Estonia (16%) feel this way. (ANNEX TABLE 5.1A)

The attitudinal analyses indicate that those who support their country's membership of the EU are somewhat more likely to feel they know "quite a lot" to "a great deal" about the EU (29%), compared to 23% of people who regard their country's membership as a bad thing. The least informed group is the undecided (12%), those who said that membership to the European Union is "neither good or bad". (ANNEX TABLE 5.1B)

The following table shows the average self-perceived EU knowledge scores for various socio-demographic groups in the Candidate Region. We find that managers, people who stayed in full-time education the longest, people who score high on the Opinion Leadership Index<sup>29</sup>, and the most frequent users of the media are the groups that rate themselves the highest on the knowledge scale. At the bottom of the table we find people who score lowest on the Media Use Index, i.e. who do not watch, read, or listen to news at all. Men consider themselves more informed than women do.

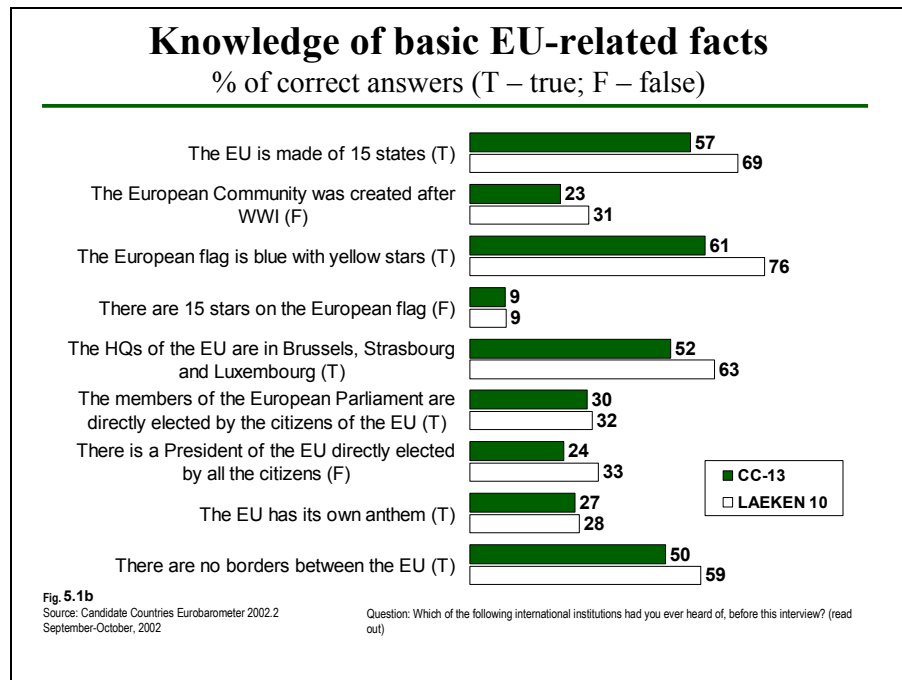
<b>Table 5.1b Average scores on perceived knowledge scale for various groups at the CC-13 level</b>	
<b>Group</b>	<b>Score</b>
Managers	5.33
Educated 20+ years	5.1
Opinion Leadership Index++ high	5.03
Media Use Index+++	4.93
Opinion Leadership Index+	4.62
Men	4.57
Still studying	4.51
Other white collar workers	4.46
Self-employed	4.33
<b>LAECEN-10</b>	<b>4.28</b>
Media Use Index++	4.28
Educated 16-19 years	4.25
Aged 25-39 years	4.2
Manual workers	4.19
Unemployed	4.17
Aged 40-54 years	4.17
Aged 15-24 years	4.13
<b>CC-13</b>	<b>4.05</b>
Opinion Leadership Index-	3.94
Retired	3.76
Aged 55+ years	3.7
Women	3.57
Media Use Index--	3.45
Educated up to 15 years	3.41
House Persons	3.13
Opinion Leadership Index- - low	3.08
Media Use Index---	2.96

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix C.4 for a definition of the indices shown in the table.

## Knowledge of basic EU-related facts

The citizens of the Candidate Countries are very poorly informed about the basic facts of the European Union. Only 61% of the people in the Candidate Countries would recognize the European flag. Further questions in a trivia quiz revealed that there is a high level of EU illiteracy persisting even in countries that are usually considered as the most prepared for accession.

One third of the citizens of the Laeken-10 countries fell to the trick question, and confirmed that the president of EU is elected by the citizens, and more than half (56%) said that the flag has 15 stars.



Some of the countries in the Laeken-10 group might take part in EP elections as soon as 2004, but 52% of the public in these countries do not know if the members of the European Parliament are elected directly, and 16% mistakenly believe that they are not. Twenty percent of the Czech and Slovenes, and 24% of Hungarians, believe that EP members are not elected by the citizens. (ANNEX TABLE 5.2)

Table 5.1c on the next page shows that on average, the Polish proved to be the best informed in the trivia questions we tested, followed by other Laeken countries: Malta, Slovenia, and Hungary. Those countries, considered to be less prepared for membership, are closing this ranking.

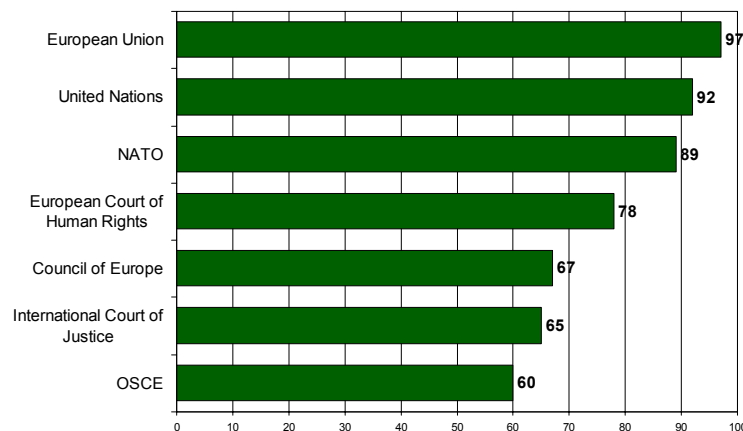
**Table 5.1c Average basic factual knowledge**  
(Average of correct answers for the 9 trivia questions about the EU)

Country	%
POLAND	47
MALTA	46
SLOVENIA	46
<b>LAECEN-10</b>	44
HUNGARY	43
CYPRUS	42
SLOVAKIA	42
ESTONIA	41
LATVIA	41
CZECH REP.	40
LITHUANIA	38
<b>CC-13</b>	37
BULGARIA	34
TURKEY	31
ROMANIA	28

### Awareness of the European Union, its institutions, bodies

The European Union is the most widely known international or supra-governmental organization in the Candidate Countries. Virtually every citizen in the Candidate Region is aware of the European Union (97%). Only NATO and the United Nations have a comparable awareness level in the Candidate Countries (93% and 89%).

### Awareness of international institutions % heard of

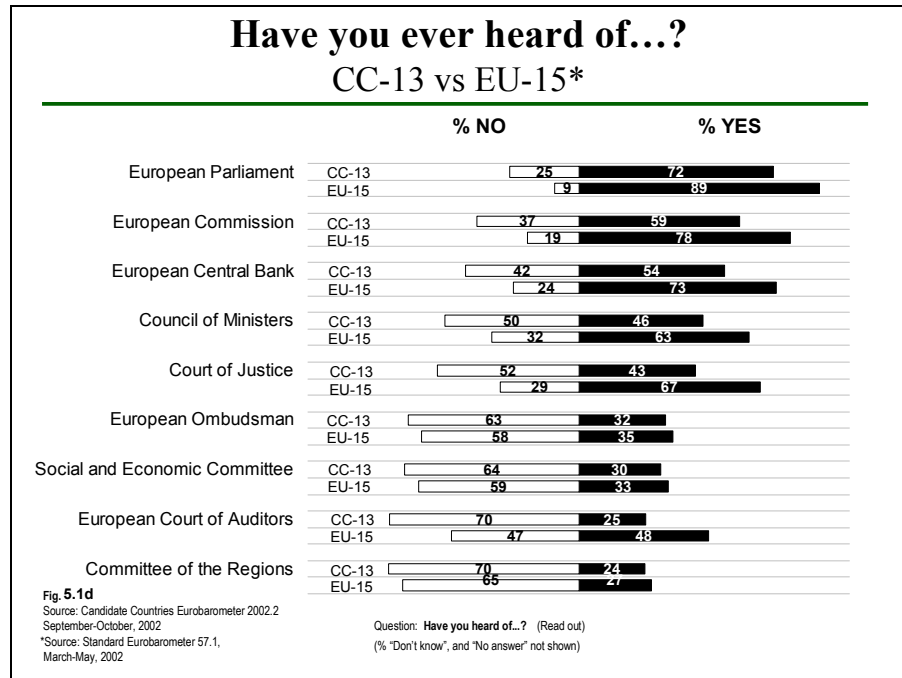


**Fig. 5.1c**  
Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002.2  
September-October, 2002

Question: Which of the following international institutions had you ever heard of, before this interview? (read out)

While the EU is the most widely known international institution in the Candidate Countries, with nearly all respondents having heard of its existence, its institutions remain much less well known — the European Parliament is known by 72%, and the European Commission is known by only 59%. In the EU Member States<sup>30</sup>, awareness of these two institutions is 89% and 78%, respectively.

When looking at public awareness of different EU institutions and bodies, we find that results vary significantly across the region. This is not true for the **European Union** as a whole. Even in Romania, where we measured the lowest awareness figures for EU, 93% of the respondents told us that they had heard about the Union. In Cyprus, Hungary, and Slovenia, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found less than one percent of the citizens had never heard of the European Union.



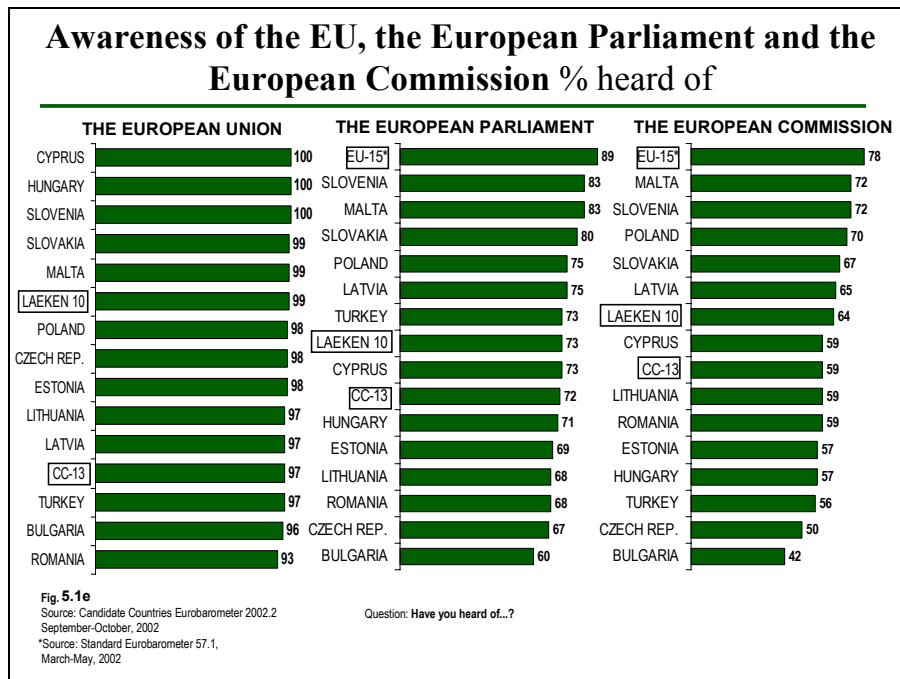
The survey measured public awareness of nine of the European Union institutions and bodies<sup>31</sup>. The public is most likely to have heard of the European Parliament (72%), followed by the European Commission (59%), and the European Central Bank (54%). People are least likely to have heard of the Committee of the Regions (24%), the European Court of Auditors (25%), and the Social and Economic Committee (30%). The rank order of the institutions and bodies is very similar to what Eurobarometer found within the Member States. Only the Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors had a relatively higher profile among citizens of the European Union, but most of the least known institutions remain unnoticed within the European Union as well.

Investigating awareness about the two best-known EU institutions, we find that there are significant differences among the 13 Candidate Countries. Awareness of the **European Parliament** ranges from 82% in Malta to 63% in Bulgaria and Lithuania. Slovenians (77%), Romanians, and Turkish (both 75%) are also more likely to know the European Parliament, whilst relatively few people are aware of it in Estonia (67%), the Czech Republic, or Cyprus (both 68%). (ANNEX TABLE 5.4)

<sup>30</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

<sup>31</sup> The question asks respondents whether they have ever heard of the institution in question. Chapter 4.2 reports on the extent to which people trust these institutions.

There is an even wider knowledge gap between countries in the case of the **European Commission**. The awareness of this institution ranges from 77% in Malta to 49% in Bulgaria. Countries that are more likely to know about the Commission include Slovenia (67%), Poland (66%), and Romania (63%). At the same time, Czechs (51%), Estonians (52%), and Cypriots (54%) are not very much aware of it.



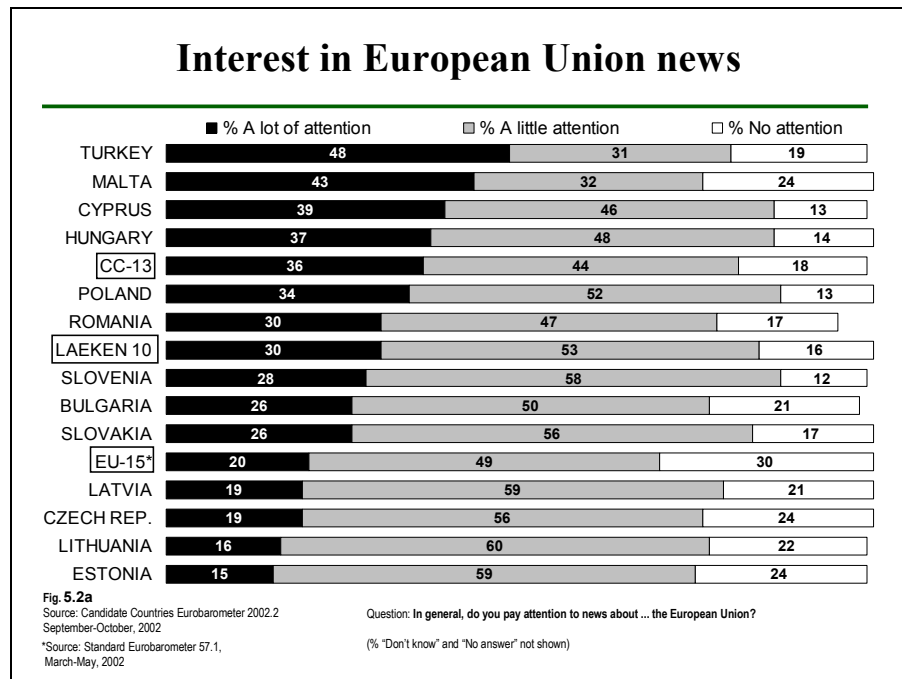
The following table ranks the 13 Candidate Countries according to the average awareness of the nine listed institutions. Slovenia headed the Candidate region; on average, the nine institutions have 61% awareness among Slovenians. This score is relatively high in Slovakia (55%) and Malta (50%) as well. On the other hand, Bulgarians are not likely to know of these institutions (35%), nor are Turks and Czechs (38% and 39%). In the Candidate Region these institutions have a 43% average awareness.

Table 5.1d Average awareness of nine institutions and bodies of the European Union			
Country	%	Country	%
SLOVENIA	61	LITHUANIA	45
SLOVAKIA	55	ROMANIA	43
MALTA	50	CC-13	43
CYPRUS	50	ESTONIA	42
LATVIA	49	TURKEY	38
POLAND	48	CZECH REP.	37
HUNGARY	48	BULGARIA	35

## 5.2 Interest in European Union news

Next we look at the results of a question that provide information about how interested people are in news about the European Union, in comparison to other news topics. The question asks respondents whether they pay a lot of attention, a little attention, or no attention at all to news in eight areas, one of them being the European Union.

As the next graph shows, four-fifths of the people (80%) surveyed in the Candidate Countries say they pay at least some attention to news about the European Union. These results are far greater than those from the Member States<sup>32</sup>. There is a big difference between the EU-15 and the CC-13 among those who pay a lot of attention: only 20% of EU citizens told Eurobarometer that they pay a lot of attention to news about the European Union; in the Candidate Countries the same figure goes up to 36%.



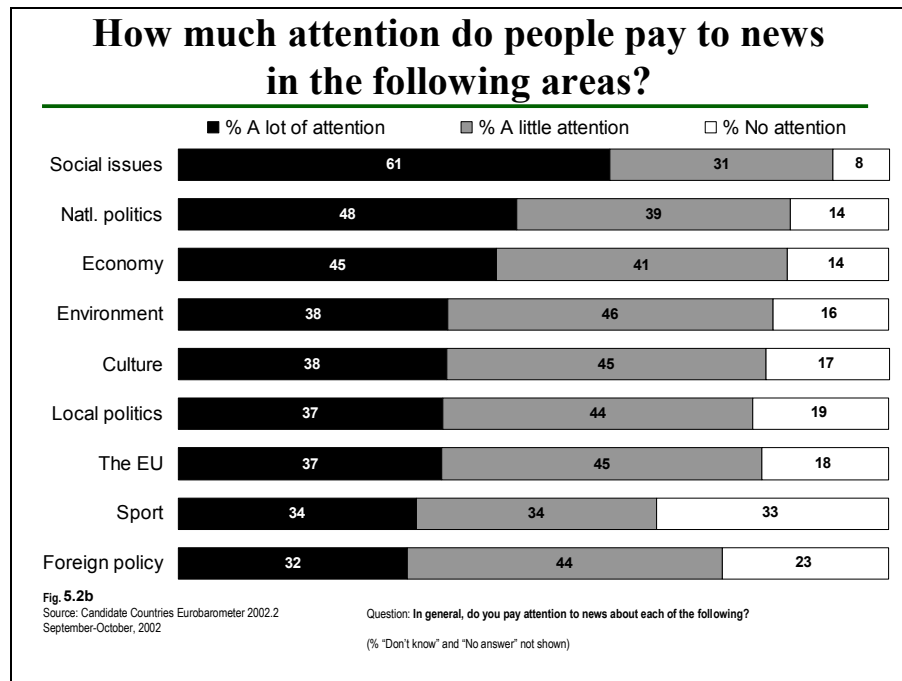
Looking at the extent to which interest in news about the European Union varies from country to country, we find that in some Laeken-10 countries, more than eight in 10 people pay at least some attention to such news. This is the case in Poland, Slovenia (86% both), Cyprus, and Hungary (85% both), as well as in Slovakia (82%). People within the European Union are more likely to ignore EU related news than any of the countries in the Candidate Region.

Interest in news is most widespread in the Candidate Countries when it comes to social issues, with 61% paying a lot of attention and a further 31% paying a little attention. There is also widespread interest in news about national politics — 48% pay a lot of attention and 39% pay a little attention. The third place is taken by financial news, with 45% paying a lot, and 41% a little, attention. News related to the European Union is less attractive for the audience than cultural, local, or environmental news.

Over the past year there has been no increase in interest in EU-related news in the Candidate Region overall, but this is not true for the individual countries. In Romania (-7) and Bulgaria (-3), interest decreased as a result of the perception of a too distant accession date (as

<sup>32</sup> EB57.1, Spring 2002, Chapter 2.1

shown in Chapter 6). At the same time, we detected increase in interest among citizens of Turkey (+6), Latvia (+6), Estonia (+5), Cyprus (+5), Slovakia, and Poland (both +3). (ANNEX TABLE 5.5A)



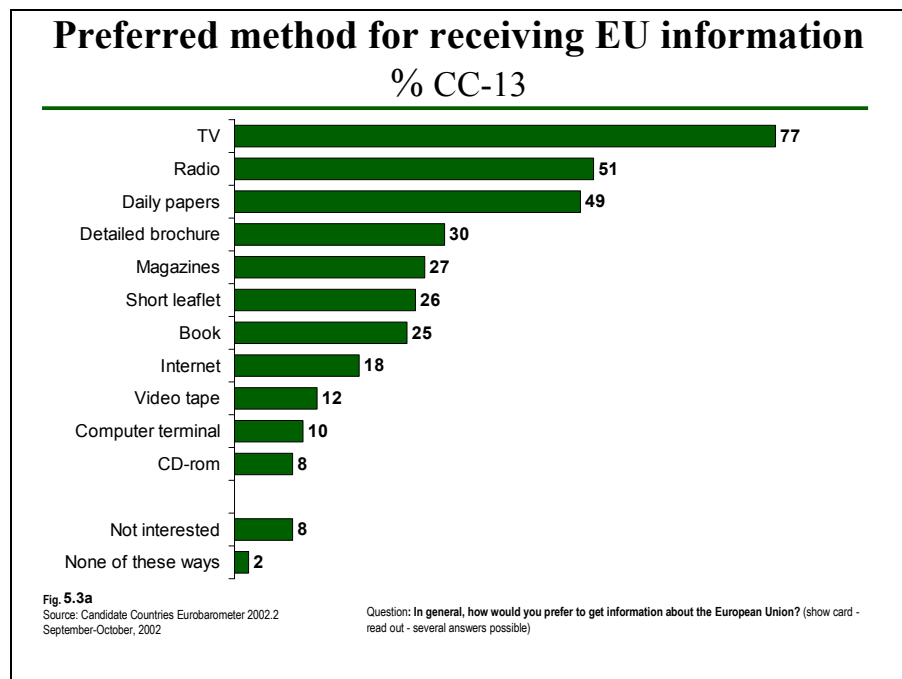
The demographic analyses show that men are more likely than women to pay attention to news about the European Union (84% v. 77%). The youngest and the oldest age groups are less likely to pay attention (to any news) than the average of the Candidate Countries (80%).

Ninety-one percent of people who stayed in full-time education until age 20 or older pay attention, compared to 74% of those who left full-time education before the age of 16. Analyses of the respondent occupation scale show that managers are most likely to pay attention to news about the European Union (90%), compared to only 63% of house persons. (ANNEX TABLE 5.5B)



### 5.3 Preferred methods for receiving information about the European Union

The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer asked respondents to indicate, from a list of 11 pre-defined sources, their preferred method(s) of receiving information about the European Union. Not surprisingly, people's preferences go to the three media sources they are most likely to use (see Chapter 1 for details). Seventy-seven percent of all respondents say they choose the television, 51% the daily newspapers, and 49% the radio as their preferred method of receiving information about the European Union. Brochures are selected by 30% of respondents, which is almost twice as many as choose the Internet (18%). Other electronic information tools, such as videotapes (12%), computer terminals (10%), and CD-ROMs (8%) are also less attractive than print material, such as books, magazines, and leaflets. (ANNEX TABLE 5.7)



## 5.4 EU topics people would like to know more about

When asked about what they would like to know more about, the citizens of the Candidate Countries choose youth policy (61%), education policy (57%), and institutions of the European Union (55%) as their first preferences. More than half lack information about European citizenship and the Euro (both 54%), the regional policies, the EU economy in general (both 53%), as well as European social policy (52%). Almost half of the people living in the Candidate Region would like to know more about the Union's cultural policy (48%), the enlargement process, the environmental policy, and consumer protection (47% each).

People feel that they know enough, or are simply not interested in, the European Union's R&D policies (38% interested), the history of the EU (44%), and the pre-accession funds (43%). In general, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found relatively widespread interest in most of the topics it investigated.

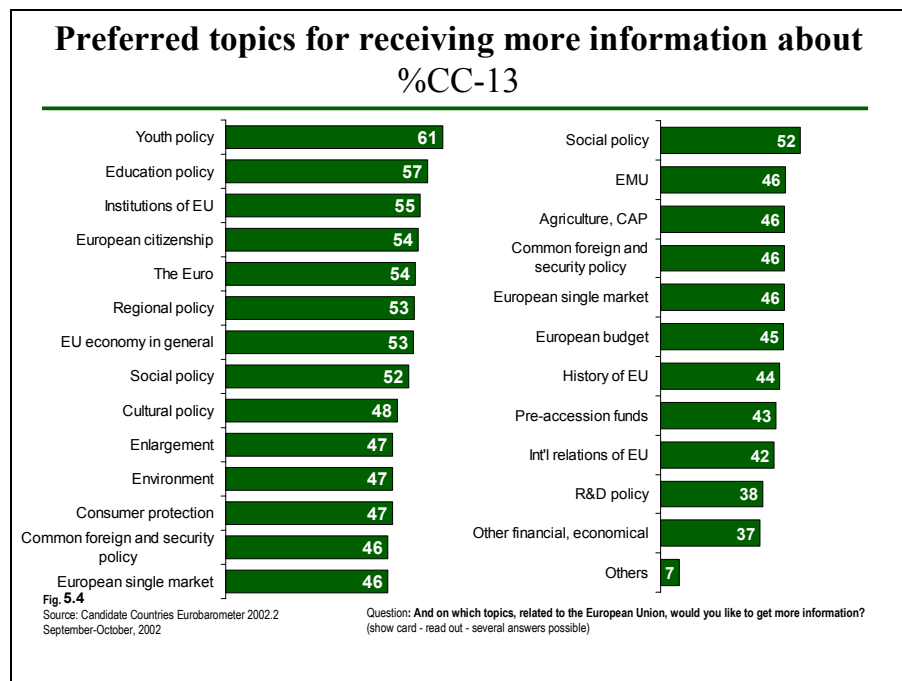


Table 5.4 on the next page shows the four most frequently mentioned topics about which people in each country wish to know more. It shows a very diverse picture with very few common characteristics. One of these is, however, that information about **youth policy** ranked in the top four in eight of the 13 Candidate Countries. Another frequent entry among the most popular contents is **information about the Euro**, which was among the top four in seven countries. Maltese are more likely to have an interest in 'post-modern' issues, like the environment, consumer protection, and education, whilst the Slovenes remain strictly material in their choice of content: they wish to know more about pre-accession funds, the EU economy in general, and the European Monetary Union. Citizens of seven countries told us that they would like to have more information on the **institutions of the European Union** as well. The topic of **the European Research and Development policy** makes the top four in the Czech Republic only. (ANNEX TABLE 5.8)

**Table 5.4 Four most frequently mentioned topics the candidate countries citizens want to know more about (%) by country)**

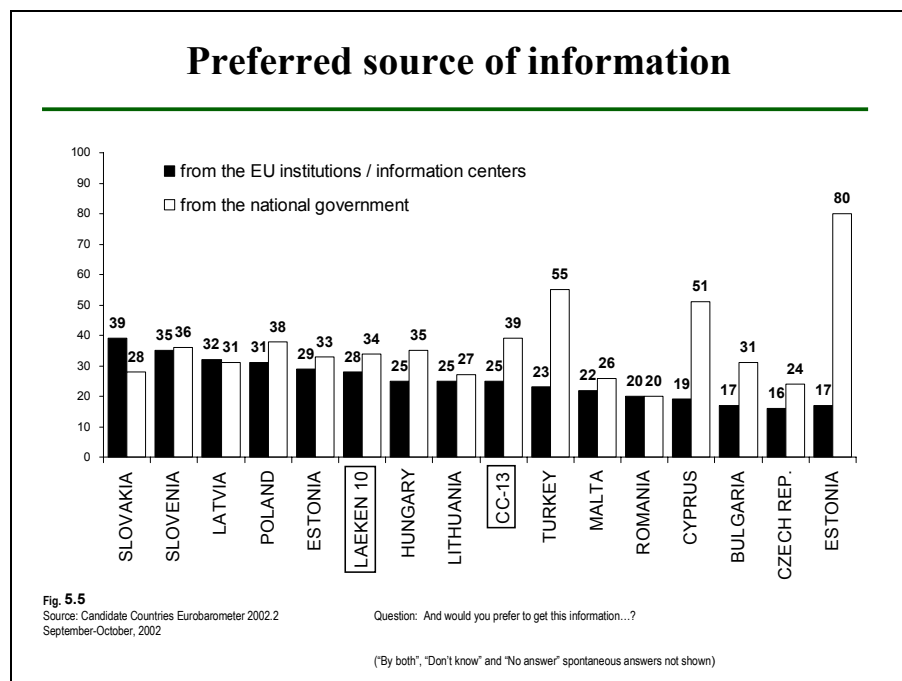
<b>Bulgaria</b>		<b>Malta</b>	
History of EU	40	Youth policy	76
Institutions of EU	44	Environment	76
The Economic and Monetary Union	32	Consumer protection	73
The Euro	52	Education	72
<b>Cyprus</b>		<b>Poland</b>	
The EU and consumer protection	72	Youth policy	56
Environment	70	EU economy in general	51
Youth policy	69	Institutions of EU	47
Education	67	Social policy	46
<b>Czech Republic</b>		<b>Romania</b>	
The Euro	59	The Euro	61
Institutions of EU	58	European citizenship	53
Pre-accession funds	56	Youth policy	53
R&D policy	55	Pre-accession funds	52
<b>Estonia</b>		<b>Slovakia</b>	
Social policy	64	Social policy	56
The Euro	64	The Euro	50
Youth policy	63	Education	49
Education	62	Institutions of EU	47
<b>Hungary</b>		<b>Slovenia</b>	
The Euro	62	Pre-accession funds	51
Youth policy	60	EU economy in general	49
Education	56	The Economic and Monetary Union	47
Institutions of EU	55	The Euro	45
<b>Latvia</b>		<b>Turkey</b>	
European citizenship	55	Education	74
Social policy	55	Youth policy	74
Education	52	European citizenship	69
Institutions of EU	52	Culture	65
<b>Lithuania</b>			
Pre-accession funds	56		
Institutions of EU	54		
EU economy in general	51		
Youth policy	51		

## 5.5 Preference for national versus EU originated information

We have asked the citizens in the Candidate Countries if they preferred to receive EU related information from their national government, or from the EU institution or information centres. About one-third (36%) could not choose between the two, and either spontaneously said that they would like to receive information from both sides, simply could not choose, or refused to answer this question.

Those who had a preference more often chose their national government (39%) than the European Union (25%) to interpret the information. The same is true for the Laeken-10 countries, but with a much smaller margin: 34% from these countries prefer government information and 28% would rather believe the European Union.

Slovakia, where the Eurobarometer found the least confidence in national government (see Chapter 1.4), is the only country where more people would trust the European Union on the key issues (39%) than their own political leadership (28%). (ANNEX TABLE 5.9)



## 6. Attitudes and knowledge about enlargement and the accession process

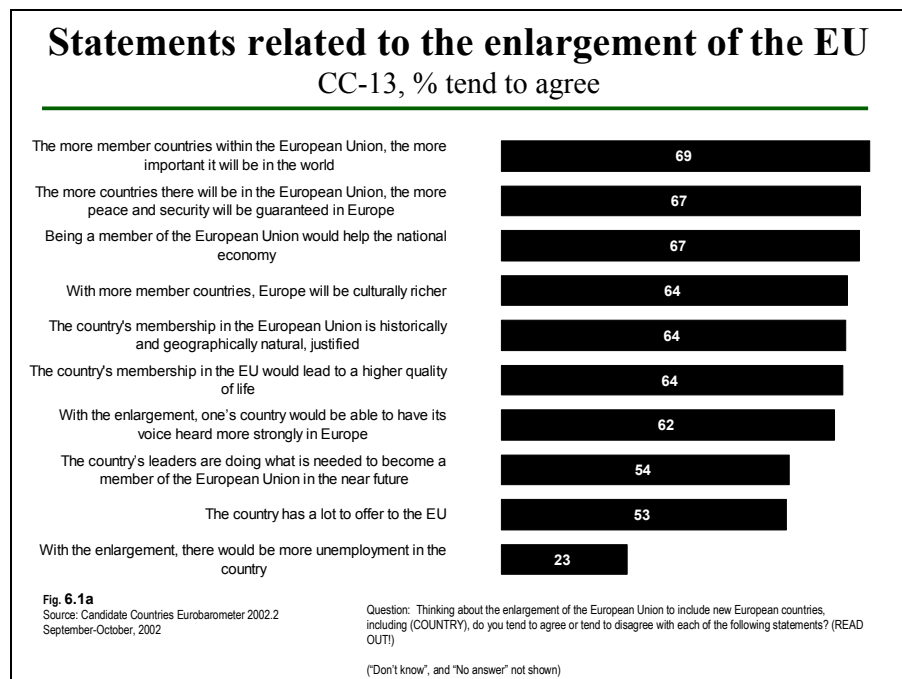
At the beginning of this chapter we will examine the enlargement-related sentiments, attitudes, and fears that prevail in the Candidate Countries. We continue with the perceived and desired speed of one's country's accession process. Finally, we will look at the amount of information that the residents of the Candidate Countries feel they have received about the enlargement of the European Union and the accession of their country to the EU.

### 6.1 Attitudes towards enlargement

Two-thirds of the public in the Candidate Countries believe that the membership of their country in the European Union is 'natural', that is, historically and geographically justified (64%). The majority of the Candidate Countries' citizens feel that the Union will be more important in the world if it includes more countries (69%). Also a large number of respondents argue that the more countries in the European Union, the more peace and security will be guaranteed in Europe (67%), and that membership would help their national economy (67%). Sixty-four percent of EU citizens think that member countries culturally enrich the Union, and 64% believe that a country's membership in the EU leads to a higher quality of life.

Every second respondent in the Candidate Region believes their country has a lot to offer to the European Union (53%), and 62% believe that their nation's voice will be heard more in Europe once they have joined the EU. Fifty-four percent believe, though, that their leaders are doing what is needed to become a member of the European Union.

Every fourth citizen in the Candidate Countries think that there will be more unemployment after their country joins the European Union (23%).



In the following paragraphs we look at each statement in more detail. (ANNEX TABLE 6.1)

**A lot to offer**

We asked our respondents if they agree or disagree with the following statement: *"(COUNTRY) has a lot to offer to the European Union"*. The region as a whole is not very confident in this regard. The average of the Candidate Region for the answer "I tend to agree" is 53%. Romania (61%), Turkey (58%), Poland (56%), and Cyprus (55%) are most likely to think that they will bring something valuable into the partnership with the present Member States. Only 21% of Estonians think that their country "has a lot to offer" the European Union; Lithuania is also rather pessimistic in this respect (29%).

**More peace and security**

All Candidate Countries share the view that enlargement will bring more security and peace to Europe. Overall, 67% of respondents agreed that *"The more countries there will be in the European Union, the more peace and security will be guaranteed in Europe"*. In the Candidate Region, Cypriots are the most likely to agree (81%), followed by Hungarians (79%), Romanians (75%), and Slovaks (75%), whilst in Malta relatively fewer people (57%) believe that the integrating force of the European Union will bring lasting peace to the continent.

**Membership would help the country's economy**

Sixty-seven percent of our respondents agreed that *"being a member of the European Union would help the (NATIONAL) economy"*. Countries are divided on this question — the levels of affirmation ranges from 48% (in the Czech Republic, Latvia and Malta) to 75% in Romania, 72% in Hungary, 71% in Turkey, and 70% in Slovakia.

**Membership makes the country more important in Europe**

Sixty-two percent of the citizens of Candidate Countries expect their countries to have increased European importance after joining the European Union. Cypriot respondents are the most likely to expect higher appreciation for their country (81%), followed by the Romanians (71%), and the Turkish (68%), whilst Lithuanians (42%) and Czechs (45%) least anticipate such a change.

**Leaders are doing what is needed**

Compared to the previous statements, respondents were considerably less convinced that *"(COUNTRY)'s leaders are doing what is needed to become a member of the European Union in the near future"*. On average, 46% think that their leaders spare no effort to promote the accession process. The public in Cyprus (87%), Malta (79%), and Slovakia (71%) are the most likely to share this view. In Turkey (45%) and in Romania (49%), people are less likely to think that their politicians do what is needed in order to become EU members.

**With the enlargement EU will become more important**

The people living in the Candidate Region envision a stronger Europe after the enlargement with new Member States. They are confident that *"The more member countries within the European Union, the more important it will be in the world"*. On average 69% of respondents agree with this statement (almost as many, 63% affirm this within the Member States). The highest numbers of positive responses were recorded in Cyprus (83%), but Hungary (78%) and Slovakia (78%) also ranked high on this scale. Lithuania and Poland are at the bottom end — both with 61% affirmative answers.

**Membership is justified**

Sixty-five percent of Candidate Countries' citizens are positive that their country belongs historically and geographically to the European realm; consequently, their membership in the Union is natural and justified. However, results are strongly polarized. At both ends of the

scale we find countries that are relatively geographically distant from the European Union. People of Bulgaria are the most likely to think (72%) that their membership in the EU is well justified with historic and geographic reasons, followed by Cyprus (70%), Slovakia (68%), Romania, Hungary, and Turkey (67% each). The least confident people in this respect are the Lithuanians and the Estonians (both 48%).

### **Cultural enrichment**

Sixty-four percent of people living in the Candidate Region think that their countries can add to the multicultural image of the European Union. Sixty-one percent of the citizens in the current Member States also agree with the following statement: *"With more member countries, Europe will be culturally richer"*. Respondents from Hungary (72%), Slovenia (72%), Slovakia (70%), and Turkey (70%) agree the most with this statement. Lithuanians (49%), Czechs (50%), and Estonians (51%) are the most sceptical in this regard.

### **Higher quality of life**

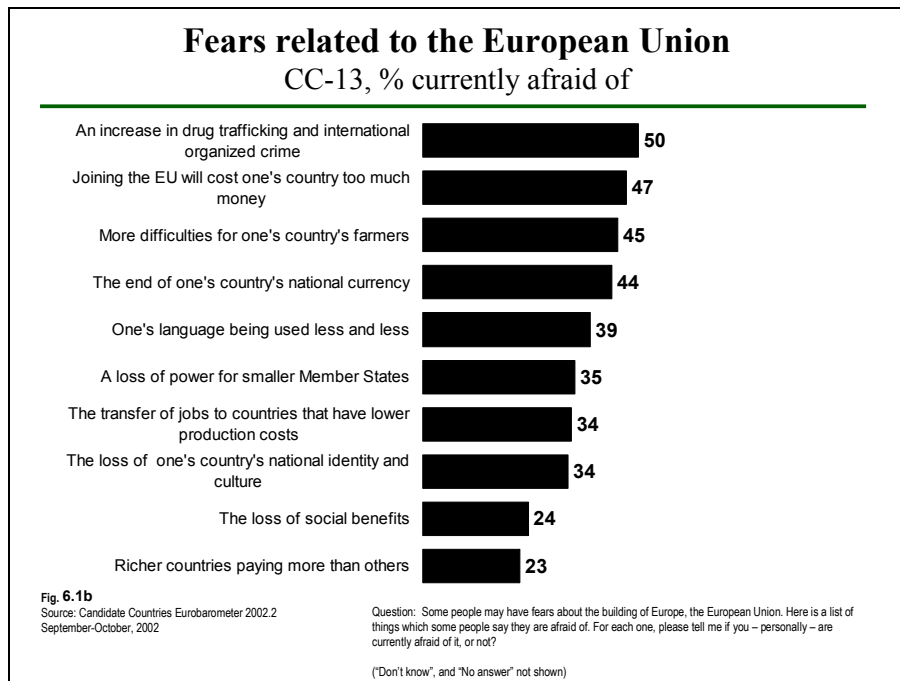
Sixty-four percent of the respondents expect a better life from their EU citizenship. When we ask if they tend to agree or not with the statement *"(COUNTRY)'s membership of the EU would lead to a higher quality of life"*, the Turkish (72%), Romanians (69%), Hungarians (68%), and Bulgarians (66%) were the most optimistic. We found low levels of optimism in Estonia (40%), Latvia (40%), and the Czech Republic (44%).

### **More unemployment**

As the only negative statement among those tested, this one received the least confirmation from the public of the Candidate Countries — 23% of interviewed individuals agreed that *"With the enlargement, there would be more unemployment in (COUNTRY)"*. Fifty-three percent of Cypriots fear that their membership will have a negative effect on their employment possibilities. Latvians (43%) and Lithuanians (40%) are also more likely to fear for their labour market from membership. On the other hand, only 18% of Bulgarians and Romanians have similar fears, followed by Slovaks (21%) and Hungarians (22%).

In another set of questions, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer tested the prevalence of several common fears related to the European Union, or the enlargement process itself. In order to measure the extent to which the public is concerned about the ongoing process of European integration, respondents were asked the following question:

*Some people may have fears about the building of Europe, the European Union. Here is a list of things that some people say they are afraid of. For each one, please tell me if you - personally - are currently afraid of it, or not?*



People in the Candidate Countries are the most likely to fear that the building of Europe will lead to increased drug trafficking and international organised crime (50%). Almost every second citizen is currently afraid that the accession will cost too much money to their country (47%), and 45% are afraid that with increased integration their farmers will face more difficulties. The following table shows the three most widespread fears in each country.



Table 6.1a Three most widespread fears connected to the building of Europe

Bulgaria		Malta	
Increase in organized crime	44%	Transferred jobs	56%
Accession expensive	41	Increase in organized crime	54
Problems for farmers	36	Problems for farmers	52
Cyprus		Poland	
Increase in organized crime	85%	Increase in organized crime	58%
Loss of identity, culture	60	Problems for farmers	57
Transferred jobs	60	Accession expensive	54
Czech Republic		Romania	
Problems for farmers	65%	Increase in organized crime	37%
Accession expensive	59	Accession expensive	34
Increase in organized crime	54	End of natl. currency	23
Estonia		Slovakia	
Increase in organized crime	68%	Increase in organized crime	66%
Accession expensive	63	Accession expensive	63
Problems for farmers	60	Problems for farmers	53
Hungary		Slovenia	
Accession expensive	64%	Problems for farmers	65%
End of natl. currency	52	Increase in organized crime	57
Problems for farmers	51	Accession expensive	55
Latvia		Turkey	
Problems for farmers	71%	Abandoning language	56%
Increase in organized crime	69	End of national currency	53
Accession expensive	56	Loss of identity, culture	50
Lithuania			
Increase in organized crime	64%		
Accession expensive	63		
Problems for farmers	61		

The increase in drug trafficking and international organised crime is the most widespread fear in seven Candidate Countries. It is not in the top three only in Hungary and Turkey. The fear that **farmers will have more difficulties** is the most widespread fear in the Czech Republic, Latvia, and Slovenia. It does not make the top three in the Cyprus, Romania, and Turkey. **High costs of the accession** is the most widespread fear in Hungary, it comes second in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Romania, and Slovakia, and comes third in Latvia, Poland, and Slovenia. It does not make the top three in Cyprus, Malta, and Turkey. The **end of national currency** appears as the second fear in Hungary and Turkey (the only country that prefers keeping its national currency over converting the currency to the Euro), and it ranks third in Romania. In Cyprus, **loss of identity** is among the

most widespread fears we find (it's second on the list), and it appears among the top three fears of the Turkish people as well. (ANNEX TABLE 6.2)

Finally, we will take a look at the 'average fear level' in each Candidate Country. As the following table shows, the average percentage of respondents saying they are currently afraid of things related to building Europe is the highest in Estonia (49%), and by far the lowest in Bulgaria (28%) and Romania (23%).

**Table 6.1b Fear in the building of Europe**  
(Average score for '% currently afraid' responses for 11 items, by country)

Country	% average
ESTONIA	51
CYPRUS	50
LATVIA	45
MALTA	45
LITHUANIA	45
CZECH REP.	44
SLOVENIA	43
TURKEY	42
SLOVAKIA	42
POLAND	38
<b>CC-13</b>	<b>38</b>
HUNGARY	37
BULGARIA	29
ROMANIA	20

### Perception of support levels for country's membership in the Member States

It is probably not a fear, but definitely there is a reservation in the citizens of the Candidate Region if people already living in the European Union support their membership or not. Twenty-nine percent on CC-13 level and 21% among the Laeken-10 group believe that current citizens are not in favour of welcoming them in the Union.

We asked our respondents the following question:

*And do you think that people in the current Member States of the European Union are ... welcoming new countries, such as (COUNTRY)?*

- 4 – very much in favour of*
- 3 – somewhat in favour of*
- 2 – somewhat against*
- 1 – very much against*

The results below suggest that people in the Candidate Region have no clear idea to what extent people in Western Europe support their membership to the European Union (15% do not know, 14% can't decide what can be the majority opinion), but very few think that current EU citizens would be indifferent for the new country' EU accession (neither in favour nor against: 2%). (in parenthesis the Laeken-10 results):

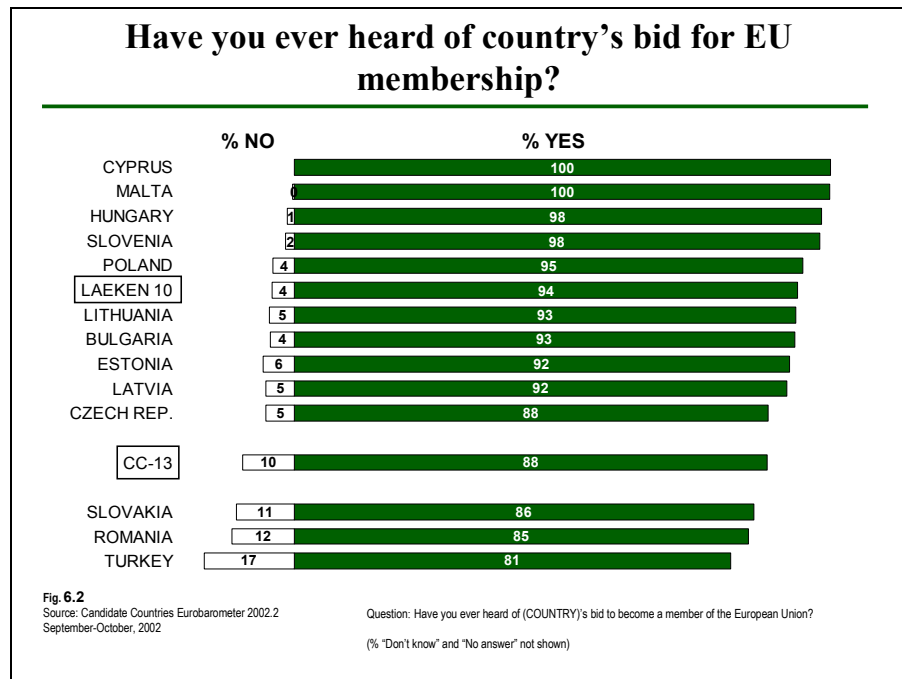
Very much against	10%	(3%)
Somewhat against	19%	(18%)
Somewhat in favour of	34%	(42%)
Very much in favour of	7%	(5%)
Some are in favour, other are against (spont.)	14%	(19%)
Neither in favour nor against (spont.)	2%	(3%)
DK/ No answer (spont.)	15%	(9%)

With very little variation among the countries, although the majority of the Turkish citizens think that Western Europeans oppose their EU membership. This is not the case anywhere else; but only Maltese (57%), Polish (55%), Hungarians (54%), Cypriots (53%) and Slovenes (51%) have a confident absolute majority believing that their country's accession is supported by current citizens at least to some extent. (ANNEX TABLE 6.3)

## 6.2 Awareness of country's bid for EU membership

Almost nine in 10 people living in a Candidate Country are aware that their government has applied for European Union membership (and in most of the countries has almost finished negotiations about the accession as well). The smallest proportion of people who knew about the country's bid is to be found in Turkey (81%). Everybody knew about it in Cyprus and Malta, and virtually everyone in Hungary and Slovenia as well (both 98%). Generally, there is no significant variation among the remaining countries or demographic groups; however, Romanians (85%) and Slovaks (86%) are also a little less informed compared to the average. (ANNEX TABLE 6.4A)

Awareness of the country's bid for EU membership in the Laeken-10 group is almost complete (94%).



Demographic analysis shows approximately similar levels of variation in the awareness of different groups. Managers (97%), the highly educated (96%), other white collar workers (94%), and those with medium levels of education (93%) are more likely to be informed about the country's bid for EU membership, while the house persons (73%), the least educated (81%), women (84%), the youngest and the oldest age groups (86% and 87%, respectively) are less aware of it. (ANNEX TABLE 6.4B)

### 6.3 Timeframe of the EU accession

The survey measured public opinion about the perceived and desired speed of their country's accession process with the following question:

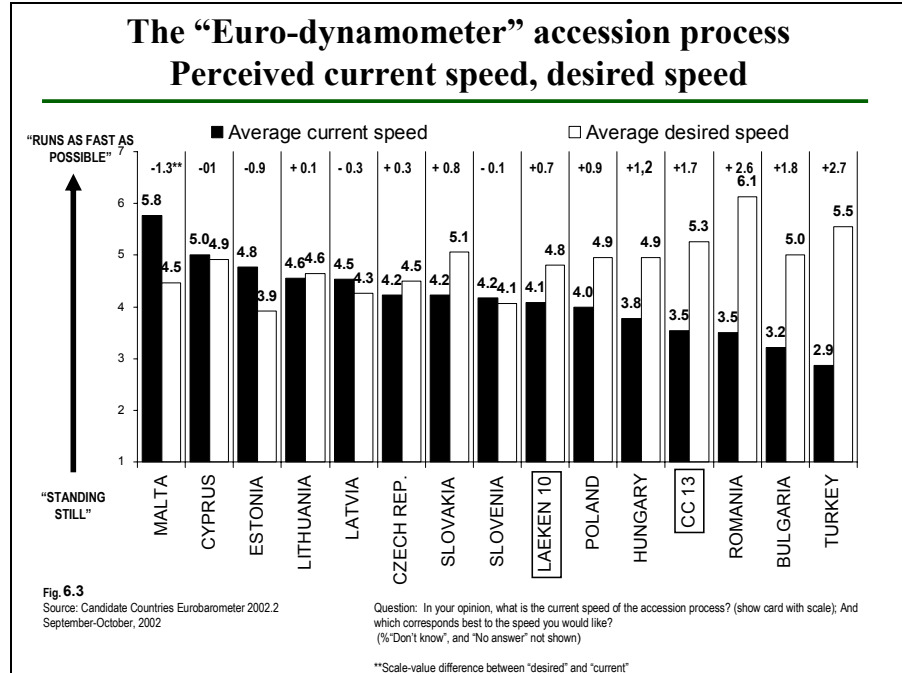
*a. In your opinion, what is the current speed of the accession process? Please look at these figures (SHOW CARD WITH SCALE), No 1 is standing still, No 7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one that best corresponds with your opinion of the current speed of the accession process.*



*b. And which corresponds best to the speed you would like? (Show same card)*

Despite the speed-up in the accession process, the citizens in the Candidate Countries desire even faster enlargement.

On a scale of 1 to 7, the average speed at which people believe their country's accession process is proceeding is 3.5. But people would like the accession process to progress at a faster speed (5.3). As the figure below shows, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer shows a very high net score difference indicating a widespread wish for further acceleration of accession negotiations. This sentiment is significantly more prevalent in countries that do not belong to the Laeken-10 group.



The perceived speed of the accession process varies considerably from country to country. It is highest in Malta (5.8) and, reflecting reality, the lowest in Turkey (2.9). High speed of the accession process is perceived in Cyprus (5.0) and in Estonia (4.8) as well. Countries still above the neutral cut-off point of this seven-point scale are Poland (4.0), Slovenia, Slovakia,

and the Czech Republic (4.2 of each), Latvia (4.5), and Lithuania (4.6). Next to Turkish people (2.9), only Hungarians (3.8) and Romanians (both 3.5) perceive the speed of the accession process as being rather slow. (ANNEX TABLE 6.5)

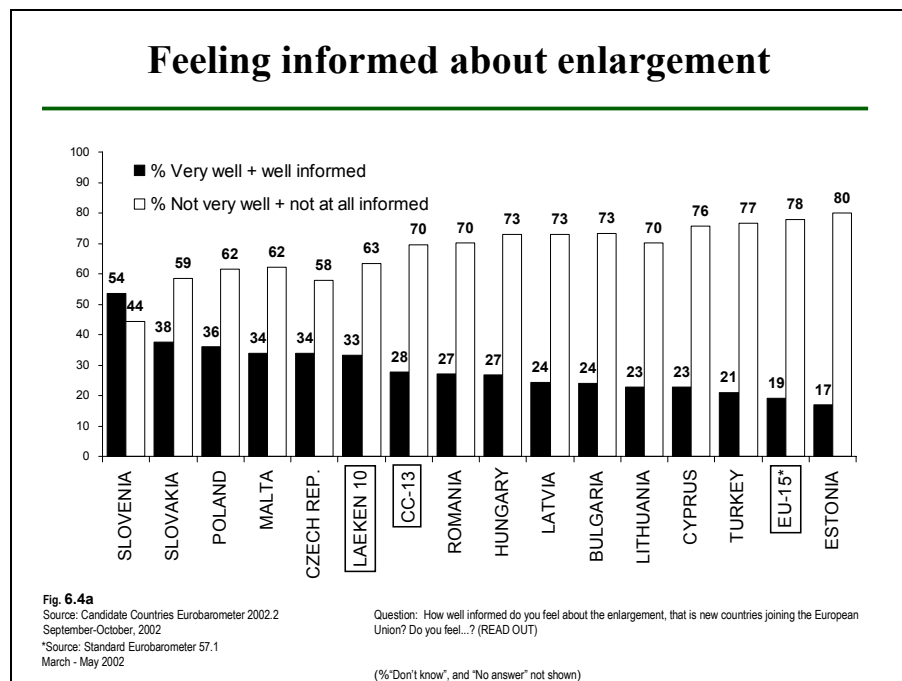
Regarding desired speed of accession, people in Romania would like the fastest accession process for their country (6.1), followed by people in Turkey (5.5), Slovakia (5.1), Bulgaria (5.0), Poland, and Hungary (both 4.9). The desired speed is lowest in Estonia (3.9) and Slovenia (4.1), but these values are still on the fast side of the scale. (ANNEX TABLE 6.6)

As the graph above shows, the gap between the speed at which the accession process is perceived to be progressing and the speed at which people desire it to progress varies significantly from country to country. In most countries, people would like to see their country's accession process to be faster than the perceived speed, with the largest positive net difference found in Turkey (2.7), Romania (2.6), and Bulgaria (1.8). Malta (-0.9) are the only countries with a small negative net difference between the perceived and the desired speeds. Lithuania (0.1), Slovenia (-0.1), and Cyprus (-0.1) are the countries where the perceived speed almost matches the desired speed.

## 6.4 Feeling informed about enlargement and the accession process

### Enlargement

Eurobarometer finds that people in the Candidate Region – and even more in the Member States<sup>33</sup> – are very poorly informed about the enlargement process. The results show that 28% of Candidate Countries' citizens, and only 19% of EU citizens, feel very well or well informed about enlargement, with 70% and 78% feeling not very well or not at all well informed.



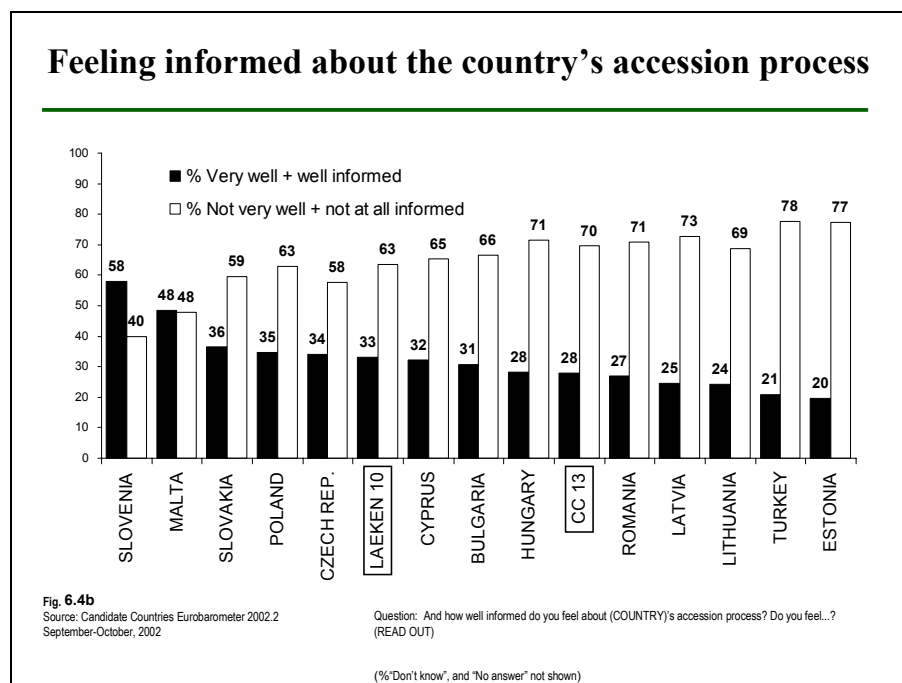
<sup>33</sup> EB57, Spring 2002

The country results indicate that Slovenia is the only country where more than half of the population feels well informed about enlargement (54%), followed by Slovakia (38%) and Poland (36%). In most of the other countries, about one-third of the respondents feel well informed, with the exception of Turkey (21%) and Estonia, where only 17% feel informed about the enlargement process. (ANNEX TABLE 6.7A)

The demographic analyses show that the proportion of people who feel well informed about enlargement ranges from 15% among house persons to 45% among managers. One-third of men are confident enough to say they are well informed, as opposed to only one-fifth of women (35% versus 21%). Levels of feeling informed increase dramatically with education; those who left school when they reached the age of fifteen are much less likely to feel informed (19%) than those who left school after they turned 20 (42%). (ANNEX TABLE 6.7B)

## Accession

One would expect that people feel more informed on the subject of their own country's accession. The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer is unable to confirm this belief; only 28% of the people living in the Candidate Region feel well or very well informed about their country's accession process, which is equal to the figure regarding the enlargement process. Seventy percent feel that they are not very well or even not at all informed (the proportion of the latter group is 19%).



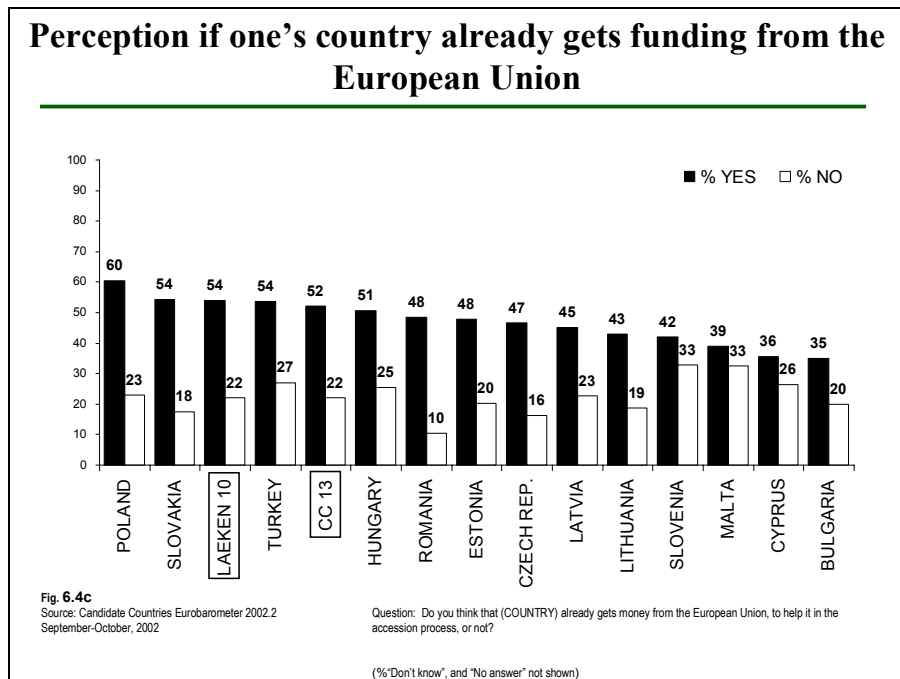
The country-by-country analyses don't add much to this: we have found almost the same ranking of the countries as we did in response to the question about being informed about enlargement. Again, Slovenia is the only country where more than half of the population feels well informed about the country's accession (58%), this time followed by Malta (48%) and Slovakia (36%). In Malta the level of information about the accession process considerably exceeds that about the enlargement of the EU. At the bottom we find Estonia and Turkey again, with Estonians being the least informed about their country's accession process.

What is really striking is the stability of these proportions on the CC-13 level over the past year, a year that has brought many important developments for many of the Candidates. In five Candidate Countries, citizens now even feel they are less informed about their country's accession than they reported feeling a year ago, particularly in Cyprus and Bulgaria (-9 both), but also in Hungary (-5), Romania (-4), and Slovakia (-3). (ANNEX TABLE 6.8A)

It comes as no surprise that the demographic analyses show exactly what we already saw: the proportion of people who feel well informed about their country's accession ranges from 13% among household people to 45% among managers. (ANNEX TABLE 6.8B)

### Pre-accession funds

Although most of the current Candidate Countries and their citizens have had access to various European Union funds for almost a decade now, the fact that the EU supports the Candidate Countries financially remains relatively unknown in the majority of the Candidate Countries. More than one-fourth (26%) have no idea whether the EU has funded their country or not, 52% think their country is already receiving funding from the European Union, while 22% say the opposite.



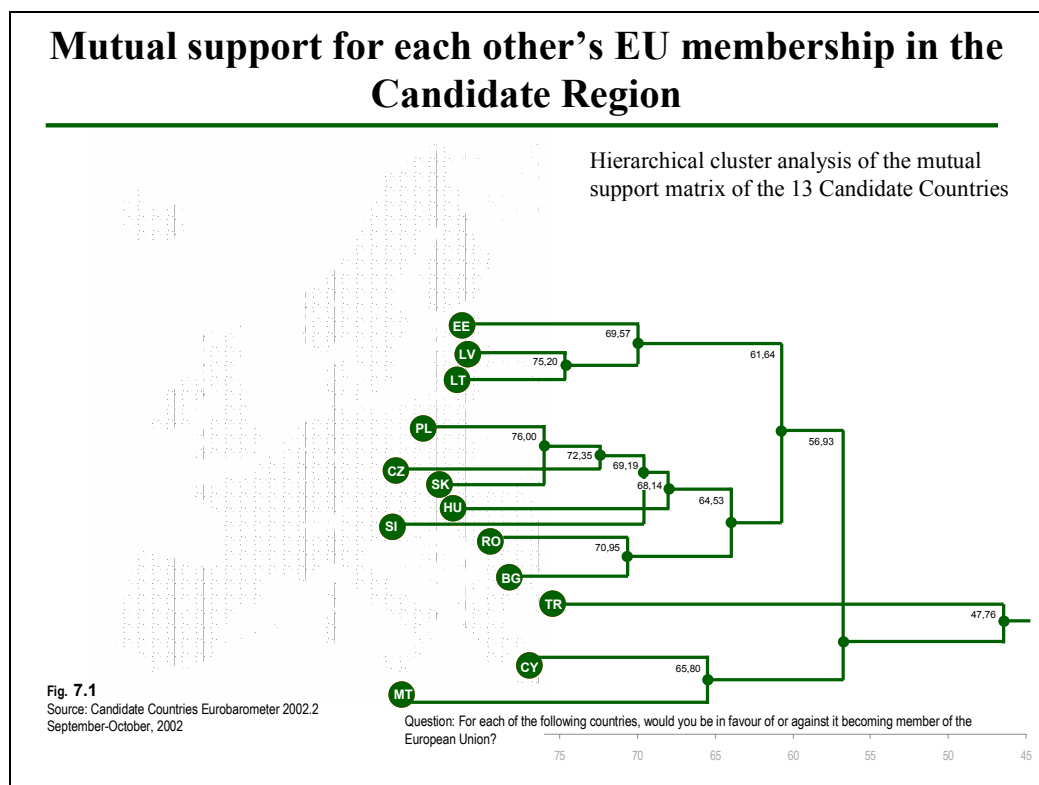
There are some Candidate Countries in which awareness of European funding is rather high — Poland (60%), Slovakia, Turkey (both 54%), and Hungary (51%). In each of the remaining countries the awareness of the influx of EU money remains below 50%, ranging from 35% in Bulgaria to 48% in Romania and Estonia. (ANNEX TABLE 6.9)



## 7. Mutual support of membership in the Candidate Region

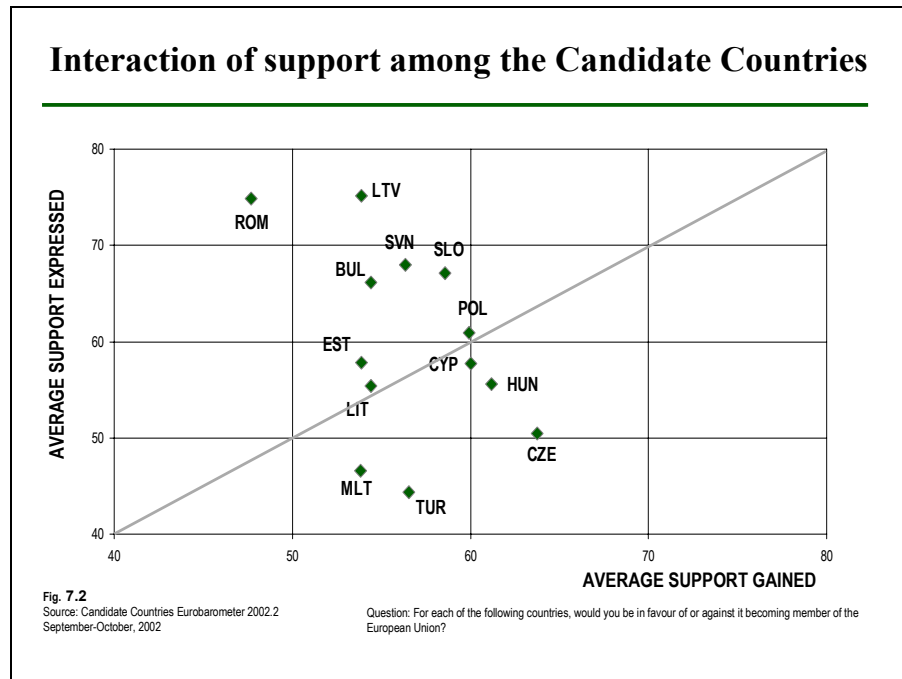
The Candidate Countries support each other's membership to a varying degree. However, not considering a few extremes (especially the relationship between Cyprus and Turkey), the average support level of the others is relatively high, 57% of people support the membership of other countries in the region. In the Laeken-10 group, an average 63% of the citizens support the membership of the other nine countries.

Certainly, there are countries that are closer together than others. The hierarchical cluster analysis of the expressed and received support for each country with each of the other countries reinforces long-standing experimental and common sense knowledge, but also draws attention to some developments in the region's dynamics. (FIGURE 7.1)



As the map and the tree-graph above shows, the historic regions of Central and Eastern Europe maintain commonality. The groups of countries sharing common history still stick together; clearly we have a Baltic group with a Lithuanian-Latvian core, we see a Central European branch, with Slovaks, Poles, and then the Czech people at the core, the other Slavic countries with Slovenia joins in here later, and finally Hungary (the more to the right the 'junction' is, the looser is the mutual support relationship). There is a Balkan group with only two countries; the relationship between Romania and Bulgaria is very close as well. The two islands of the Mediterranean Sea that are invited to join the EU have a not particularly strong, but still mutual, sympathy towards each other's membership, and finally Turkey has no 'natural allies' in the Candidate Region.

It is enlightening to see the hierarchy according to which these groups connect to each other. There is a relatively strong mutual relationship between the Balkan group and the group of the Central European countries. The Baltic States have a much looser relationship with the two former groups, and the least integrated group is the Mediterranean group. Finally, all groups of countries are closer together than they are to Turkey.



If we study the received and expressed support by countries (figure above), we find that Poland, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, and Hungary receive the highest support among all the Candidate Countries from their peers. However, all of these countries but Poland (being beneath the diagonal line in the figure) express a lower support for their fellow countries than they gain from them. Turkey, Malta, and the Czech Republic, being low on the vertical axis, are the countries that are the least generous with their support.

Cyprus, Lithuania, and Poland are close to the line; they support and are supported nearly equally. All countries above the line support more than they are supported by the others. The most extreme is Romania, which is the least supported country in the region, but has one of the highest support levels for the rest of the Candidate Countries.

Table 7, on the next page, has detailed figures about support levels in each of the Candidate Countries.

Table 7. Support for other countries' European Union membership in the Candidate Region (% , by country)

	in favour of the membership of BULGARIA	in favour of the membership of CYPRUS	in favour of the membership of CZECH REP.	in favour of the membership of ESTONIA	in favour of the membership of HUNGARY	in favour of the membership of LATVIA	in favour of the membership of LITHUANIA	in favour of the membership of MALTA	in favour of the membership of POLAND	in favour of the membership of ROMANIA	in favour of the membership of SLOVAKIA	in favour of the membership of SLOVENIA	in favour of the membership of TURKEY	AVERAGE
CC-13	54	60	<b>64</b>	54	61	54	54	54	60	48	59	56	57	56
LAEKEN-10	55	57	<b>73</b>	58	70	57	59	57	70	48	66	61	51	63 <sup>+</sup>
BULGARIA	..	62	<b>72</b>	64	71	64	64	61	72	65	69	69	61	66
CYPRUS	60	..	61	58	65	51	57	<b>77</b>	67	61	59	59	17	58
CZECH REP.	45	50	..	46	<b>63</b>	45	46	51	<b>63</b>	36	<b>63</b>	56	40	50
ESTONIA	54	56	61	..	62	<b>68</b>	<b>68</b>	58	59	52	55	54	47	58
HUNGARY	48	55	69	50	..	49	49	62	<b>73</b>	42	57	60	52	56
LATVIA	75	73	78	82	77	..	<b>83</b>	74	75	71	74	74	63	75
LITHUANIA	53	48	59	66	58	<b>67</b>	..	48	61	50	56	55	43	55
MALTA	44	<b>54</b>	50	47	44	48	46	..	50	43	46	48	38	47
POLAND	57	57	<b>74</b>	60	71	61	63	54	..	48	71	62	53	61
ROMANIA	77	71	76	74	76	73	73	73	<b>78</b>	..	77	76	75	75
SLOVAKIA	66	64	<b>86</b>	59	76	61	60	62	81	60	..	71	58	67
SLOVENIA	60	66	<b>76</b>	69	<b>76</b>	68	68	71	73	60	72	..	57	68
TURKEY	46	<b>60</b>	48	40	45	40	40	42	44	45	41	41	..	44

<sup>+</sup> average support for the other nine countries

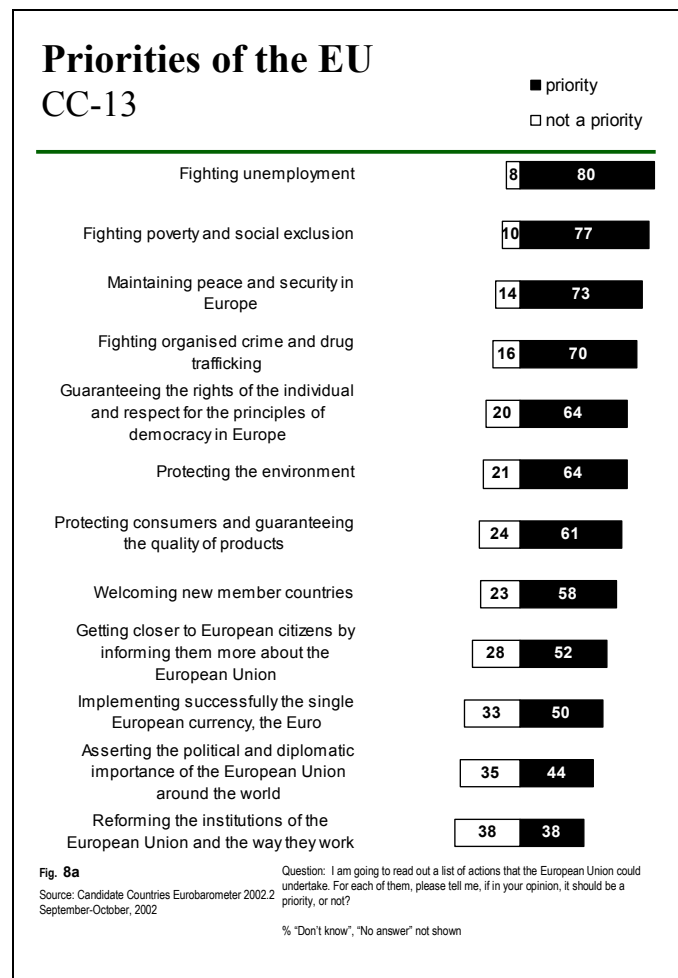
## 8. Attitudes towards the Union's current policies

In this last chapter we take a look which of the priorities of the European Union appear as important in the Candidate Region, we will examine the extent to which people in the Candidate Region support the idea of a European Constitution. Then, for the first time, this chapter will report on citizens' attitudes about the Euro, the money that is expected to replace national currencies in these 13 countries. Finally, we will analyze the extent to which people think they would participate on EP elections.

### Priorities of the European Union

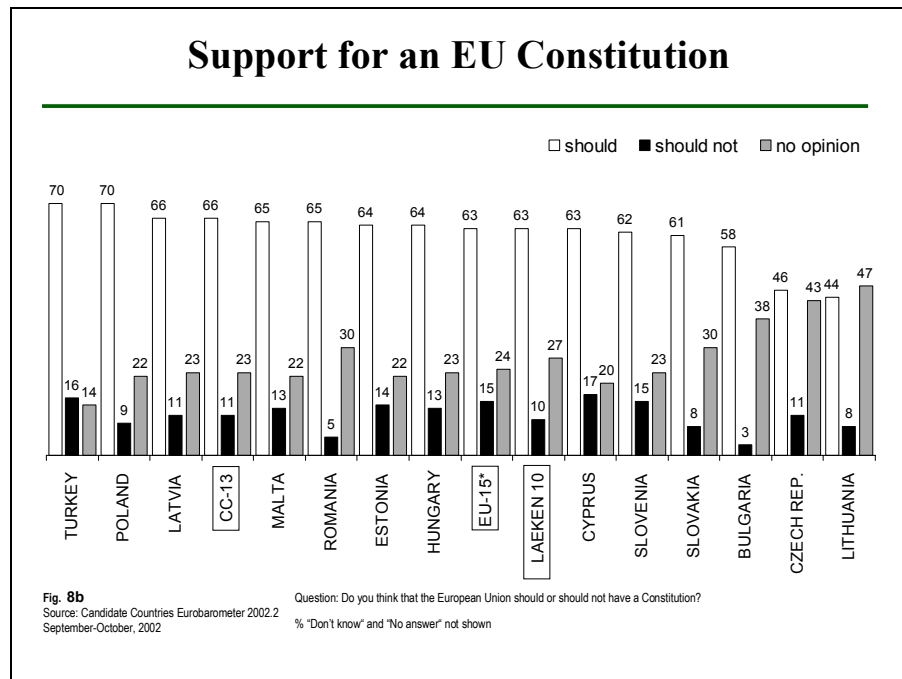
The views of the Candidate Countries' citizens appear to be in line with the priorities of the European Union for most of the issues that are currently on its agenda. Interestingly, Candidate Countries' citizens are not much more likely than EU citizens to regard the enlargement of the Union as one of the key priorities of the Union (CC-13: 58%, 8th most important priority; Laeken-10: 51%, 10th most important priority). The most important priority for the Candidate Countries' citizens is fighting unemployment, social exclusion, and maintaining peace and security in Europe.

Implementing the Euro, asserting the Union's international importance, and institutional reform are the topics that a majority of respondents do not view as a priority for the Union. (ANNEX TABLE 8.1)



## European Constitution

The Eurobarometer measures whether the public believes the European Union should have a constitution. This question was asked for the first time in the Candidate Countries, parallel to the formation of the Covent that mandated the preparation of the text for a European Constitution. The overall indication is that the majority of the future citizens support a European Constitution as well (66%), with very few opposing it (11%), but almost one in four lacks an opinion (23%).



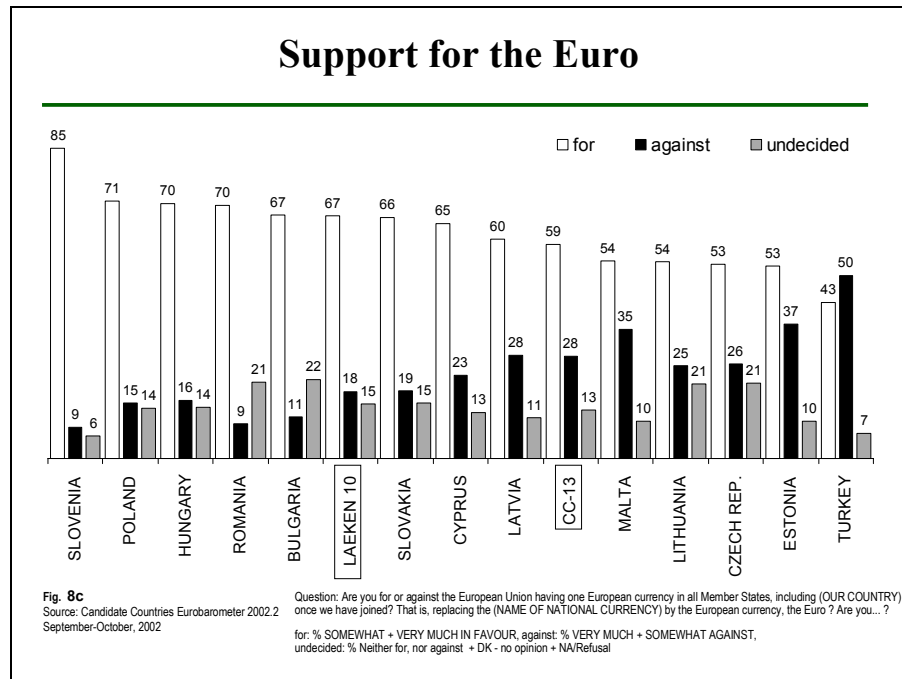
People in Turkey and Poland (70%) are the most likely to support an EU constitution, followed by people in Latvia (66%), Malta, Romania (65% each), Estonia (64%), and Hungary (64%). People in Cyprus (17%) are the most likely to believe that the European Union should not have a constitution. There is no country among the 13 where the proportion of opponents would reach one-fifth of the population, but approximately half of the Lithuanians and 40% of the Czech and Bulgarian citizens have no opinion on that subject. (ANNEX TABLE 8.1A)

The demographic analyses show that support for a constitution is highest among people who stayed in full-time education until the age of 20 or older (71%), those who are still studying (75%), managers (74%), other white collar workers (72%), and the youngest age group (71%). Opposition is low, and differences in support levels are thus mostly explained by relatively large variations in the proportion of don't know responses.

Supporters of the EU are more likely to favour a constitution than its opponents are (75% vs. 45%). Twenty-four percent of people who consider their country's membership to the European Union as a bad thing oppose a constitution, compared to 9% of people who support their country's EU membership. (ANNEX TABLE 8.1B)

## Support for the Euro

The introduction of the Euro notes and coins on 1 January 2002 has strengthened public awareness about the Euro significantly in the Candidate Region as well.



On average, 59% of respondents from the 13 Candidate Countries are now in favour of using in their country a European monetary union with one single currency, the Euro. In the Laeken-10 group, where introduction of the single currency is a not too far-away reality, the support is significantly higher, with two-thirds of the respondents supporting the idea of replacing their national currency with the Euro.

Except for Turkey, the Euro is attractive to the majority of citizens across the Candidate Region. We have found the highest levels of support for the Euro in Slovenia, where the local currency is just a little more than a decade old (84%). The opponents are the majority in Turkey (50%), and are strong in Estonia (37%) and Malta (35%) as well. (ANNEX TABLE 8.2A)

The demographic analyses show that support for replacing national currency with the Euro is highest among people who stayed in full-time education until the age of 20 or older (74%), managers (75%), and other white collar workers (71%). Opposition varies in the demographic groups as well — house persons are the most against in the Euro-zone (46%), followed by those with the lowest education levels (38%), and self-employed persons (34%).

Supporters of the EU are more likely to favour their country's conversion to Euro than its opponents are (71% vs. 30%). Fifty-nine percent of people who consider their country's membership to the European Union as a bad thing oppose joining the Euro-zone as well, compared to 20% of people who support their country's EU membership. (TABLE 8.2B)

## Participation on EP elections

Many of the countries in the Laeken-10 group -- if pace of the negotiations will be maintained -- will already take part in the European Parliament elections in 2004. Eurobarometer asked how likely people in the Candidate Countries think they will participate such elections. (In Chapter 5.1 we already showed that many people in the Candidate Region do not even know that the members of the EP will be directly elected by them, so asking this question remains rather theoretical until people will first hear about coming EP elections).

Anyways, predicted participation rates are extremely low throughout the region. None of the Candidate Countries have even a slim majority who think they would definitely vote on EP elections. The most likely to participate are citizens from Romania (49%), Hungary (43%), and Slovenia (37%). Turnout would remain under the 20% threshold as of autumn 2002 in Lithuania (16%), and Estonia (13%). (ANNEX TABLE 8.4)

