

EUROBAROMETER 2003.2

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CANDIDATE COUNTRIES

Fieldwork: May 2003

Publication: July 2003

This survey was requested and coordinated by the Directorate General Press and Communication

This document does not represent the point of view of the European Commission. The interpretations and opinions contained in it are solely those of the authors.

Introduction

The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer (CC-EB), gathers information from the societies that are to become members of the European Union in a way that is fully comparable with the Standard Eurobarometer. The CC-EB continuously tracks support for EU membership in each country, and records attitudes related to European issues.

This report covers the results of the wave of survey conducted in May 2003, 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 15 years and older in each candidate country. The sample size in Candidate Countries Eurobarometer surveys is at least 1000 people per country, except for Cyprus and Malta, in which the sample size is 500 respondents each. The achieved sample sizes of the 2003.2 wave are:

| | | | | | |
|------------|------|-----------|------|----------|--------|
| Bulgaria | 1000 | Latvia | 1002 | Slovakia | 1035 |
| Cyprus | 500 | Lithuania | 1022 | Slovenia | 1000 |
| Czech Rep. | 1000 | Malta | 500 | Turkey | 1000 |
| Estonia | 1006 | Poland | 1000 | | |
| Hungary | 1015 | Romania | 1018 | Total | 12,098 |

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

The figures shown in this report are weighted by sex, age, region, community size, education level and marital status. The figures given for the candidate region (CC-13) as a whole 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 exactly to 100%, but to a number very close to it (e.g., 99% or 101%). When questions allow for several responses, percentages often add to more than 100%. Percentages shown in the graphics may display a difference of one percentage point in comparison 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

The face-to-face general public standard Eurobarometer surveys and the EB Applicant 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 Web site address is:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion

Preface

This Candidate Countries Eurobarometer about the public opinion regarding the European Union in the 13 candidate countries (Wave CCEB 2003.2, 12,098 people interviewed face-to-face between May 2 and May 31, 2003) reveals that:

- citizens in the 2004 member states are increasingly optimistic about the EU membership of their country, are now much more supportive to each others' membership as well. In most countries the citizens already approved their membership to the EU. Estonians, who are to vote on EU accession in September, are the most divided on the issue of EU membership with as many as 39% among likely voters currently opposing it.
- as a result of the generously funded mobilisation and information campaigns related to recent referenda, citizens in the candidate counties have now a sensibly higher understanding of what the European Union means, and are also more favourable opinions towards its institutions
- in the shed of the war on Iraq, the people of the candidate countries stand firmly behind common and articulated European presence on the world stage, as they support all the measures related to CFSP and EDSP including the setting up of a European army and having a European Foreign minister. The acceptance of joint EU decision-making in defence matters increased since the autumn of 2002 as well. In all of the candidate countries the European Union has much higher regard as than the US, and citizens believe that the EU foreign policy should be independent from that of the United States
- candidate citizens favour the European Union to have a Constitution, but they have more controversial views as far as the content is concerned. Citizens disapprove the abolishing of the rule for having at least one Commissioner from each member state (and they do not fear that it would make the Union inefficient). They are also reluctant to give up their right of veto in order to preserve "essential national interests". Citizens favour a more tight EP control over the Commission and the President, but they do not desire to elect the President directly.

Table of contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction | 3 |
| Preface | 5 |
| Table of contents | 7 |
| 1. Life in the candidate countries | 11 |
| 1.1 Life Satisfaction | 11 |
| Current life satisfaction | 11 |
| Life satisfaction compared with five years ago | 13 |
| Life satisfaction over the next five years | 15 |
| Dynamics of change in subjective well-being | 16 |
| 1.2 Trust in institutions | 18 |
| Trust in political institutions | 18 |
| Satisfaction with how democracy works | 20 |
| Trust in other social institutions | 21 |
| Problems facing the nations | 25 |
| 1.3 Media use | 28 |
| News viewership on television | 28 |
| News readership of daily newspapers | 29 |
| News listenership on the radio | 30 |
| Trust in the media | 31 |
| 1.4 Citizens fear epidemics the most | 32 |
| 1.5. Geopolitical orientation in the candidate region | 37 |
| Popular orientation: Toward the United States, or toward the European Union? | 37 |
| 1.6 Contacts with foreign countries | 40 |
| 2. Knowledge and information | 44 |
| 2.1. Knowledge of basic EU-related facts | 44 |
| 2.2. Self-perceived knowledge about the European Union | 46 |
| 2.3. Providing information about the European Union | 49 |
| 2.4. Sources of information about the European Union | 51 |
| Preferred topics | 51 |
| Preferred methods for receiving information about the European Union | 54 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Preference for national versus EU-originated information | 57 |
| Interest in European Union news | 58 |
| 3. Attitudes towards the European Union | 60 |
| 3.1. Feeling European | 60 |
| Most people have a European component in their identity | 60 |
| National pride | 62 |
| European pride | 63 |
| Freedom of movement would make future citizens to feel more European | 65 |
| 3.2. Support for European Union membership | 68 |
| Awareness of country's bid for EU membership | 68 |
| Support for European Union membership | 69 |
| Membership: a "good thing" or a "bad thing"? | 69 |
| Referendum about membership | 72 |
| Latvia seems to be for the EU, but the Estonian referendum outcome might be a close call | 75 |
| 3.3. Perceived benefits of European Union membership | 89 |
| Personal benefits | 89 |
| Benefits for the country | 93 |
| Expected benefits for various social groups | 104 |
| 3.4. Image of the European Union | 107 |
| 3.5. Meaning of European Union | 108 |
| What EU membership will have brought for its citizens 10 years from now | 108 |
| Meaning of being a citizen of the European Union | 109 |
| Fears related to the building of Europe | 112 |
| 3.6 The European Union in the coming years | 116 |
| The expected and desired role of the European Union in five year's time | 116 |
| 3.7. Priority of key issues | 118 |
| 3.8. Support for key issues | 122 |
| Stable support for the Euro | 124 |
| Participation in EP elections | 125 |
| 4. Common foreign and security policy | 126 |
| 4.1. Support for a common foreign policy | 126 |
| Support for joint EU decision-making | 127 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Support of European Foreign Minister | 129 |
| 4.2. Support for a common security policy | 130 |
| Support for joint EU decision making about defence policy | 131 |
| Citizens support the setting up of a European army | 133 |
| 4.3. Concrete measures related to CFSP and ESDP | 134 |
| 4.4. Who should make decisions on European defence policy? | 136 |
| European defence policy decision making: NATO relatively unpopular, and a more and more important role for the EU | 136 |
| 5. Attitudes and knowledge about enlargement and the accession process | 138 |
| 5.1 Attitudes toward enlargement | 138 |
| Perception of support levels for membership in the current member states | 141 |
| 5.2 Time frame of the EU accession | 143 |
| 5.3 Feeling informed about enlargement and the accession process | 145 |
| Enlargement | 145 |
| Accession | 146 |
| Pre-accession funds | 146 |
| 5.4. Mutual support of membership in the candidate region | 148 |
| 6. The EU institutions | 152 |
| 6.1. The European Union among other supranational institutions | 152 |
| 6.2. Democracy in the European Union | 156 |
| 6.3. The way the European Union works | 159 |
| 6.4. European Union institutions and bodies | 162 |
| Awareness of the European Union and its institutions | 162 |
| Role of the European Union and its institutions | 164 |
| Trust levels in the European Union | 165 |
| Trust in the European Parliament | 167 |
| Trust in the European Commission | 168 |
| 7. The future of Europe for future citizens | 169 |
| 7.1 The majority want a Constitution | 169 |
| 7.2 Keep the name of the European Union | 171 |
| 7.3 The Commission and the Commissioners | 173 |
| The EP should have the right to withdraw confidence from the EC | 173 |
| Citizens have no desire to directly elect the President of the Commission | 174 |
| Citizens want to have a commissioner for their country, and are not at all concerned | |

| | |
|---|-----|
| that it would diminish the efficiency of the executive body | 175 |
| 7.4 European tax | 177 |
| 7.5 The Presidency | 178 |
| 7.6 Decision making | 179 |
| The right to veto? It depends. | 179 |
| Support for joint decision-making | 181 |

1. Life in the candidate countries

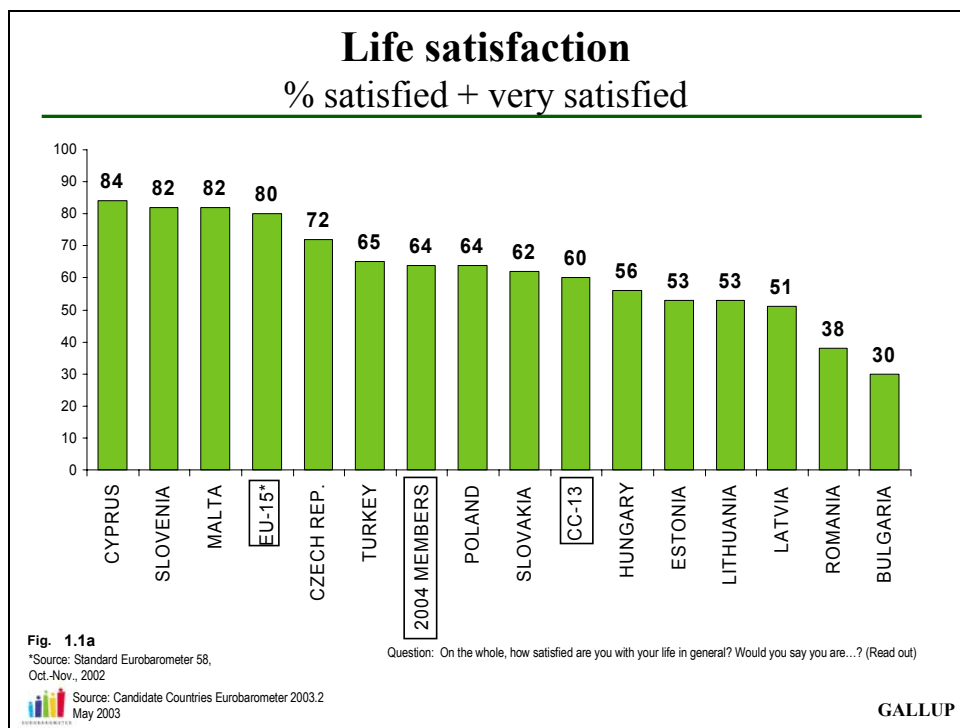
In this chapter, we will take a closer look at some particular aspects of life in the Candidate Countries. First we will focus on overall satisfaction levels among the citizens — how people feel about their present personal situation compared to five years ago, and how they think their situation will evolve over the next five years. Later in this chapter, we will examine trust in political and social institutions in the candidate countries — including how satisfied people are with their national democracies, and what they consider to be the most important issues facing their nations. We will also take a look at media use and trust in media, and finally, the fears of the citizens in the candidate countries.

1.1 Life Satisfaction

The life satisfaction question is a summary measure in the Eurobarometer series of how people feel about things related to their lives. Topics range from personal happiness, health, family, and economic situation to views about society in general. This indicator of subjective well-being is regularly asked in the 15 EU member states and the 13 candidate countries.

Current life satisfaction

In spring 2003, Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found a very significant, but narrowing, gap between the life satisfaction levels in the candidate countries and those in the European Union¹. This remains probably the most significant difference we find between current and future member states. While only less than two in three people in the candidate countries (60%) say they are very or fairly satisfied with the lives they lead, life satisfaction in the member states has stabilized at about 80%, which is exactly where it is now. (FIGURE 1.1a)



¹ EB58, autumn 2002

Eurobarometer once again found a nearly direct link between life satisfaction in the candidate countries and the per capita gross national income (GNI) -- there is no doubt that those in richer countries are more likely to be satisfied than are those living in low-income countries. Turkey, however, is an exception -- people are more satisfied than the GNI theory alone can explain. (TABLE 1.1A)

The average per capita GDP in Purchasing Power Standard (PPS) of the 13 candidate countries is about one-third that of 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, which had 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.

Table 1.1a GDP per capita in PPS* vs. Life satisfaction

| | GNI per capita* | % Satisfied + very satisfied | change from autumn 2002 |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| EU-15 | € 22,500 | 80 | |
| CC-13 | € 7,800 | 60 | (+ 4) |
| CYPRUS | € 19,400 | 84 | (+11) |
| SLOVENIA | € 15,600 | 82 | (- 1) |
| MALTA | € 12,600 | 82 | (+ 2) |
| CZECH REPUBLIC | € 13,200 | 72 | (-2) |
| TURKEY | € 5,900 | 65 | (+ 11) |
| POLAND | € 8,900 | 64 | (+ 1) |
| SLOVAKIA | € 10,800 | 62 | (+ 5) |
| HUNGARY | € 11,500 | 56 | (- 4) |
| ESTONIA | € 8,600 | 53 | (- 1) |
| LITHUANIA | € 7,500 | 53 | (-) |
| LATVIA | € 6,700 | 51 | (+ 1) |
| ROMANIA | € 5,200 | 38 | (- 9) |
| BULGARIA | € 6,300 | 30 | (+ 1) |

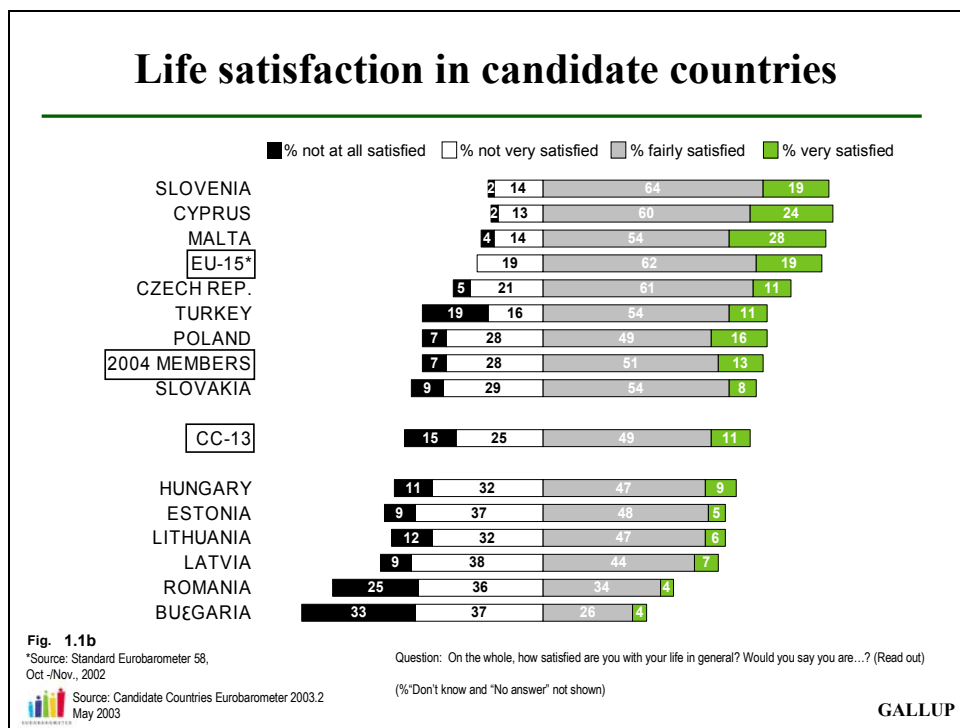
Source: Eurostat, The GDP of the candidate countries, 2001
GDP per capita on PPS figures from 2000, annual.

Cyprus, Slovenia and Malta are the candidate region countries with a subjective well-being level higher than 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 7th on the list of candidate countries.

In Romania, less than 40% of the 15-year-old and older population are satisfied with their lives. At the bottom end, in Bulgaria, three in 10 people said they are to some extent satisfied with the life they lead (30%).

Accordingly, quite a few of the candidate countries' citizens are more or less unsatisfied with their lives (40%). An even more telling difference is that none of the EU citizens say they are "not at all satisfied" with their lives, but two in 10 people in the candidate region does (19%). (FIGURE 1.1b)

In Bulgaria, a third (33%) of the population is not at all satisfied, while virtually nobody in Slovenia, Cyprus, and Malta share this opinion.



In the majority of countries, a positive change has been recorded since autumn 2002; there has been no change in one country; and we have recorded a negative change in five countries. On the CC-13 level, life satisfaction increased by 4 percentage points in this period. People are even less satisfied now in Hungary, Estonia and Romania, Czech Republic and Slovenia. Satisfaction increased as much as 11 percentage points over the past year in Cyprus and Turkey, where the effects of the economic crisis in 2000-2001 seem to be slowly fading away. (ANNEX TABLE 1.1a)

Demographic analyses show no significant differences between men and women on this "life satisfaction" question, but we find that the proportion of very satisfied people is significantly higher in the youngest segment (28%) 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 48% among unemployed people to 77% among managers. People who stayed in school until the age of 20 or older (66%) have significantly higher levels of subjective well-being than do people who left school when they were aged 15 or younger (55%) or aged 16 to 19 (55%)². (ANNEX TABLE 1.1b)

Life satisfaction compared with five years ago

FIGURE 1.1c shows that the past dynamics of self-perceived life satisfaction, or quality of life, of the candidate countries were not favourable. Twenty-nine percent of candidate countries' citizens feel that their present situation has improved compared to five years ago; 29% feel it has stayed about the same; and the majority of respondents (41%) feel it has gotten worse.

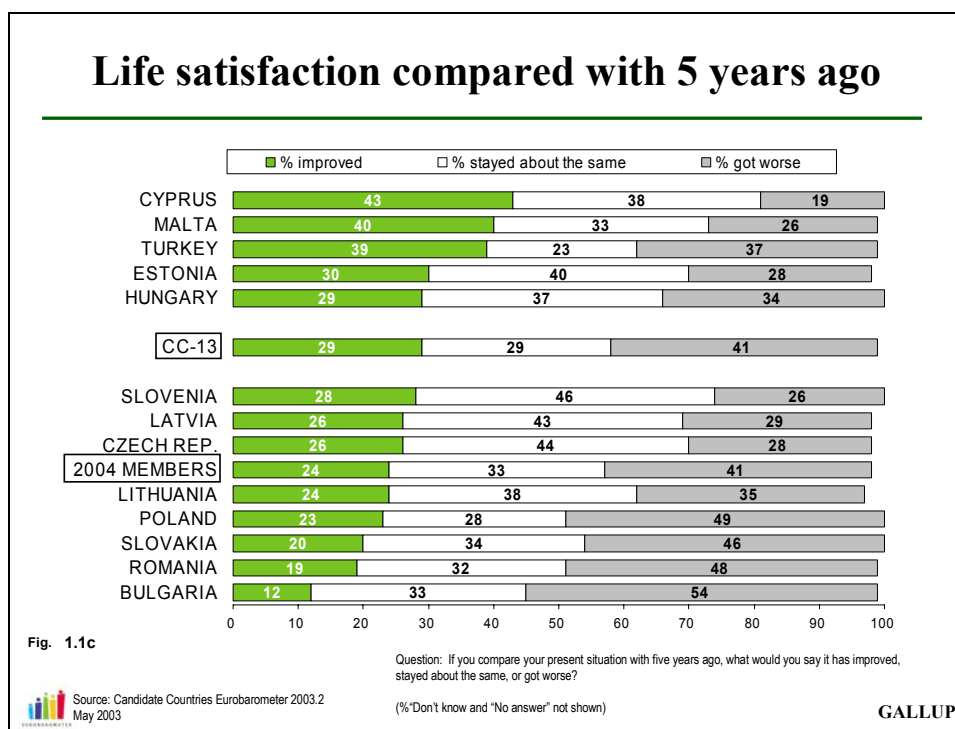
The CC-13 citizens feel that they have experienced many changes in their lives, even in the last five years, which can certainly affect satisfaction, though a relatively small fraction in these societies thought the quality of their lives had remained stable over the past five years.

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

² Appendix C.4 provides more details about demographic variables.

experiencing deteriorating conditions in dramatic proportions, and perceptions in Poland, Slovakia, and Romania are at best mixed in this respect. (FIGURE 1.1c)

The Cypriots and Maltese are most likely (43%-40%) to feel that their present situation has improved, and 39% of Turks share this view. In Estonia, nearly one-third (30%), and in Hungary (29%), Slovenia (28%), Latvia and the Czech Republic (26% for each), more than one-fourth feel their situation has improved during the past five years. The countries well below average are Lithuania (24%), Poland (23%), Slovakia (20%), Romania (19%) and Bulgaria (with only 12%).



The Slovenians are the most likely to feel that their situation is the same as it was five years ago (46%), followed by Czech (44%) and Latvian (43%) respondents. At 54%, people in Bulgaria are the most likely to say that their situation has become worse during the past five years. The percentages for Poles (49%) and Romanians (48%) are right behind those for Bulgarians. The Cypriots (19%) are the least likely to think that their situation has deteriorated over the past half decade. (ANNEX TABLE 1.2)

The next table shows a mixed association between life satisfaction and the way 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 their situation has worsened in the past five years.

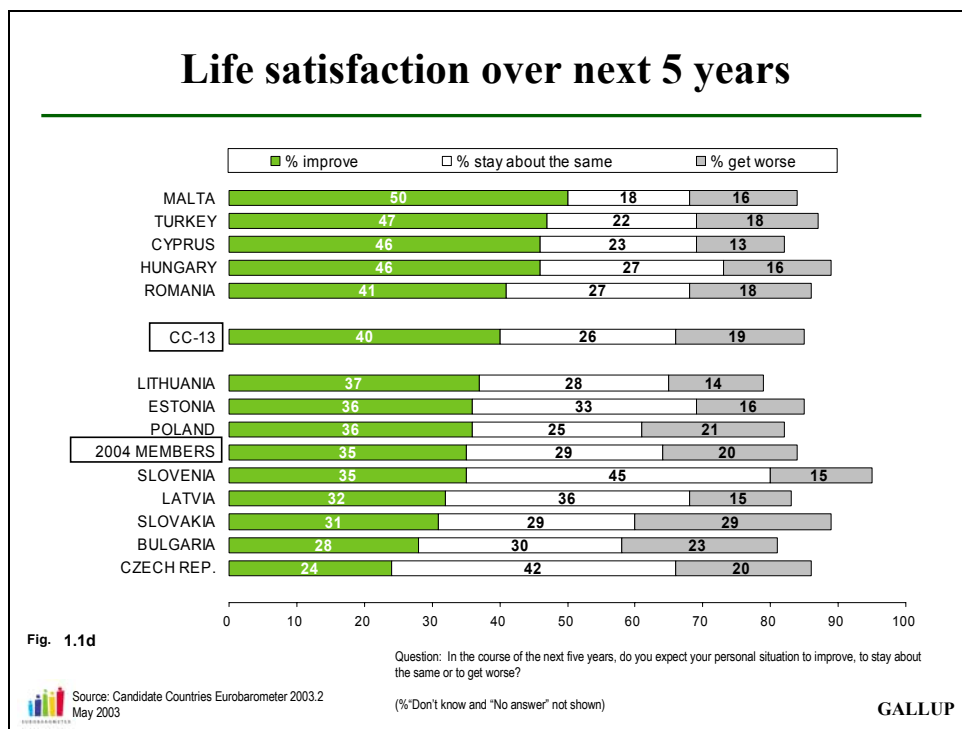
Nevertheless, less than a quarter of those who are currently satisfied with their lives also claimed a decrease in their quality of life during the past five years. This group is a bit more likely to think that their situation did not change in the recent past than are those who are currently not satisfied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

| Table 1.1b Relationship between life satisfaction and views about one's present situation compared with five years ago, CC-13 | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------|
| | Views about life in general: | |
| | Satisfied % | Not satisfied % |
| Improved | 41 | 11 |
| Stayed about the same | 33 | 23 |
| Got worse | 25 | 65 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Life satisfaction over the next five years

More than one-third (35%) of the 2004 member states citizens forecast that their personal situations will improve in the next five years, and only two citizens out of 10 feel they will get worse. Only a quarter, 26% 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 situations over the next five years.



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. Now, the countries that have the highest hopes for the next five years -- Malta, Turkey and Cyprus -- are also the ones that most felt things improved over the last five years.

We find that the Maltese are the most likely to feel their situations will improve (50%), and Slovenians are the most likely to feel they will stay about the same (45%). People in Slovakia are the most likely to feel their situation will get worse (29%). About one in five respondents in Lithuania (20%), Bulgaria and Poland (18% for each) did not know what to expect regarding their future. (ANNEX TABLE 1.3)

The following table shows that people who are satisfied with the life they lead are more likely to feel their personal situation will improve than are those who are not satisfied. There are about as many people in the latter group who think their situation will get even worse as there are people who are optimistic about their mid-term future. (TABLE 1.1c)

| | Views about life in general: | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| | Satisfied % | Not satisfied % |
| Improve | 49 | 28 |
| Stay about the same | 26 | 26 |
| Get worse | 11 | 31 |
| (DK / no answer) | 14 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

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 their satisfaction levels were not higher five years ago than they are today, and expect positive change in the future; and those who experienced improvement in the past five years and do not expect deterioration in the near future

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

Stable satisfaction: Those who did not experience change in the recent past, and expect none in the future either

All other cases, in which there was 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%), fewer than two in 10 (12%) report no change, and 27% expected -- or experienced -- negative change. (Twenty-six percent reported mixed directionality in the past and future change of their subjective well-being.)

| Table 1.1d Subjective well-being, perceptions of change over time in %, by country | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|---|
| | CURRENT LEVELS OF SATISFACTION | IMPROVING | STABLE | DETERIO- RATING | NET DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS OF IMPROVEMENT AND DETERIORATION |
| CC-13 | 60 | 34 | 12 | 27 | (+ 7) |
| 2004 MEMBERS | 64 | 31 | 14 | 28 | (+ 3) |
| CYPRUS | 84 | 47 | 14 | 14 | (+ 33) |
| SLOVENIA | 82 | 37 | 28 | 21 | (+ 16) |
| MALTA | 82 | 50 | 9 | 17 | (+ 33) |
| CZECH REP. | 72 | 29 | 22 | 28 | (+ 1) |
| TURKEY | 65 | 41 | 11 | 24 | (+ 17) |
| POLAND | 64 | 28 | 10 | 30 | (- 2) |
| SLOVAKIA | 62 | 27 | 14 | 39 | (- 12) |
| HUNGARY | 56 | 38 | 16 | 22 | (+ 16) |
| ESTONIA | 53 | 37 | 18 | 23 | (+ 14) |
| LITHUANIA | 53 | 34 | 15 | 21 | (+ 13) |
| LATVIA | 51 | 33 | 21 | 23 | (+ 10) |
| ROMANIA | 38 | 30 | 12 | 29 | (+ 1) |
| BULGARIA | 30 | 22 | 12 | 39 | (- 17) |

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. In Poland is this not the case -- deterioration marginally outweighs improvement, and positive and negative reports sum up to -2 percentage points each. Slovakia, Bulgaria have not nearly hit rock bottom -- with a negative balance of -12, and -17 percentage points, respectively, people definitely expect further deterioration of their situations.

The highest level of positive change can be observed in Cyprus and Malta (+33 for each), which are among the top-ranked countries in subjective well-being in the CC-13 region. Among the countries in which current quality of life is reported to be relatively low, we found clearly positive tendencies almost everywhere, most notably in Turkey (+17) and in Slovenia and Hungary (both +16 percentage points). In the Baltic countries, Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians also have a positive balance of improvement and decline (+14, +13, and +10 percentage points, respectively).

1.2 Trust in institutions

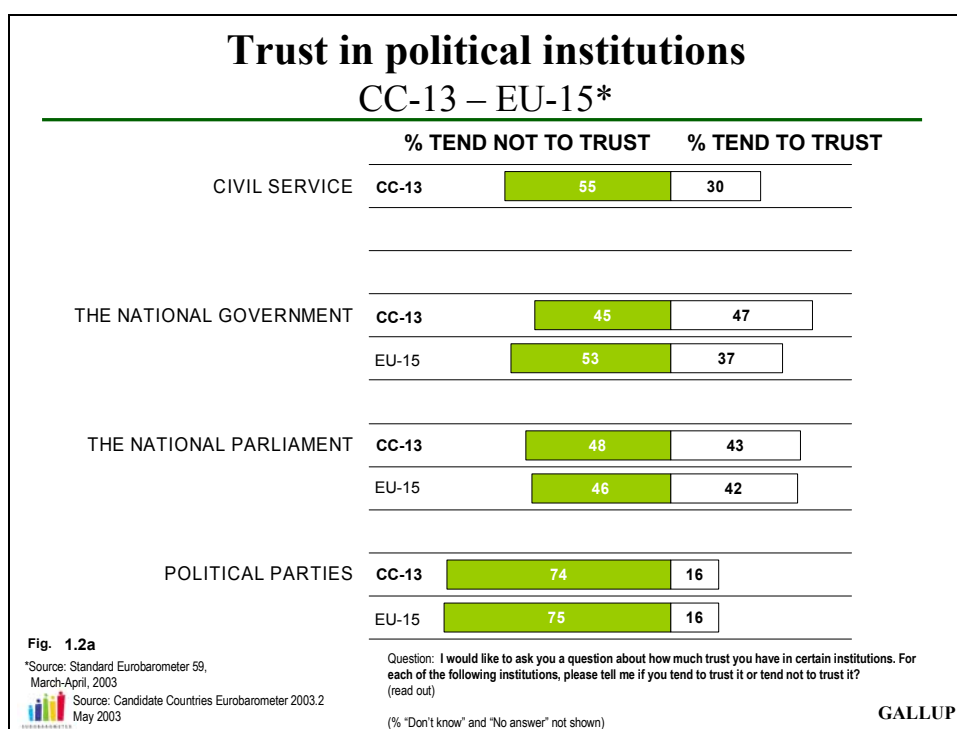
Trust in political institutions

Next we look at the public's trust in four political institutions: their national governments, their national parliaments, their civil service, and political parties. As it has before, the Eurobarometer shows that the CC-13 states trust national governments, and national parliaments about the same level.

Table 1.2a Trust in political institutions
(Average trust level of four institutions)

| Country | % | Country | % |
|--------------|-----------|------------|----|
| CYPRUS | 56 | ROMANIA | 27 |
| MALTA | 51 | CZECH REP. | 25 |
| TURKEY | 49 | SLOVAKIA | 25 |
| ESTONIA | 42 | LITHUANIA | 25 |
| HUNGARY | 41 | SLOVENIA | 24 |
| LATVIA | 34 | POLAND | 18 |
| CC-13 | 34 | BULGARIA | 15 |

The most trusted political institution in the candidate region is the national government (47%), followed by the national parliament (43%) and civil services (both 30%). Political parties are trusted by only 16% of the region's population. European Union citizens trust their national parliament (42%) and their national government (37%) most, followed by political parties (16%), almost the same as in the future new member countries³.



³ Trust in civil service was not asked from the EU-15 respondents

The average level of trust in political institutions ranges from 15% in Bulgaria to 56% in Cyprus. Generally the Maltese, Cypriots, Turkish, and Hungarians tend to trust their political parties more than do other nations.

The most generally sceptical countries are Slovenia, Poland and Bulgaria. Slovenian political institutions are only trusted by 24% of Slovenians, and only 18% of Poles trust their political institutions. Bulgarians are the least trusting -- 15%.

Considering each political institution in each country, the Maltese trust their political parties above all (36%), and Poles trust them least of all (6%). (FIGURE 1.2b) A majority of Maltese trust their civil services (57%) but Bulgarians are the most doubtful about them (16%). In Turkey, a new government and parliament and the improving economic situation brought a significant increase in trust towards the government and the parliament (73%, 72%, respectively); now Turkey ranks among the most trusting of political leadership. Cypriots are exactly as trusting as the Turks (72% trust government, 73% trust parliament). Poles are the most suspicious of national government (19%), and Bulgarians are the most suspicious of parliament (14%). (ANNEX TABLE 1.4-1.7)

In spring 2003, only 16% of people in the candidate region tend to trust in political parties (this rate was 14% in autumn 2002). The trend analyses show an increase in trusting of **political parties** since autumn 2002 in Malta and Turkey (+9 in each), Estonia and Latvia (+5 in each), Lithuania (+3), Czech Republic and Cyprus (+2 in each), Romania (+1). The trusting in political parties decreased in Bulgaria and Slovenia (-2 in each), Hungary and Poland (-4 in each). In Slovakia has not changed the trusting in political parties since autumn 2002.

As we mentioned, in 2003, 30% of people in the candidate region tend to trust in **civil services**, which is unchanged from autumn 2002 (+1). The trend analyses show an increase in trusting of civil services since autumn 2002 in Malta (+9), Latvia and Slovakia (+8 in each). In Bulgaria and Poland (-4 in each) as well as in Slovenia (-5) the trust towards civil service has decreased.

There has been a significant change in how much people trust their **governments**, that increased by 8 percentage points. Individual country results show a much dynamic picture: especially in Turkey (+27), Latvia (+15), Cyprus (+14), Malta (+10), and Estonia (+8) citizens trust their government more than they used to half a year ago, while trust has decreased significantly in Bulgaria and Poland (-8 percentage points in each).

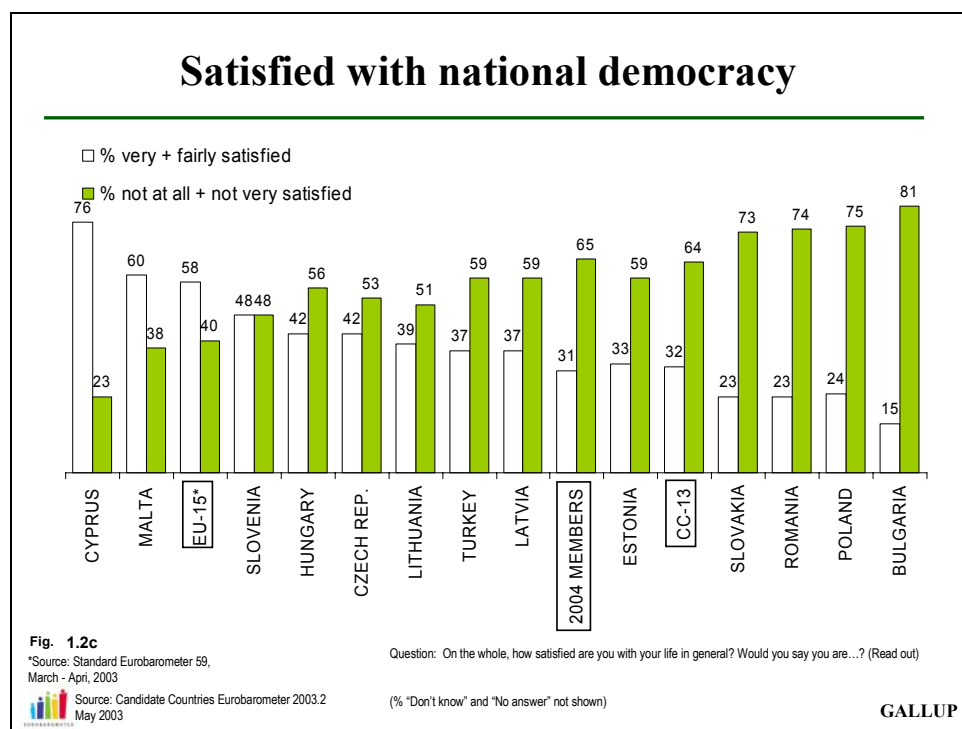
We see a similar picture as we focus on national **parliaments**. The same countries as before are the most likely to have increased their trust in their legislative bodies: Turkey (+25), Latvia (+14), Malta (+12), Estonia (+11), Lithuania and Slovakia (+6 both). Trust in national parliament decreased in Poland (-8), Romania (-6).

Satisfaction with how democracy works

In the candidate countries, less than third (31% in 2004 member citizens and 32% in the region as a whole), are very or fairly satisfied with the way democracy works in their country. While the differences concerning the political institutions are not particularly significant, levels of satisfaction are generally higher (58% satisfied overall) in the member states.

Cypriots are the most satisfied with the way democracy works in their country -- nearly eight in 10 (76%). In Malta (60%) and Slovenia (48%) the majority gives their country's democracy a positive assessment. In Slovenia the satisfied and dissatisfied exist in equal proportions (48%). In all other countries, people who are not satisfied with the way democracy works in their country outnumber those who are satisfied, particularly in Bulgaria (81% unsatisfied), Poland (75%), Romania (74%) and Slovakia (73%). (ANNEX TABLE 1.8a)

Demographic analyses do not show significant variance between the different social groups. Managers and the young are, however, slightly more satisfied with the way democracy works in their country. Managers (40%), students (41%), and the younger age group (41%) are most likely to feel satisfied, while the retired (24%), the unemployed (26%), and people with limited educations (34%) are the least satisfied groups. Attitudinal analyses show significant difference in satisfaction levels between people who see their country's membership in the European Union as a good thing, and those who regard it as a bad thing (37%-23%). (ANNEX TABLE 1.8b)



We witness an increase in satisfaction with how democracy works in the entire candidate region. Resulted mostly from the increased satisfaction we have found in Turkey, the overall perception has turned more favourable by as many as 7 percentage points. At the same time, the citizens in the 2004 member states report a somewhat lower satisfaction with their democracies compared to the autumn of 2002 (-2).

The increase was extraordinarily strong in Turkey (+21) that changed its government around the time of our last survey, in Cyprus (+14), and in Malta (+12). Satisfaction levels regarding national democracy decreased in Romania (-5), and somewhat in Poland (-4) over the past six months.

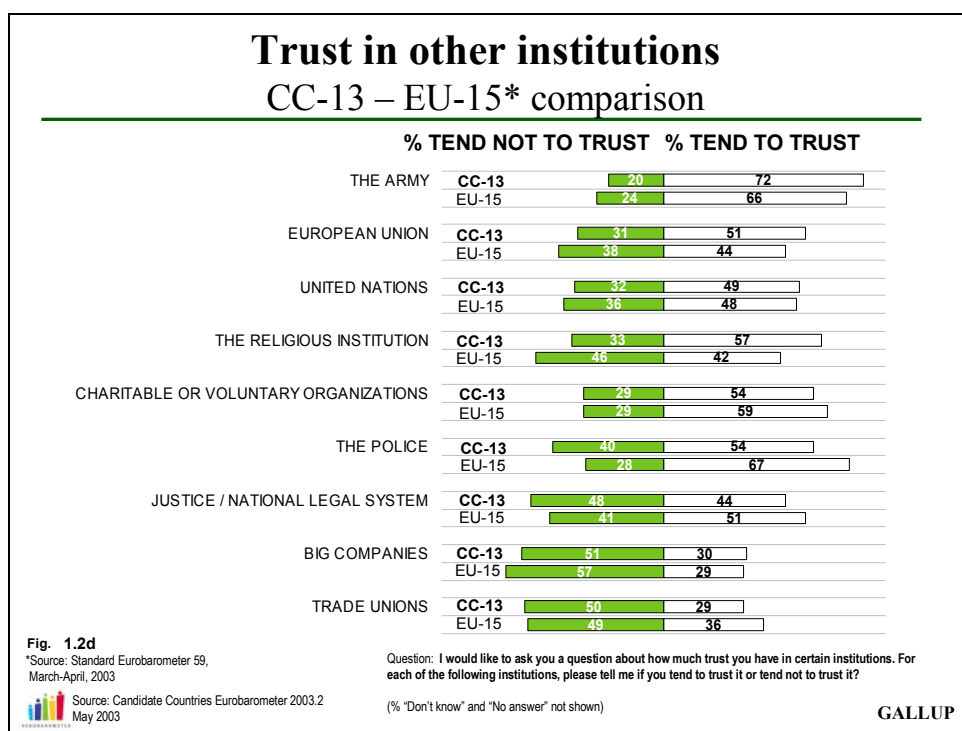
Trust in other social institutions

Next we look at trust in the following institutions:

- *Justice*
- *The police*
- *The Army*
- *Religious institutions*
- *Trade unions*
- *Big companies*
- *The European Union*
- *The United Nations*
- *Non-governmental organizations*
- *Charitable or voluntary organizations*

The next graph shows that CC citizens are most likely to trust the Army (72%), the EU (51%), and the United Nations (49%). People living in the candidate region have significantly more confidence in the European Union than European citizens do (44%). A wider gap can be observed in trust of charitable or voluntary organizations (CC-13, 54%; EU, 59%) and the police (CC-13, 54%; EU, 67%). Citizens in the candidate countries have less confidence in the legal systems (44%) than current EU citizens do (51%). Within the candidate regions, citizens say that they have confidence in the European Union, the United Nations, and religious institutions -- more than do people in the member states.

The least trusted institutions in the 13 countries are trade unions (29%), with less credibility than big businesses (30%).



The next table shows the three institutions that are most widely trusted in each applicant country. The **Army** tops the list in seven of the 13 candidate countries, comes in second place in four countries, and third place in one country. Hungary is the only country where the Army is not included in the top three. The **European Union** tops the list in four candidate countries, and is in second or third place in three others. The **United Nations** is in the top three of eight countries. The **police** and **charitable organizations** make the top three of several countries, as well.

Religious institutions are among the three most trusted institutions in three countries, as is **Justice** in one country. None of the other institutions makes the top three. (see also *ANNEX TABLE 1.9-1.16*)

Table 1.2b Top three most widely trusted institutions (% by country)

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|----|
| The European Union | 59 | Charitable or voluntary organisations | 85 |
| The Army | 55 | The Army | 71 |
| The United Nations | 49 | The police | 71 |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| The Army | 87 | The Army | 63 |
| The European Union | 73 | Charitable or voluntary organizations | 59 |
| Justice | 69 | The United Nations | 56 |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| The Army | 48 | The religious institutions | 80 |
| The United Nations | 48 | The Army | 76 |
| Charitable or voluntary organizations | 44 | The European Union | 60 |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| The Army | 56 | The Army | 55 |
| The police | 47 | The European Union | 53 |
| The United Nations | 46 | The United Nations | 45 |
| Hungary | | Slovenia | |
| The European Union | 63 | The European Union | 48 |
| The European Nations | 63 | The United Nations | 44 |
| The police | 52 | The Army | 42 |

| Latvia | | Turkey | |
|---------------------------------------|----|----------------------------|----|
| The Army | 46 | The Army | 88 |
| Charitable or voluntary organizations | 45 | The police | 71 |
| The United Nations | 44 | The religious institutions | 67 |
| Lithuania | | | |
| The European Union | 55 | | |
| The Army | 48 | | |
| The religious institutions | 48 | | |

Eurobarometer included the United Nations and the European Union in the list. Here we take a look at how these two organizations compare to national institutions and to each other.

As *TABLE 1.2c* below shows, on the CC-13 level, the European Union is more trusted than the United Nations, the two organizations being the third and fourth respectively.

In eight of the 13 candidate countries, the European Union -- being higher ranked -- attains more trust than the United Nations. There are countries in which trust levels towards the EU are so high that, if included, it makes the top three. These countries are, first, Hungary and Slovenia (where the EU is the most trusted among the 10 listed institutions), and second, Bulgaria. Slovenia is the only country in which trust of the European Union and trust of the United Nations has reversed direction since the last CCEB survey.

| Table 1.2c Rank of the European Union and the United Nations among institutions according to expressed trust levels (rank among 10 entries, by country) | | | | |
|---|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | CCEB-2003 | | CCEB-2002 | |
| | rank of EU | rank of UN | rank of EU | rank of UN |
| CC-13 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 |
| BULGARIA | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| CYPRUS | 2 | 7 | 6 | 8 |
| CZECH REPUBLIC | 4 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| ESTONIA | 6 | 3 | 8 | 3 |
| HUNGARY | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| LATVIA | 5 | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| LITHUANIA | 1 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| MALTA | 7 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| POLAND | 4 | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| ROMANIA | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| SLOVAKIA | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| SLOVENIA | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| TURKEY | 7 | 8 | 7 | 8 |

A 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 Estonia, where the United Nations is the third most trusted among all institutions, while the European Union comes in only sixth. People in the Czech Republic, Latvia, Malta and Poland trust the UN more than the European Union.

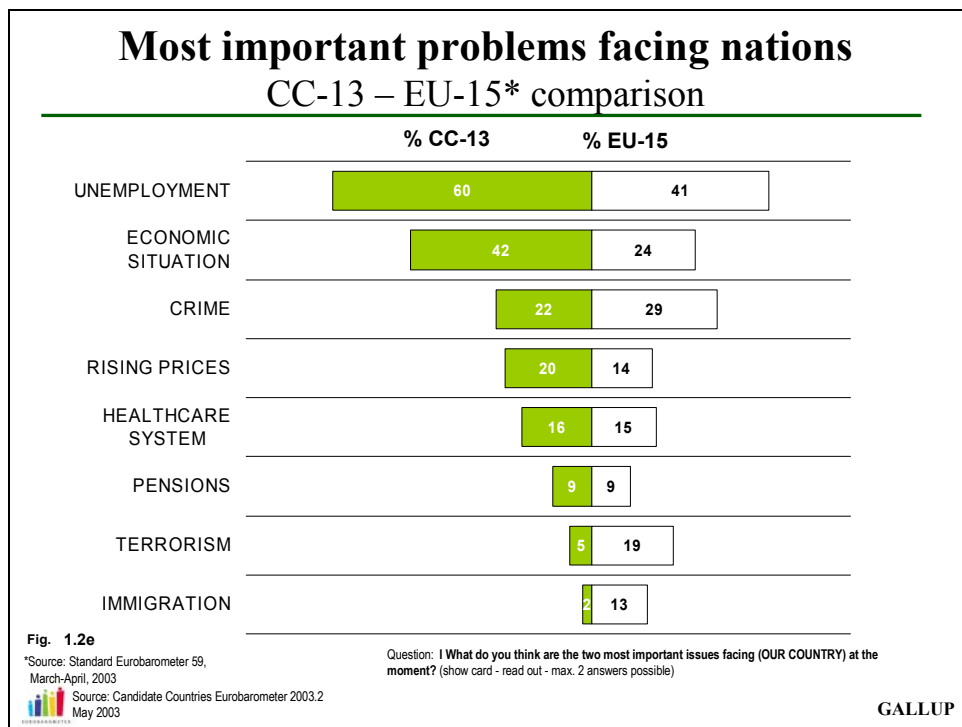
Problems facing the nations

Next we look at important issues currently facing the nations:

- *Crime*
- *Public transports*
- *Economic situation*
- *Rising prices/inflation*
- *Taxation*
- *Unemployment*
- *Terrorism*
- *Defence/Foreign affairs*
- *Housing*
- *Immigration*
- *Health care system*
- *The educational system*
- *Pensions*
- *Protecting the environment*

The next graph shows that candidate countries' citizens are likeliest to mention unemployment (60%), followed by the economic situation (42%) and crime (22%). CC citizens are significantly less likely than EU citizens to see terrorism (CC-13, 5%; EU, 19%) and immigration (CC-13, 2%; EU, 13%) as problems. On the other hand the candidate countries have more, but not significantly more, problems with rising prices/inflation (CC-13, 20%; EU, 14%), the health care system (CC-13, 16%; EU, 15%) than the member states.

CC-13 residents aren't likely to consider public transport (1%) and immigration (2%) to be problems. The smallest problem in the 13 countries is defense and foreign affairs (2%).



The next table shows the three most important problems facing each candidate country. **Unemployment** tops the list in nine of the 13 candidate countries, and comes in second in three countries. Cyprus is the only country in which unemployment is not included in the top three. The **economic situation** makes the top three list in 12 candidate countries; only in Hungary is it not in the

top three. The economic situation tops the list in one of the 13 candidate countries, comes in second place in four countries, and third place in seven countries. **Crime** tops the list in two of the 13 candidate countries, comes in second place in four countries, and third place in two countries.

Table 1.2d Top three most important problems facing nations
(%, by country)

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|-------------------------|----|-------------------------|----|
| Unemployment | 60 | Economic Situation | 32 |
| Crime | 48 | Unemployment | 26 |
| Economic Situation | 38 | Pensions | 25 |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| Crime | 46 | Unemployment | 79 |
| Rising prices/inflation | 26 | Crime | 35 |
| Economic Situation | 24 | Economic Situation | 32 |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| Unemployment | 39 | Rising prices/inflation | 40 |
| Economic Situation | 38 | Unemployment | 34 |
| Crime | 34 | Economic Situation | 32 |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| Crime | 47 | Unemployment | 58 |
| Unemployment | 46 | Economic Situation | 43 |
| Economic Situation | 23 | Health care system | 26 |

| Hungary | | Slovenia | |
|--------------------|----|-------------------------|----|
| Unemployment | 44 | Unemployment | 51 |
| Crime | 31 | Crime | 34 |
| Health care system | 29 | Economic Situation | 32 |
| Latvia | | Turkey | |
| Unemployment | 46 | Unemployment | 66 |
| Economic Situation | 33 | Economic Situation | 55 |
| Crime | 26 | Rising prices/inflation | 26 |
| Lithuania | | | |
| Unemployment | 59 | | |
| Crime | 41 | | |
| Economic Situation | 27 | | |

Among the top three were **raising prices/inflation** in three countries, the **health care system** in two countries, and **pensions** in one country. None of the other problems makes the top three. (see also ANNEX TABLE 1.17)

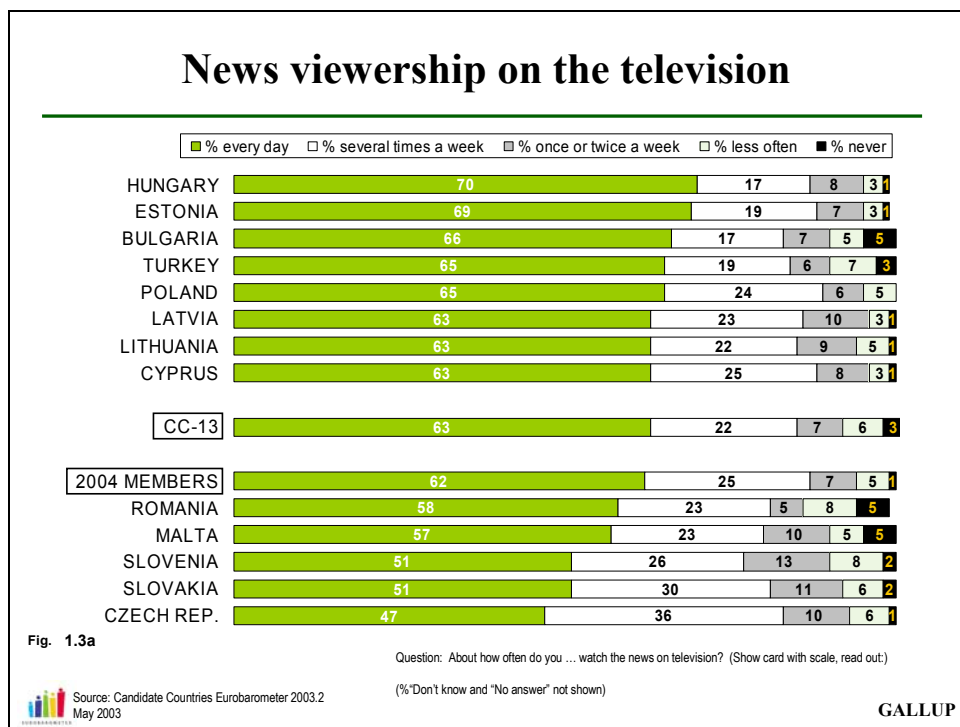
1.3 Media use

This section of the chapter reports on how frequently citizens of the candidate countries watch the news on television, read it in daily newspapers, and listen to it on the radio. After reporting how much people trust the media in the candidate region, we show the extent to which citizens have access to modern information technology.

News viewership on television

As *FIGURE 1.3a* shows, 63% of respondents watch the news programmes on television on a daily basis, and another 22% watch it several times a week. Czechs (47%), Slovaks and Slovenes (51% for each) are the least likely, and Hungarians are the most likely (70%), to watch the news on a daily basis. (*ANNEX TABLE 1.18*)

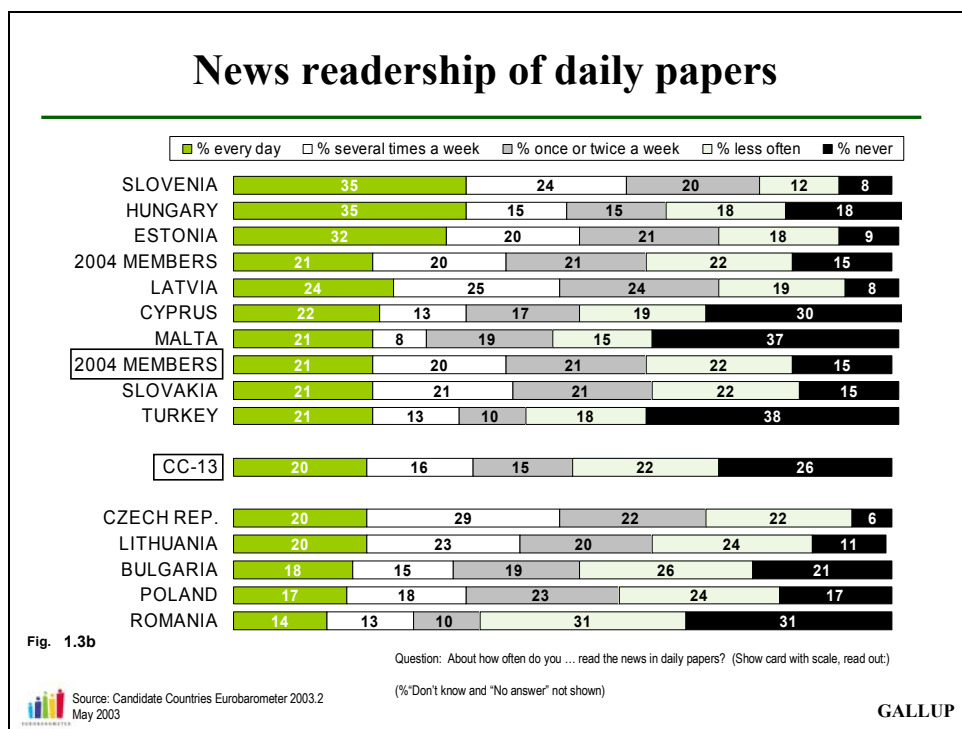
The proportion of respondents who watch TV news every day in the candidate countries has remained stable since autumn 2002 (64% to 63%).



News readership of daily newspapers

In the candidate countries, two in 10 respondents read the news in daily newspapers every day (20%) or several times a week (16%). The 2004 member countries' respondents use this source of information more often -- 21% read the news every day or several times a week (20%), a bit higher than the candidate countries' ratio.

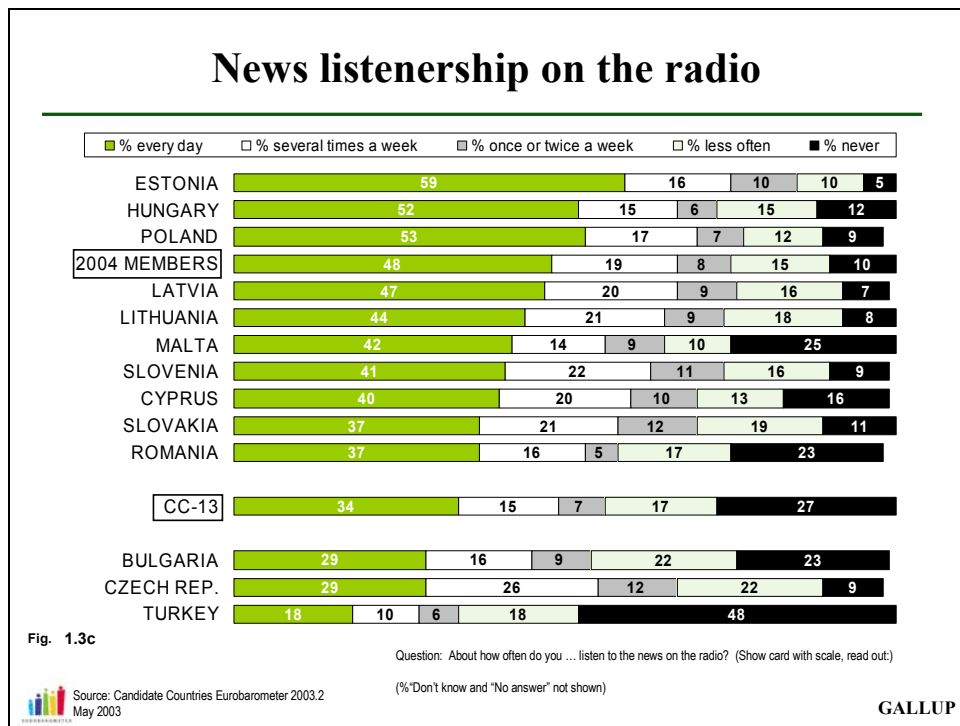
Slovenians and Hungarians (both 35%) are the most frequent readers of daily papers, whilst fewer than one in five Romanians and Bulgarians read for news every day (14% and 17%, respectively). (ANNEX TABLE 1.19)



News listenership on the radio

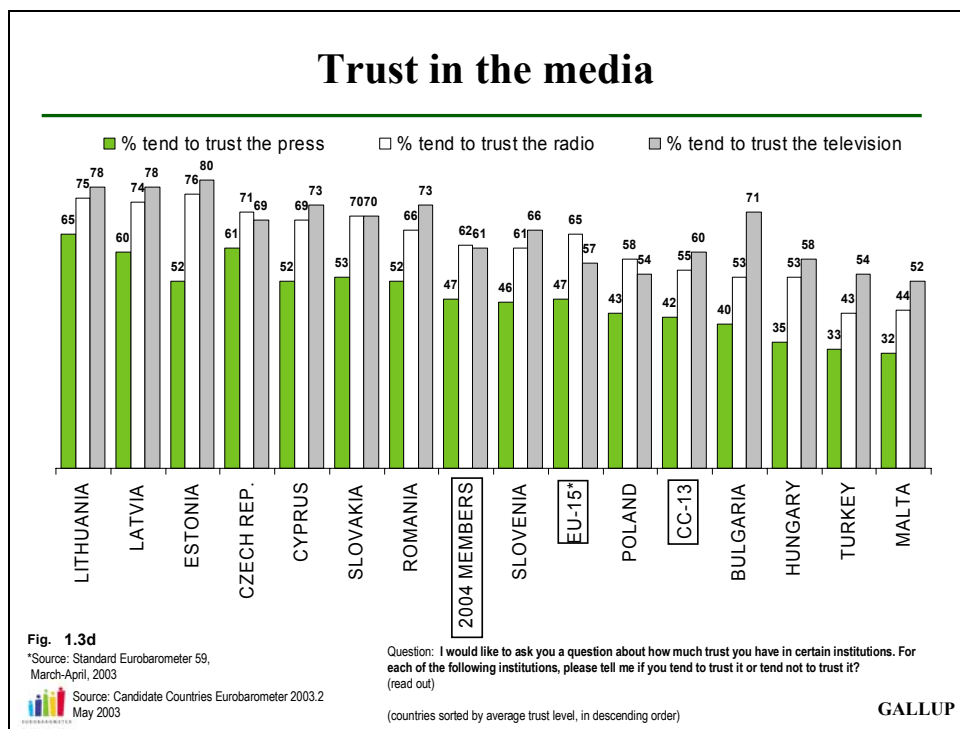
A third of the citizens (34%) listen to the radio news either every day or several times a week (15%) in the candidate countries. More 2004 members listen to the radio every day (48%) or several times a week (19%), a significantly higher listenership than that of the candidate countries (in addition to the higher newspaper readership).

The radio plays an important role in providing news on a daily basis for Estonians (59%) and Hungarians (52%), while fewer than one in five Turks listen to radio news every day (18%). (ANNEX TABLE 1.20)



Trust in the media

Eurobarometer also measured levels of trust in the printed press and in the electronic media. Trust in the media is similar in the candidate region and the European Union. Television remains the most trusted source of information in the candidate countries -- 60% of respondents say they tend to trust television (EU-15: 57%); 55% say they tend to trust the radio (EU-15: 65%), and 42% say they tend to trust the press (EU-15: 47%).



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 Estonia (76%), Lithuania (75%) and Latvia (74%), and lowest in Turkey (43%) and Malta (44%).

Trust levels for **television** are highest in the three Baltic States: Estonia (80%), Lithuania and Latvia (78% each), and lowest in Malta (52%) and Turkey (54%).

Trust levels for the **press** are highest in Lithuania (65%), the Czech Republic (61%), and Latvia (60%), and lowest in Malta (32%) and Turkey (33%), which have very little confidence in all three media. (ANNEX TABLE 1.21-1.23)

1.4 Citizens fear epidemics the most

While we were doing the fieldwork for this survey, the citizens of the world became afraid of the SARS virus from Asia, terrorist attacks all over the world, the failure of a nuclear power station in one of the countries, and war in Iraq. So we now look at 10 things with potentially disastrous effects for the world that people in the candidate and member countries were afraid of in spring 2003:

- *A world war*
- *A nuclear conflict in Europe*
- *A conventional war in Europe (not nuclear, bacteriological or chemical)*
- *The accidental launch of a nuclear missile*
- *An accident in a nuclear power station*
- *Spread of nuclear, bacteriological or chemical weapons of mass destruction*
- *Ethnic conflicts in Europe*
- *International terrorism*
- *Organised crime*
- *Epidemics*

People do indeed fear the items mentioned above, because four in five citizens are afraid of the things on the top of the list, but nearly half fear the items listed on the bottom, as well.

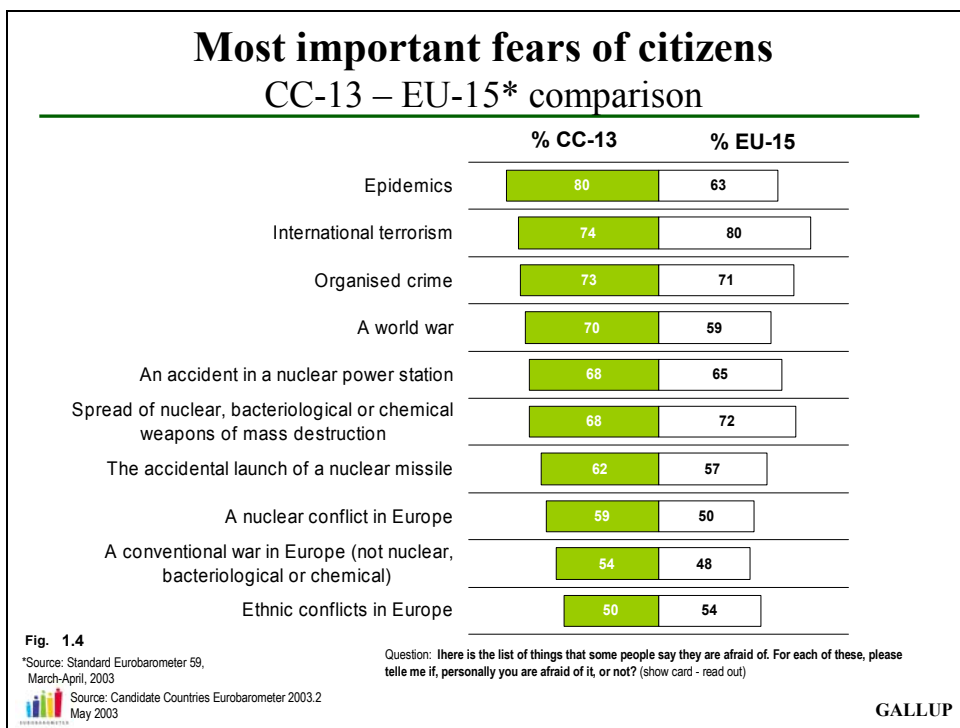
The next graph shows that candidate countries' citizens are most likely to fear epidemics (80%), international terrorism (74%), and organised crime (73%).

The EU most fears international terrorism (80%), the spread of nuclear, bacteriological or chemical weapons of mass destruction (72%) and, third, organized crime (71%).

The candidate region is significantly more afraid of epidemics than are European citizens, for whom it is fifth on the list (63%). The CC-13 is also more afraid than the EU of world war (70% versus 59%).

A closer gap can be observed in fear of international terrorism (74% candidate region versus 80% EU), the spread of nuclear, bacteriological or chemical weapons of mass destruction (68% candidate, 72% EU), and ethnic conflicts in Europe (50% candidate, 54% EU).

The CC-13 is the least afraid of a conventional (not nuclear, bacteriological or chemical) war in Europe (54%) and ethnic conflicts in Europe (50%).



The next table shows the top three fears of citizens in each applicant country. Epidemics tops the list in eight of the 13 candidate countries, comes in second in two countries, and is third in three countries. Epidemics is included in every country's top three list, probably due to SARS.

Organized crime tops the list in two candidate countries, is second in six countries, and third in three countries. Turkey is the only country that doesn't have organized crime in its top three. International terrorism makes the list in nine countries, tops the list in two nations, is in second place in two countries, and places third in five countries.

An accident in a nuclear power station is the greatest fear on the list in Hungary. This is exactly what happened not long before the fieldwork in the Paks nuclear station, near Budapest. Turks, Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians are most afraid of epidemics, and a world war is the second-most-widely held fear for Turks. Second on the list for Latvians is the spread of nuclear, bacteriological or chemical weapons of mass destruction. None of the other fears make the top three. (see also *ANNEX TABLE 1.24*)

Table 1.4a Top three most feeling fears (% by country)

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|--|----|-------------------------|----|
| Organised crime | 83 | Epidemics | 93 |
| Epidemics | 80 | International terrorism | 91 |
| International terrorism | 77 | Organised crime | 87 |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| Epidemics | 93 | International terrorism | 69 |
| Organised crime | 80 | Organised crime | 68 |
| International terrorism | 80 | Epidemics | 68 |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| International terrorism | 68 | Epidemics | 79 |
| Organised crime | 62 | International terrorism | 69 |
| Epidemics | 53 | Organised crime | 69 |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| Epidemics | 78 | Organised crime | 74 |
| Organised crime | 73 | Epidemics | 74 |
| An accident in a nuclear power station | 65 | International terrorism | 71 |

| Hungary | | Slovenia | |
|--|----|-------------------------|----|
| An accident in a nuclear power station | 78 | Epidemics | 77 |
| Organised crime | 76 | Organised crime | 72 |
| Epidemics | 75 | International terrorism | 70 |
| Latvia | | Turkey | |
| Epidemics | 85 | Epidemics | 93 |
| Spread of WMD | 70 | A world war | 85 |
| Organised crime | 66 | International terrorism | 83 |
| Lithuania | | | |
| Epidemics | 79 | | |
| An accident in a nuclear power station | 78 | | |
| Organised crime | 73 | | |

As Table 1.4b below shows, on the CC-13 level, the average fear percentage is the highest in Malta (84%) and Turkey (79%). That means the Maltese and Turkish worry about each thing above in the highest degree.

Czechs are the calmest among the candidate countries; less than half of the Czechs are afraid of each of the things mentioned.

**Table 1.4b Rank of the average fear
percentage**
(rank among 10 entries, by country)

| | |
|----------------|-----------|
| MALTA | 84 |
| TURKEY | 79 |
| CYPRUS | 68 |
| LITHUANIA | 67 |
| CC-13 | 66 |
| ROMANIA | 64 |
| BULGARIA | 63 |
| SLOVENIA | 63 |
| HUNGARY | 61 |
| LATVIA | 61 |
| SLOVAKIA | 58 |
| ESTONIA | 57 |
| POLAND | 52 |
| CZECH REPUBLIC | 43 |

1.5. Geopolitical orientations in the candidate region

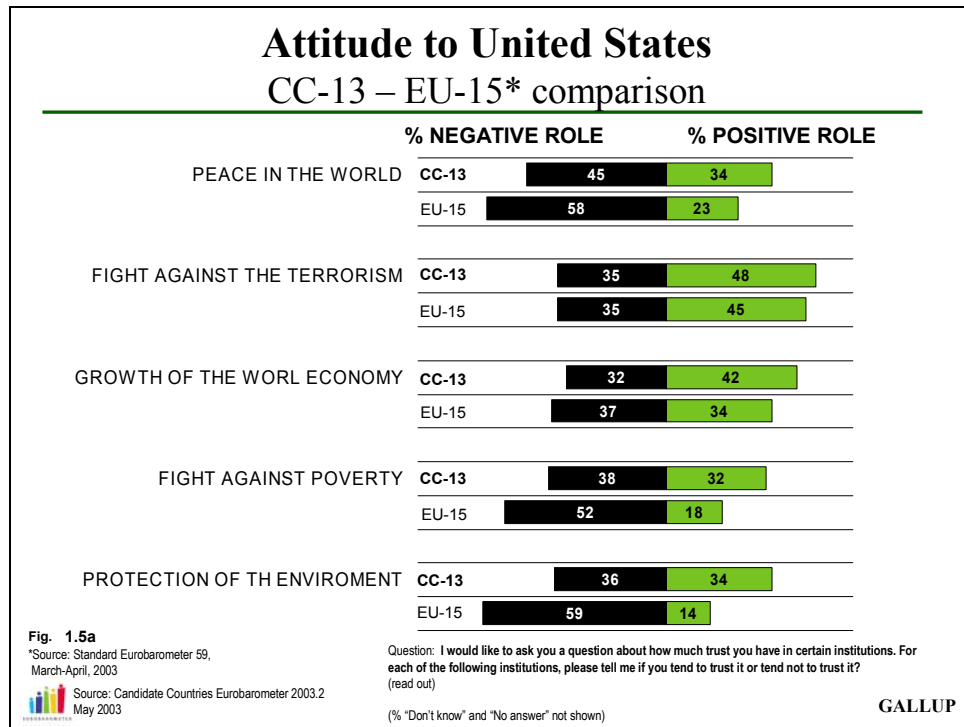
During the fierce debates preceding the U.S.-led Iraqi invasion, some leaders from the current EU member states -- most notably Mr. Chirac -- accused the candidate countries of being "impolitely" unfaithful to "common EU positions." At the same time, U.S. diplomacy explicitly favoured "new Europe" over the "old," hinting at the luxurious decadency of Western European countries. Candidate Countries Eurobarometer investigated the extent to which this shift of orientation exists in the candidate countries.

Popular orientation: Strong support for an independent European Union role

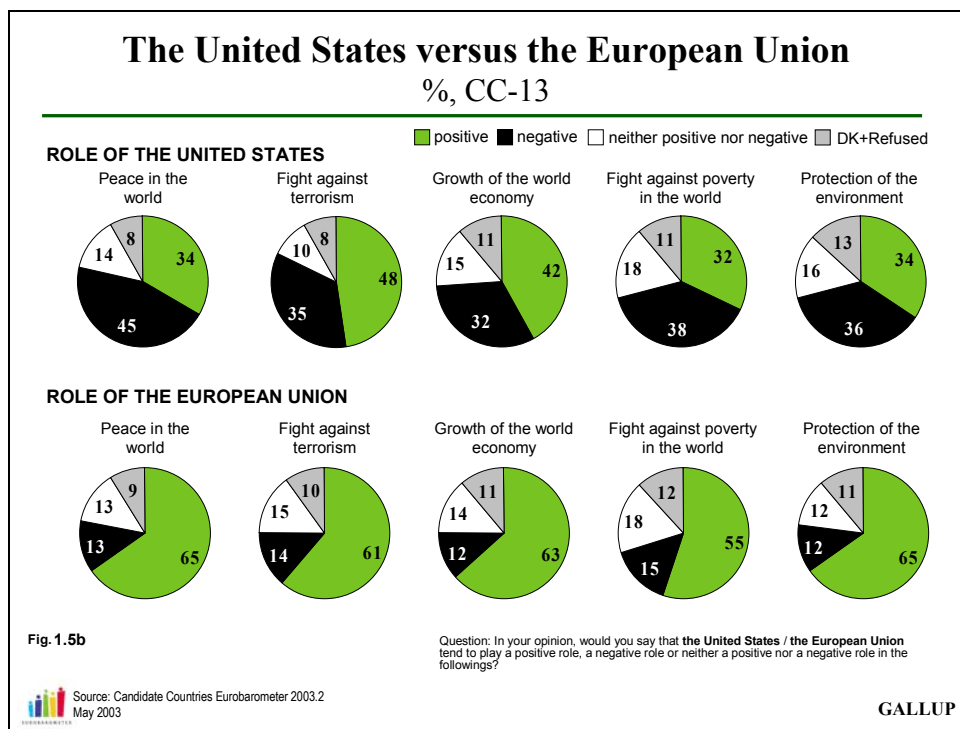
It seemed that while the European governments were strongly divided in their stance on the Iraqi crisis, people of the European countries -- with the exception of the British public -- stood unified in rejecting military attacks against the Iraqi regime. Eurobarometer tested people's disposition toward the United States and the European Union in five areas -- peace in the world, fight against terrorism, growth of the world economy, fight against world poverty, and protection of the environment. We asked whether the United States and the European Union tend to play a positive or a negative role in them. Of course, average people have very limited knowledge what exactly these two entities are doing in each of these areas, so we should consider this question as a general indication of the images the United States and the European Union conjure up nowadays. Clearly, the European Union has an advantage over the United States in each of the candidate countries.

Looking at *FIGURE 1.5a*, it is noteworthy that even in the areas where the United States is traditionally considered positively, such as in the fight against terrorism and in the growth of the world economy, the European Union receives better ratings from the citizens in the candidate countries. More people think the United States tends to play a negative rather than a positive role in keeping peace in the world (negative role (N): 45%; positive role (P): 34%). Slightly more citizens attribute a negative role to the United States in fighting world poverty (P: 32%, N: 38%), and protection of the environment (P: 34%, N: 36%), and clearly more people believe that the United States plays a more positive than negative role in the fight against terrorism (P: 48%, N: 35%) and in accelerating global economic growth (P: 42%, N: 32%).

In European Union countries, most people think the United States tends to play a negative rather than a positive role in keeping peace in the world (N: 58%, P: 23%), fighting world poverty (N: 52%, P: 18%), protecting the environment (N: 59%, P: 14%), and accelerating global economic growth (N: 37%, P: 34%). Slightly more citizens attribute a positive role to the United States in fighting against terrorism (P: 45%, N: 35%). As *FIGURE 1.5a* shows, people's attitudes toward the United States are significantly more negative in EU countries than in candidate countries. (see also *ANNEX TABLE 1.25 and 1.26*)



But while even the “best” U.S. attribute (fighting against terrorism) attained a 35% negative assessment, the worst EU attributes were evaluated negatively by just fewer than one in 8 citizens in the candidate region. Sixty-five percent believe that the European Union tends to play a positive role in preserving peace in the world. Thirty-four percent believe that about the United States. Sixty-five percent believe the European Union plays a positive role in protecting the environment, versus 34% who believe that of the United States.



Looking at the most crucial item, which presumably drives the bad image in the other issues as well, *FIGURE 1.5b* has the country-by-country evaluation of the United States versus the European Union in maintaining peace in the world. In the 2004 member countries, 65% believe that the European Union tends to play a positive role in preserving peace across the globe, while only one-third (34%) claim the same about the United States. This is a clear indication of the non-interventionist preference of the candidate countries' public.

There is no country among the candidates in which a majority believes the United States is a more positive actor in maintaining peace than the European Union.

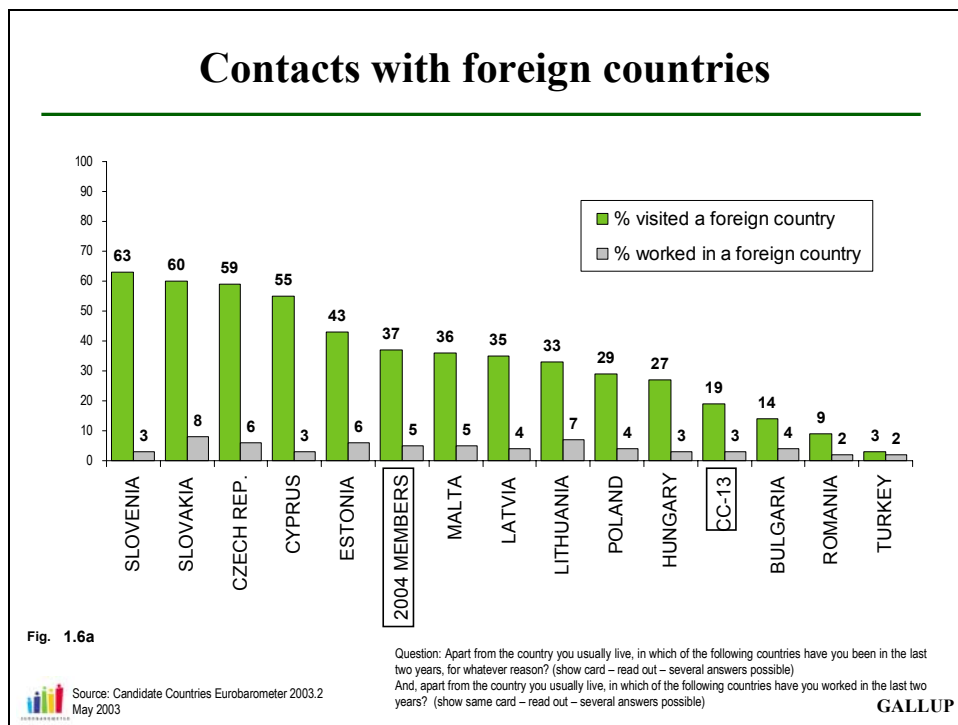
Cyprus -- where the Greek community manifested a degree of mistrust against U.S. military interventions already during its air strikes against Serbia -- is the most EU-oriented in peace matters (and in other matters, too). Eighty-four percent trust the European Union and only 10% trust the United States, for a difference of 74 percentage points. The next-largest differences are found in Slovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria. On the other end of the scale we find Romania, where the combined levels of trust expressed in the United States and the European Union are highest, and the difference between the two is the smallest (19 percentage points). The next-smallest differences are found in Poland, Lithuania and the Czech Republic, but even here the minimum differences are larger than 20 percent in favour of EU.

1.6 Contacts with foreign countries

While one in five CC-13 citizens (19%) visited at least one foreign country in the past two years, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found very few respondents who had worked in another country (3%). In 2004 member countries, 37% visited at least one foreign country in the past two years, and 5% worked in another country.

When we examine visits to other countries, we find large variations among the countries investigated. On the other hand, there is little variation in foreign work patterns: the ratio of those who have been recently working abroad ranges from 1% to 8%. The highest proportions were found in Slovakia (8%), followed by Lithuania (7%), Estonia and the Czech Republic (6% both). But only 2% of Turks or Romanians told us that they had worked abroad. In the other countries this figure was 3-5%.

The ratio of visits abroad range from 3% in Turkey to 63% in Slovenia. Slovenians, the likeliest to have visited a foreign country in the past two years, are followed by Slovaks (60%) and Czechs (59%). Bulgarians (14%) and Romanians (9%) are not very likely to travel abroad, though they travel more often than Turks. (ANNEX TABLE 1.27)



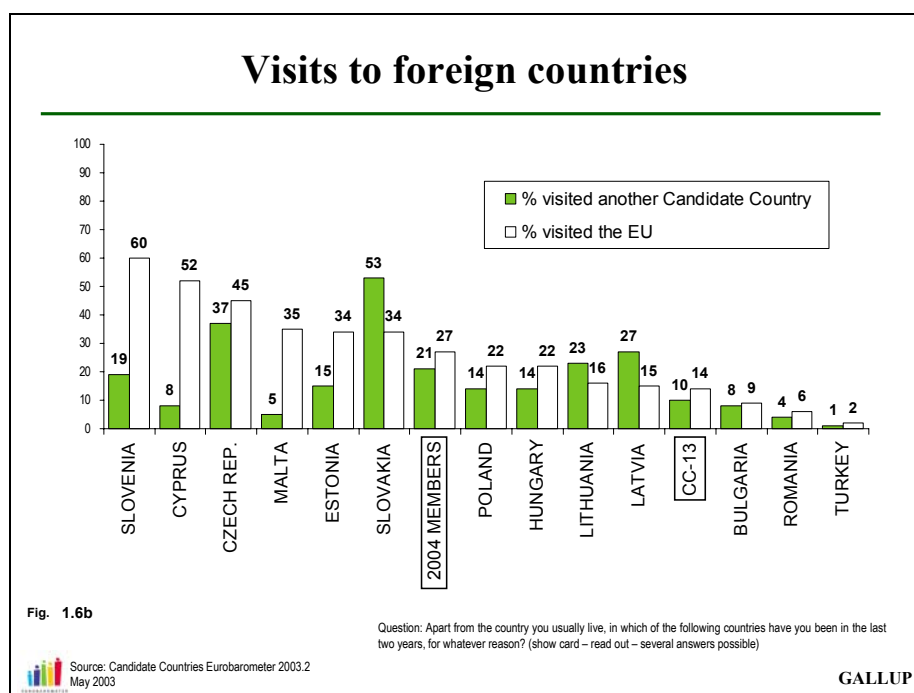
Those who have been working abroad are likelier to have been working in the European Union than in another candidate country. Five percent of Slovaks, Lithuanians and Maltese had worked in one of the member states of the European Union in the past two years. (ANNEX TABLE 1.28)

| Table 1.6 Work experience abroad | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | % worked in the EU | % worked in another candidate country | | % worked in the EU | % worked in another candidate country |
| SLOVAKIA | 5 | 1 | HUNGARY | 3 | 0 |
| LITHUANIA | 5 | 1 | BULGARIA | 3 | 0 |
| MALTA | 5 | 1 | ESTONIA | 3 | 0 |
| CZECH REP. | 4 | 2 | CC-13 | 2 | 1 |
| 2004 MEMBERS | 4 | 1 | CYPRUS | 3 | 1 |
| POLAND | 4 | 0 | SLOVENIA | 2 | 1 |
| LATVIA | 3 | 1 | ROMANIA | 1 | 0 |
| | | | TURKEY | 1 | 0 |

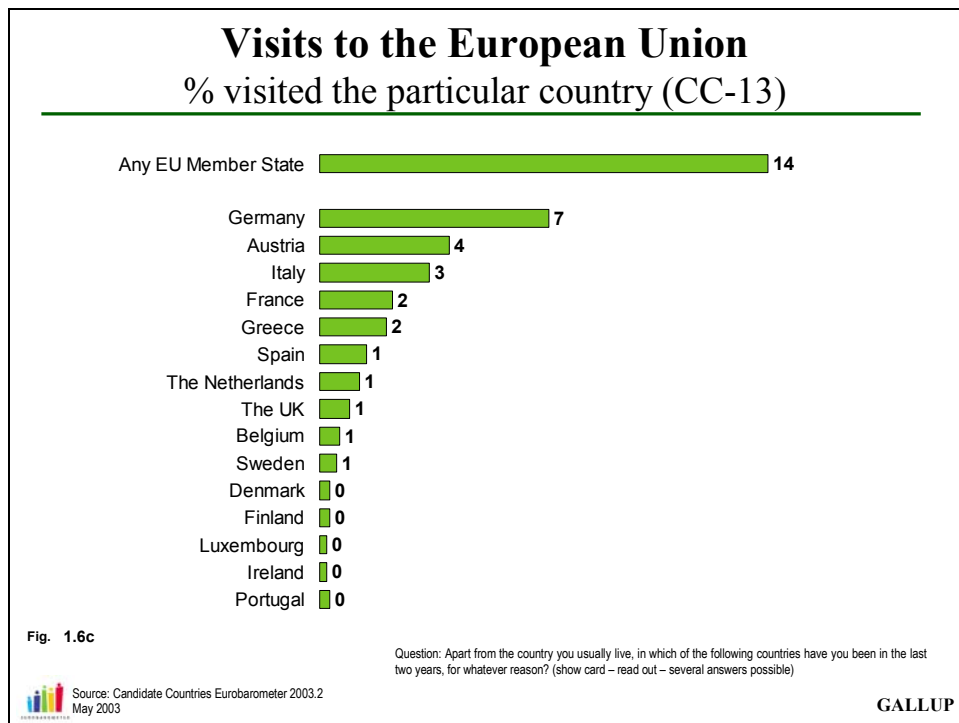
In some countries, however, people are significantly more likely to visit other CC-13 countries than the EU.

Slovenians are also the likeliest to have visited the EU: 60% of the Slovenian teenager and adult population have visited the European Union in the past two years. The Cypriots (52%) and the Czechs (45%) 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 (53% visited another CC, but only 34% 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 (Latvia: 27% CC, versus 15% EU. Lithuania: 23% CC, versus 16% EU).

Slovenians and Slovaks are relatively frequent travellers, but they travel mainly to the EU (60% and 52% respectively) and rarely visit another candidate country (19% - 8%).



Among the 14% who visited an EU country in the past two years, most, 7%, went to Germany. Austria (4%) and Italy (3%) were the next most attractive. Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, Ireland and Portugal are the least popular destinations: each of these countries was visited by less than 1% of respondents in the past two years.



Four in 10 EU citizens¹⁰ visited at least one candidate country in the past two years (41%). Turkey was the most likely destination (18%) for them, followed by the Czech Republic (14%), and Hungary and Poland (12% both). The Baltic countries are the least popular destinations, but each of these countries was visited by least 2% of respondents in the past two years.

¹⁰ EB59, spring 2003

Visits to the candidate countries

% visited the particular country (EU-15*)

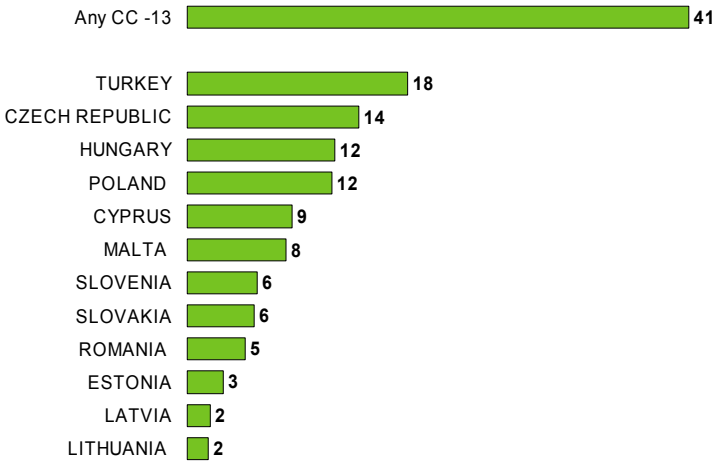


Fig. 1.6d

*Source: Standard Eurobarometer 59,
March-April, 2003

Question: And which of them have you visited or do have links of any kind with? (multiple answers possible)

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

GALLUP

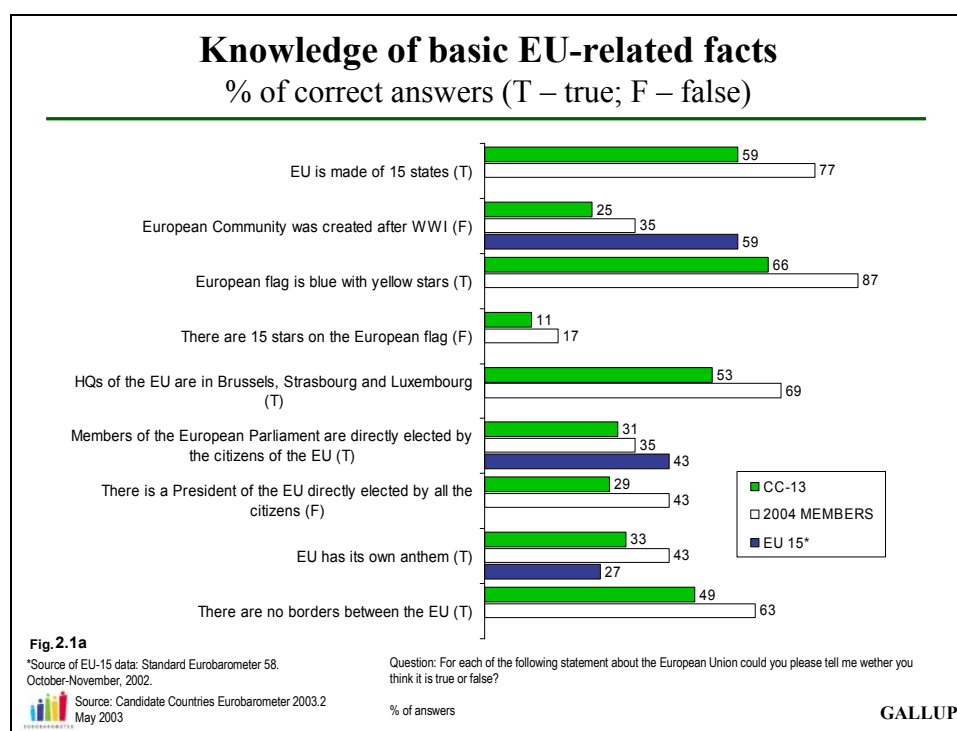
2. Knowledge and information

2.1. Knowledge of basic EU-related facts

The citizens of the candidate countries are rather poorly informed about some basic facts of the European Union. The largest percentage of correct answers was to a question about the European flag: 66% would recognize it. This rate is much higher in 2004 member countries, where 87% of respondents know the European flag is blue with yellow stars. About half in the CC-13 (53%) and more than two-thirds in the 2004 countries (69%) know that the headquarters of the European Union are in Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg. More than half of the respondents from candidate countries (49%) and almost two-thirds of the 2004 members' populations (63%) said there are no borders between the countries in the European Union.

Some of these questions were also asked in 2002 in the European Union. Just for comparison, we mention that many more in the European Union (59%) know the European Community wasn't created after World War I than know this in candidate countries or 2004 member countries, where nearly one-third of the respondents (25% and 35%, respectively) said the statement *"The European Community was created after World War One, in the late 1910s – early '20s"* is false.

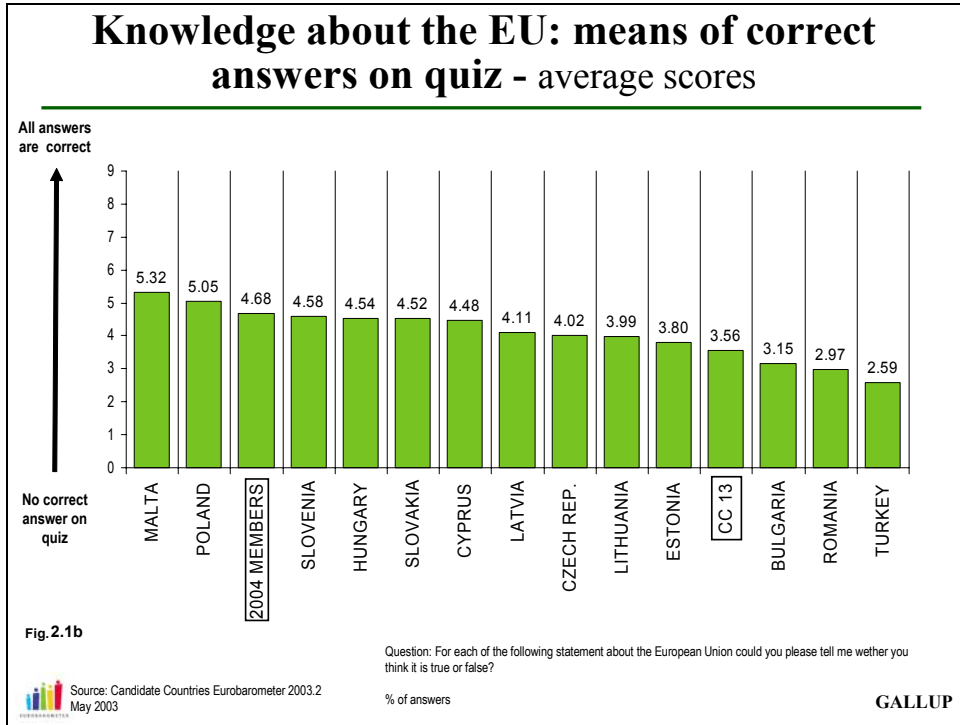
But only 27% of the respondents from European Union countries agreed that "the European Union has its own anthem." A third of respondents in the CC-13 (33%) and even more in the 2004 member countries (43%) were right about the anthem.



Some of the countries in the 2004 member group might take part in European Parliament elections as soon as 2004, but 51% of the public in these countries does not know if the members of the EP are elected directly (versus 52% in 2002), and 17% mistakenly believe that they are not (16% in 2002). Twenty-five percent of the Latvians, 25% of Hungarians, 24% of Cypriots and 24% of Slovaks believe that EP members are not elected by the citizens. (ANNEX TABLE 2.1)

As FIGURE 2.1b shows below, the CC-13 population, on average, gives 3.56 correct answers to the nine statements, and respondents from the 2004 member countries give a significantly higher average of 4.68 correct answers. The Turkish have the lowest score, only 2.59, and the Maltese have the highest -- 5.32.

Thirty-one percent of Turks cannot give a correct answer to any statement, and no respondent from Malta didn't guess at least one statement correctly. In conclusion, the Maltese are the best informed on the trivia questions, followed by the Polish (an average of 5.05 correct answers out of nine) and the Slovenians (an average 4.58), and the Turkish are the least informed.



2.2. Self-perceived knowledge about the European Union

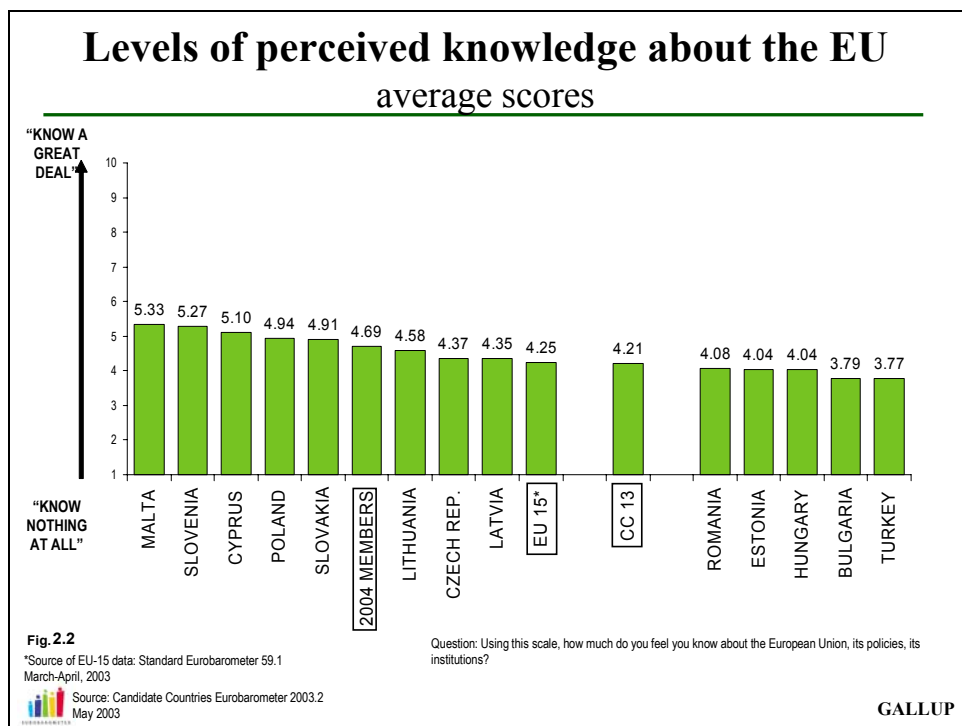
A standard feature of the Eurobarometer is a question that asks respondents how much they feel they know about the European Union. The comparative results presented in the table below show that 25% of candidate country citizens feel they know “quite a lot” to “a great deal” (i.e., those choosing the numbers 6 through 10 on the scale) about the European Union, up 2 percentage points from a year ago (23% in 2002). This shows still a bit lower level of perceived knowledge in comparison to the results measured in the member states (27%)⁴.

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 4.21, slightly lower than their European fellows -- who also evaluate their knowledge as below the midpoint.

| Table 2.2a Self-perceived knowledge of EU affairs | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | CC-13 Autumn 2001 | CC-13 Autumn 2002 | CC-13 Spring 2003 | EU-15 Spring 2003 |
| Scale | % | % | % | % |
| 1 (knows nothing at all) | 14 | 14 | 14 | 10 |
| 2 | 14 | 14 | 11 | 12 |
| 3 | 16 | 16 | 14 | 17 |
| 4 | 14 | 14 | 13 | 15 |
| 5 | 20 | 17 | 19 | 18 |
| 6 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 12 |
| 7 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 8 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| 9 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 10 (knows a great deal) | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Don' know / No answer | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Average | 3.99 | 4.05 | 4.21 | 4.25 |

⁴ EB59.1, Spring 2003

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 Malta (the average score is 5.33; in 2002, it was 4.94) and Slovenia (the average score is 5.27; in 2002, it was 4.99), and lowest in Turkey and Bulgaria, where the average scores are 3.77 (in 2002, it was 3.80) and 3.79, respectively (in 2002, it was 3.89).

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 do people living in Romania or Bulgaria, which will not join the Union before 2007.

The responses show that 47% of people in Malta, 43% in Slovenia, and 41% of those in Cyprus feel they know "quite a lot" to "a great deal" (i.e., score 6 and higher on the scale) about the European Union. At 33%, people in Poland and Slovakia come in fourth and fifth places, respectively, followed by people in Lithuania (30%), the Czech Republic (28%), Latvia (24%), Romania (24%), Hungary (22%), Bulgaria (20%), Turkey (20%) and Estonia (19%). (ANNEX TABLE 2.2)

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 score high on the Opinion Leadership Index⁵, people who stayed in full-time education the longest, 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., those who do not watch, read or listen to news at all. Men consider themselves more informed than women do.

| Table 2.2b Average scores on perceived knowledge scale for various groups at the CC-13 level | |
|---|--------------|
| Group | Score |
| Managers | 5.70 |
| Opinion Leadership Index ++ high | 5.60 |
| EDU: 20+ years | 5.47 |
| Media Use Index +++ | 5.20 |
| Other white collars | 4.81 |
| EDU: still studying | 4.80 |
| Males | 4.69 |
| 2004 MEMBERS | 4.69 |
| Opinion Leadership Index + | 4.66 |
| Media Use Index ++ | 4.61 |
| EU support: a good thing | 4.60 |
| EDU: 16-19 years | 4.51 |
| Manual workers | 4.47 |
| 25-39 years of age | 4.38 |
| 40-54 years of age | 4.34 |
| Self-employed | 4.29 |
| CC-13 | 4.21 |
| 15-24 years of age | 4.17 |
| Retired | 4.09 |
| Unemployed | 4.09 |
| Opinion Leadership Index - | 4.00 |
| 55+ years of age | 3.91 |
| EU support: neither good nor bad | 3.79 |
| EU support: a bad thing | 3.75 |
| Female | 3.74 |
| Media Use Index -- | 3.52 |
| EDU: up to 15 years | 3.34 |
| Opinion Leadership Index - - low | 3.13 |
| House Persons | 3.09 |
| Media Use Index --- | 2.82 |

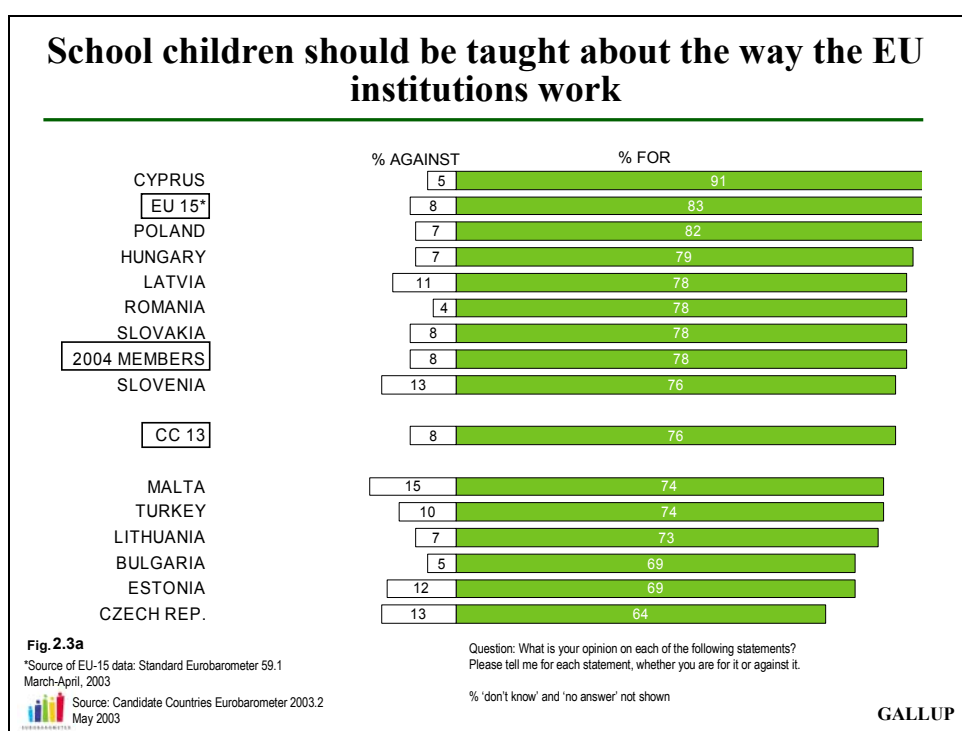
⁵ See Appendix C4 for a definition of the indices shown in the table.

2.3. Providing information about the European Union

The survey also measures public opinion toward some key EU issues, such as whether or not schoolchildren should be taught about the way the EU institutions work.

More than three-quarters in both the CC-13 (76%) and the 2004 member countries (78%) said children should learn about EU institutions in school. Only 8% are against it. (Just for the sake of comparison, we note that an even higher percentage (83%) supports this issue in the current EU countries.)

Looking at the country level, Cypriots are the likeliest to want their children taught about the way EU institutions work (91%), and the Czech respondents are the least likely (64%). For more detailed data see also *ANNEX TABLE 2.3*.



Over the half of the citizens in the candidate countries say the EU should consider it a priority to get closer to European citizens by informing them more about itself (56%), its policies, and its institutions. 28% said this should not be a priority.

People in the 2004 countries feel roughly the same way: 58% of them think giving people more information is a priority, and 28% do not think so.

Cypriots (82%) and Slovaks (78%) are the likeliest to consider information on the EU a priority, and the Turkish (53%) and Polish (53%) are the least likely to agree. For more detailed data see also ANNEX TABLE 2.4.

Giving people more information about the EU should be...

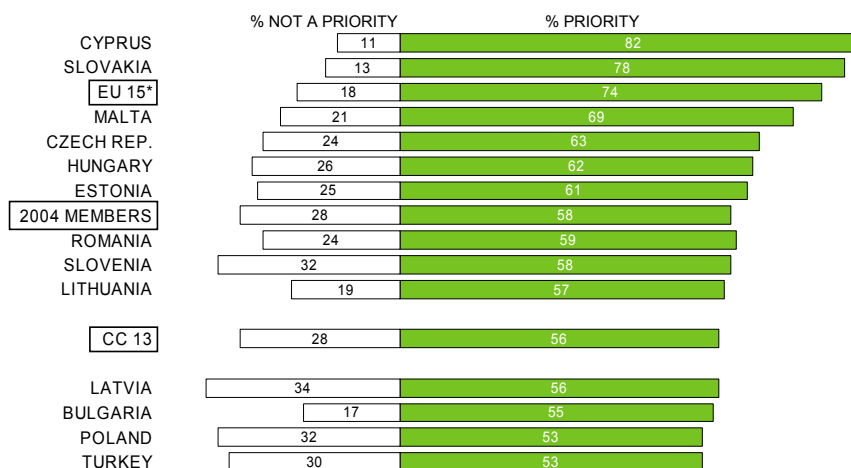


Fig. 2.3b

*Source of EU-15 data: Standard Eurobarometer 59.1
March-April, 2003

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

Question: Now, I am going to read out a list of actions that the European Union could undertake. For each one, please tell me if, in your opinion, it should be a priority, or not?

% 'don't know' and 'no answer' not shown

GALLUP

2.4. Sources of information about the European Union

Preferred topics

When asked what EU-related information they would like to have, the CC-13's top three choices were the institutions of the European Union (52%), EU youth policy (48%), and EU education policy (47%). The least popular topics are so-called "other" topics (8%), the EU research and development policy (28%) and pre-accession funds (31%).

The 2004 member countries mostly want more information on social policy in the EU (50%), followed by EU economy and EU youth policy (47% both). The 2004 and CC-13 countries completely agree on the least interesting topics ("other": 9%; R&D policy: 24%; and pre-accession funds along with other financial and economical topics: 28%).

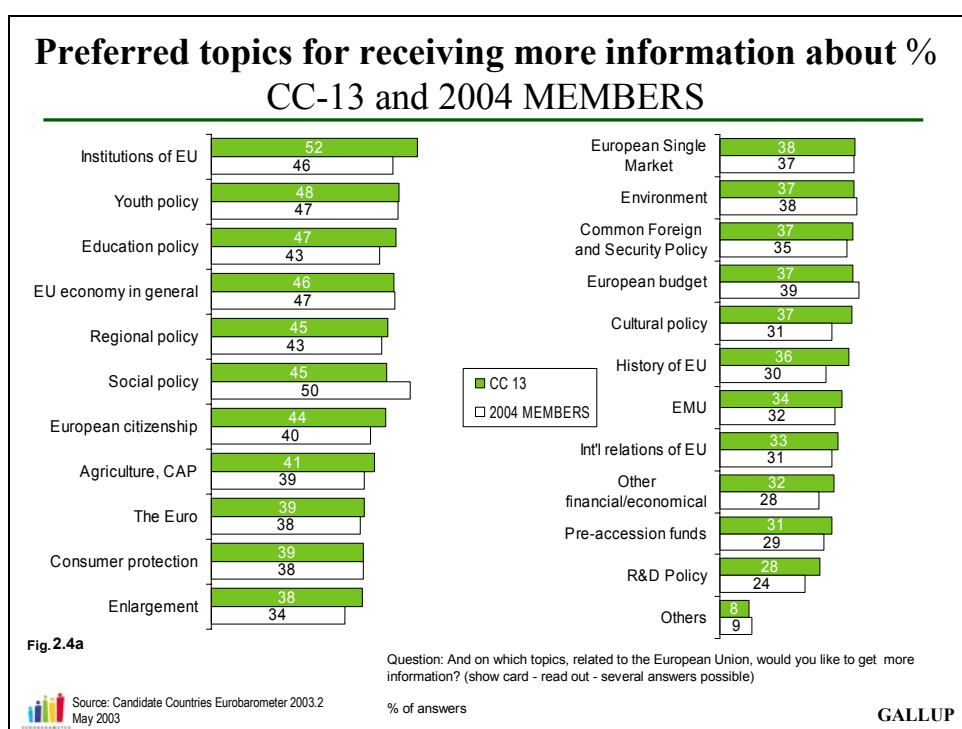


TABLE 2.4a on the next page shows the four most frequently mentioned topics in each country. As it did in 2002, it shows a very diverse picture with very few common characteristics. There is one topic common to almost all countries, however: information about **youth policy** ranked in the top four in 10 of the 13 candidate countries. Another frequent entry is **information about social policy**, as well as **information about institutions of the EU**, which were both among the top four in eight countries. The Maltese are more likely to have an interest in "postmodern" issues -- the environment (61%), consumer protection (61%), education (58%) -- whilst the Slovenes remain strictly material in their choice of content: they wish to know more about the EU economy in general (50%) and the European Monetary Union (49%) in particular. The most popular topic in Poland (50%) is the EU economy in general. In five countries, people told us they would like to have more information on the **European education policy**, as well. (ANNEX TABLE 2.5)

Table 2.4a Four most frequently mentioned topics the candidate countries' citizens want to know more about (% , by country)

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|-----------------------|----|-----------------------|----|
| Social policy | 54 | Consumer protection | 61 |
| Youth policy | 53 | Environment | 61 |
| European citizenship | 49 | Youth policy | 58 |
| EU economy in general | 47 | Education policy | 58 |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| Youth policy | 66 | EU economy in general | 50 |
| Institutions of EU | 63 | Youth policy | 49 |
| Education policy | 63 | Social policy | 48 |
| Consumer protection | 59 | Regional policy | 44 |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| Institutions of EU | 57 | The Euro | 49 |
| Social policy | 54 | Youth policy | 42 |
| The Euro | 52 | European citizenship | 42 |
| Youth policy | 51 | Consumer protection | 41 |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| Social policy | 36 | Social policy | 58 |
| Institutions of EU | 34 | Institutions of EU | 53 |
| EU economy in general | 27 | Consumer protection | 52 |
| Regional policy | 26 | Pre-accession funds | 51 |

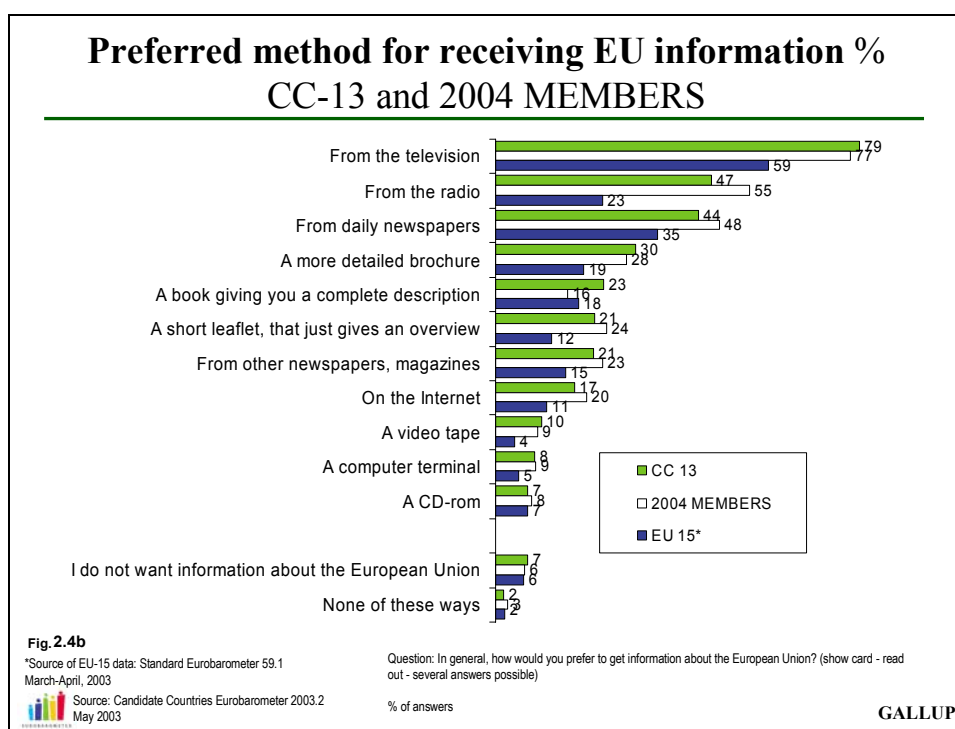
| Hungary | | Slovenia | |
|-----------------------|----|-----------------------|----|
| Social policy | 54 | EU economy in general | 50 |
| Youth policy | 50 | EMU | 49 |
| Education policy | 50 | Social policy | 48 |
| Institutions of EU | 45 | Youth policy | 48 |
| Latvia | | Turkey | |
| Social policy | 53 | Institutions of EU | 64 |
| Education policy | 48 | Education policy | 56 |
| European citizenship | 46 | Youth policy | 49 |
| Institutions of EU | 44 | European citizenship | 49 |
| Lithuania | | | |
| Youth policy | 44 | | |
| Institutions of EU | 43 | | |
| EU economy in general | 39 | | |
| Pre-accession funds | 38 | | |

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 are for the three media sources they are most likely to use (see Chapter 1.3 for in depth analysis). Seventy-nine percent of all CC-13 and 77% of 2004 country respondents say they would choose television, 49% from candidate countries and 55% from 2004 member countries choose the radio, and 47% from candidate countries and 48% from 2004 member countries mention the daily newspapers as their preferred method of receiving information about the European Union. These methods are less popular in the current EU population (59%, 23% and 35%, respectively).

Thirty percent of the CC-13 select brochures (28% in 2004 member countries and 19% in EU member countries). The Internet, books, videotapes, computer terminals and CD-rooms are mentioned by fewer than one in five respondents.

Seven and 6% percent of the respondents, respectively in the both candidate countries and in the 2004 member states, mentioned they are not interested at all in news on the European Union (only 6% from EU countries said so), and 2% in both areas wouldn't prefer information in any of the methods we listed. (ANNEX TABLE 2.6)



At the country level (TABLE 2.4b), it should be emphasized that **television** has the first place in every country (with the highest rate in Hungary: 83%). The **daily paper** as a source of EU news is among the top three mentions in every country, as is **radio**.

Table 2.4b Preferred method for receiving information on EU
(% of answers, by country)

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|-----------------------|----|-----------------|----|
| TV | 73 | TV | 69 |
| Daily papers | 49 | Radio | 40 |
| Radio | 48 | Daily papers | 29 |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| TV | 75 | TV | 77 |
| Radio | 41 | Radio | 58 |
| Daily papers | 36 | Daily papers | 47 |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| TV | 73 | TV | 71 |
| Daily papers | 52 | Radio | 46 |
| Radio | 50 | Daily papers | 30 |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| TV | 60 | TV | 80 |
| Radio | 39 | Radio | 53 |
| Daily papers | 33 | Daily papers | 50 |
| Hungary | | Slovenia | |
| TV | 83 | TV | 76 |
| Radio | 55 | Radio | 60 |
| Daily papers | 52 | Daily papers | 59 |

| Latvia | | Turkey | |
|--------------|----|--------------|----|
| TV | 80 | TV | 84 |
| Radio | 51 | Daily papers | 43 |
| Daily papers | 50 | Radio | 38 |
| Lithuania | | | |
| TV | 62 | | |
| Radio | 48 | | |
| Daily papers | 41 | | |

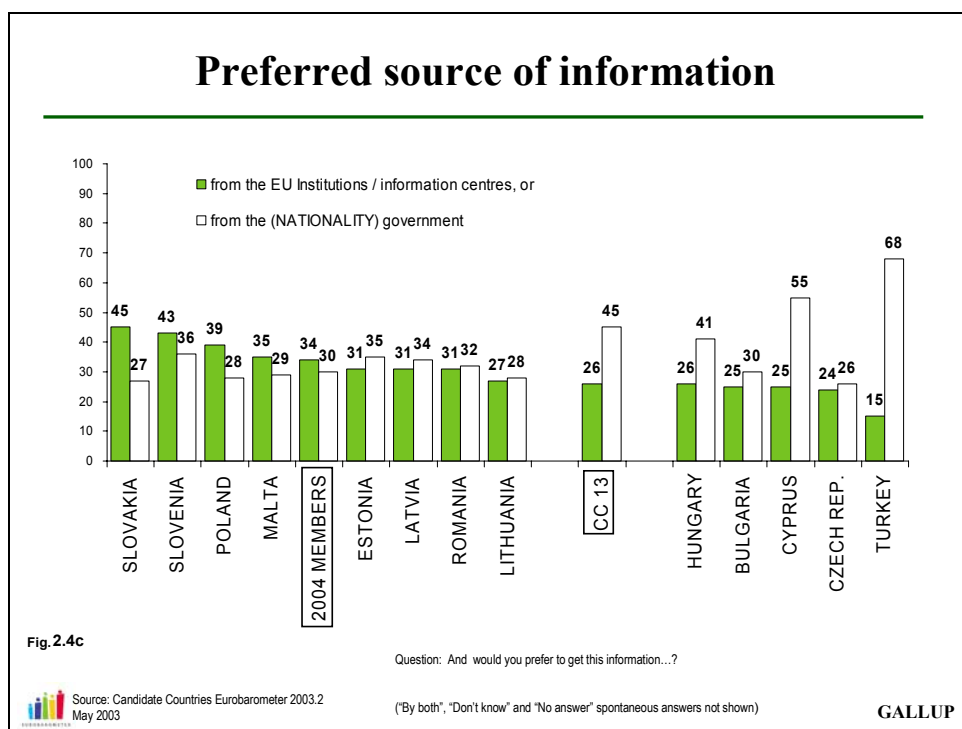
Preference for national versus EU-originated information

We asked if people preferred to receive EU-related information from their national government, or from EU institution or information centres. About one-third in the CC-13 could not choose between the two, and either spontaneously said that they would like to receive information from both sides (16%), simply could not choose (9%), or refused to answer (4%) this question.

Those who had a preference more often chose their national government (45%) than the European Union (26%) to interpret the information. At the same time, in 2004 member countries, more respondents chose the EU's information (34%) as chose the national government's (30%).

In Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland, and Malta, more people would trust the European Union in informing them on key issues (45%, 43%, 39% and 35%, respectively) than their own political leadership (27%, 36%, 28% and 29% respectively).

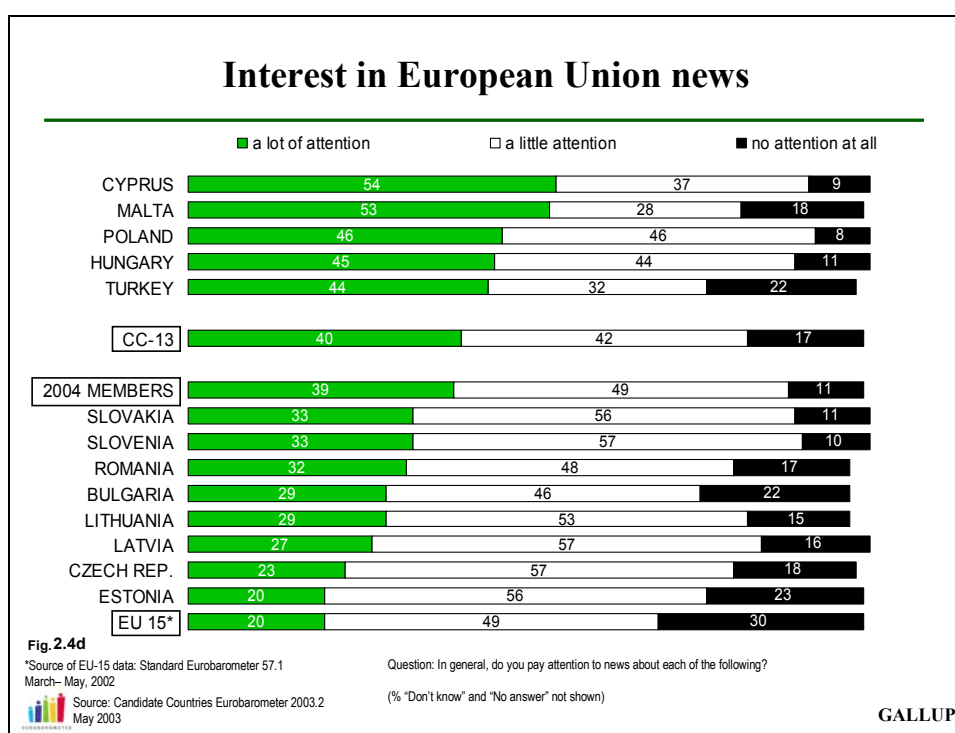
Turks and Cypriots much prefer their government's information to that of EU institutions (68% vs. 15% in Turkey, and 55% vs. 25% in Cyprus). (ANNEX TABLE 2.7)



Interest in European Union news

Next, we look at the results of a question that compared interest in EU news to interest in other topics. We asked respondents whether they pay a lot of attention, a little attention, or no attention at all to news in nine areas, one of them being the European Union.

As *FIGURE 2.4d* shows below, four-fifths (82%) in the candidate countries say they pay at least some attention to news about the European Union (88% of the respondents from 2004 member countries said so, too). These results are far greater than those measured in the member states last year. 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; that number goes up to 40% in the candidate countries and 39% in 2004 member countries.



Looking at the extent to which interest in news about the European Union varies from country to country, we find that in some 2004 member countries, more than eight in 10 people pay at least some attention to such news: Poland (92%), Cyprus (91%), Slovenia (90%), Slovakia and Hungary (89% both), Latvia (84%), Lithuania (82%) and Malta (81%). EU residents are more likely to ignore EU-related news than are any of the countries in the candidate region (69% of residents in EU countries pay attention to EU news).

In the candidate countries, social issues claim the greatest interest -- 63% pay a lot of attention and a further 29% pay a little attention to them. National political news is also interesting -- 47% pay a lot of attention and 36% pay a little attention. News on the economy comes in third. Forty-three percent pay a lot of attention, and 39% pay a little attention, to economic news. News related to the European Union is the fourth-most attractive (40% a lot, 42% a little), and with this, it is more appealing than news about local politics, sport, the environment, foreign policy or culture.

The candidate region has shown a 4 percentage points increase in interest in EU-related news. Compared to last year, interest decreased in Turkey (-4). In Romania and in Bulgaria, we register the lowest increases of interest (+2 and +3, respectively) as a result of the perception of a too distant accession date (as shown in Chapter 6). At the same time, we detected increased interest among citizens of Cyprus (+15), Lithuania (+13), Poland (+12) and Malta (+10). (*ANNEX TABLE 2.8*)

How much attention do people pay to news in the following areas? % CC-13

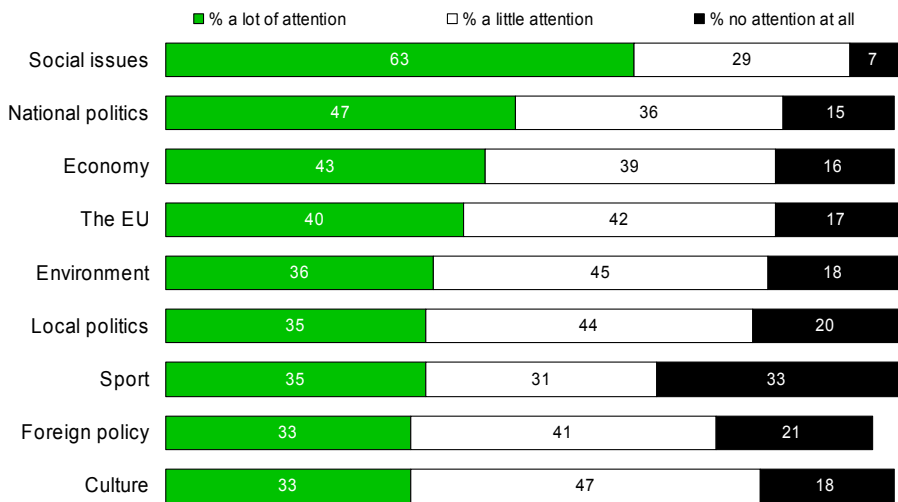


Fig.2.4e

Question: In general, do you pay attention to news about each of the following?

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



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

GALLUP

3. Attitudes towards the European Union

This chapter introduces the reader to the general sentiments and attitudes of the candidate countries towards the EU and being European. First we will focus on how much people in the candidate countries feel European, and what would make them feel more so. 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 region? 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.

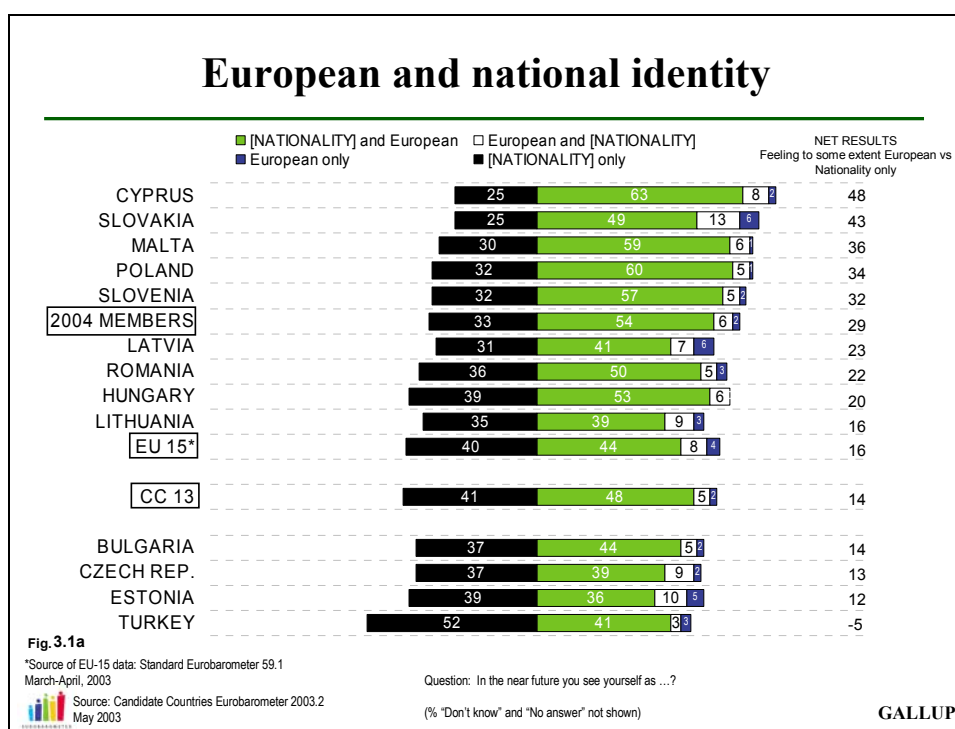
3.1. Feeling European

Most people have a European component in their identity

Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found that, except in Turkey, people consider themselves to some extent to be European rather than just their own nationality. This is more likely to be so in Cyprus (73% vs. 25%), Slovakia (68% vs. 25%) and Malta (66% vs. 30%).

Only the Turkish feel themselves to be more Turkish than European in significant numbers (52% claimed to be their nationality alone vs. 47% who see themselves to be European to some extent).

In the other countries, those who think they will see themselves as European to some extent in the near future outnumber those who expect to continue to identify themselves as only their nationality, though very few respondents regard themselves as exclusively European (from 0% in Hungary, 1% in Malta and Poland, 6% in Slovakia and Latvia, and 5% in Estonia).



Fifty-six percent of EU citizens associate their identity to some extent with being European; we find 55% sharing this feeling in the candidate countries and 62% in 2004 member countries.

There are five countries among the current member states and candidate countries in which national attachment exclusively determines the identity of the majority of the people; four of those are current members of the European Union (UK, Finland, Greece and Sweden). In the candidate region, Turkey was the only country in which 52% told us they would see themselves as “Turkish only” in the near future. (ANNEX TABLE 3.1)

We find that Slovaks and Latvians are likeliest to feel only European in the near future (6%), followed by people in Estonia (5%), Lithuania (3%), Romania (3%), Turkey (3%), Cyprus (2%), Slovenia (2%), Bulgaria (2%), the Czech Republic (2%) and, finally, Malta (1%), Poland (1%) and Hungary (0%). In all other countries, 3% of the population says they’ll feel mostly European.

When we include people who feel somewhat European, we find Cyprus tops the list at 73%, followed by Slovakia (68%), Malta (66%), Poland (66%) and Slovenia (64%). The three other countries in which a majority of people who feel (to some extent) European are Hungary (59%), Romania (58%) and Latvia (54%). As mentioned before, in Turkey (where 47% feel somewhat European), national identity is clearly the prevailing sentiment.

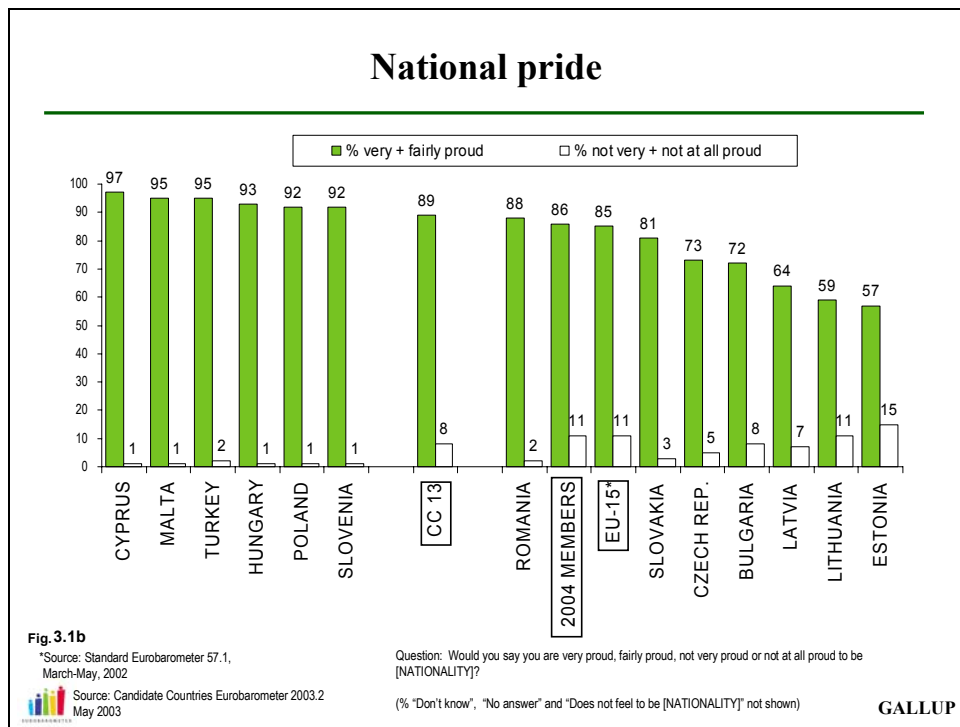
The attitudinal analysis shows that 73% of people who regard their country’s membership to the European Union as a good thing feel European to some extent (as do 26% of those who told us their country’s membership will be a bad thing). At the other extreme, we find that 61% of people who regard their country’s membership as a bad thing identify with their own nationality. (TABLE 3.1a)

| Table 3.1a. Support of the EU membership and European identity | | | |
|--|--|-------------|----------------------|
| %, CC-13 | | | |
| FEELS... | THE COUNTRY'S EU MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE ... | | |
| | a good thing | a bad thing | neither good nor bad |
| [NATIONALITY] only | 24 | 61 | 47 |
| [NATIONALITY] and European | 61 | 19 | 35 |
| European and [NATIONALITY] | 9 | 3 | 5 |
| European only | 3 | 4 | 3 |

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, we can emphasize similarities between the levels of national pride in the EU (85%) and the CC-13 (89%), and even more between the EU-15 and the 2004 member countries (86%).

People in Cyprus (97%), Malta (95%) and Turkey (95%) are most likely to feel nationalistic pride, and levels of national pride are also high in Hungary (93%), Poland (92%) and Slovenia (92%), whilst people in the Baltic region are least likely to share this view. (ANNEX TABLE 3.2)



European pride

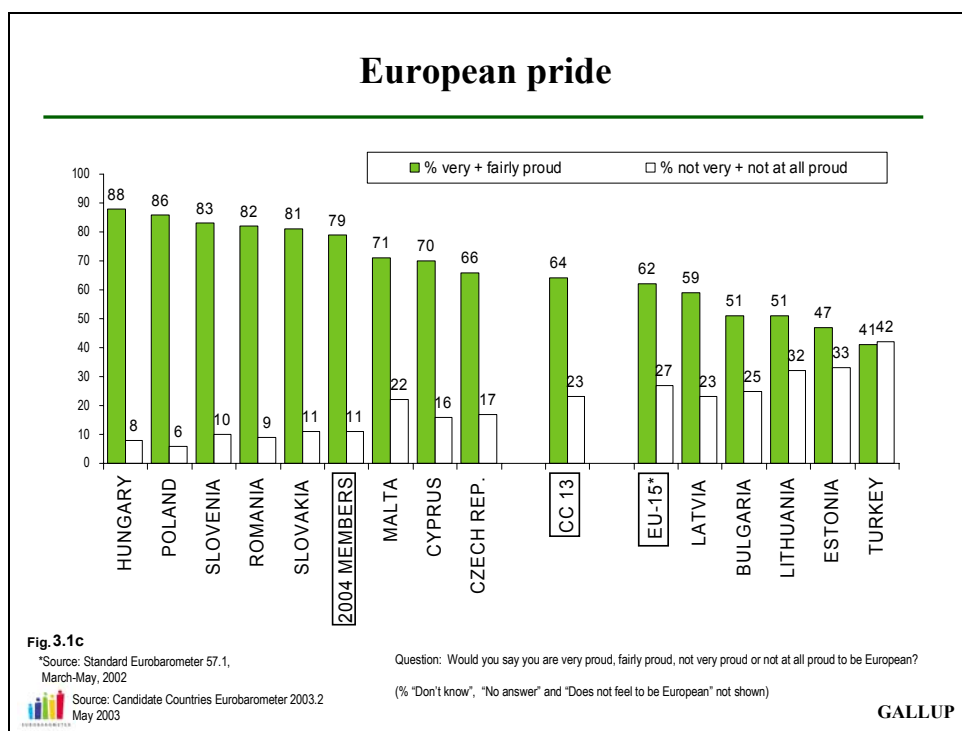
When asked about how proud people are to be European, levels of pride⁶ vary considerably across the candidate region (64%), but are, on average, slightly higher than in the member states (62%). Citizens in the 2004 member countries have a very strong European element in their identity with 79% being proud for being European.

Those who are proud to be European are most likely to be found in Hungary (88%), followed by Poland (86%), Slovenia (83%), Romania (82%) and Slovakia (81%). Levels of pride are lowest in Turkey (41%, much lower than in the previous wave, which was 47%) and in Estonia (47%). But in all countries, except Turkey, people who feel proud to be European outnumber those who do not. (ANNEX TABLE 3.3a)

Demographic analyses show little differences along demographical variables. Education is an important determinant of people's pride in being European. 79% of people who stayed in full-time education until the age of 20 or older feel proud to be European, followed by 75% of students, and 69% of people who were educated until they were 16 to 19. Those who left school before they reached the age of 15 are, at 50%, the educational group least likely to feel proud.

Among the various occupational groups, we find that managers are most likely to feel proud (79%). Unemployed people (59%) and house persons (50%) are least likely to feel proud to be European. However, there is no demographic group with pride levels below 50%.

But those who think that their country's EU membership is a bad thing, are very unlikely to be proud for being European (29%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.3b)



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

⁶ This is the sum of percentages of those who answered they are very proud and fairly proud to be European.

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 well⁷.

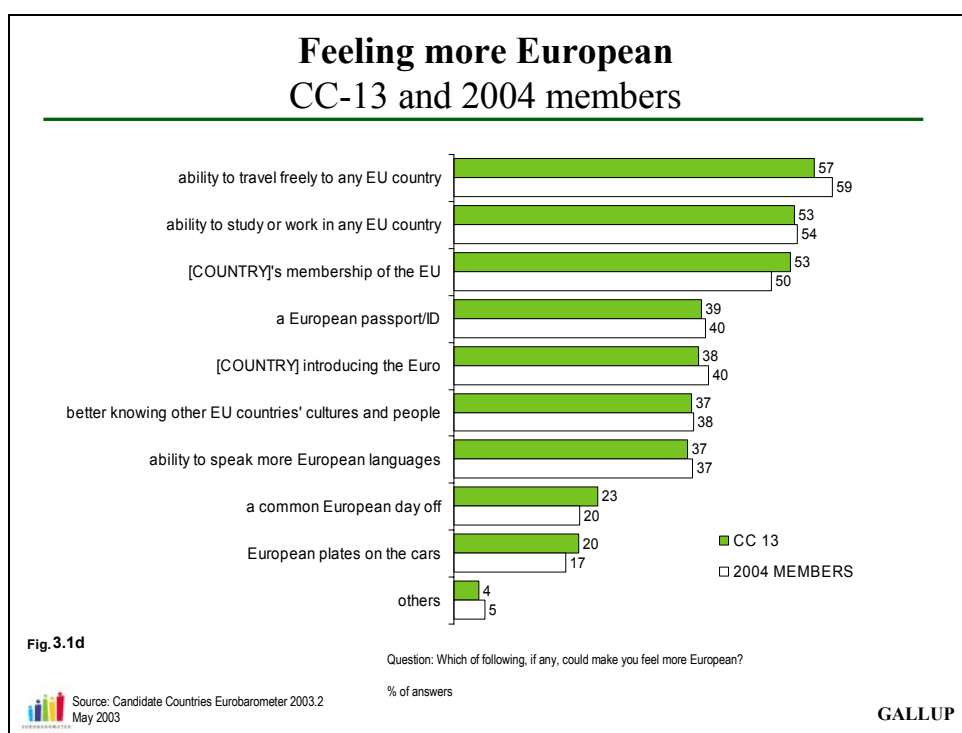
⁷ Pearson correlation: 0.558, correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Freedom of movement would make future citizens to feel more European

The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer asked, for the first time, what people think makes them feel more European.

People say they will feel more European if they can travel freely to EU countries (57%), or study or work in EU countries (53%), or if their country could become a member of the EU (53%). The 2004 member countries' population mentioned the same things in the same order (59%, 54% and respectively, 50%). "Other" things (things that people spontaneously mentioned that weren't on the list), as well as European plates on cars, or a common European day off, cannot make the candidate countries (4%, 20% and 23%) nor the 2004 member countries (5%, 17% and 20%) feel more European.

More than one-third of the population (37% in CC-13 and in 2004 member states alike) say speaking more European languages would make them feel more European. The Slovaks (46%) and Slovenians (41%) mentioned it in the highest proportion, and those from Malta (16%) and Estonia (23%) were the lowest.



Looking at the country-level opinions, it's clear that travelling freely to EU countries and studying or working in EU countries (mentioned in the first three places by each CC-13 country) would make people feel themselves to be more European. The countries' membership in the EU is mentioned in all but one country, and only Slovenians think that having the euro would make them feel more European. For more detailed data see also *ANNEX TABLE 3.4*.

Table 3.1b. Feeling more European
(% of answers, by country)

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|----------------------------------|----|----------------------------------|----|
| travel freely to EU countries | 60 | travel freely to EU countries | 52 |
| study or work in EU countries | 59 | study or work in EU countries | 50 |
| [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 56 | [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 50 |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| study or work in EU countries | 75 | travel freely to EU countries | 60 |
| travel freely to EU countries | 73 | study or work in EU countries | 53 |
| [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 63 | [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 49 |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| travel freely to EU countries | 57 | [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 66 |
| study or work in EU countries | 52 | travel freely to EU countries | 61 |
| [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 48 | study or work in EU countries | 57 |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| travel freely to EU countries | 44 | travel freely to EU countries | 67 |
| study or work in EU countries | 41 | study or work in EU countries | 61 |
| [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 33 | [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 56 |

Hungary

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| travel freely to EU countries | 59 |
| study or work in EU countries | 55 |
| [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 50 |

Slovenia

| | |
|--------------------------------|----|
| study or work in EU countries | 61 |
| travel freely to EU countries | 59 |
| [COUNTRY] introducing the EURO | 59 |

Latvia

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Travel freely to EU countries | 53 |
| Study or work in EU countries | 46 |
| [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 43 |

Turkey

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| travel freely to EU countries | 52 |
| study or work in EU countries | 51 |
| [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 51 |

Lithuania

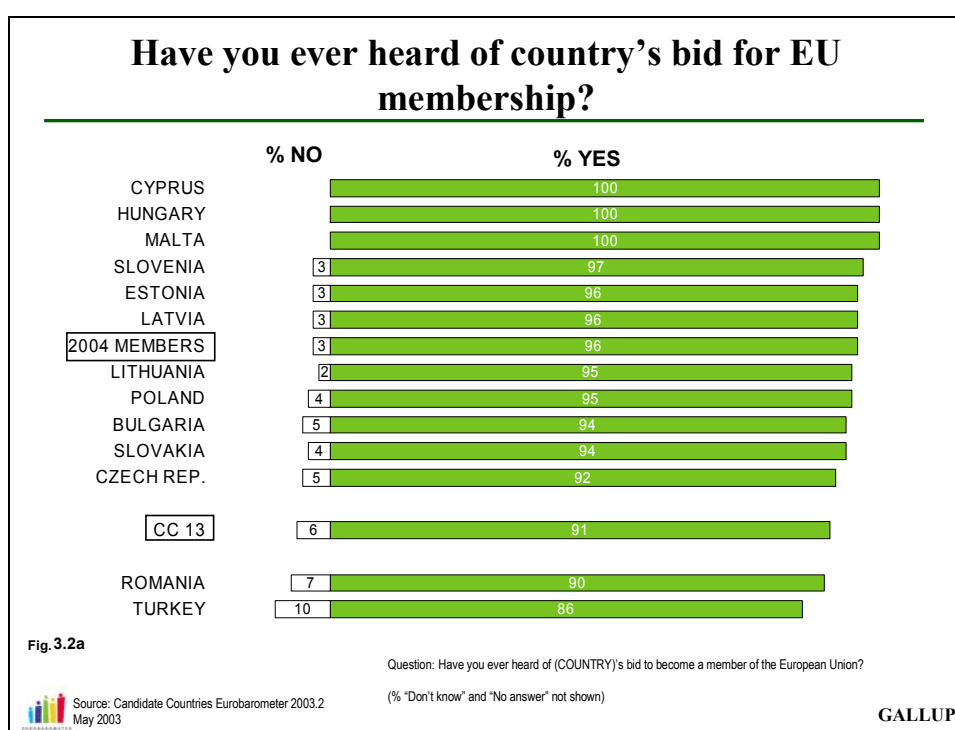
| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| travel freely to EU countries | 63 |
| [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU | 61 |
| study or work in EU countries | 59 |

3.2. Support for European Union membership

Awareness of country's bid for EU membership

More than 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 their country's bid is to be found in Turkey (86%). All respondents knew about it in Cyprus, Hungary and Malta, and almost all in Slovenia (97%). Generally, there is no significant variation among the remaining countries or demographic groups; however, Romanians (90%) and Czechs (92%) are also a little less informed compared to the average. (ANNEX TABLE 3.5)

Respondents' awareness in the 2004 member countries of their country's bid for EU membership is almost complete (96%).



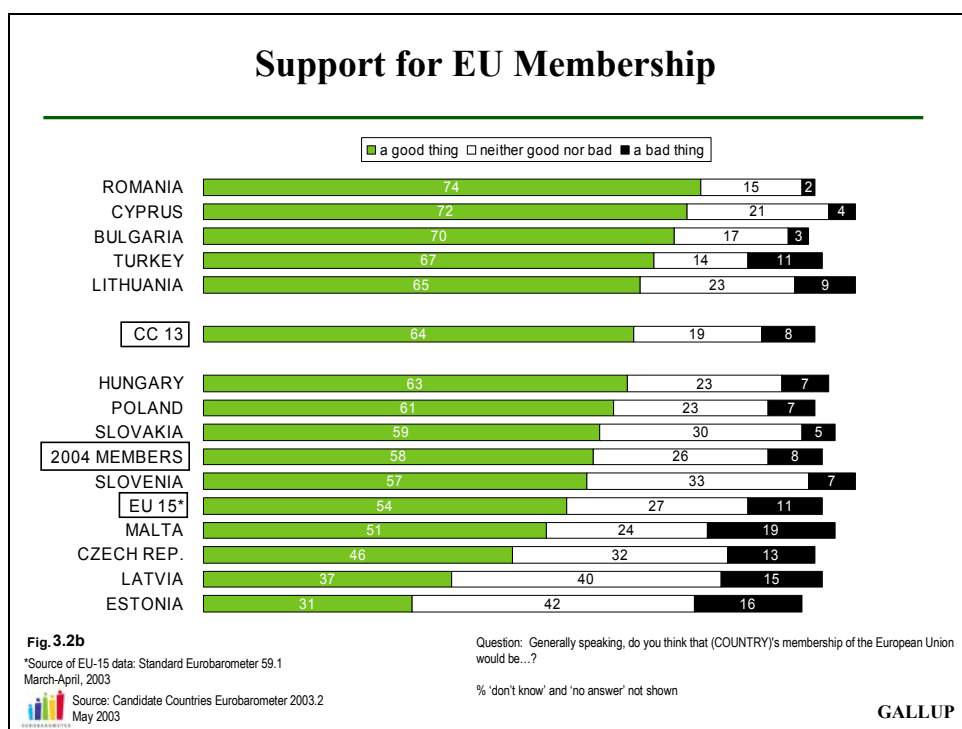
Support for European Union membership

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 more likely now to hold favourable views about the Union as they were last year, and support went up the most dynamically in the countries that are about to join the Union next year.

Membership: a “good thing” or a “bad thing”?

In spring 2003, 64% of people in the candidate region regarded their country's future membership to the European Union as a “good thing” (this rate was 61% in autumn 2002). The proportion of people in the region who regarded their country's coming membership as a bad thing was only 8% on average (10% in autumn 2002). A further 19% view their country's future membership in a neutral manner (22% in autumn 2002).

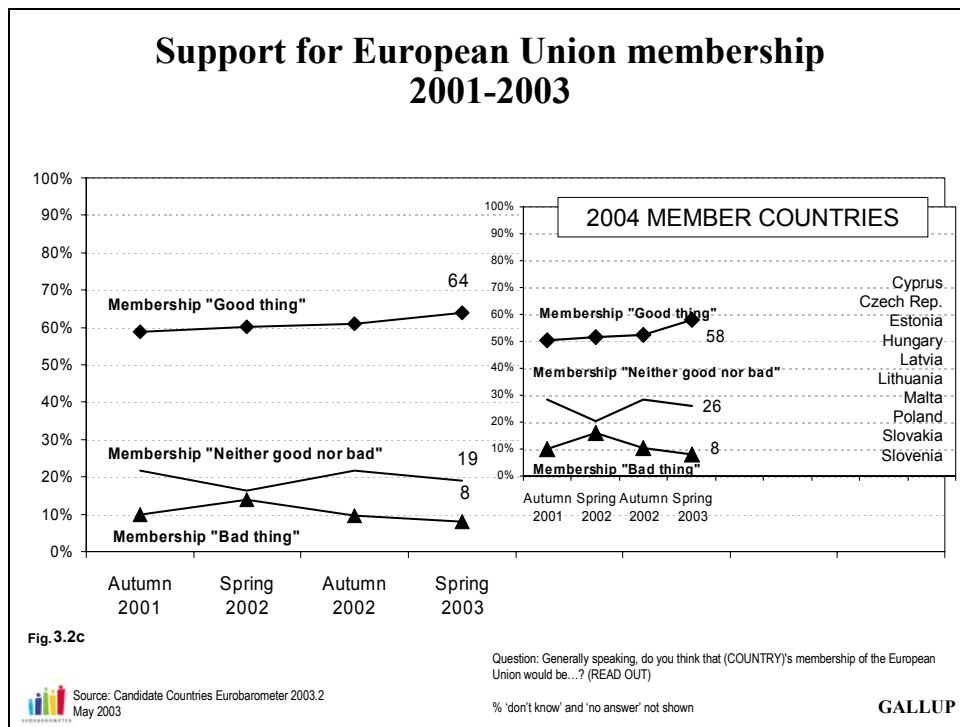
Support for future membership in the CC region is higher compared to the support measured among present members (54%) or among 2004 member countries (58%).



The graph above shows that seven in 10 respondents in Romania (74%), Cyprus (72%) and Bulgaria (70%) think that membership in the European Union would be a good thing. Almost seven in 10 in Turkey (67%), and about two-thirds of the citizens of Lithuania (65%) and Hungary (63%) share this opinion. Generally, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found that support levels for EU membership were significantly higher in Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania -- the countries that were not among the 10 named as prepared to join the Union in 2004. The lowest levels of support were recorded in Estonia (31%), Latvia (37%) and the Czech Republic (46%).

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 answer. Opposition to European Union membership ranges from 2% in Romania to 19% 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 3.6a)



Over the past two years one can see a slowly accelerating growth in support for EU membership both on the CC-13 and on the 2004 member countries' level. Recently the increase of support gained momentum especially in the countries that are allowed to join the EU as of May 2004, and over the past six months support has grown from 52% to 58% (+6). (FIGURE 3.2c)

The trend analyses show an increase in support levels since autumn 2002 in Cyprus (+25), Lithuania (+17), Slovenia (+14), Poland (+9), Malta (+6), the Czech Republic (+3), Bulgaria, Turkey and Latvia (+2 each) and Slovakia (+1). The support levels decreased in Estonia (-1), Romania (-4) and Hungary (-4). (See also individual country graphs, FIGURES 3.2g - 3.2tt)

It appears that men and women have different affinities for the idea of a 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 (69% vs. 60%).

The importance of education as a powerful explanatory variable of attitudes toward membership in the European Union continues to show up in the analyses. Support levels for the European Union vary with education levels: only 59% of people who left school at age 15 or younger see their country's membership as a good thing, compared to 74% of people who left full-time education when they were 20 or older, or to 76% of the students. Support levels decrease by age, with those aged 15 to 24 significantly more likely (73%) than those aged 55 and over (57%) to support their country's membership.

Analyses of the economic activity scale show a gap of 20 percentage points in support levels between managers (77%) on the one hand and retired people (58%) on the other.

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 (79%) than are those who have a medium level of knowledge (72%), or who say they know little or nothing about the EU (53%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.6b)

Referendum about membership

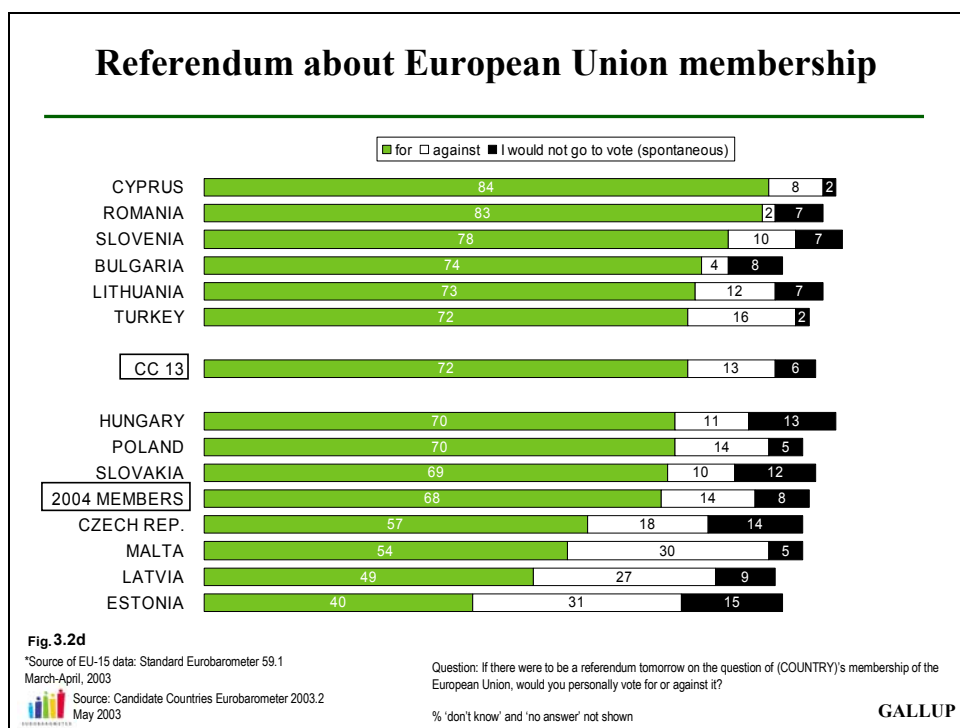
In candidate countries, Eurobarometer respondents were asked about a slightly different measure of support in peculiar times:

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?

We have to emphasize that some 2004 member countries had already held EU accession referendums, and heavy campaigns were underway in some others.

The research was conducted in March and April 2003, during the referendum periods in *Hungary* (12 April), *Malta* (8 March) and *Slovenia* (23 March). The people from the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia were just gearing up for their May-June referendums. Estonians will vote in September, and after the failed attempt to manoeuvre a reunified Cyprus into the European Union next year, in the absence of a recognized electorate, Cyprus' ruling political elite decided not to have a referendum on this issue.

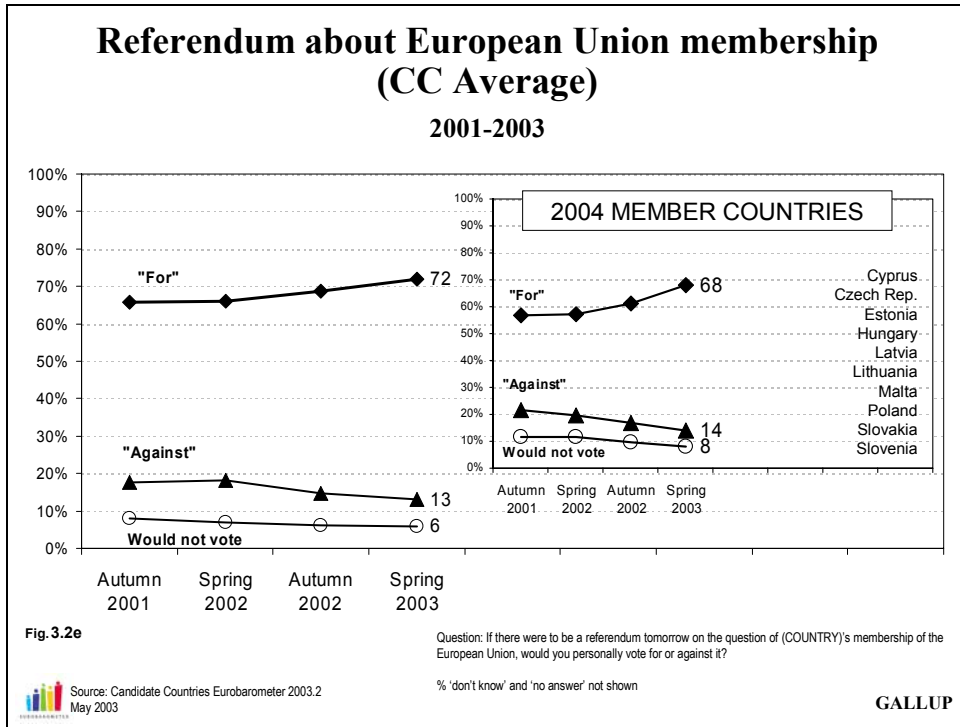
Looking at the research data, seven in 10 in the CC-13 (72%) say they would vote for their country's European Union membership, if a referendum were to be held. But as Candidate Countries Eurobarometer has previously warned, the major issue has not been the level of support in the referendums, but the proportion that decides to show up at the ballots.



The proportion of "pro" votes range from 84% in Cyprus and 83% in Romania to 40% in Estonia, 49% in Latvia and 54% in Malta. (ANNEX TABLE 3.7)

These proportions improved the most in Cyprus (+26), Lithuania (+20), Slovenia (+16), Poland (+9), the Czech Republic and Malta (both +7), Latvia (+4), and Turkey and Estonia (both +1). We registered a decrease in Hungary (-7) and Romania (-1), but there was no change in Bulgaria and Slovakia. (See also individual country graphs, FIGURES 3.2g - 3.2tt)

Outright opposition is the highest in Estonia and Malta, where almost one-third of the citizens (31% and 30%, respectively) say they would vote against EU membership. Many Latvians (27%) share this view as well. Still, in each candidate country, those who would support their country's EU membership on a referendum outnumber by a convincing margin those who would oppose it.



As TABLE 3.2b below illustrates, the well-funded supporters have been much more mobilized to cast their ballots than EU sceptics have been, which further strengthens the position of the "for" vote throughout the region.

| Table 3.2b Relationship between level of mobilization and voting intention on EU referendum (On CC-13 level) | | | |
|---|---|------------------------|----------------------|
| WOULD CAST A VOTE | LIKELIHOOD OF PARTICIPATION ON EU REFRENDUM | | |
| | Low (score 1-3) | Medium (score 4- 7) | High (score 8-10) |
| for | 13 | 64 | 89 |
| against | 43 | 14 | 8 |
| undecided, wouldn't participate | 35 | 4 | 0 |

Country-by-country analyses of the 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 (87%)⁸. Even in countries where support levels are usually lower, the % "for" leads by a very convincing margin.

| Table 3.2c 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 |
| BULGARIA | 98 | 1 | CC-13 | 92 | 8 |
| ROMANIA | 98 | 1 | POLAND | 85 | 12 |
| CYPRUS | 95 | 5 | 2004 MEMBERS | 88 | 12 |
| LITHUANIA | 93 | 6 | CZECH REP. | 79 | 18 |
| SLOVAKIA | 93 | 5 | MALTA | 71 | 25 |
| TURKEY | 92 | 7 | LATVIA | 66 | 28 |
| SLOVENIA | 91 | 8 | ESTONIA | 56 | 39 |
| HUNGARY | 88 | 10 | | | |

There are few cases when pollsters are confronted with the real-life validity of their results. Probably the best reality checks for surveys are elections and referendums. The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer passed this exam with flying colours -- even if we take into account that none of these numbers are previous-day predictions, and as such they lack the highest level of accuracy: we had 93% "for" among Slovaks, while the actual result was 92% (+1). We measured 91% "for" in Slovenia and 90% actually voted "yes" (+1). In Lithuania we measured 93% and got 90% (+3). In Hungary we were off by just four percentage points (measured 88%, actual 84%), and only two percentage points in the Czech Republic (79% measured, 77% actual). We were further away in Poland: 85% compared to 77%, and in Malta, where the political situation changed considerably since the early March referendum when the major opposition party accepted EU membership. Maltese people are now more favourable to the European Union than they were in early spring.

But participation rates, as can be seen in *FIGURE 3.2f*, are quite low throughout the region. As a result of referendum-related campaigns, citizens are more mobilised than they were last autumn. In the majority of the 2004 member countries, the EU membership referendums had already taken place. Nonetheless, in a majority of countries, the participation rate was quite low, ranging from the pathetic 45.6% in Hungary to 63.3% in Lithuania⁹, where fears of low voter turnout made the authorities extend the voting period for two days. The exception is Malta, where 91% of the roughly 298,000 eligible voters cast their votes.

Looking at current voting intentions in the candidate countries (*TABLE 3.2d*) does not provide too much useful information -- as the question itself was quite strange to those who had just voted. But it draws attention to Estonia and Latvia, whose referendums will be held in September, with their relatively low mobilisation rate so far. (*ANNEX TABLE 3.8*).

⁸ The analysis includes the non-citizen permanent residents of Estonia and Latvia.

⁹ The participation rates were: 91% in Malta, 63.3% in Lithuania, 60.2% in Slovenia, 58.8% in Poland, 55.2% in the Czech Republic, 52.1% in Slovakia and 45.6% in Hungary.

| Table 3.2d Likelihood of participation in the EU referendum | | | | | |
|---|----|----------------|------------|----|----------------|
| % who indicated they would “definitely” vote and the average scores on the 10-point scale | | | | | |
| | % | <i>average</i> | | % | <i>average</i> |
| MALTA | 69 | 8.68 | BULGARIA | 50 | 7.97 |
| LITHUANIA | 61 | 8.41 | SLOVAKIA | 45 | 7.40 |
| ROMANIA | 59 | 8.29 | TURKEY | 42 | 8.00 |
| SLOVENIA | 58 | 8.00 | LATVIA | 39 | 7.24 |
| CYPRUS | 57 | 8.25 | CZECH REP. | 37 | 7.15 |
| POLAND | 57 | 8.20 | ESTONIA | 26 | 6.28 |
| HUNGARY | 55 | 7.67 | | | |

Latvia seems to be for the EU, but the Estonian referendum outcome might be a close call

The two countries where plebiscites are still to be held on European Union membership are Latvia (20 September) and Estonia (14 September).

In Latvia (assuming that mobilisation campaigns will boost participation, and considering the amendment of the Latvian constitution, as well as new rules for the EU referendum that would permit a lower participation rate), we do not foresee problems, in the sense that the pro-EU votes will significantly outnumber the “against” votes, approximately by a 2-to-1 margin.

In Estonia, where there is no minimum requirement for participation, the situation is a bit different. In the total population, the supporters outnumber the opponents by just nine percentage points. Among likely voters, there are as many as 39% (in May 2003) who oppose the country’s European Union membership. The actual result will depend on the pro- and anti-EU campaigns. As the political elite and the major mainstream media are on the “for” side, we can be optimistic that Estonia will join. But looking at the latest independent surveys, the position of the “no” camp seems to be strengthening¹⁰.

¹⁰ See also Gallup’s Enlargement Poll Monitor website for up-to-date third party polls and analyses (www.gallup-europe.be/epm)

Support for European Union membership (Bulgaria) 2001-2003

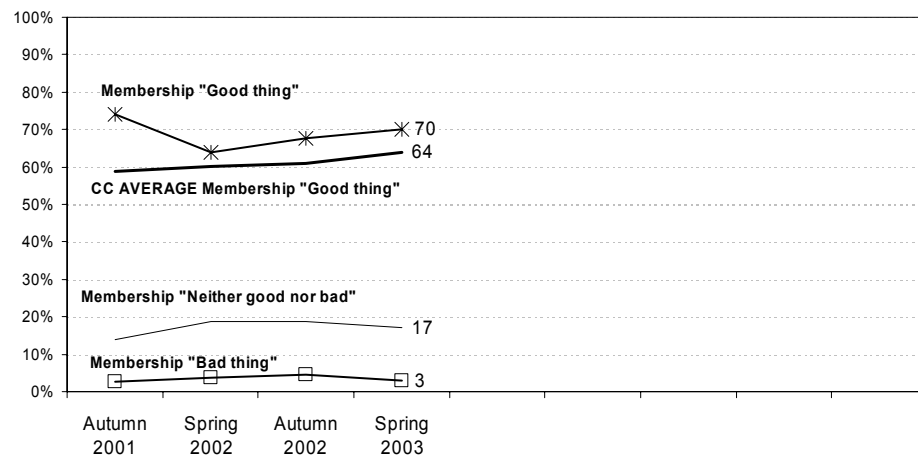


Fig. 3.2f



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Bulgaria) 2001-2003

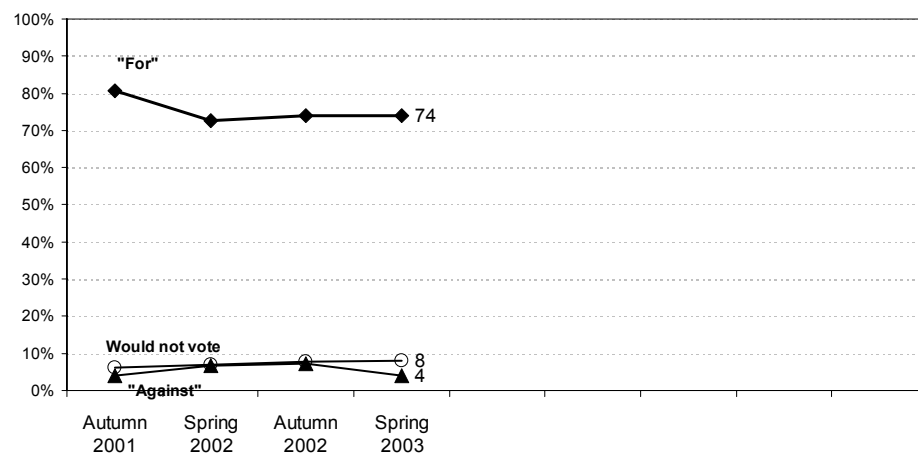


Fig. 3.2g



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Cyprus) 2001-2003

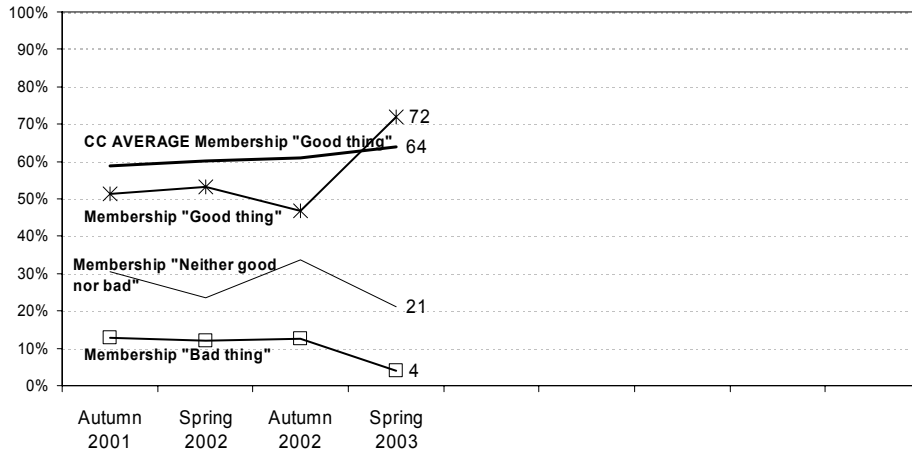


Fig.3.2h



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Cyprus) 2001-2003

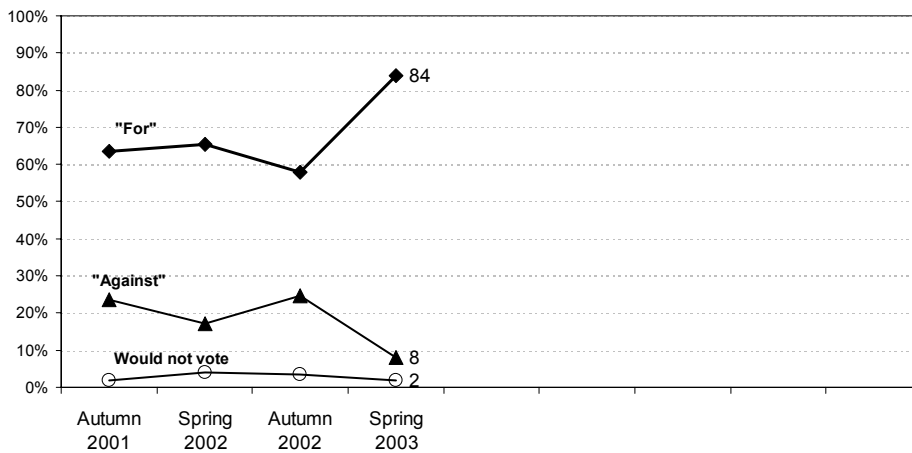


Fig.3.2i



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Czech Republic) 2001-2003

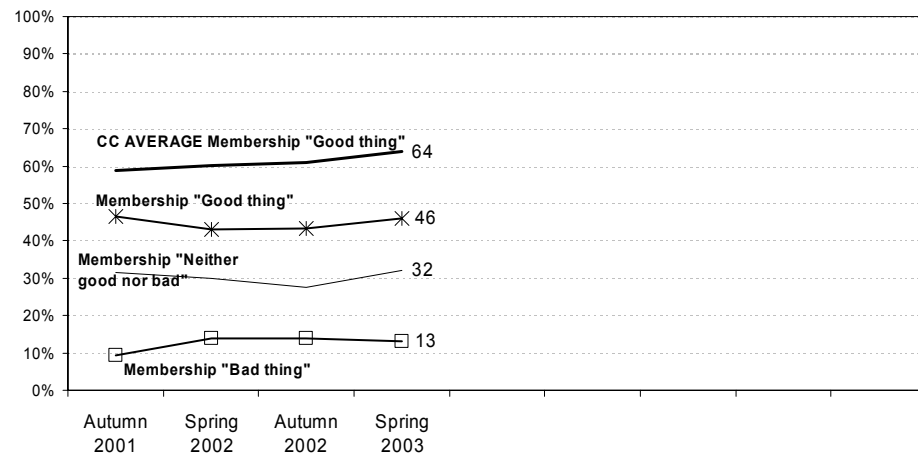


Fig. 3.2j



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Czech Republic) 2001-2003

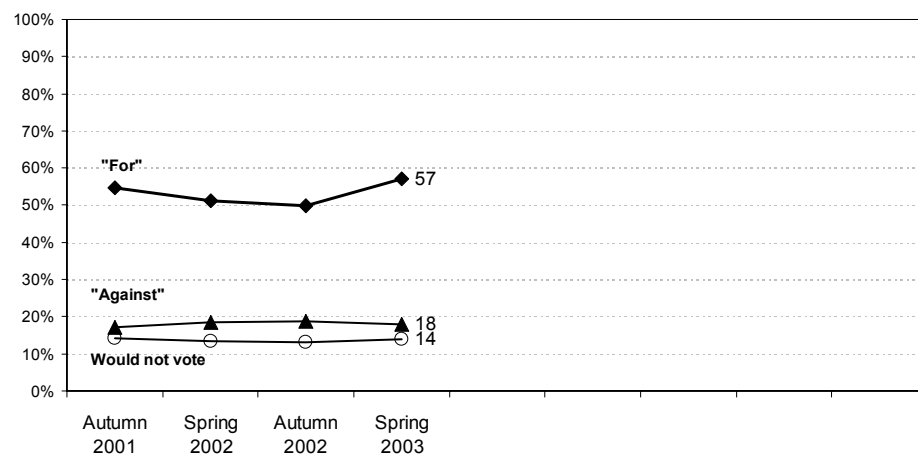


Fig. 3.2k



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Estonia) 2001-2003

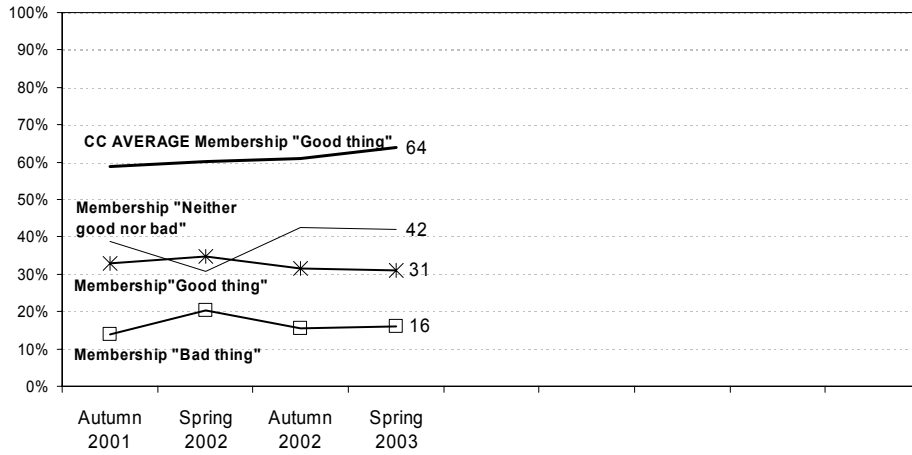


Fig. 3.2l



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Estonia) 2001-2003

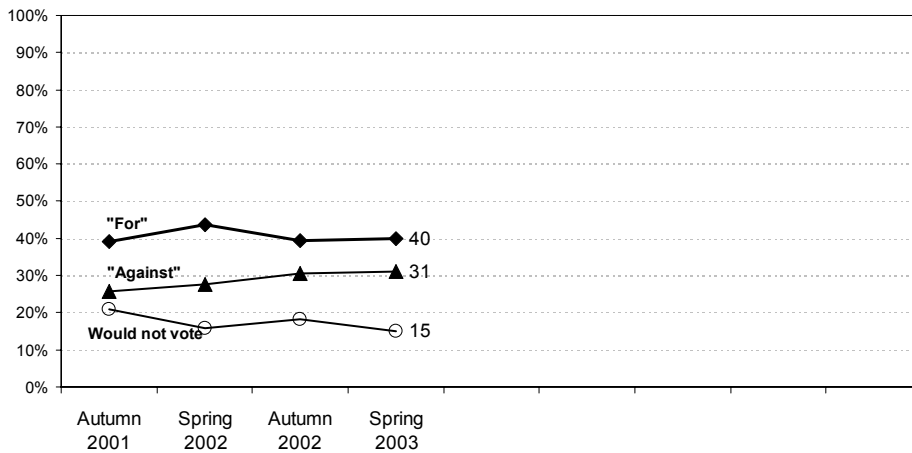


Fig. 3.2m



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Hungary) 2001-2003

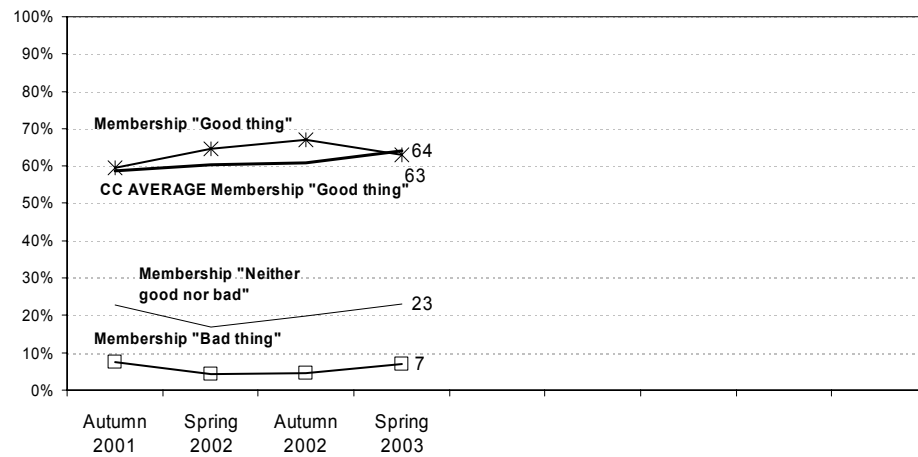


Fig. 3.2n



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Hungary) 2001-2003

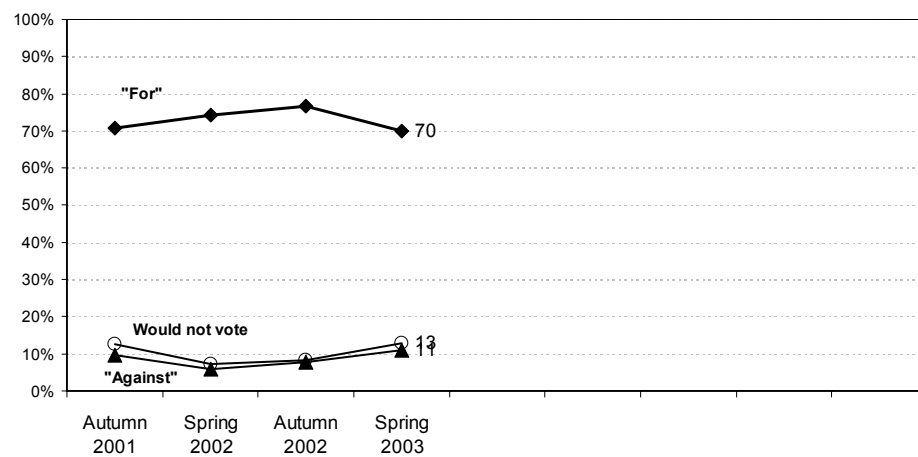


Fig. 3.2o



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Latvia) 2001-2003

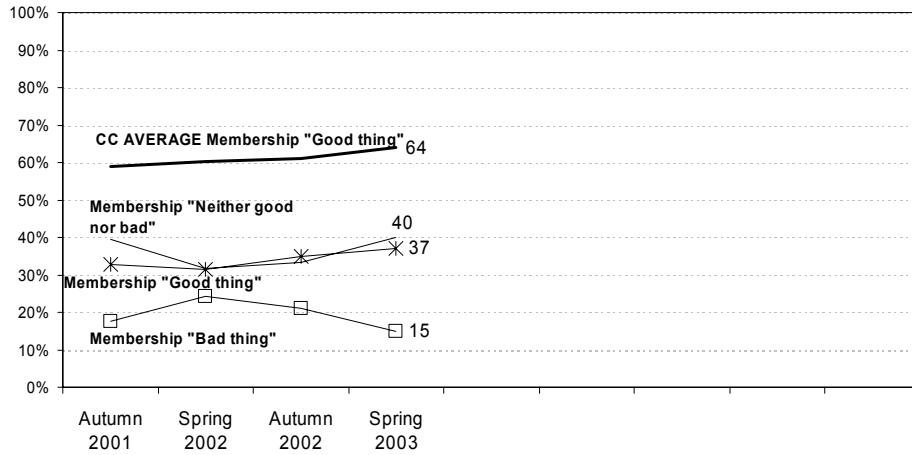


Fig. 3.2p



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Latvia) 2001-2003

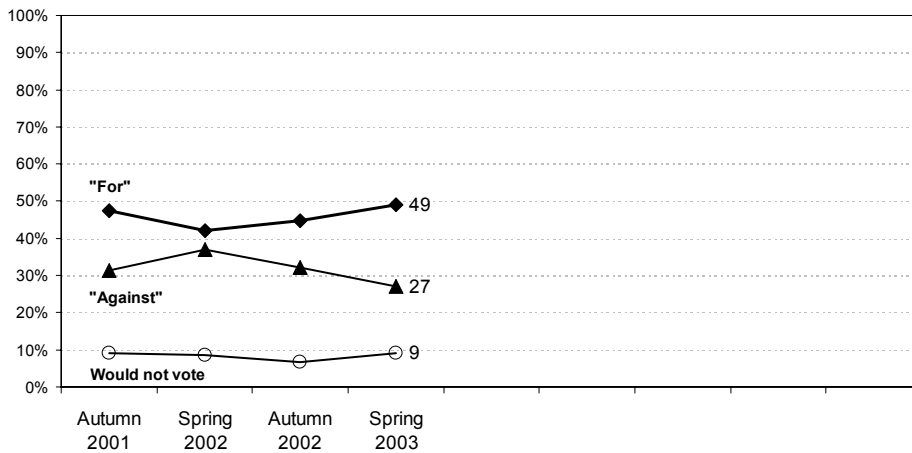


Fig. 3.2q



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Lithuania) 2001-2003

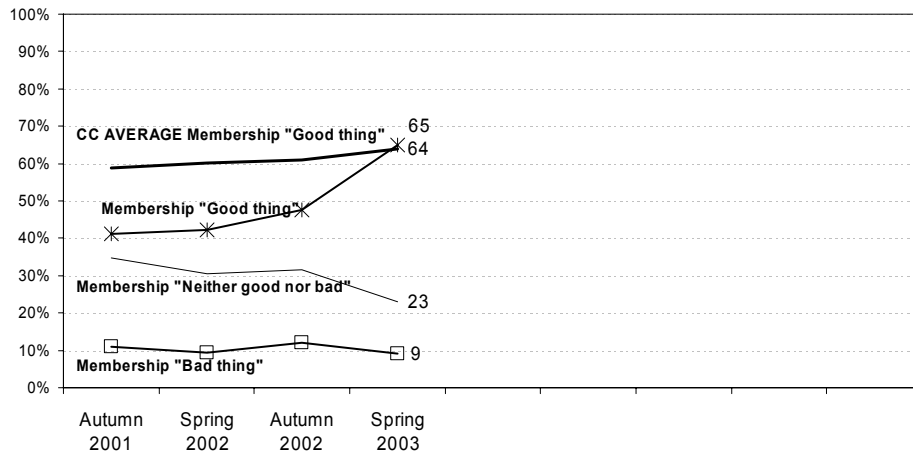


Fig. 3.2r



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Lithuania) 2001-2003

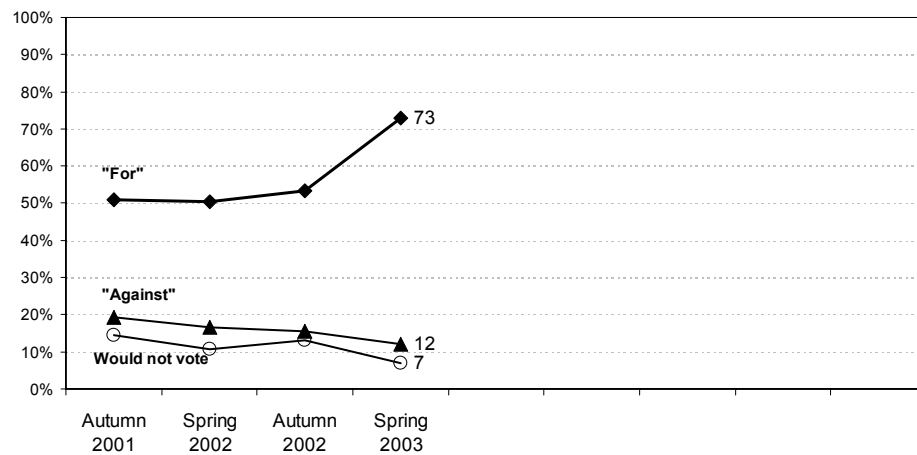


Fig. 3.2s



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Malta) 2001-2003

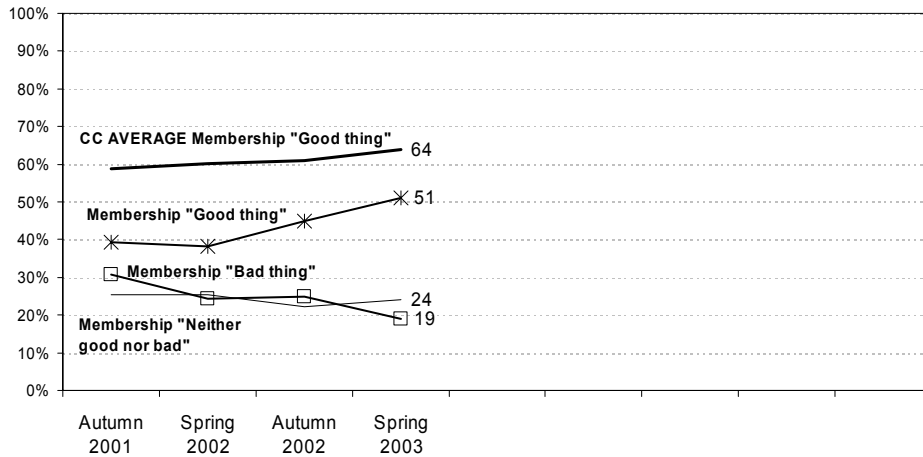


Fig. 3.2t



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Malta) 2001-2003

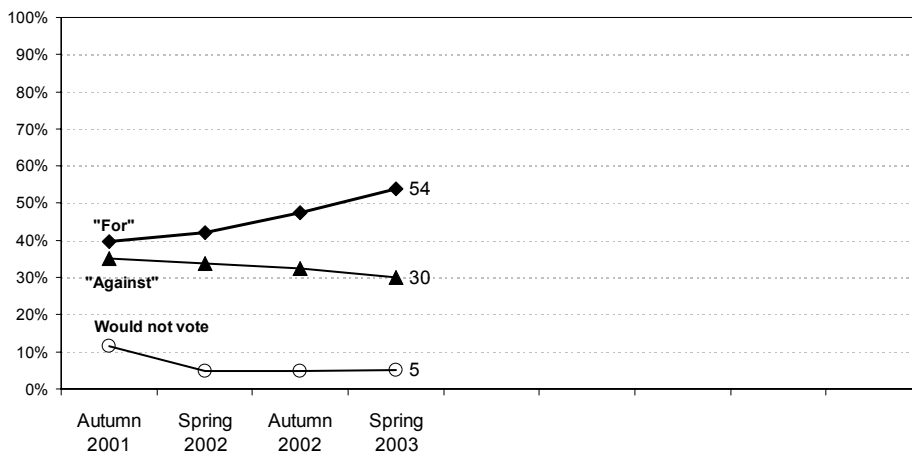


Fig. 3.2u



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Poland) 2001-2003

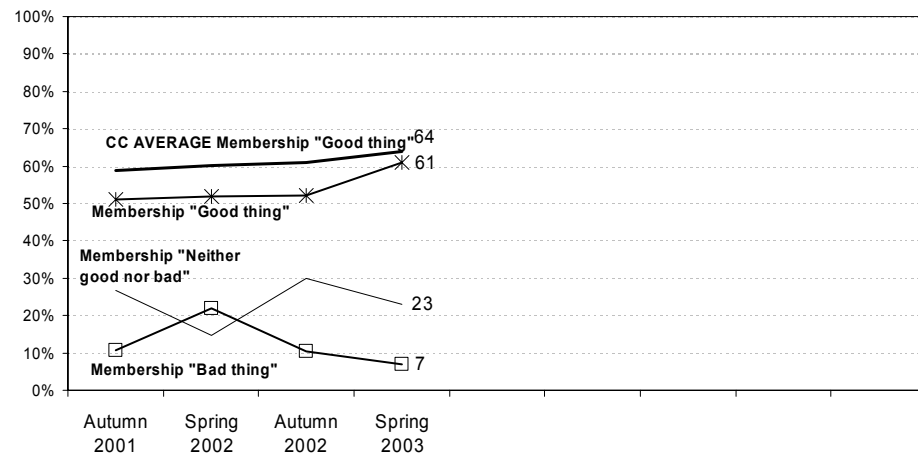


Fig. 3.2v



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Poland) 2001-2003

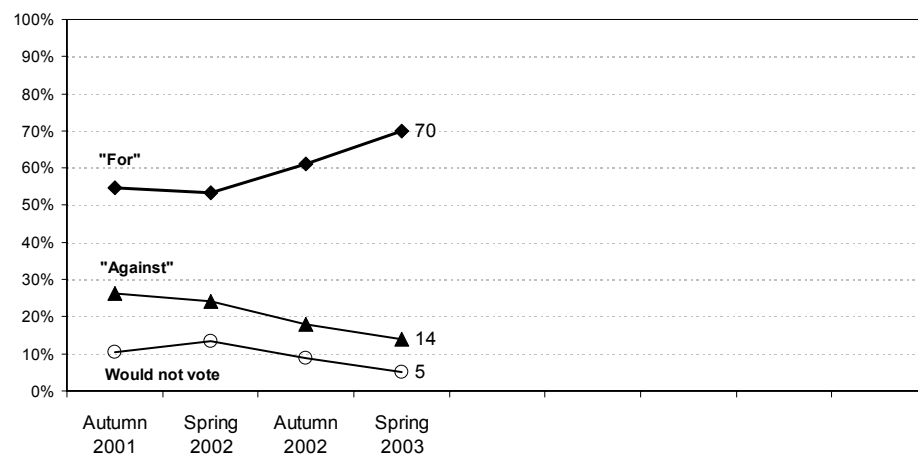


Fig. 3.2w



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Romania) 2001-2003

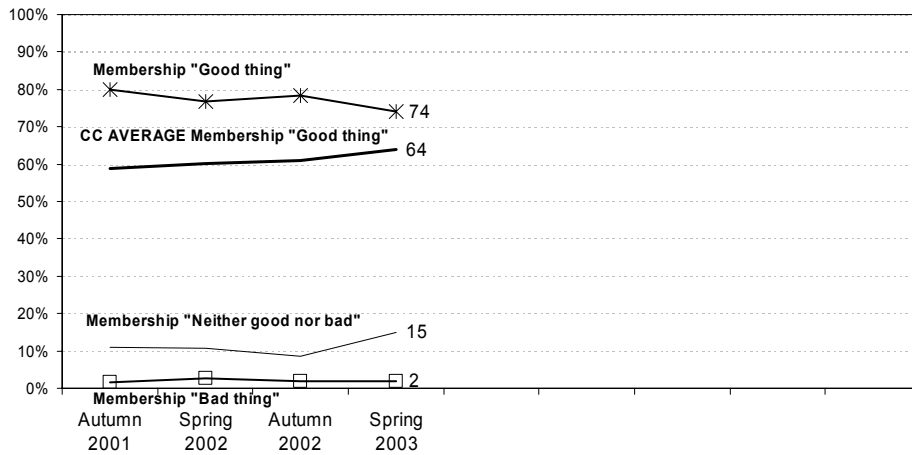


Fig. 3.2x



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Romania) 2001-2003

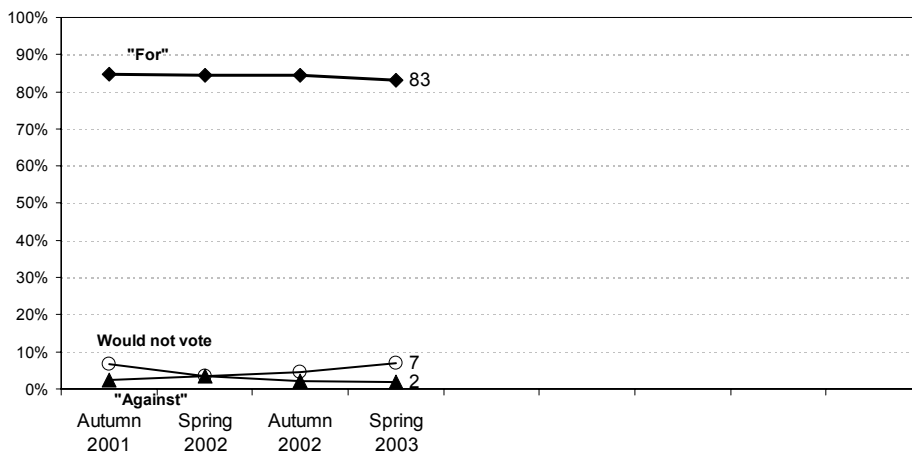


Fig. 3.2y



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Slovakia) 2001-2003

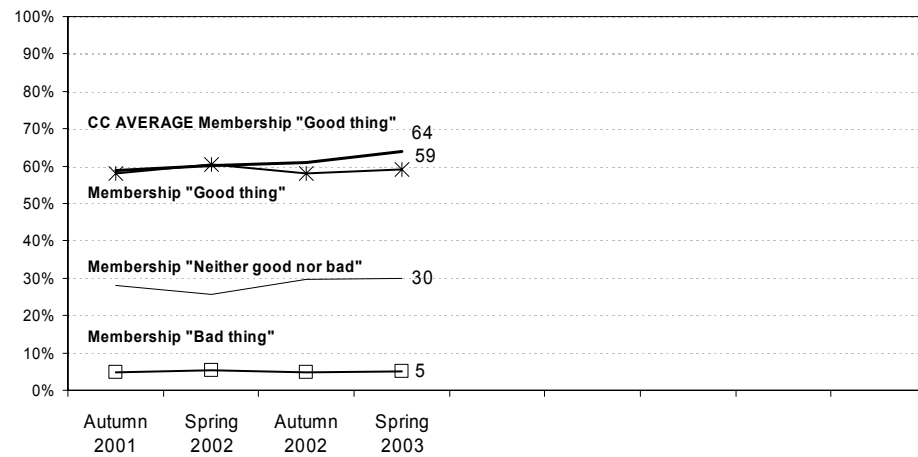


Fig. 3.2z



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Slovakia) 2001-2003

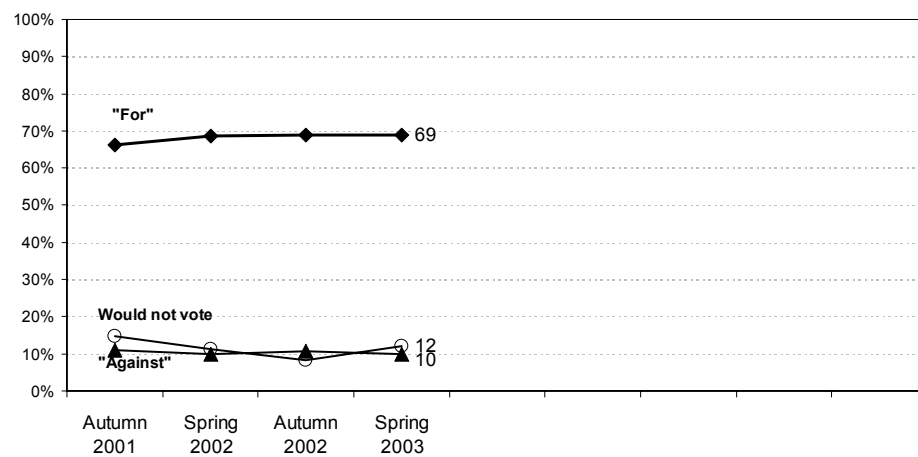


Fig. 3.2aa



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Slovenia) 2001-2003

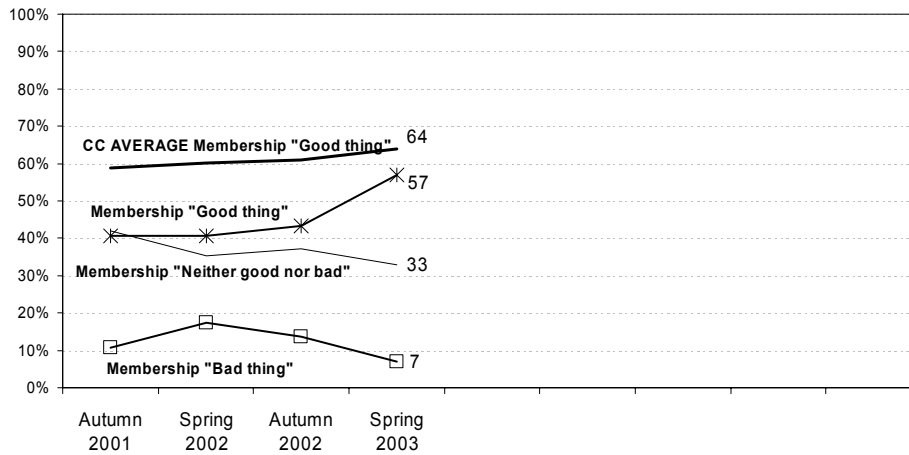


Fig. 3.2ab

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Slovenia) 2001-2003

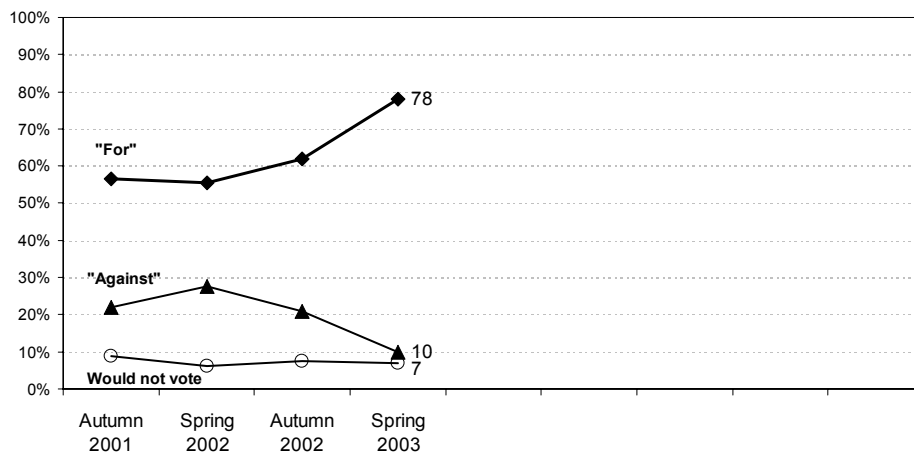


Fig. 3.2ac

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Support for European Union membership (Turkey) 2001-2003

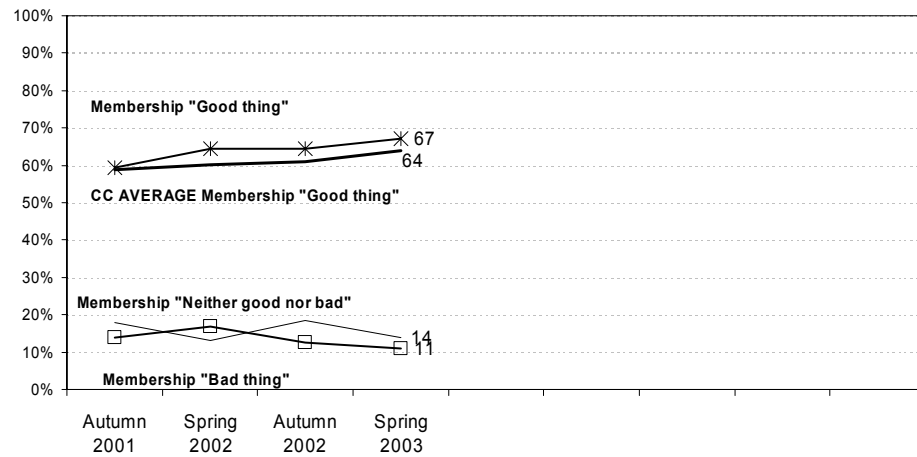


Fig. 3.2ad

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

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

% 'don't know' and 'no answer' not shown

GALLUP

Referendum about European Union membership (Turkey) 2001-2003

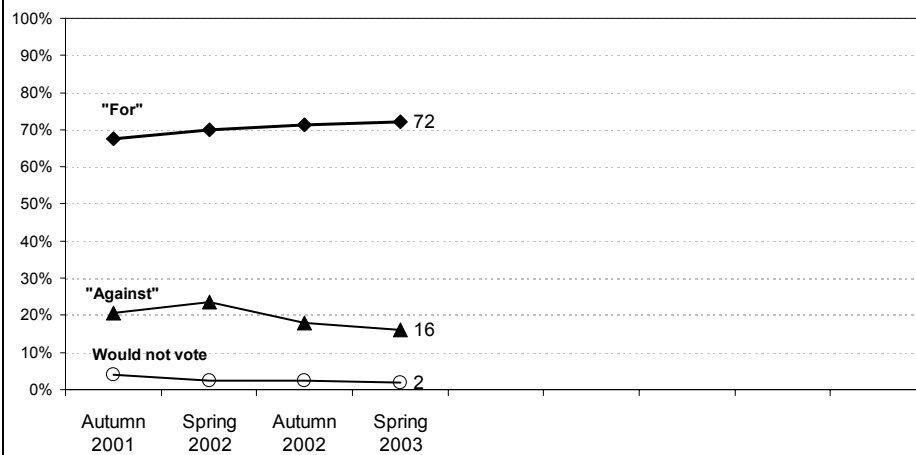


Fig. 3.2ae

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?

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

% 'don't know' and 'no answer' not shown

GALLUP

3.3. Perceived benefits of European Union membership

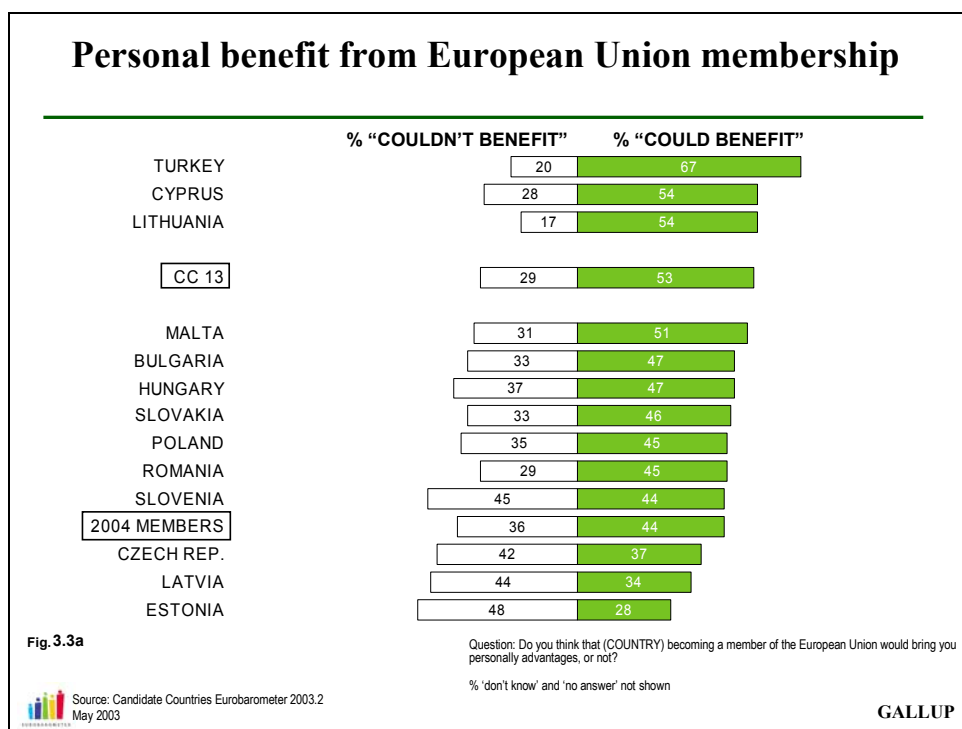
This section will examine the personal and national advantages the candidate countries hope will come with membership in the European Union. We will look at opinions of who will win --and lose -- by integration in the EU.

Personal benefits

When Candidate Countries Eurobarometer asked about the personal benefits one expects from EU membership, citizens were divided in their opinions. Fifty-three percent (52% last year) on the CC-13 level think they would personally benefit from EU accession, 29% (30% the last year) think they would not benefit. Without any significant change on the CC-13 level, more citizens think that membership would affect their personal lives positively. In Turkey, we found solid optimism about the personal benefits of possible EU membership (67%). Cyprus, Lithuania and Malta were the only other countries where at least half of the citizens expect advantages from their country's future membership to the European Union (respectively 54%, 54%, and 51%).

In Estonia, we registered extremely low optimism regarding expected personal advantages from future EU membership. Fewer than three in 10 Estonians think they would personally benefit from accession, making Estonians the least optimistic among the 13 candidate countries (28%), and the most pessimistic ones -- 48% of Estonians are pessimistic about their personal future after accession, followed by Slovenians (45%), Latvians (44%) and Czechs (42%).

We find Lithuanians to have the highest "unsure rate" -- 27% (versus 40% last year) have no opinion about the personal benefits that may come with Lithuania's EU membership, Twenty-six percent of Romanians, 24% of Estonians and 23% of Latvians are also unable to decide whether their lives would be positively affected by the accession, or not. (See ANNEX TABLE 3.9)



The trend analyses show an increase of **expected personal benefits** since autumn 2002 in Cyprus (+17 percentage points), Lithuania (+14), Malta and Slovenia (+11 each), Bulgaria (+6), Poland (+5), Slovakia (+2), and the Czech Republic and Latvia (+1 each). A decrease in positive expectations was

recorded in Estonia and Hungary (-1 each), Turkey (-3) and Romania (-7). Except in Turkey, in all these 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 (+10 percentage points in Romania, +6 in Hungary, +3 in Estonia and +2 in the Czech Republic; in Turkey there is a -2 decrease). People in Cyprus (-18), Slovenia (-10), Malta and Bulgaria (-5 each), Poland (-4), Lithuania (-3), Turkey (-2) and Slovakia (-1) are now less likely to believe they will not benefit from their country's accession.

We used another question to measure 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.

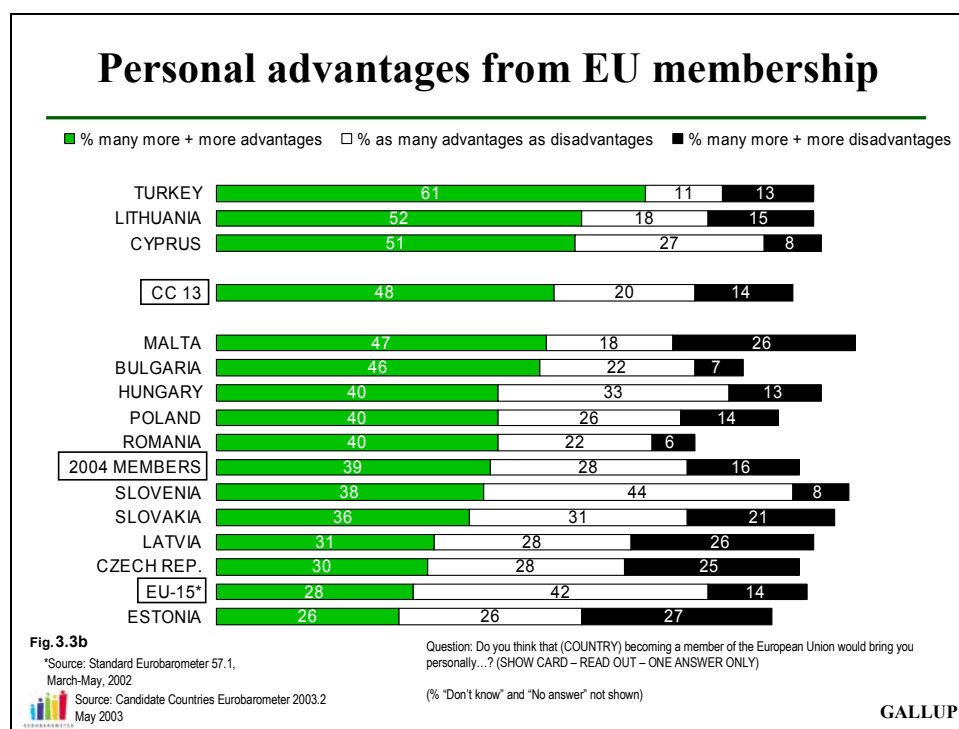
Do you think that (COUNTRY) becoming a member of the European Union would bring you personally...?

On the CC-13 level, the breakdown of responses is as follows:

| | 2003 spring | 2002 autumn | 2001 autumn |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Many more advantages | 15% | 14% | 12% |
| More advantages | 33% | 33% | 30% |
| As many advantages as disadvantages | 20% | 22% | 23% |
| More disadvantages | 10% | 9% | 10% |
| Many more disadvantages | 4% | 5% | 4% |
| (Don't know / No opinion) | 19% | 17% | 21% |

The CC-13 is now slightly more optimistic compared to a year ago. More citizens think that they will personally have more advantages than disadvantages once their country joins the European Union. Only 14% think that the disadvantages will outweigh the advantages. The proportion of those who could not foresee the balance of the expected advantages and disadvantages is 19%.

Clearly, the future members of the European Union are more optimistic compared to present EU citizens (data from last year), as FIGURE 3.3b shows below.



The country-by-country analyses show that Turkey, Lithuania and Cyprus are the only countries where more than half of the population (61%, 52%, and 51%, respectively) feels 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 four countries: Estonia, Czech Republic, Latvia and Slovakia. In Latvia and the Czech Republic, but also in Estonia, most think their personal advantages and disadvantages will be balanced (28%, 28% and 26%, respectively).

Only in Estonia does the proportion of people who feel membership would bring mostly disadvantages outweigh the proportion of people who feel membership will have more advantages (27% versus 26%).

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 Malta to 31% in Romania. (See *ANNEX TABLE 3.10*)

Table 3.3a 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 |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| EDU: still studying | 59 | Opinion Leadership Index - | 34 |
| EU Knowledge Scale: + | 54 | Manual workers | 34 |
| Managers | 53 | Media Use Index -- | 34 |
| 15-24 years olds | 52 | small or middle sized town | 33 |
| Accession: very + well informed | 52 | Other white collars | 32 |
| large town | 45 | EDU: up to 15 years | 32 |
| EU Knowledge Scale: +/- | 44 | 40-54 years olds | 30 |
| EDU: 20+ years | 43 | female | 30 |
| Opinion Leadership Index + | 42 | rural area or village | 29 |
| 25-39 years olds | 41 | EDU: 16-19 years | 27 |
| Media Use Index +++ | 40 | Accession: not + not at all informed | 27 |
| Opinion Leadership Index ++ high | 40 | Media Use Index --- | 26 |
| male | 39 | Opinion Leadership Index - - low | 23 |
| Unemployed | 38 | 2004 MEMBERS | 22 |
| House Persons | 37 | EU Knowledge Scale: - | 20 |
| Self-employed | 36 | 55+ years olds | 15 |
| Media Use Index ++ | 35 | Retired | 15 |
| CC-13 | 35 | | |

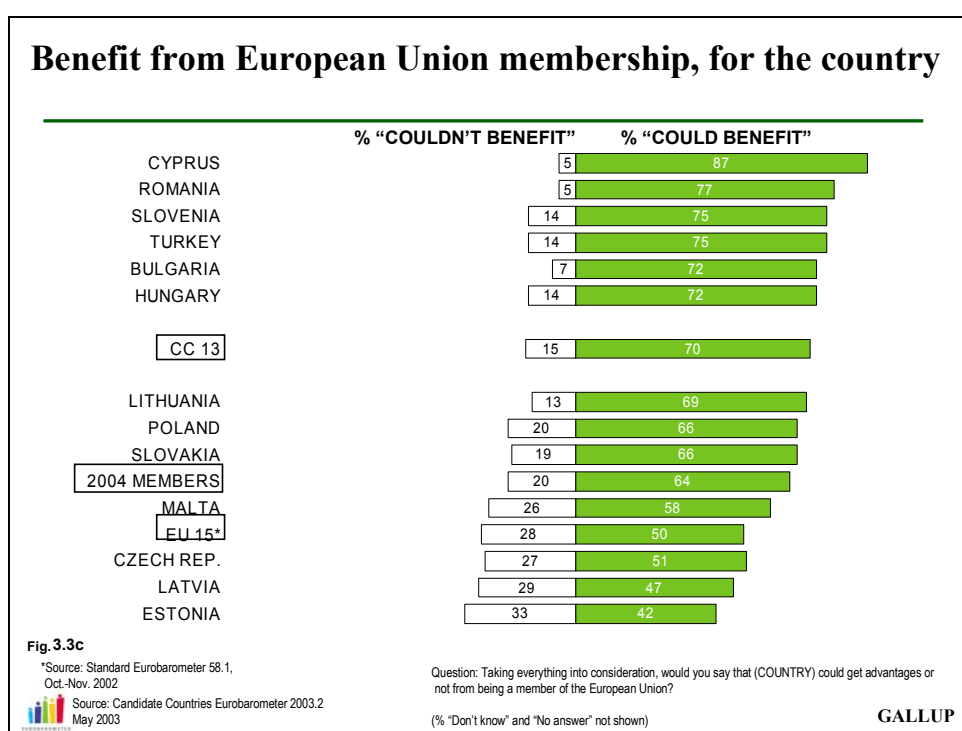
As shown in *TABLE 3.3a* above, social groups vary to a large degree in their evaluations of the balance of their personal benefits from European integration. Students, the young, and those who think they know a lot about the EU and the accession of their country as well as managers see the most favorable personal balance of advantages and disadvantages. The retired, elderly, those who score low on opinion leadership index, and on media use index as well as those who are uninformed about their country' EU accession envision the balance for them personally as being much less favorable, but still positive at the balance.

Benefits for the country

The variance of views regarding perceived costs and benefits to one's country is slighter. Predominantly, the citizens of candidate countries anticipate a more positive balance of advantages and disadvantages on a national scale.

| Table 3.3b Difference of projected benefits for the country and for the respondents % of answers | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|------------------------|--------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| | Country benefits | Respondent benefits | | Country benefits | Respondent benefits |
| CYPRUS | 87 | 54 | POLAND | 66 | 45 |
| ROMANIA | 77 | 45 | SLOVAKIA | 66 | 46 |
| SLOVENIA | 75 | 44 | 2004 MEMBERS | 64 | 44 |
| TURKEY | 75 | 67 | MALTA | 58 | 51 |
| BULGARIA | 72 | 47 | CZECH REP. | 51 | 37 |
| HUNGARY | 72 | 47 | LATVIA | 47 | 34 |
| CC-13 | 70 | 53 | ESTONIA | 42 | 28 |
| LITHUANIA | 69 | 54 | | | |

Looking at the figures, two-thirds (70%) of the people living in the candidate countries expect that their country would benefit from membership to the European Union (compared to 53% who expect to benefit personally). Only 15% do not share this expectation; consequently, 15% are unable to formulate a positive or negative opinion on this question.

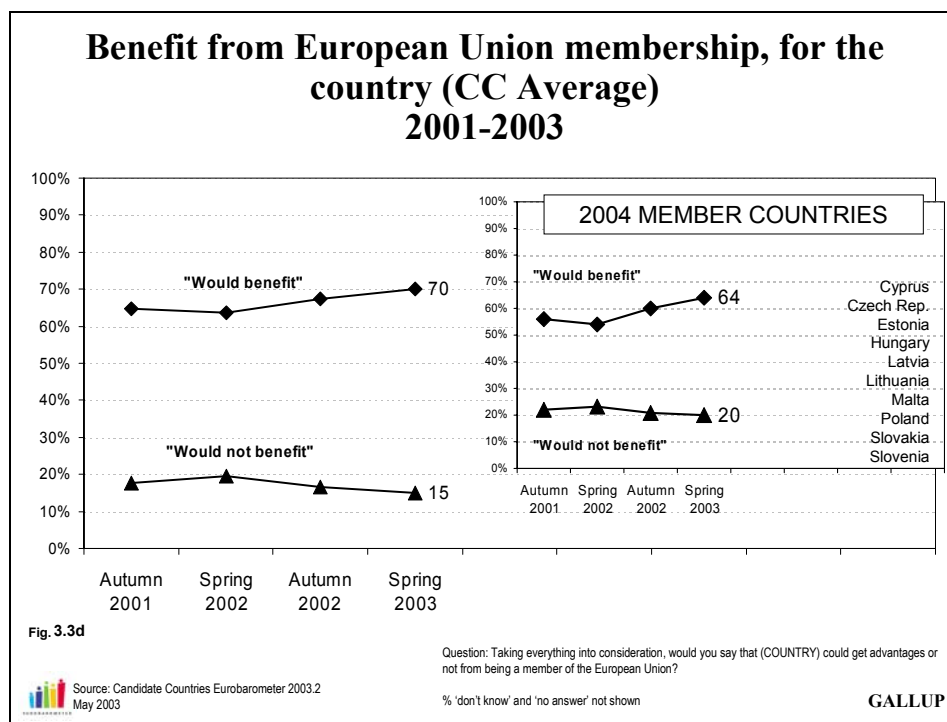


In every candidate country, most people think that the accession would bring national advantages. Eighty-seven percent share this opinion in Cyprus, 77% in Romania, 75% in both Slovenia and Turkey and 72% in both Bulgaria and Hungary. However, fewer than half of the Estonians (42%) and Latvians (47%) agree that their country would benefit from European Union membership.

The proportion of people who lack an opinion ranges from 8% in Cyprus to 24% in Estonia. (ANNEX TABLE 3.11)

The trend analyses show an overall increase of expected national benefits since autumn 2002 in candidate countries (+3), and in the 2004 member countries (+4) as well.

While no more and no fewer people in the candidate countries think their country wouldn't benefit from membership, there is a slight decrease in this view in the 2004 member countries as well as in the entire region.



Countries that drive the increase are most notably Cyprus (+24 percentage points), Lithuania (+15), Slovenia (+13), Malta (+9) and Poland (+7), as well as the Czech Republic (+3), Bulgaria, Latvia and Turkey (+2 each), Estonia and Slovakia (+1 each).

A decrease in positive expectations was recorded in Hungary (-4) and Romania (-1), where the proportion of those who now believe the country would not benefit from EU membership has significantly increased as well (+5 and +1, respectively).

On the following pages, FIGURES 3.3e - 3.3r present the trends for each candidate country.

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Bulgaria) 2001-2003

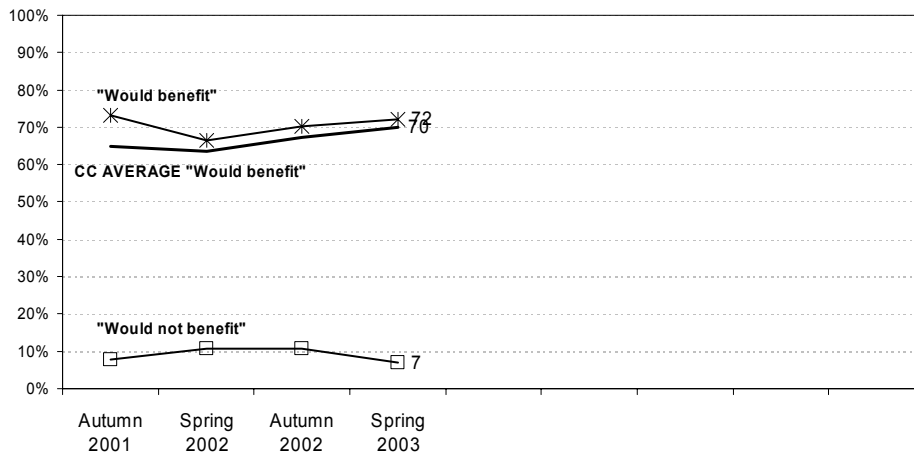


Fig.3.3e



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Cyprus) 2001-2003

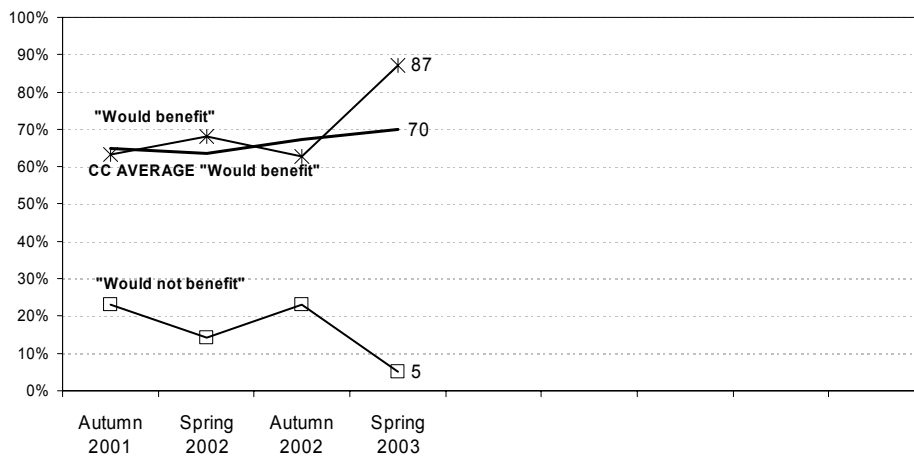


Fig.3.3f



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Czech Republic) 2001-2003

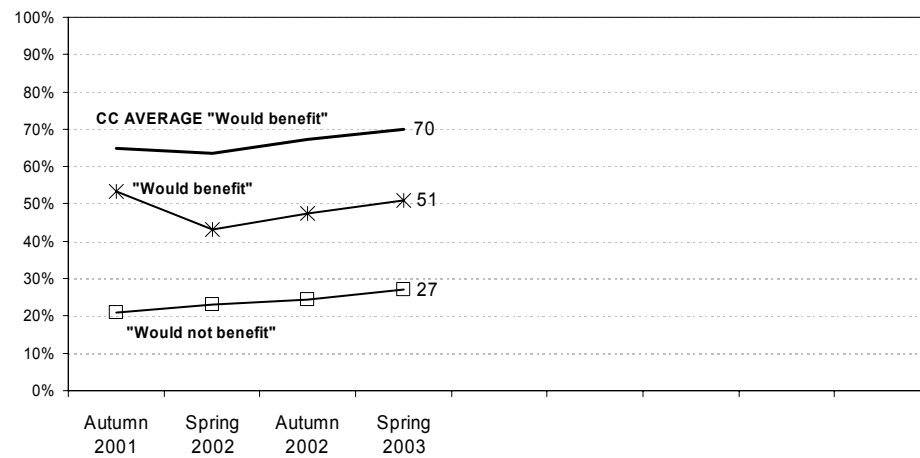


Fig. 3.3g



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Estonia) 2001-2003

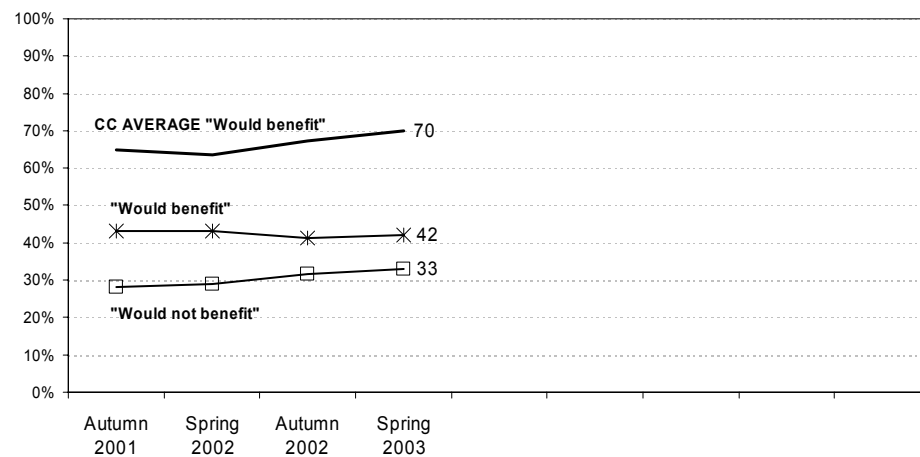


Fig. 3.3h



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Hungary) 2001-2003

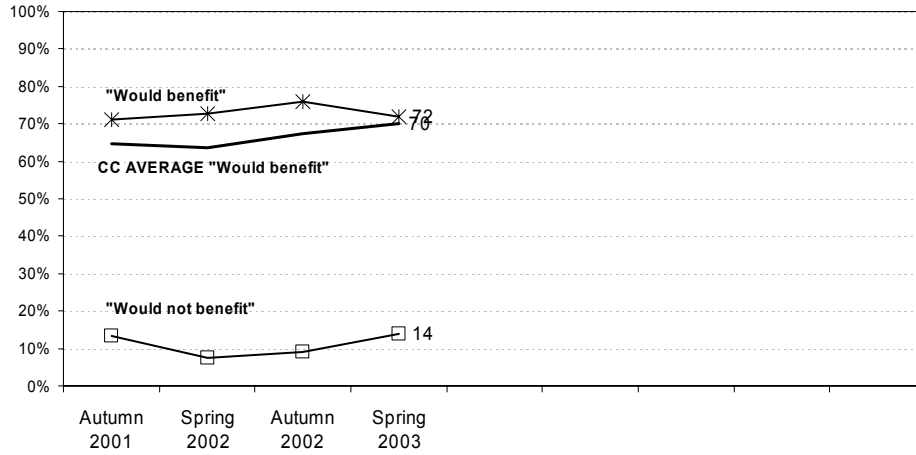


Fig.3.3i



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Latvia) 2001-2003

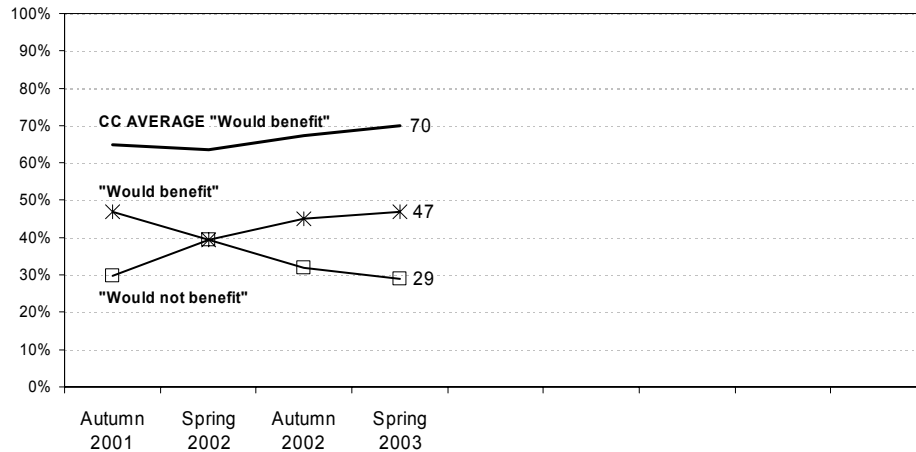


Fig.3.3j



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Lithuania) 2001-2003

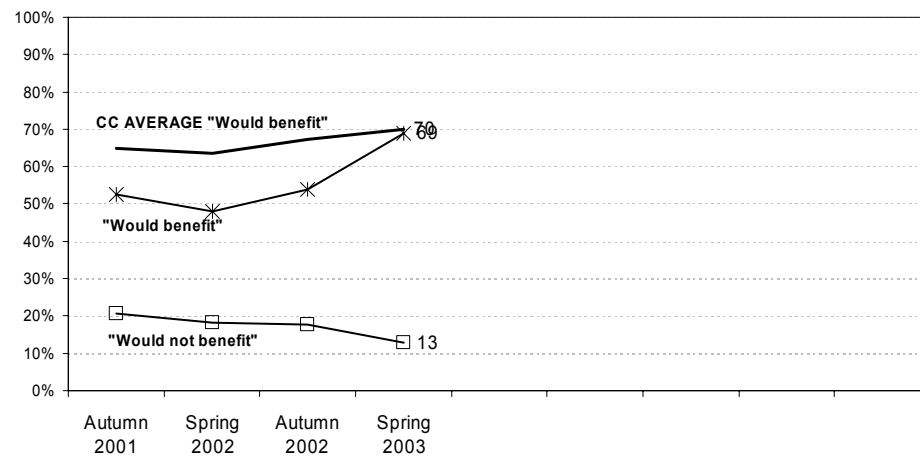


Fig. 3.3k



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Malta) 2001-2003

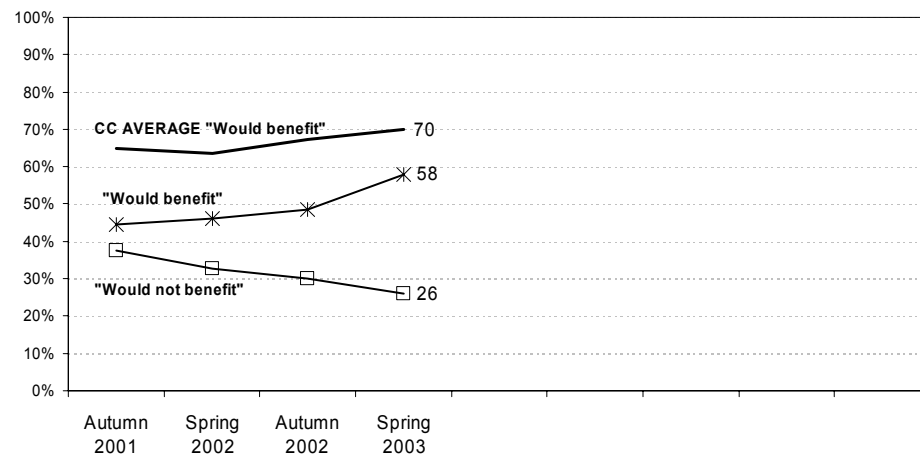


Fig. 3.3l



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Poland) 2001-2003

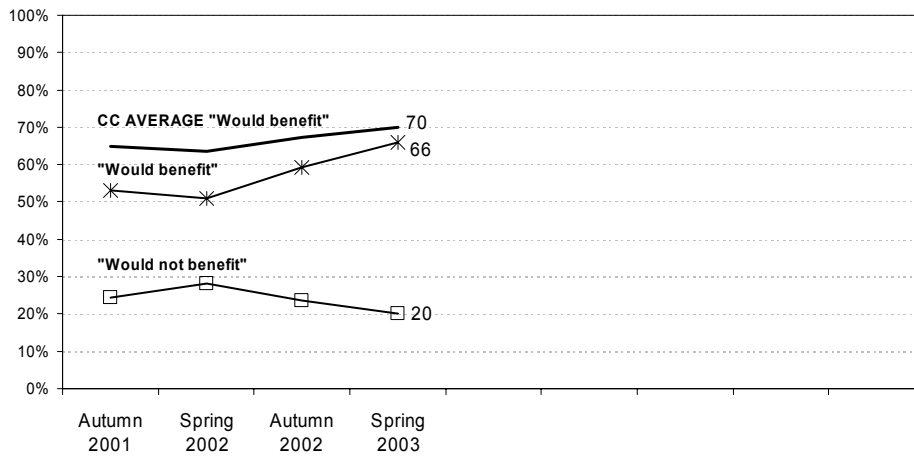


Fig.3.3m



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Romania) 2001-2003

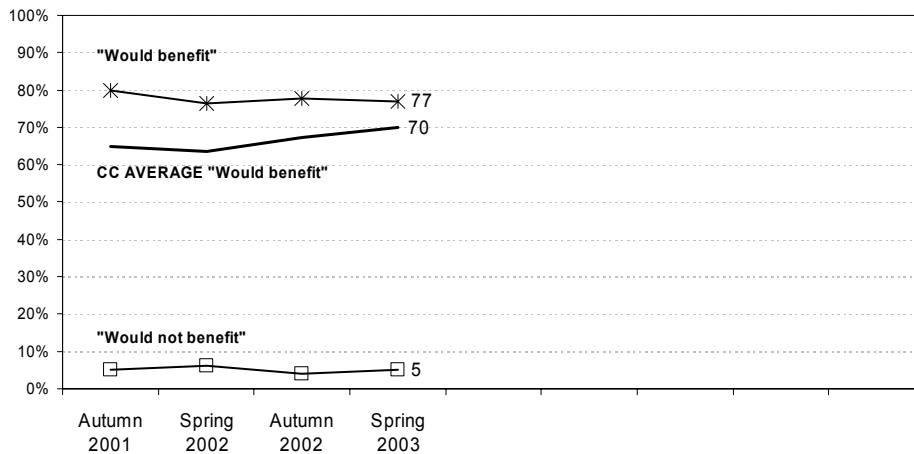


Fig.3.3n



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Slovakia) 2001-2003

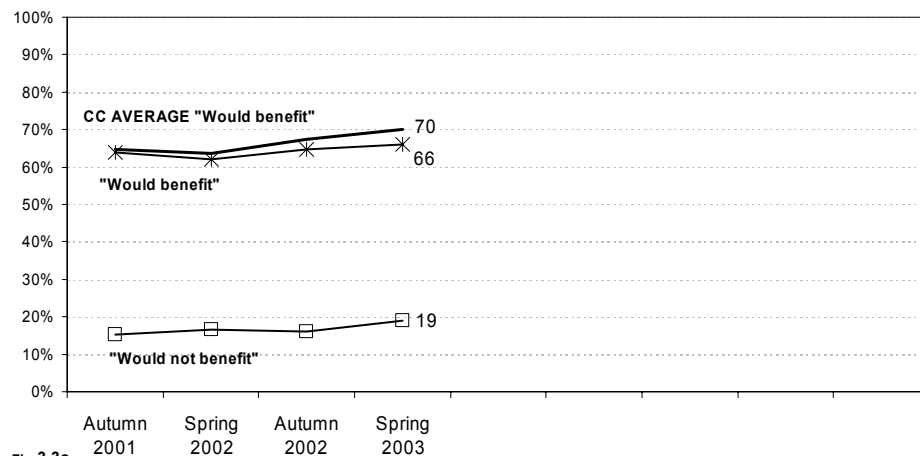


Fig. 3.3o



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Slovenia) 2001-2003

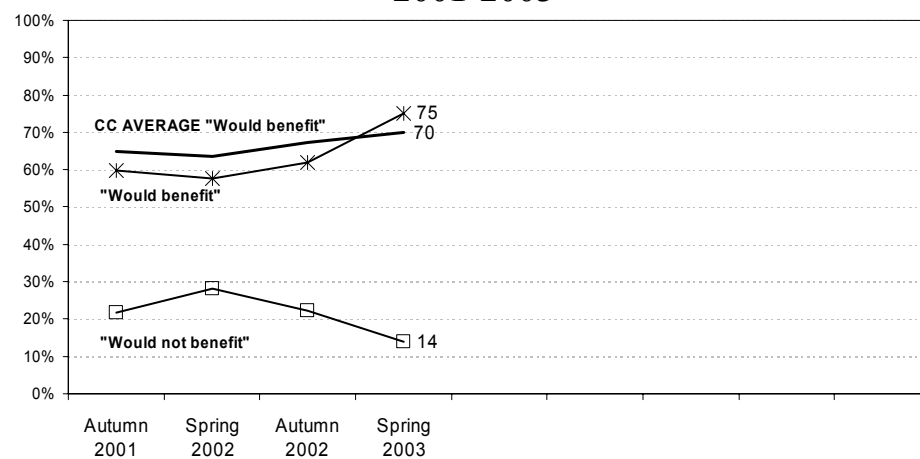


Fig. 3.3p

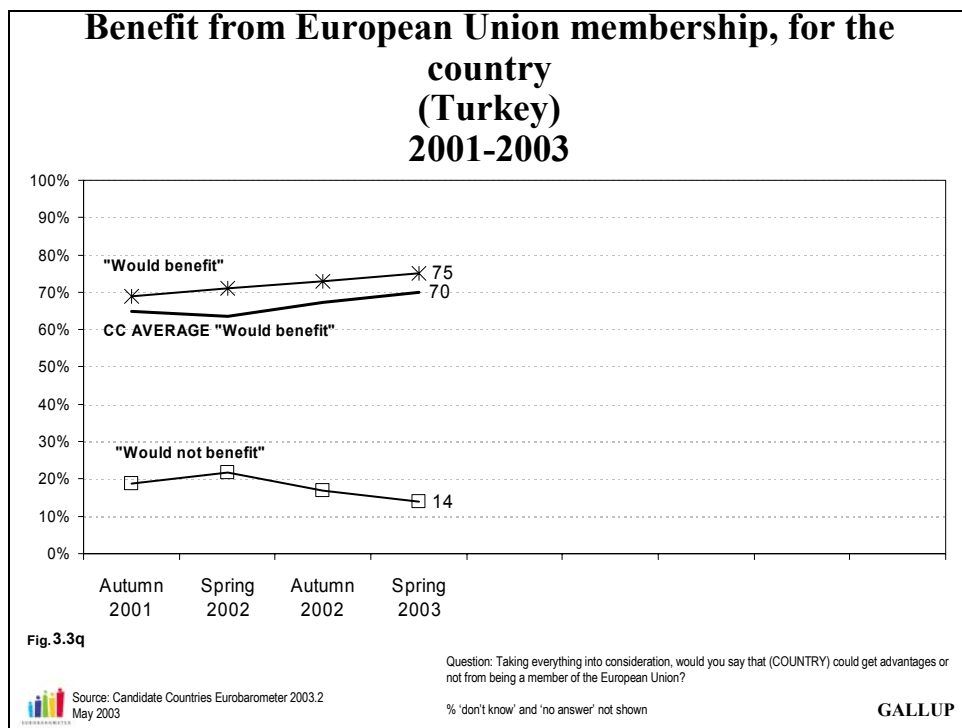


Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2
May 2003

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

GALLUP



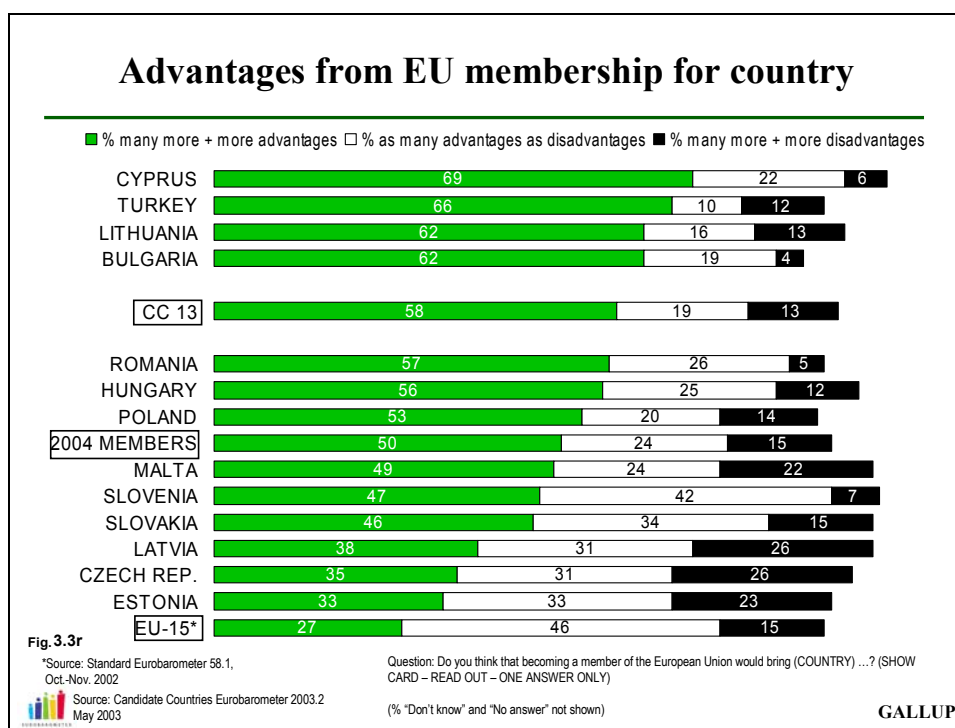
We used the five-scale measure again to determine the **net balance** of expected advantages and disadvantages at the country level.

At the CC-13 level, the breakdown of responses for the following question is as follows:

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

| | 2003 spring | 2002 autumn | 2001 autumn |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Many more advantages | 19% | 20% | 18% |
| More advantages | 37% | 36% | 36% |
| As many advantages as disadvantages | 19% | 20% | 20% |
| More disadvantages | 9% | 9% | 10% |
| Many more disadvantages | 4% | 5% | 4% |
| (Don't know / No opinion) | 11% | 10% | 12% |

Again, the future members of the European Union feel more optimistic compared to present EU citizens (data from 2002). Twenty-six percent of people in the candidate countries and 46% in the EU think the advantages and disadvantages their country will experience will be balanced once they have joined the European Union, while at the same time in both groups, a larger percentage believes that advantages will outweigh disadvantages than believes the reverse.



Looking at individual country results, we find very apparent differences. Sixty-nine percent of Cypriots, 66% of Turks, and 62% of both Lithuanians and Bulgarians currently share the opinion that their country would get more advantages than disadvantages from becoming a member of the European Union.

The least optimistic are the Estonians (33%), Czech (35%) and Latvians (38%), but Candidate Countries Eurobarometer did not find any country in the region where the ratio of pessimists exceeded the number of optimists, or exceeded a third of the population. (ANNEX TABLE 3.12)

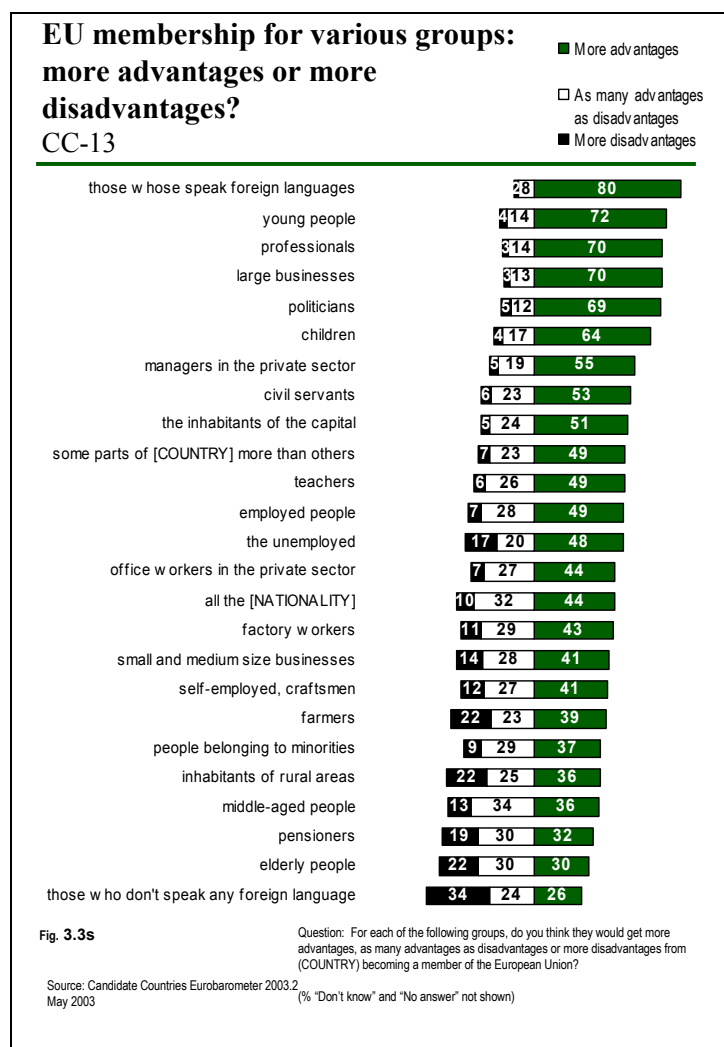
Comparing these results with those measured 12 months before, there are very few shifts to observe. On the CC-13 level, the extent to which people are optimistic about the net benefits of their country's European accessions has not changed significantly.

We see a positive shift in Cyprus, where people are now more likely to think their country will get more advantages (+27 percentage points) and less likely to think the opposite (-14). The proportion of those who expect a positive net balance of advantages and disadvantages has increased in Lithuania (+15), Slovenia (+12), Malta (+8), Poland (+5), the Czech Republic (+3), Bulgaria, Estonia and Turkey (+2 all), as well as Latvia (+1).

Negative tendencies were detected in Romania (+1 “disadvantages”, -8 “advantages”), in Hungary (+3 “disadvantages”, -4 “advantages”) and Slovakia (+2 “disadvantages”, -1 “advantages”), as well as the Czech Republic (+3 “disadvantages”).

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, people are most likely to pick those who speak foreign languages as the group on the list most likely to receive more advantages than disadvantages (80%). The next-most advantaged groups are seen to be young people (72%) and professionals (70%). Large businesses (70%) and politicians (69%) are also frequently mentioned. 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 those who don't speak foreign languages (26%), the elderly (30%), the pensioners (32%), the middle-aged (36%), the rural population (36%), all kinds of minority people (37%), and farmers (39%) are not going to be very advantaged by their country's EU membership.

TABLE 3.3c 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, because these two groups top the list of the likely winners and losers, respectively.

Table 3.3b Social groups attributed with the most advantages, and with the most disadvantages (without the groups defined by foreign-language knowledge)

| Bulgaria | | % | | Malta | | % |
|--------------------------|----|----------------------|--|------------------|----|---|
| Young people | 76 | Advantages | | Professionals | 72 | |
| Large businesses | 71 | Advantages | | Large businesses | 71 | |
| Pensioners | 22 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | SMEs | 38 | |
| Elderly people | 22 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Rural population | 34 | |
| Cyprus | | | | Poland | | |
| Large businesses | 78 | Advantages | | Politicians | 81 | |
| Children | 76 | Advantages | | Young people | 76 | |
| SMEs | 50 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Rural population | 29 | |
| Self-employed, craftsmen | 34 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Farmers | 28 | |
| Czech Republic | | | | Romania | | |
| Professionals | 73 | Advantages | | Politicians | 65 | |
| Young people | 69 | Advantages | | Large businesses | 65 | |
| Farmers | 56 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Elderly people | 20 | |
| Rural population | 46 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Pensioners | 17 | |
| Estonia | | | | Slovakia | | |
| Politicians | 83 | Advantages | | Young people | 76 | |
| Large businesses | 69 | Advantages | | Professionals | 75 | |
| Rural population | 44 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Elderly people | 58 | |
| Elderly people | 41 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Pensioners | 55 | |
| Hungary | | | | Slovenia | | |
| Professionals | 84 | Advantages | | Professionals | 74 | |
| Politicians | 79 | Advantages | | Politicians | 69 | |
| Rural population | 40 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Farmers | 56 | |
| Elderly people | 36 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Rural population | 49 | |
| Latvia | | | | Turkey | | |
| Politicians | 81 | Advantages | | Young people | 72 | |
| Large businesses | 71 | Advantages | | Large businesses | 71 | |
| Rural population | 55 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Farmers | 11 | |
| Farmers | 54 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | Rural population | 11 | |
| Lithuania | | | | | | |
| Young people | 82 | Advantages | | | | |
| Politicians | 75 | Advantages | | | | |
| Rural population | 29 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | | | |
| Farmers | 25 | <i>Disadvantages</i> | | | | |

As the table shows, there is not much national variation in which groups people consider to be the future winners and losers from accession. In most countries, the main beneficiaries are seen to be large businesses (mentioned in the first two places in seven countries), politicians (mentioned in the first two places in seven countries), young people (mentioned in the first two places in six countries) and professionals (mentioned in the first two places in five countries).

In Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Romania we find that people think politicians will be the most likely to benefit from accession -- signaling their discontent with the process again.

We find similar patterns if we examine the groups that, in other people's perceptions, will suffer the most disadvantages. The main rule is that, as with the CC-13 average, in most cases the rural population (mentioned in the first two places in nine countries), the elderly (mentioned in the first two places in five countries), farmers (mentioned in the first two places in six countries) and pensioners (mentioned in the first two places in three countries) are considered to be the chief losers of accession.

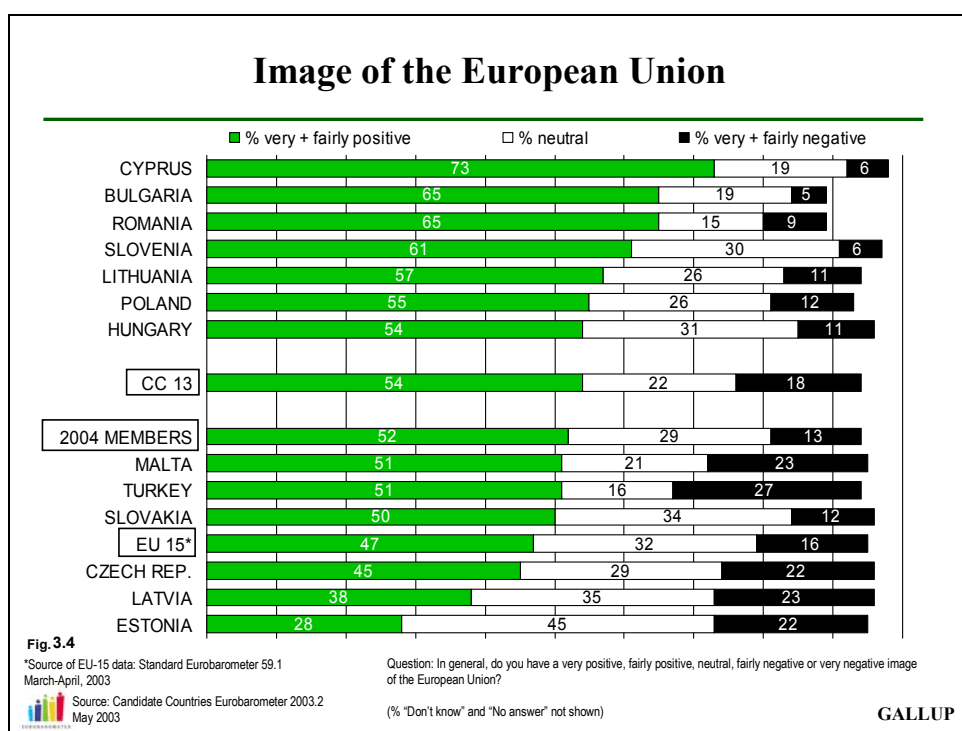
In Cyprus and in Malta, the people feel that small and medium enterprises will suffer the most from accession to the European Union, along with the self-employed/craftsmen in Cyprus. (*ANNEX TABLE 3.13*)

3.4. 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, 54% of candidate country citizens have a positive image of the European Union (of whom 15% view it very positively). This is seven percentage points higher than the level Eurobarometer found within the European Union (47%). Twenty-two percent view the EU in a neutral way. Only 18% say that the EU conjures up a negative image, of whom only 5% feel very negatively.



As the graph above shows, more than half of the people in Cyprus (73%), Bulgaria and Romania (65% each), Slovenia (61%), Lithuania (57%), Poland (55%), Hungary (54%), Malta and Turkey (51% each) 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 Turkey, where the population is split with 51% feeling positive, a fifth (16%) feeling neutral, and almost a third (27%) feeling negative.

The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found the highest proportion of the EU-neutral in Estonia (45%), followed by Latvia (35%) and Slovakia (34%). Accordingly, these countries do not score high on the positive side (28%, 38%, 50%, respectively), although the number of those who view the EU positively outscore those who view it negatively. (ANNEX TABLE 3.14)

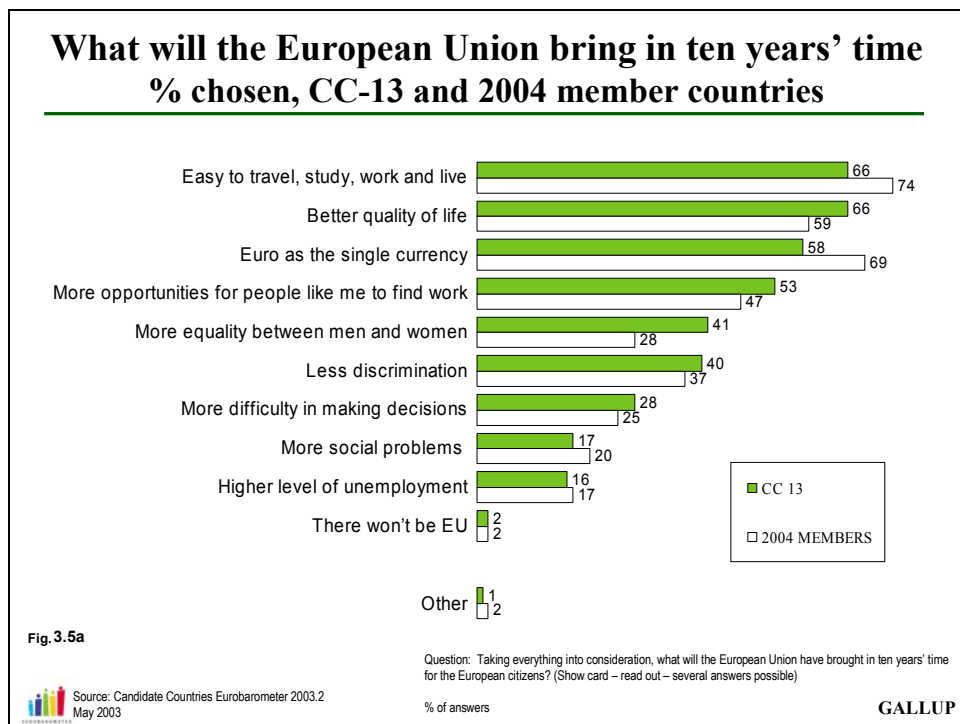
3.5. Meaning of European Union

What EU membership will have brought for its citizens 10 years from now

When presented with a list of benefits that EU membership may bring over the next 10 years, people in the candidate countries agree that it will be much easier to move around the member states for any purpose (66%), the quality of life will be better for most people (66%), and there will be a single currency, the euro (58%). The 2004 members mentioned the same things in a different order, as they are much more likely to expect freedom of movement (74%) and the introduction of the euro (69%).

A bit more than half agree that EU membership will have brought more job opportunities (53%), about four in 10 count on less discrimination (40%) and more equality between men and women (41%) over the next 10 years.

Less than third of the CC-13 think there will be more difficulty in making decisions (28%), more social problems (17%) and higher unemployment (16%) in 10 years. Only a very small minority believes that the EU will be scrapped in a decade (2%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.15)



Meaning of being a citizen of the European Union

Another question examined awareness of the liberties that accompany EU citizenship.

The right to work in any country in the European Union is mentioned first in both the CC-13 (77%) and 2004 member countries (81%). Being able to study in member states is very frequent answer: 70% in the CC-13 and 76% in the 2004 member states. Just as freedom of movement, that is the second most widely known liberty available to the European citizen (with 71% mentioning it in the candidate countries and 69% in the 2004 member countries).

Sixty-three percent of people living in the candidate region named the right of access to healthcare and social care in any of the member states. One-third of the respondents are aware that EU citizens can vote in elections (local, national, or European) wherever they permanently reside.

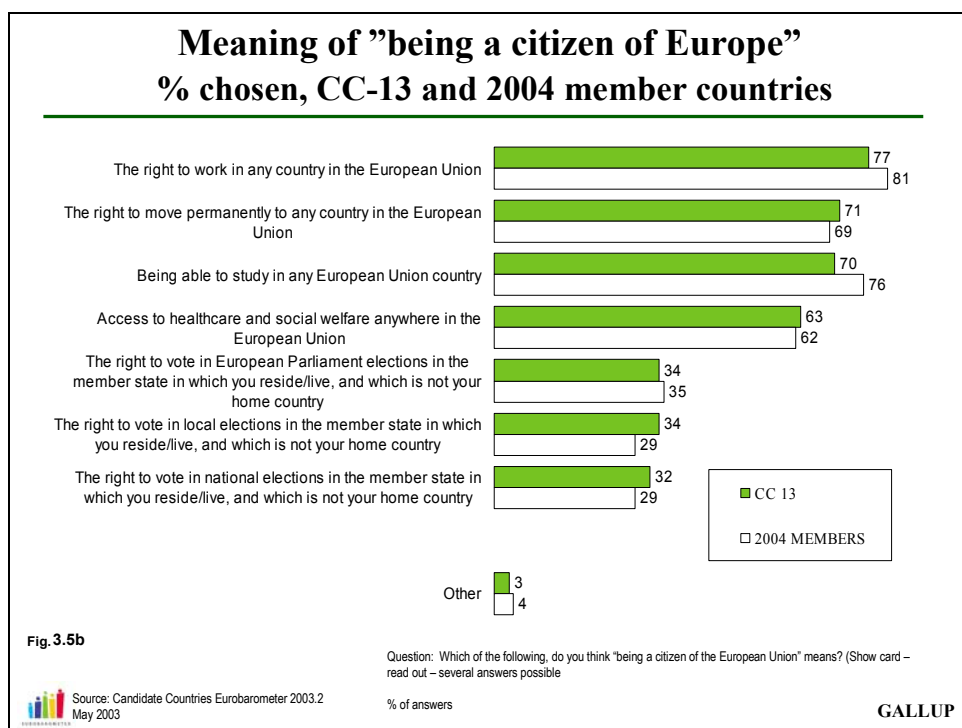


TABLE 3.5b on the next page shows the three most frequently mentioned rights of European citizens in each country.

The right to work tops the list in 11 of the 13 candidate countries, comes in second in one country and third in another one. This means that it ranks within the top three responses in each country.

The right to study anywhere within the Union tops the list in one candidate country and comes in second or third place in twelve countries – so this is also mentioned among the top three in every country.

The right to move permanently tops the list in Turkey (76%), and comes in second or third in eight other countries, except for Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia, where access to healthcare and social welfare is emphasized in the second or third places. (ANNEX TABLE 3.16)

Table 3.5a. Meaning of being a citizen of the EU
(% of mentions, by country)

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|--|--|--|--|
| The right to work in any country | | The right to work in any country | |
| 71 | | 69 | |
| Access to healthcare and social welfare | | Being able to study in any EU country | |
| 64 | | 64 | |
| Being able to study in any EU country | | The right to move permanently to any country | |
| 63 | | 63 | |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| Being able to study in any EU country | | The right to work in any country | |
| 87 | | 84 | |
| The right to move permanently to any country | | Being able to study in any EU country | |
| 85 | | 78 | |
| The right to work in any country | | The right to move permanently to any country | |
| 80 | | 71 | |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| The right to work in any country | | The right to work in any country | |
| 77 | | 76 | |
| Being able to study in any EU country | | Access to healthcare and social welfare | |
| 73 | | 70 | |
| The right to move permanently to any country | | Being able to study in any EU country | |
| 68 | | 68 | |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| The right to work in any country | | The right to work in any country | |
| 62 | | 84 | |
| Being able to study in any EU country | | Being able to study in any EU country | |
| 54 | | 79 | |
| The right to move permanently to any country | | Access to healthcare and social welfare | |
| 51 | | 62 | |
| Hungary | | Slovenia | |
| The right to work in any country | | The right to work in any country | |
| 84 | | 67 | |
| Being able to study in any EU country | | Being able to study in any EU country | |
| 75 | | 64 | |
| The right to move permanently to any country | | Access to healthcare and social welfare | |
| 70 | | 64 | |

Latvia

The right to work in any country
77

Being able to study in any EU country
72

The right to move permanently to any country
65

Turkey

The right to move permanently to any country
76

The right to work in any country
73

Being able to study in any EU country
65

Lithuania

The right to work in any country
80

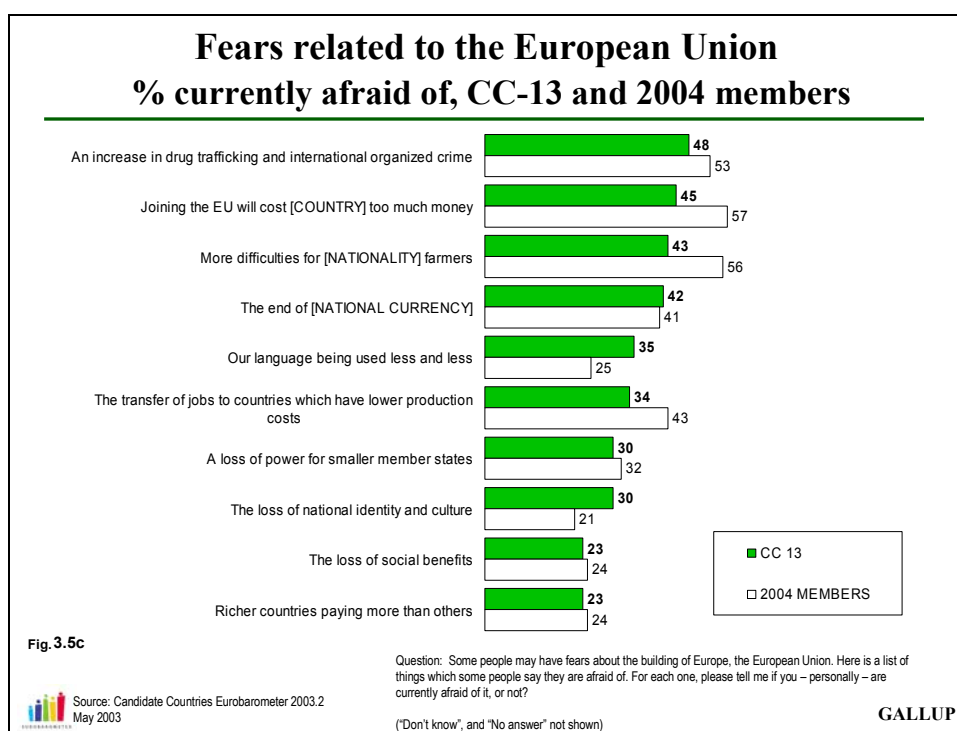
Being able to study in any EU country
75

The right to move permanently to any country
66

Fears related to the building of Europe

In another set of questions, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer tested the prevalence of several common fears related to the building of the European Union. 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 most likely to fear that the building of Europe will lead to increased drug trafficking and international organized crime (48% in the CC-13 and 53% among 2004 members). Almost every second citizen is currently afraid that the accession will cost their country too much money (45% in the CC-13 and 57% in the 2004 states) and will mean more difficulties for farmers (43% in the CC-13 and 56% among 2004 members).

Forty-two percent of the CC-13 population and 41% of 2004 member are afraid of the loss of their national currency.

One-third of the candidate countries’ population mentioned the usage of their languages less and less (35% in the CC-13, 25% in the 2004 states), the transfer of jobs to countries that have lower production costs (34% in the CC-13, 43% in 2004 states), the loss of power for smaller member states (30% in the CC-13, 32% in the 2004 states), and the loss of national identity and culture (30% in the CC-13, 21% in the 2004 states). The loss of social benefits (23% in the CC-13, 24% among the 2004 countries), and the fear that the richer countries will pay more than others are mentioned by one in five respondents (23% in the CC-13, 24% among 2004 members).

The following table shows the three most widespread fears in each country.

Table 3.5b Three most widespread fears connected to the building of Europe, %

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|-----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|----|
| Accession expensive | 47 | Transferred jobs | 53 |
| Increase in organized crime | 43 | Increase in organized crime | 50 |
| Problems for farmers | 32 | A loss of power | 49 |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| Increase in organized crime | 79 | Accession expensive | 55 |
| Transferred jobs | 62 | Problems for farmers | 52 |
| Loss of identity, culture | 48 | Increase in organized crime | 49 |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| Problems for farmers | 66 | Increase in organized crime | 46 |
| Accession expensive | 66 | Accession expensive | 40 |
| Transferred jobs | 57 | End of natl. currency | 34 |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| Increase in organized crime | 67 | Problems for farmers | 61 |
| Accession expensive | 57 | Increase in organized crime | 61 |
| Problems for farmers | 54 | Accession expensive | 60 |
| Hungary | | Slovenia | |
| Problems for farmers | 66 | Increase in organized crime | 57 |
| Accession expensive | 62 | Problems for farmers | 57 |
| Increase in organized crime | 59 | Accession expensive | 47 |

| Latvia | Turkey |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Problems for farmers 66 | Abandoning language 51 |
| Increase in organized crime 63 | End of national currency 48 |
| Accession expensive 53 | Loss of identity, culture 46 |
| Lithuania | |
| Increase in organized crime 54 | |
| Problems for farmers 46 | |
| Accession expensive 44 | |

The increase in drug trafficking and international organized crime is the most widespread fear in 11 candidate countries. Only in Turkey is it not in the top three. The fear that **farmers will have more difficulties** is the most widespread fear in nine countries. It does not make the top three in the Cyprus, Malta, Romania and Turkey. **High costs of the accession** are the most widespread fear in 10 countries, though not in Cyprus, Malta and Turkey. The **end of national currency** appears as the second greatest fear in Romania and Turkey. In Cyprus and Turkey, the **loss of identity** is among the most widespread fears we find (it's third and second on the list, respectively). (ANNEX TABLE 3.17)

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 the Czech republic (47%) and Estonia (47%), and by far the lowest in Bulgaria (26%) and Romania (26%).

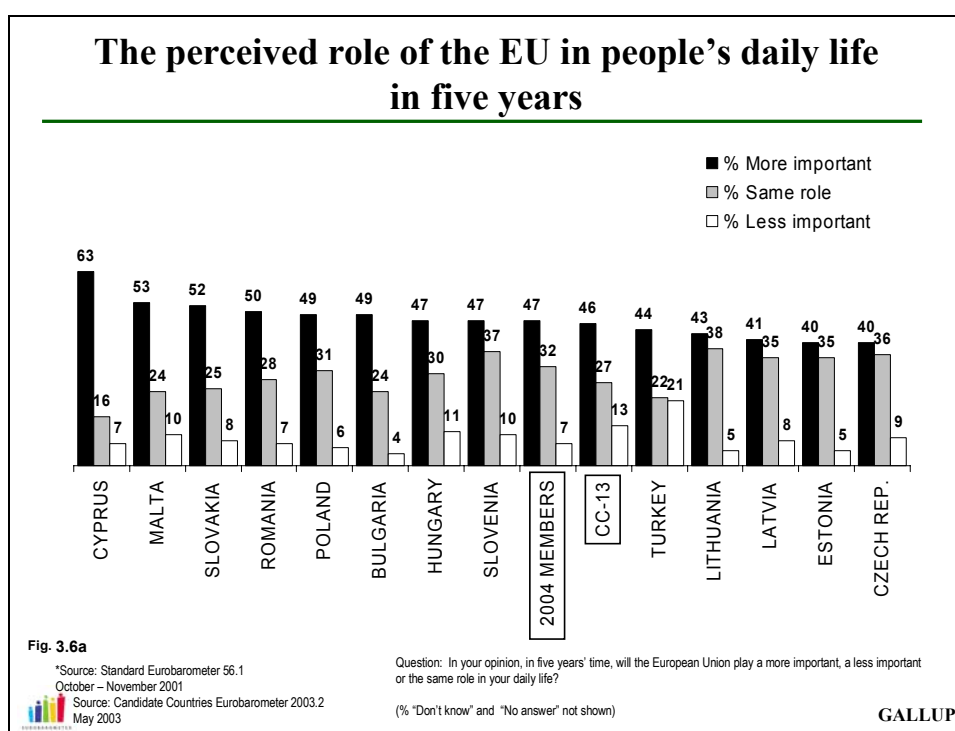
| Table 3.5c Fear in the building of Europe (Average score for ' % currently afraid ' responses for 11 items, by country) | |
|--|-----------|
| Country | % average |
| CZECH REPUBLIC | 47 |
| ESTONIA | 47 |
| CYPRUS | 43 |
| HUNGARY | 42 |
| LATVIA | 42 |
| MALTA | 41 |
| SLOVAKIA | 40 |
| 2004 MEMBERS | 38 |
| SLOVENIA | 38 |
| TURKEY | 37 |
| CC-13 | 35 |
| POLAND | 33 |
| LITHUANIA | 32 |
| BULGARIA | 26 |

| | |
|---------|----|
| ROMANIA | 26 |
|---------|----|

3.6 The European Union in the coming years

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

Forty-six 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, 27% believe it will play the same role, and only 13% believe it will play a less important role. Just as many people in the member states tend to think that the EU will play a greater role in their personal lives in five years time (46%). We should note that there is no significant difference between the expectations of the 2004 member countries (who can securely believe they will be members of the Union) and the other countries where accession is a more remote possibility.

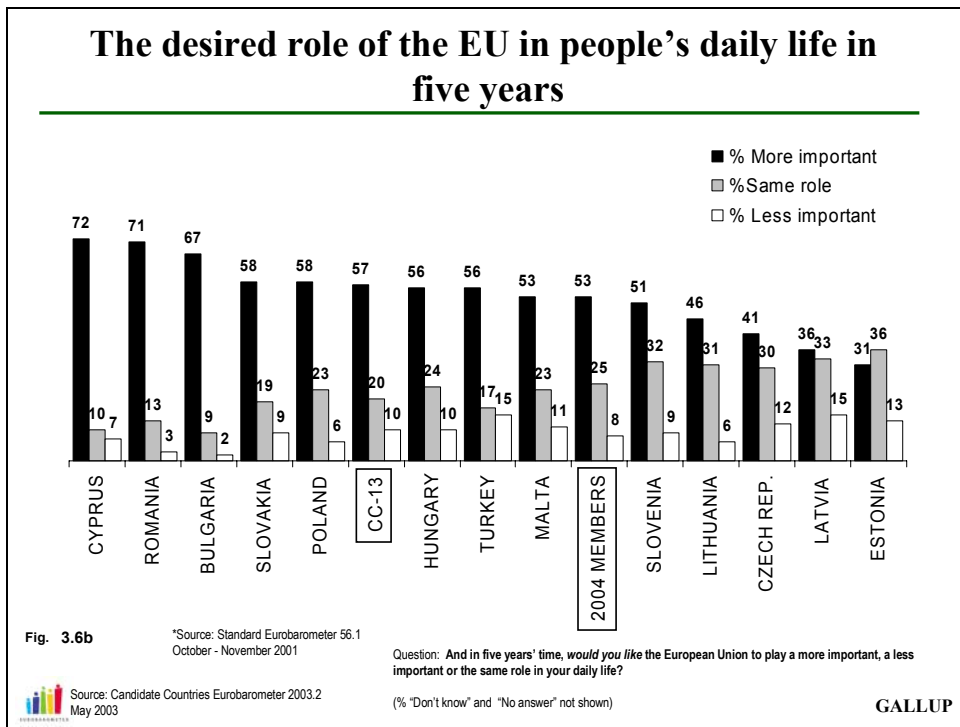


Country-by-country analyses reveal that there is an opposite dynamic behind this steady regional average. In seven of the 13 candidate countries, respondents expect the European Union to have a greater role in their lives for the next five years, particularly Cypriots (63%), Maltese (53%), Slovaks (52%) and Poles and Bulgarians (both 49%), but also Hungarians (47%) and Slovenians (47%). At the same time, expectations in countries that weren't invited to join the EU in the first round decreased significantly. Czechs are the last in the line -- only 36% of them expect a better daily life in five years.

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 (63%), followed by the Maltese (53%) and Slovaks (52%). In the other 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 (40% versus 35% in Estonia, 41% versus 35% in Latvia, and 43% versus 38% 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 11% in Hungary. (ANNEX TABLE 3.18)

When we look at the role that CC citizens *would like* the European Union to play in their daily life in five years' time, we find that 57% (compared to 49% in the member states) desire a more important

role, 20% desire the same role (27% in the member states), while 10% desire a less important role for the European Union in their daily life (10% in the member states).



The citizens of Cyprus (72%) and Romania (71%) are by far the most likely to wish the EU to play a more important role in their daily life, while more than six in 10 Bulgarians (67%) share this view. More than half of the population want the EU to play a more important role in their lives in seven of the remaining countries. In Latvia, the number of those who desire the EU to play a more important role and those who desire the EU to play the same role in five years (36% versus 33%) is roughly equal. In Lithuania and Estonia, the most frequently expressed desire is for the EU to continue to play the same role (46% and 31% respectively).

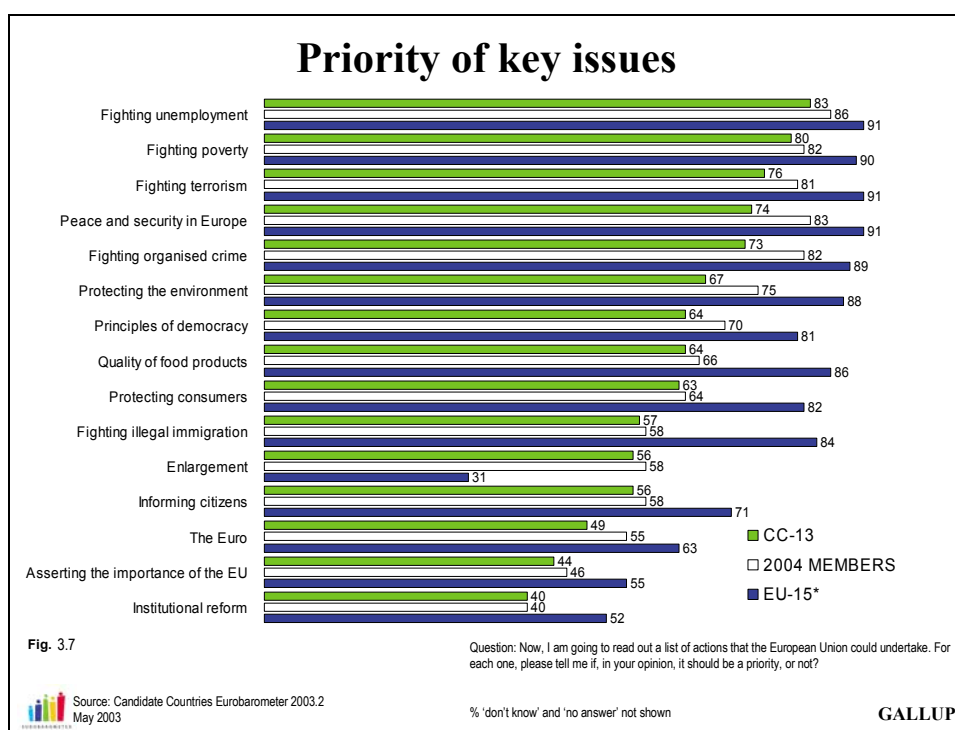
There is no country in the candidate region where those who want the EU to play a less important role outnumber those who desire the same or a more important role. The percentages of those who desire the EU to play a less important role range from 2% in Bulgaria to 15% in Turkey and in Latvia. (ANNEX TABLE 3.19)

3.7. Priority of key issues

In this chapter, we analyze opinions about the priority status of several key issues in the European Union. The first priority, according to 91% of EU respondents and 83% of CC-13 citizens, is the fight against unemployment. The CC-13 and 2004 countries' results run in tandem – but not always with the EU-15. With more “not a priority” answers, the accession countries seem to feel priority issues are yet outside the EU.

More than three quarters in the candidate region say fighting poverty (80%), fighting terrorism (76%), maintaining peace in Europe (74%), and fighting organised crime (73%) are priorities. Environmental protection is also a relatively important issue to them with two thirds listing it among the priorities of the EU (67%).

The issue of “fighting illegal immigration,” presents a wide gap between the accession and accessed countries. The CC-13 (57%) and the 2004 member countries (58%) do not feel fighting illegal immigration is a priority, as opposed to the EU -15 countries, where 84% say it is.



On the other hand, we can see the opposite on the issue of “successful enlargement of the EU to include new member countries”. Naturally, according to the candidate countries, it should be a priority (CC-13: 56%, 2004 members: 58%). As for EU-15 countries, only 31% would give priority to this issue. The least important issue is “institutional reform” throughout Europe. Relatively few respondents in the CC-13 (40%) and 2004 countries (41%) would give priority to this issue, though it would receive a higher priority in the EU (52%).

Analysing our results country by country and group by group, we see Cypriots (95%), Slovaks (90%) and the Maltese (90%) say **fighting against unemployment is a priority**. Bulgarians (59%) and Turks (61%) are on the other end of the scale. The older generation is most interested in this question (82%), as are those who finished school at the age of 20 (88%).

Peace and security maintenance is a priority to a very high number of Cypriots (97%), Maltese (93%), men (85%), and those who have finished school at 20 (89%). People are interested in **fighting poverty and social exclusion**, according to the large proportion who called it a priority, mostly

Cypriots (96%) Maltese (90%), males (85%), and older respondents (80%). The question of the day, **environment protection**, is chosen by most of the respondents, mainly the Cypriots (85%) and Maltese (86%). **Fighting against terrorism** is a priority in Cyprus (7%) and Romania (76%) especially. Turks are the least likely (46%) to call it a priority. Males (68%) and people 55 and older (63%), in particular, call fighting terrorism a priority. (ANNEX TABLE 3.20)

Sorting the issues into the top three, we can say that the most important are fighting poverty and social exclusion, fighting terrorism, maintaining peace, fighting organized crime and fighting unemployment. Poland (89%), Slovenia (87%), Lithuania (86%) and Turkey (80%) would give a higher priority to fighting unemployment. Bulgarians are those who most want to give priority to fighting poverty and social exclusion (84%).

Table 3.7 Priority of key issues
(% of mentions, by country)

| Bulgaria | | Malta | |
|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|----|
| Fighting poverty and social exclusion | 84 | Maintaining peace | 93 |
| Maintaining peace | 83 | Protecting the environment | 93 |
| Fighting unemployment | 81 | Fighting organized crime | 90 |
| Cyprus | | Poland | |
| Fighting terrorism | 97 | Fighting unemployment | 89 |
| Maintaining peace | 96 | Fighting poverty and social exclusion | 82 |
| Fighting poverty and social exclusion | 96 | Maintaining peace | 81 |
| Czech Republic | | Romania | |
| Fighting organized crime | 81 | Fighting poverty and social exclusion | 85 |
| Fighting terrorism | 81 | Fighting organized crime | 82 |
| Maintaining peace | 80 | Maintaining peace | 82 |
| Estonia | | Slovakia | |
| Fighting organized crime | 90 | Maintaining peace | 92 |
| Maintaining peace | 88 | Fighting unemployment | 90 |
| Fighting unemployment | 87 | Fighting organized crime | 89 |

Hungary

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| Maintaining peace | 86 |
| Fighting unemployment | 85 |
| Fighting organized crime | 85 |

Latvia

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| Fighting organized crime | 87 |
| Maintaining peace | 85 |
| Fighting unemployment | 84 |

Lithuania

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| Fighting unemployment | 86 |
| Fighting poverty and social exclusion | 83 |
| Maintaining peace | 82 |

Slovenia

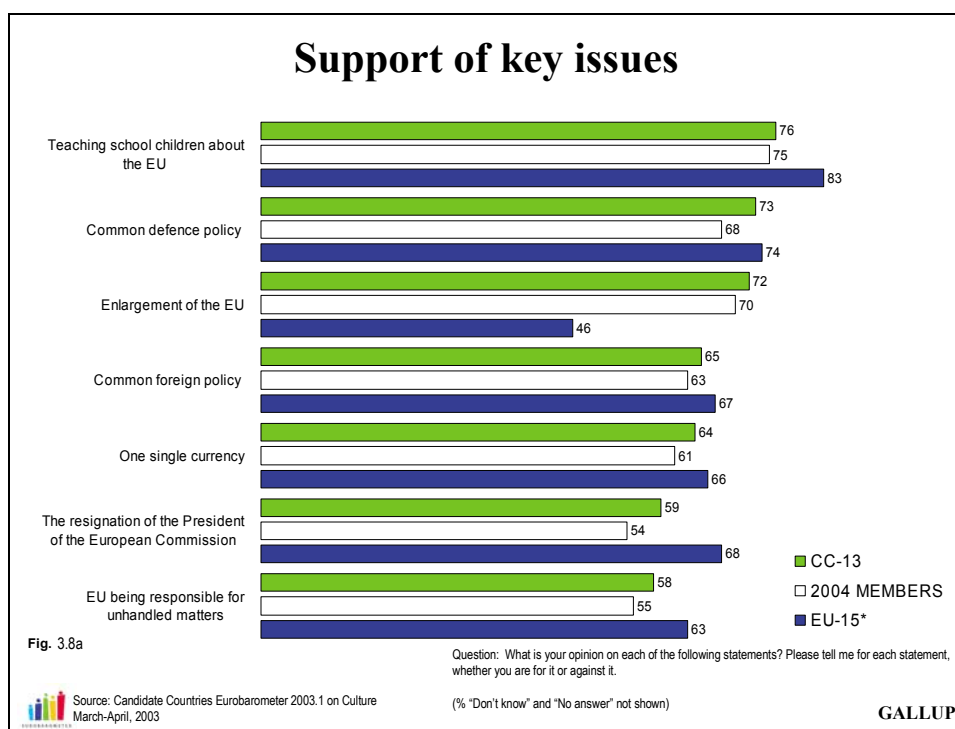
| | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| Fighting unemployment | 87 |
| Maintaining peace | 87 |
| Fighting poverty and social exclusion | 85 |

Turkey

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| Fighting unemployment | 80 |
| Fighting poverty and social exclusion | 77 |
| Fighting terrorism | 67 |

3.8. Support for key issues

The survey also measures public opinion toward a certain number of key EU issues. Some of these issues are clearly strategic questions, while others relate to the democratic processes, the fundamental principle of subsidiarity, and the education of future citizens about EU matters. For each of these we provide a detailed analysis in the Chapters that deal with these specific issues.



An analysis of the four items on current strategic matters shows that: (see also ANNEX TABLE 3.21)

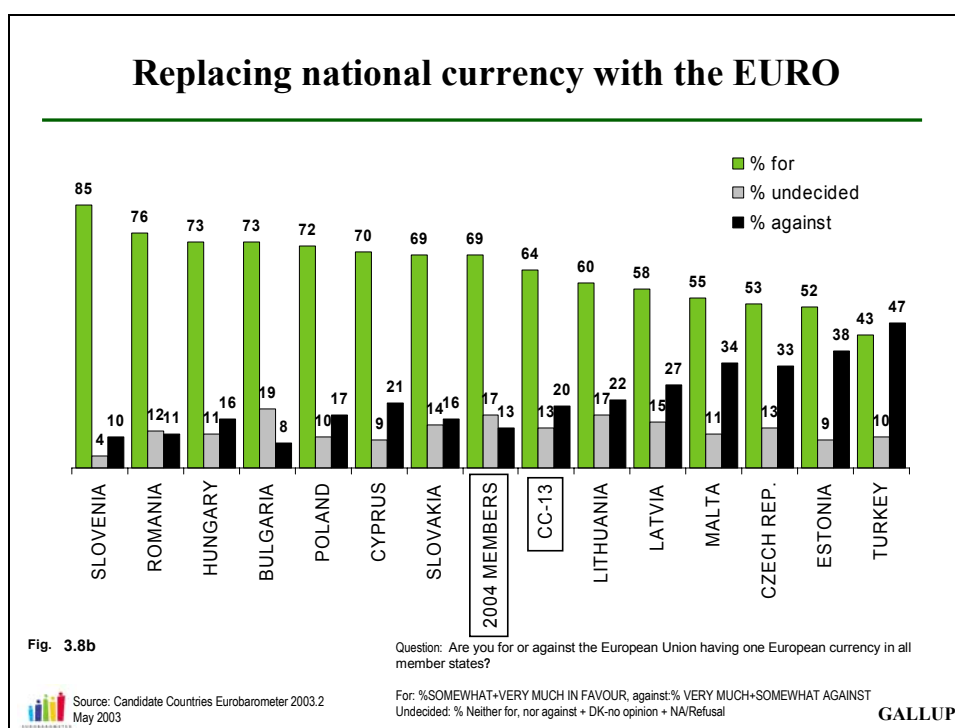
- 73% of candidate citizens and 68% of the 2004 members are in favour of **a common defence and security policy among the EU member states**. Support is most widespread in Cyprus (89%), Hungary (85%) and Slovakia (84%), while opposition is greatest in Malta (23%) and Turkey (14%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.21)
- 65% of candidate citizens -- and 63% among the 2004 members -- support **a common foreign policy toward other countries**. Support is greatest in Cyprus (82%), Slovenia (76%) and Slovakia (74%). Opposition is strongest in the Czech Republic (24%), in Estonia (23%) and in Malta (21%).
- Well ahead of the actual introduction of euro currency in their countries, 64% of people in the candidate region, and 61% of the 2004 members, are in favour of **a European Monetary Union with one single currency**. The highest support for EMU and the euro registers in Slovenia (88%), Romania (79%) and Slovakia (75%), while resistance is strongest in Malta (36%), Turkey (31%) and Estonia (32%).
- Seven in 10 future EU citizens (72%) are in favour of **the enlargement of the European Union to include new countries**; the proportion is 70% among the 2004 members. The most widespread support is found among Slovenians (83%) and Romanians (82%).

Looking at the other items in the question, it can be seen that:

- More than three-quarters on the CC-13 level (76%), and 75% in the 2004 member states, are in favour of **teaching schoolchildren about the way European Union institutions work**, with support levels ranging from 64% in the Czech Republic to 91% in Cyprus.
- The majority, just a little less than six candidate citizens in 10, thinks that **the President of the European Commission and the European Commissioners should resign if they do not have the support of a majority in the European Parliament**. Fifty-four percent of the 2004 member countries support this idea. Country-by-country levels of support range from 44% in Bulgaria to 75% in Slovenia.
- As compared to the EU, a slim majority, 58%, of candidate citizens are in favour of the **European Union being responsible for matters that cannot be effectively handled by national, regional and local governments**. The levels of support range from 53% in Bulgaria to 77% in Cyprus. Sixty-two percent of the 2004 members support elevating responsibility to the EU level in certain areas.

Stable support for the Euro

On average, 64% of respondents from the 13 candidate countries now favour using the euro -- the European monetary union -- in their countries. Support is somewhat higher in the 2004 member countries, where introduction of the euro is a not-too-far-away reality: 69% of respondents support the idea of replacing their national currencies with the euro. Comparing current numbers with the data of autumn 2002, we can see that at that time 59% of the CC-13 and 67% in the future member countries were in favour of replacing the Euro. This means an increase of 5 percentage points in the entire region and 2 percentage points in the 2004 member states.



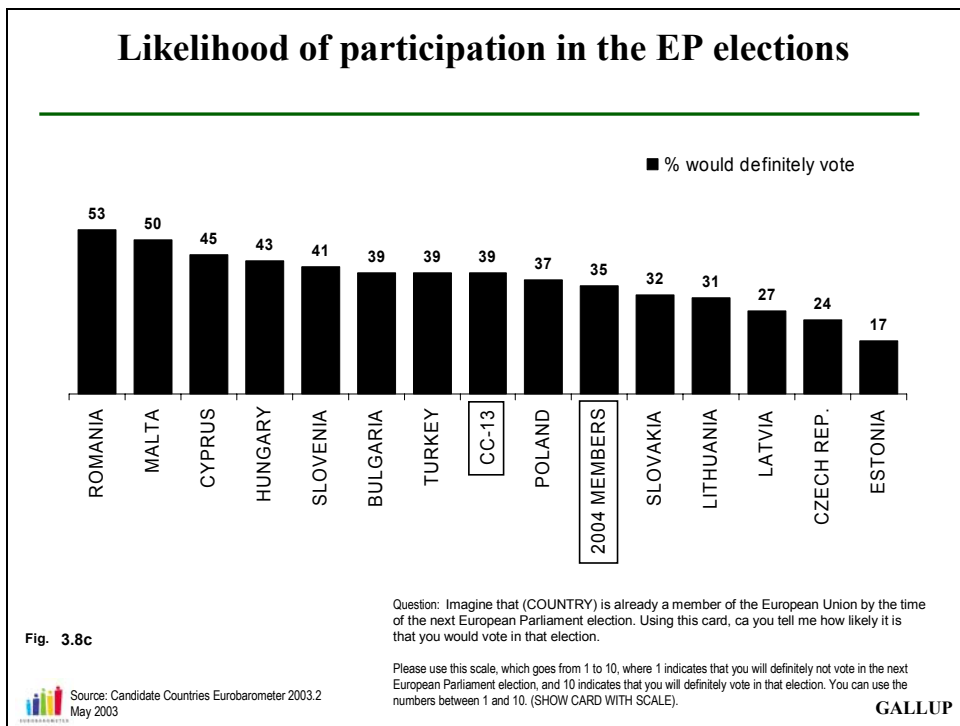
Except to Turkish citizens, the euro is attractive to the majority of citizens across the candidate region. We have found the highest support levels (85%) for the euro in Slovenia (no change from autumn 2002), where the local currency is just a little more than a decade old. The opponents are strongest in Turkey (47%, no change), and are strong in Estonia (38%, +1), Malta (34%, -1), and in the Czech Republic (33%, +7) as well. We detected the biggest increase in support for the common currency in Romania (+7), Lithuania and Cyprus (+6 percentage points both), while the most significant increase in opposition we recorded in the aforementioned Czech Republic. (ANNEX TABLE 3.22)

Supporters of the EU are more likely to favour their country's conversion to the euro than are EU opponents are (80% versus 27%). Sixty 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 13% of people who support their country's EU membership.

Participation in EP elections

Many of the 2004 members -- if the pace of the negotiations is maintained -- will take part in the European Parliament elections in 2004. Eurobarometer asked how likely people in the candidate countries think their participation in such elections will be. (As we noted, many people in the candidate region do not even know that they will directly elect the members of the EP, so asking this question remains rather theoretical until people start hearing about the upcoming EP elections.)

Predicted participation rates are extremely low throughout the region. Few of the candidate countries have even a slim majority who think they would definitely vote in EP elections. The most likely to participate are citizens from Romania (53%), Malta (50%) and Cyprus (45%). The least likely are in Estonia (17%) and the Czech Republic (24%). (ANNEX TABLE 3.23)



4. Common foreign and security policy

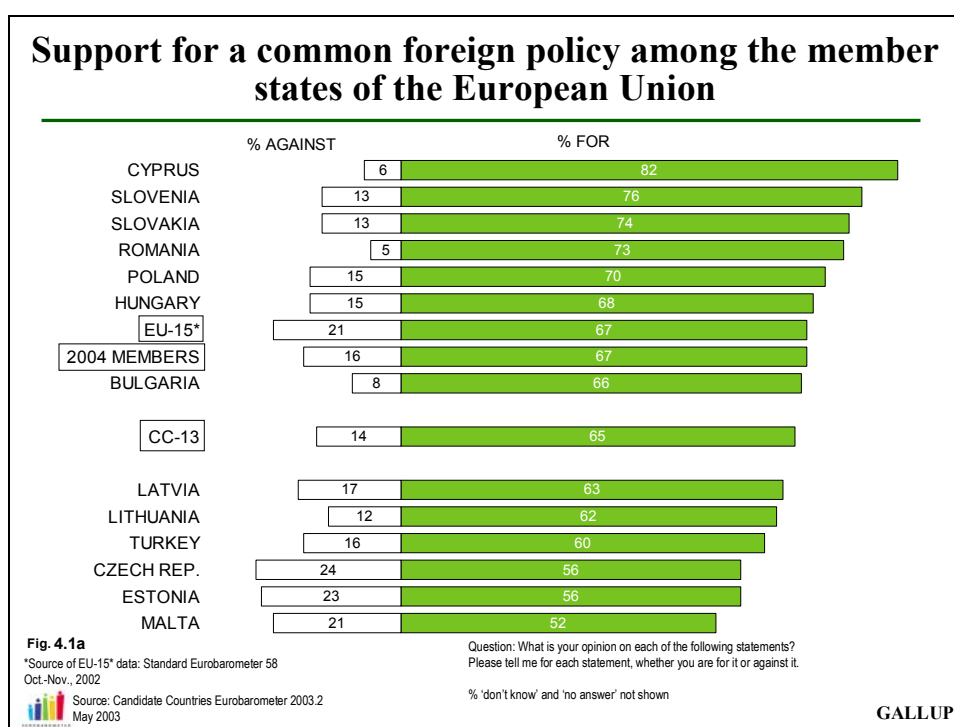
In this chapter, we analyse CC-13 support for a common foreign and defence policy -- and who they think should decide questions about European defence.

4.1. Support for a common foreign policy

The majority in the candidate region stand for a common foreign policy among the member states of the European Union -- two-thirds (65%) are for it, and only 14% of them are against it. One-fifth (21%) could or would not answer this question. We find similar proportion of support in the 2004 member states (67% for, 16% against). The ratio of support is the same in the existing EU, though there are more people against a common foreign policy -- 21%.

Cypriots are the likeliest to favour this policy (82%), followed by Slovenians (76%), although 13% of Slovenians are expressly against it. Slovaks are similar, 74% support a common foreign policy. Seventy-three percent of Romanians and 70% of Hungarians agree with the idea as well.

At the bottom of the list we find the Czech Republic and Estonia, with 56% each. The greatest numbers of people against a common foreign policy are to be found in the Czech Republic and Estonia, too (24% and 23%, respectively). The least support is in Malta (52%). (ANNEX TABLE 4.1a)



The socio-economical analysis shows that men (70%) are more likely to support one common foreign policy than are women (60%). Younger people (aged 25-39, 69%) like the idea more than do respondents above 55 (60%), and more managers (79%) and self-employed people (71%) would vote for it than would house persons (51%). A common foreign policy is more likable to those who think membership is a good thing (77%) than those who think it is neither good nor bad (57%) and those who think that membership is definitely bad (31%). (See ANNEX TABLE 4.1b)

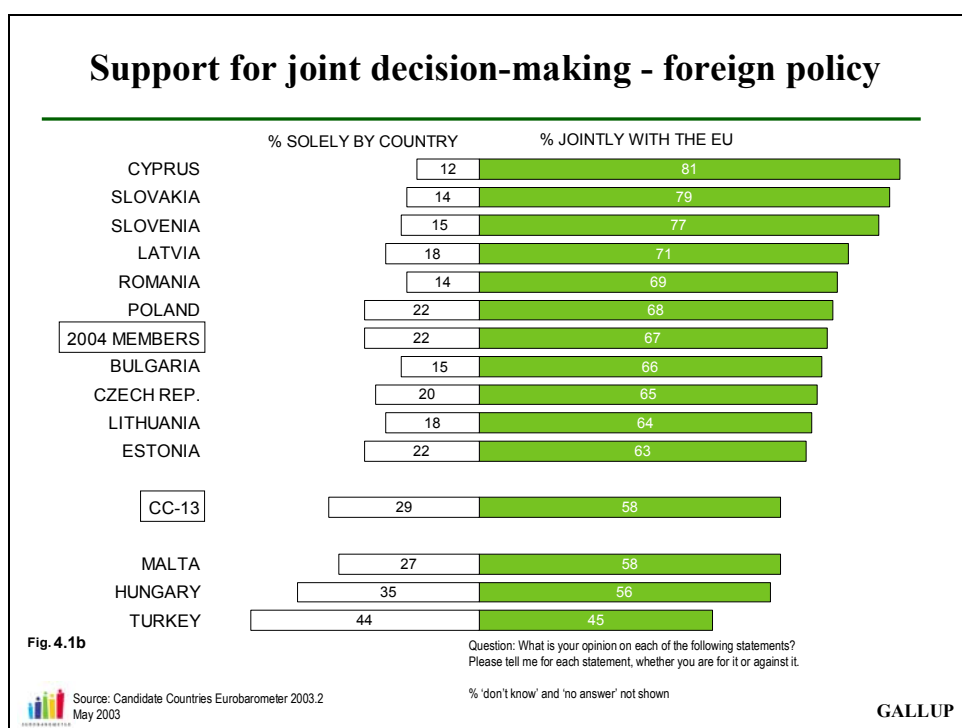
Support for joint EU decision-making

We continue by looking at the results of a question that asks whether decisions about foreign policy after the accession of the candidate countries should be made at the national or at the EU level.

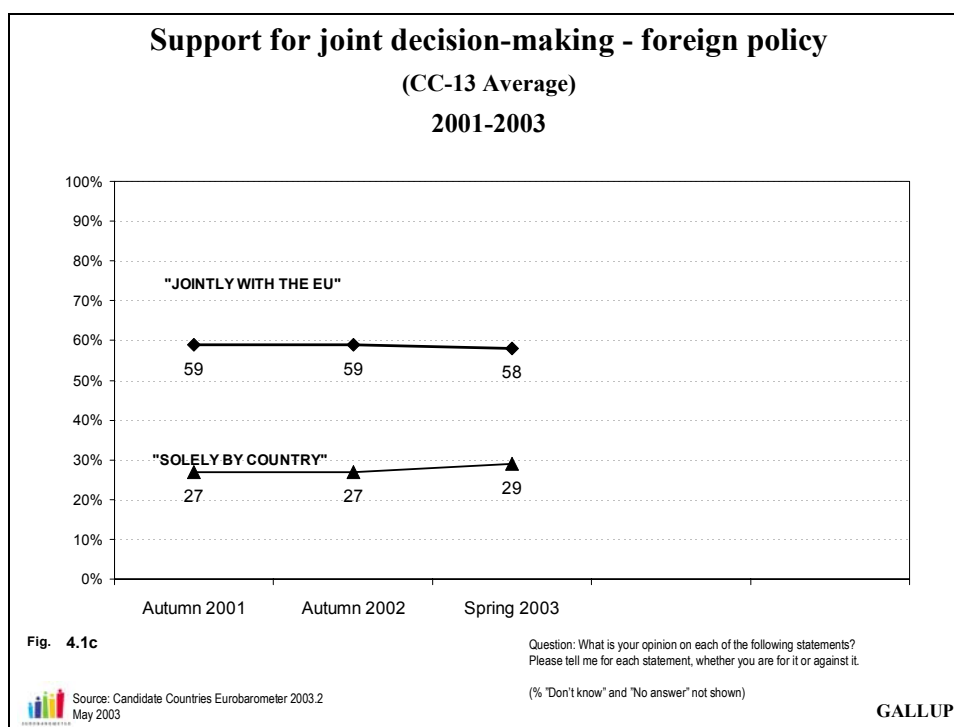
The results show that joint decision making is clearly preferable to national decision making, except in Turkey.

Fifty-eight percent of the people interviewed would prefer joint decision-making, and 29% of them disagree with it. Responses in the 2004 member states more likely would prefer the decision-making jointly with the EU -- 67% of them said that decisions on foreign policy should be made at the EU level, and 22% say foreign policy is purely national business.

Support for joint EU decision-making about foreign policy is the highest in Cyprus (81%) and Slovakia (79%), where it is favoured by about four-fifths of the respondents. Citizens in Slovenia, Latvia and Romania also preferred joint decision-making far above the CC-13 average. Malta (58%), Hungary (56%) and – at the bottom of the list – Turkey (45%) show much lower support for shared decisions. Turkish citizens are the most divided about this question; practically as many of them would prefer national foreign policy decisions as joint ones (44% as against 45%). (see ANNEX TABLE 4.2)



Support for a common European foreign policy has decreased by one percentage points since autumn 2002, 58% in spring 2003. This represents the lowest level of support in the candidate region since autumn 2001 (59%) but this one point difference does not reach the significant level. It can also be said that the number of citizens opposed to a common European Union foreign policy has increased (+2 percentage point) to reach its highest level (29%).



Trend analysis shows that this support has increased in seven of the 13 candidate states, rather strongly in Lithuania (+5), the Czech Republic (+5), Bulgaria (+4) and Cyprus (+4). Only one country shows a significant drop in support for a common foreign policy, Estonia (-4).

The rate of support remains largely unchanged in Latvia, Hungary (-1), Malta (-1) and Romania (+1). On the other hand, in the last two countries, the number of people declaring they are against such a policy has grown by four points. A similar slip in votes has also taken place in Lithuania but, this time, in favour of a common foreign policy (+5).

The average rate of "don't know" answers on the CC-13 level is 12%, but there is a relatively wide range of them, from 7% in Cyprus, Slovakia and Slovenia, to 19% in Bulgaria.

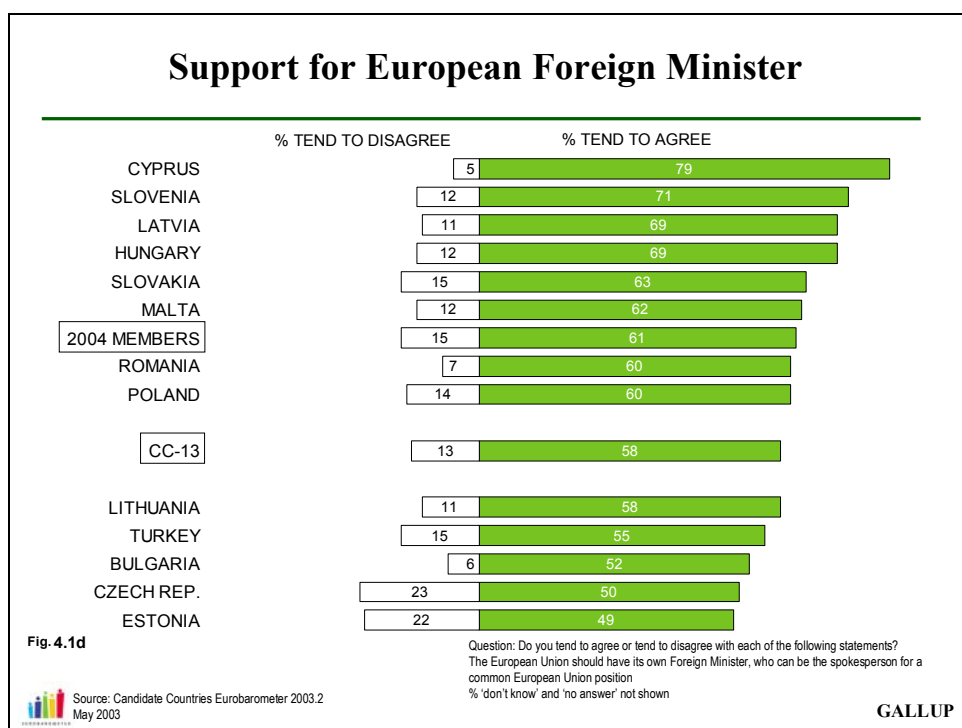
| Table 4.1 Support for joint decision making – foreign policy | | | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|------------|--|
| Country | 2002 | 2003 | Difference | |
| LITHUANIA | 59 | 64 | +5 | |
| CZECH REP. | 60 | 65 | +5 | |
| CYPRUS | 77 | 81 | +4 | |
| BULGARIA | 62 | 66 | +4 | |
| SLOVAKIA | 76 | 79 | +3 | |
| POLAND | 66 | 68 | +2 | |
| ROMANIA | 68 | 69 | +1 | |
| LATVIA | 71 | 71 | 0 | |
| CC-13 | 59 | 58 | -1 | |
| MALTA | 59 | 58 | -1 | |
| HUNGARY | 57 | 56 | -1 | |
| TURKEY | 47 | 45 | -2 | |
| SLOVENIA | 80 | 77 | -3 | |
| ESTONIA | 67 | 63 | -4 | |

Support of European Foreign Minister

Generally we can say that the majority of the respondents would support a spokesperson for a common EU position about foreign affairs. In connection with European foreign policy, Eurobarometer also investigated opinions about the existence and role of a European Foreign Minister.

Fifty-eight percent tend to agree that the EU should have its own Foreign Minister, while 13% of the CC-13 tend to disagree. The proportion in the 2004 member states is similar -- 61% agree while 15% disagree. One-quarter of the citizens either could or would not answer and chose the "do not know" response.

Cypriots most liked the idea of a European Foreign Minister (79% agreed), and it's a popular idea in Slovenia (71%), Latvia and Hungary (69% both) as well. Malta comes in just above the 2004 members average with 62% tending to agree. The lowest percentage of "tend to agree" responses are to be found in the Czech Republic (50%) and in Estonia (49%) – and so are the highest percentages of "tend to disagree" answers – 23% in the Czech Republic and 22% in Estonia. (ANNEX TABLE 4.3)



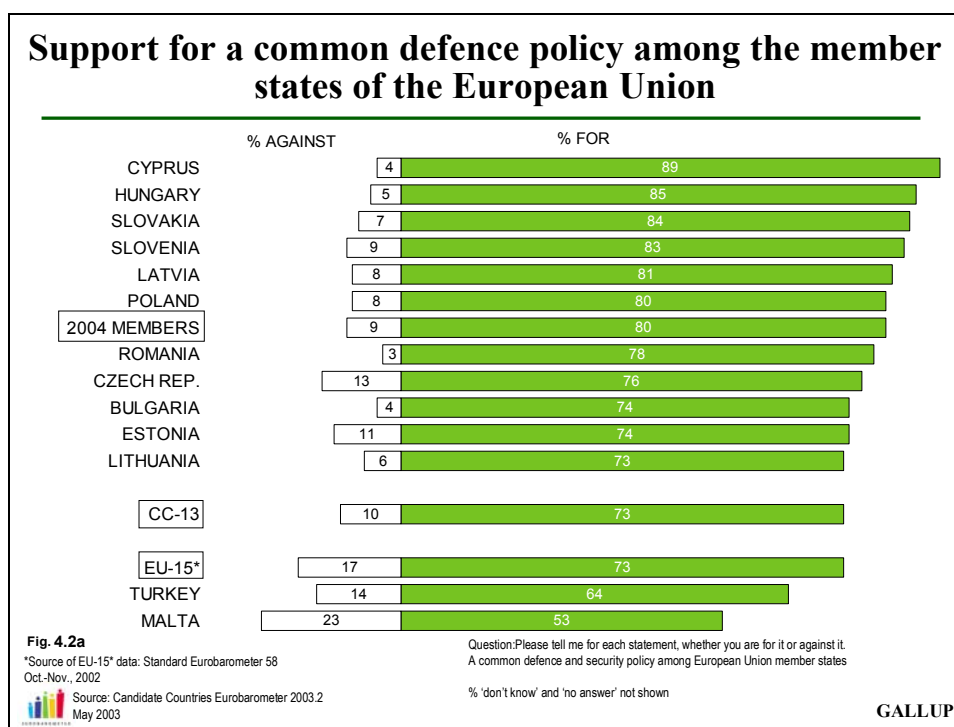
4.2. Support for a common security policy

In general, we can say that the majority of people in the candidate countries made a stand for a European Union common defence policy.

Almost three-quarters (73%) of the respondents in the candidate countries support a common defence policy, while 10% of them are against it. Seventeen percent in the candidate region could not or did not want to answer this question. The 2004 member states show somewhat higher level of support (9% are against, 80% are for). We find that the same proportion of EU citizens (73%) want a common policy as respondents in the future member countries, but also more than the CC-13 are against it (17% v. 10%).

Nine out of 10 Cypriots say they're in favour of this policy (89%), followed by Hungarians (85%), Slovaks (84%) and Slovenians (83%) – although 9% of Slovenians are expressly against it. In Latvia (81%) and Poland (80%), four-fifths of the citizens said there should be a common security and defence policy on the EU level. Seventy-three percent of Lithuanians support a common defence policy (matching the candidate country and the EU-15 average exactly).

Turkey (64%) and Malta (56%) are at the bottom of the list of policy proponents, and the top of the list of opponents (14%, 23%). However the number of Turks and Maltese who want a common policy are still in majority. (see ANNEX TABLE 4.4)



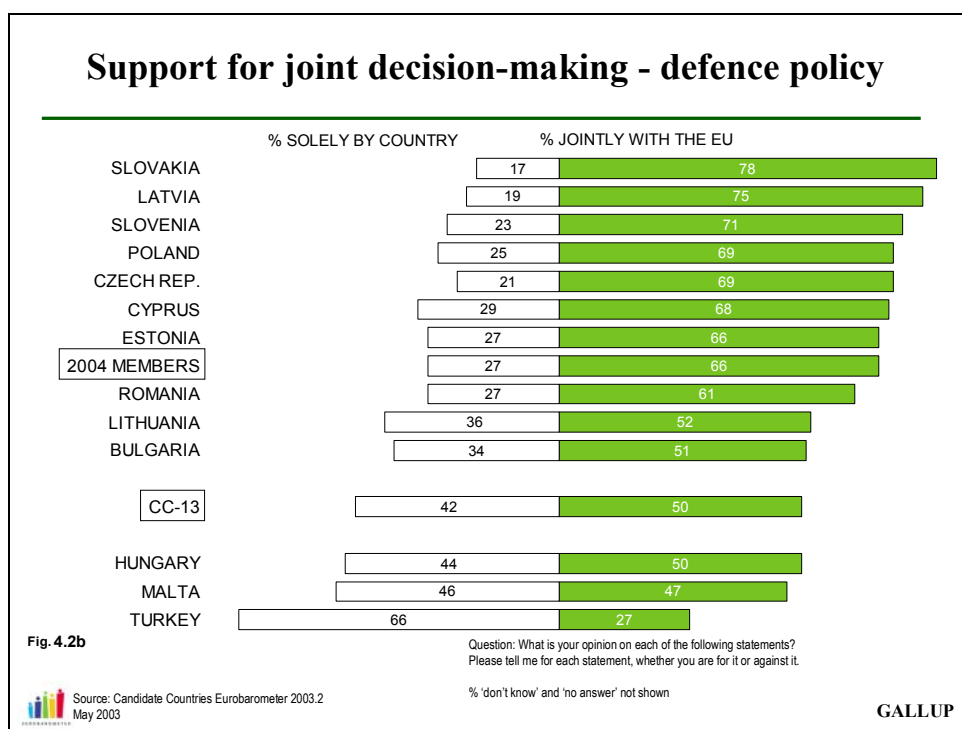
Support for joint EU decision making about defence policy

We continue by examining opinions regarding whether decisions about defence policy, after the accession of the candidate countries, should be made at the national or at the EU level.

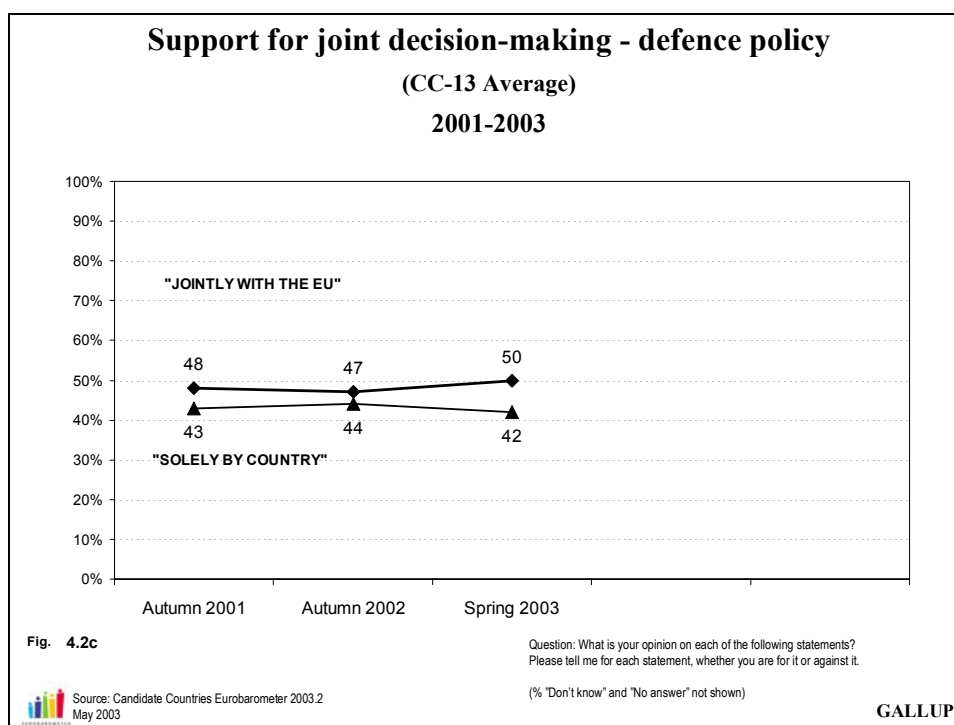
With the exception of Turkish and Maltese respondents, the CC-13 prefers joint decision making to national decision making in defence policy. On average, exactly 50% prefer joint decision making, while about two-fifths of them (42%) disagree. Respondents in the 2004 member states are much more on the joint-decision side – two thirds of them (66%) said that decisions on defence policy should be made on the EU level and 27% say defence is a country's own business.

Support for joint EU decision making is the highest in Slovakia (78%) and Latvia (75%), where about three-quarters favour it. Citizens in Slovenia (71%), Poland and the Czech Republic (69% in each), Cyprus (68%), and Estonia (66%) are well above the CC-13 average. Lithuania, Bulgaria and Hungary are just around the average support level of the candidate countries (with 52%, 51% and 50%).

We can find lower support than average in Malta (47%), and – at the bottom of the list – Turkey (27%). Maltese citizens are the most divided about this question; practically as many of them would prefer that individual countries decide about defence policy as otherwise (46% as against 47%). Turks' responses are more decided; two-thirds (66%) want control of defence policy to remain with their own government, while only 27% think it should be made jointly with the EU.



Support for a common European defence policy has increased by 3 percentage points since autumn 2002, to reach 50% in spring 2003. This represents the highest level of support in the candidate region since autumn 2001 (48%). It's also noticeable that the number of citizens opposed to a common European Union defence policy has decreased (-2 percentage point) to reach its lowest level (42%).



The analysis of trends shows that support has increased in 11 of the 13 candidate states, particularly in Poland (+8), Bulgaria (+8), Cyprus (+6) and Turkey (+6). Only one country shows a significant drop in support for a common defence policy, Hungary (-9).

The rate of support for joint decision making remains unchanged in Latvia; it stayed at 75%. The average rate of "don't know" responses on the CC-13 level is 8%, but there is a relatively wide range of responses, from 3% in Cyprus to 15% in Bulgaria. (see *ANNEX TABLE 4.5*)

| Table 4.2 Support for joint decision making – defence policy | | | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|------------|--|
| Country | 2002 | 2003 | Difference | |
| BULGARIA | 43 | 51 | +8 | |
| POLAND | 61 | 69 | +8 | |
| CYPRUS | 62 | 68 | +6 | |
| TURKEY | 21 | 27 | +6 | |
| ROMANIA | 57 | 61 | +4 | |
| MALTA | 44 | 47 | +3 | |
| SLOVAKIA | 75 | 78 | +3 | |
| LITHUANIA | 49 | 52 | +3 | |
| CC-13 | 47 | 50 | +3 | |
| ESTONIA | 65 | 66 | +1 | |
| CZECH REP. | 68 | 69 | +1 | |
| LATVIA | 75 | 75 | 0 | |
| SLOVENIA | 73 | 71 | -2 | |
| HUNGARY | 59 | 50 | -9 | |

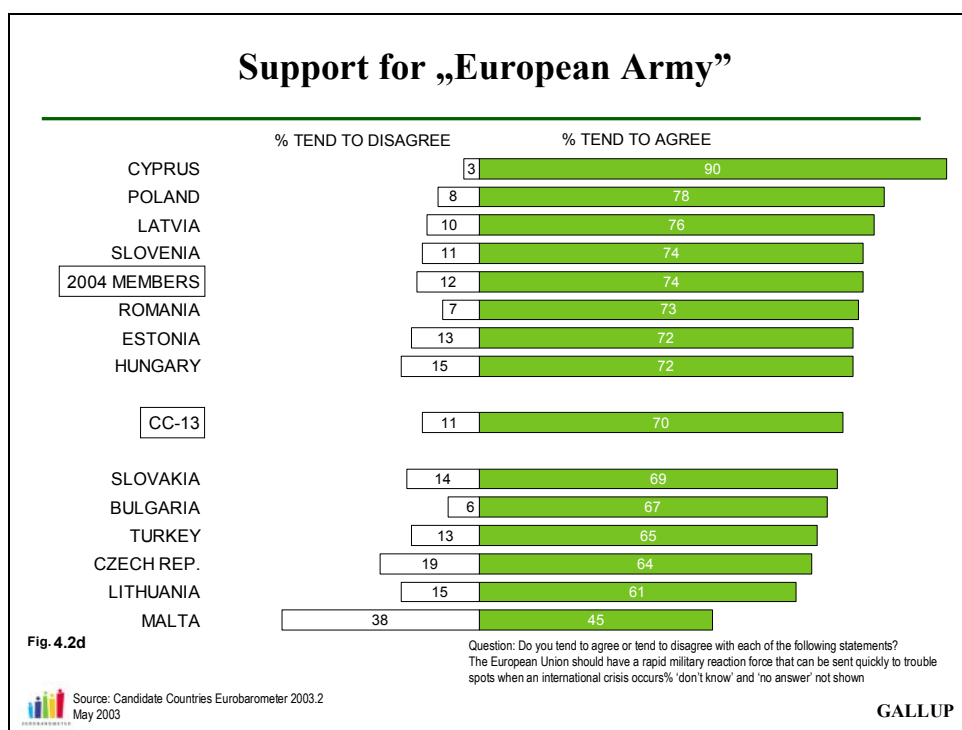
Citizens support the setting up of a European army

Along with European defence policy, Eurobarometer investigated opinions about the existence and role of a European army – specifically, a rapid military reaction force that could be sent quickly to trouble spots when an international crisis occurs.

Generally, we can say it's a popular idea -- seven out of 10 in the CC-13 tend to agree that the EU should have such an army, and 11% don't.

Proportionally there is only four percent difference between the assessment of the CC-13 countries and the 2004 member states -- 74% tend to agree with the notion of a European army, and 12% tend to disagree. Only 19% either could not or would not answer, and chose the "do not know/no answer" option.

A European army is most popular in Cyprus (90% agreed), Poland (76%), Latvia (78%), Slovenia (74%), Romania (73%), Estonia and Hungary (72% both). Slovakia has 69% agreement and Bulgaria has 67%; both are just below the average. A European army is not very attractive to the Maltese – they tend to agree least, only 45%, and 38% say they tend to disagree. (see ANNEX TABLE 4.6)

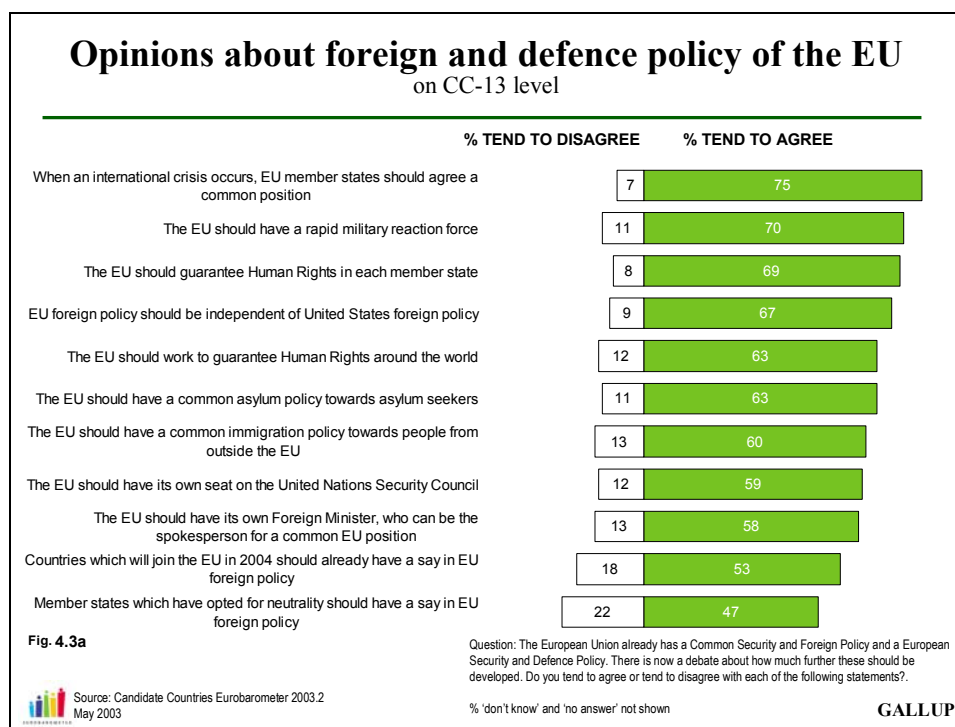


4.3. Concrete measures related to CFSP and ESDP

In an overview, two proposals about foreign and defence policy are especially noteworthy: First of all, three-quarter of the people of the CC-13 and the EU expect to see the EU member states agree to a common position in times of international crisis (75%). Secondly, there are big differences between them in how much say they think the 2004 members should have in EU foreign policy.

Exactly three-quarter (75%) of citizens in the candidate countries said that if an international crisis occurs, EU member states should agree to a common position (7% expressly disagree). In the current member states, this topic got the most widespread agreement (83%).

Seventy percent of citizens in the candidate countries are in favour of setting up “a rapid military reaction force”, or in other words, a European Army – 13% are against it. The next most important foreign and defence policy option, getting 69% agreement on the CC-13 level, regards the EU guarantee of human rights in each member state. This issue ranked second (79%) in the present EU. (See also *FIGURE 4.3b* below). About in the same proportion of CC-13 people (67%) said that they tend to agree that EU foreign policy should be independent of U.S. foreign policy, while 9% definitely disagree.

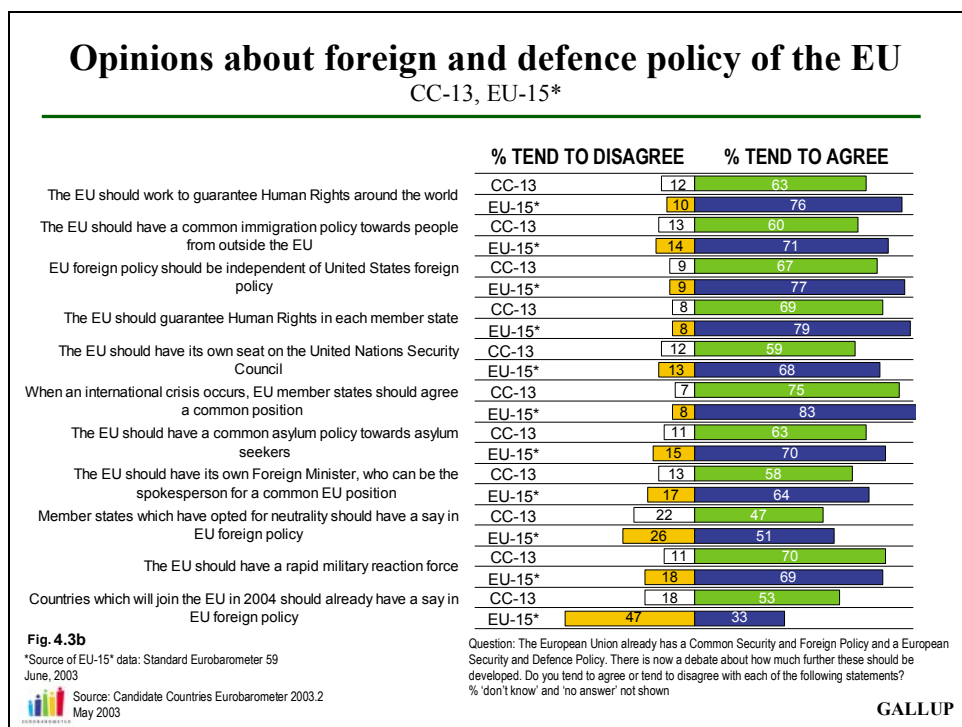


However, about two-thirds (63%) of the respondents agreed that the EU should have a common asylum policy towards asylum seekers. Slightly fewer (60%) said that the EU should have a common immigration policy toward people from outside the EU.

Candidate countries' citizens are the most divided on whether or not neutral member states should have a say in EU foreign and defence policy. Forty-seven percent tend to agree with it, but 22% of the respondents are against it. (*ANNEX TABLE 4.7*)

Nonetheless, 53% approve of the idea that the future member states (2004 members) should already have a say in foreign and defence policy. Opinions in the EU and CC-13 were widely separated (see *FIGURE 4.3b* below) – only 33% in the EU tended to agree.

About six people out of 10 (59%) are in favour of a seat for the Union on the United Nations Security Council, 63% say the EU should work to guarantee human rights around the world, and 58% tend to agree that there should be a Foreign Affairs Minister who would act as a spokesperson for the EU.

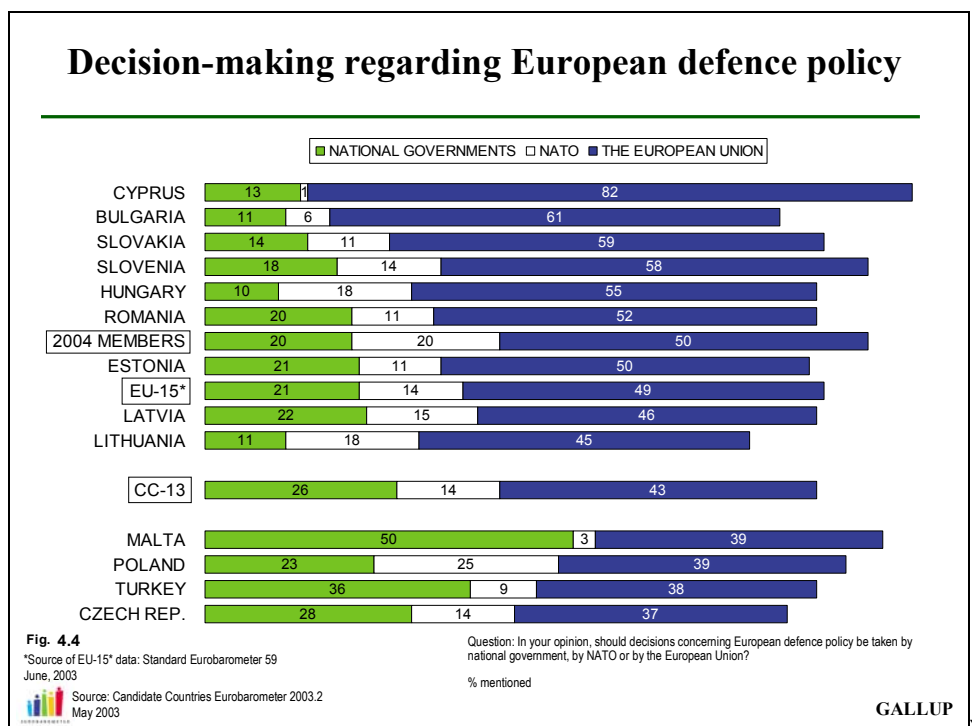


4.4. Who should make decisions on European defence policy?

We asked respondents whether individual governments, NATO or the European Union should make policy decisions on European defence. The data show that the European Union is by far the preferred option in every region -- 50% in the 2004 member countries, 49% on the CC-13 level, and 49% in the current member states as well.

European defence policy decision making: NATO relatively unpopular, and a more and more important role for the EU

Even though the EU has not yet set up an effective military operation -- it lacks an army -- the European Union is currently much more trusted in European defence matters than national governments or NATO.



On the CC-13 level, 49% of the citizens would trust the EU the most in European defence questions generally, 26% prefer to keep those decisions on a national level, and 14% would delegate these decisions to NATO¹¹. Only in Malta, with its heroic military history, would most citizens prefer to have their government deciding on defence issues (50%).

Poland and Hungary (both allies in the U.S.-led military coalition in Iraq) and Lithuania are the only countries that trust NATO decision-making more their own government's. In Poland, the difference is marginal (25% prefer NATO, 23% national government), but only 10% of Hungarians -- which is the lowest in the candidate region -- trust their own government in questions of war and peace. Eighteen percent would delegate such decisions to NATO, and 55% to the European Union. As far as Lithuanians are concerned, the European Union should play a somewhat less important role (45%),

¹¹ Turkey has been a long-time member of NATO; the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland have been members of NATO since 1999, and with EU enlargement, and the admission of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia, all but two candidate countries will become members of the military organisation.

but their opinions about the roles of NATO (18%) and their national government (11%) are on par with Hungary's.

On average, in the 2004 member states -- of which the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia joined the Iraqi coalition¹² -- 50% trust the EU most in European defence matters, and about one in five (20%) think that their governments should decide in defence policy questions. Exactly the same proportion of people (20%) would trust NATO. Sixteen percent said they didn't know, which might indicate that the recent turmoil resulted in increasing uncertainty about how questions of war and peace should be decided in Europe.

Results by country show that Cypriots (82%) are by far the most likely to prefer the EU to make defence policy decisions, followed by the people in Bulgaria (61%) and in Slovakia (59%). The European Union is preferred by majorities in Slovenia (58%), Hungary (55%), Romania (52%), and Estonia (50%), Latvia (46%) and Lithuania (45%). In the other countries, support for EU decision making is under 43% (the CC-13 average). At the bottom of the list is the Czech Republic -- 28% of citizens want their government to make decisions on defence policy, 38% prefer the European Union, and 14% think that NATO should make these decisions. (see *ANNEX TABLE 4.8*)

¹² as well as Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey

5. Attitudes and knowledge about enlargement and the accession process

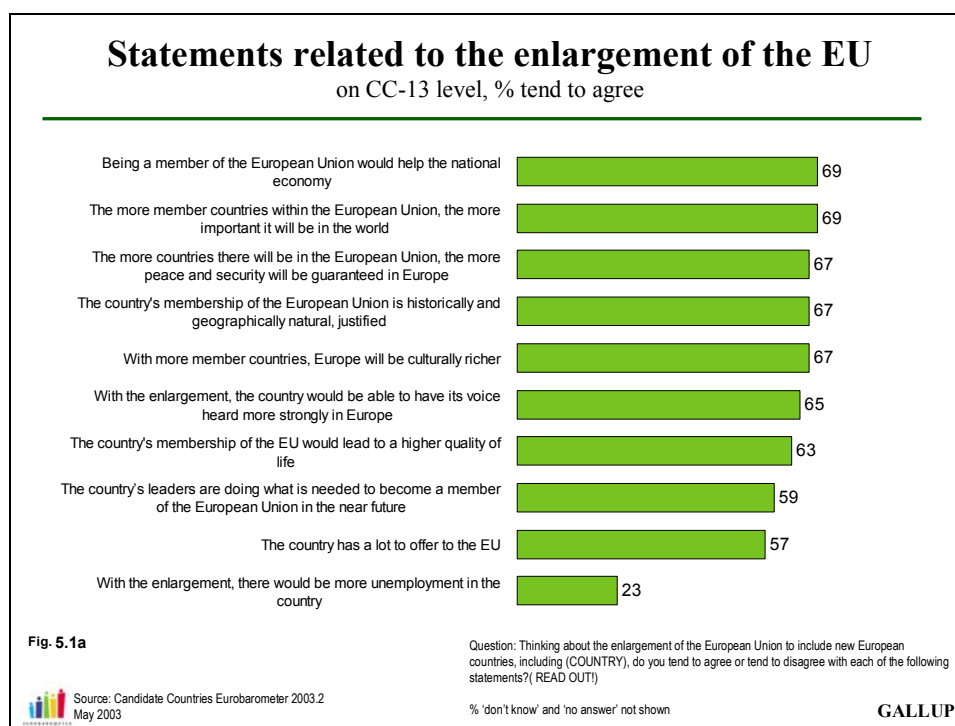
At the beginning of this chapter we examine the sentiments, attitudes and fears surrounding enlargement that prevail in the candidate countries. Next, we look at opinions of speed of accession -- how fast people think the process is moving, and whether or not that's fast enough. Finally, we will look 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 it.

5.1 Attitudes toward enlargement

Two-thirds (67%) of the public in the candidate countries believes that the membership of their country in the European Union is "natural," that is, historically and geographically justified. "Natural" also means that Europe will be culturally richer if more countries, such as theirs, join the union (67%), and that membership would help their own country's economy (69%). The majority of the candidate countries' citizens feel that the Union will be more important in the world if it includes more countries (69%).

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 63% believe that a country's membership in the EU leads to a higher quality of life. Sixty-five percent think that with the enlargement, their country would have a stronger voice in Europe, and 59% believe that their leaders are doing what is needed to become a member of the European Union.

A little bit more than every other respondent in the candidate region believes his or her country has a lot to offer the European Union (57%), and every fourth citizen thinks that there will be more unemployment after his or her country joins the European Union (23%).



The following paragraphs provide more detailed views of each statement. (ANNEX TABLE 5.2)

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. On average, only 57% say they “tend to agree.” Poland (64%), Romania (62%), Cyprus (60%) and Turkey (59%) are the most likely to think they will bring something valuable into a partnership with the EU. Only 19% of Estonians think that their country “has a lot to offer” the European Union; Lithuania and Latvia are also rather pessimistic (33% and 35%, respectively).

Membership would help the country's economy

Sixty-nine percent of our respondents agreed that “being a member of the European Union would help the (NATIONAL) economy.” The CC-13 is divided on this question -- the levels of affirmation range from 75% in Romania, 74% in Bulgaria and Cyprus, 71% in Poland, and 70% in Turkey to 52% in Latvia (which is significantly below the average), 54% in Estonia, 55% in the Czech Republic and 59% in Malta. Responses in Hungary, Lithuania (66% for each) and Slovenia almost reach the CC-13 average (69%).

Membership makes the country more important in Europe

Sixty-five percent of the citizens of candidate countries expect to have increased European importance after their country's accession. Cypriots are the likeliest to expect greater appreciation for their country (94%), followed by Romanians and Poles (both 71%), Slovenians (69%) and Turks (65%). Czechs (45%) and Estonians (45%) least anticipate greater national importance.

Leaders are doing what is needed

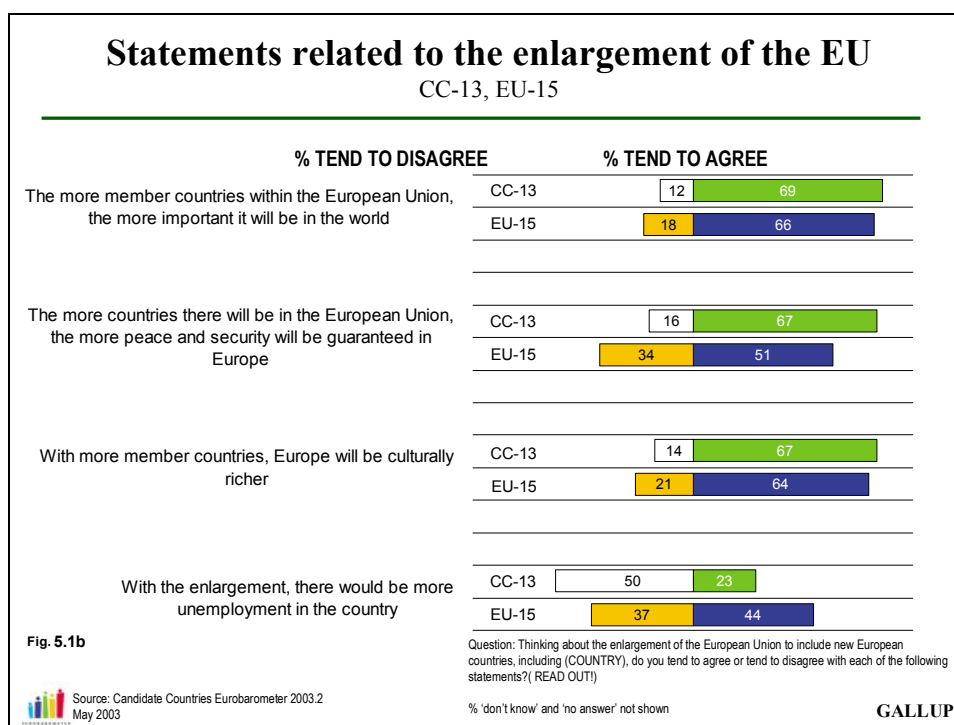
Compared to the previous statements, respondents were considerably more convinced that “(COUNTRY)'s leaders are doing what is needed to become a member of the European Union in the near future.” On average, 59% think their leaders spare no effort to promote the accession process. The public in Cyprus (92%), Malta (89%) and Hungary (83%) is the most likely to share this view. In Bulgaria (45%), Romania (49%) and Turkey (50%), people are least likely to think their politicians are doing what is needed to become EU members.

Membership is justified

Sixty-seven percent of candidate countries' citizens are positive that, historically and geographically, their country belongs to the European realm and thus their membership in the Union is natural and justified. However, results are strongly polarized. And ironically, we find countries that are relatively geographically distant from the European Union at both ends of the scale. The people of Cyprus are the most likely to think (84%) that their membership in the EU is well justified on historic and geographic grounds, followed by Bulgaria and Hungary (both 75%), Poland (71%), Slovakia and Slovenia (both 70%), Romania (69%), Malta (65%) and Turkey (63%). The least confident people in this respect are the Lithuanians (59%) and the Estonians (48%).

Higher quality of life

Sixty-three percent of the respondents expect a better quality of life from their EU citizenship. When we asked whether or not they tend to agree with the statement “(COUNTRY)'s membership of the EU would lead to a higher quality of life,” the Cypriots (70%), Bulgarians and Romanians (both 69%), Turkish (64%), and Hungarians and Poles (both 62%) were the most optimistic. We found low levels of optimism in Estonia (38%), Latvia (42%) and the Czech Republic (51%).



With the enlargement, the EU will become more important

The people living in the candidate region envision a stronger Europe after the accession of the 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 (74% in the 2004 member countries and 66% in the current member states). The highest numbers of positive responses were recorded in Cyprus (92%), but Hungary (83%) and Malta (80%) also ranked high on this scale. Lithuania and Turkey are at the bottom end -- with 64% and 61% affirmative, respectively.

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, *“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 concur (91%), followed by Hungarians (80%), Poles (78%), Romanians (76%), Bulgarians (74%) and Slovaks (73%). Fewer Turks, relatively, (54%) believe that the integrating force of the European Union will bring lasting peace to the continent.

Cultural enrichment

Two-thirds (67%) of the CC-13 respondents think their country can add to the multicultural image of the European Union. Sixty-four 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 Cyprus (79%) and Hungary (78%) are the most likely to agree, but so do many in Slovenia, Malta and Poland (73% each), as well as in Bulgaria (72%) and Slovakia (70%). Estonians (52%), Czechs (55%), Lithuanians (57%), Latvians (58%) and Turks (63%) are the most sceptical in this regard, while Romanians (67%) represent the CC-13 average.

More unemployment

As the only negative statement tested, this one received the least confirmation from the CC-13 public - 23% of interviewed individuals agreed that *"with the enlargement, there would be more unemployment in (COUNTRY)."* Fifty-three percent of Cypriots fear that membership will foster unemployment. Estonians (42%), Latvians (39%) and Czechs (36%) are also more likely to fear the effect of membership on their labour market. Poles (22%) and Slovaks (24%) represents the CC-13 average. But only 15% of Bulgarians, 19% of Lithuanians, and 21% of Romanians and Turks have similar concerns.

Perception of support levels for membership in the current member states

It probably can't be considered a fear, but citizens of the candidate region definitely have reservations about whether or not the current EU citizens support new memberships or not. Thirty-one percent on the CC-13 level and 15% among the 2004 members do not believe that current EU residents are in favour of welcoming them into 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 suggest that people in the candidate region have no clear idea to what extent people in Western Europe support their proposed membership in the European Union (12% do not know, 15% can't decide what the majority opinion might be), but very few think that current EU citizens would be indifferent (neither in favour nor against: 3%) to the new EU accessions. The 2004 members' responses are in parentheses.

| | | |
|---|-----|-------|
| Very much against | 12% | (2%) |
| Somewhat against | 19% | (13%) |
| Somewhat in favour of | 36% | (51%) |
| Very much in favour of | 6% | (7%) |
| <i>Some are in favour, other are against (spont.)</i> | 12% | (17%) |
| <i>Neither in favour nor against (spont.)</i> | 2% | (3%) |
| <i>DK/ No answer (spont.)</i> | 13% | (8%) |

There is very little variation among the countries, although the majority in Turkey (55%) thinks that Western Europeans oppose their EU membership. This is not the case anywhere else, but only Maltese (73%), Cypriots (70%), Poles (65%), Hungarians (63%) and Slovenes (61%) have a confident absolute majority that believes current EU residents support their country's accession at least to some extent. (ANNEX TABLE 5.4)

| Table 5.1c Perception of support levels for country's membership in the member states (Average score for '% currently afraid' responses for 10 items, by country) | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Country | Very much / somewhat in favour of | Very much / somewhat against of |
| MALTA | 73 | 6 |
| CYPRUS | 70 | 6 |
| POLAND | 65 | 10 |
| HUNGARY | 63 | 10 |
| SLOVENIA | 61 | 24 |
| SLOVAKIA | 54 | 14 |
| 2004 MEMBERS | 53 | 19 |
| LITHUANIA | 50 | 16 |
| CC-13 | 42 | 31 |
| ESTONIA | 40 | 29 |
| ROMANIA | 40 | 10 |
| LATVIA | 39 | 30 |
| CZECH REP. | 37 | 28 |
| BULGARIA | 34 | 27 |
| TURKEY | 27 | 55 |

5.2 Time frame of the EU accession

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

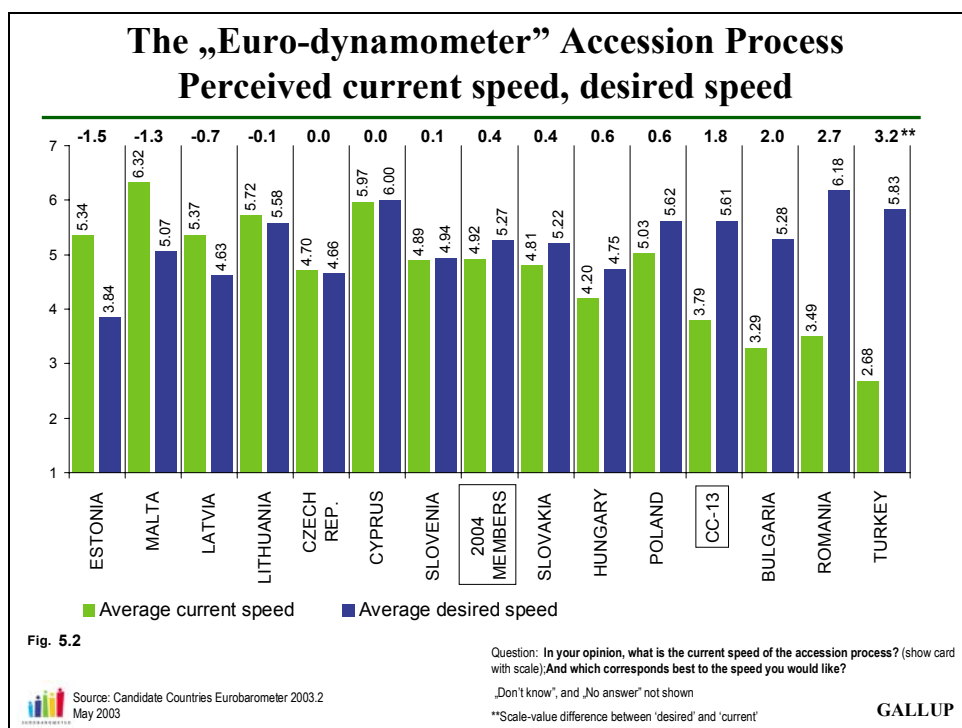
a. In your opinion, what is the current speed of the accession process? Please look at these figures (SHOW CARD WITH SCALE), No. 1 is standing still, No. 7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one that best corresponds with your opinion of the current speed of the accession process.



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 would prefer even faster enlargement.

On a scale of 1 to 7, people believe their country's accession process is moving, on average, at 3.79. But people would like the accession process to be faster (5.61). As the figure below shows, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer illustrates 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 2004 members group.



The perceived speed of the accession process varies considerably from country to country. It is highest in Malta (6.32) and, reflecting reality, the lowest in Turkey (2.68). Accession is perceived to be moving quickly in Cyprus (5.97) and in Lithuania (5.72) as well. Countries still above the midpoint of this seven-point scale are Latvia (5.37), Estonia (5.34), Poland (5.03), Slovenia (4.89), Slovakia (4.81)

and the Czech Republic (4.7). Next to Turkish people (2.68), only Hungarians (4.2), Romanians (3.49) and Bulgarians (3.29) see the speed of the accession process as being rather slow. (*ANNEX TABLE 5.6*)

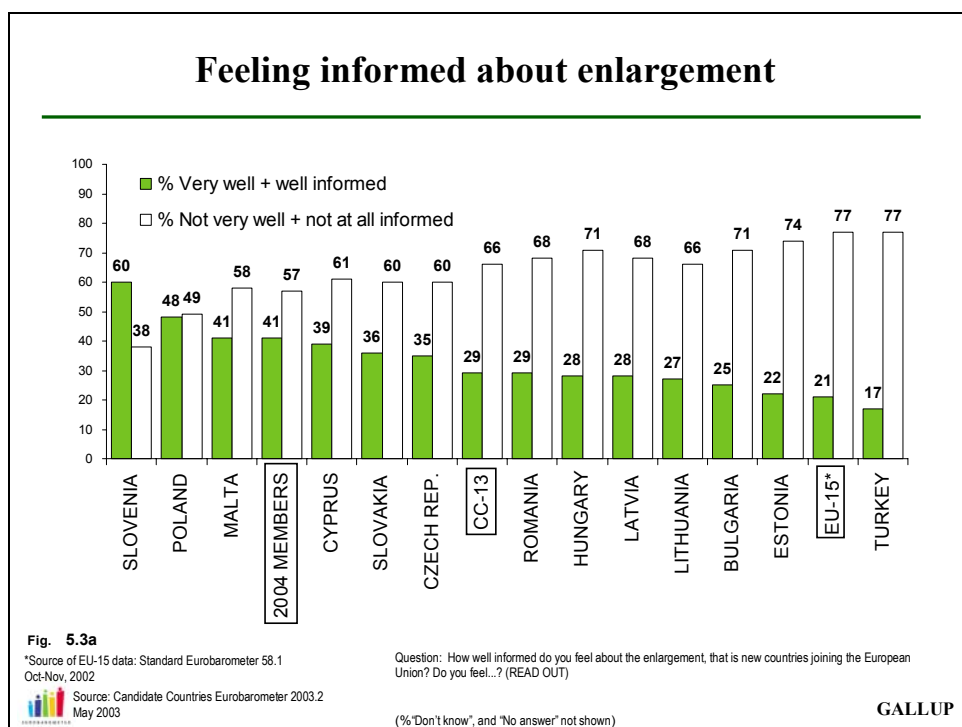
More than any other, Romania would like the process to be faster (6.18), followed by people in Cyprus (6.0), Turkey (5.83), Poland (5.62), Lithuania (5.58), Bulgaria (5.28) and Slovakia (5.22). The desired speed is lowest in Estonia (3.84) and Latvia (4.63), but these values are still on the fast side of the scale. (*ANNEX TABLE 5.7*)

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 the process move faster than the perceived speed, with the largest positive net difference found in Turkey (3.2), Romania (2.7) and Bulgaria (2.0). Estonia (-1.5), Malta (-1.2) and Latvia (-0.7) are the only countries with a small negative net difference between the perceived and the desired speeds. In Lithuania (-0.1) and Slovenia (0.1) the perceived speed almost -- and in the Czech Republic and Cyprus (0 for each), the perceived speed exactly -- matches the desired speed.

5.3 Feeling informed about enlargement and the accession process

Enlargement

Eurobarometer finds that many people in the candidate region -- and even more in the member states¹³ -- are very poorly informed about the enlargement process. The results show that 41% in the 2004 member countries, 29% in the candidate countries, and only 21% of current EU citizens feel very well or well informed about enlargement, with 57%, 66% and 77% (respectively) feeling not very well or not at all well informed.

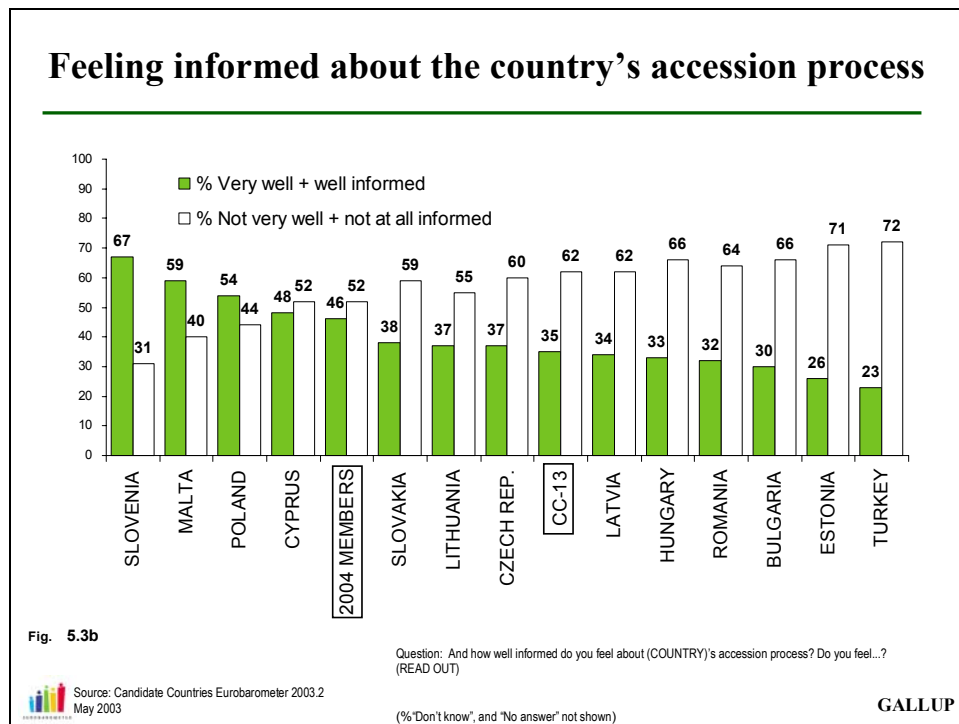


The country results indicate that only in Slovenia do more than half feel well informed about enlargement (60%). Poland (48%), Malta (41%), Cyprus (39%), Slovakia (38%) and the Czech Republic (35%) follow. In most of the other countries, less than one-third of the respondents feel well informed; this is especially true for Estonians and Turks, of whom only 22% and 17%, respectively, feel informed about the enlargement process. (ANNEX TABLE 5.8)

¹³ EB58, Autumn 2002

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 positively confirm this belief; only 35% of people in the candidate region feel well or very well informed about their country's accession process. This is only 6% higher than the figure regarding the enlargement process. Sixty-two percent feel they are not very well or even not at all informed (the proportion of the latter group is 20%).



The country-by-country analyses don't add much to this: we have found people rank feeling informed about accession in much the same way they rank feeling informed about EU enlargement.

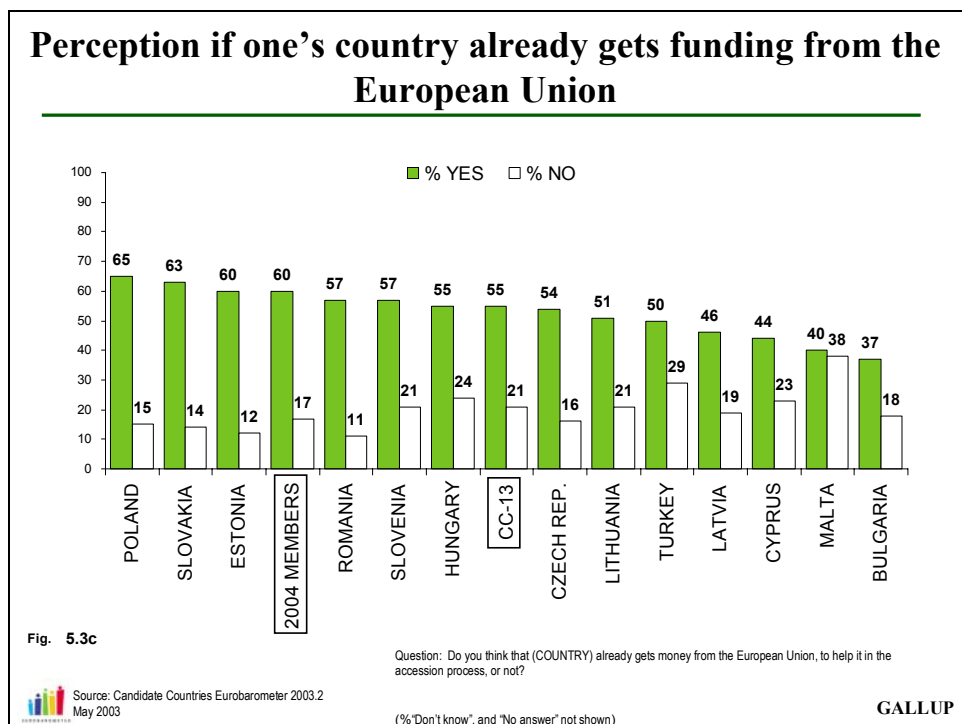
Again, Slovenia is the most informed country (67%), but Malta came in second (59%) and Poland third (54%) as the only countries in which more than half of the population feels well informed about accession. Cyprus (48%) is just behind them.

In Malta, the level of information about the accession process considerably exceeds that about the enlargement (41% versus 59%). At the bottom, we find Estonia and Turkey again, with Turkish people being the least informed about their country's accession process.

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 22% among the least educated people to 52% among managers. (ANNEX TABLE 5.9)

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. About one-fourth (24%) have no idea whether or not the EU has funded their country; 55% think their country is already receiving funding from the European Union; and 21% say the opposite.

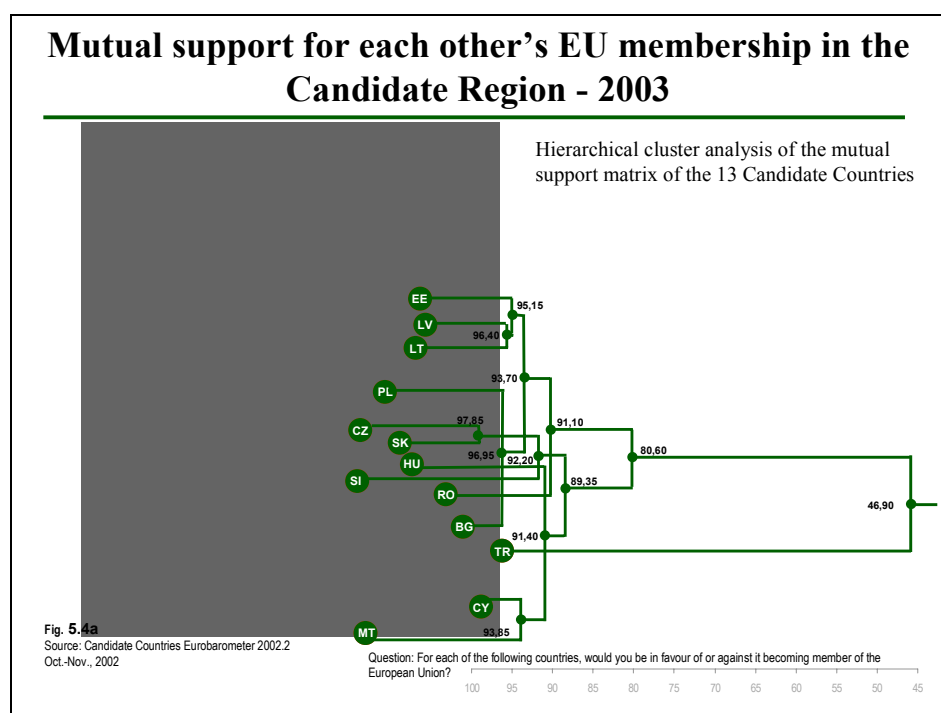


There are some candidate countries in which awareness of European funding is rather high: Poland (65%), Slovakia (63%), Estonia (60%), Romania and Slovenia (both 57%), Hungary (55%), the Czech Republic (54%), Lithuania (51%) and Turkey (50%). In each of the remaining countries, awareness of the influx of EU money remains below 50%, ranging from 37% in Bulgaria to 46% in Latvia. (ANNEX TABLE 5.10)

5.4. Mutual support of membership in the candidate region

The candidate countries support each other's membership to varying degrees. However, with the exception of a few extremes (especially the relationship between Cyprus and Turkey -- 16% of Cypriots support the membership of Turkey), the average support level is extremely high. Ninety percent of people support the membership of other countries in the region. In the 2004 members group, an average 92% of the citizens support the membership of the other nine countries.

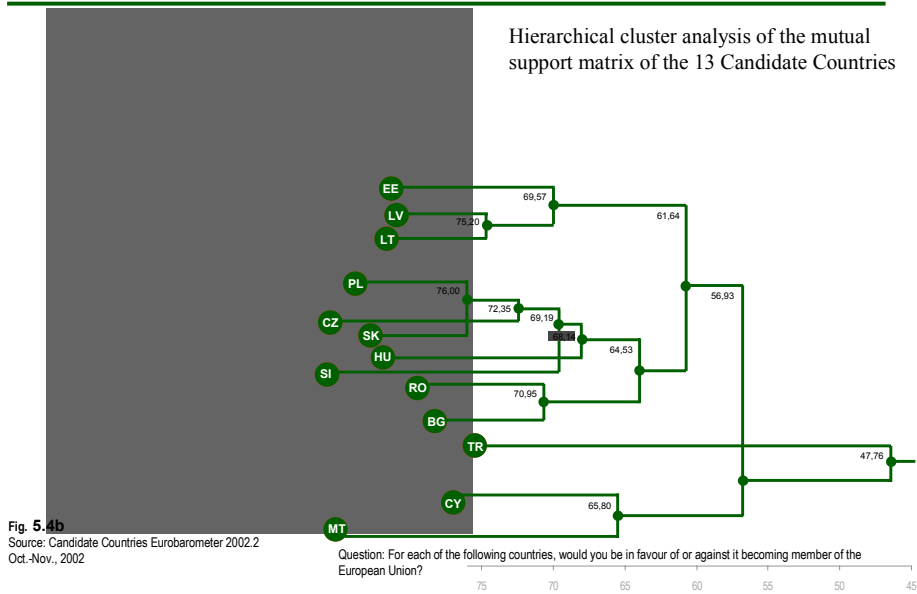
Certainly, there are countries that are fonder of some than others. The hierarchical cluster analysis of the expressed and received support for each country with each of the other countries reinforces long-standing experimental and common-sense knowledge, but also draws attention to some developments in the region's dynamics. (FIGURE 5.4)



As the map and the tree-graph above show, 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 Czechs, Slovaks, and then the Bulgarian and the Polish people at the core, the other Slavic countries with Slovenia joining in here later, and finally Hungary (the more to the right the 'junction' is, the looser the mutual support relationship). There is a Balkan group with only two countries; the relationship between Romania and Bulgaria is not as close as before, however. 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. (see ANNEX TABLE 5.5)

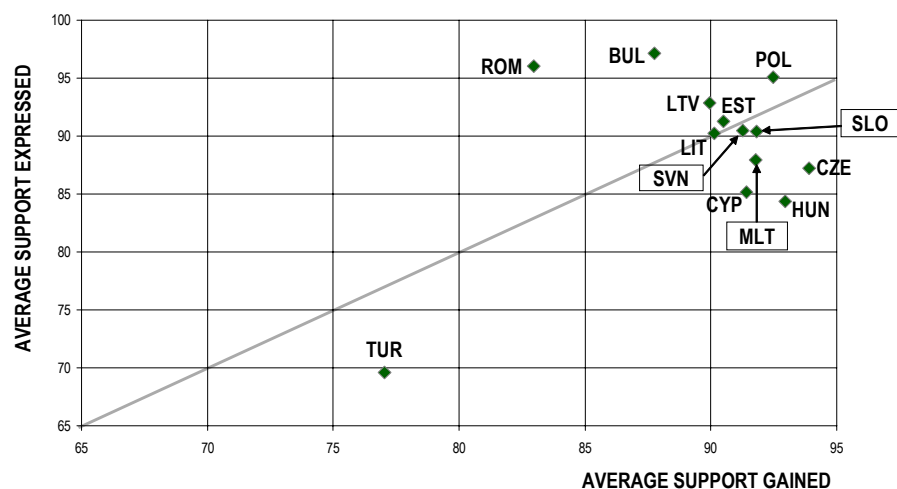
It is enlightening to see the hierarchy according to which these groups connect. There is a relatively strong mutual relationship between the Slavic states led by Czechs and Slovaks and including Bulgaria and Poland. The Baltic States have almost the same strong relationship. The least integrated is the Mediterranean group, together with Hungary. Finally, all groups of countries are closer to each other than they are to Turkey.

Mutual support for each other's EU membership in the Candidate Region - 2002



Mutual support six months ago -- as seen in the figure above -- shows very interesting modifications when compared to current mutual support levels. First, we can establish that the relations (correlations) between groups of countries have become stronger and closer than they were before -- with the exception of Turkey, for which support of other countries does not show significant changes. Comparing the points of change, it is interesting that Bulgaria has built stronger relationship with Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, but lost the close connection with Romania -- relatively speaking. Today, Hungary has a stronger relationship with the Mediterranean group (Malta and Cyprus) and a relatively weaker one with the central European group.

Interaction of support among the Candidate Countries



If we study the received and expressed support by countries (*FIGURE 5.4c* above), we find that Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic receive the highest support from their peers among all the candidate countries. However, all of these countries but Poland (all except Poland are beneath the diagonal line in the chart) express less support for their fellow countries than they gain from them. Turkey, Cyprus and Hungary, being low on the vertical axis, are the countries that are the least generous with their support.

Lithuania, Estonia, Slovenia and Slovakia 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 5.4, on the next page, has detailed figures about support levels in each of the candidate countries.

Table 5.4 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 | 88 | 91 | 94 | 90 | 93 | 90 | 90 | 92 | 92 | 83 | 92 | 91 | 77 | 90 |
| 2004 MEMBERS | 89 | 92 | 95 | 91 | 95 | 90 | 91 | 93 | 94 | 83 | 93 | 92 | 74 | 92* |
| BULGARIA | .. | 97 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 99 | 95 | 99 | 99 | 87 | 97 |
| CYPRUS | 85 | .. | 95 | 91 | 94 | 88 | 90 | 98 | 95 | 89 | 90 | 90 | 16 | 85 |
| CZECH REP. | 84 | 91 | .. | 87 | 95 | 85 | 86 | 94 | 95 | 72 | 97 | 92 | 70 | 87 |
| ESTONIA | 92 | 92 | 96 | .. | 96 | 96 | 96 | 93 | 91 | 88 | 93 | 91 | 74 | 91 |
| HUNGARY | 82 | 92 | 91 | 82 | .. | 81 | 81 | 93 | 93 | 67 | 86 | 90 | 75 | 84 |
| LATVIA | 94 | 93 | 95 | 97 | 95 | .. | 97 | 94 | 93 | 91 | 94 | 93 | 79 | 93 |
| LITHUANIA | 90 | 88 | 94 | 94 | 94 | 96 | .. | 89 | 93 | 86 | 92 | 91 | 76 | 90 |
| MALTA | 88 | 89 | 89 | 91 | 90 | 90 | 90 | .. | 90 | 85 | 91 | 91 | 72 | 88 |
| POLAND | 95 | 96 | 99 | 96 | 98 | 96 | 95 | 95 | .. | 88 | 98 | 97 | 87 | 95 |
| ROMANIA | 97 | 96 | 97 | 96 | 94 | 97 | 97 | 96 | 97 | .. | 97 | 96 | 94 | 96 |
| SLOVAKIA | 90 | 92 | 98 | 89 | 93 | 89 | 89 | 92 | 97 | 83 | .. | 93 | 81 | 90 |
| SLOVENIA | 87 | 91 | 95 | 93 | 94 | 91 | 91 | 94 | 94 | 85 | 91 | .. | 81 | 90 |
| TURKEY | 66 | 77 | 74 | 67 | 71 | 68 | 68 | 66 | 70 | 70 | 69 | 69 | .. | 70 |

* average support for the other nine countries

6. The EU institutions

This chapter concentrates on CC-13 awareness of EU and other supranational institutions. Respondents were asked about their trust in such organizations, and their importance in the life of the European Union.

6.1. The European Union among other supranational institutions

At first look, we can see that the European Union is the most well known organization both among CC-13 countries (97%) and also in 2004 member countries (99%), followed closely by the United Nations and NATO. All these organizations have almost 100% awareness. The European Court of Human Rights (79%) and the International Court of Justice (67%) are more well known in 2004 member countries (81%, 75%). The Council of Europe dropped to sixth place on the list, but almost one-third of the respondents have heard about it.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (**OSCE**) is less well known. Fifty-nine percent in the CC-13 countries, and 66% in the 2004 member countries, have heard about it.

A more detailed look at the countries shows that the Bulgarians and Turks mentioned the **European Union** in the lowest proportions (both 95%). Respondents who left school when they were 15 or younger are less likely to have heard about the EU (93%) than are those who are better educated (100%), and house persons are also less well informed as managers (100%).

Lithuanians have heard about the **United Nations** in the lowest ratio, 89%. Demographically, the data show some difference between genders. The United Nations is more well known by males (97%), than females (88%), and also more characteristic to the younger generation (96% of the 15-24 years old age group) – they more likely to be aware of the United Nations – only 89% of respondents aged 55 or older mentioned the United Nations.

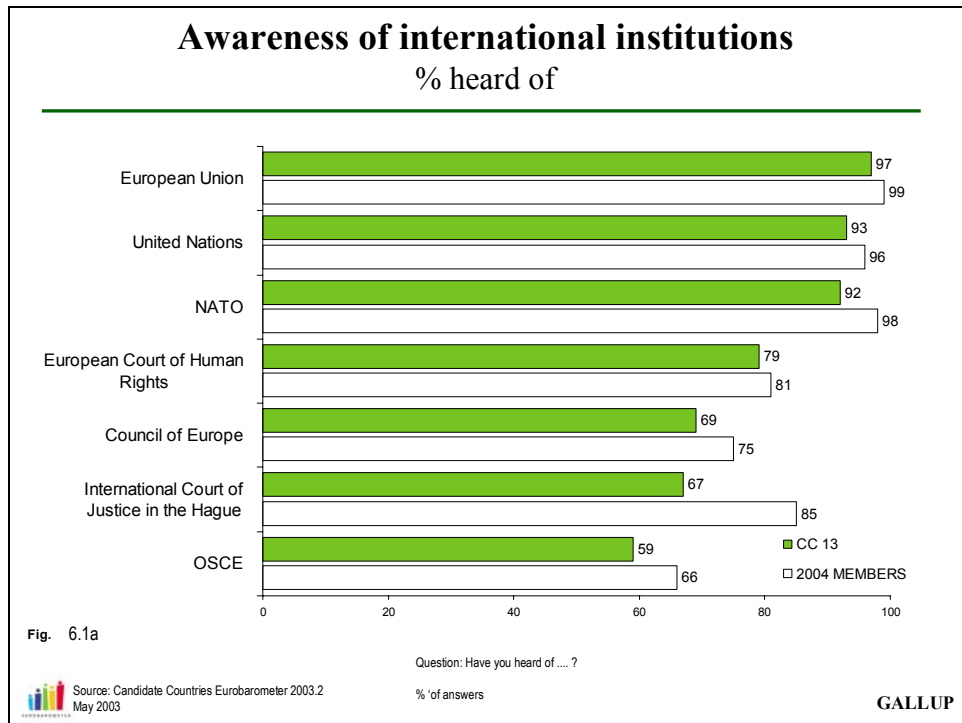
Every respondent in Cyprus, Malta and Poland (100%) had heard of **NATO** -- 5 percentage points higher than Bulgarian responses (95%). NATO is best known by males (98%), the middle aged (93%), and those who left school at or after the age of 20 (99%). Awareness of NATO is 3 percentage points up from the previous wave in autumn 2002., mostly due to the +7 change in awareness in Turkey. (Generally, the awareness for the other institutions did not change significantly in the past six months).

Cypriots are very familiar (95%) with the **European Court of Human Rights**, much more so than respondents from the Czech Republic (89%) and Bulgaria (71%). Males (87%), the younger generation (83% among the 25-39 olds), and middle-aged respondents (82%) are likely to have heard of the court as well as managers (96%).

Awareness of the **International Court of Justice in The Hague** shows an interesting detail among countries. Respondents in Cyprus (81%) and Poland (72%) have heard about this institution in the highest proportions, and Turks (22%), Estonians (43%) and Lithuanians (40%) have the lowest awareness. Males (75%) surpass females (59%) by 16 percentage points. An interesting development: familiarity with this institution has increased by 2 percentage points in CC-13 countries but has decreased by 22% in 2004 member countries.

The **Council of Europe** is best known by Slovaks (86%) and Cypriots (84%). Respondents from the Czech Republic (60%) and Turkey (61%) show the lowest awareness. Male respondents (78%) and those 40-54 years of age (73%) are more likely to be familiar with the council than are women (60%) or who are older than 55 years. Those who left school at 15 or younger show only 52% awareness. The awareness of this institution has increased by 2 percentage points in the CC-13 countries and by 4% in the 2004 member countries since the autumn of 2002.

The Polish (70%) show the most awareness of the **OSCE**, followed by Slovenians (69%) -- but only 45% of the Maltese are familiar. The middle aged generations (63% among the 25-39 years old and 68% by the 40-54 years old) and males (69%) have heard about it in higher proportions than females (49%), and younger people have (50%). (ANNEX TABLE 6.1)

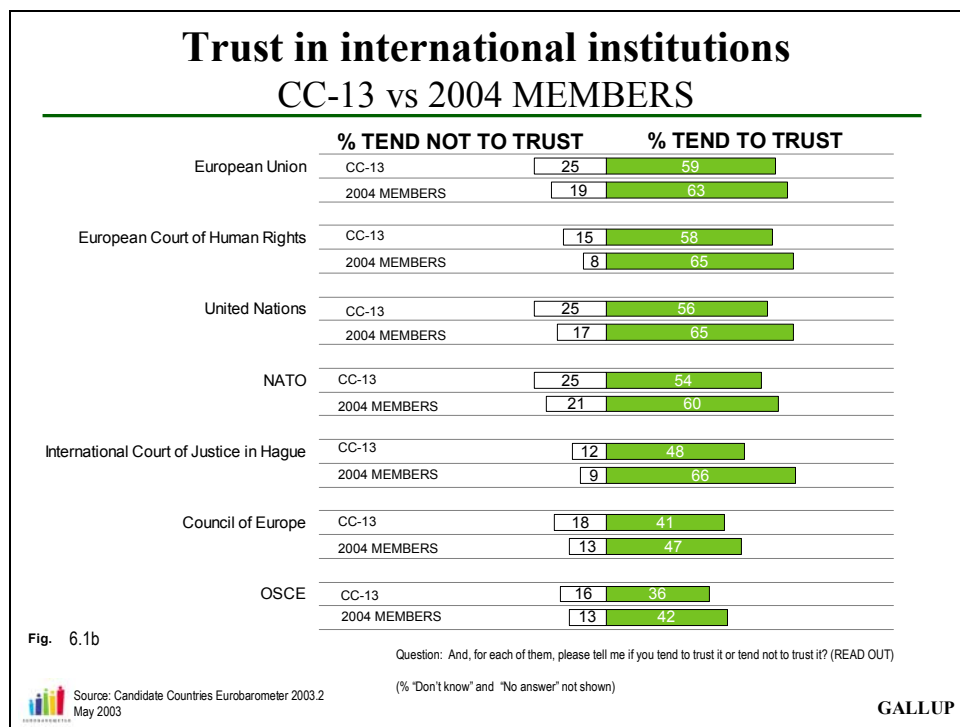


The data show that the European Union is the most trusted international or supra-governmental organization both in CC-13 countries and in 2004 member countries -- about six in 10 (59%) CC-13 citizens trust it. A similar number, 58%, trusts the European Court of Human Rights, and 56% trust the United Nations in the CC-13. More than a half of the respondents (51%) in the candidate region say they trust NATO.

Trust in European Union has even boosted this year, especially in those countries that will be member states next May (+5). With “settling” the issue of reunification of the island with postponing it to the uncertain future, trust towards the Union skyrocketed in (the Greek, Republican part of) Cyprus, with 23 percentage points increase compared to last September.

The 2004 member country results give us a similar pattern to that for the CC-13. However the European Union stands only in the fourth place (63%) while the trust in International Court of Justice in Hague leads the “trust ranking” with 66% of mentions, followed by the European Court of Human Rights and UN (65% both).

The OSCE dropped to last place in both regions, with 42% in the 2004 member states and 36% on CC-13 level.



Examining the countrywide results for each institution shows us the following:

- The **European Union** is trusted most by Cypriots (78%, +23), Hungarians (75%, -1) and Romanians (73%, -2). The least trusting are Turks (49%, -5) and Estonians (48%, +5). Managers trust the EU more (74%) than self-employed people (56%) and house persons (47%). The trust in EU has also increased significantly in Lithuania (+14) and in Slovenia (+16) compared to 2002 autumn.
- Cypriots (81%), Poles (72%) and Hungarians (71%) trust the **European Court of Human Rights** more than does any other nationality, especially Turks (46%). Managers (74%) trust it more than self-employed people (55%) or house persons (42%), more those who finished their studies in 20 years (74%). Poles trust in European Court has increased in the highest proportion, by 11 compared to results of 2002 autumn. There is also an increase in Cyprus (+9) Malta (+8).

- The **United Nations** is trusted most by Hungarians (73%), (it was the same in autumn 2002) and Cypriots (52%), and least by Turks. The trust among CC-13 countries in autumn 2002 was on the same level. We can see an increase in Cyprus (+11), in Poland (+9) in Slovenia (+5), and a decrease in Bulgaria (-2) and in Czech Republic (-1).

- Trust in the **International Court of Justice in The Hague** is on a wide scale. Cypriots and Hungarians trust it the most and, again, Turks trust the least, with only 22%. As results of autumn 2002 show the trust in this institution has increased by 2% among CC-13 countries and has decreased by 6% in 2004 member countries. As for country results there is an increase in Cyprus (+14), in Poland (+10) in Latvia (+8). Decrease can be seen in Estonia and in Bulgaria (both -1).

- **NATO** has fallen to the fifth place on the trust scale. Poles and Hungarians have the highest trust (both 67%), but only 19% of Cypriots concur. Trust in NATO has decreased by +5 point of percentage in 2004 member countries compared the results of the 2004 autumn survey. As looking at the countries results we can say that the highest drop was in Hungary, in Czech Republic and in Slovakia (all decreased by 4%), and the highest increase was in Poland (+10) and in Turkey (+7).

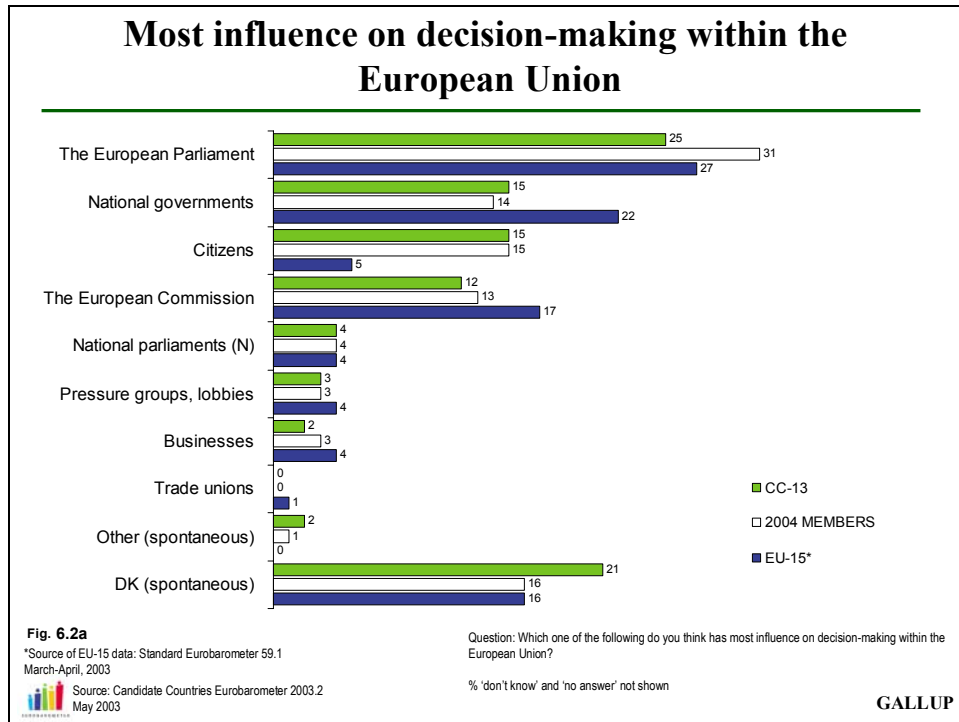
- The **Council of Europe** is less well known and less well trusted. Sixty-six percent of Cypriots trust it, versus 29% of Czechs and 29% of Turks. Trust in the Council of Europe has increased by 2% in CC-13 countries and 6% in 2004 member countries compared the results with data of 2002 autumn survey. Cyprus is the country where the trust has increased in the highest proportion (+17%).

- The **OSCE** is less trusted than any institution. Country by country, Slovaks are the most trusting (48%), and Turks are the least (23%). Cypriots are those whose trust has increased the most (+13). (ANNEX TABLE 6.2)

6.2. Democracy in the European Union

This chapter shows who has the most influence on decision making on the EU, according to respondents in the candidate region as a whole, the 2004 member groups specifically, and the European Union.

First, people were asked about their thoughts regarding decision making, then they were asked about their expectations on each topic. (Table 6.2.a)



Respondents (exactly a quarter of them) think that **European Parliament** has the most influence on decision making. The proportion is the highest in the 2004 member countries (31%), followed by the CC-13 countries (25%) and EU-15 countries (27%). Hungarians mentioned the European Parliament most often (46%), and Turks (17%) least often.

National governments are the second most influential, and it's mainly the EU-15 countries that think so (22%). Fewer in the CC-13 countries agree (15%), as do 14% in the 2004 state.

There is a glaring difference between the EU-15 and the other regions' opinions of **citizens'** and the **European Commission's** influence on decision making. While the EU thinks that citizens have very little influence on decision making (5%), the CC-13 (12%) and 2004 countries (13%) feel the citizens' influence is much stronger. Opinions regarding the European Commission are just the opposite.

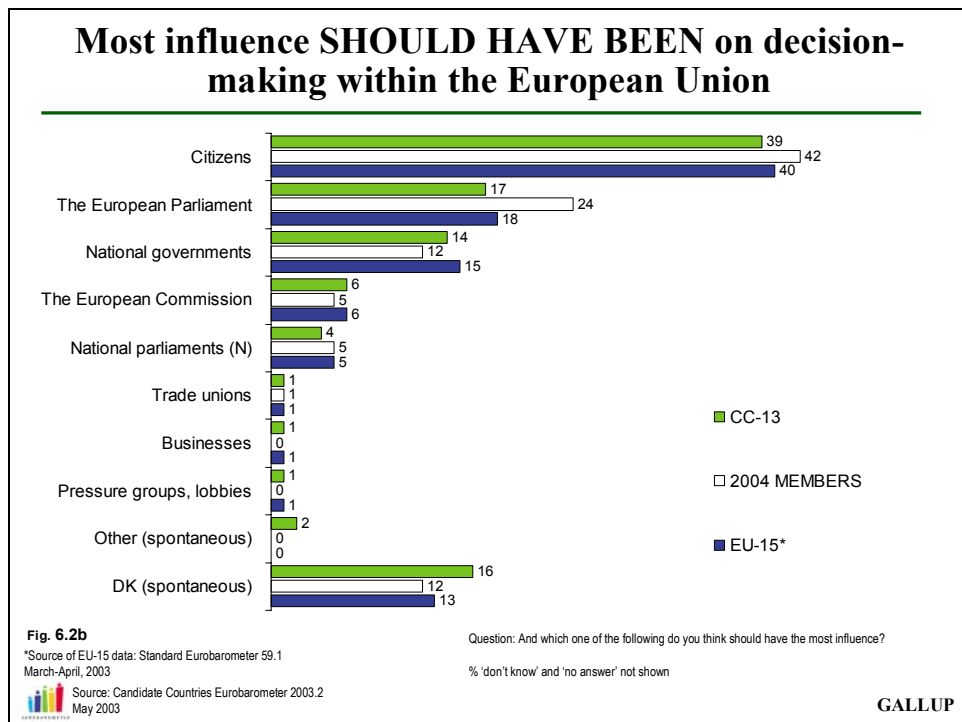
The respondents of the EU-15 feel the European Commission is more influential (17%) than do the people from the CC-13 countries (4%) and 2004 members (4%). **National parliaments** and **pressure groups and lobbies** are not considered very influential in any region.

As for **business**, the contrast is striking between the EU-15 and candidate countries. While 4% of the present members say businesses have a lot of influential on the decision-making process within the EU, the CC-13 (2%) and 2004 member (3%) countries disagree. **Trade unions** have little or no influence, according to every region.

Taking a closer look at the country results, we can see that the **European Parliament** is thought to be a most influential institution by Hungarians (46%) and Slovaks (34%). Turks (16%) disagree the most.

National governments are thought to be influential on decision making within the EU mostly by Cypriots (26%) and Estonians (25%). The Lithuanians (8%) and Romanians (11%) agree the least. (see ANNEX TABLE 6.3)

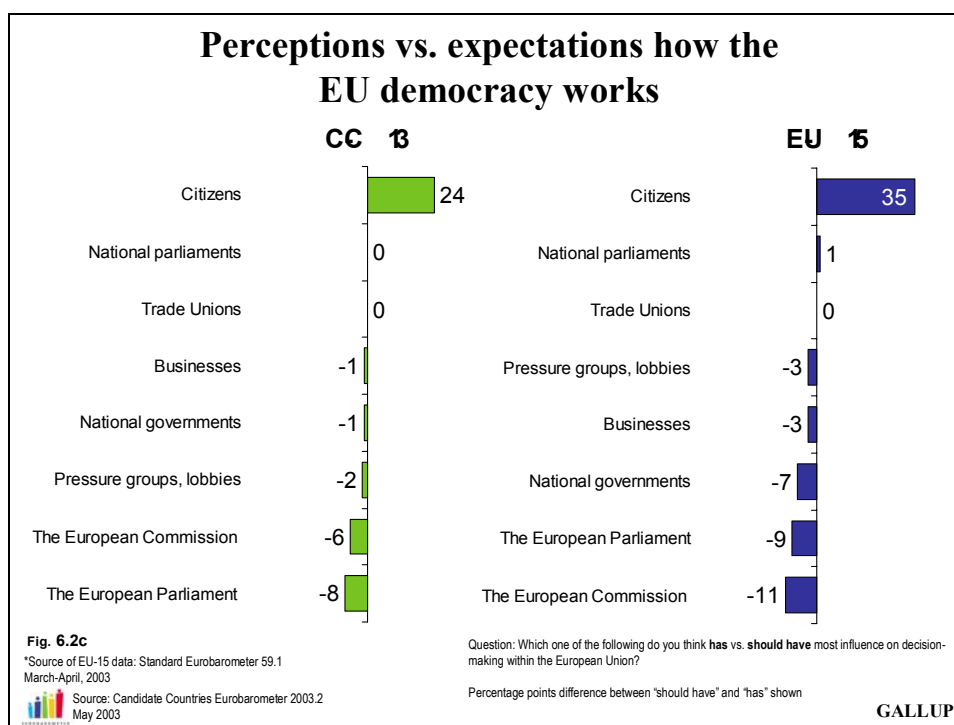
On the second run, people were asked about their expectations on each topic as well. It is interesting to see that “citizen” came in first. It’s mostly 2004 members and EU-15 countries that would like to see citizens have the most influence on decision making within the EU (both 40%), followed by 39% in the CC-13 countries. (TABLE 6.2.b)



Citizens have a very interesting role in respondents' minds. While most, mainly the Lithuanians and Turks, think they already have an influential role on the decision-making process within the EU, the Maltese, Czechs and Slovenians want that role to be larger. The younger generation and those who are still studying expressed this opinion in particular.

The **European Parliament** is second, mostly in the candidate countries (CC-13: 17%, 2004 members: 24%). **National governments** should also play an important role in the decision-making process within the EU, according to the respondents. The **European Commission** and **national parliaments** are less important as decision-making institutions within the EU; only 5-6% of the respondents mentioned these. **Trade unions** have less support; only 1% in the CC-13 countries and 2004 member countries wish they had more influence.

Very few respondents anywhere wish **businesses** and pressure groups/**lobbies** had more influence on decision making within the EU. (ANNEX TABLE 6.4)



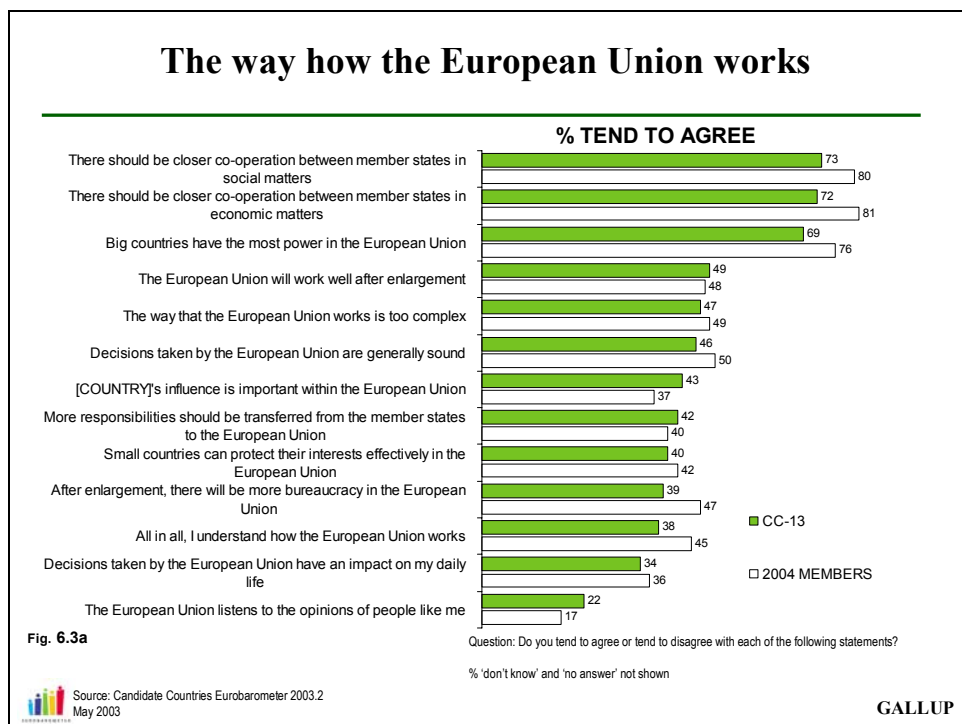
Finally, as *FIGURE 6.2c* above illustrates, people in entire Europe feel that citizens should have more influence on EU-level decision making, but current Europeans feel a more urgent need compared to future citizens. Comparing the current role and desired role, in the current member states there is a 35 percentage points gap between the experience and expectations, the same difference is just 24 percentage points in the candidate region. National parliaments and trade unions are considered to have just as much influence as they need to have. All other institution are thought to be more influential than desired. Interesting to note, that current citizens see the biggest difference in the European Commission's role with -11 percentage points 'relative desirability' of its influence on EU decision making. In the candidate countries the EP closes this ranking with -8 percentage points relative desirability.

6.3. The way the European Union works

This chapter explores opinions on the way the European Union works – respondents were given a list of statements pertaining to the effects of the EU, and asked whether or not they tended to agree.

Looking closely at the different statements, we can see that most of the respondents would like closer co-operation between member states on social and economic matters, and that people don't feel the EU attends to their opinions.

As the following chart shows, the pattern of CC-13 responses is very similar to that of 2004 members, but they tend to agree a bit more on matters of social and economic co-operation.

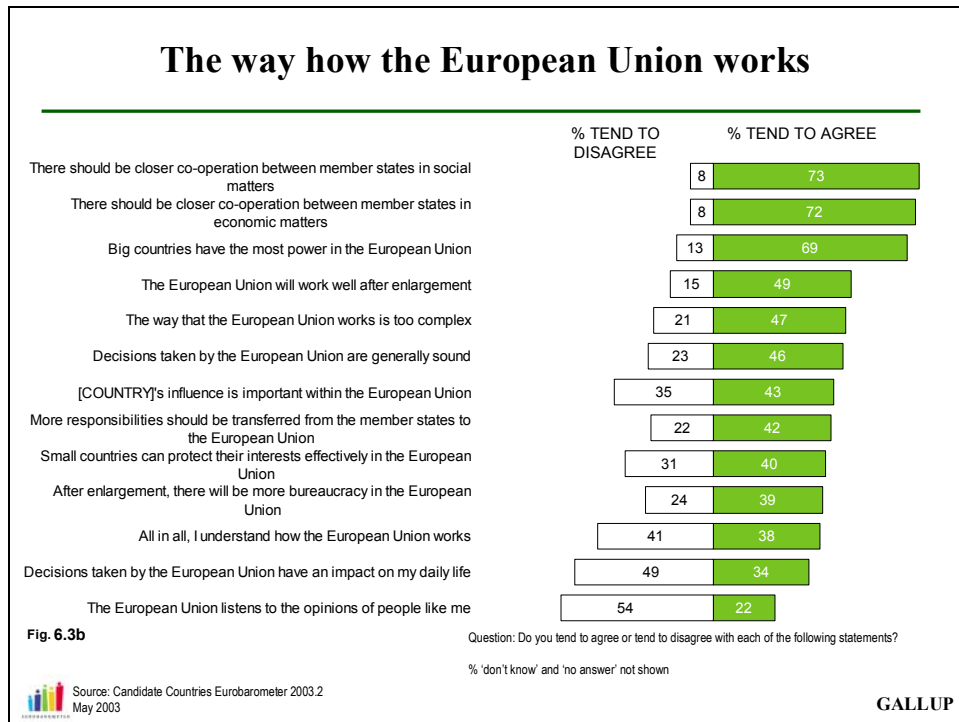


Going through each statement one by one (see also *FIGURE 6.3b*):

Primarily, people want **closer co-operation between member countries in social matters** (78%). Mostly, the Cypriots, Hungarians and Latvians tend to agree with this matter (all 84%), and Turks rather tend to disagree (64%).

The second most agreed-upon issue also pertains to **closer co-operation**, but **on economic matters**, and with the same proportion as the first one (78%). Hungarians (82%), Latvians (84%), Slovaks (83%) and Slovenians (82%) would like to see this closer co-operation more than any other nationality, and Turks are the least likely to care (61%).

Sixty-nine percent of the respondents tend to agree that “**big countries have the most power in the European Union**”. The widest gap is between Cypriots (84%) and Turks (59%). There is a difference in respect of finished studies.



According to 47% of respondents, **the way that the EU works is too complex**. Mostly Maltese (56%) and Polish (51%) say it is, and only 29% of the Czechs tend to agree. The younger are less (42%) likely to agree than are the older (at the age of 25-39: 46%).

Forty-six percent also tend to agree that **“decisions made by the EU are generally sound”**. There is no difference by agreement and disagreement between this issue and the previous one. Cypriots (61%) and Maltese (59%) tend to agree the most that the EU generally makes sound decisions, and Latvians (32%) agree the least.

A bit smaller proportion, 49%, tends to agree that **“the EU will work well after enlargement”**. Cyprus and Poland (53%) tend to agree the most and Estonia (21%) the least.

Thirty-nine percentage of the respondents tend to agree that **“after enlargement there will be more bureaucracy in the European Union”**. Estonia (55%) most strongly believes it, and Bulgarians (22%) disagree most.

Most respondents say they don't tend to agree that they know how **the EU works** (41%). Altogether, 38% believe they do understand the EU's working method. More Slovenians find the EU understandable than any other nationality, and the Bulgarians understand it the least (22%).

Forty-two percent of respondents think that **“more responsibilities should be transferred from the member states to the EU”**, and 22% disagree with them. Cypriots (51%) and Slovenians (50%) would most like to see responsibility transferred, and Estonians are at the other end of the spectrum (26%).

Another 40% tend to agree with the issue **“small countries can protect their interests effectively in the European Union”**. Respondents from Cyprus (69%) tend to agree in the highest proportion and respondents from Bulgaria are in the lowest (28%).

More respondents tend to disagree (23%) than agree (46%) with the statement “**decisions taken by the European Union have an impact on my daily life**”. Two-thirds (66%) of the Maltese and only 15% of the Bulgarians say so, though.

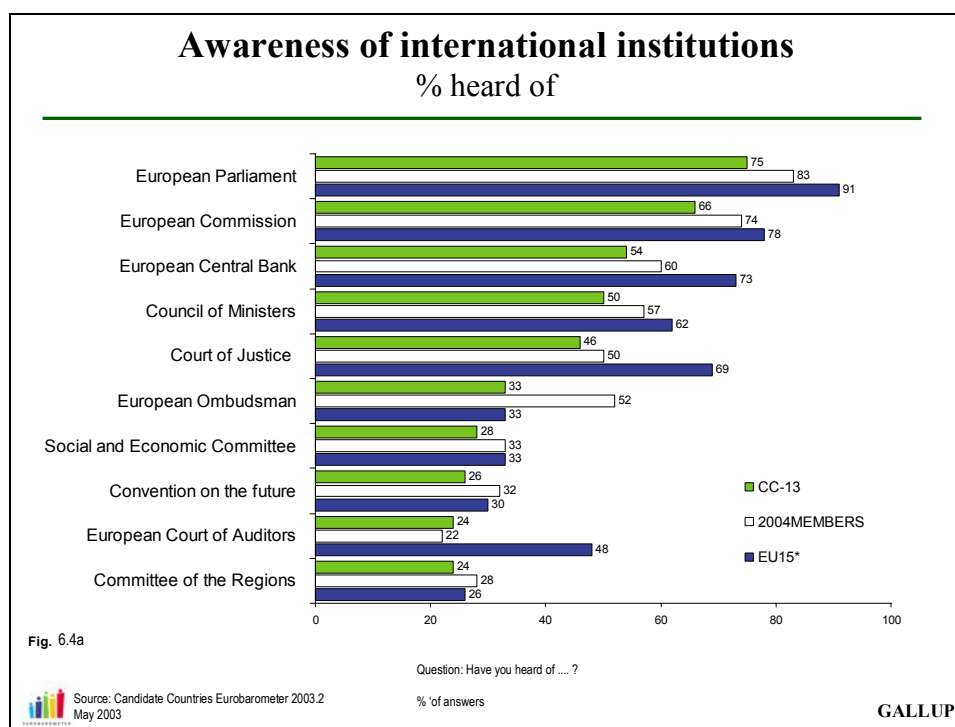
Fewer respondents tend to agree **that their country has influence within the European Union** (43%). Almost every second person disagrees (35%). Maltese (57%) and Cypriots (56%) are those who mostly tend to agree, and only 10% of Bulgarians feel the same.

The last statement was “**the EU listens to the opinions of people like me**”, and two-thirds (54%) tend to disagree. Only 22% of the respondents feel their opinions are heard. Turks tend to agree most (29%), and Bulgarians (6%) the least. (see *ANNEX TABLE 6.5*)

6.4. European Union institutions and bodies

Awareness of the European Union and its institutions

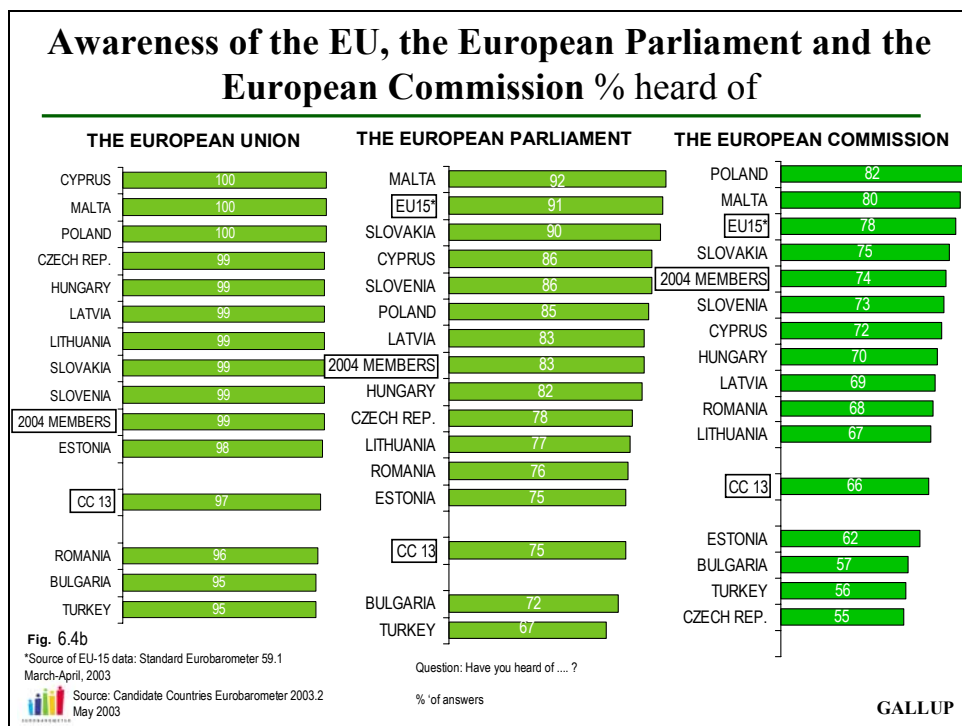
The European Parliament is the most widely known organization in the candidate countries (75%). It is followed by the European Commission (66%) and the European Central Bank (54%). It is interesting to see that awareness of the five most well known institutions is always higher in the EU-15 countries than in CC-13 and 2004 member countries. All three regions are about equally aware of the five least well known institutions, except the European Court of Auditors, much higher proportions in EU-15 countries have heard of it (48%) than have in the CC-13 (24%) and 2004 member countries (22%).



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 Turkey, where we measured the lowest awareness figures for the EU, 97% of the respondents told us that they had heard about the Union. In Cyprus, Hungary, and Slovenia, the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer found less than 1% of the citizens had never heard of the European Union.

We find that there are significant differences among the 13 candidate countries' awareness of the two best-known EU institutions. Awareness of the **European Parliament** ranges from 92% in Malta to 67% in Turkey. Slovakia (90%), the Czech Republic and Cyprus (both 86%), and Romania (76%) are also more likely to know the European Parliament, whilst relatively few people are aware of it in Turkey (77%) or Estonia (75%). (SEE ANNEX TABLE 6.6)

There is an even wider knowledge gap regarding the **European Commission**. Awareness of this institution ranges from 82% in Malta to 55% in the Czech Republic. Countries that are more likely to know about the Commission include Slovenia (73%), Poland (82%) and Romania (68). At the same time, Turks (56%), Estonians (62%) and Bulgarians (57%) are not very much aware of it.



The following table ranks the 13 candidate countries according to average awareness of the nine listed institutions. Slovakia (58%) headed the candidate region. This score is relatively high in Slovenia (56%) and Malta (56%) as well. On the other hand, Bulgarians are not likely to know of these institutions (36%), nor are Turks and Czechs (37% and 39%).

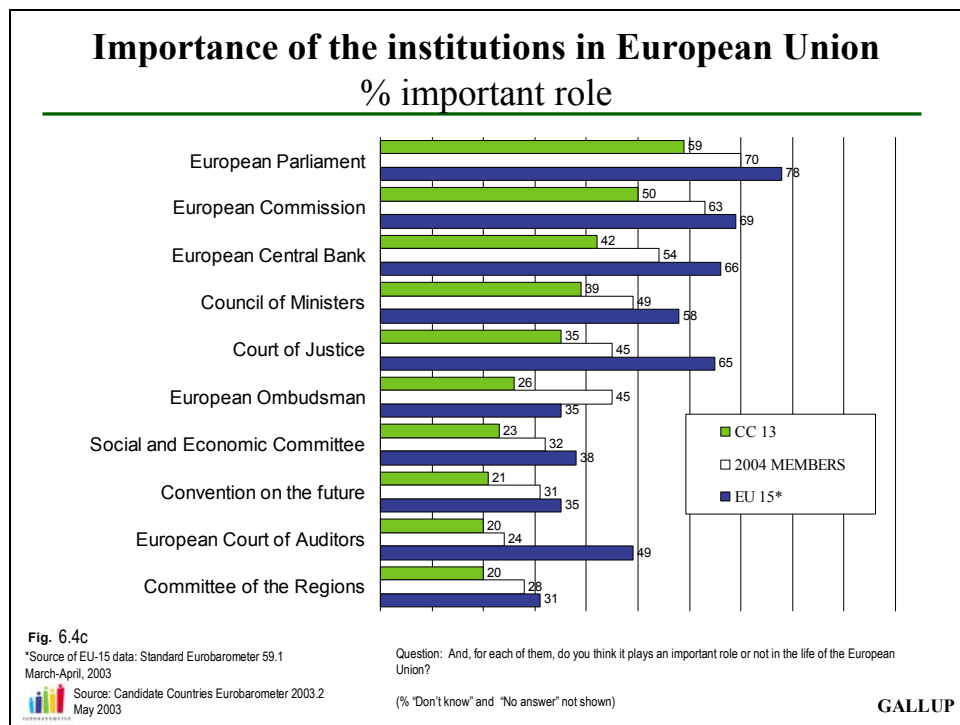
| Table 6.4a Average awareness of nine institutions and bodies of the European Union | | | |
|--|----|------------|----|
| Country | % | Country | % |
| SLOVAKIA | 58 | ESTONIA | 43 |
| SLOVENIA | 56 | ROMANIA | 41 |
| MALTA | 56 | ESTONIA | 42 |
| CYPRUS | 56 | CZECH REP. | 39 |
| LATVIA | 51 | TURKEY | 37 |
| POLAND | 50 | BULGARIA | 36 |
| HUNGARY | 51 | | |

Role of the European Union and its institutions

Respondents were asked about the importance of several institutions in the life of the European Union. Most people assign the most importance to the **European Parliament**, primarily the EU-15 countries (79%) followed by the 2004 member countries (70%) and the CC-13 countries (59%). The **Committee of the Regions** is thought to be the least important, less than one-third think it plays an important role in the life of the EU.

It is glaringly obvious that EU-15 countries assign more importance to all institutions of the EU than do candidate countries, and the CC-13 thinks all institutions are less important than do the 2004 members.

Opinions on the **Court of Justice** show an interesting detail; 65% of the EU-15 countries believe in its importance, while only 45% of the CC-13 countries feel the same.

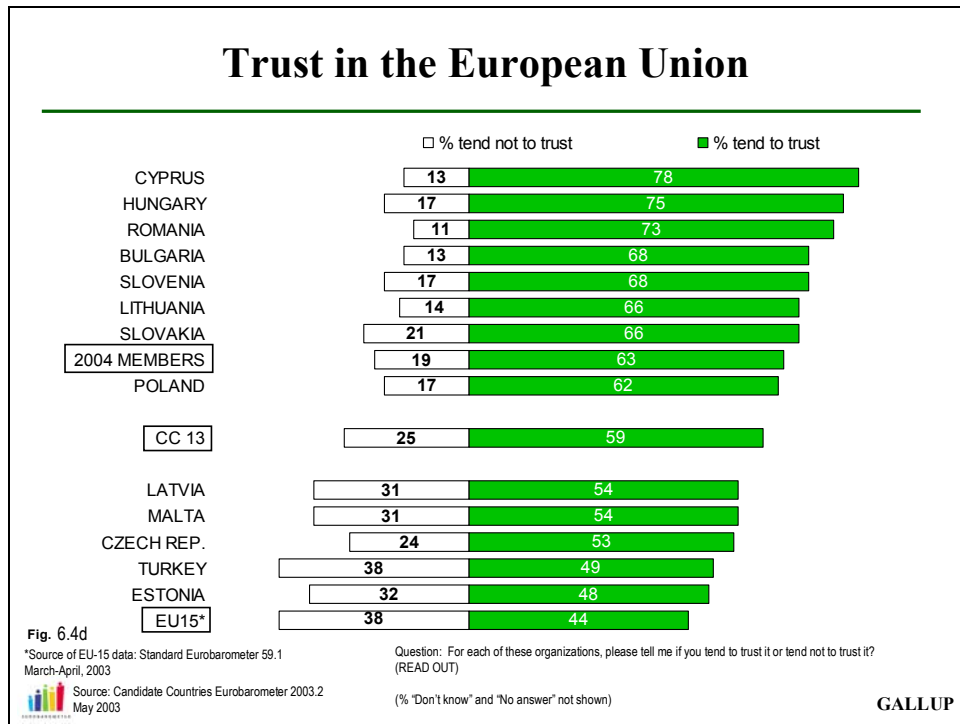


The **European Parliament** is thought to be an important institution mostly by Cypriots (70%) and Slovaks (69%). Turks are last (35%).

The **European Commission** is seen as the second most important institution in the life of the EU. Cyprus (68%) and Hungary (64%) lead the region in this opinion. (ANNEX TABLE 6.7).

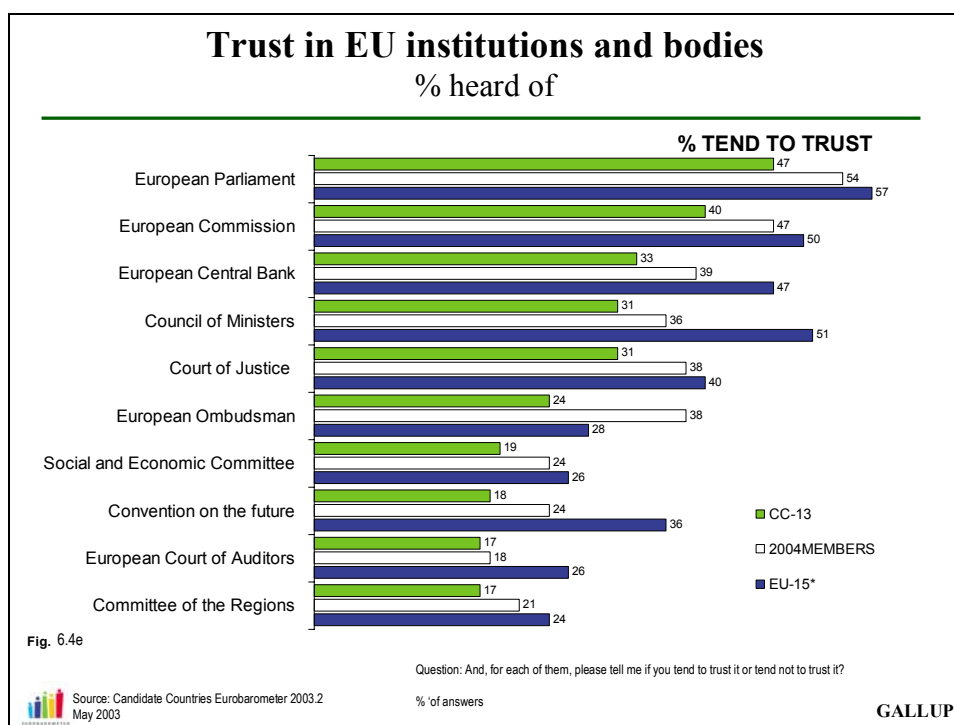
Trust levels in the European Union

The European Union retains relatively high trust levels in the candidate countries. 2004 members and CC-13 countries have the similar trust level (CC-13 63%; 2004 members 59%). EU-15 countries tend to trust it less -- 44%.



Country-by-country analyses show large variations between the candidate countries. People in Cyprus and Hungary are most likely to trust the European Union (78% and 75%), with more than six in 10 of the citizens of Romania and Bulgaria (73% and 68%) sharing this view. More than 60% of the public in three countries trust the European Union (from 62% in Poland to 66% in Lithuania). People from Estonia (37%) and Turkey (34%) are most likely not to trust the EU, followed by people in Malta (32%) and Latvia (31%). (ANNEX TABLE 6.8)

The survey has investigated trust levels towards 10 of the European Union's institutions and bodies. The public is most likely to trust the European Parliament (57% in EU-15 countries), followed by the European Commission (50% in EU-15 countries), and the European Central Bank (47% in EU-15 countries). People are least likely to trust the Committee of the Regions and the European Court of Auditors. The Social and Economic Committee is trusted by almost one-fourth 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 different confidence levels. Since many people are not aware of most of these, the probability of being unable to decide is very high, at the expense of both trust and distrust.



The following table ranks the 13 candidate countries according to the extent to which they trust the 10 listed institutions on average. In this respect, Cyprus leads the candidate region — the 10 institutions claim 49% confidence among Cypriots. This score is also relatively high in Hungary (46%), Malta (35%) and in Romania (34%) as well. On the other hand, Czechs, Turks, Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians have the lowest average trust in EU institutions (from 18% in Turkey to 28% in Lithuania). In the candidate region, these institutions have a 32% average trust level.

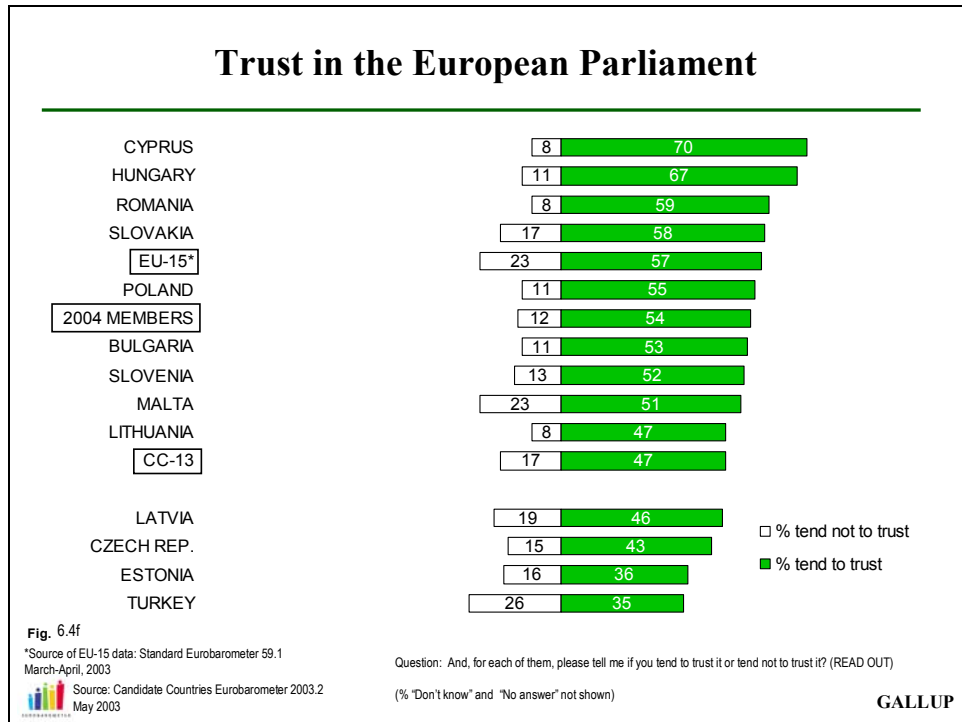
Table 6.4b Trust in the institutions and bodies of the European Union (Average trust level of 10 institutions & bodies, in % by country)

| Country | % | Country | % |
|----------|----|------------|----|
| CYPRUS | 49 | BULGARIA | 32 |
| HUNGARY | 46 | CC 13 | 32 |
| MALTA | 35 | LITHUANIA | 28 |
| ROMANIA | 34 | CZECH REP. | 24 |
| SLOVENIA | 34 | ESTONIA | 23 |
| POLAND | 33 | TURKEY | 18 |

We find similar rankings when we look at trust levels in and awareness of the two most widely known institutions of the European Union -- 47% in the candidate countries *have heard of* the European Parliament, and 40% *have heard of* the European Commission.

Trust in the European Parliament

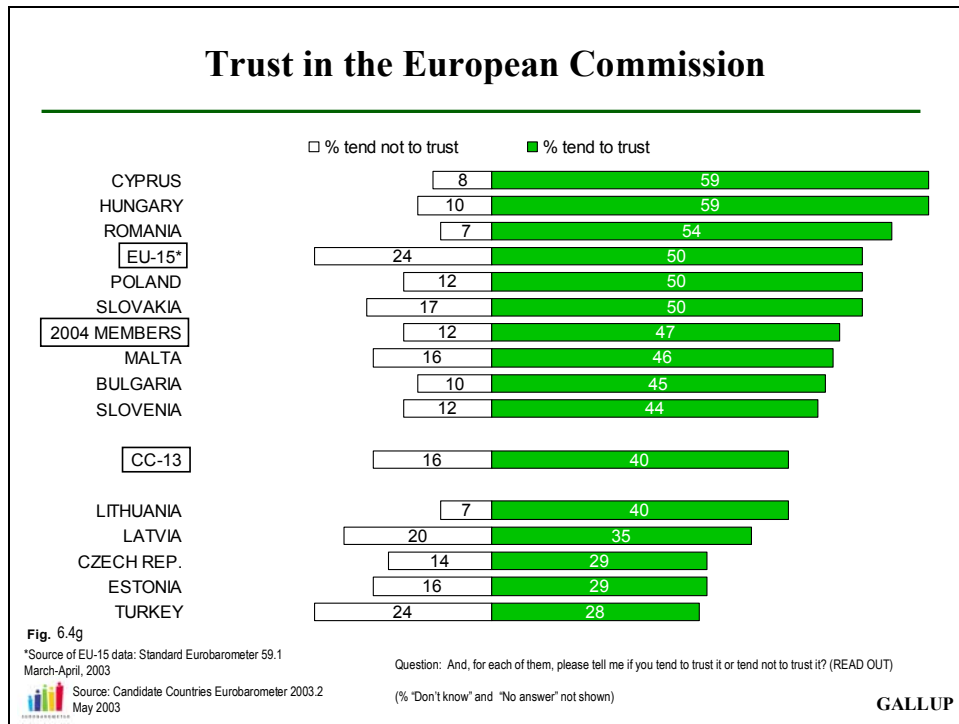
We now look in more detail at the country results for the European Parliament (EP). The data show that people in Cyprus (70%) and Hungary (67%) are much more likely to trust the EP than are citizens of the EU (47%). However, in all the other candidate countries, trust levels are lower than the EU-15 average, due to the significantly higher percentage of those who do not know this institution. People in Turkey (35%) and Estonia (36%) are most likely to lack trust in the European Parliament.



Trust in the European Commission

The trust in European Commission in the candidate countries 40% while in the 2004 members states 46% and on EU-15 level 50%.

The country-by-country results for trust in the European Commission show almost the same results. Cypriots (59%) and Hungarians (59%) top the list, and again, we find that they are slightly less likely to trust the Commission than do EU respondents. Turks (28%) and Estonians (29%) have the least trust in the European Commission.

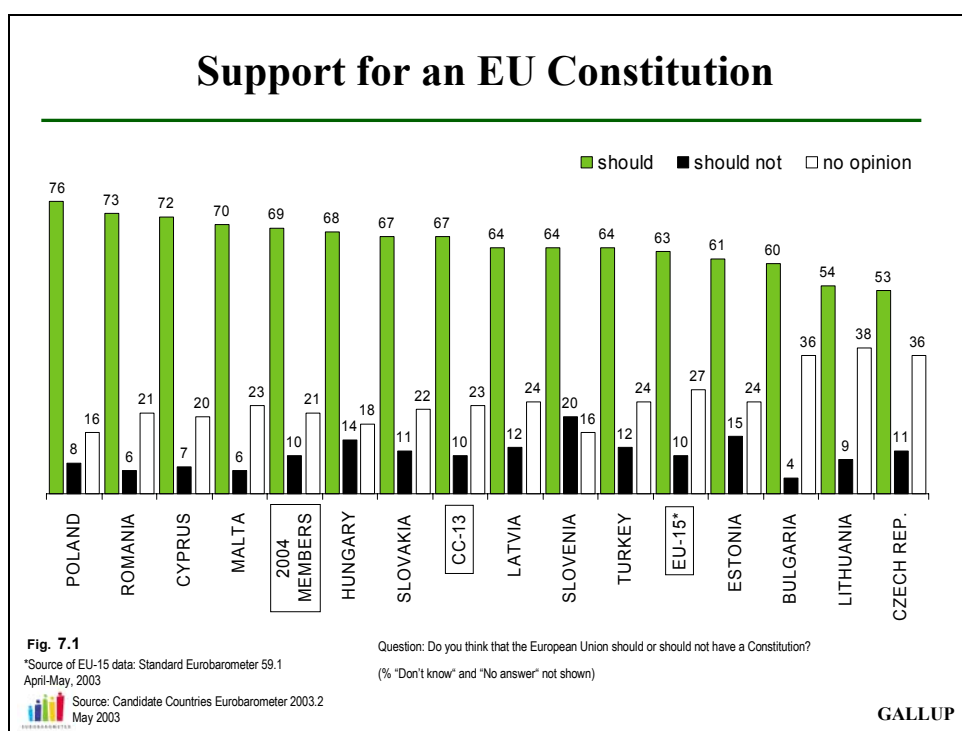


7. The future of Europe for future citizens

We close this report by looking at public sentiments related to some of the major political and institutional issues that face the European Union. Citizens in the candidate countries (such as in the current members states) have little knowledge about what exactly some of these concepts mean. But they still have preferences, which are often based on reluctance to change things already in place. The conservative stance, however, is weaker in some instances than others.

7.1 The majority want a Constitution

People's opinions on the development of an European Union Constitution are not only clear, they match current events and intentions. Unchanged from last autumn, two-thirds (67%, +2) of the candidate citizens would like the European Union to have a constitution — a development that is more than likely to occur in the not too distant future. There are no significant differences among the future member states, their level of support varies according to their uncertainty, not their opposition. In the 2004 member states, 69% approve the writing of an EU constitution, which shows a 6 percentage point increase in the last six months, as well as a six point advantage over the EU itself. (FIGURE 7.1)



Poles (76%, up six points) are the most likely to support an EU constitution, followed by people in Romania (73%, +7), Cyprus (72%, +9), Malta (70%, +5), Hungary (68%, +4) and Slovakia (67%, +6). People in Slovenia (20%, +5) are the most likely to believe that the European Union should not have a constitution. More than a third of the Lithuanian, Czech and Bulgarian citizens have no opinion on that subject. In Turkey, the proportion of those who do not have a clear opinion in this question rose from 14% to 24% in the past six months, and support for the EU Constitution decreased by six percentage points (from 70% to 64%). (ANNEX TABLE 7.1a)

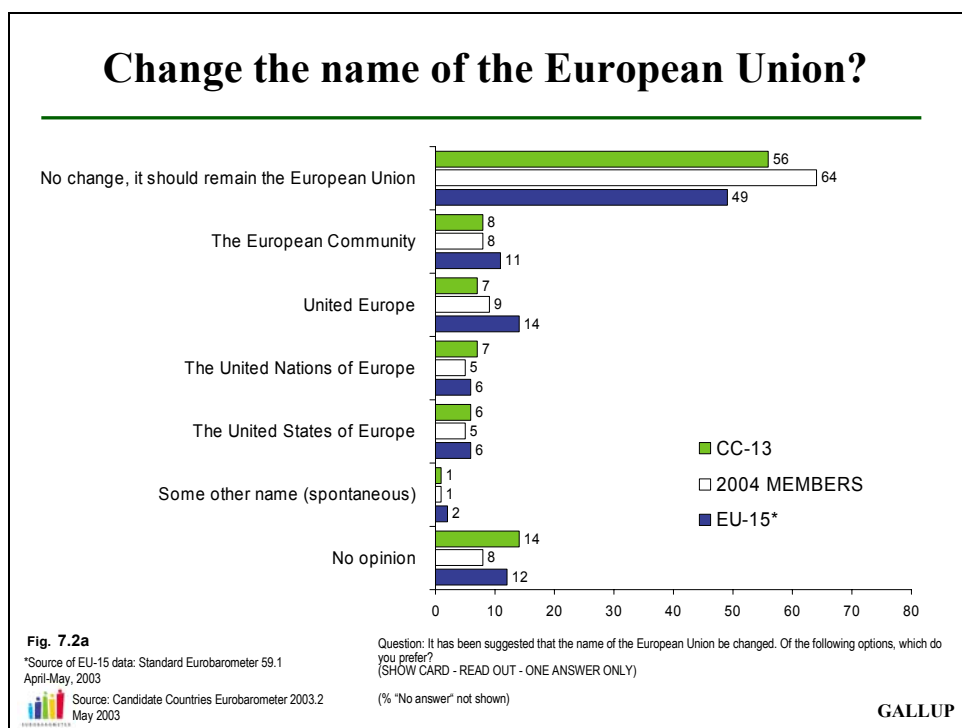
The demographic analyses show that support for a constitution is highest among people who stayed in full-time education until the age of 20 or older (75%), those who are still studying (77%), managers (72%), the self-employed (74%), manual workers (72%) and the youngest age group (72%). Opposition is 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 than its opponents to favour a constitution (76% vs. 46%). Twenty-one percent of people who consider their country’s membership in the European Union as a bad thing oppose a constitution, compared to 9% of people who support their country’s EU membership. (*ANNEX TABLE 7.1b*)

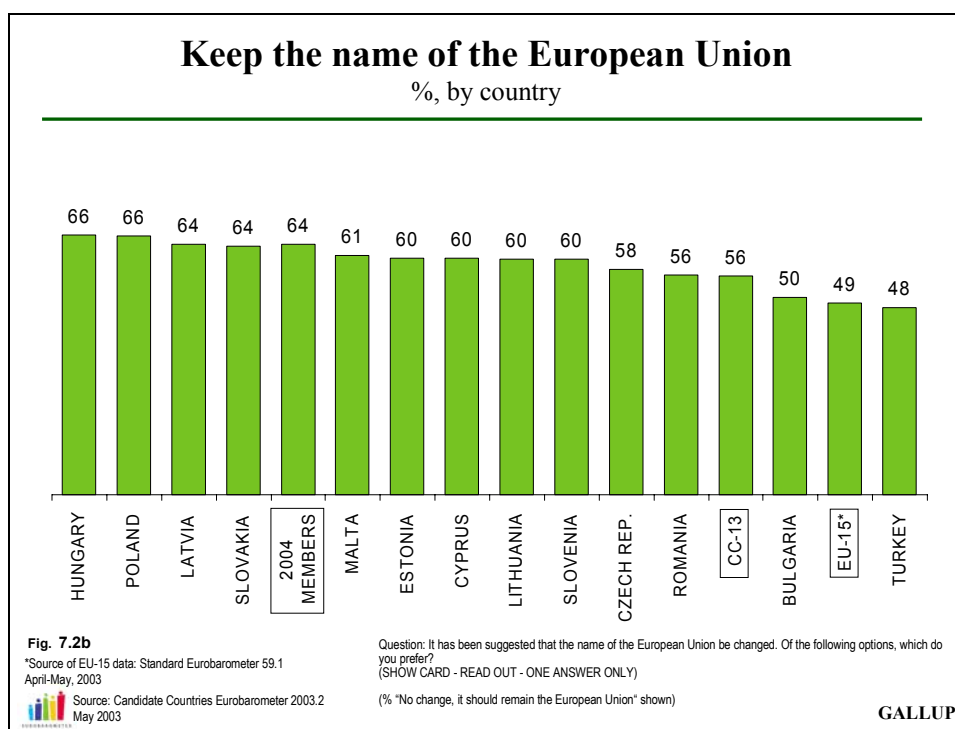
7.2 Keep the name of the European Union

Citizens in the candidate countries are more conservative than current EU citizens, at least as far as the name of the European Union is concerned. As many as 56% (64% in the 2004 member countries) say they would not like to see the name change, while only 49% in the current member states dismiss this idea. “The European Community” comes in a distant second, but only 8% think it could reflect and capture the transition the European Union is currently going through in terms of its enlarged territory and population, as well as its heavily reformed institutional framework.

But none of the possible names attract the citizens in the candidate region, for whom “the European Union” has appeared as a panacea for all problems in the last one and a half decades -- and after all, who would prefer to change the name of Paradise? Twenty-nine percent -- the percentage that picked one of the new names, or proposed one themselves -- would do so, apparently, in the candidate region (FIGURE 7.2a).



People in Hungary and Poland (66%) are the most likely to keep the present name of the Union, followed by citizens in Slovakia and Latvia (64% both). The pattern is the same everywhere: the overwhelming majority chooses not to change the name of the European Union. In Bulgaria, this opinion is shared by only 50%; “United Europe” received a relatively very favourable rating (17%). A quarter of all Cypriots (24%) agree that the name should be United Europe. Turkey shows the least support for the EU name; 49% say that the name should be kept, and as many as 20% don’t have an opinion (see FIGURE 7.2b and ANNEX TABLE 7.2 for more details).



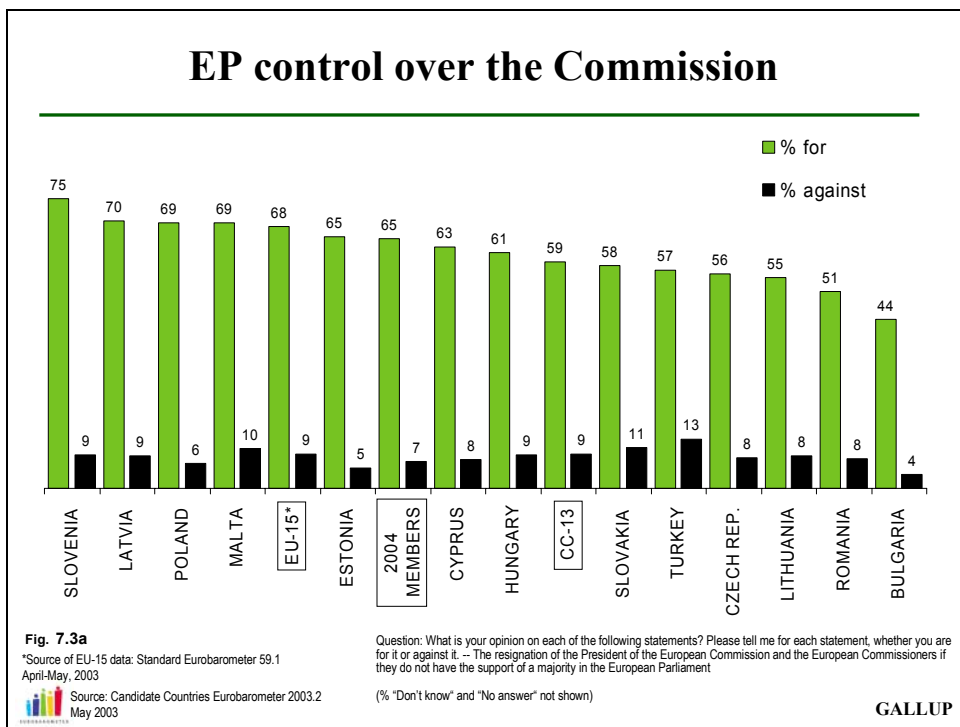
7.3 The Commission and the Commissioners

Recently, there has been lot of discussion around the executive body of the European Union. Candidate Countries Eurobarometer explored people's views on some of these issues. First, we will look at the issues of democratisation that have arisen around the European Commission (whether or not the European Parliament should have some kind of control over the EC, and the democratisation of the selection of the President of the Commission), then we will present opinions about the planned abolishment of the rule that prescribes one commissioner for each member state.

The EP should have the right to withdraw confidence from the EC

As already outlined in Chapter 3.8, the majority of citizens believe that the European Commission (EC) should resign if it loses majority support in the European Parliament (EP). Through this, people seem to recognize the distinct executive function of the EC and the legislative power of the EP — the only body that represents citizens' votes directly.

In *FIGURE 7.3a* below it becomes apparent that many people lack an opinion, but the majority says — and with barely any outright opposition — the European Commission should resign if they lose majority support in the EP. Support ranges from 75% in Slovenia to 44% in Bulgaria. Overall, 32% lack an opinion on this question, a number that reaches 51% of all citizens in Bulgaria. (*ANNEX TABLE 7.3*)



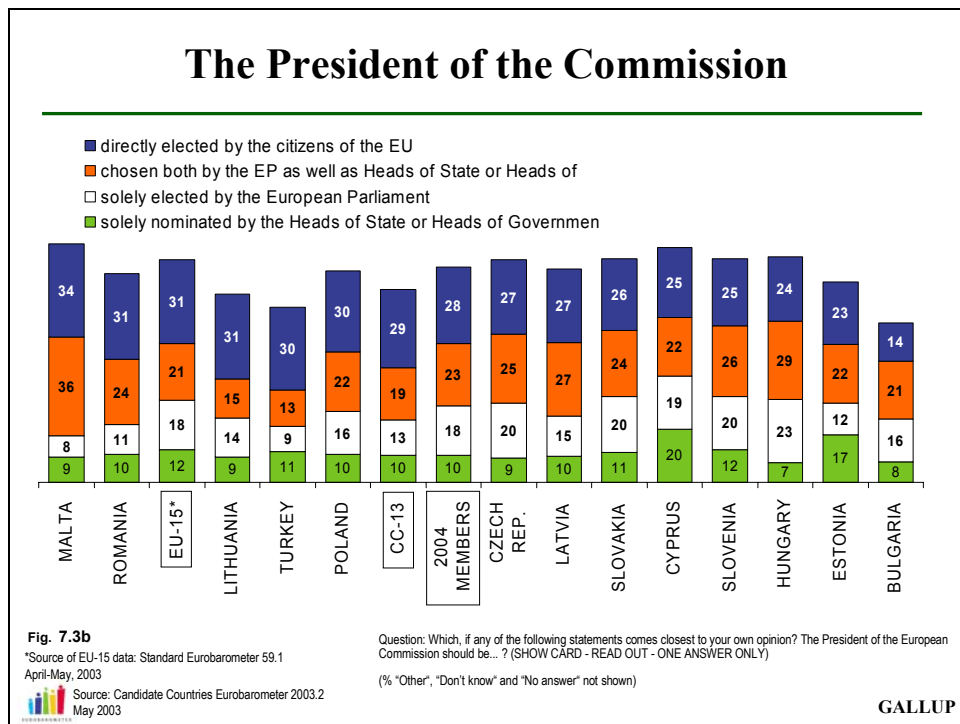
Citizens have no desire to directly elect the President of the Commission

The President of the European Commission is currently appointed by the governments of the member states, and then approved by the European Parliament. We posed the following question to explore opinions regarding the selection of the most important person in the European Union:

Which, if any of the following statements comes closest to your own opinion? The President of the European Commission should be... ? (SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- solely nominated by the Heads of State or Heads of Government of the European Union
- solely elected by the European Parliament
- chosen both by the European Parliament as well as Heads of State or Heads of Government
- directly elected by the citizens of the European Union
- other (spontaneous)
- DK (spontaneous)

People in the candidate countries are somewhat less in favour of directly electing the President of the European Commission (29%) than are the citizens in the current member states (31%). (FIGURE 7.3b) Nineteen percent of the CC-13 and 23% among the 2004 countries prefer the mechanism currently in place -- the president appointed by member states and subsequently approved by the European Parliament. Ten percent in both regions would just let the governments appoint the president, and 18% of the 2004 members and 13% of the CC-13 would let the European Parliament decide. The opinions are very close to those measured in the European Union member states. (ANNEX TABLE 7.4)

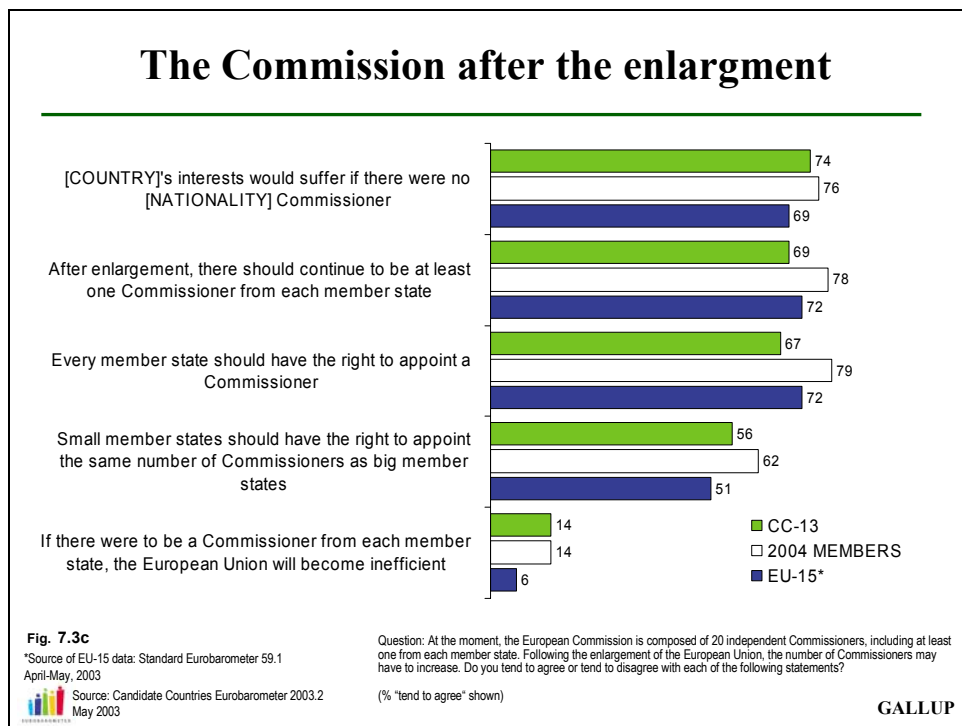


The Maltese are the most likely to favour direct elections of the president (34%), but Malta also has the most support for the current system — in fact, support for joint EP/head of state elections is even more widespread (36%). Bulgarians support direct election the least (14%), while the Turkish are the least likely to approve of the current dual selection system (13%). The parliamentary solution is the most popular in Hungary (23%), while Cypriot citizens are the most willing to let the president be selected by the governments of the member states (20%).

Citizens want to have a commissioner for their country, and are not at all concerned that it would diminish the efficiency of the executive body

In nearly equal numbers, CC-13 and EU citizens are strongly in favour of retaining the right to appoint at least one commissioner for each country because otherwise they feel their national interests would suffer, and they aren't worried that going from 20 to at least 25 commissioners will result in potential inefficiencies. *FIGURE 7.3c* below presents the results.

Three-quarters of the citizens in the entire candidate region (74%, 76% in the 2004 member states) fear that not having "their own" commissioner would hurt their national interests. Sixty-nine percent agree that there should be at least one commissioner from each member state after the enlargement. About as many agree with a variation on the idea, that their country should have the right to appoint a commissioner. The CC-13 average is just about the same than the EU's -- 72% of current members agreed with both statements. The overall opposition in the candidate region toward this idea is as low as 5-7%.



Looking at the right of **each member state to appoint a commissioner** — which is supported almost exactly as much as having at least one commissioner from each member state — the Cypriots (89%), and the Hungarians (82%) are most in favour. The Turkish (58%) and — due to the large proportion of those who have no opinion in the issue — Bulgarians (62%) are at the bottom of this ranking (in Bulgaria, only 1% oppose retaining this right, compared to 15% in Turkey).

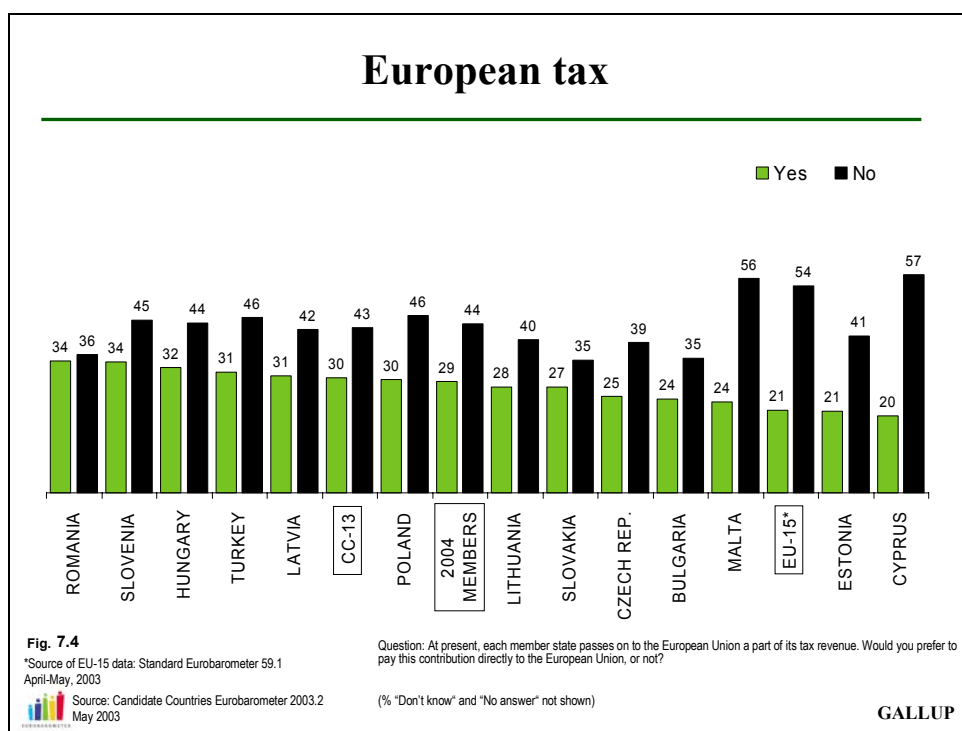
Three-quarters (74% in the entire candidate region and 76% among the 2004 citizens) even agree that their **country's interests would suffer if it had no national commissioner** in the EC. Sixty-nine percent in the current member states agree that not having their own national commissioner would hurt their country's interests. In the candidate region, Latvia (81%) is the most concerned, and neighbouring Lithuania (60%) is the least. Bulgarians are the most likely to think that not having their own commissioner would not endanger their ability to pursue national interests within the European Union (32%).

As many as 46% of the Bulgarians (but only 15% of the Maltese and Cypriots) were not able to formulate an opinion regarding the following statement: **“Small member states should have the right to appoint the same number of commissioners as big member states”**. Agreement is a bit more widespread in the candidate region, where 56% agree, compared to the current member states, where half of the citizens agreed (51%). The citizens of the smallest candidate country, Malta, are the most (75%), and Bulgarians are the least favourable (44%) in this respect.

Finally, just 14% in the candidate region are afraid that an extended European Commission would not be efficient after the enlargement. In the current member states, people are even less concerned that such a change would hamper the ability of the EC to operate efficiently. Thirty percent in the candidate countries have no clear opinion on this issue, while the absolute majority (55%) do not agree that **the European Union would be inefficient by increasing the number of commissioners**. The fear of deteriorated decision-making is the most widespread in Hungary (32%), and the least prevalent in Bulgaria (9%). With only a six percentage-point difference, white-collar workers are the most (17%) and house persons (11%) are the least worried about it. (ANNEX TABLE 7.3)

7.4 European tax

People in the candidate countries are not very supportive of an income tax paid directly to the European Union (30% are for and 43% are against a direct European tax). EU citizens, who are already contributing to the European budget through national taxes, are even more reluctant to accept another tax that eventually goes to the Union (21% are for and 54% are against).



There is no country in which the population approves more than disapproves of a direct European tax. The two figures come closest in Romania, where 34% say "yes" and 36% say "no" to the idea of a European tax. Slovenian support is similar, but matched with an even stronger opposition (34% say "yes" but 45% say "no"). With 57% disapproving, the Cypriots least favour direct financial contributions to the EU budget, followed by the Maltese (56%) and Poles (46%). (ANNEX TABLE 7.5)

7.5 The Presidency

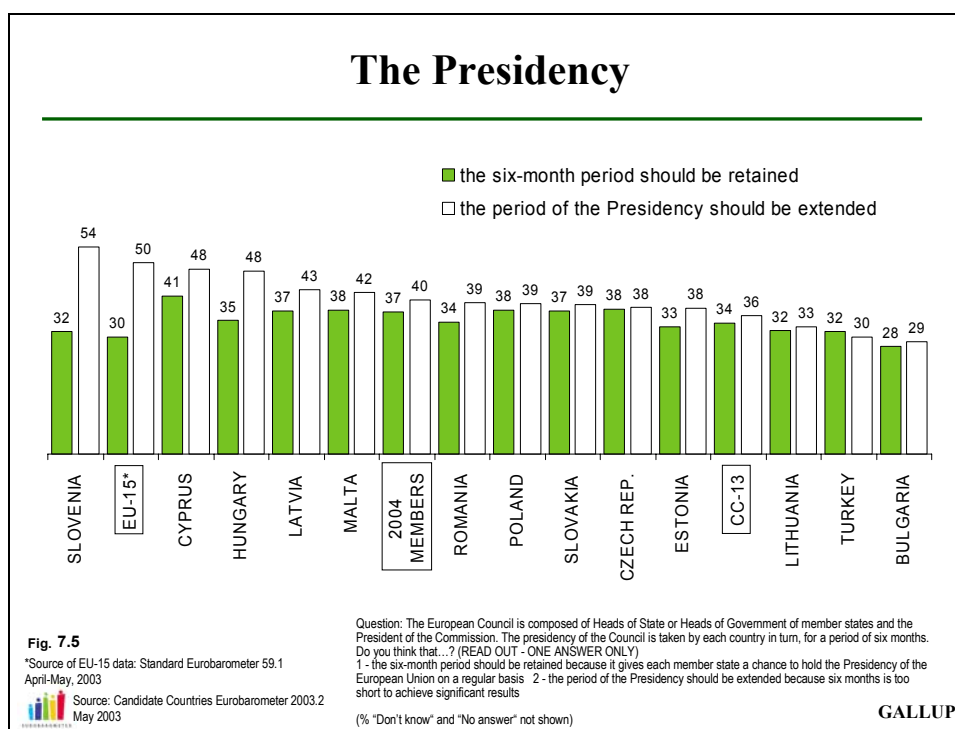
We asked the citizens in the candidate countries if they would agree with the extension of the period of the presidency, which is currently rotated between member states every six months. Many people argue that the six-month period should be extended because it is too short for the achievement of significant goals, but others say that an extension would mean member states would less frequently hold the presidency, which they consider unfair.

Our question was:

The European Council is composed of Heads of State or Heads of Government of member states and the President of the Commission. The presidency of the Council is taken by each country in turn, for a period of six months. Do you think that...? (READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- the six-month period should be retained because it gives each member state a chance to hold the Presidency of the European Union on a regular basis
- the period of the presidency should be extended because six months is too short to achieve significant results

Candidate citizens are much more divided in this issue than EU citizens, who are certainly in favour of such a change (50% say the presidency should be extended, and 30% think that the current system is a good one). CC-13 citizens lean toward extending the period of the presidency (36%), but almost as many (34%) prefer keeping the old system — maybe in the hope that their country will hold the presidency relatively soon. A bit more people in the candidate countries have no opinion on the question (30%), compared to the EU (20%).



Only in Slovenia and Hungary are proponents of the extended presidency in a clear majority (54% and 48% respectively). The difference between opponents and proponents remains below seven percentage points in every other country. Turkey is the only country in which the current system is more popular, technically, but the two percentage-point difference rather suggests an undecided stance in Turkey as well. (ANNEX TABLE 7.6a)

7.6 Decision making

In this final chapter we will look at the citizens' stance on their countries' right of veto in the European Union, as well as their support for joint decision making in a number of policy areas.

The right to veto? It depends.

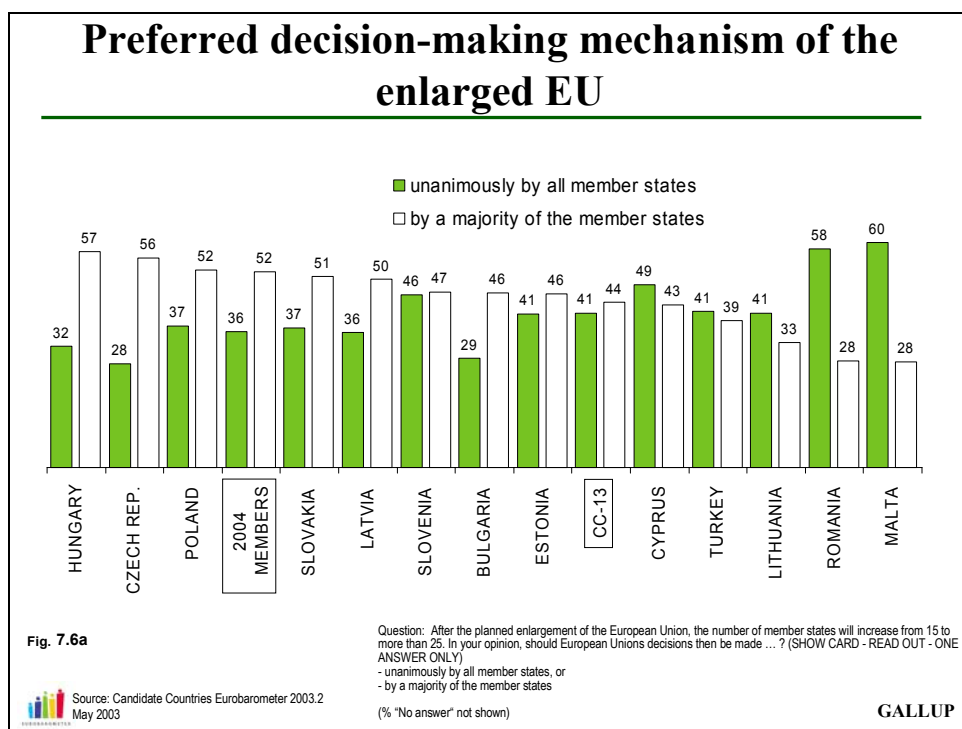
In the transformed and enlarged European Union the right of veto — the main guarantee of the consensual decision making model that was adopted by the basic treaties of the European Union — is sometimes seen as a potential burden because, according to some theorists, the more countries that can exercise the right of veto, the more likely it is that some of them would actually use it. For others, retaining the right of veto is the means of preserving national interests in the institutional network of the European Union.

We have repeated a question from the previous wave, from autumn 2002:

After the planned enlargement of the European Union, the number of member states will increase from 15 to more than 25. In your opinion, should European Unions decisions then be made ... ? (SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

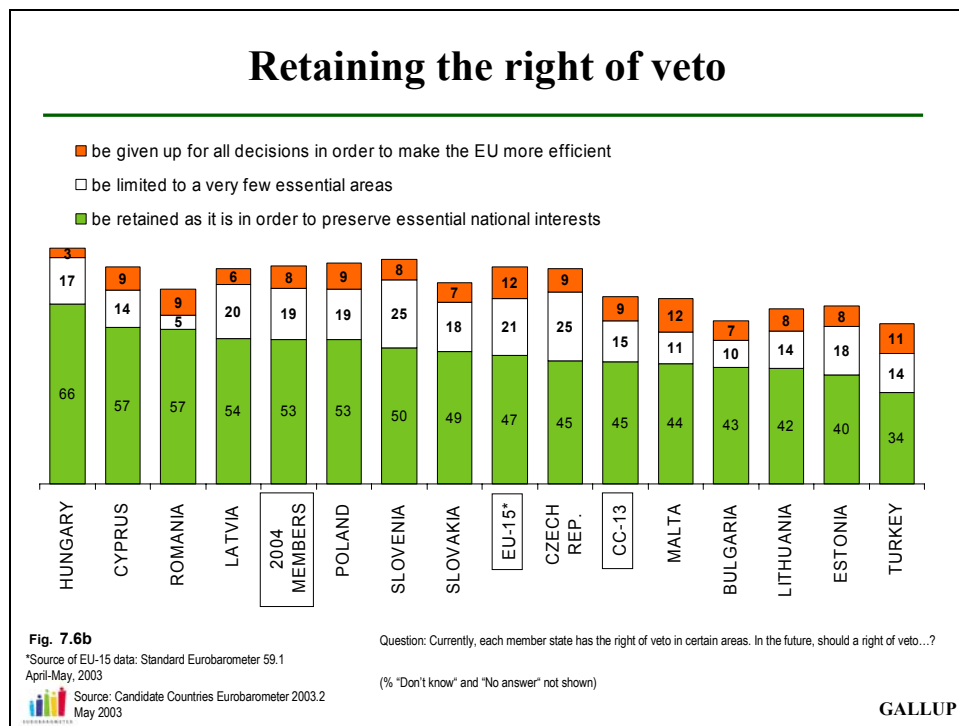
- unanimously by all member states
- by a majority of the member states
- DK / No opinion (spontaneous)

Our respondents do not seem to change their opinion: the candidate region is as divided on this question as it was six months ago. Now 44% support majority decision making (no change since 2002 autumn), and 41% are for keeping the unanimous decision making scheme (+2). Among the 2004 members the currently favours the majority vote model (52%, +3), and 36% opt for retaining the right of veto (+2 percentage points over the past six months).



Some countries clearly support the majority vote system, most notably Hungary (right to veto (V): 32%, +4; majority vote (M): 57%, +1) and the Czech Republic (V: 28%, +6; M: 56, +7%), and to a lesser extent Cyprus, Poland, and Slovakia. On the other hand, Romanians (V: 58%, +7; M: 28%, +0) and the Maltese (V: 60%, +10; M: 28%, -1) are keen supporters of unanimous decision making. The Cypriots and Lithuanians also rather prefer to keep the situation in which even the smallest member states can exercise their right of veto. (ANNEX TABLE 7.7)

At another point of the survey we have posed another question about the right of veto. We got completely different results -- the majority of the citizens want to have the right of veto. Ironically, Hungarians, who were the most in favour of majority decision making, have the most sensitive ear for "preserving essential national interests"; they are the most likely to support retaining the right of veto as well. (FIGURE 7.6b)



Fewer in the candidate countries (9%) than in the current member states (12%) are willing to give up the right of veto, but the general rule is that no nation would be in favour of abolishing this final weapon of self-defence as it was worded in the question. About every fifth citizen throughout Europe is ready for a compromise that would result in preserving the right of veto in only some fundamental areas.

It seems that if the "right of veto" is spelled out in the question explicitly, and is clearly connected with preserving essential national interests, people in all parts of Europe are in favour of keeping it. We have seen before that noting "unanimous decision-making", which might deteriorate the efficiency of the European Union, is not very popular. The moral of the story: In many (or most) issues, the citizens are simply not well enough informed about how policies are interrelated, and are unfamiliar with the significance of policy measures in other areas or aspects. This is a textbook example of how question wording can affect responses, as well as a warning sign about how little people know about the fundamental problems of the European Union. (ANNEX TABLE 7.8)

Support for joint decision-making

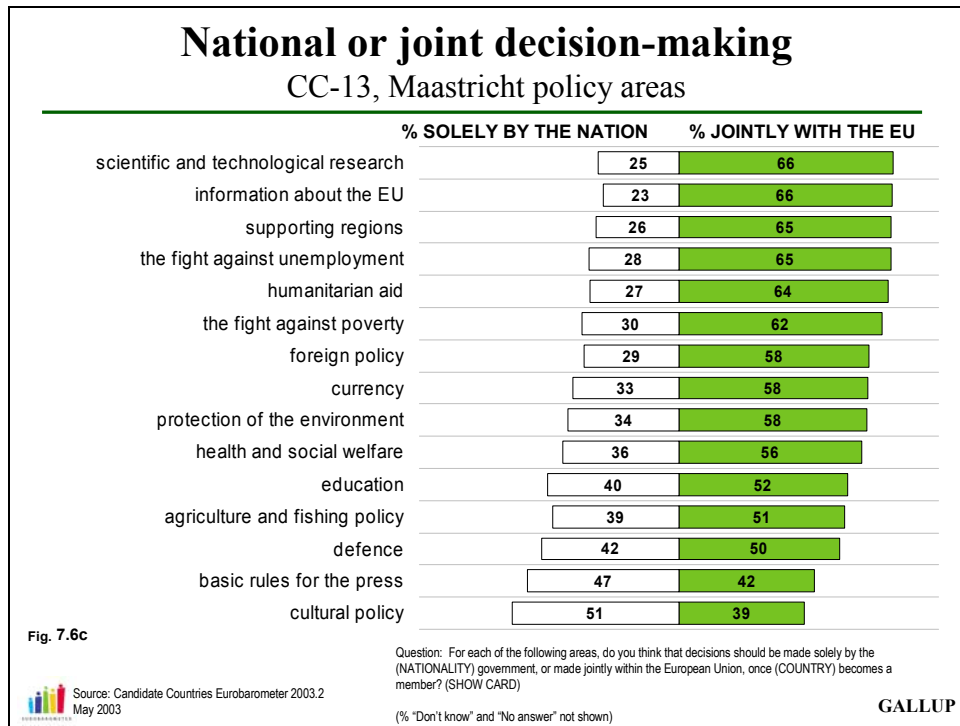
Admitting that different question wording could result in strikingly different results — as it did in the previous questions — we have found very favourable attitudes in the candidate countries towards joint European decision making. We listed 27 policy areas for our respondents and asked their opinions about decision making; we detail their responses below.

But first let us compare the average level of support for joint decision making in the 25 policy areas we have listed in both autumn 2002 and spring 2003¹⁴. It generally seems that support for joint decision making has remained high and stable in the candidate region (TABLE 7.6). In autumn 2002, average support was 55% and it remained at exactly the same level: 55% in the candidate region support common decision making in the policy areas covered by the Maastricht and the Amsterdam Treaties. Cypriots (with the largest increase, nine percentage points) express the highest average support for joint decision making with the European Union, while Turkey comes in last in this ranking. We found an increased willingness toward shared decisions with the EU in eight candidate countries, a slight increase in Bulgaria, and no change in the Czech Republic whatsoever. In Latvia, Hungary and Turkey, however, we found a slight deterioration of support for joint decision making. In Estonia, willingness to share decisions with the European Union decreased by five percentage points over the past six months.

| Table 7.6a Support for joint EU decision-making by country | | | |
|--|-------------|-------------|----------|
| Average level of support for joint EU decision-making (%) | | | |
| | 2003 spring | 2002 autumn | change |
| CC-13 | 55 | 55 | 0 |
| CYPRUS | 75 | 66 | +9 |
| SLOVENIA | 72 | 68 | +4 |
| SLOVAKIA | 68 | 64 | +4 |
| POLAND | 67 | 62 | +5 |
| ROMANIA | 66 | 62 | +4 |
| LATVIA | 63 | 65 | -2 |
| HUNGARY | 60 | 62 | -2 |
| LITHUANIA | 60 | 55 | +5 |
| CZECH REP. | 57 | 57 | - |
| BULGARIA | 54 | 52 | +2 |
| ESTONIA | 54 | 59 | -5 |
| MALTA | 51 | 47 | +4 |
| TURKEY | 42 | 44 | -2 |

¹⁴ Fighting international terrorism and tackling the challenges of the ageing population were not included in CCEB 2002.2

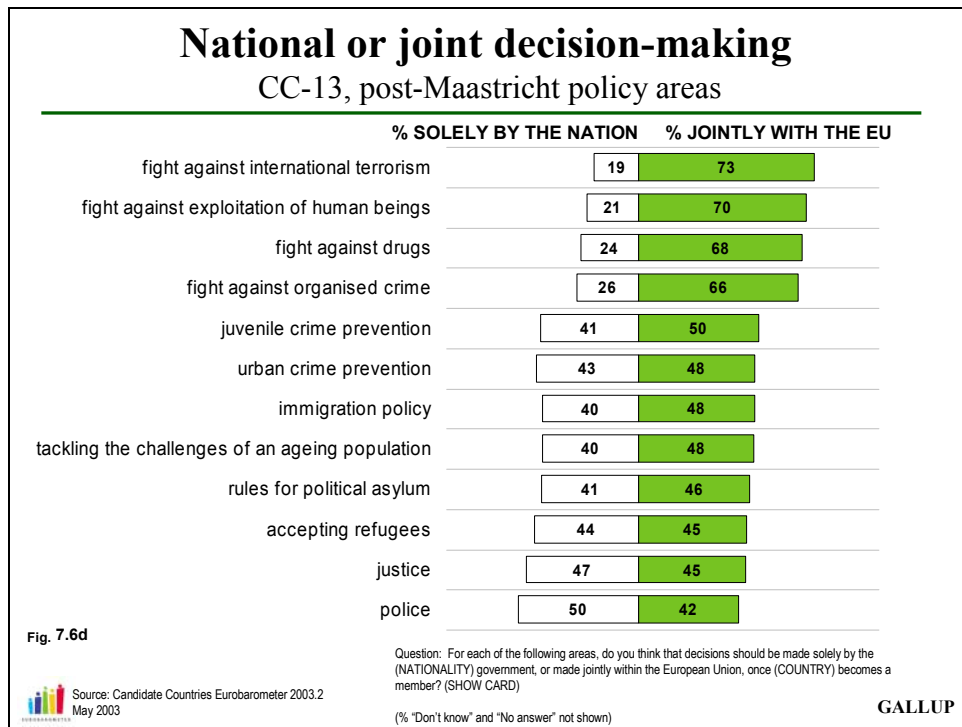
In the survey, the questions were divided into policy areas covered by the three pillars of the Maastricht Treaty (*ANNEX TABLE 7.9*), and the new policy areas covered by the Amsterdam and Nice Treaties (*ANNEX TABLE 7.10*). We first look at people's views concerning the Maastricht Treaty policy areas.



About two thirds (66%) of the respondents would delegate to the EU decisions on scientific and technological research, and "information about the European Union". Sixty-five percent of respondents support joint decision making in support for regions in economic difficulties and fighting against unemployment. Issues regarding humanitarian aid (64%), poverty-social exclusion (62%), foreign policy (58%), currency (58%), protection of the environment (58%), health and social welfare (56%), education (52%), and agriculture (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 less the half or less are, defence (50%), and basic rules for broadcasting and press (42%).

The most sensitive issues seem to be related to national culture. Support for joint decision-making in cultural policy is as low as 39%. Half of the respondents (51%) have the opinion that decisions on cultural policy issues should be made solely by the national governments.

As for the post-Maastricht policy areas, we find that support for joint EU decision making is most widespread as it regards the fight against international terrorism (73%), the fight against trade in, and exploitation of, human beings (70%) and the fight against drugs (68%), while people are most likely to support national decision making in the areas of policing and justice (42% and 45%, respectively).



Finally, *TABLE 7.6b* on the next page summarizes developments in the support for joint decision making according to policy areas. People are now more willing to share decisions especially in the areas of defence (+3 percentage points difference since autumn 2002), and currency issues (+3), and to a lesser extent even in cultural policy (+2), and justice (+2). At the same time candidate citizens are less likely in favour of relying on joint EU decisions in the question of accepting refugees (-4).

The most of the changes are insignificant, and in many issues the support for joint decision-making remained exactly where it has been six months ago.

**Table 7.6b Change in support for joint EU decision-making
for each of the policy areas,
CC-13, percentage points**

| | Decision to be made jointly with the EU, change from 2002 Autumn |
|---|---|
| defence | +3 |
| currency | +3 |
| cultural policy | +2 |
| justice | +2 |
| agriculture and fishing policy | +1 |
| police | +1 |
| the fight against organised crime | +1 |
| education | +1 |
| basic rules for broadcasting and press | +1 |
| protection of the environment | +1 |
| health and social welfare | - |
| immigration policy | - |
| the fight against unemployment | - |
| foreign policy towards countries outside the European Union | - |
| supporting regions which are experiencing economic difficulties | - |
| urban crime prevention | - |
| scientific and technological research | - |
| information about the European Union, its policies and institutions | -1 |
| the fight against trade in, and exploitation of human beings | -1 |
| the fight against drugs | -1 |
| rules for political asylum | -2 |
| humanitarian aid | -2 |
| juvenile crime prevention | -2 |
| the fight against poverty, social exclusion | -2 |
| accepting refugees | -4 |