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NATIONAL REPORT

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Introduction

Citizens of the European Union have an opportunity to engage directly with the EU through elections for the European Parliament. From an Irish perspective, what was unusual about this election year was the higher than normal profile of the European Union in Ireland during the first half of 2004. On 1 January 2004, Ireland took over the Presidency of the Council of Ministers from Italy. During the Irish Presidency, ten states joined the European Union and on 1 May a number of high profile events were held to mark the 'Day of Welcomes'. Moreover, numerous Council of Ministers meetings were held at a variety of locations around the country and negotiations continued regarding the drafting of a Constitution for the European Union (a process that was concluded on 18 June). From the public opinion point of view, the key questions are whether any of this actually had an effect on people's knowledge of, and attitudes to, the European Union. In particular, what is the current state of Irish public opinion regarding European integration as the country faces into another round of debate, and a referendum, about EU treaty changes.

This is the fifth report in a series of six-monthly reports on Irish attitudes to the European Union and European integration. Each report is based on evidence from the most recent Eurobarometer survey of public opinion. Eurobarometer surveys are conducted bi-annually in each of the member states using nationally representative samples. This report is based on Eurobarometer 61.1, which was conducted in spring 2004¹. In this report, we begin by examining Irish people's awareness of Ireland's presidency of the Council of Ministers as well as their awareness of EU institutions and the role they play. Then we turn our attention to people's perceptions of democracy in the EU and their attitudes towards the European Parliament election. We also identify those issues that concern people and the role of the EU in addressing them; people's trust in political institutions; how knowledgeable they feel about the EU and the sources of information they utilise; their attitudes to an EU constitution, integration and enlargement; their images and fears of the EU; and their attitudes to the EU's role on the world stage.

The Irish Presidency and Awareness of EU Institutions

The first issue that we consider is people's awareness of the Irish presidency of the Council of Ministers. It is clear from Eurobarometer 61.1 that most Irish people are aware of the Irish presidency. Three-quarters of Irish respondents report that they have read about it in newspapers or heard about it

¹ In Ireland the fielding of Eurobarometer 61.1 took place between 23 February and 19 March. In the 15 member states, the fielding of this survey began on 20 February and finished on 28 March.

on radio or television. It is also clear that most Irish respondents (82 percent) regard the Irish presidency as important (whether or not they had heard or read about it in the media). It would be interesting to know whether or not people in other countries were aware of the Irish presidency but this item is only asked in the country that holds the presidency. Moreover, it is not possible to tell whether, prior to the event, Irish people were aware that Ireland would be taking over the presidency in January 2004.

Most countries treat the holding of the presidency of the Council of Ministers as an important task. Within the country holding the presidency, the profile of the EU, and the Council of Ministers in particular, is increased. National and local media cover Council meetings and there is often a very visible EU presence on the ground (e.g. cavalcades, flags). When Eurobarometer 61.1 was fielded the 'Day of Welcomes' and agreement on the draft constitution had yet to occur. Nevertheless, there was a slight increase in the percentage of respondents who had heard of the Council of Ministers. In Eurobarometer 61.1, the percentage of Irish respondents reporting that they have heard of the Council of Ministers of the European Union (72 percent) is more or the less the same as the percentage reporting that they have heard or read about the Irish presidency. A year before Ireland held the presidency 67 percent of Irish people had heard of the Council of Ministers (Eurobarometer 59.1). This figure increased to 69 percent in the six months leading up to the Irish presidency (Eurobarometer 60.1). Despite this increase in awareness, Irish people are more familiar with EU institutions other than the Council of Ministers.

In Ireland, as well as in the 15 member states, more people have heard of the European Parliament, European Commission and European Central Bank, than have heard of the Council of Ministers (See Figure 1). More than 90 percent of people report that they have heard of the European Parliament and more than 80 percent report that they have heard of the European Commission and the European Central Bank. The institutions that Irish people are least aware of are the Economic and Social Committee of the European Union (44 percent), the European Court of Auditors (39 percent) and the Committee of the Regions of the European Union (37 percent).²

² Respondents are asked whether each of the EU institutions plays an important role or not in the life of the EU. Amongst Irish respondents, the evidence suggests that there is a relationship between people having heard of an institution and regarding it as important (See Figure 2). For instance, the institution that is familiar to the largest percentage of people, the European Parliament, is also the institution that the largest percentage of people believes is 'important'. Perhaps it might be more useful if future Eurobarometer surveys sought to measure people's perceptions of the relative importance of each institution.

While people are aware of EU institutions, and see most of them as playing important roles, when the importance of the role played by EU institutions is compared to that of national institutions, it is the latter that come out on top (See Figure 3). The perception persists amongst most people that the activities and decisions of the European Union, and the European Parliament in particular, do not have as great an effect as those of national governments and parliaments. Amongst respondents in Ireland, as well as in the 15 member states, the percentages regarding the activities and decisions of national governments and parliaments as having a 'great effect' are greater than the percentages that regard the activities and decisions of the EU and European Parliament as having a 'great effect'.

Democracy in the EU and European Parliament Elections

Direct elections to the European Parliament have been held since 1979. Prior to that members of the European Parliament were drawn from the member states' national parliaments. The election of MEPs is the only direct democratic link between citizens and the institutions of the European Union. Moreover, questions have been raised about the 'democratic deficit' in the governance of the European Union. The EU plays an important governance role that affects the lives of its citizens in many ways, on a day-to-day basis. As such it is important that it has democratic legitimacy, but do the citizens of the EU regard it as a democratic institution?

In order to examine people's perceptions of how democratic the European Union is, Eurobarometer 61.1 asks respondents whether or not they are satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union and in their own country. The evidence suggests that there is a notable gap between how satisfied people are with democracy in their own countries and in the EU (See Figure 4). The percentage of Irish people who are satisfied with democracy in the EU is nine percentage points less than the percentage of Irish people who are satisfied with democracy in Ireland. In the 15 member states, the percentage of people who are satisfied with democracy in the EU is eleven percentage points less than the percentage that are satisfied with democracy in their own countries. In particular, about half of people in the Netherlands, Finland and Sweden are either 'not very satisfied' or 'not at all satisfied' with democracy in the EU. It is also worth noting that the percentage of Irish respondents satisfied with the way democracy works within the European Union is greater than the percentage of respondents in the 15 member states who are satisfied with democracy in the EU.

Across Europe a majority of people regard European Parliament elections as important. In Ireland, 72 percent of respondents agree that 'European Parliament elections are really important', while 66 percent of respondents in the 15 member states do so. In Eurobarometer 61.1, voters are asked how likely they are to participate in a general election if one were being held tomorrow, and how likely they are to participate in the European Parliament elections taking place in June. To indicate their likelihood of voting, respondents select a point on a scale that runs from 'would definitely not vote' [1] to 'would definitely vote' [10]. The evidence in Figure 5 suggests that people are more willing to vote in national elections than they are to vote in European elections. The percentage of Irish respondents who 'would definitely vote' in a general election is 33 percent, while the percentage that 'would definitely vote' in the European election is 31 percent. In the 15 member states, 42 percent said they 'would definitely vote' in a general election and 34 percent said they 'would definitely vote' in the European election.

In the event, turnout for the European Parliament election, in the 25 member states, was low (46 percent) and declined relative to 1999. That said, turnout did not fall in each of the 15 member states that participated in the 1999 European Parliament election. Compared to 1999, turnout fell in seven member states but increased in six member states. Ireland is one of those countries where electoral participation increased. Turnout for the 2004 European Parliament election was 60 percent, an increase of ten percentage points over the 1999 European Parliament election (in Ireland turnout in 1999 was up six percentage points on 1994). It is also worth noting that turnout in 2004 was just three percentage points short of turnout for the 2002 general election. While it is reasonable to suggest that the holding of the presidency of the Council of Ministers might have contributed to this increase, it is not possible to say for definite why turnout increased. The 2004 European Parliament coincided with elections for local government (as did the 1999 European Parliament election) as well as a referendum on citizenship. It is also likely that the referendum, as well as the closeness of the contests in the four Irish European Parliament constituencies (as indicated by opinion polls published in national newspapers), contributed to the increase in turnout. Nevertheless, the evidence implies that people in Ireland are willing to engage with the European Union when given the opportunity to do so.³

The low and declining levels of electoral participation in European Parliament election are of concern to some. In Eurobarometer 61.1, respondents are asked to consider a number of proposed ways of facilitating electoral participation in the European Parliament elections (See Figure 6). The most popular method is holding regional and local elections on the same day (in Ireland local elections are held on the same day as the election for the European Parliament). The next most popular method

³ That said, it should be remembered that only 49 percent of the electorate voted in the second Nice Treaty referendum and even fewer voted in the first Nice Treaty referendum.

amongst Irish respondents is setting up polling stations in supermarkets but this is the second least popular method for respondents in the 15 member states. The second most popular method amongst respondents in the 15 member states is holding elections for the European Parliament on the same day in all of the member states. However, the idea of sharing the electoral experience across Europe does not extend to having citizens from other member states as candidates in the election. Amongst respondents in Ireland, and in the 15 member states, this is the least popular of the suggested methods for increasing turnout. Amongst Irish respondents other methods, such as voting in the place of work, free public transport on polling day and voting over the internet, were slightly more popular than they were amongst respondents in the 15 member states.

Issue Salience and EU Performance

One reason for people's unwillingness to engage with the EU through European Parliament elections may be that it is seen as irrelevant to the day-to-day concerns of people. As we have already outlined, the proportion of people who regard national governments and parliaments as efficacious is greater than the proportion of people who regard the EU and European Parliament as having a great effect. A variety of methods are used by Eurobarometer 61.1 to identify some of the issues that concern people and whether or not they feel the EU has an effect on such issues.

The first method focuses respondents' minds on the European Parliament election, and asks them to identify the issues that they will take into account when deciding how to vote in the next European Parliament election. From Figure 7 it is clear that more people are concerned about 'national issues' than are concerned about 'European issues'. Amongst respondents in Ireland, and in the 15 member states, a larger percentage of people report that they will take 'national issues' into account than report that they will take 'European issues' into account. The 'policies of the candidate' is also a more popular response in both Ireland and in the 15 member states than 'European issues'. However, it should be noted that 'European issues' have a greater resonance for respondents in the 15 member states (35 percent) than they have for Irish respondents (21 percent).

A second method that Eurobarometer 61.1 uses to reveal issues that concern citizens is to ask them to identify those issues they feel the election campaign for the European Parliament should focus on. As is evident from Figure 8, the issues most Irish respondents feel the campaign should focus on are 'issues specific to Ireland', the 'fight against crime' and 'employment'. Amongst respondents in the 15

member states, the largest percentage of people feel the campaign should focus on ‘employment’ followed by the ‘fight against crime’ and ‘immigration’. The issues that fail to resonate with respondents in both Ireland and in the 15 member states are ‘enlargement’ of the European Union, the ‘activities of the European Parliament’ and ‘reform of EU institutions’.

The third and final method that Eurobarometer 61.1 uses deals with more specific issues. Respondents asked to identify the ‘most important issues facing Ireland at the moment’, and whether they feel the EU plays a positive or negative role in dealing with these issues. In Figure 9 we note the percentage of respondents who identify each issue as being the most important issue facing Ireland. We also note the difference in the percentage feeling that the EU plays a positive role in dealing with a particular issue and the percentage feeling that the EU plays a negative role. Amongst Irish respondents three issues stand out as being of concern: crime, healthcare and inflation. Of these three issues, the EU is only seen as playing a positive role in addressing crime. With regard to health care and inflation, the percentage of Irish respondents who feel that the EU plays a positive role is about 17 percentage points less than the percentage of people who feel that the EU plays a negative role. It is also worth noting that ‘immigration’ is only salient amongst twelve percent of Irish people (30 percent of Irish respondents felt the European Parliament election campaign should focus on this issue; See Figure 8).

It is also evident from Figure 9 that large proportions of Irish people see the EU as playing a positive role with regard to a number of their concerns. In particular, the percentages of people who see the EU as playing a positive role in dealing with the ‘economic situation’, ‘terrorism’, the ‘environment’ and ‘defence and foreign affairs’ are about 38 percentage points greater than the percentages who see the EU as playing a negative role. However, the problem for the EU is that these issues are of concern to only small numbers of people. Only 15 percent of Irish respondents think the economic situation is one of the important issues facing Ireland while even smaller percentages think that the environment, terrorism, and defence and foreign affairs are important issues facing Ireland at the moment.

Trust in Political Institutions

Lack of trust in political institutions undermines people’s willingness to engage with those institutions. Eurobarometer tracks whether or not citizens tend to trust particular political institutions: national, European and international. In Figure 10 we calculate a net measure of trust in each of the institutions by subtracting from the percentage of people who say they ‘tend to trust’ that institution, the percentage

saying they ‘tend not to trust’ it. A positive figure indicates that the percentage of people tending to trust an institution is greater than the percentage of people who tend not to trust it. While the EU lags behind the UN in terms of the percentage of people who trust it, more than half of Irish respondents trust the EU (56 percent). The percentage of Irish respondents who tend to trust the EU has increased slightly since the second half of 2003 (53 percent). While a majority of Irish people tend to trust the EU, they do not have the same level of confidence in their own domestic institutions. Forty percent of Irish people tend to trust the Dáil, 39 percent tend to trust the government, and only 23 percent of Irish respondents tend to trust the Irish political parties. A similar pattern is evident in the 15 member states where 56 percent tend to trust the EU and 63 percent tend to trust the UN but only 40 percent tend to trust their national parliaments, 39 percent their governments and 23 percent their political parties.

The proportions of respondents in Ireland, and in the 15 member states, that ‘tend to trust’ each of the EU institutions are greater than the proportions that ‘tend not to trust’ them (See Figure 11). Amongst Irish respondents, the most trusted institution is the European Parliament, followed by the European Commission, the European Court of Justice and the European Central Bank.⁴ It is also evident from Figure 11 that Irish respondents are more likely to trust the various EU institutions than respondents in the 15 member states. Moreover, respondents in the 15 member states differ from the Irish in that European Court of Justice is trusted by the largest percentage of people.

Knowledge and Sources of Information Regarding EU Affairs

People may also feel distant from the EU because they believe they do not know very much about what it does and how it works or have little contact with their MEPs. Eurobarometer 61.1 was fielded about half-way through the Irish presidency. While the more visible aspects of the presidency had yet to occur, by March 2004 there had been a slight increase in the percentage of people who feel they know about the EU, its policies and institutions. Respondents were asked to place themselves on a scale running from ‘know nothing at all’ [1] to ‘know a great deal’. In Figure 12, the percentage of people scoring themselves three or less has declined relative to Eurobarometer 60.1 (from 42 percent to 38 percent) while the percentage scoring six or seven has increased (from 16 percent to 21 percent). At the ‘know a great deal’ end of the scale the percentage has remained unchanged.

⁴ Again, it is evident that the institutions with the largest percentages of people trusting them are those that most people have heard of.

In Figure 13 we compare Irish respondents with those in the 15 member states. It is evident that Irish people feel less confident about their knowledge of the European Union, its policies and institutions than respondents in the 15 member states. The percentage of Irish respondents (38 percent) near the 'know nothing' end of the scale (a score between 1 and 3) is greater than the percentage of respondents in the 15 member states (33 percent), while the percentage of Irish respondents (4 percent) towards the 'know a great deal' end (a score between 8 and 10) is less than the percentage of respondents in the 15 member states (7 percent).

The largest enlargement of the EU took place on 1 May 2004 when ten countries were welcomed into the European Union. However, the evidence prior to enlargement suggests that people felt uninformed about the introduction of the ten new countries. In Figure 14 we present a measure of how well informed people felt about enlargement. In calculating this measure we subtracted from the percentage of people who felt they were 'very well informed' and 'well informed', the percentage of people who felt they were 'not very well informed' and 'not at all well informed'. Finland is the only country where respondents felt that they were informed about enlargement, and even there the percentage feeling informed was only three percentage points greater than the percentage that did not feel informed. In Austria, the percentage feeling informed was equal to the percentage that did not feel informed. In all of the other countries, most people felt uninformed about enlargement. Amongst respondents in Portugal the percentage feeling uninformed was more than 50 percentage points greater than the percentage feeling informed. In Italy, Spain, the UK and France the gap between the percentage that felt uninformed and informed was more than 40 percentage points. In Ireland, a third of respondents felt 'very well informed' or 'well informed', while just less than two-third felt 'not very well informed' or 'not at all well informed'.

When people look for information about the European Union they turn to the media, in particular to newspapers and television (See Figure 15). Very few respondents report that they turn to EU information offices or members of the European Parliament for information about the EU. For the most part, people feel that the media's coverage of the EU is objective, and while many feel it gets about the right amount of coverage, sizeable percentages feel that the EU should get more attention. In Ireland, 42 percent of Irish respondents believe that the media's coverage of the EU is 'about the right amount' and 49 percent of Irish respondents believe that the Irish media cover the EU 'objectively'. That said, 30 percent of Irish respondents believe there is 'too little' attention given to the EU. Amongst respondents in the 15 member states, the percentage feeling that the media in their country gives the EU 'about the right amount' is similar to that in Ireland, but 41 percent of respondents in the 15

member states feel that the media gives ‘too little’ attention to the EU. With regard to the quality of that coverage, the percentage of respondents in the 15 member states who believe the media is objective in its coverage is about nine percentage points less than the percentage who think so in Ireland. Moreover, almost one quarter of these respondents feel that the media presents the EU ‘too positively’.

While the media is a common source of information about the EU, large percentages of people report that they have not seen, heard or had any contacts with a member of European parliament since the last European Parliament election (See Figure 16). In Ireland 28 percent have had no contact, as compared with 38 percent in the 15 member-states (In the UK, 53 percent report that they have not seen, heard or had any contacts with a member of European parliament since the last European Parliament election). Of those who have seen or heard something from members of the European Parliament, television, followed by newspapers and radio, are the most frequent media through which citizens have had contact with their representatives.

However, substantial proportions of respondents are unconcerned about having no contact with MEPs, either directly or indirectly through the media (See Figure 17). When respondents are asked whether they would be interested in seeing or hearing more about MEPs, 31 percent of Irish respondents, and 31 percent of respondents in the 15 member states, say that they would ‘not be interested’. In Belgium and the UK, more than forty percent of respondents say that they would not be interested in hearing or seeing more about MEPs. Of those respondents who are interested in hearing more about MEPs, most favour the media as a means of doing so. Again television is the most favoured medium followed by newspapers and radio. Very few people are interested in seeing MEPs at public meetings.

Attitudes to Integration and Enlargement

People’s unwillingness to engage with the EU may also be a consequence of their attitudes towards integration and enlargement. From Figure 18, it is evident that throughout the 1990s, support for Irish membership remained at a very high level, even though it was declining in other countries. However, it was not always so as Irish support for membership of the EC/EU lagged behind the European average in the early to mid-1980s. However, in the late-1980s it began to climb steadily and peaked in the mid-1990s. At the beginning of the new century, a downward trend began in Irish attitudes towards membership of the EU. While this trend was reversed at the end of 2003, the increase in the percentage

of Irish people who support Irish membership of the EU was not sustained into early 2004. Having said that, it is clear that Irish people continue to have a very positive evaluation of their country's membership of the EU. Across the EU as a whole, there has been a continuation of the downward trend in support for membership amongst respondents. While EU membership receives approval ratings similar to those in Ireland in Greece and Luxembourg, respondents in Sweden, Austria and the UK are unsure about their country's membership of the EU (See Figure 19).

A second measure of people's attitudes towards European integration is whether or not they believe their country has benefited from membership of the EC/EU. Amongst Irish respondents, the trend in this attitude is similar to people's support for membership of the EU (See Figure 18). The difference between the two trends is that the percentage believing that Ireland has benefited from membership has always been greater than the percentage supporting membership. Throughout the 1990s, more than 80 percent of Irish people had a positive evaluation of Ireland's membership of the EU on this scale.

While the Irish are obviously positive about membership of the EU and regard it as having benefited their country, they are far from gung-ho about integration. Two aspects of the speed of European integration are measured in Eurobarometer 61.1. The first focuses on people's perception of the speed of 'building Europe' while the second focuses on people's preferences regarding what that speed should be. It is possible to obtain an index of people's satisfaction with the speed of European integration by subtracting the number chosen for the current perceived speed from the number for the desired speed. In Figure 20, attitude to the speed of building Europe is reduced to five categories: 'about right', 'a little too fast', 'too fast', 'a little too slow', and 'too slow'. Amongst the Irish a plurality (37 percent) feel that the speed of integration is about right but a similar percentage of people (36 percent) feel that integration is not taking place as quickly as they would like. However, such positive attitudes to the speed of integration are tempered somewhat by the sizeable minority of Irish respondents (27 percent) who feel that integration is taking place at a pace faster than they would otherwise like. In Denmark and Finland people are concerned about the fast speed of integration. In both countries, the percentage of people who feel integration is either 'a little too fast' or 'too fast' is greater than the percentage of people who feel it is 'too slow' or a 'little too slow'. On the other hand, a majority of respondents in France, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal feel that the speed of integration is 'too slow' or 'a little too slow'.

Political conflict often arises when there is a gap between what people would like to happen and what they expect to happen. Eurobarometer 61.1 asks respondent how important a role they *expect the EU*

will play in their lives in five year's time and how important a role they *would like it to play*. Amongst Irish respondents, 46 percent expect EU to play a more important role while 7 percent expect it to play a less important role. When it comes to how important a role Irish people would like the EU to play in five years time, only 33 percent would like it to play a more important role while 12 percent would like it to play a less important role. In Figure 21 we compare the percentage of people whose expectations of the role the EU will play matches the role they would like it to play with the percentage of people's whose expectations do not match what they would like. It is clear from Figure 21 that most people's expectations of the importance of the EU in five years time is matched by the importance that they would like the EU to have in five years time. However, a sizeable minority of Irish respondents (29 percent) do not expect the EU to play as important a role as they would like it to play.

A further issue related to the speed of integration is the often-debated issue of a two-speed integration process. While in a number of areas this is the *de facto* situation, for example some countries have opted out of the Euro, there is limited support for this approach to integration amongst citizens. Amongst the Irish there is almost an even split, with a slightly larger percentage favouring a two-speed Europe than against it (See Figure 22). Only in Greece is there a majority in favour of one group of countries integrating faster than the others. A majority of people in Sweden, Finland and Denmark oppose the idea of a two speed Europe.

In May 2004, ten new countries joined the European Union. Of the five enlargements that have taken place, this is by far the largest. Earlier we noted that many people felt uniformed about the enlargement. Here we consider whether or not they are in favour of the 2004 enlargement and the possibility of future enlargements. While a majority of Irish people are in favour of the enlargement of the EU that took place in May 2004 (See Figure 23), less than half of Irish respondents are in favour of future enlargements (See Figure 24). That said, while 30 percent are against future enlargements, 25 percent did not express an opinion on this issue. In the 15 member states the percentage of people in favour of the 2004 enlargement is just slightly greater than the percentage of people who are against it. Ireland is one of only seven countries in which a majority of respondents are in favour of the 2004 enlargement. With regard to a future enlargement of the EU, in the 15 member states, the percentage against the introduction of new member states is greater than the percentage in favour of it. In only three countries are there majorities in favour of a future enlargement (Greece, Spain and Portugal). Not surprisingly, those countries where a majority of the people are against the enlargement of 2004 are also those countries in which a majority are against future enlargements: Germany, Austria and Luxembourg (majorities in France and Finland are also against future enlargements).

Images of the European Union

In Figure 25 we present the net differences between the percentage of people in each country for whom the EU conjures up a 'very positive' or 'fairly positive' image and the percentage of people for whom the EU conjures up a 'fairly negative' or 'very negative' image. The most positive images of the EU are held by the Greeks and the Irish. In Ireland, 65 percent of respondents feel that the EU conjures up a 'very positive' or 'fairly positive' image with just eight percent having a negative image of the EU. Negative images of the EU are more salient in Austria, Sweden and the UK.

When asked what the EU means to them, the most salient images amongst Irish respondents are the Euro and freedom to travel, study and work in the EU (See Figure 26). Both of these images are also the most salient amongst respondents in the 15 member states. The least salient image amongst Irish respondents is that the EU is a 'waste of money'. In a European Parliament election year, the salience of 'democracy' amongst the Irish is just ten percent, though 22 percent of respondents in the 15 member states mention this image.

While most people have positive images of the EU, people are also concerned about the consequences of building Europe. Given the dependence of the Irish economy on direct foreign investment, and the entry to the EU of countries where employment costs are lower than in Ireland, it is not surprising that what three-quarters of Irish respondents fear most about the building of the EU is 'the transfer of jobs to other member countries which have lower production costs' (See Figure 27). The salience of crime as an important issue facing Ireland is also evident. The second most salient fear amongst Irish respondents, and respondents in the 15 member states, is that the building of the EU will result in increased 'drug trafficking and international organised crime'. As a small population within the EU, a majority of Irish respondents are also concerned about 'a loss of power for smaller member states' and 'the loss of national identity and culture'. Given the recent campaign to have Irish recognised as an official language it is interesting to note that 51 percent of Irish respondents fear that 'our language is being used less and less' (while the item does not make a specific mention of Irish, it is somewhat unlikely that half of Irish respondents are concerned that English is being used less and less).

The Constitutional Question

When this survey was fielded, the Irish presidency was working towards achieving agreement on a final draft of the Constitution of the European Union. In the end, it succeeded in doing so, and ratification of the new constitution is on the agenda for each of the 25 member states. At the time of writing it is believed that several member states will require referendums in order to ratify the constitution. In all but two countries, UK and Denmark, a majority of respondents favour the idea of an EU constitution (See Figure 28). That said, in the UK the proportion of respondents who are in favour of the idea of a EU constitution is greater than the proportion who are opposed. While a majority of Irish people favour an EU constitution, the Irish are less enthusiastic than people in other member states. That said, the percentage of Irish people who are against an EU constitution is very low, with most of those who are not in favour preferring to opt for the 'don't know' category. However, it is worth noting that the experience of previous EU referendums in Ireland suggests that about 20 percent of the electorate vote against EU treaties.

Several issues that are relevant to the new constitution are explored in Eurobarometer 61.1. In particular, respondents are asked to consider the issue of voting in the Council of Ministers and whether it should be based on one-country – one-vote or weighted by population (See Figure 29). Respondents in the largest country, Germany stand out as favouring the weighting of the number of votes in the Council of Ministers by population (53 percent). That said, 32 percent of Germans believe that each country should have just one vote regardless of population. Amongst the other populous countries (Italy, France, Spain, UK and the Netherlands), about 30 percent of respondents favour weighting votes in the Council of Ministers by population with more than 50 percent of respondents in the Netherlands, and more than 40 percent of respondents in Italy, France, Spain and the UK, favouring voting based on one-country – one-vote. In Ireland, the second smallest population of the 15 member states, only 17 percent of respondents favour weighting votes by population, while 60 percent feel that each country should have one vote regardless of population. Respondents in the other smaller countries also favour this approach to voting in the Council of Ministers and rejected the idea of weighting by population.

The idea of one-country – one-vote is exemplified by the national veto. With the exception of Belgium, more than 50 percent of respondents in the nine smallest member states believe that the veto should be retained in order to preserve essential national interests (See Figure 30). Amongst Irish respondents, 54 percent believe the veto should be retained while a further 14 percent believe it should be limited to a

very few essential areas. Only eight percent of Irish respondents believe it should be given up. The retention of the veto is most popular amongst the Greeks (70 percent). Limiting the veto to a few essential areas is most popular amongst the French (30 percent). In no country are more than a fifth of respondents willing to give up the veto completely. The idea of doing so is most accepted by the Belgians (18 percent) and the Dutch (16 percent). It should also be noted that in some countries more than a quarter of respondents did not opt for either of these two responses: UK (28 percent), Spain (31 percent), Ireland (24 percent) and Italy (24 percent).

Respondents are asked about the time limit on each country's presidency of the Council of Ministers. In particular, they are asked to consider whether it should remain limited at six-months so that each country can hold it on a regular basis, or should the duration for each country be extended because six months is too short a period to achieve significant results (See Figure 31). In Ireland, 48 percent of respondents believe that the time limit should be left as it is, while 32 percent believe it should be extended. This is not only the opposite of what respondents in the 15 member states think (32 percent believe that the *status-quo* should remain while 50 percent believe the time period should be extended), it marks a notable shift in opinion relative to the first part of 2003. The evidence in Eurobarometer 59.1 suggests that in the first half of 2003, only 28 percent favoured the *status-quo*, while 43 percent favoured extending the period of each country's presidency.

Of the fifteen member states, the Irish are most in favour of retaining the *status-quo* regarding the presidency. The other countries where more than forty percent of respondents favour this view are the Greece, Luxembourg, Austria, Finland and Sweden. With regard to expanding the time a country holds the Presidency of the Council of Minister, 58 percent of respondents in France and the Netherlands, and 52 percent of respondents in Germany and Belgium agree with this view. It is also worth noting that in Ireland, as well as across the 15 member states, about a fifth of respondents did not express an opinion on this question. About a quarter of respondents in Spain and the UK were unwilling to choose between the two options.

Another issue of debate is whether each member state will be entitled to nominate a member of the Commission of the European Union on each and every occasion or whether each country will have to miss a turn every so often (See Figure 32). It is clear that there is popular support for the idea of that each member state nominates one member of the Commission. In each of the 15 member states a majority of respondents favour this approach to determining the composition of the Commission. In

Ireland, 69 percent of Irish respondents favour this approach, but only 51 percent of respondents in the UK do so.

Attitudes to Common Foreign and Security

Going on past EU referendum campaigns in Ireland, one issue that is always on the agenda is Irish neutrality and the development of EU competencies in the areas of security and defence. Over the last few decades these issues have been on the EU agenda, particularly since the end of the Cold War. Prior to the beginning of the campaign to ratify the EU constitution, it is useful to consider Irish attitudes to the EU's role in security, defence and its position on the world stage. From a contextual point of view, it should be noted that the last week or so of the fielding of this survey in Ireland coincided with the aftermath of terrorist bombings in Madrid.

The evidence in Eurobarometer 61.1 suggests that a majority of respondents in the 15 member states are in favour of a 'common foreign policy' (See Figure 33) and a 'common defence and security policy' (See Figure 34). Even in neutral Ireland a majority of respondents favour common policies in both areas. As to which institution should take decisions about European defence policy, 39 percent of respondents in Ireland favour national governments (See Figure 35). However, despite Ireland's neutrality, a plurality of Irish respondents say that such decisions should rest with organisations other than the national government, that is, with either the EU (34 percent) or NATO (9 percent). Across the other member states, the EU is favoured by a majority of respondents in Italy, Luxembourg, Greece, Belgium and France. National governments are favoured by a plurality of people living in the other neutral countries of Finland, Sweden and Austria. NATO's role in decisions about European defence is most strongly supported in the UK and the Netherlands. That said, it should be noted that in the Netherlands a plurality support the role of the EU while in the UK country a plurality favour the role of the national government.

An examination was also undertaken of people's views of the EU's place on the world stage (See Figure 36). A large majority of Irish people, as well as respondents in the 15 member states, agree with a more interventionist approach by the EU to human rights: 'the EU should guarantee Human Rights around the world, even if this is contrary to the interests of some other countries'. While this item is unclear as to whether 'some other countries' refers to the country in which the human rights need to be guaranteed or a third party, the interventionist nature of the attitude is evident. A similarly large majority of Irish respondents, and of respondents in the 15 member states, agree that 'the EU should

guarantee Human Rights in each member state, even if this is contrary to the interests of some member states'. Irish attitudes on both of these items changed relative to Eurobarometer 60.1. With regard to human rights around the world the percentage agreeing with this statement has increased by five percentage points. When it comes to the role of the EU with regard to human rights within member states, the percentage agreeing with this has increased by three percentage points. When asked about the EU having common immigration and asylum policies, majorities in Ireland, and in the member states, agree with this. Here, Irish attitudes are consistent over time. The percentages of people who agree with common policies in these areas have remained unchanged since Eurobarometer 60.1.

With regard to the EU's position on the world stage, a large majority of respondents in Ireland, and in the 15 member states, are willing to see the EU treated as a state by granting it a seat on the UN Security Council. Amongst Irish respondents support for this has increased by six percentage points since the second half of 2003. Moreover, large majorities of respondents in both Ireland and across the EU member states agree that: the EU's foreign policy should be independent of the USA's foreign policy (up three percentage points amongst Irish respondents), that member states should agree a common policy in the face of an international crisis (up four percentage points amongst Irish respondents), a single foreign minister to express an EU view (up five percentage points amongst Irish respondents) and a rapid reaction force that can be sent to deal with international crises (up seven percentage points amongst Irish respondents). Finally, while a majority of Irish respondents believe that neutral countries should have a say in EU foreign policy (up four percentage points amongst Irish respondents), only 50 percent of respondents across the 15 member states tend to agree with this view. What is most striking is that, with the exception of a UN Security Council seat for the EU and a voice in EU foreign policy making for neutral member states, Irish opinion is not significantly different from opinion in the EU15 on any of these issues.

Conclusion

The Irish presidency of the Council of Ministers has been seen as a success, particularly after achieving agreement on a draft constitution in June. This achievement marks the start of another round of ratification processes in the member states. In Ireland, as well as in other countries, the ratification process involves holding a referendum. Eurobarometer 61.1 measures Irish and European attitudes towards the European Union at the moment prior to agreement on the draft constitution. How attitudes

towards the European Union, and the draft constitution in particular, evolve will be measured relative to this point in time.

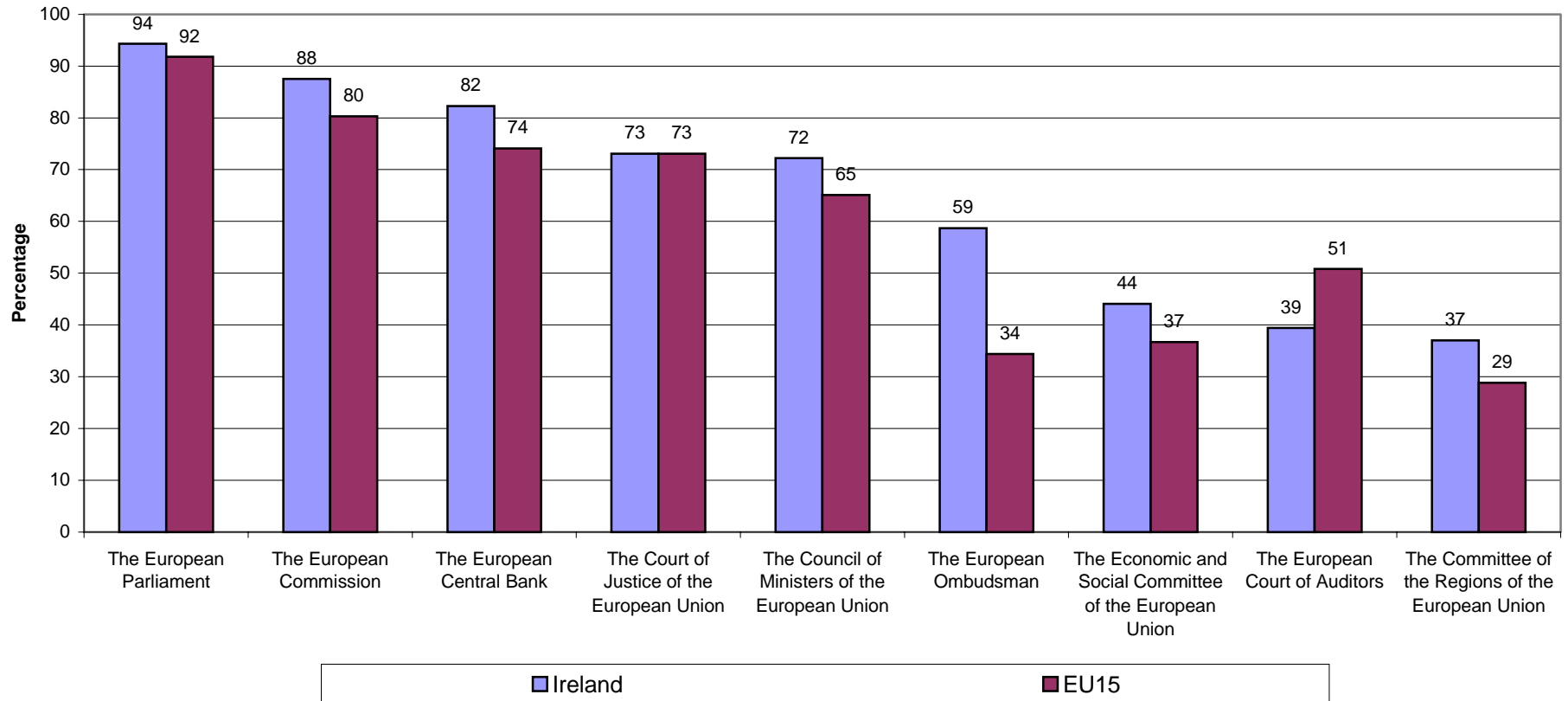
As the ratification process begins the people of Europe have mixed attitudes towards the European Union. On the one hand, people generally have positive images of the EU, they are positive about their countries membership of the EU and see their country as having benefited from membership. Moreover, most people are familiar with the main EU institutions and people are more likely to trust them than political institutions in their own countries. On the other hand, while people recognise the importance of elections to the European Parliament less than half of the European electorate turned out to cast ballot papers. People still focus on national politics: they are more willing to vote in general elections than in European Parliament elections, large proportions of people see national institutions as having a great effect than see European institutions as having a great effect, and more people are concerned about 'national issues' than are concerned about 'European issues'. The distribution of people's confidence in their knowledge about the EU and its policies and institutions is skewed towards the 'know nothing' end of the scale.

With regard to the idea of a European Union constitution, large majorities of people are in favour of it. However, in the UK, where a referendum has been promised, only 42 percent are in favour, while in Ireland only 59 percent of respondents are in favour. Again, respondents' focus on the nation state may see the ratification process run into difficulties. Despite the use of Qualified Majority Voting for many years, the evidence in Eurobarometer 61.1 suggests that only limited proportions of citizens favour the number of votes each member state has in the Council of Ministers being determined by population size, and pluralities in each country favour retaining the national veto to preserve essential national interests. There is also little appetite for the proposed ending of the entitlement of each country to nominate a member of the Commission. It is also evident that citizens in most countries are fairly evenly divided between those who think integration is taking place too quickly, too slowly or at the right speed.

As the EU and its member states begin the process of ratification, Eurobarometer 61.1 suggests that there are lessons that need to be learnt from the enlargement process. The enlargement that took place in May 2004 involved the largest number of countries to enter the EU. Yet, in all but two countries, more people felt uninformed about enlargement than felt informed. It is evident from this that there is a need for the EU to communicate effectively with its citizens about developments, and in particular about the constitution. The evidence of Eurobarometer 61.1 suggests that the best way of

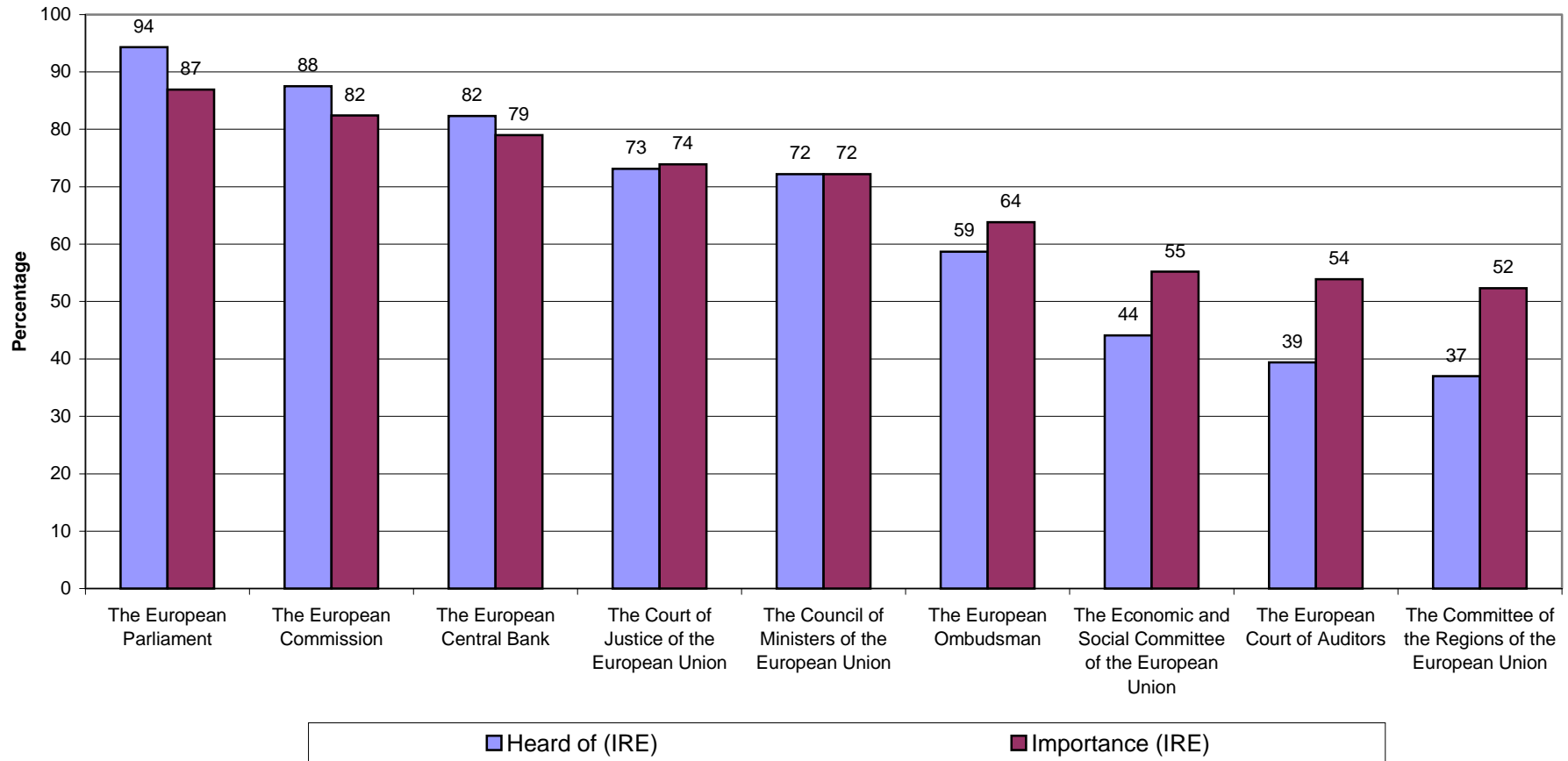
communicating with citizens is through the media. For the most part, people regard the media's coverage of the EU as impartial, and there is evidence of a willingness to hear more about the EU through the media. However, attempts by the EU to communicate to citizens via its own outlets or through MEPs are likely to be ignored.

Figure 1: Proportion of Irish and EU respondents who have heard of each EU institution



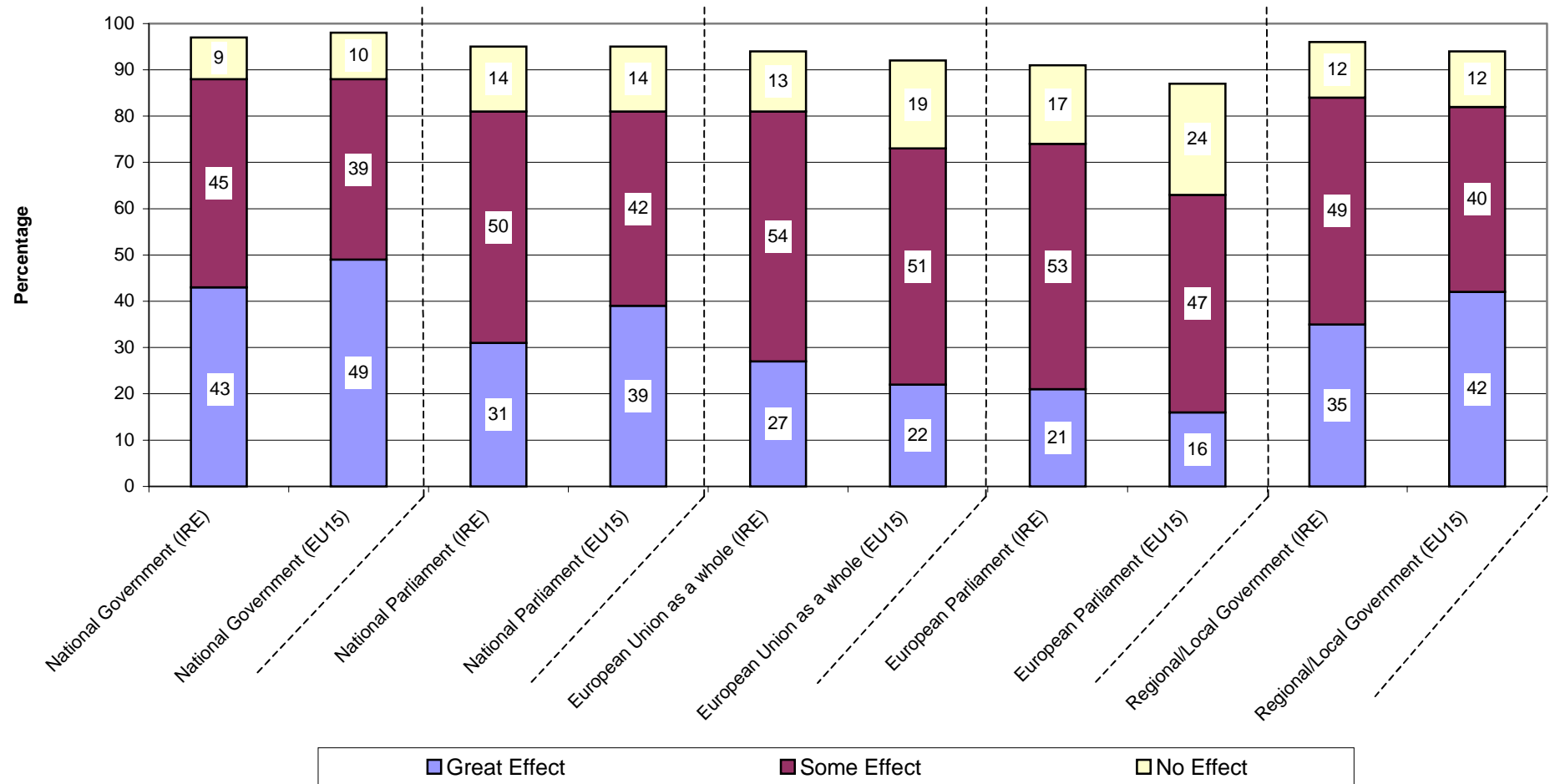
Source: EB61.1, Q21

Figure 2: Proportion of Irish respondents who have (1) heard of each EU institution and (2) think that institution plays an important role in the life of the EU



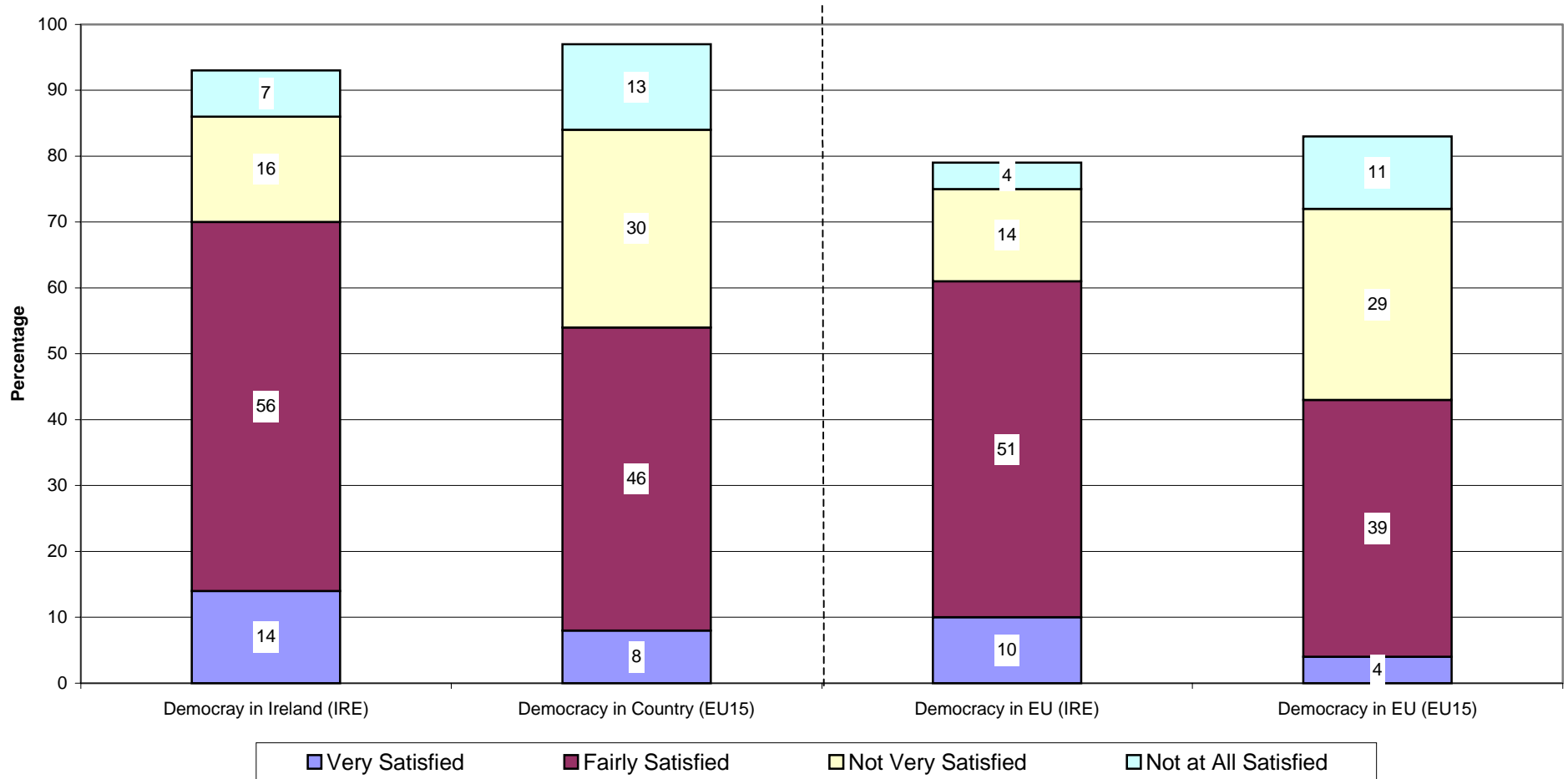
Source: EB61.1 Q21 and Q22

Figure 3: Perceived effects of activities and decisions of national, European and local/regional bodies amongst respondents in Ireland and EU15



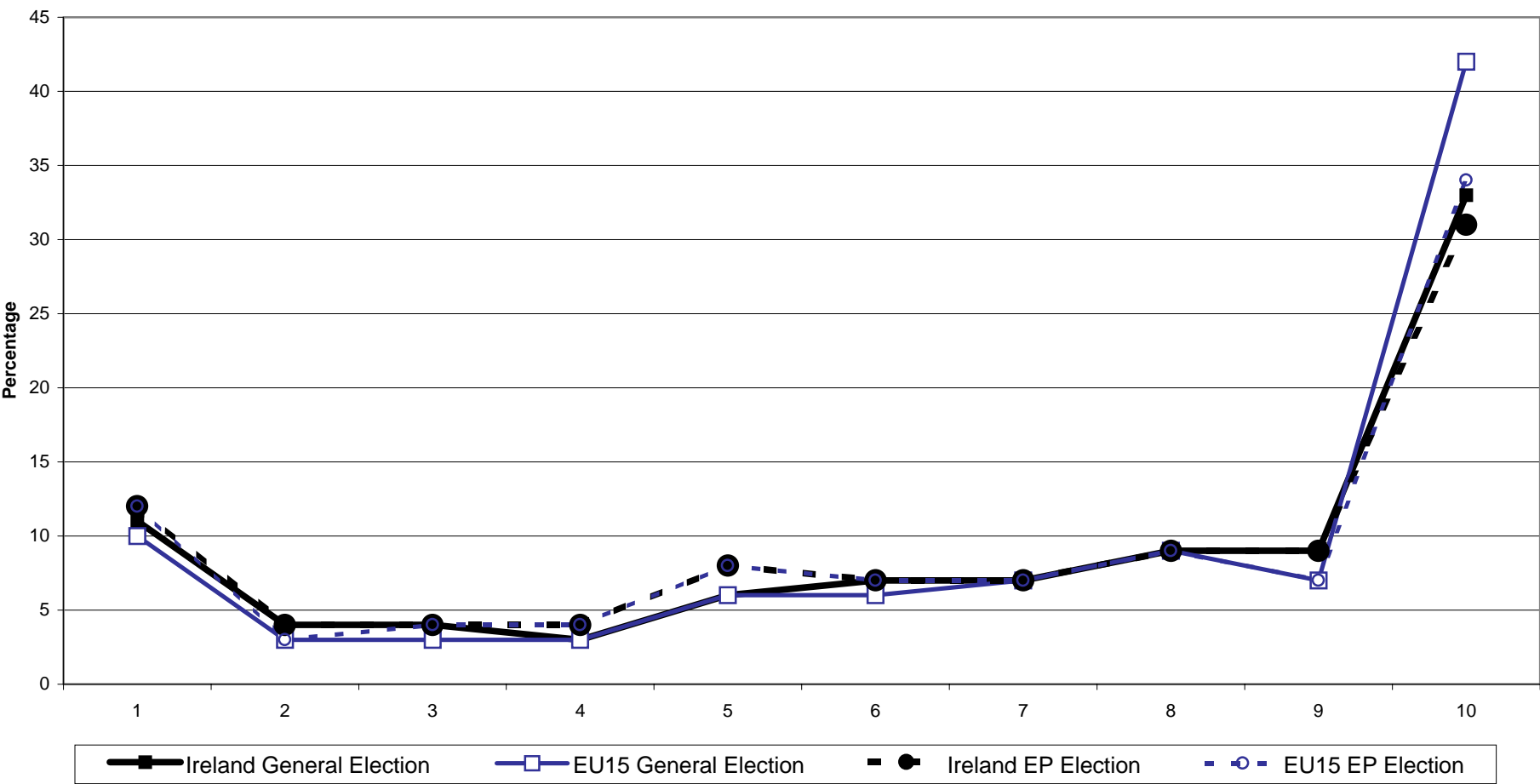
Source: EB61.1, Q45

Figure 4: Satisfaction with the way democracy works in (1) respondent's country and in (2) European Union amongst respondents in Ireland and in EU15



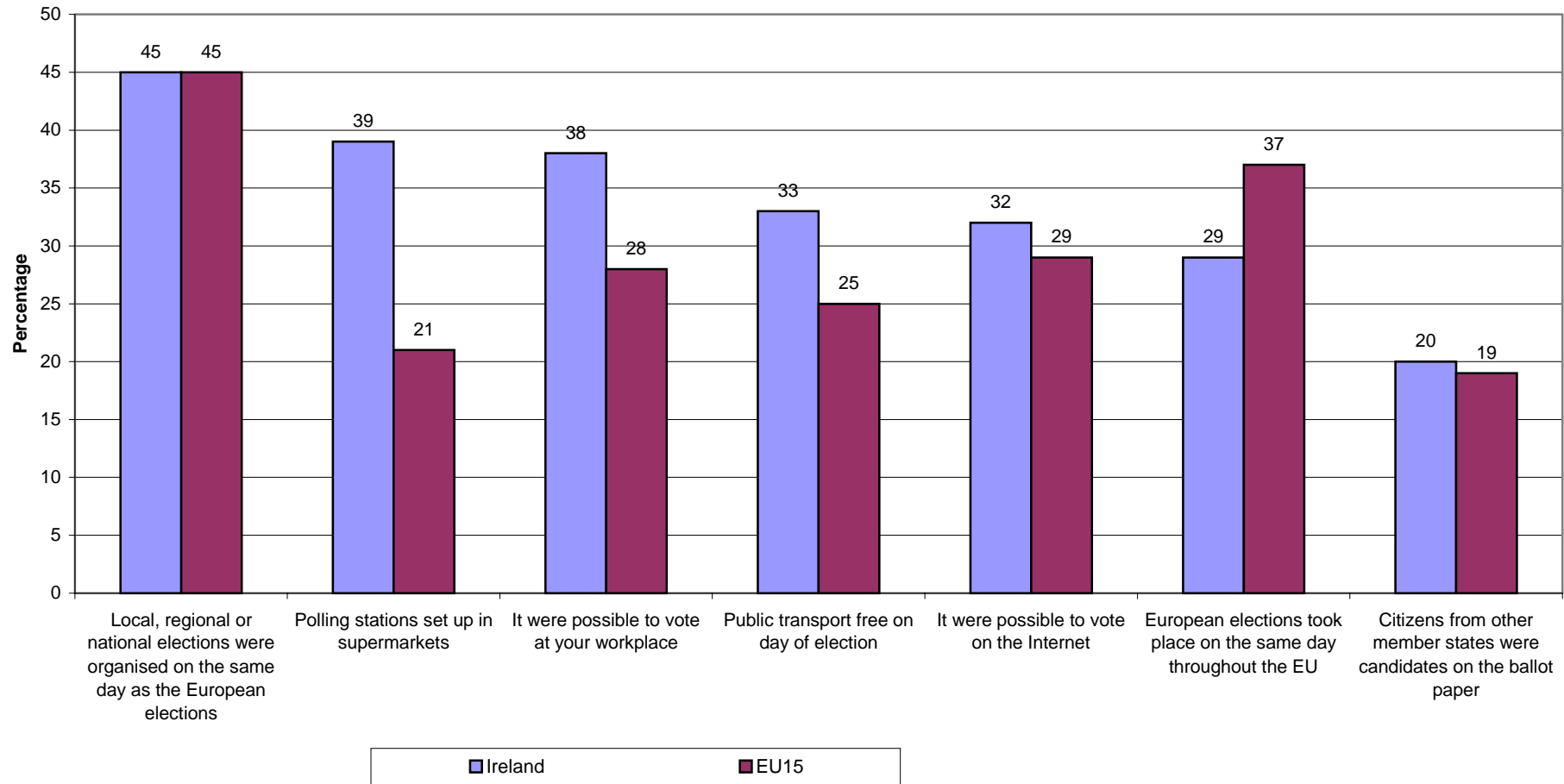
Source: EB61.1, Q39 a) and b)

Figure 5: Likelihood of voting in the next (1) General Election and in the next (2) European Parliament Election amongst respondents in Ireland and EU15



Source: EB61.1, Q40 and Q41

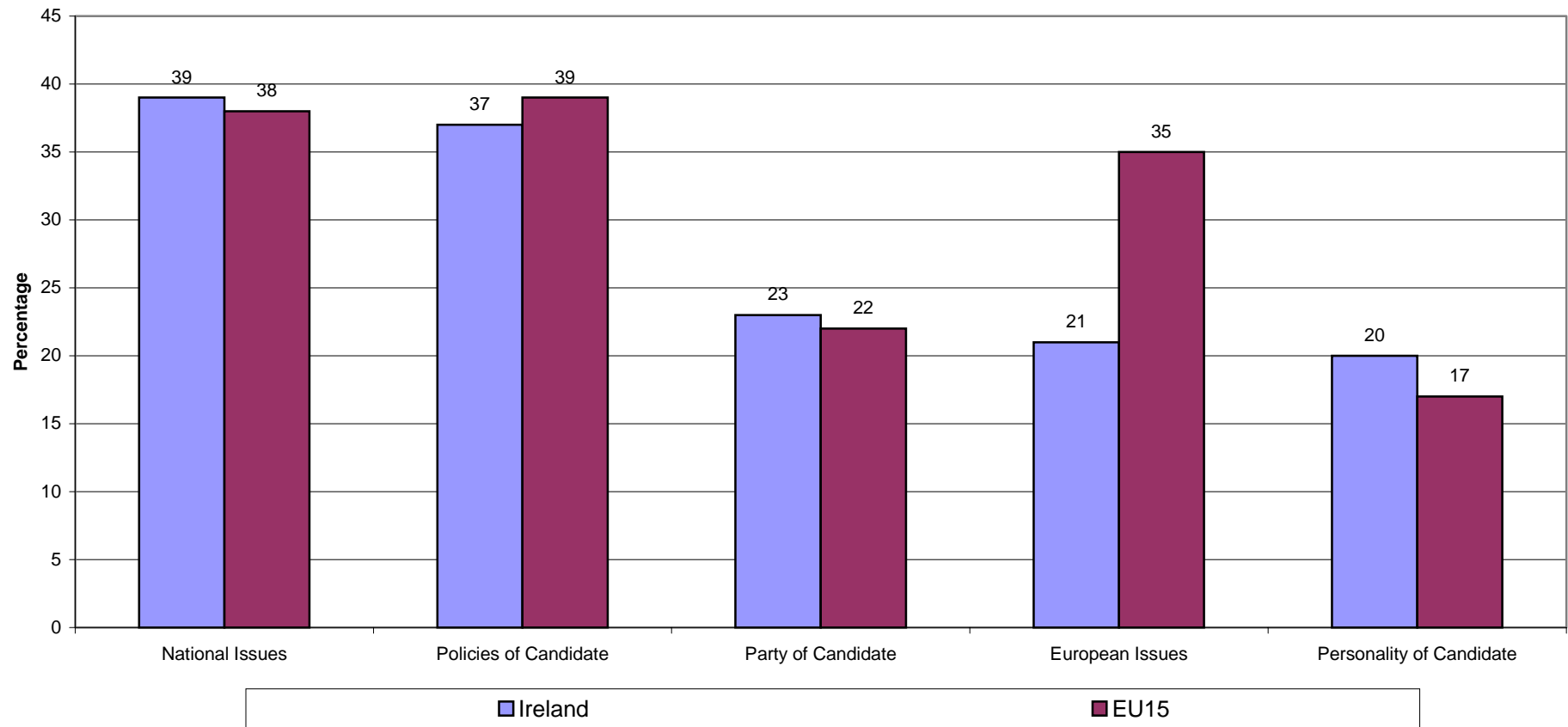
Figure 6: Proportions of respondents in Ireland and EU15 reporting that they would be more likely to vote in the next European Parliament election given certain conditions



Source: EB61.1, Q48

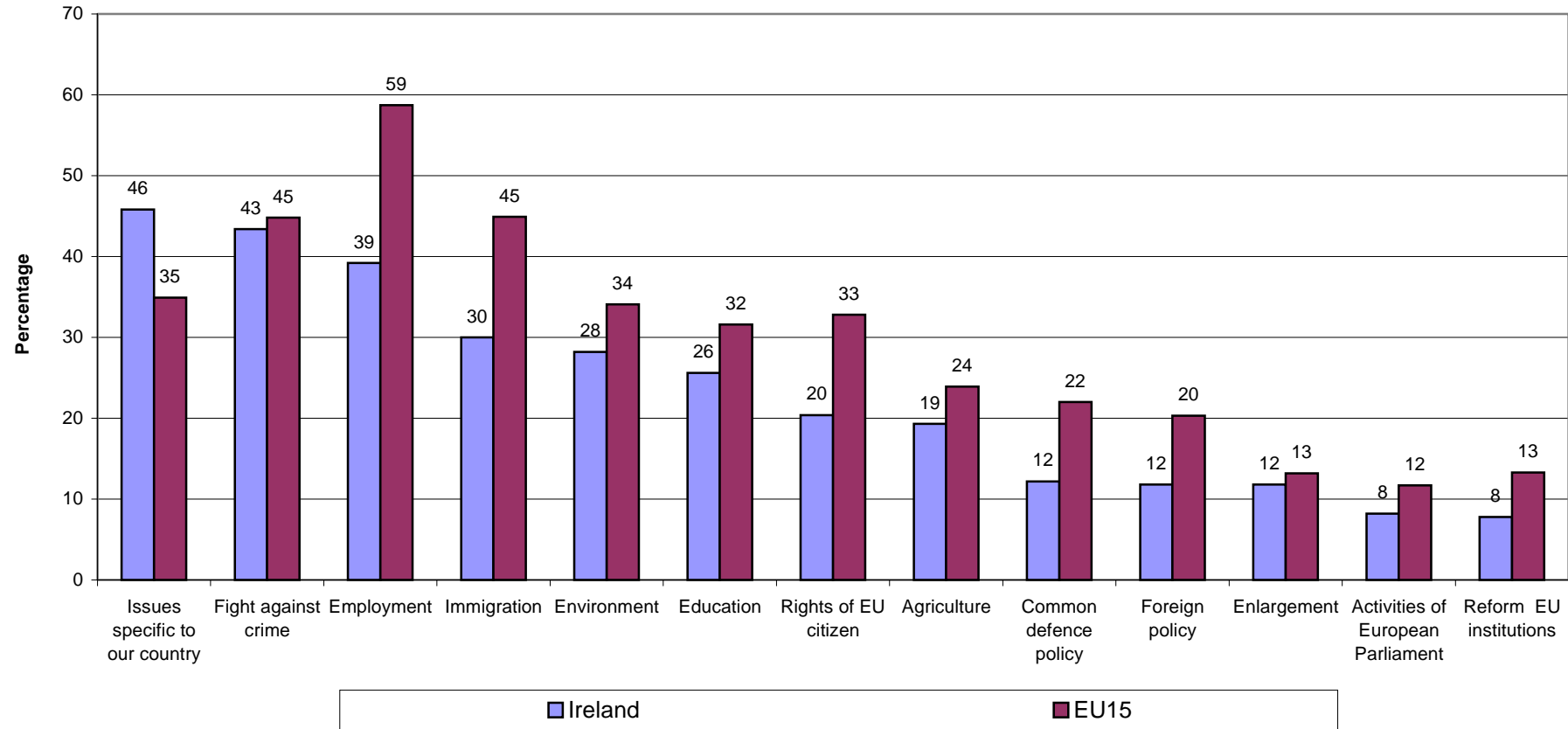
Figure 7: Most important reasons for deciding who to vote for in the next European Parliament election amongst respondents in Ireland and EU15

(show-card; multiple responses possible)



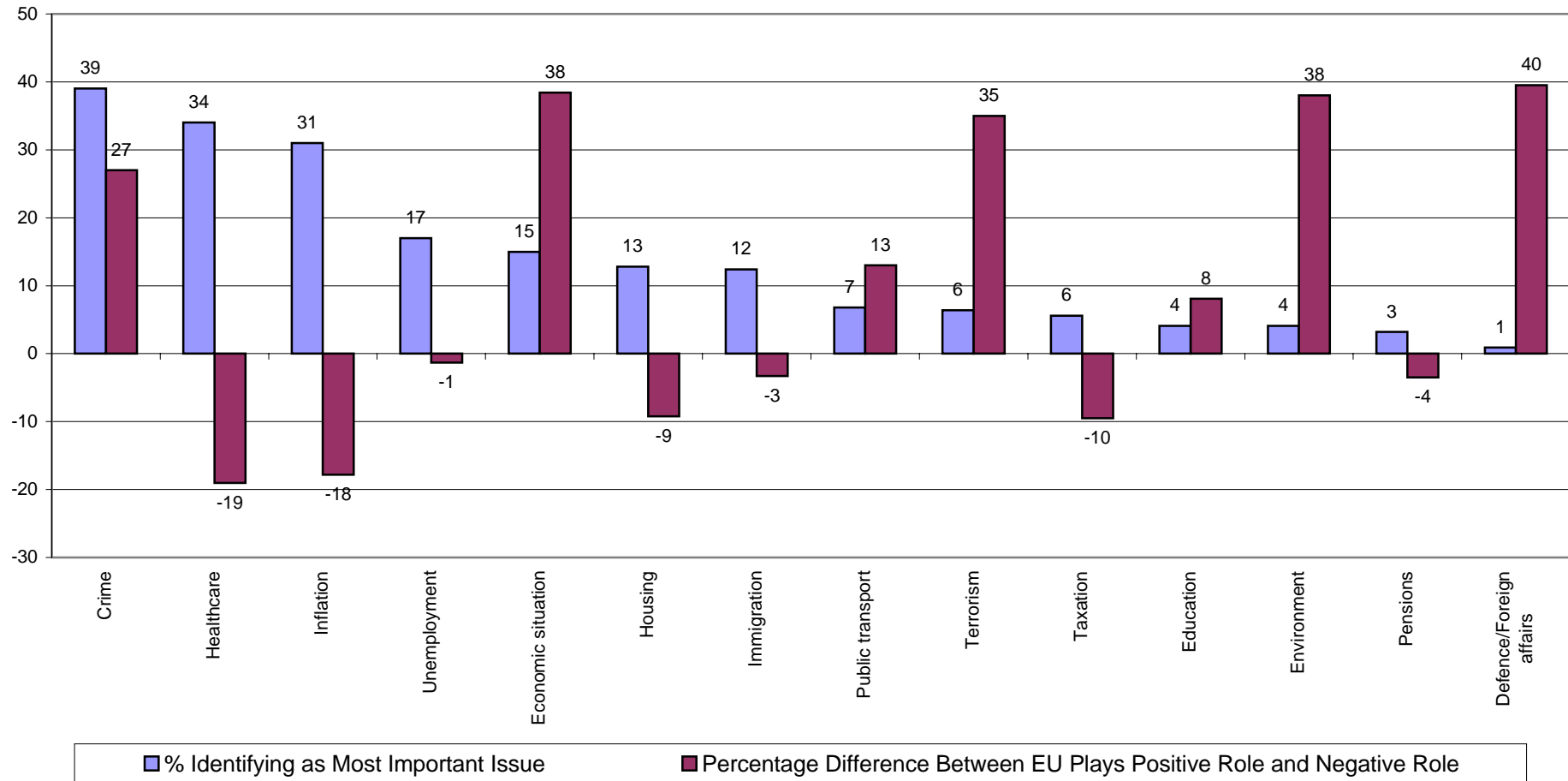
Source: EB61.1, Q42

Figure 8: Issues respondents in Ireland and EU15 believe the next European Parliament election campaign should mainly focus on (multiple responses possible)



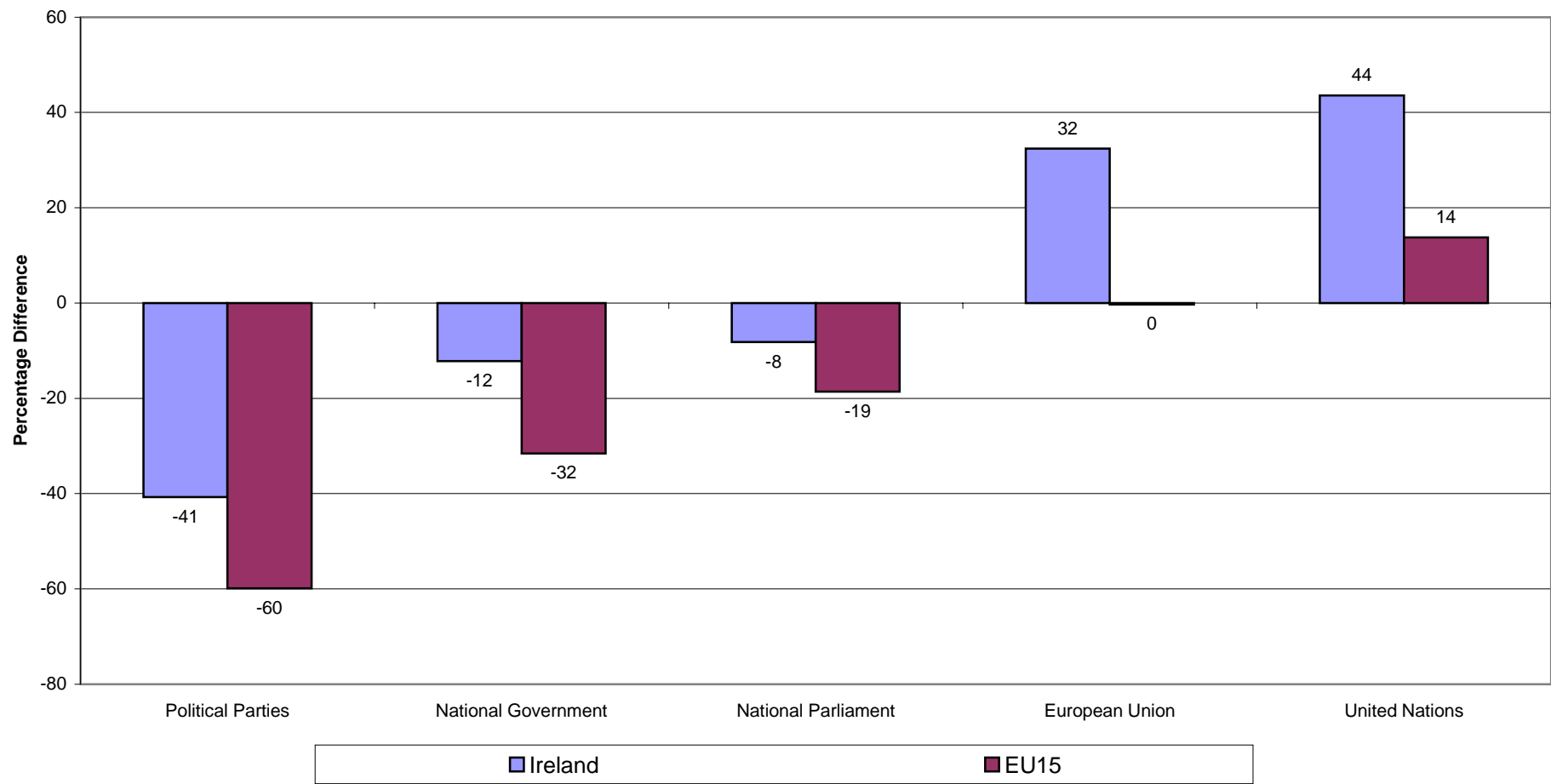
Source: EB61.1, Q47

Figure 9: Two most important issues facing Ireland at the moment and net measure of whether EU plays a positive or negative role



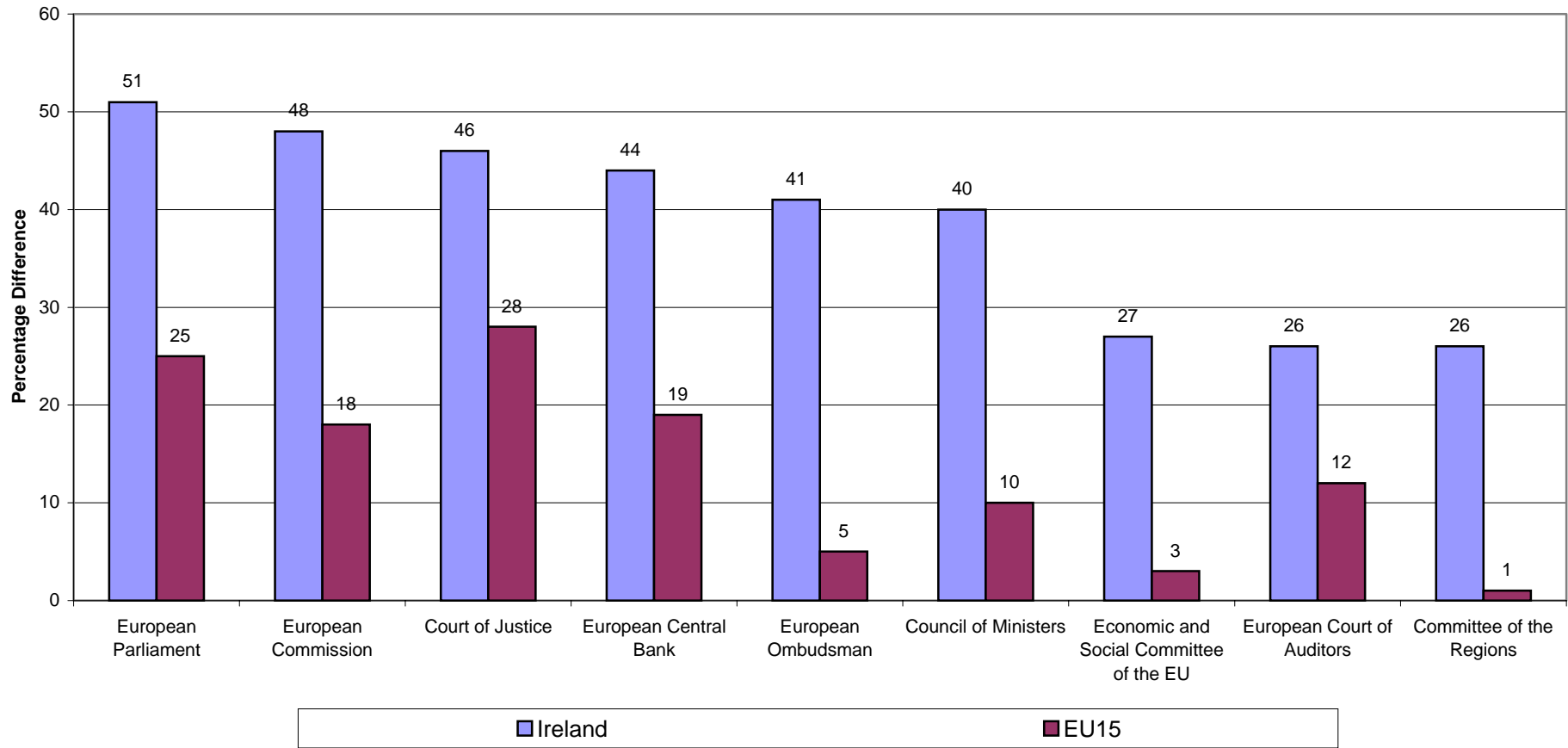
Source: EB61.1, Q27 and Q28

Figure 10: Net trust in international, European and national political institutions amongst respondents in Ireland and EU15



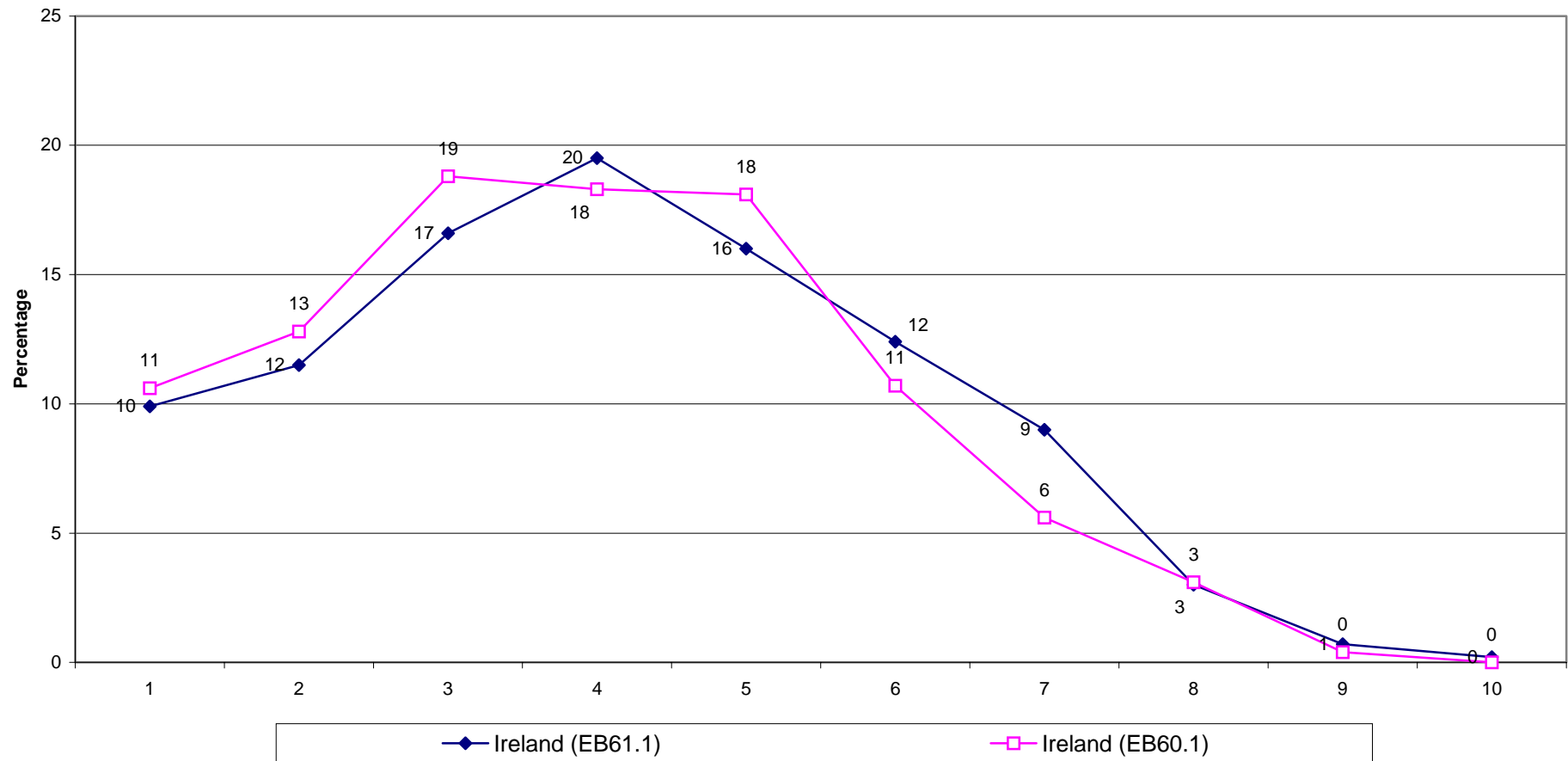
Source: EB61.1, Q7

Figure 11: Net trust in European Union institutions amongst respondents in Ireland and EU15



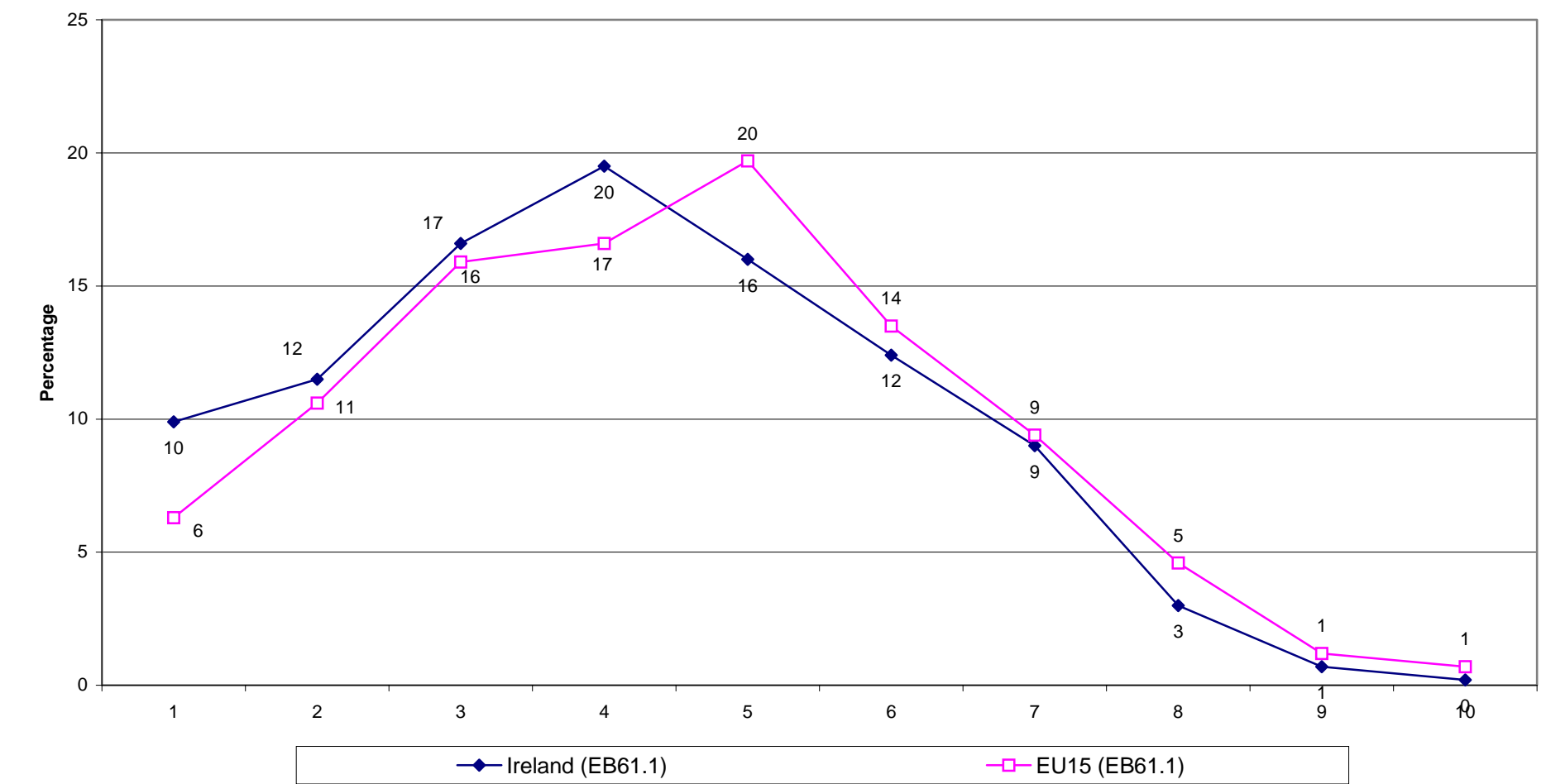
Source: EB61.1, Q23

Figure 12: Irish people's perceptions of their knowledge of the European Union, its policies and institutions ('know nothing at all' [1] to 'know a lot' [10])
(Autumn 2003 and Spring 2004)



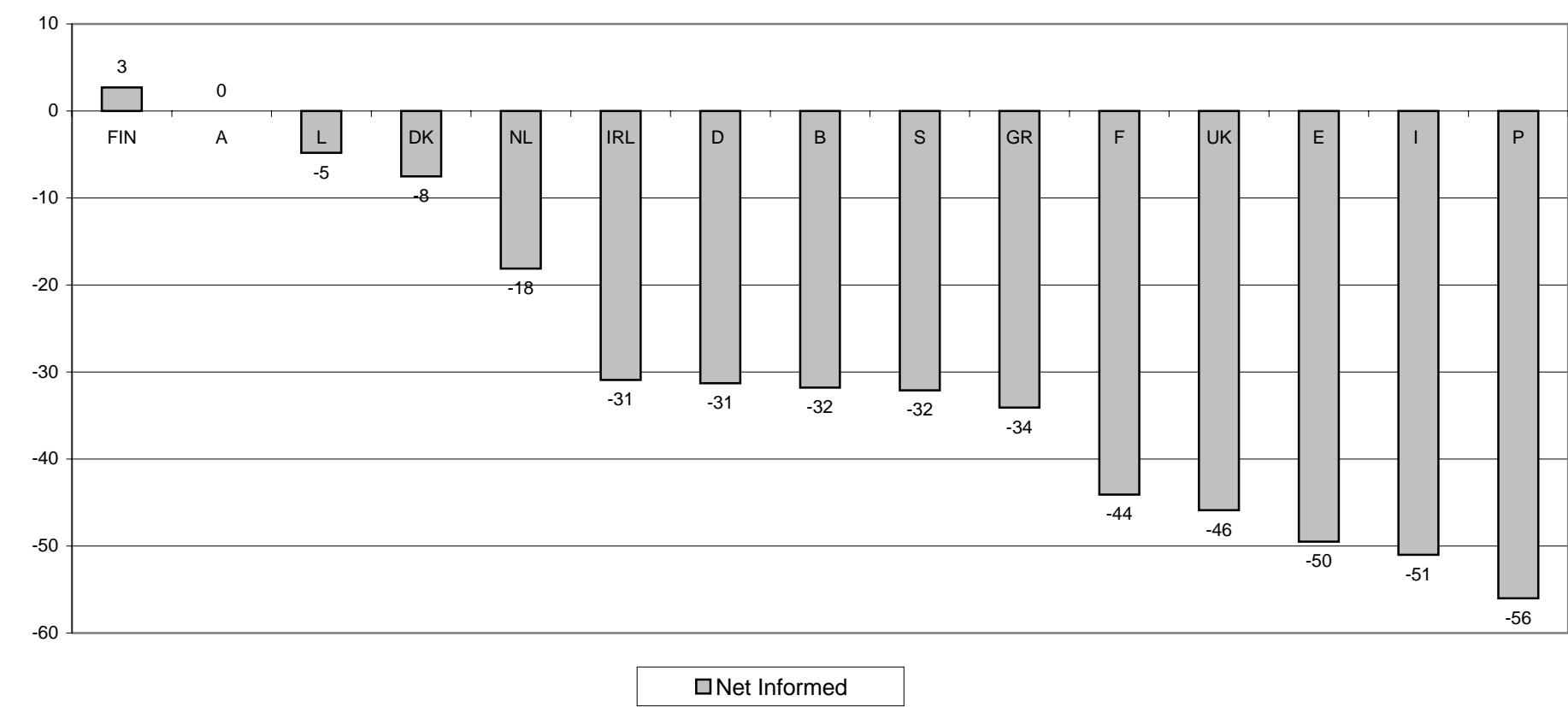
Source: EB61.1, Q16; EB60.1, Q15

Figure 13: People’s perceptions of their knowledge of the European Union, its policies and institutions in Ireland and in EU15 (‘know nothing at all’ [1] to ‘know a lot’ [10])



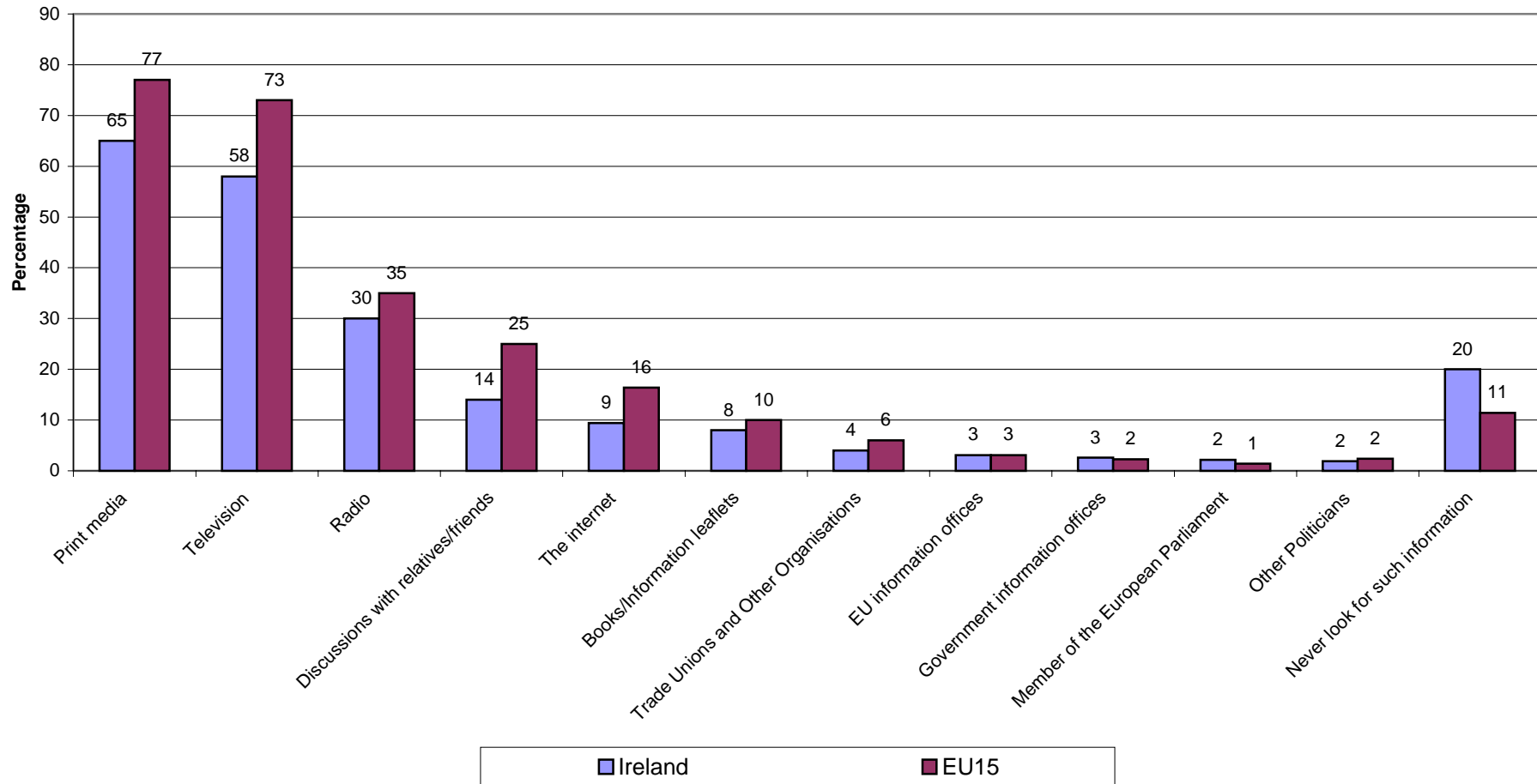
Source: EB61.1, Q16

Figure 14: Net measure of how informed people felt about the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, by member state



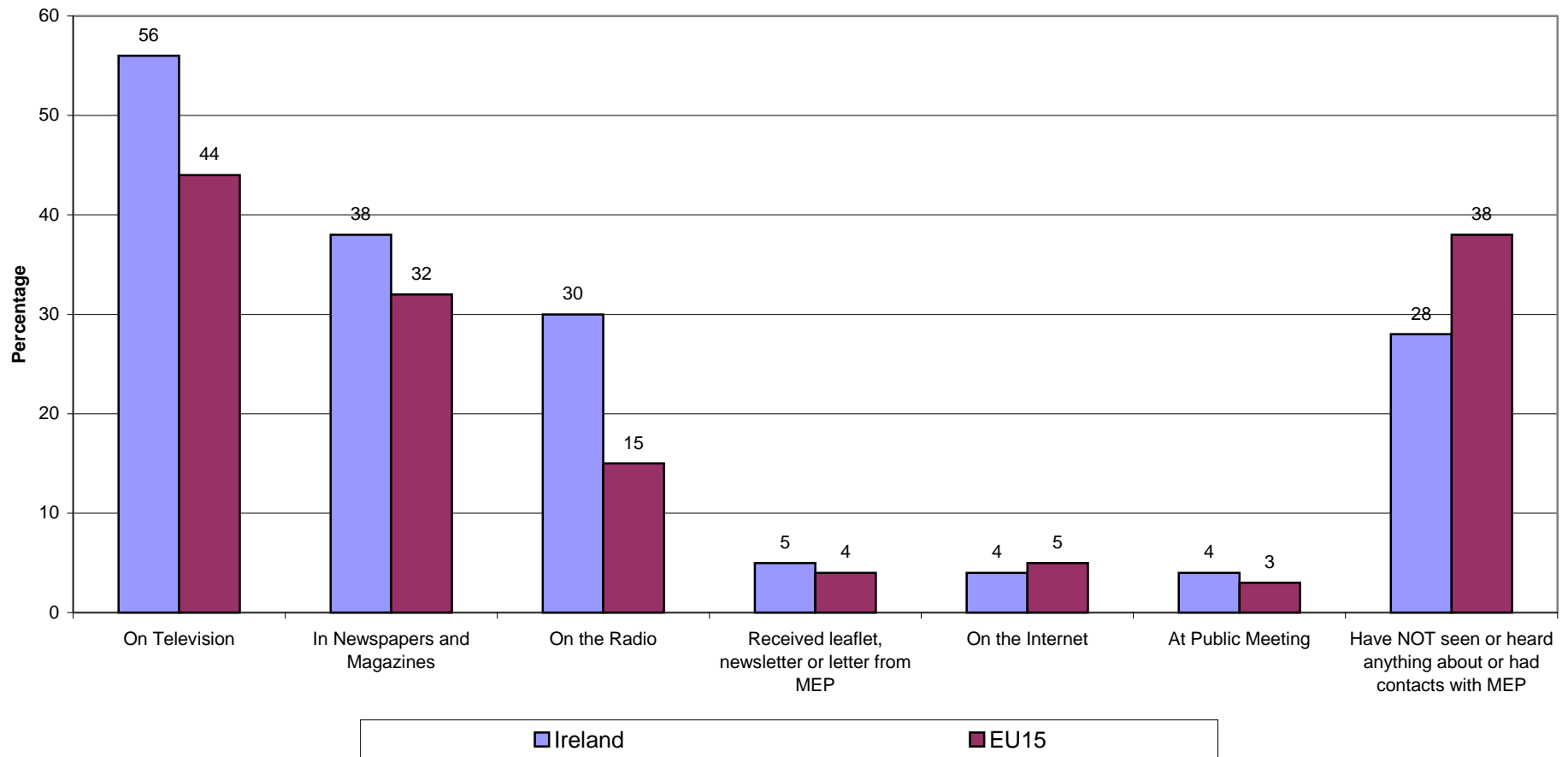
Source: EB61.1, Q17

Figure 15: Use of sources of information on the European Union by respondents in Ireland and the EU15 (multiple responses possible)



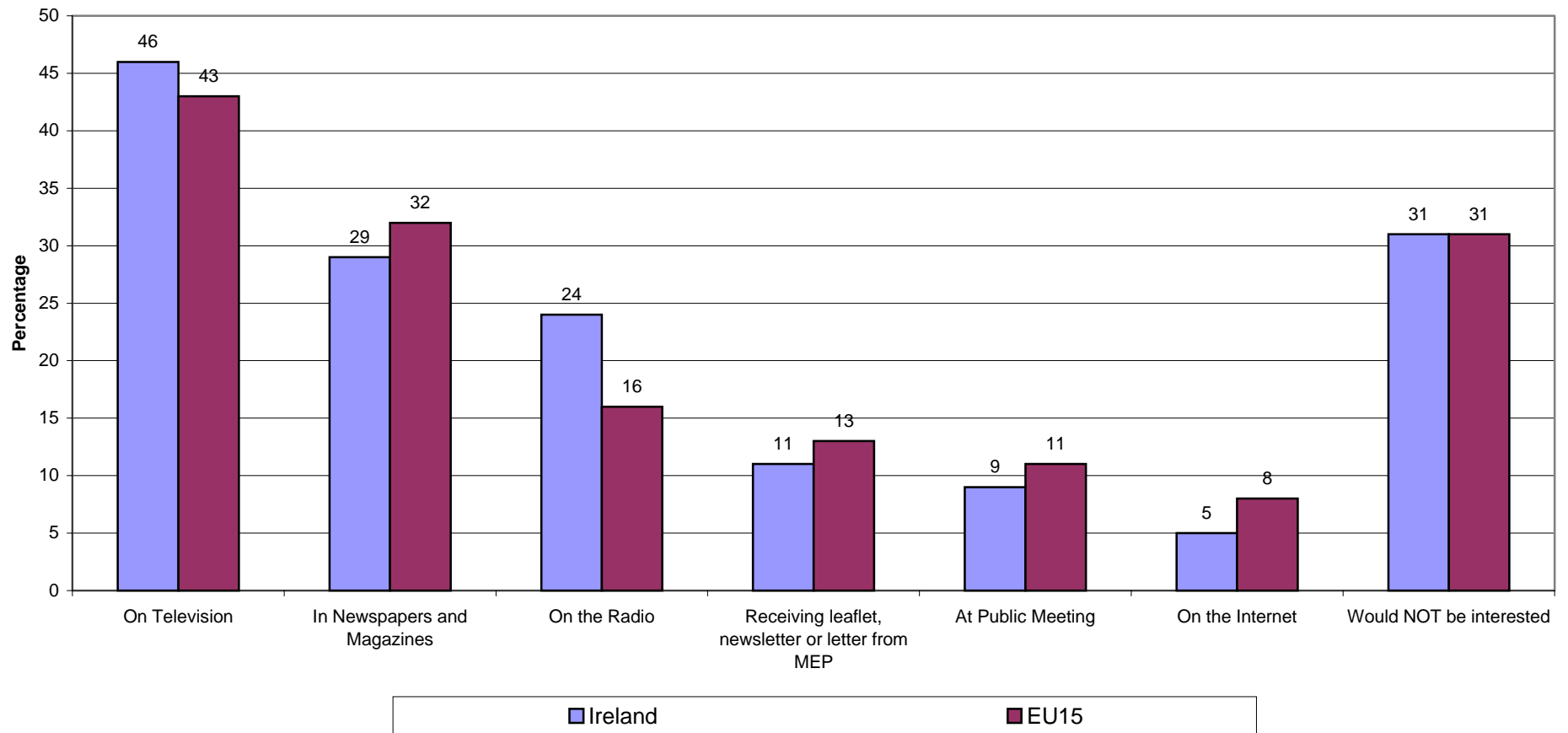
Source: EB61.1, Q18

Figure 16: Proportions of respondents in Ireland and EU15 reporting that since last European Parliament election they have seen, heard or had contact with MEP in following ways (multiple responses possible)



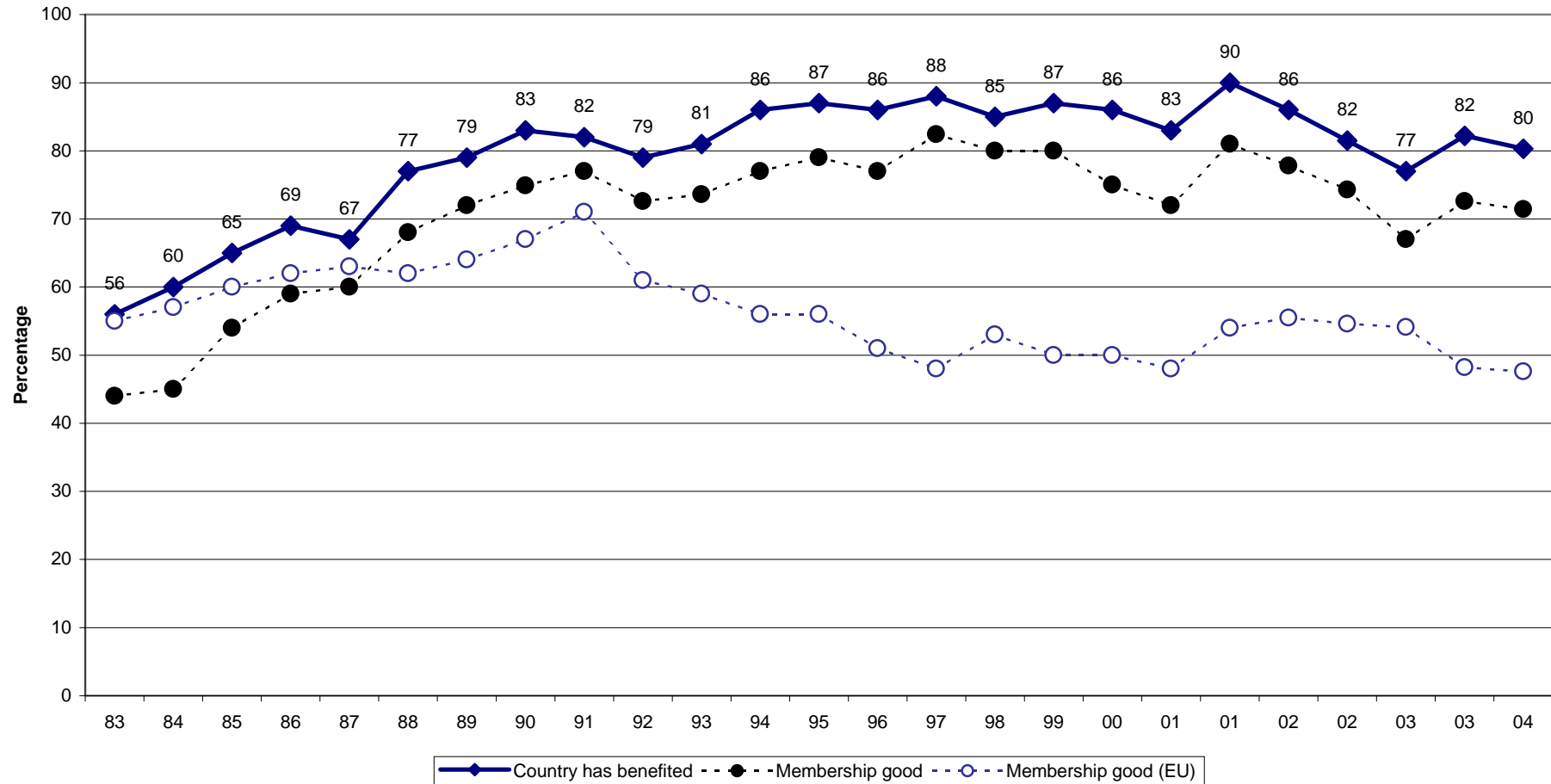
Source: EB61.1, Q43

Figure 17: Proportions of respondents in Ireland and EU15 reporting being interested in seeing or hearing more about MEPs in the following ways (read out; multiple responses possible)



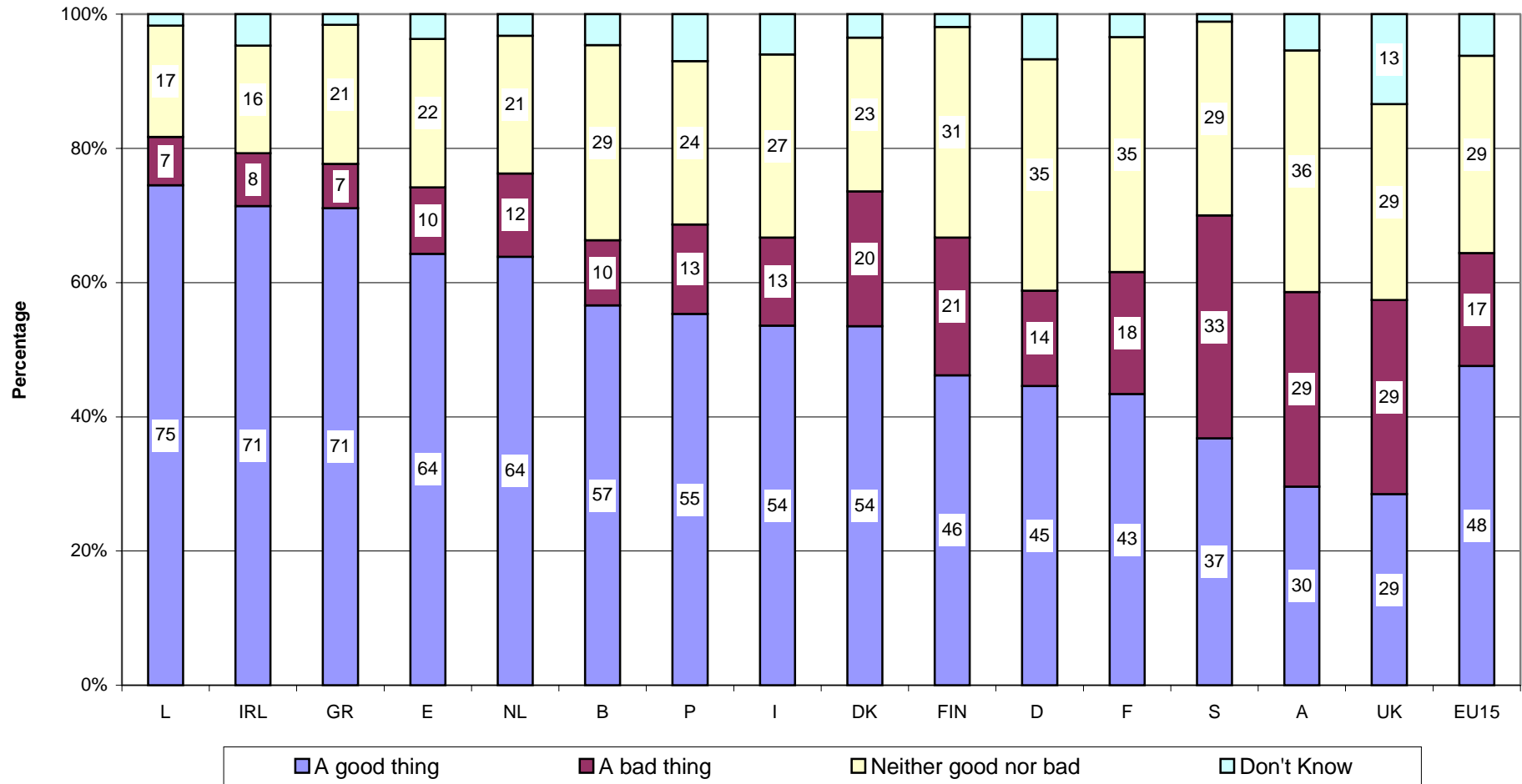
Source: EB61.1, Q44

Figure 18: Percentages of respondents that feel country has (1) benefited from EU membership [Ireland] and that (2) EU membership is a good thing [Ireland and EU15]



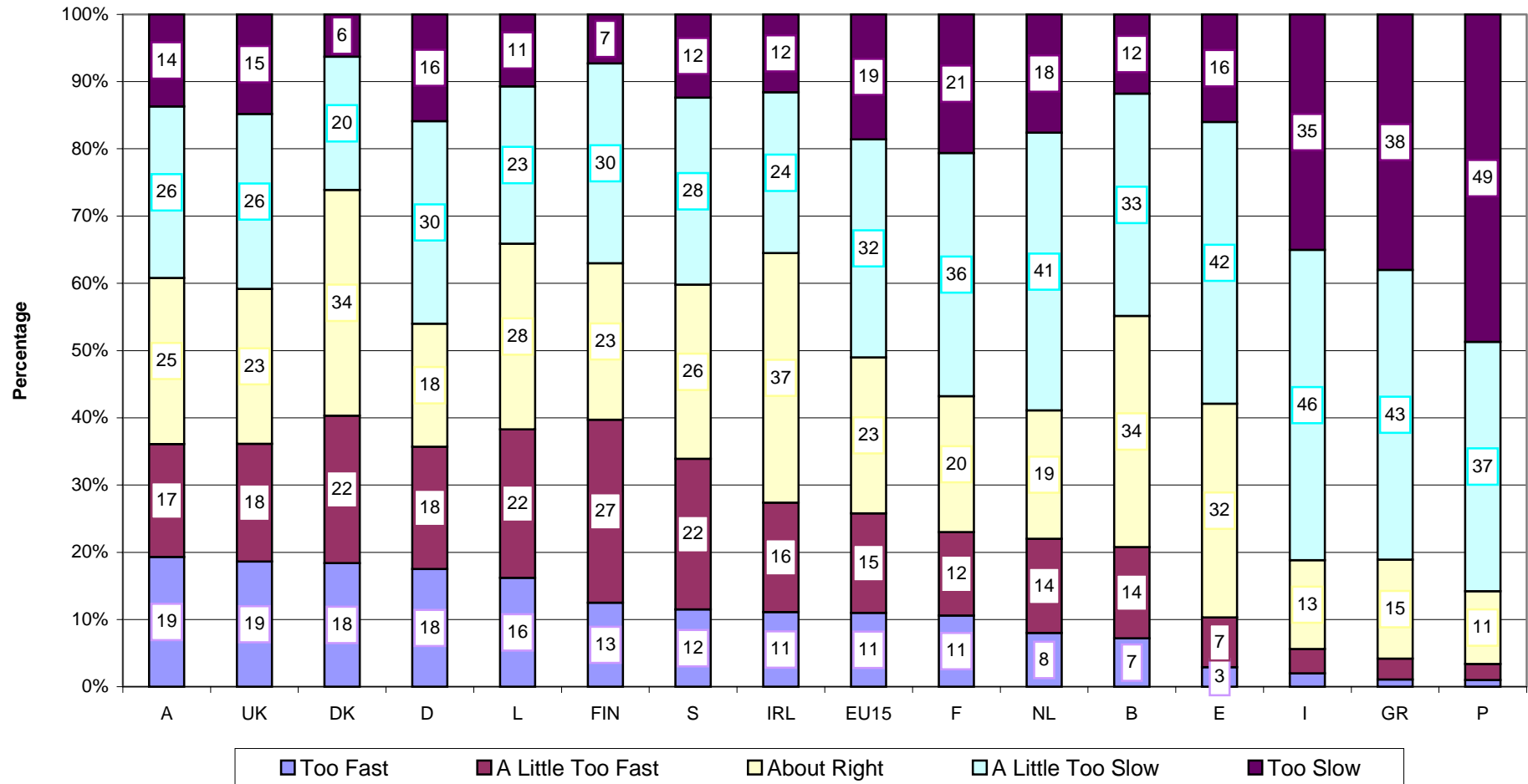
Source: EB various

Figure 19: Attitudes to Country's membership of EU by member state



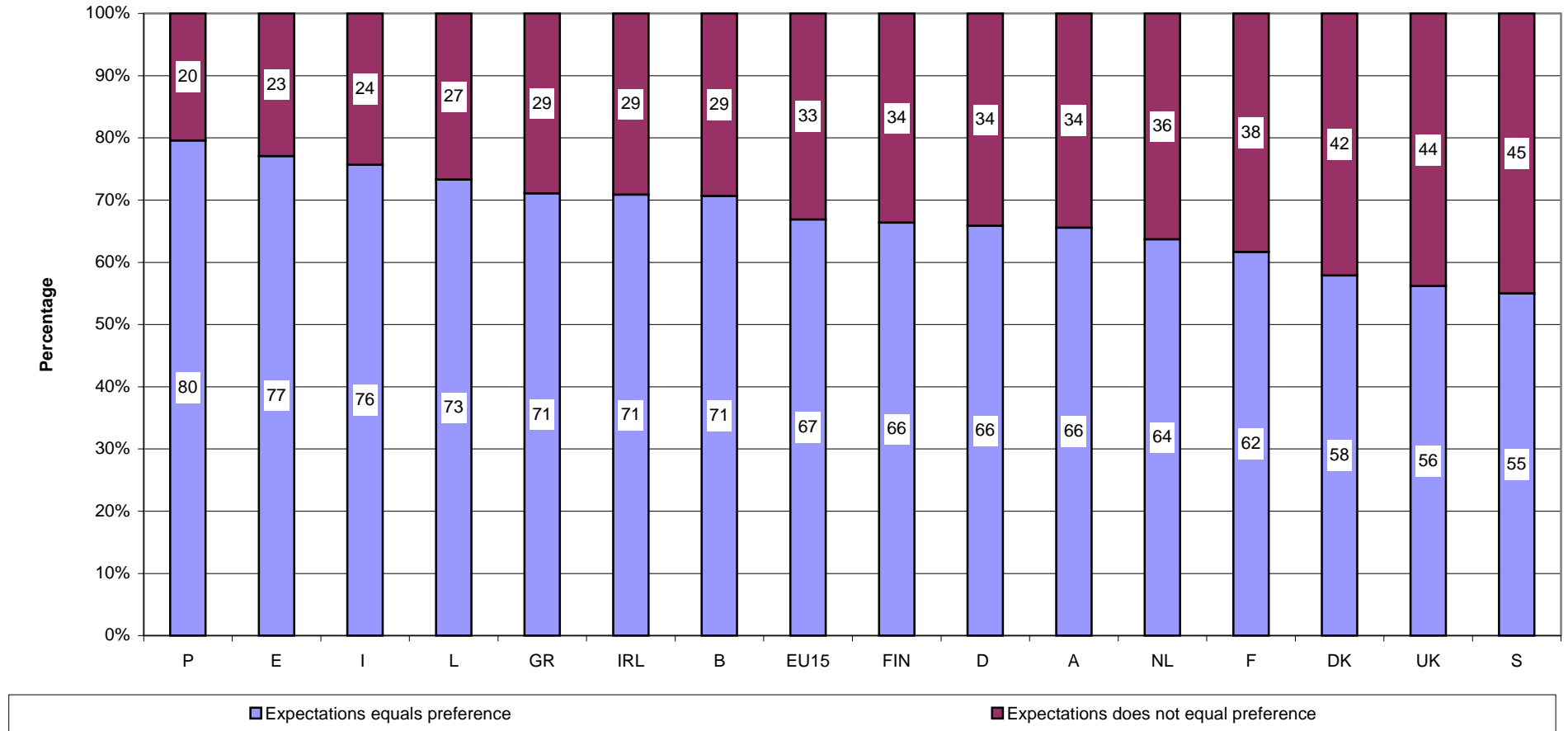
Source: EB61.1, Q8

Figure 20: Index of people's satisfaction with current speed of building of Europe by member state



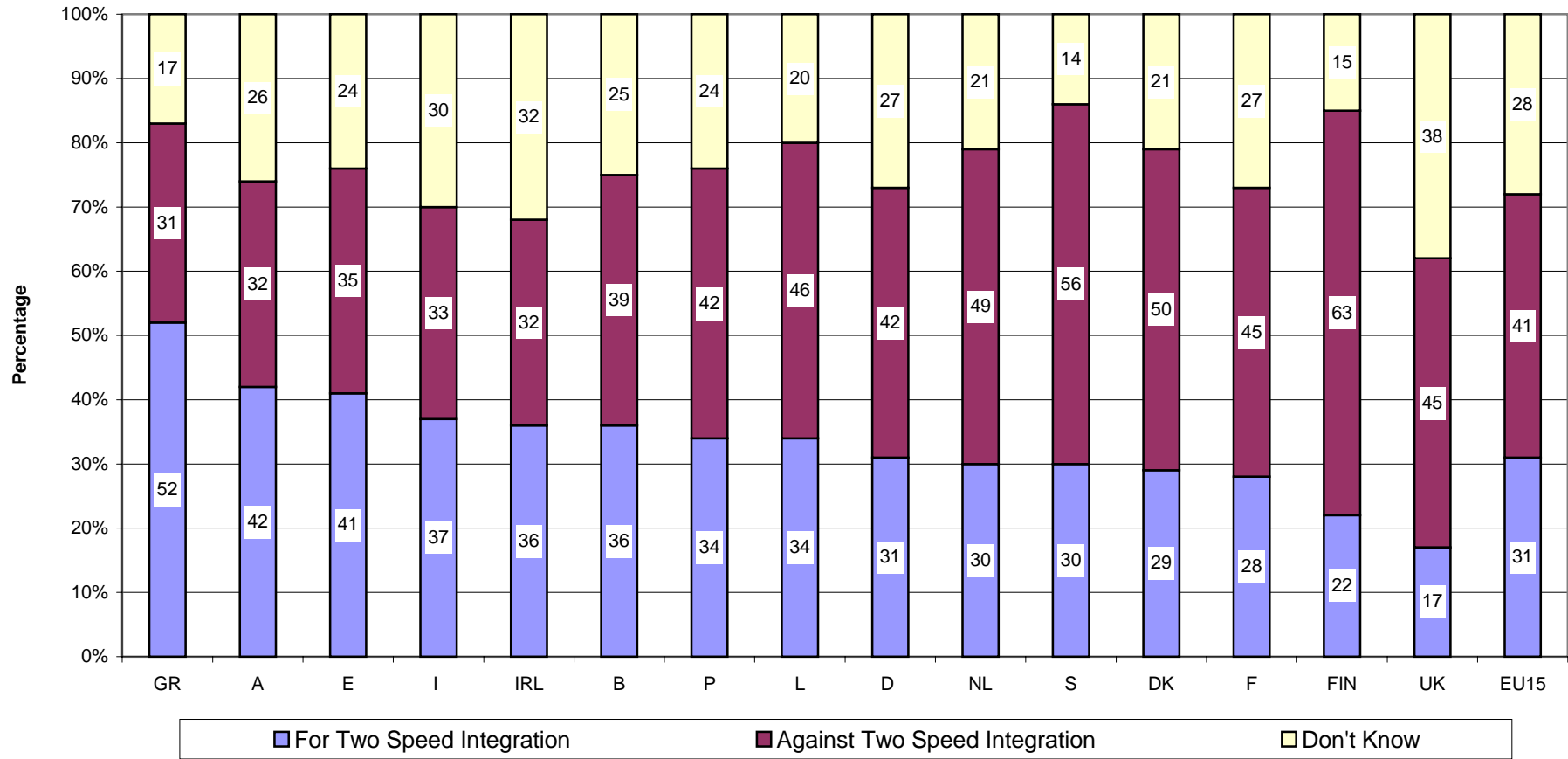
Source: EB 61.1, Q73 a) and b)

Figure 21: Comparison of importance people expect EU to have in five years and importance they would like the EU to have in five years time by member state



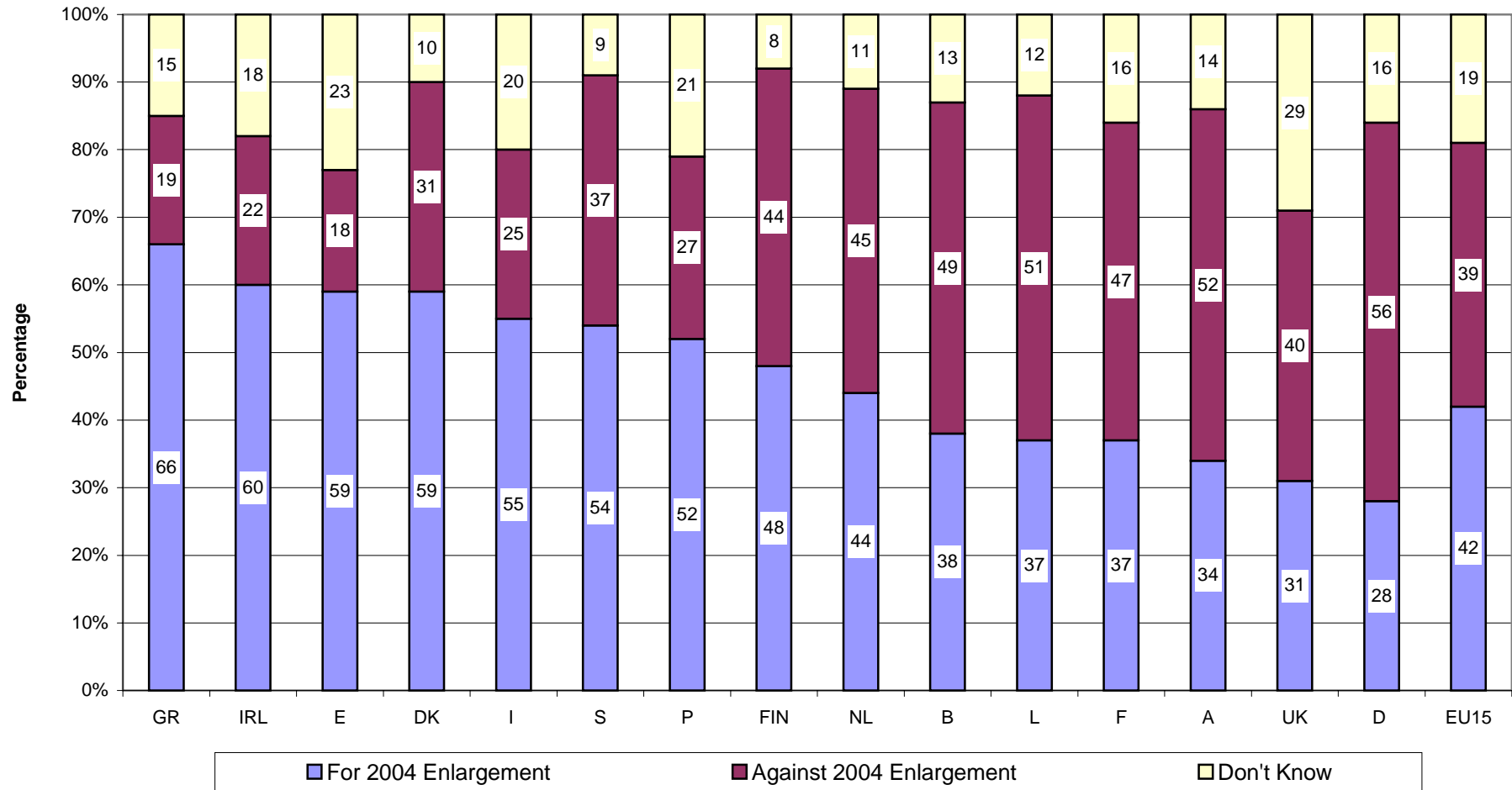
Source: EB61.1, Q14 a) and b)

Figure 22: Attitudes towards two-speed integration by member state



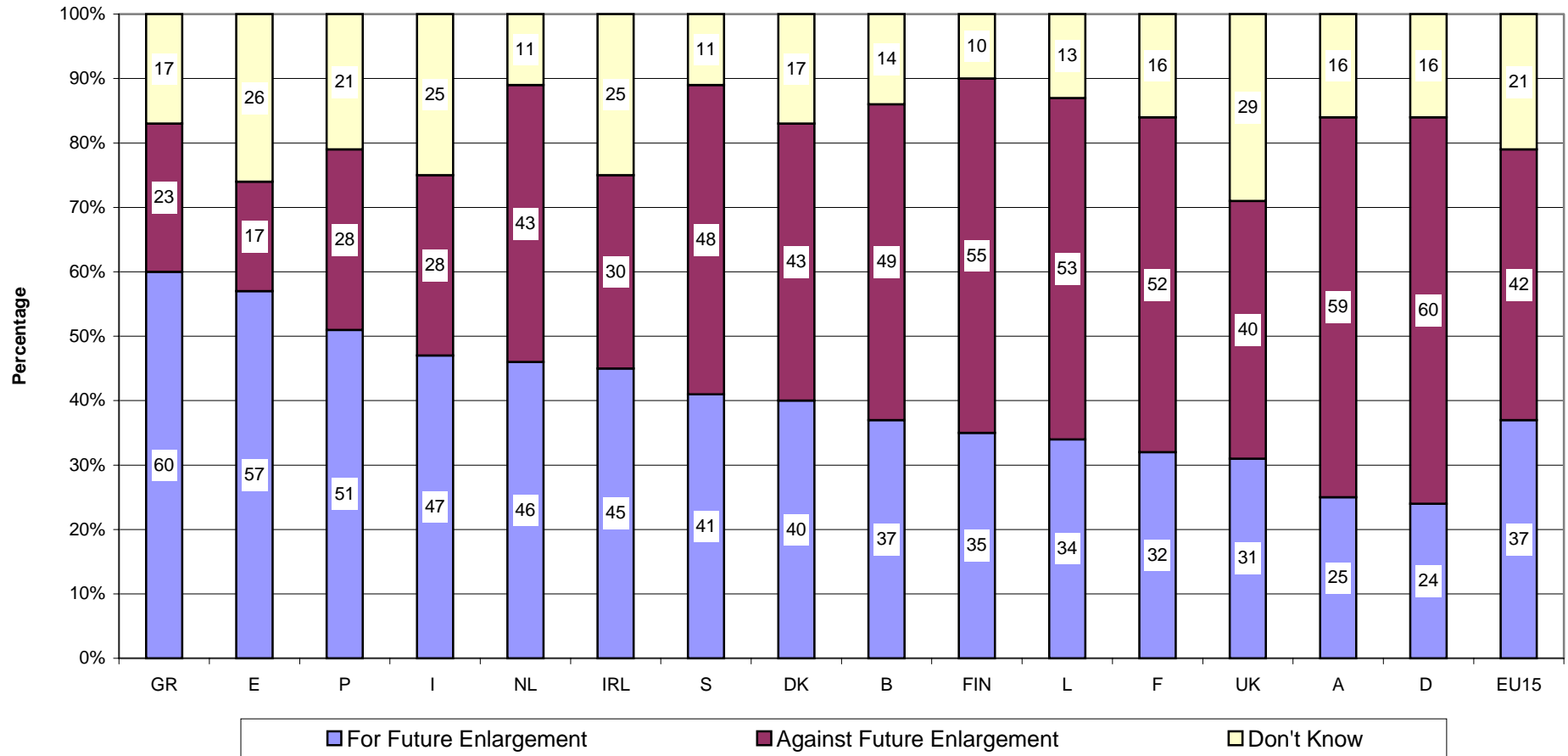
Source: EB61.1, Q29.8

Figure 23: Attitudes towards enlargement of European Union in 2004 by member state



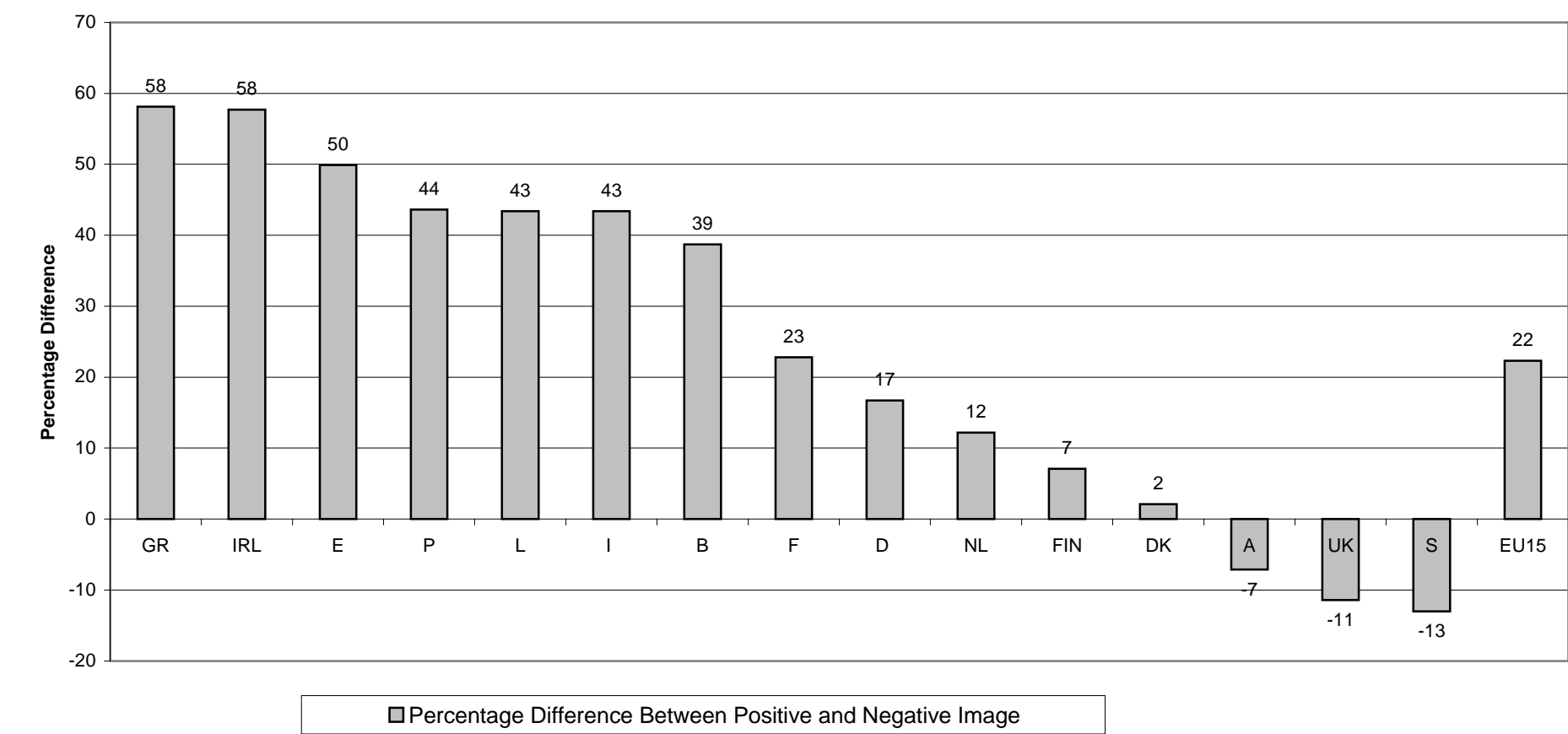
Source: EB61.1, Q29.4

Figure 24: Attitudes towards further enlargements of the European Union by member state



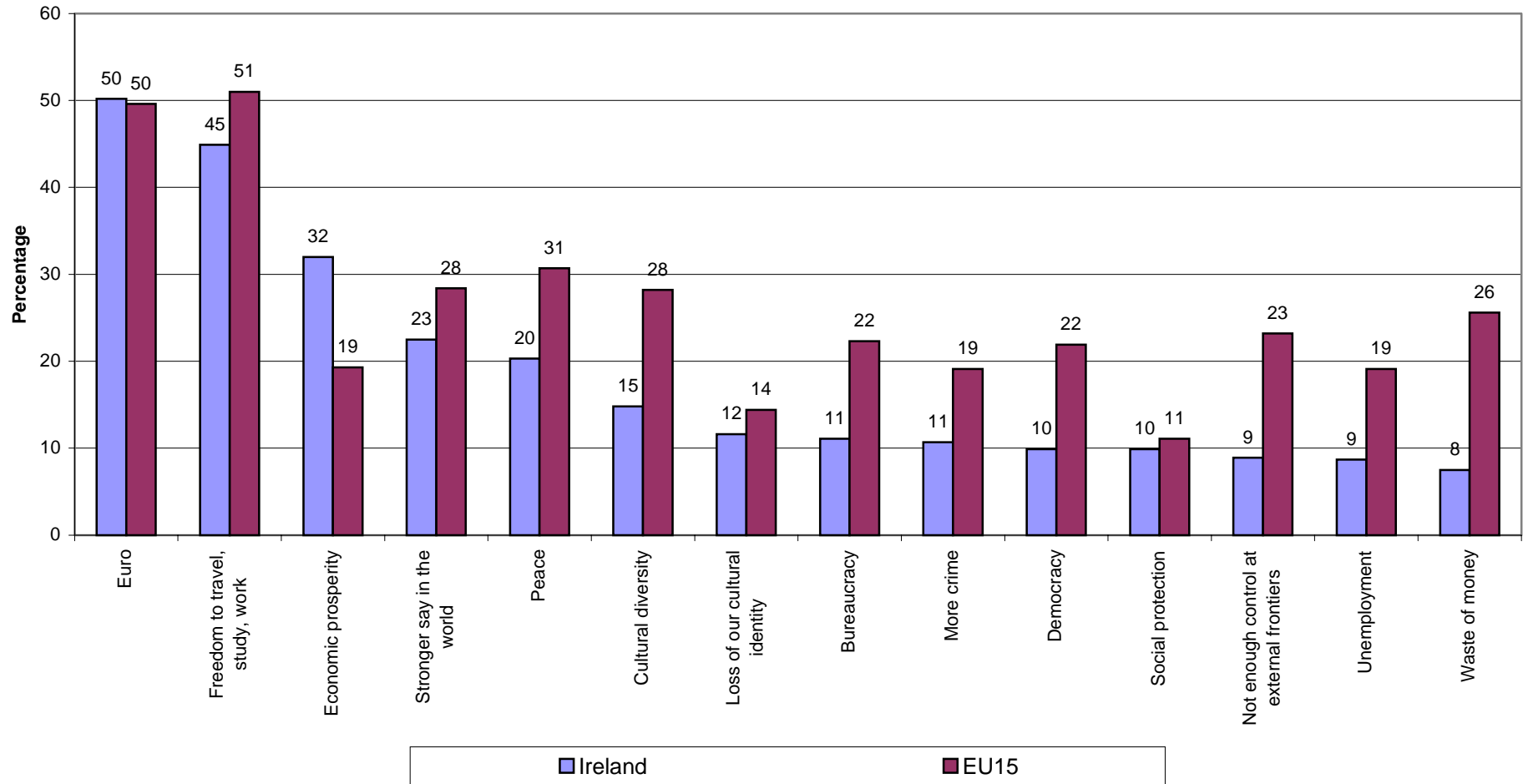
Source: EB61.1, Q29.5

Figure 25: Net measure of positive and negative images of the European Union by member state



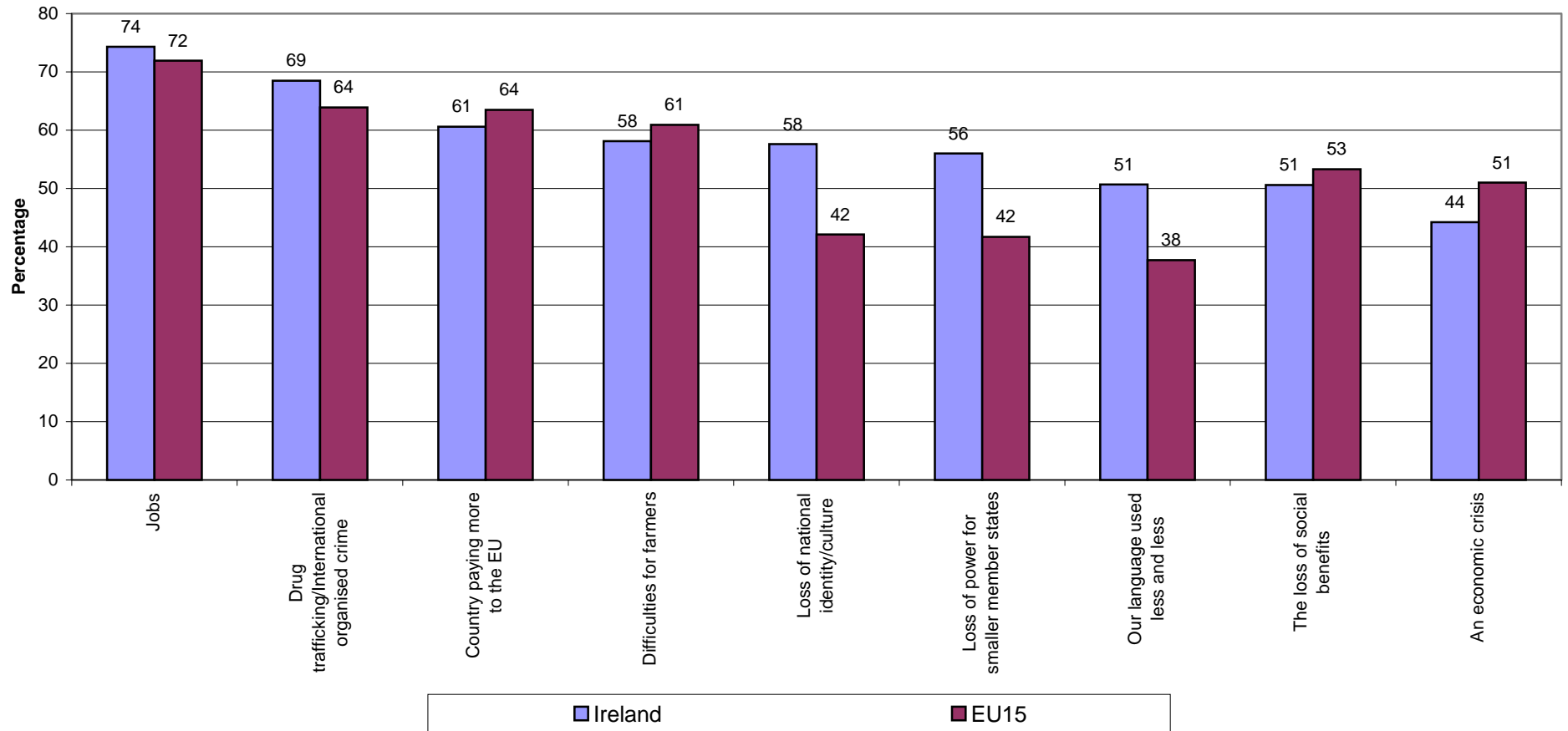
Source: EB61.1, Q10

Figure 26: Proportions of respondents in Ireland and EU15 identifying European Union with particular issues (multiple responses possible)



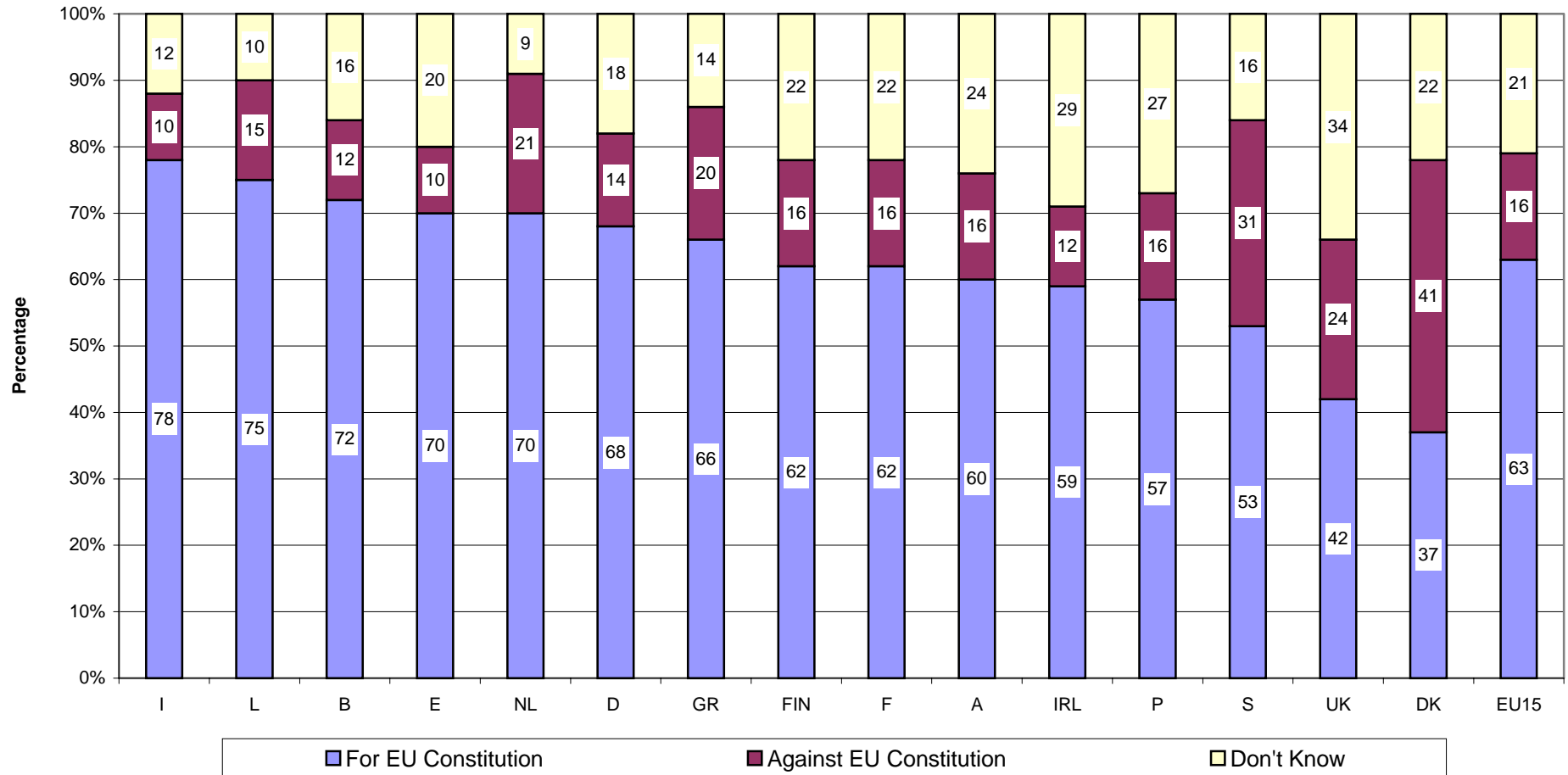
Source: EB61.1, Q11

Figure 27: Proportions of respondents in Ireland and EU15 stating they associate particular fears with the building of Europe



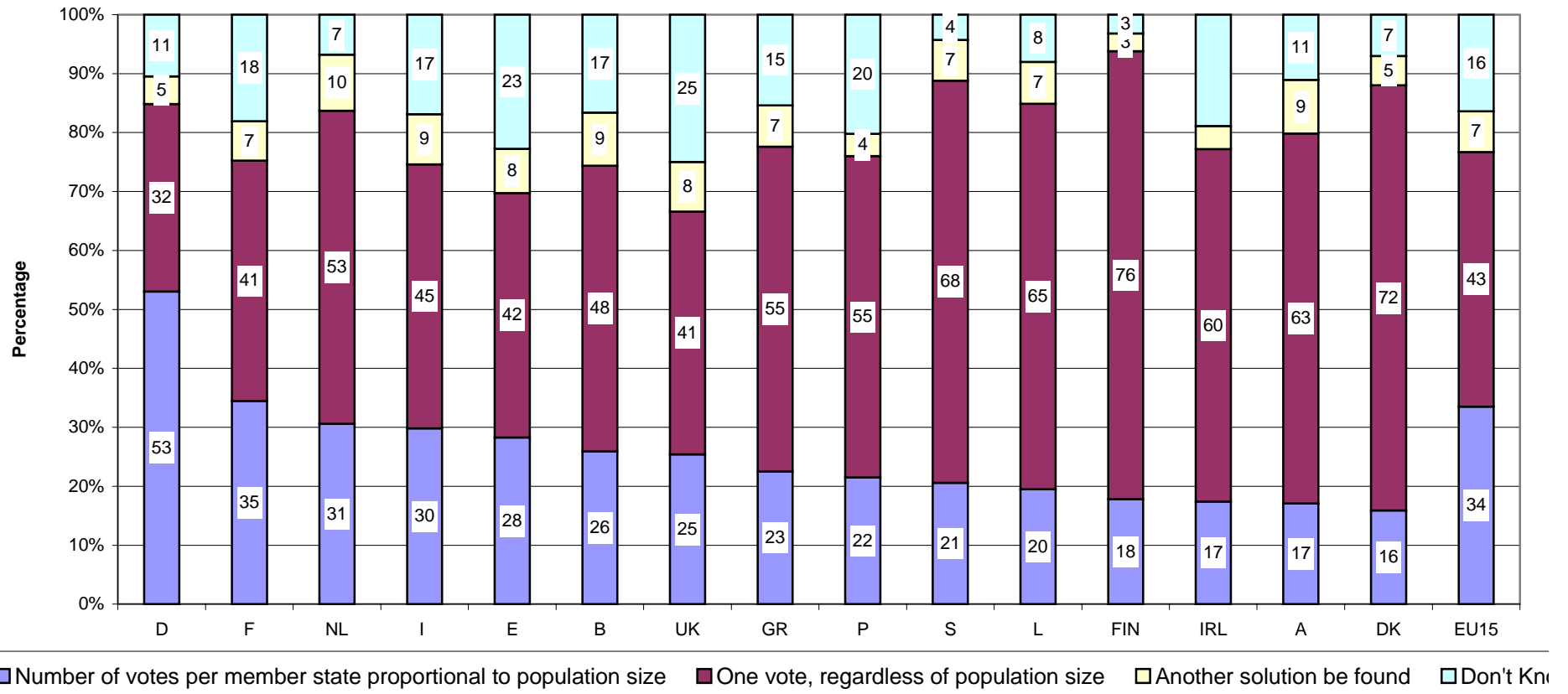
Source: EB61.1, Q15

Figure 28: Attitudes towards a constitution for the European Union by member state



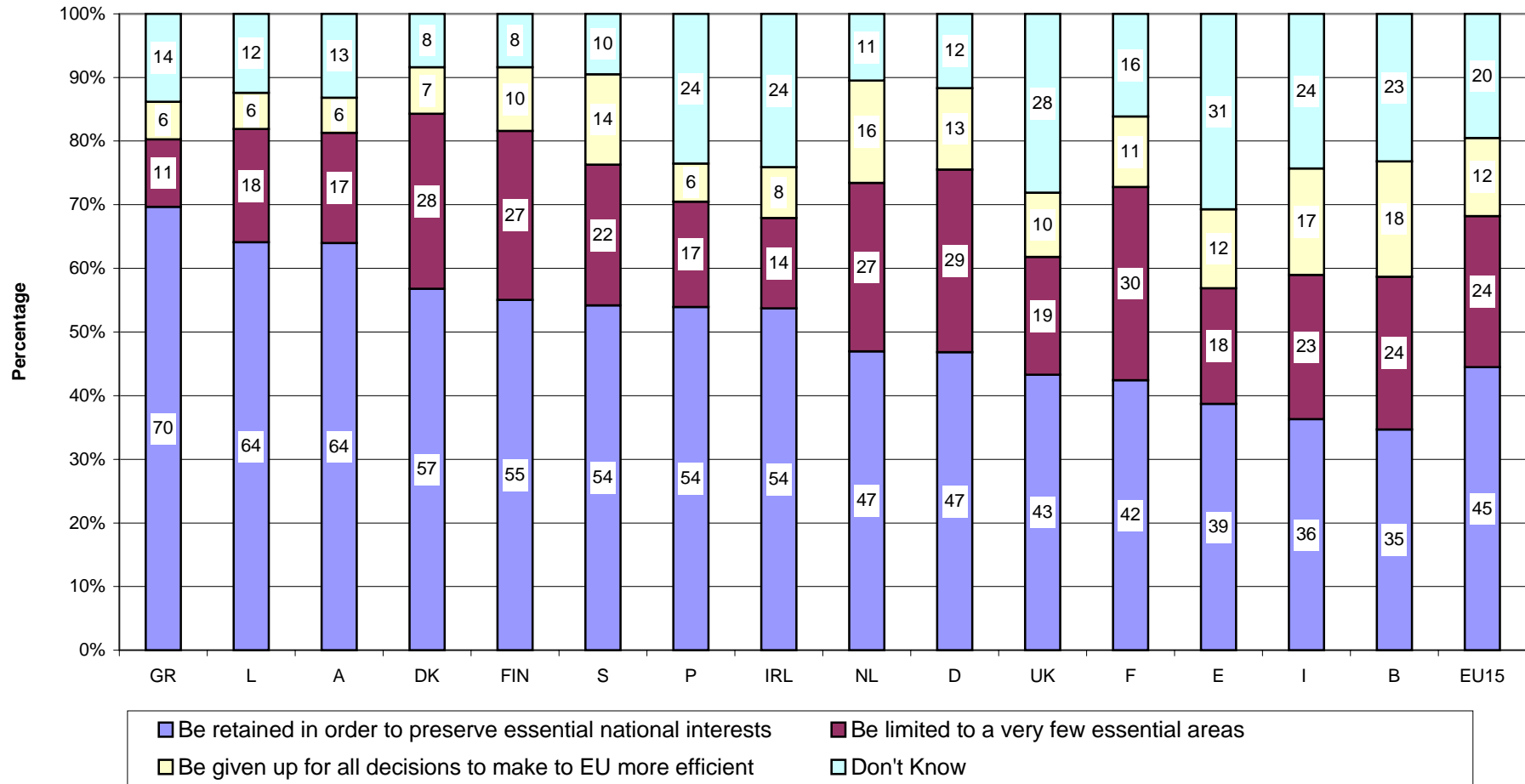
Source: EB61.1, Q29.6

Figure 29: Attitudes towards Council of Minister voting rules by member state



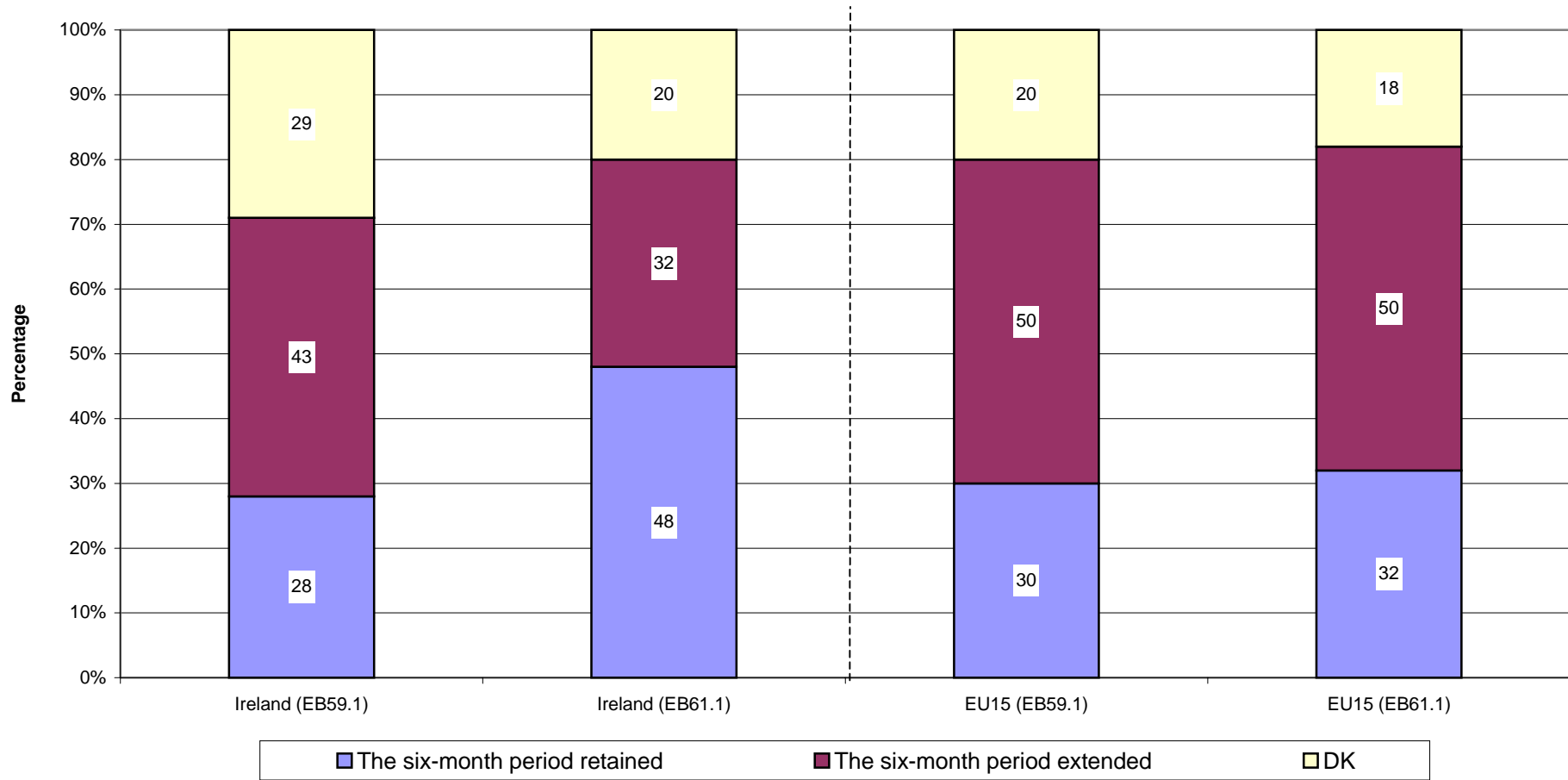
Source: EB61.1, Q34

Figure 30: Attitudes towards national veto by member state



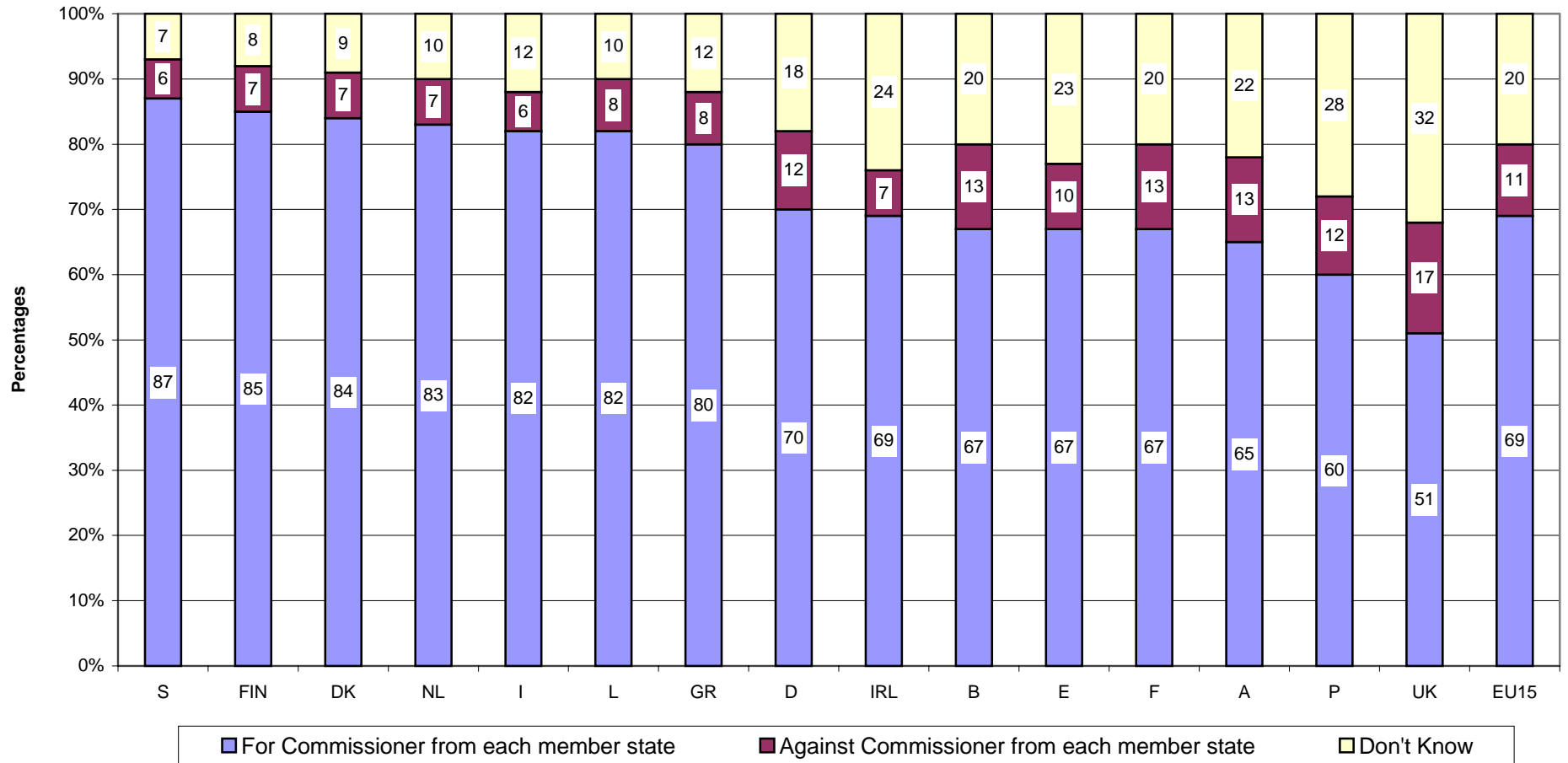
Source: EB61.1, Q33

Figure 31: Attitudes towards increasing the length of time a country holds the presidency of the Council of Ministers amongst respondents in Ireland and EU15
(Spring 2003 and Spring 2004)



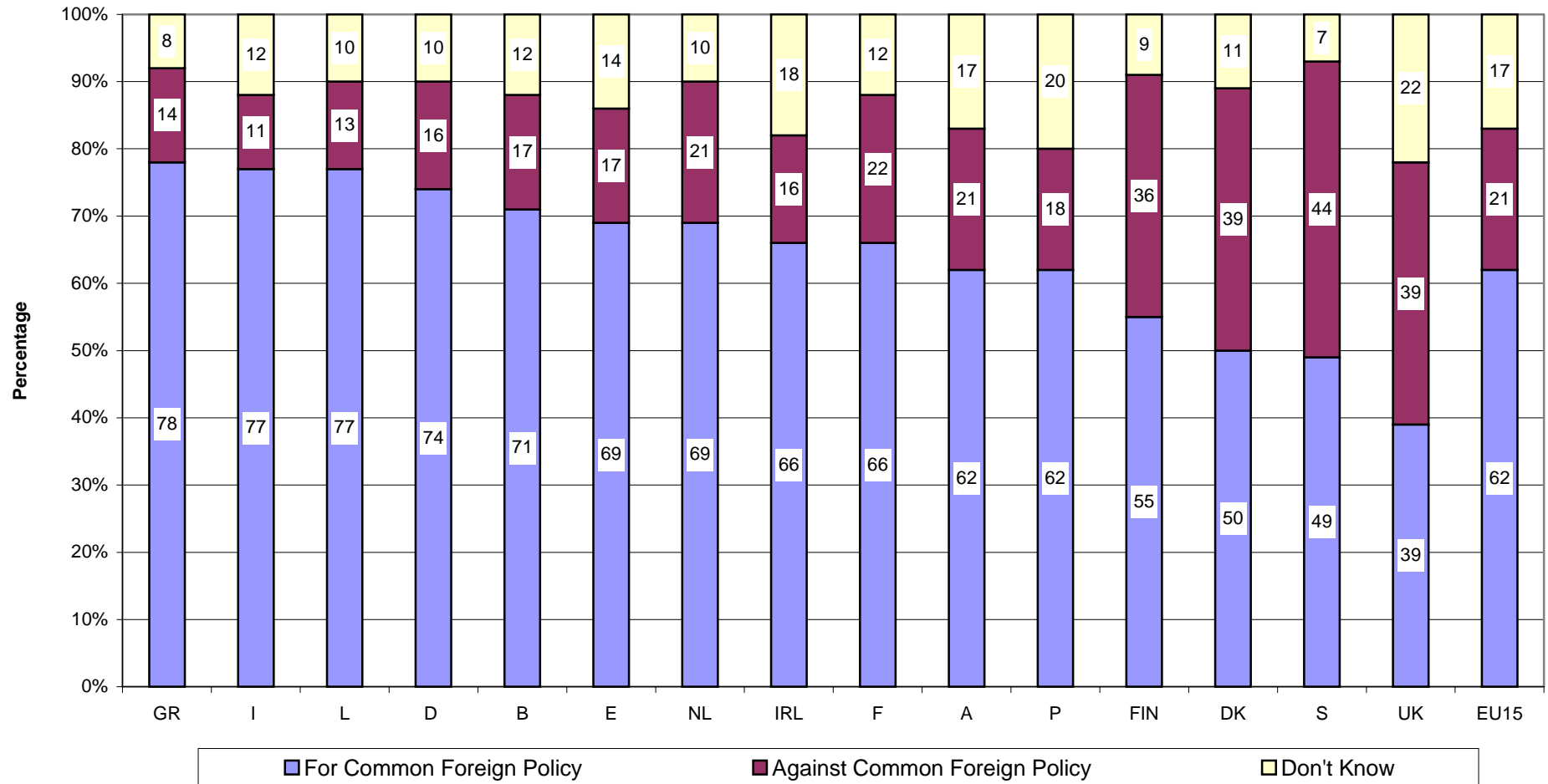
Source: EB61.1, Q32; EB59.1, Q35

Figure 32: Attitudes towards each country having a member of the Commission of the European Union by member state



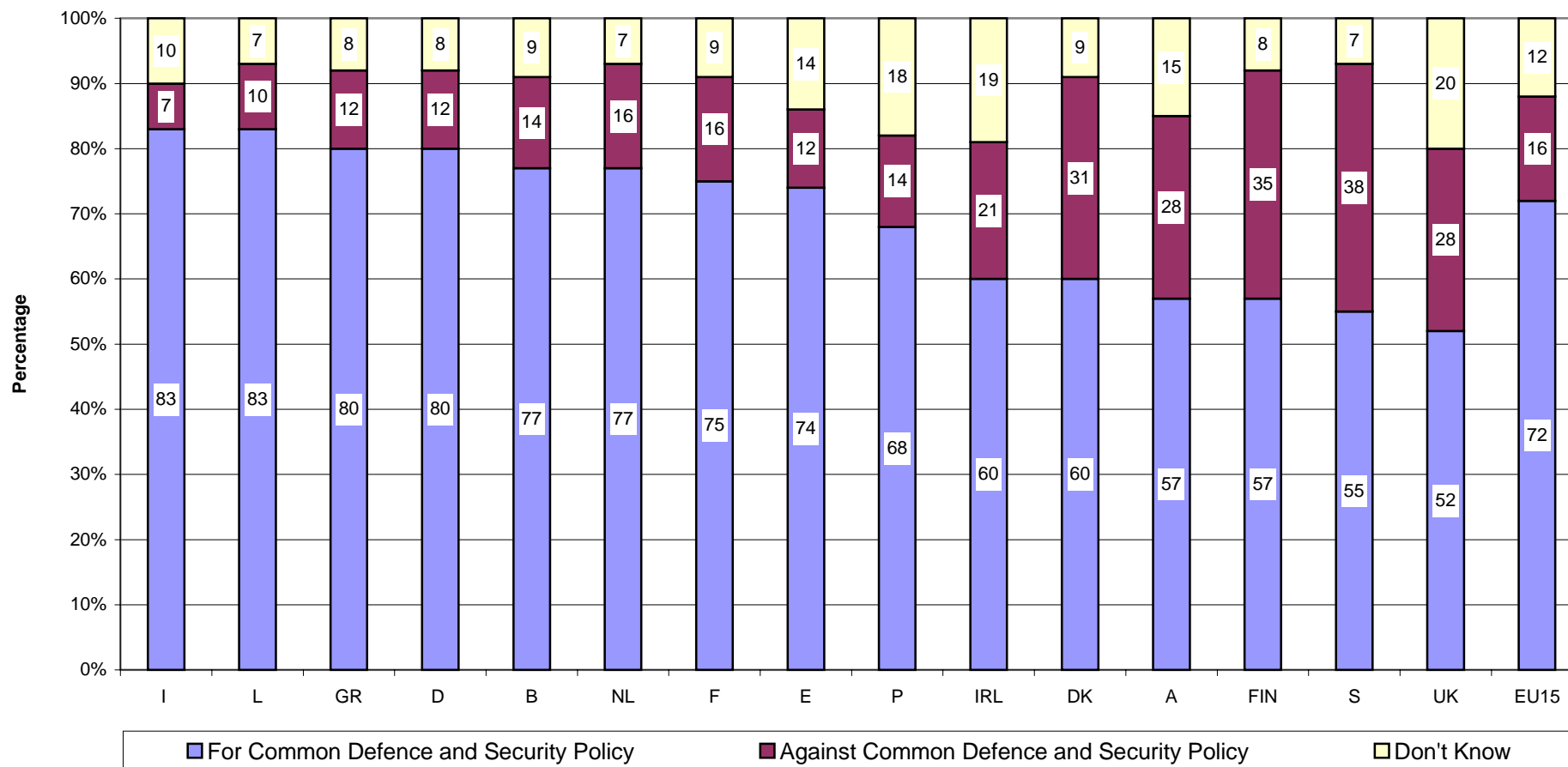
Source: EB61.1, Q29.7

Figure 33: Attitudes towards a common foreign policy by member state



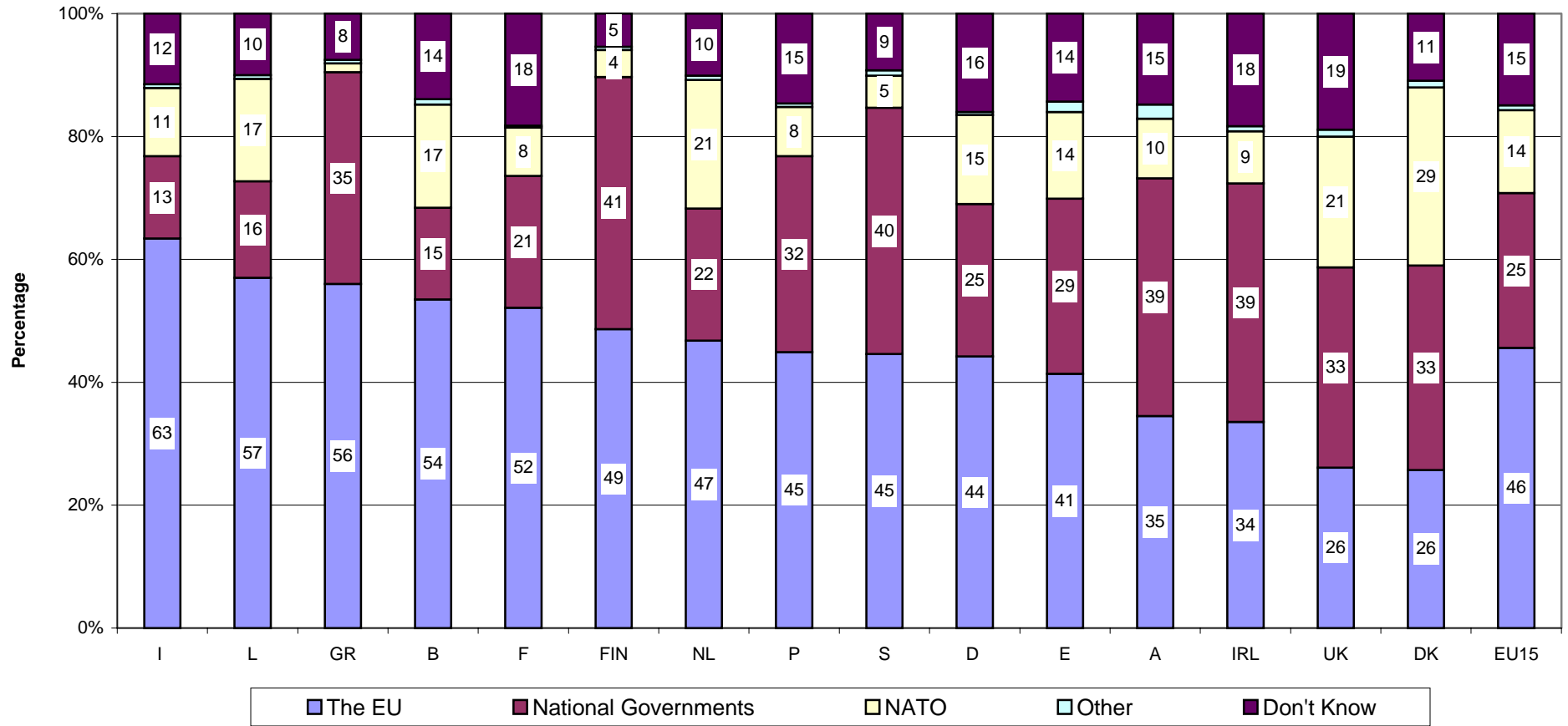
Source: EB61.1, Q29.2

Figure 34: Attitudes towards a common defence and security policy by member state



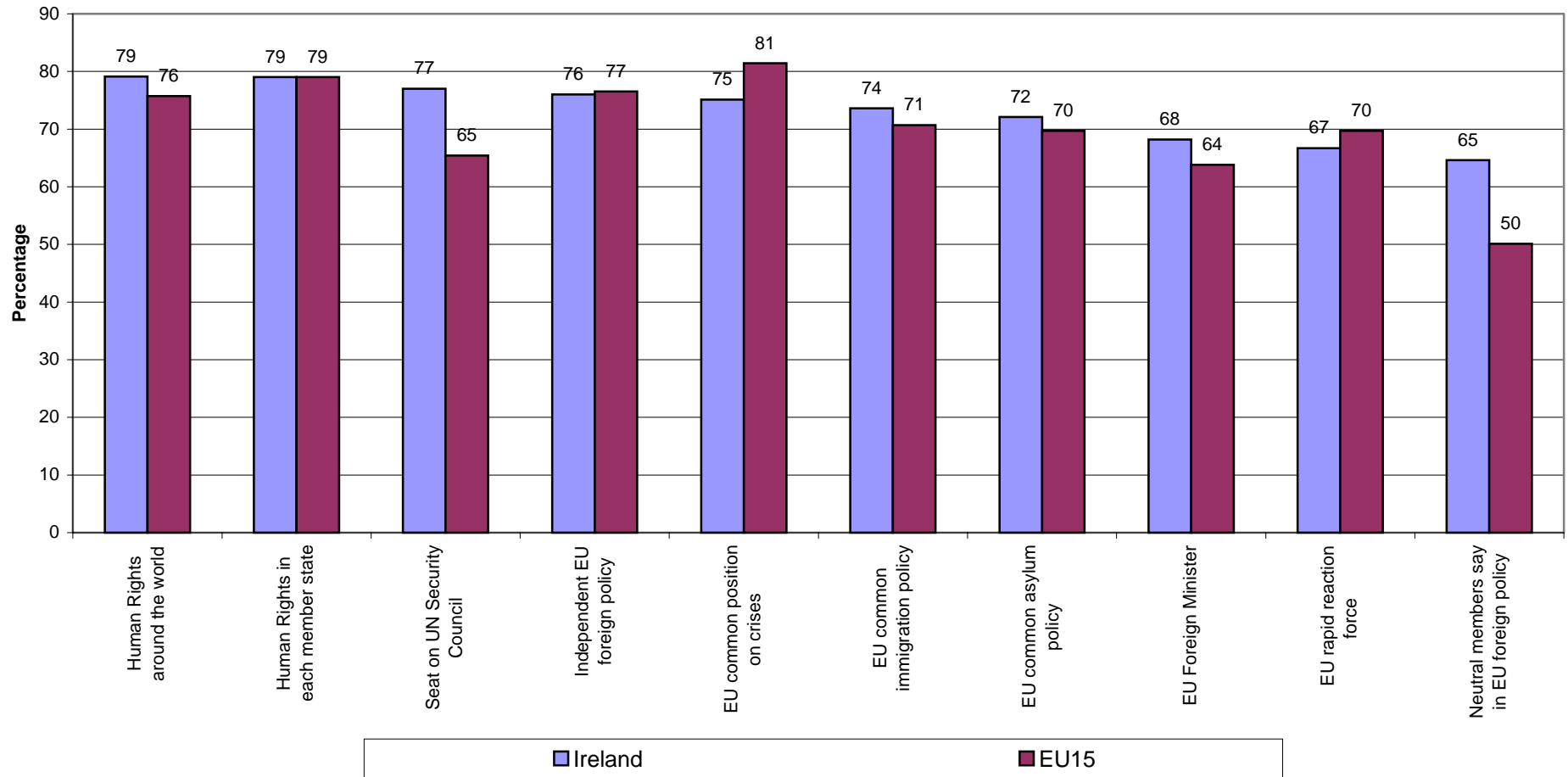
Source: EB61.1, Q29.3

Figure 35: Decisions concerning European defence policy should be taken by which institution, by member state



Source: EB61.1, Q31

Figure 36: Attitudes of respondents in Ireland and EU15 towards the European Union's role on the world stage



Source: EB61.1, Q30

LANSDOWNE MARKET RESEARCH 61.0 – SPRING 2004 – REPUBLIC

A.	YOUR SURVEY NUMBER	4	2	5	1	5	(61-65)
B.	COUNTRY CODE	0	8				(66-67)
C.	OUR SURVEY NUMBER	6	1				(68-70)
D.	INTERVIEW NUMBER						(71-76)
E.	SPLIT BALLOT	1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	A			(77)
		2	<input type="checkbox"/>	B			

Q.1. What is your nationality? Please tell me the country(ies) that applies(y).
(MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

Belgium	1, (78-94)	—> Q.2
Denmark	2,	
Germany	3,	
Greece	4,	
Spain	5,	
France	6,	
Ireland	7,	
Italy	8,	
Luxembourg	9,	
Netherlands	10,	
Portugal	11,	
United Kingdom (Great Britain, Northern Ireland)	12,	
Austria	13,	
Sweden	14,	
Finland	15,	
Other countries	16,	—> Close interview
DK	17,	

Q.2. When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?

Frequently1 (95)

Occasionally2

Never3

DK4

Q.3. When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? Does this happen...? **(READ OUT)**

often1 (96)

from time to time2

rarely3

never4

DK5

Q.4. What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?

	READ OUT	BETTER	WORSE	SAME	DK
1	your life in general	1	2	3	4 (97)
2	the economic situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4 (98)
3	the financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4 (99)
4	the employment situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4 (100)
5	your personal job situation	1	2	3	4 (101)

Q.5. If you compare your present situation with five years ago, would you say it has improved, stayed about the same, or got worse?

Improved1 (102)

Stayed about the same2

Got worse3

DK4

Q.6. In the course of the next five years, do you expect your personal situation to improve, to stay about the same or to get worse?

Improve1 (103)
 Stay about the same2
 Get worse3
 DK4

Q.7. I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

	READ OUT	TEND TO TRUST	TEND NOT TO TRUST	DK
1	The press	1	2	3 (104)
2	Radio	1	2	3 (105)
3	Television	1	2	3 (106)
4	Justice/the Irish legal system	1	2	3 (107)
5	The police	1	2	3 (108)
6	The army	1	2	3 (109)
7	The religious institutions	1	2	3 (110)
8	Trade unions	1	2	3 (111)
9	Political parties	1	2	3 (112)
10	Big companies	1	2	3 (113)
11	The Irish government	1	2	3 (114)
12	The Dail	1	2	3 (115)
13	The European Union	1	2	3 (116)
14	The United Nations	1	2	3 (117)
15	Charitable or voluntary organisations	1	2	3 (118)

Let's continue with some questions on the European Union.

- Q.8. Generally speaking, do you think that Ireland's membership of the European Union is...?
(READ OUT)
- a good thing 1 (119)
- a bad thing 2
- neither good nor bad 3
- DK 4
- Q.9. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Ireland has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?
- Benefited 1 (120)
- Not benefited 2
- DK 3
- Q.10. In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?
- Very positive 1 (121)
- Fairly positive 2
- Neutral 3
- Fairly negative 4
- Very negative 5
- DK 6

Q.11. What does the European Union mean to you personally? (**SHOW CARD 'Q.11' –SPLIT A - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE - ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP**)

Peace.....1, (122-137)

Economic prosperity.....2,

Democracy3,

Social protection.....4,

Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the European Union5,

Cultural diversity.....6,

Stronger say in the world.....7,

Euro.....8,

Unemployment9,

Bureaucracy10,

Waste of money11,

Loss of our cultural identity.....12,

More crime.....13,

Not enough control at external frontiers14,

Other (**SPONTANEOUS**)15,

DK16,

Q.12. Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree?

	READ OUT	TEND TO AGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	DK
1	I feel I am safer because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3 (138)
2	I feel we are more stable economically because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3 (139)
3	I feel we are more stable politically because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3 (140)
4	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3 (141)
5	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3 (142)
6	Ireland's voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3 (143)
7	Ireland will become more influential in the European Union in the future	1	2	3 (144)
8	The biggest countries have the most power in the European Union	1	2	3 (145)
9	Ireland is more influential in the European Union now than it was ten years ago	1	2	3 (146)

- Q.13. a) In your opinion, what is the current speed of building Europe? Please look at these figures **(SHOW CARD 'Q.13' WITH SCALE)**. N°1 is standing still, N°7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one which best corresponds with your opinion of the current speed of building Europe.

- b) And which corresponds best to the speed you would like? **(SHOW CARD 'Q.13' AGAIN)**

READ OUT		Q. 13. a.	Q. 13. b.
		CURRENT SPEED (147)	DESIRED SPEED (148)
1	Standstill	1	1
2		2	2
3		3	3
4		4	4
5		5	5
6		6	6
7	Runs as fast as possible	7	7
8	DK	8	8

- Q.14. a) In your opinion, in five years' time, will the European Union play a more important, a less important or the same role in your daily life?
- b) And, in five years' time, would you like the European Union to play a more important, a less important or the same role in your daily life?

READ OUT		MORE IMPORTANT	LESS IMPORTANT	SAME ROLE	DK
Q. 14.a	Expectations	1	2	3	4 (149)
Q. 14.b	Would like	1	2	3	4 (150)

- Q.15. Some people may have fears about the building of Europe, the European Union. Here is a list of things which some people say they are afraid of. For each one, please tell me if you - personally - are currently afraid of it, or not?

	READ OUT	CURRENTLY AFRAID OF IT	NOT CURRENTLY AFRAID OF IT	DK
1	A loss of power for smaller member states	1	2	3 (151)
2	An increase in drug trafficking and international organised crime	1	2	3 (152)
3	Our language being used less and less	1	2	3 (153)
4	Our country paying more and more to the European Union	1	2	3 (154)
5	The loss of social benefits	1	2	3 (155)
6	The loss of national identity and culture	1	2	3 (156)
7	An economic crisis	1	2	3 (157)
8	The transfer of jobs to other member countries which have lower production costs	1	2	3 (158)
9	More difficulties for Irish farmers	1	2	3 (159)

↑
PUNCHER NOTE: NO COL. 160

- Q.16. Using this scale, how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions? **(SHOW CARD 'Q.16' WITH SCALE)**

(161-162)

KNOW NOTHING AT ALL									KNOW A GREAT DEAL	DK
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

- Q.17. How well informed do you feel about the enlargement of the European Union this May, that is ten new countries joining the European Union? Do you feel...?
(SHOW CARD 'Q.17' - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

very well informed 1 (163)
well informed.....2
not very well informed3
not at all well informed.....4
DK5

- Q.18. When you are looking for information about the European Union, its policies, its institutions, which of the following sources do you use? Which else?
(SHOW CARD 'Q.18' - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

Meetings 1, (164-181)
Discussions with relatives, friends, colleagues2,
Daily newspapers3,
Other newspapers, magazines4,
Television5,
Radio6,
The Internet7,
Books, brochures, information leaflets8,
CD-Rom9,
European Union information offices, Euro-info Centres, Euro-info Points,
Euro-libraries, etc 10,
National or regional government information offices 11,
Trade unions or professional associations 12,
Other organisations (consumer organisations, etc.) 13,
A member of the European Parliament 14,
Other politicians 15,
Other (SPONTANEOUS) 16,
Never look for such information, not interested (SPONTANEOUS) 17,
DK 18,

Q.19. Generally speaking, do you think that the Irish media talk too much, about the right amount or too little about the European Union?

Too much1 (182)
 About the right amount2
 Too little.....3
 DK4

Q.20. And do you think that the Irish media present the European Union too positively, objectively or too negatively?

Too positively1 (183)
 Objectively.....2
 Too negatively3
 DK4

Q.21. Have you heard of...?

	READ OUT	YES	NO	DK
1	the European Parliament	1	2	3 (184)
2	the European Commission	1	2	3 (185)
3	the Council of Ministers of the European Union	1	2	3 (186)
4	the Court of Justice of the European Union	1	2	3 (187)
5	the European Ombudsman	1	2	3 (188)
6	the European Central Bank	1	2	3 (189)
7	the European Court of Auditors	1	2	3 (190)
8	the Committee of the Regions of the European Union	1	2	3 (191)
9	the Economic and Social Committee of the European Union	1	2	3 (192)

Q.22. And for each of the following European bodies, do you think it plays an important role or not in the life of the European Union?

	READ OUT	IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT	DK
1	The European Parliament	1	2	3 (193)
2	The European Commission	1	2	3 (194)
3	The Council of Ministers of the European Union	1	2	3 (195)
4	The Court of Justice of the European Union	1	2	3 (196)
5	The European Ombudsman	1	2	3 (197)
6	The European Central Bank	1	2	3 (198)
7	The European Court of Auditors	1	2	3 (199)
8	The Committee of the Regions of the European Union	1	2	3 (200)
9	The Economic and Social Committee of the European Union	1	2	3 (201)

Q.23. And, for each of them, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

	READ OUT	TEND TO TRUST	TEND NOT TO TRUST	DK
1	The European Parliament	1	2	3 (202)
2	The European Commission	1	2	3 (203)
3	The Council of Ministers of the European Union	1	2	3 (204)
4	The Court of Justice of the European Union	1	2	3 (205)
5	The European Ombudsman	1	2	3 (206)
6	The European Central Bank	1	2	3 (207)
7	The European Court of Auditors	1	2	3 (208)
8	The Committee of the Regions of the European Union	1	2	3 (209)
9	The Economic and Social Committee of the European Union	1	2	3 (210)

Q.24. For each of the following statements about the European Union, could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

	READ OUT	TRUE	FALSE	DK
1	The European Union currently consists of twelve member states	1	2	3 (211)
2	The European Community was created just after World War I, in the early 1920's	1	2	3 (212)
3	The European flag is blue with yellow stars	1	2	3 (213)
4	On the European flag, there is one star for each member country	1	2	3 (214)
5	The headquarters of the European Commission are in Strasbourg	1	2	3 (215)
6	The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the European Union	1	2	3 (216)
7	The President of the European Commission is directly elected by the citizens of the European Union	1	2	3 (217)
8	The European Union has its own anthem	1	2	3 (218)
9	Each year, there is a Europe Day in all the countries of the European Union	1	2	3 (219)
10	The next elections to the European Parliament will take place in June 2006	1	2	3 (220)

- Q.25. In the European Union, each member state, in turn, becomes the President of the Council of Ministers for six months. Right now, it's the turn of Ireland. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television anything about the Irish presidency?
- Yes1 (221)
- No2
- DK3

- Q.26. Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that Ireland is President of the Council of Ministers of the European Union at this time? Would you say it is...?
(READ OUT)
- very important1 (222)
- important2
- not very important3
- not at all important4
- DK5

- Q.27. What do you think are the two most important issues facing Ireland at the moment? (SHOW CARD 'Q.27' - READ OUT - MAX. 2 ANSWERS)
- Crime.....1, (223-238)
- Public transport2,
- Economic situation3,
- Rising prices/inflation4,
- Taxation5,
- Unemployment6,
- Terrorism7,
- Defence/Foreign affairs8,
- Housing9,
- Immigration10,
- Healthcare system.....11,
- The educational system12,
- Pensions13,
- Protecting the environment14,
- Other (SPONTANEOUS)15,
- DK16,

Q.28. And, for each of the following issues in Ireland, do you think that the European Union plays a positive role, a negative role or neither positive nor negative role?

	READ OUT	POSITIVE ROLE	NEGATIVE ROLE	NEITHER POSITIVE NOR NEGATIVE ROLE	DK
1	Fighting crime	1	2	3	4 (239)
2	Public transport	1	2	3	4 (240)
3	The economic situation	1	2	3	4 (241)
4	Rising prices/inflation	1	2	3	4 (242)
5	Taxation	1	2	3	4 (243)
6	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3	4 (244)
7	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3	4 (245)
8	Defence	1	2	3	4 (246)
9	Foreign affairs	1	2	3	4 (247)
10	Housing	1	2	3	4 (248)
11	Immigration	1	2	3	4 (249)
12	Healthcare system	1	2	3	4 (250)
13	The educational system	1	2	3	4 (251)
14	Pensions	1	2	3	4 (252)
15	Protecting the environment	1	2	3	4 (253)

Q.29. What is your opinion on each of the following statements?
Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

	READ OUT – ROTATE	FOR	AGAINST	DK
1	A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro	1	2	3 (254)
2	One common foreign policy among the member states of the European Union, towards other countries	1	2	3 (255)
3	A common defence and security policy among European Union member states	1	2	3 (256)
4	The enlargement of the European Union to include ten new countries this May	1	2	3 (257)
5	Further enlargement of the European Union to include other countries in future years	1	2	3 (258)
6	A constitution for the European Union	1	2	3 (259)
7	The fact that the European Commission is composed of commissioners coming from each of the member states	1	2	3 (260)
8	The speed of building Europe being faster in one group of countries than in the other countries	1	2	3 (261)
9	Teaching school children about the way European Union institutions work	1	2	3 (262)

- Q.30. The European Union already has a Common Security and Foreign Policy and a European Security and Defence Policy. There is now a debate about how much further these should be developed. Do you tend to agree or tend to disagree with each of the following statements?

	READ OUT - ROTATE	TEND TO AGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	DK
1	The European Union should have a rapid military reaction force that can be sent quickly to troublespots when an international crisis occurs	1	2	3 (263)
2	When an international crisis occurs, European Union member states should agree on a common position	1	2	3 (264)
3	The European Union should have its own Foreign Minister who can be the spokesperson for a common European Union position	1	2	3 (265)
4	The European Union should have its own seat on the United Nations Security Council	1	2	3 (266)
5	Member states which have opted for neutrality should have a say in European Union foreign policy	1	2	3 (267)
6	European Union foreign policy should be independent of United States' foreign policy	1	2	3 (268)
7	The European Union should guarantee Human Rights in each member state, even if this is contrary to the wishes of some member states	1	2	3 (269)
8	The European Union should work to guarantee Human Rights around the world, even if this is contrary to the wishes of some other countries	1	2	3 (270)
9	The European Union should have a common immigration policy towards people from outside the European Union	1	2	3 (271)
10	The European Union should have a common asylum policy towards asylum seekers	1	2	3 (272)

- Q.31. In your opinion, should decisions concerning European defence policy be taken by national governments, by NATO or by the European Union? (**ONE ANSWER ONLY**)

National governments1 (273)
 NATO2
 The European Union3
 Other (**SPONTANEOUS**)4
 DK5

- Q.32. Currently, 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 European 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.....1 (274)
- the period of the Presidency should be extended because six months is too short to achieve significant results.....2
- DK3
- Q.33. Currently, each member state has the right of veto in certain areas. In the future, should a right of veto...?
- be retained in order to preserve essential national interests1 (275)
- be limited to a very few essential areas2
- be given up for all decisions in order to make the European Union more efficient3
- DK4
- Q.34. The draft European Constitution sets new rules for majority voting within the European Union Council of Ministers. Which of the following are you most in favour of?
(SHOW CARD 'Q.34' - READ OUT -ONE ANSWER ONLY)
- Each member state should have one vote, regardless of its population size1 (276)
- The number of votes per member state should be proportional to its population size.....2
- Another solution should be found (**SPONTANEOUS**)3
- DK4
- Q.35. On which of the following do you think most of the European Union budget is spent?
(SHOW CARD 'Q.35' - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)
- Employment and social affairs1 (277)
- Agriculture2
- Scientific research3
- Regional aid4
- Foreign policy and aid to countries outside the European Union5
- Administrative and personnel costs, buildings.....6
- Other (**SPONTANEOUS**)7
- DK8

- Q.36. You may have heard of globalisation, that is the general opening up of all economies, which leads to the creation of a worldwide market. For each of the following statements, could you please tell me if you tend to agree or if you tend to disagree?

	READ OUT	TEND TO AGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	DK
1	Overall, globalisation is a good thing for Ireland	1	2	3 (278)
2	Overall, globalisation is a good thing for me	1	2	3 (279)
3	Globalisation leads to power being concentrated in large companies, at the expense of others	1	2	3 (280)
4	Globalisation increases global environmental problems	1	2	3 (281)
5	Globalisation represents a good opportunity for Irish companies	1	2	3 (282)
6	Globalisation represents a threat to employment in Ireland	1	2	3 (283)
7	Globalisation increases the variety of products for sale in Ireland	1	2	3 (284)
8	Globalisation cuts the prices of products and services through increased competition	1	2	3 (285)
9	Globalisation makes it more difficult to control the quality of food products sold in Ireland	1	2	3 (286)
10	Globalisation leads to a duller and more uniform world	1	2	3 (287)

- Q.37. From the following list, who do you trust most to get the effects of globalisation under control?
(SHOW CARD 'Q.37' - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

Political parties	1, (288-304)
The Irish government	2,
The European Union	3,
Green/environmental/ecological groups	4,
Trade unions	5,
Consumer rights associations	6,
Multinational companies	7,
The World Trade Organization	8,
The United Nations	9,
The World Bank/ The International Monetary Fund	10,
The United States' government	11,
Anti-globalisation or alter-globalisation movements	12,
Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)	13,
Citizens themselves	14,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
No one (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
DK	17,

SPLIT BALLOT A

Q.38. In the near future, do you see yourself as...? (**SHOW CARD 'Q.38' – SPLIT A - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY**)

Irish only 1 (305)
 Irish and European 2
 European and Irish 3
 European only 4
 DK..... 5

PUNCHER NOTE: NO COL. 306

Q.39. a) On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Ireland? (**SHOW CARD 'Q.39' WITH SCALE**)

b) And how about the way democracy works in the European Union? (**SHOW CARD 'Q.39 AGAIN**)

READ OUT		VERY SATISFIED	FAIRLY SATISFIED	NOT VERY SATISFIED	NOT AT ALL SATISFIED	DK
Q. 39.a	In Ireland	1	2	3	4	5 (307)
Q. 39.b	In the European Union	1	2	3	4	5 (308)

Let's talk about the European Parliament.

- Q.40. Supposing a general election were being held tomorrow, can you tell me on a scale of 1 to 10 how likely it is that you would vote in that election? Please place yourself at a point on this scale where "1" indicates that you would definitely not vote, "10" indicates that you would definitely vote and the remaining numbers indicates something in between these two positions.
(READ OUT - SHOW CARD 'Q.40' WITH SCALE)

(309-310)

1 (WOULD DEFINITELY NOT VOTE)										10 (WOULD DEFINITELY VOTE)	DK
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	

- Q.41. European Parliament elections will take place this June. Can you tell me on a scale of 1 to 10 how likely it is that you would vote in that election? Please place yourself at a point on this scale where "1" indicates that you would definitely not vote, "10" indicates that you would definitely vote and the remaining numbers indicates something in between these two positions.
(READ OUT - SHOW CARD 'Q.40' WITH SCALE AGAIN)

(311-312)

1 (WOULD DEFINITELY NOT VOTE)										10 (WOULD DEFINITELY VOTE)	DK
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	

ASK ONLY IF CODE 2 TO 11 IN Q.41., OTHERS GO TO Q.43.

- Q.42. If you decide to vote in the next European Parliament elections, what will be the most important reasons for deciding who to vote for? **(READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE – SHOWCARD 'Q.42')**

Your opinion about national issues..... 1, (313-319)
 Your opinion about European issues..... 2,
 The party of the candidate(s) 3,
 The personality of the candidate(s) 4,
 The policies of the candidate(s)..... 5,
 Other (**SPONTANEOUS**) 6,
 DK 7,

ASK ALL

- Q.43. Since the last European Parliament elections, have you seen or heard anything about or had any contacts with a member of the European Parliament in any of the following ways?
(SHOW CARD 'Q.43' - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

Yes, I have read about members of the European Parliament in newspapers or magazines1, (320-328)
 Yes, I have seen members of the European Parliament on television2,
 Yes, I have heard members of the European Parliament on the radio.....3,
 Yes, I have read about members of the European parliament on the Internet4,
 Yes, I have received leaflet(s), newsletter(s) or letter(s) from (a) member(s)
 of the European Parliament.....5,
 Yes, I have seen members of the European parliament at (a) public meeting(s).....6,
 No, I have not seen or heard anything about or had any contacts with
 a member of the European Parliament.....7,
 Other (SPONTANEOUS)8,
 DK.....9,

- Q.44. Would you personally be interested in seeing or hearing more about members of the European Parliament in any of the ways we have just talked about?
(SHOW CARD 'Q.44' - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

Yes, I would be interested in reading about members of the European Parliament
 in newspapers or magazines.....1, (329-337)
 Yes, I would be interested in seeing members of the European Parliament on television2,
 Yes, I would be interested in hearing members of the European Parliament on the radio.....3,
 Yes, I would be interested in reading, seeing or hearing about members of the European
 Parliament on the Internet4,
 Yes, I would be interested in receiving leaflet(s), newsletter(s) or letter(s) from
 (a) member(s) of the European Parliament5,
 Yes, I would be interested in seeing members of the European Parliament
 at (a) public meeting(s).....6,
 No, I would not be interested7,
 Other (SPONTANEOUS)8,
 DK.....9,

- Q.45. Please consider each of the following and tell me how much its activities, decisions and so on affect people like yourself. In each case, do they have a great effect, some effect or no effect? **(SHOW CARD 'Q.45' WITH SCALE)**

	READ OUT	GREAT EFFECT	SOME EFFECT	NO EFFECT	DK
1	The Irish government	1	2	3	4 (338)
2	The Dail	1	2	3	4 (339)
3	The European Union as a whole	1	2	3	4 (340)
4	The European Parliament in particular	1	2	3	4 (341)
5	Local County Council in Ireland	1	2	3	4 (342)

- Q.46. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree?

	READ OUT	TOTALLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	TOTALLY DISAGREE	DK
1	The members of the European Parliament are good at protecting your interests	1	2	3	4	5 (343)
2	The European Parliament has more power than the Dail	1	2	3	4	5 (344)
3	European Parliament elections are really important	1	2	3	4	5 (345)

- Q.47. Do you think the next European Parliament election campaign should mainly focus on...? **(SHOW CARD 'Q.47' - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)**

issues specific to Ireland 1, (346-359)
 agriculture 2,
 the environment..... 3,
 the fight against crime 4,
 employment..... 5,
 immigration..... 6,
 education..... 7,
 common defence policy..... 8,
 foreign policy 9,
 enlargement of the European Union..... 10,
 the reform of European Union institutions 11,
 the activities of the European Parliament..... 12,
 rights as a European Union citizen 13,
 DK 14,

LANDSOWNE MARKET RESEARCH 61.0 – SPRING 2004 – REPUBLIC

Q.48. Would you be more likely to vote in the European (Parliament) elections if...?

	READ OUT	YES	NO	DK
1	public transport were free on election day	1	2	3 (360)
2	polling stations were set up in supermarkets	1	2	3 (361)
3	it were possible to vote on the Internet	1	2	3 (362)
4	it were possible to vote at your workplace	1	2	3 (363)
5	local, regional or national elections were organised on the same day as the European elections	1	2	3 (364)
6	European elections took place on the same day throughout the European Union	1	2	3 (365)
8	citizens from other member states were candidates on the ballot paper	1	2	3 (367)
9	you had more time to put your name on the Electoral Register	1	2	3 (368)

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE NOTE THERE IS NO ITEM 7



PUNCHER NOTE: NO COL. 366

DEMOGRAPHICS

- D.1. In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right".
How would you place your views on this scale? (**SHOW CARD 'D.1'**)
(**INT.: DO NOT PROMPT - IF CONTACT HESITATES, TRY AGAIN**)

LEFT									RIGHT
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Refusal 11 (369-370)

DK 12

SHOWCARD 'D2'

- D.2. And which party would you be most likely to vote for at the European elections?
READ OUT

Fianna Fail 1 (371-372)

Fine Gael..... 2

Labour 3

Progressive Democrats/PDs 4

Green Party..... 5

Sinn Fein 6

Would not vote/would vote blank/would spoil vote (**SPONTANEOUS**) 11

Other parties (**SPONTANEOUS**)..... 12

DK..... 13

Refusal (**SPONTANEOUS**) 14

NO QUESTIONS D.3. TO D.6.

- D.7. Could you give me the letter which corresponds best to your own current situation?
(SHOW CARD 'D.7' - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Married	1 (373-374)
Remarried	2
Unmarried, currently living with partner	3
Unmarried, having never lived with a partner	4
Unmarried, having previously lived with a partner, but now on my own	5
Divorced	6
Separated	7
Widowed	8
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	9
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	10

- D.8. How old were you when you stopped full-time education? (INT.:IF "STILL STUDYING", CODE '00')

--	--

(375-376)

NO QUESTION D.9.

- D.10. Gender.

Male	1 (377)
Female	2

- D.11. How old are you?

--	--

(378-379)

NO QUESTION D.12. TO D.14.

D.15. a) What is your current occupation?

IF NOT DOING ANY PAID WORK CURRENTLY – CODES 1 TO 4 IN D. 15. a.

b) Did you do any paid work in the past? What was your last occupation?

	D.15.a. CURRENT OCCUPATION (380-381)	D.15.b. LAST OCCUPATION (382-383)
NON-ACTIVE		
Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	1	
Student	2	
Unemployed or temporarily not working	3	
Retired or unable to work through illness	4	
SELF EMPLOYED		
Farmer	5	1
Fisherman	6	2
Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, etc.)	7	3
Owner of a shop, craftsmen, other self-employed person	8	4
Business proprietors, owner (full or partner) of a company	9	5
EMPLOYED		
Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer, accountant, architect)	10	6
General management, director or top management (managing directors, director general, other director)	11	7
Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	12	8
Employed position, working mainly at a desk	13	9
Employed position, not at a desk but travelling (salesmen, driver, etc.)	14	10
Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, etc.)	15	11
Supervisor	16	12
Skilled manual worker	17	13
Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	18	14
NEVER DID ANY PAID WORK		15

NO QUESTIONS D.16. TO D.18.

D.19. Are you in your household, the person who contributes most to the household income?
(READ OUT)

Yes1 (384)

No.....2

Both equally.....3

DK.....4

NO QUESTION D.20.

IF "NO", CODE 2 IN D.19.

D.21. a) What is the current occupation of the person who contributes most to the household income?

IF "NOT DOING ANY PAID WORK CURRENTLY", CODE 1 TO 4 IN D.21.a.

b) Did he/she do any paid work in the past? What was his/her last occupation?

	D.21.a. CURRENT OCCUPATION (385-386)	D.21.b. LAST OCCUPATION (387-388)
NON-ACTIVE		
Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	1	
Student	2	
Unemployed or temporarily not working	3	
Retired or unable to work through illness	4	
SELF EMPLOYED		
Farmer	5	1
Fisherman	6	2
Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, etc.)	7	3
Owner of a shop, craftsmen, other self-employed person	8	4
Business proprietors, owner (full or partner) of a company	9	5
EMPLOYED		
Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer, accountant, architect)	10	6
General management, director or top management (managing directors, director general, other director)	11	7
Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	12	8
Employed position, working mainly at a desk	13	9
Employed position, not at a desk but travelling (salesmen, driver, etc.)	14	10
Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, etc.)	15	11
Supervisor	16	12
Skilled manual worker	17	13
Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	18	14
NEVER DID ANY PAID WORK		15

NO QUESTIONS D.22. TO D.24.

- D.25. Would you say you live in a...? **(READ OUT)**
- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| rural area or village..... | 1 (389) |
| small or middle sized town | 2 |
| large town | 3 |
| DK | 4 |

NO QUESTIONS D.26. TO D.28.

- D.29. We also need some information about the income of this household to be able to analyse the survey results for different types of households. Here is a list of income groups. **(SHOW CARD 'D.29')** Please count the total wages and salaries PER MONTH of all members of this household; all pensions and social insurance benefits; child allowances and any other income like rents, etc...Of course, your answer as all other replies in this interview will be treated confidentially and referring back to you or your household will be impossible. Please give me the letter of the income group your household falls into BEFORE tax and other deductions.
- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| B..... | 1 (390-391) |
| T..... | 2 |
| P..... | 3 |
| F..... | 4 |
| E..... | 5 |
| H..... | 6 |
| L..... | 7 |
| N..... | 8 |
| R..... | 9 |
| M..... | 10 |
| S..... | 11 |
| K..... | 12 |
| Refusal | 13 |
| DK | 14 |

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLE

P.1. - DATE OF INTERVIEW	DAY (392-393)		MONTH (394-395)	

P.2. - TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW	HOUR (396-397)		MINUTES (398-399)	
(INT.:USE 24 HOUR CLOCK)				

P.3. - NUMBER OF MINUTES THE INTERVIEW LASTED	MINUTES (400-402)		

- P.4. Number of persons present during the interview, including interviewer.
- Two (interviewer and respondent) 1 (403)
- Three 2
- Four 3
- Five or more 4

- P.5. Respondent cooperation
- Excellent 1 (404)
- Fair 2
- Average 3
- Bad 4

- P. 6. Size of locality
- Less than 2,000 people 1 (405)
- 2,001 - 20,000 people 2
- 20,001 - 100,000 people 3
- 100,001 people and more 4

PUNCHER: THERE IS NO COL. (406)

- P.7. - Region
- Donegal 1 (407)
- North West (Sligo, Leitrim) 2
- North East (Cavan, Monaghan, Louth) 3
- West (Mayo, Galway) 4
- Midlands (Westmeath, Roscommon, Longford, Laois, Offaly) 5
- East (Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Wicklow) 6
- Mid West (Limerick, Clare, Tipperary North Riding) 7
- South East (Waterford, Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary South Riding) 8
- South West (Kerry, Cork) 9

PUNCHER: THERE IS NO COL. (408)

P.8. Postal code

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(409-416)

P.9. Sample point number

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(417-424)

P.10. Interviewer number

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(425-432)

P.11. Weighting factor

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(433-440)

P.12. a) Fixed telephone available in the household?

Yes1 (441)

No.....2

b) Mobile telephone available in the household?

Yes1 (442)

No.....2

LANSDOWNE MARKET RESEARCH 61.0 – SPRING 2004 – REPUBLIC

A.	YOUR SURVEY NUMBER	<table border="1"><tr><td>4</td><td>2</td><td>5</td><td>1</td><td>5</td></tr></table>	4	2	5	1	5	(61-65)	
4	2	5	1	5					
B.	COUNTRY CODE	<table border="1"><tr><td>0</td><td>8</td></tr></table>	0	8	(66-67)				
0	8								
C.	OUR SURVEY NUMBER	<table border="1"><tr><td>6</td><td>1</td></tr></table>	6	1	(68-70)				
6	1								
D.	INTERVIEW NUMBER	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>							(71-76)
E.	SPLIT BALLOT	<table border="1"><tr><td>1</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td>A</td></tr><tr><td>2</td><td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/></td><td>B</td></tr></table>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	A	2	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	B	(77)
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	A							
2	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	B							

Q.1. What is your nationality? Please tell me the country(ies) that applies(y).
(MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

Belgium	1, (78-94)	—> Q.2
Denmark	2,	
Germany	3,	
Greece	4,	
Spain	5,	
France	6,	
Ireland	7,	
Italy	8,	
Luxembourg	9,	
Netherlands	10,	
Portugal	11,	
United Kingdom (Great Britain, Northern Ireland)	12,	
Austria	13,	
Sweden	14,	
Finland	15,	
Other countries	16,	—> Close interview
DK	17,	

Q.11. What does the European Union mean to you personally? (**SHOW CARD 'Q.11' –SPLIT B - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE - ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP**)

Peace1, (122-137)
 Economic prosperity2,
 Democracy3,
 Social protection.....4,
 Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the European Union5,
 Cultural diversity.....6,
 Stronger say in the world.....7,
 Euro.....8,
 Unemployment9,
 Bureaucracy10,
 Waste of money11,
 Loss of our cultural identity.....12,
 More crime13,
 Not enough control at external frontiers14,
 Other (**SPONTANEOUS**)15,
 DK16,

Q.12. Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree?

	READ OUT	TEND TO AGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	DK
1	I feel I am safer because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3 (138)
2	I feel we are more stable economically because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3 (139)
3	I feel we are more stable politically because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3 (140)
4	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3 (141)
5	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3 (142)
6	Ireland's voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3 (143)
7	Ireland will become more influential in the European Union in the future	1	2	3 (144)
8	The biggest countries have the most power in the European Union	1	2	3 (145)
9	Ireland is more influential in the European Union now than it was ten years ago	1	2	3 (146)

PUNCHER NOTE: NO COL. 305

SPLIT BALLOT B

Q.38. In the near future, do you see yourself as...? **(SHOW CARD 'Q.38' – SPLIT B -READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)**

Irish only 1 (306)
 Irish and European 2
 European only 3
 DK..... 4

Q.39. a) On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Ireland? **(SHOW CARD 'Q.39' WITH SCALE)**

b) And how about the way democracy works in the European Union? **(SHOW CARD 'Q.39 AGAIN)**

READ OUT		VERY SATISFIED	FAIRLY SATISFIED	NOT VERY SATISFIED	NOT AT ALL SATISFIED	DK
Q. 39.a	In Ireland	1	2	3	4	5 (307)
Q. 39.b	In the European Union	1	2	3	4	5 (308)

STANDARD EUROBAROMETER 61

TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

Between 20th February and 28th March 2004, the European Opinion Research Group, a consortium of Market and Public Opinion Research agencies, made out of INRA in Belgium – I.C.O. and GfK Worldwide, carried out wave 61 of the standard Eurobarometer, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General Press and Communication, Opinion Polls.

The Standard EUROBAROMETER 61 covers the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union Member States, aged 15 years and over, resident in each of the Member States. The basic sample design applied in all Member States is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each EU country, a number of sampling points was drawn with probability proportional to population size (for a total coverage of the country) and to population density.

For doing so, the points were drawn systematically from each of the "administrative regional units", after stratification by individual unit and type of area. They thus represent the whole territory of the Member States according to the EUROSTAT NUTS 2 (or equivalent) and according to the distribution of the resident population of the respective EU-nationalities in terms of metropolitan, urban and rural areas. In each of the selected sampling points, a starting address was drawn, at random. Further addresses were selected as every Nth address by standard random route procedures, from the initial address. In each household, the respondent was drawn, at random. All interviews were face-to-face in people's home and in the appropriate national language.

<u>COUNTRIES</u>	<u>INSTITUTES</u>	<u>N° INTERVIEWS</u>	<u>FIELDWORK DATES</u>	<u>POPULATION 15+ (x 000)</u>
Belgium	INRA/IPSOS BELGIUM	1012	25/02 – 28/03	8,458
Denmark	GfK DENMARK	1000	21/02 – 24/03	4,355
Germany (East)	INRA/IPSOS DEUTSCHLAND	1037	22/02 – 11/03	13,164
Germany (West)	INRA/IPSOS DEUTSCHLAND	1032	20/02 – 10/03	56,319
Greece	MARKET ANALYSIS	1005	29/02 – 26/03	8,899
Spain	INRA/IPSOS ESPAÑA	1000	22/02 – 18/03	34,239
France	CSA-TMO	1019	22/02 – 10/03	47,936
Ireland	LANSDOWNE Market Research	1001	23/02 – 19/03	3,004
Italy	Demoskopea	1025	25/02 – 16/03	49,531
Luxembourg	ILRes	619	23/02 – 23/03	357
The Netherlands	INTOMART	1044	25/02 – 24/03	13,010
Austria	SPECTRA	1052	24/02 – 22/03	6,770
Portugal	METRIS	1000	23/02 – 17/03	8,620
Finland	MDC MARKETING RESEARCH	1027	26/02 – 28/03	4,245
Sweden	GfK SVERIGE	1000	23/02 – 19/03	7,252
Great Britain	MARTIN HAMLIN LTD	1035	22/02 – 14/03	46,370
Northern Ireland	ULSTER MARKETING SURVEYS	308	25/02 – 17/03	1,314
TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS		16216		

For each country a comparison between the sample and the universe was carried out. The Universe description was derived from Eurostat population data or from national statistics. For all EU member-countries a national weighting procedure, using marginal and intercellular weighting, was carried out based on this Universe description. As such in all countries, minimum gender, age, region NUTS 2 were introduced in the iteration procedure. For international weighting (i.e. EU averages), INRA (EUROPE) applies the official population figures as provided by EUROSTAT or national statistic offices. The total population figures for input in this post-weighting procedure are listed above.

The results of the Eurobarometer studies are reported in the form of tables, datafiles and analyses. Per question a table of results is given with the full question text in English, French and German. The results are expressed as a percentage of the total. The results of the Eurobarometer surveys are analysed and made available through the Directorate-General Press and Communication, Opinion Polls of the European Commission, rue de la Loi 200, B-1049 Brussels. The results are published on the Internet server of the European Commission: http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/. All Eurobarometer datafiles are stored at the Zentral Archiv (Universität Köln, Bachemer Strasse, 40, D-50869 Köln-Lindenthal), available through the CESSDA Database <http://www.nsd.uib.no/cessda/europe.html>. They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and of all those interested in social science research.

Readers are reminded that survey results are estimations, the accuracy of which, everything being equal, rests upon the sample size and upon the observed percentage. With samples of about 1,000 interviews, the real percentages vary within the following confidence limits:

Observed percentages	10% or 90%	20% or 80%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%
Confidence limits	± 1.9%	± 2.5%	± 2.7%	± 3.0%	± 3.1%

**STANDARD EUROBAROMETER 61
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