

# EUROBAROMETER 64

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

## AUTUMN 2005

NATIONAL REPORT

**IRELAND**

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## **Introduction**

In December 2005, after a prolonged period of negotiation, the European Council agreed the 2007-2013 EU budget. Since joining the European Union, Ireland has benefited from transfers from the EU, in particular from agricultural subsidies and structural funds. However, Ireland's budgetary position is changing as a consequence of reforms to the Common Agriculture Policy and Ireland's improved economic performance. In November, sugar beet growers and those employed in Ireland's remaining sugar producing factory protested at changes to price supports and export subsidies that look likely to result in the closure of the Irish sugar industry. Ireland's improved economic performance suggests that it will soon become a net contributor to the EU. Furthermore, Europe in the guise of the European Central Bank has a direct impact on people's pockets. It is believed that interest rates will rise by about a percentage point over the next year. In time, these economic changes may contribute to shifts in Irish attitudes towards the EU. With this in mind, it is worth examining major trends in Irish public opinion towards the EU.

This is the eighth report in a series of six-monthly reports on Irish attitudes to the European Union. Each report is based on evidence from the most recent Eurobarometer survey of public opinion. This report is based on *Eurobarometer 64.2*, which was fielded in Autumn 2005.<sup>1</sup>

## **Ireland's Membership of the European Union**

Large majorities of Irish people feel Ireland's membership of the EU is 'a good thing' and that their country has benefited from membership. Seventy-three percent of Irish people believe Ireland's membership is 'a good thing' with six percent feeling it is 'a bad thing' and 16 percent regarding it as 'neither good nor bad'. When it comes to perceptions of whether or not Ireland has benefited from EU membership, 86 percent of Irish people believe Ireland has benefited from membership of the EU, seven percent believe Ireland has not benefited and seven percent do not offer an opinion.

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<sup>1</sup> In Ireland, the fieldwork for *Eurobarometer 64.2* took place between 13<sup>th</sup> October and 13<sup>th</sup> November, 2005. In the 25 Member States, the fielding of this survey began on 11<sup>th</sup> October and finished on 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2005.

Compared to the same time last year, Irish attitudes can be considered basically stable (see *Eurobarometer 62.0*). That said, there have been slight shifts in public opinion: a four-percentage point drop in the percentage of Irish people who regard membership as ‘a good thing’ and a one-percentage point drop in the percentage of people who believe Ireland has benefited from EU membership.

### *Irish Opinion of EU Membership by Socio-Demographic Groupings*

While Irish people tend to be positive about Ireland’s membership of the EU, some groups in Irish society are more positive about it than are others (see Tables 1 and 2). In particular, there is a strong association between education and Irish people’s opinions of their country’s membership of the EU. Those with the highest levels of education are more likely than are those with the lowest levels of education (83 percent as compared with 55 percent) to regard Ireland’s membership of the EU as ‘a good thing’. Moreover, people with low levels of education are more likely than are people in general to regard Ireland’s membership as either ‘a bad thing’ (12 percent), ‘neither good nor bad’ (22 percent) or not to provide an opinion (12 percent). Similarly, those with the highest levels of education as well as those who are currently studying (90 percent) are more likely than those with the lowest levels of education (75 percent) to feel that Ireland has benefited from EU membership. Those with low levels of education are also more likely than are people in general to feel that Ireland has not benefited (12 percent) and not to answer the question (13 percent).

Other groups of Irish people are more likely than are others to regard Ireland’s membership of the EU as a ‘good thing’ (see Table 1). In particular, people aged 35-44 years of age (77 percent), managers (81 percent), students (78 percent), those living in small or middle-sized towns (79 percent) and those living in Munster (79 percent). In contrast, those less likely than people in general to regard membership as a ‘good thing’ include people aged 55-64 years of age (69 percent), the self-employed (69 percent), manual workers (69 percent), and those living the rest of Leinster (69

percent).<sup>2</sup> Only people aged 55-64 years of age (11 percent) stand out as being more likely than are people in general to regard Ireland's membership of the EU as 'a bad thing'. While these differences are modest enough, they draw attention to the fact that there are significant variations in responses to the EU.

Turning to the issue of benefits of EU membership, people's perceptions also vary, being strongest amongst managers (89 percent), retired (92 percent) and students (90 percent) and weakest amongst self-employed (82 percent) and house persons (82 percent) (see Table 2). While no one age cohort stands out as being more likely to feel that Ireland has not benefited from membership, it is worth noting that people aged 25-34 are least sure. The percentage of those aged 25-34 years of age (80 percent) who feel Ireland has benefited is six percentage points less than the percentage of Irish people in general who have this opinion.

### *Irish Opinion of EU Membership in Comparative Perspective*

The positive disposition of Irish public opinion towards Ireland's membership of the European Union is evident when compared with public opinion in other EU Member States. The percentage of Irish people who feel membership is 'a good thing' is second only to Luxembourg (82 percent) (see Figure 1). The only other country where at least 70 percent of people feel their country's EU membership is 'a good thing' is the Netherlands. At the other end of the scale, only a third of respondents in Austria and the UK believe that membership is 'a good thing'. Moreover, less than half of respondents in the new member states of the Czech Republic, Malta, Slovenia, Estonia, Cyprus, Hungary and Latvia feel EU membership is 'a good thing'. That said, it is important to note that in these countries the percentages of people who regard EU membership as 'a good thing' are greater than the percentages that regard membership as 'a bad thing'. Substantial proportions of people in these countries are indifferent to their country's membership (i.e., 'neither good nor bad').

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<sup>2</sup> On this measure and other measures the unemployed also tend to have a less positive opinion of EU membership. However, this group are not noted in the discussion because of the small number of respondents who report that they are unemployed.

Irish respondents are also more likely than respondents in any other Member State to feel their country benefits from EU membership (see Figure 2). The next largest percentage of people who feel their country has benefited is the 75 percent of respondents in Luxembourg. Only a very small percentage of Irish people (seven percent) perceive their country as having not benefited from membership. In two countries, Sweden and Cyprus, more than half of respondents believe that their country has not benefited from membership of the EU.

To examine people's perceptions of the effect of EU membership in more detail, respondents to *Eurobarometer 64.2* are asked to indicate whether they believe membership of the EU has had a good or bad effect on a number of policy issues. From Figure 3 it is evident that more than half of respondents in Ireland regard the EU as having a good effect on each of the policy issues. In particular, 87 percent of Irish people regard the EU as having a good effect on 'our standard of living' and 84 percent believe the EU has a good effect on 'our exports'. Irish people are less positive about the effect of the EU on 'our country's security', and 'our agriculture'. Sixty-two percent of Irish people feel the EU has had a good effect on agriculture while 20 percent feel it has had a bad effect.

Figure 4 presents the distribution of responses for the 25 Member States. There are two points of note. The first is that respondents in the 25 Member States are not as positive as are Irish people about the effect of the EU in these policy areas. At best, 66 percent of respondents in the 25 Member States regard the EU as having a positive effect on 'our country's security'. At least a fifth of respondents in the Member States have a negative opinion of the EU's effects on each of the policy areas. Less than half of respondents feel the EU has had a positive effect on 'our agriculture' and 'employment in our country'. Fifty-four percent of respondents in the 25 Member States regard the EU as having a bad effect on employment and 48 percent regard it as having a bad effect on agriculture.

The second point of note is the relative ordering of the policy issues in Ireland and the 25 Member States. Respondents in Ireland are most positive about the effects of the EU on living standards, exports and employment and least positive about security and

agriculture. Respondents in the 25 Member States are most positive about the effects of the EU on security and least positive about employment.

### **Irish People's Images of the European Union**

Another way of examining public opinion of the European Union is to focus on the image people have of it. This is a more general measure compared with those that focus on a country's membership of the EU. Sixty-nine percent of Irish people have a positive image of the EU with just eight percent having a negative image and 19 percent a neutral image. Compared to Autumn 2004, the percentage of people who have a positive image of the EU has fallen by six-percentage points, while the percentage of people who have a negative image has increased by four-percentage points (see *Eurobarometer 62.0*).<sup>3</sup>

Before examining Irish people's images of the EU, it is important to note the difference between the distribution of attitudes on the measures considered so far. While 86 percent of Irish people feel Ireland has benefited from EU membership, lower percentages of Irish people think EU membership is good thing (73 percent) or have a positive image of the EU (69 percent). These differences are in part due to the question formats. The latter two questions present respondents with a mid-point: 'neither good nor bad' and 'neutral image'. The former question does not present respondents with a mid-point. The effect of this may be to encourage respondents, who would otherwise select a mid-point, to refuse to answer the question. When respondents who have a neutral image of the EU are faced with a binary choice between 'benefited' and 'not benefited' from membership, 16 percent of these respondents do not answer the question. However, when there is a defined mid-point, only four percent refuse to answer the question.

As well as increasing the percentage of people who refuse to answer a question, the absence of a mid-point may encourage people to offer opinions they would not express given a more sensitive response format. On the one hand, 75 percent of those with a neutral image of the EU feel that Ireland has benefited from membership. On

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<sup>3</sup> That said, there has been little change compared to the first part of 2005 where 68 percent of Irish people have a positive image of the EU (see *Eurobarometer 63.4*).

the other hand, 45 percent of those with a neutral image of the EU believe that Ireland's membership of the EU is a 'good thing' while 43 percent opt for the mid-point (i.e., membership of the EU is 'neither good nor bad'). The absence of a mid-point suggests that as a measure of Irish public opinion the benefit-not benefit dichotomy may be biased upwards.

### *Irish People's Images of the EU by Socio-Demographic Groupings*

As with Ireland's membership of the EU, some groups in Irish society are more likely than are other groups to have a positive image of the EU (see Table 3). There is a notable association between education and the image people have of the EU. In particular, 81 percent of those with the highest levels of education have positive images of the EU while 58 percent of those with the lowest levels of education have a positive image. Those with the lowest levels of education are more likely than are people in general not to answer the question (12 percent).

Where people live is also associated with their image of the EU. Those who live in small or middle sized towns (75 percent) and those living in rural areas or villages (72 percent) are more likely than are those living in large towns (65 percent) to have positive images of the EU. People living in large towns are no more likely than people in general to have a negative image of the EU, but they are more likely to have a neutral image (22 percent).

Strong positive images of the EU are evident amongst respondents aged 35-44 years of age (74 percent) and those aged 45-54 years of age (72 percent). Younger respondents, in particular those aged 15-24 years of age (23 percent), are more likely than are people in general to have a neutral image of the EU. Managers are more likely than are any other group to have a positive image of the EU (83 percent).

### *Irish People's Images of the EU in Comparative Perspective*

Compared to people's images of the EU across the 25 Member States, the Irish are the most likely to have a positive image of the EU (see Figure 5). Respondents in Luxembourg are closest to the Irish with 57 percent having a positive image of the EU. Only in eight other countries do at least half of the respondents have positive images of the EU. Less than 30 percent of respondents have positive images of the EU in the UK (29 percent), Finland (27 percent) and Austria (24 percent). While less than ten percent of Irish people have a negative image of the EU, more than a third of respondents in Sweden (38 percent), Austria (36 percent) and the UK (35 percent) have negative images of the EU. In all of the Member States, except Ireland, more than a quarter of respondents have neutral images of the EU.

### **Irish Public Opinion of Political Union**

Most Irish respondents are happy with their country's membership of the EU. That said, they are somewhat circumspect about political union. Fifty-three percent of Irish respondents are for 'the development towards a European political union' and 18 percent against. While this suggests that Irish people are in favour of political union almost a third of respondents do not articulate an opinion (29 percent).

### *Irish Public Opinion of Political Union by Socio-Demographic Groupings*

There is a strong association between education and attitudes towards political union (see Table 4). Sixty-three percent of Irish people with high levels of education are in favour of political union while 41 percent of those with low levels of education are in favour of political union. Rather than the latter group being more likely to be opposed to political union, those with low levels of education are less likely to articulate an opinion about political union. While 85 percent of those with high levels of education articulate an opinion on political union, just 64 percent of those with low levels of education do so. Previously, there was little difference between the attitudes of those who are still studying and those with high levels of education. However, when it



comes to political union those who are still studying are less likely than are others to be in favour of political union (49 percent) and are more likely not to articulate an opinion (39 percent).

Irish people aged 25-54 years are most likely to be in favour of political union. Fifty-seven percent of people aged 25-44 years, and 59 percent of those aged 45-54 years, are in favour of political union. People in the oldest age cohort are most likely to be opposed to developments towards political union. Twenty-nine percent of people aged 65 years or older are against political union while 42 percent are in favour. Support for political union is also weak amongst the youngest age cohort. Forty-eight percent of those aged 15-24 years are in favour of political union. Members of the youngest age cohort are also more likely than any other group not to offer an opinion on political union (39 percent).

As a group, managers (67 percent) are most likely to be in favour of developments towards political union while the self-employed (28 percent) and the retired (27 percent) are most likely to be against political union. Students (39 percent) and manual workers (36 percent) are the groups that are most likely not to articulate an opinion.

People in Connaught/Ulster are most likely to be in favour of developments towards political union (61 percent) while those in Munster (50 percent) and in the rest of Leinster (51 percent) are least likely to be in favour. There are no notable differences between the regions in terms of negative opinion towards political union. Those in Munster and the rest of Leinster are more likely than are those in other regions not to articulate an opinion (33 percent). There are no notable differences between male and female attitudes to political union. That said, females (32 percent) are somewhat more likely than males (26 percent) not to give an opinion on this issue.

### *Irish Public Opinion of Political Union in Comparative Perspective*

While Irish people stand out from the other Member States as being amongst the most positive about their country's membership of the EU, they tend to be less enthusiastic

than people in other Member States about political union (see Figure 6). The percentage of Irish people who are for political union is less than the percentage of people in the 25 Member States as a whole (55 percent) and is the eight lowest of the 25 Member States. The percentages of people in favour of political union are lower in France (52 percent), the Netherlands (51 percent), Denmark (43 percent), Sweden (39 percent), Finland (36 percent), Austria (35 percent) and the UK (30 percent).

Despite the low levels of support for political union in Ireland, opposition to political union is also very low (18 percent)<sup>4</sup>. Of the seven countries with the lowest levels of support for political union, opposition to it ranges from 38 percent in France to 54 percent in Sweden. Only in three countries is opposition to political union lower than that in Ireland: 13 percent in Spain and 17 percent in both Slovakia and Slovenia.

The comparatively low levels of support for, and opposition to, political union in Ireland are accounted for by the large percentage of respondents who ‘don’t know’ (29 percent). The percentage of people who are unsure is greatest amongst the Irish. Only in three other countries do more than a fifth of respondents say that they are unsure about developments towards political union: Latvia (20 percent), Portugal (21 percent) and Estonia (21 percent). This suggests that in order to understand Irish public opinion of the EU it is important to take account of how informed people are about the EU (see below).

### **Irish Public Opinion towards the Constitution of the European Union**

The rejection by French and Dutch voters of the Constitution of the European Union has focused attention on people’s attitudes towards the Constitution. In Ireland, 56 percent of respondents are in favour of the Constitution with 13 percent opposed to it and 33 percent undecided. Compared to the same period last year, as well as the first half of 2005, the evidence suggests that Irish people now have a more positive opinion of the Constitution. However, changes in the questionnaire mean that any comparison of the percentages needs to be treated with extreme care. Earlier Eurobarometers asked respondents if they were familiar with the Constitution before

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<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that this percentage is very close to the proportion of the electorate that voted ‘no’ in the four most recent EU referendums.

asking them their opinion of the Constitution. While it is not possible to undertake a direct comparison of the percentages, it is worth noting a reduction in the percentage of Irish people who are undecided about the Constitution. In autumn 2004, two-thirds of Irish respondents were undecided about the Constitution. A year later, a third of people remain undecided about the Constitution.

### *Irish Public Opinion toward the EU Constitution by Socio-Demographic Groupings*

In line with findings presented above, there is a strong association between education and attitudes towards the European Constitution (see Table 5). Sixty-seven percent of Irish people with high levels of education are in favour of the Constitution while 45 percent of those with low levels of education are opposed to it. Those with high levels of education (84 percent) are more likely to articulate an opinion while those with low levels of education (56 percent) are less likely to do so. The attitudes towards the Constitution of those who are still studying are quite similar to those with low levels of education. Forty-eight percent of students are in favour of the Constitution (62 percent are willing to articulate an opinion).

There are some differences in opinion between the various age cohorts. Those aged 35-44 years are most likely to be in favour of the Constitution (62 percent) while the youngest age cohort, 15-24 years, are least likely to be in favour (49 percent). This latter group is no more opposed to the Constitution than are the other age cohorts, though young people are less willing to articulate an opinion about the Constitution (41 percent).

Across the various occupation groups, managers are more likely than are any other group to articulate an opinion. Sixty-six percent of managers are in favour of the European Constitution. That said, the percentage of managers (18 percent) opposed to the Constitution is greater than the percentage of Irish people in general who are against the Constitution. The groups that are least likely to articulate an opinion are manual workers (64 percent), people working in the home (61 percent) and students (62 percent).

Those living in rural areas (63 percent) or small towns (64 percent) are more likely than are those living in large towns (45 percent) to be in favour of the Constitution. People living in large towns are more likely than the former two groups to be opposed to the Constitution (16 percent) and not to articulate an opinion on the Constitution (39 percent). Comparing across the regions, people living in Dublin are least in favour of the European Constitution (50 percent) while those living in the rest of Leinster are most likely to be in favour (60 percent).

Both males and females tend to be in favour of the Constitution, though males (58 percent) are more likely to be in favour of it than females (52 percent). Moreover, males (15 percent) are more likely than females (10 percent) to be opposed to the Constitution. As with earlier items, males (73 percent) are more willing to offer an opinion than females (62 percent).

#### *Irish Public Opinion toward the EU Constitution in Comparative Perspective*

*Eurobarometer 64.2* measures public opinion towards the EU Constitution in twelve of the 25 Member States. Compared to respondents in the Member States where opinion was canvassed, a majority of Irish respondents are in favour of the Constitution (56 percent) with just 13 percent opposed to it (see Figure 7). People in Belgium are most likely to be in favour of the Constitution (73 percent) while people in the Czech Republic are least likely to be in favour of it (38 percent). While there is notable opposition to the Constitution in the Czech Republic (37 percent), the UK (33 percent), Sweden (35 percent) and Denmark (37 percent), in each of these countries the percentage in favour of the Constitution is slightly greater. In the two countries where voters rejected the Constitution, there are now majorities in favour of the Constitution. In France, 59 percent are in favour of the Constitution and 31 percent are opposed to it. In the Netherlands, 58 percent are in favour of the Constitution and 33 percent are opposed to it.

At present, the Member States are in a period of reflection about the European Constitution. *Eurobarometer 64.2* presents respondents with a number of different alternatives about how to proceed. Forty-nine percent of people in the 25 Member

States feel the Constitution should be renegotiated, 22 percent feel the ratification process should continue and 13 percent feel that Constitution should be dropped (see Figure 8).

Initially, Irish voters rejected the Nice Treaty and a second referendum was required to ratify the Treaty. An important difference between the Irish rejection and the Dutch and French rejections is electoral participation. In Ireland, only 35 percent of people voted in the first Nice Treaty referendum while in both the Netherlands and France turnout was greater than 60 percent.

In Ireland, the most favoured way forward is to renegotiate the Constitution (32 percent). That said, a similar percentage of Irish people (28 percent) feel the ratification process should continue. Only eight percent believe the Constitution should be dropped. Again, the distribution of public opinion in Ireland is strongly influenced by a substantial percentage of people who are undecided (33 percent).

People in Malta (41 percent) and Slovenia (37 percent) are most likely to be enthusiastic about continuing with the ratification process, while people in Denmark (11 percent), France (14 percent) and Estonia (14 percent) are least likely to be in favour of continuing with it. Not surprisingly, large percentages of people in France (65 percent) and the Netherlands (64 percent) believe that the Constitution should be renegotiated. Interestingly, despite the support that people in Belgium have for the Constitution, 60 percent feel that the Constitution should be renegotiated. In other Member States, notable proportions of respondents feel the Constitution ought to be dropped. In particular, 31 percent of people in Denmark, 25 percent of people in the UK and 23 percent of people in Austria believe that the Member States should forget about the Constitution.

As to the purpose of the European Constitution, a majority of respondents in the 25 Member States believe that the Constitution is necessary to ensure that the European institutions work well (60 percent) (see Figure 9). Respondents in Ireland are less inclined to see the Constitution in these terms, as 48 percent believe it is necessary to ensure the institutions work well while 21 percent believe that it is not necessary. A large percentage of Irish people are unsure about whether or not the Constitution is

necessary for the EU institutions to work well (31 percent). Ireland is one of seven countries where less than half of respondents believe the Constitution is necessary for the institutions to work well. Of these seven countries, at least half of respondents in Finland (51 percent) and the Netherlands (50 percent) believe that the Constitution is not necessary for the EU institutions to work well.

People tend to be optimistic about the impact of the Constitution on the EU (see Figure 10). Majorities in the 25 Member States believe that establishing a Constitution will make the running of the EU ‘more democratic’ (64 percent), ‘more efficient’ (61 percent) and ‘more transparent’ (56 percent). As well as having a positive impact on the running of the EU, people across the 25 Member States are optimistic about the broader impact of the Constitution. Sixty-nine percent of people in the 25 Member States believe that the Constitution will make the EU ‘stronger in the world’ (69 percent), ‘more competitive economically’ (64 percent) and ‘more socially-minded’ (54 percent).

While Irish people tend to be optimistic about the effects of the Constitution, they are less likely to be positive about it than are respondents in the 25 Member States (see Figure 11). In particular, less than half of Irish people believe the Constitution will make the running of the EU more transparent (48 percent). Again, the distribution of opinion is influenced by Irish people’s uncertainty about the Constitution; 15 percent disagree that the Constitution will make the EU more transparent while 37 percent don’t know. Fifty-seven percent of Irish respondents believe the Constitution will make the EU ‘more democratic’ and 54 percent believe it will make the EU ‘more efficient’. Irish people are also less willing than respondents in the 25 Member States to regard the Constitution as making the EU ‘stronger in the world’ (63 percent), ‘more competitive economically’ (58 percent) and ‘more socially-minded’ (50 percent). While Irish people are less likely than respondents in the 25 Member States to disagree with these effects of the Constitution, they are a lot more likely to say that they don’t know whether or not the Constitution will have a particular impact on the EU.

## **Irish People's Familiarity with, Knowledge of and Trust in the European Union**

When it comes to general attitudes towards the EU, either in terms of the Ireland's membership or people's images of the EU, Irish people are more likely than respondents in other Member States to have a positive opinion of the EU. However, we have also seen that Irish respondents are less likely than are respondents in other countries to be positive about EU issues such as political union or the Constitution. While Irish public opinion on these issues remains positive, large percentages of Irish people remain uncertain about them. This uncertainty suggests that it is important when examining Irish public opinion of the EU to take account of Irish people's familiarity with, and knowledge of, the EU. The trust people have in institutions is also expected to influence their attitudes. Those who do not trust an institution are likely to view its behaviour and future plans with more scepticism than those who trust it.

### *Irish People's Familiarity with EU Institutions*

Irish people tend to be slightly more familiar with each of the main EU institutions than respondents in the 25 Member States (see Figure 12). The institutions that nearly all Irish people have 'heard of' are the European Parliament (97 percent) and the European Commission (92 percent). The European Central Bank is also very familiar to Irish people with 83 percent reporting that they have heard of it. Despite the importance of the Council of the European Union in the EU policy process, only 69 percent of Irish people report they have heard of it.

In order to examine this issue more closely, we have constructed a scale measuring respondents' reported familiarity with EU institutions. The scale identifies those who are 'very familiar', 'familiar' and 'unfamiliar' with EU institutions. Those who are 'very familiar' with EU institutions are those who report that they have heard of seven or more EU institutions. Over a third of Irish people are 'very familiar' with EU institutions (38 percent) with 23 percent of Irish people reporting that they have heard of the nine EU institutions. Respondents who are 'familiar' with EU institutions are those who report that they have heard of between three and six of the EU institutions,

inclusively. Just over half of Irish respondents are ‘familiar’ with EU institutions (51 percent). Those who are ‘unfamiliar’ with the EU institutions are those who report that they have heard of two or fewer institutions. Only a tenth of Irish respondents are ‘unfamiliar’ with EU institutions (11 percent).

Those who are ‘very familiar’ with EU institutions tend to have high levels of education, be aged between 35 and 54 years of age and to be either self-employed or managers (see Table 6). Irish people who are ‘unfamiliar’ with EU institutions tend to be in either the youngest or oldest age members of society, those with the lowest levels of education, students and those who work in the home.

### *Irish People’s Knowledge of the EU*

*Eurobarometer 64.2* also posed a number of true or false questions in order to gauge people’s knowledge of the EU (see Figures 13 and 14). The familiarity measure focuses on whether a particular institutional title has any resonance with respondents. A potential problem with this type of question is that the respondent for a variety of reasons may report that they have heard of an institution but it is not possible to test the reliability of this response. The true-or-false questions attempt to tap whether or not people have specific information about the EU. Since there is a correct answer to each question, these items provide a more reliable measure of people’s knowledge (though there is always some question about the relevance of the particular knowledge items posed).

Compared to respondents in the 25 Member States, Irish people are more likely to know that MEPs are directly elected by the citizens of the EU (63 percent of Irish respondents and 50 percents of respondents in the 25 Member States give the correct answer). Irish respondents are as likely as respondents in the 25 Member States to know that the EU currently consists of more than 15 Member States (44 percent of Irish respondents and respondents in the 25 Member States give the correct answer). However, Irish people continue to be unfamiliar with the European anthem. A third of Europeans know that the EU has its own anthem while a quarter of Irish respondents



know this. Finally, 24 percent of Europeans and 20 percent of Irish respondents know that the last European Parliament elections did not take place in June 2002.

Using these true or false items, we construct a scale measuring people's knowledge of the EU. Those who are 'informed' about the EU are those who answer at least three questions correctly. A fifth of Irish people are 'informed' (19 percent) but just three percent provide the correct answers to the four questions. Those who are 'uninformed' about the EU are those who answer two or fewer questions correctly. The vast majority of Irish respondents are 'uninformed' about the EU (81 percent). A fifth of Irish people do not answer any question correctly (20 percent).

Those who are 'informed' about the EU tend to have a high level of education, to be young, students, managers and living in Munster (see Table 7). Those Irish people who tend to be 'uninformed' are 55 years or age or older (as well as people aged 25-34 years), have low levels of education, manual workers and live in rural areas and small towns as well as in the rest of Leinster and in Connaught/Ulster.

### *Irish People's Trust in EU Institutions*

Irish people are more likely than respondents in the 25 Member States to trust each EU institution (see Figure 15). Sixty percent of Irish people trust the European Parliament and 60 percent trust the European Commission. Less than half of Irish people trust the Council of the EU (47 percent).

Here again we constructed a scale this time measuring the number of EU institutions people trust. Those who 'trust most' are those who report that they trust seven or more EU institutions. Just over a quarter of Irish people report that they 'trust most' EU institutions (27 percent). Nineteen percent of Irish people say that they trust the nine institutions. People who 'trust some' EU institutions are those who report that they trust between three and six institutions, inclusively. A third of Irish people report that they 'trust some' EU institutions (34 percent). Those who 'trust few' institutions are people who report that they trust two or fewer EU institutions. Thirty-nine percent of Irish people report that they 'trust few' EU institutions. A sizeable proportion of Irish

people do not trust any of the EU institutions (28 percent). That such significant percentages of Irish people say that they do not trust most EU institutions is perhaps indicative of the alienation they feel.

People who tend to ‘trust most’ EU institutions are aged 35-64 years of age, have high levels of education, are either self-employed or managers and live in Dublin (see Table 8). The people who are most likely to ‘trust few’ EU institutions are the very young, those with low levels of education, students and those engaged in manual work.

There is a strong association between familiarity with EU institutions and trust in institutions (see Table 9). This is particularly so amongst those who report that they are unfamiliar with EU institutions as 97 percent of these say that they ‘trust few’ EU institutions. Those Irish people who are ‘very familiar’ with EU institutions are more likely to ‘trust most’ of the EU institutions (59 percent) than to ‘trust few’ of them (20 percent).

### **Irish Opinion of European Integration Amongst those with Differing Levels of Familiarity, Knowledge and Trust**

#### *EU Membership*

People who are ‘very familiar’ with EU institutions and who trust at least some of them are more likely than are Irish people in general to regard Ireland’s membership of the EU as ‘a good thing’ (see Table 10). Those Irish people who are ‘unfamiliar’ with EU institutions and who ‘trust few’ EU institutions are less likely than are people in general to see membership as ‘a good thing’. Both of these groups of people are more likely than are people in general to be indifferent (i.e., neither good nor bad) or not to respond. That said, those who ‘trust few’ EU institutions are more likely than are people in general to regard Ireland’s membership as ‘a bad thing’. People who are informed about the EU are more likely than are people in general to regard Ireland’s

membership as ‘a good thing’. The distribution of opinion amongst those who are uninformed about the EU is very similar to that of Irish people in general.

Similarly, people who are ‘very familiar’ with EU institutions and who trust at least some EU institutions are more likely than are Irish people in general to feel that Ireland has benefited from EU membership (see Table 11). People who are ‘unfamiliar’ with EU institutions and who ‘trust few’ institutions are more likely than are people in general to believe that Ireland has not benefited from membership. People who are informed about the EU are more likely than are people in general to feel that Ireland has benefited from EU membership. The distribution of opinion amongst those who are uninformed about the EU is very similar to that of Irish people in general.

### *Images of the EU*

People who are ‘very familiar’ with EU institutions and who trust at least some of them are more likely than are Irish people in general to have a positive image of the EU (see Table 12). Those who are ‘unfamiliar’ with the institutions and who ‘trust few’ of them are more likely than are people in general to have a neutral image of the EU. That said, respondents who ‘trust few’ EU institutions are more likely than are people in general to have a negative image of the EU. People who are informed about the EU tend to be more likely than are people in general to have a positive image of the EU. The distribution of opinion amongst those who are uninformed about the EU is very similar to that of Irish people in general.

### *Political Union*

There are strong associations between attitudes towards political union and familiarity with EU institutions and trust in EU institutions (see Table 13). People who are ‘very familiar’ with EU institutions are likely to be in favour of political union while those who are unfamiliar with them are unlikely to hold such an opinion. However, rather than being opposed to political union, 59 percent of people who are unfamiliar with

EU institutions do not express an opinion on political union. Similarly, people who ‘trust most’ of the EU institutions tend to be in favour of political union while those who ‘trust few’ tend not to be in favour of political union. Forty-four percent of those who ‘trust few’ institutions do not articulate an opinion.

We note above that those who are informed about the EU tend to have a positive opinion of EU membership and a positive image of the EU. However, when it comes to political union, there is no real difference in the percentages of those who are informed and uninformed who support political union. Nevertheless, there are differences between these two groups of respondents: those who are informed are more likely to be against political union while those who are uninformed are more likely to not express an opinion.

### *The European Constitution*

The final measure of people’s attitudes to the EU considered in this report is whether respondents are in favour of, or opposed to, the European Constitution (see Table 14). There is a strong association between opinion of the Constitution and trust in EU institutions. Those who ‘trust most’ institutions are a lot more likely than those who ‘trust few’ to be in favour of the Constitution. While those who ‘trust few’ institutions are somewhat more likely than are people in general to be opposed to the Constitution, half of this group of people do not offer an opinion. An even larger percentage of people who are unfamiliar with EU institutions do not provide an opinion of the Constitution (69 percent). There is a negligible difference between the percentage of people who are ‘very familiar’ with EU institutions who support the Constitution and the percentage of Irish people who do so. Finally, it is evident that those who are ‘informed’ about the EU are more likely than those who are uninformed to be in favour of the Constitution, and to oppose it. People who are ‘uninformed’ about the Constitution are more likely not to offer an opinion.

## **Conclusions**

As has been apparent in previous reports in this series, Irish public opinion is highly supportive of Ireland's membership of the European Union. However, this tendency towards strong positive opinion of the EU is not evident across all measures of public opinion, opinion of future developments such as political union or the European Constitution being the notable exceptions. While opinion on these matters is more likely to be positive than negative, large percentages of Irish people are unsure about these issues. This uncertainty is evident in the numbers of Irish respondents who are reluctant to offer an opinion on political union or the European Constitution.

Across the various groups that make up Irish society, public opinion of the EU tends to be positive. Yet, there are differences in terms of people's attitudes towards the EU and in terms of how informed they are about the EU. In the literature on attitudes to European integration it is hypothesised that those with developed skills and knowledge will be most positive about integration because they are best placed to benefit from the free movement of labour and capital. The evidence presented here provides some support for this view as the most positive attitudes towards the EU tend to be amongst those groups in Irish society best placed to benefit economically from European integration (i.e., those with high levels of education and highly developed job skills (managers)). Furthermore, those who are now in their prime working years (i.e., aged 35-54 years of age) also tend to be more positive about the EU than are other age cohorts. When Ireland joined the EEC the oldest people in this cohort were in their early twenties. Throughout their adult lives they have been able to benefit from the economic, social and educational opportunities the EU affords its citizens. These groups of Irish people also tend to be more informed and knowledgeable about the EU than are other groups. On the other hand, those least able to benefit from integration (i.e., those with the lowest levels of education) tend to be least positive towards the EU and least informed about it.

The overall lesson of the Nice Treaty referendums in Ireland is the need for elites to inform and engage their citizens. Positive attitudes towards the EU are most likely to be found amongst those who are knowledgeable about the EU and who trust its institutions. These positive attitudes are evident irrespective of whether the focus is on

general attitudes to membership or more specific issues such as political union or the Constitution. Knowledge of the EU need not necessarily result in respondents having a positive opinion of the EU. Instead, this knowledge may form the basis for an informed opposition to the EU. Irish people who are knowledgeable about the EU are more likely than are their counterparts to be in favour of, and to be opposed to, the political union and the Constitution. People who know little about the EU are not more likely to be opposed to the constitution but rather are more likely to be indifferent or not to articulate an opinion. Over time, these people may become less and less engaged with the EU.

Failure to communicate with people, particularly over a period of change in Ireland's economic relationship with the EU, may alter what is currently a favourable attitudinal climate. The socio-demographic differences identified here show that some groups tend to be more positive and more informed about the EU, while other groups tend to be less positive and less informed. There is an obvious need for the EU to focus on the latter as the low levels of knowledge of the EU may indicate that current support for the EU in this sector of the population is built on fragile foundations.

Table 1: Respondents' Attitudes towards Ireland's Membership of the European Union by Demographic Groupings (%)

	A Good Thing	A Bad Thing	Neither Good nor Bad	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	73	6	16	5	1009
Male	75	7	16	3	498
Female	72	5	16	7	512
<i>Age</i>					
15-24 years	74	4	16	5	209
25-34 years	72	7	17	5	186
35-44 years	77	4	16	4	201
45-54 years	73	7	17	3	157
55-64 years	69	11	18	3	114
65+ years	74	5	12	9	142
<i>Education</i>					
Low	55	12	22	12	137
Middle	74	5	18	3	538
High	83	6	9	3	194
Currently Studying	78	3	11	8	118
<i>Current Occupation</i>					
Self-Employed	69	6	22	3	72
Managers	81	5	11	2	133
Other White Collars	74	3	22	2	107
Manual Workers	69	8	19	4	233
House Person	71	6	16	8	205
Unemployed	70	13	13	4	23
Retired	76	8	11	6	120
Student	78	3	11	8	118
Rural area/Village	70	6	19	6	379
Small/Middle Sized Town	79	7	9	5	175
Large Town	74	5	17	4	426
Dublin	72	5	18	5	290
Rest of Leinster	69	6	18	6	253
Munster	79	8	10	3	283
Connaught/Ulster	73	3	19	5	182

Respondents' levels of education are measured by asking respondents how old they were when they stopped full-time education. 'Low' refers to those who left full-time education aged 15 years or younger are coded while 'middle' refers to those who left aged 16-19 years and 'high' refers to those who left aged 20 years or older.

Table 2: Respondents' Perceptions of Ireland Benefiting from Membership of the European Union by Demographic Groupings (%)

	Benefited	Not Benefited	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	86	7	7	1009
Male	87	7	6	498
Female	85	7	8	511
<i>Age</i>				
15-24 years	87	4	9	209
25-34 years	80	11	10	186
35-44 years	88	9	4	201
45-54 years	87	6	8	157
55-64 years	90	6	4	114
65+ years	89	4	8	141
<i>Education</i>				
Low	75	12	13	138
Middle	87	7	7	538
High	90	6	4	194
Currently Studying	90	2	8	119
<i>Current Occupation</i>				
Self-Employed	82	10	8	72
Managers	89	7	4	132
Other White Collars	85	7	8	107
Manual Workers	86	7	7	232
House Person	82	10	8	204
Unemployed	70	13	17	23
Retired	92	4	4	120
Student	90	2	8	119
Rural area/Village	85	8	7	380
Small/Middle Sized Town	85	7	8	175
Large Town	87	6	8	427
Dublin	88	4	8	290
Rest of Leinster	84	8	8	254
Munster	85	9	6	284
Connaught/Ulster	86	7	5	182

Respondents' levels of education are measured by asking respondents how old they were when they stopped full-time education. 'Low' refers to those who left full-time education aged 15 years or younger are coded while 'middle' refers to those who left aged 16-19 years and 'high' refers to those who left aged 20 years or older.



Table 3: Respondents' Images of the European Union by Demographic Grouping (%)

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	69	19	8	4	1009
Male	70	19	8	3	499
Female	70	18	6	6	511
<i>Age</i>					
15-24 years	65	23	6	7	209
25-34 years	69	21	7	3	186
35-44 years	74	18	6	2	202
45-54 years	72	16	9	3	157
55-64 years	70	18	8	4	114
65+ years	71	15	9	7	143
<i>Education</i>					
Low	58	20	11	12	137
Middle	69	19	8	4	539
High	81	16	3	1	194
Currently Studying	70	21	4	5	119
<i>Current Occupation</i>					
Self-Employed	70	16	11	3	73
Managers	83	12	5	+	131
Other White Collars	70	21	4	6	108
Manual Workers	66	23	6	4	233
House Person	67	16	9	8	204
Unemployed	58	21	21	+	24
Retired	70	19	8	3	120
Student	68	21	4	5	119
Rural area/Village	72	16	7	5	380
Small/Middle Sized Town	75	17	6	2	173
Large Town	65	22	8	5	427
Dublin	66	21	8	5	290
Rest of Leinster	68	21	6	6	254
Munster	71	17	9	3	284
Connaught/Ulster	76	15	7	3	183

Respondents' levels of education are measured by asking respondents how old they were when they stopped full-time education. 'Low' refers to those who left full-time education aged 15 years or younger are coded while 'middle' refers to those who left aged 16-19 years and 'high' refers to those who left aged 20 years or older.

Table 4: Respondents' Attitudes to Developments Towards a European Political Union by Demographic Grouping (%)

	For	Against	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	53	18	29	1009
Male	55	19	26	497
Female	52	16	32	512
<i>Age</i>				
15-24 years	48	13	39	210
25-34 years	57	13	30	186
35-44 years	57	20	23	201
45-54 years	59	15	26	157
55-64 years	56	19	25	115
65+ years	42	29	29	142
<i>Education</i>				
Low	41	23	37	137
Middle	53	16	31	539
High	63	22	16	193
Currently Studying	49	13	39	119
<i>Current Occupation</i>				
Self-Employed	54	28	18	72
Managers	67	19	14	132
Other White Collars	55	15	30	107
Manual Workers	51	13	36	232
House Person	50	18	33	205
Unemployed	59	18	23	22
Retired	49	27	24	120
Student	49	13	39	119
Rural area/Village	55	18	28	379
Small/Middle Sized Town	55	21	24	174
Large Town	52	16	32	427
Dublin	54	19	27	290
Rest of Leinster	51	17	33	253
Munster	50	18	33	284
Connaught/Ulster	61	17	22	183

Respondents' levels of education are measured by asking respondents how old they were when they stopped full-time education. 'Low' refers to those who left full-time education aged 15 years or younger are coded while 'middle' refers to those who left aged 16-19 years and 'high' refers to those who left aged 20 years or older.

Table 5: Respondents' Attitudes to the European Constitution by Demographic Grouping (%)

	In Favour	Opposed	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	56	13	33	1009
Male	58	15	27	498
Female	52	10	38	512
<i>Age</i>				
15-24 years	49	10	41	209
25-34 years	54	12	34	186
35-44 years	62	14	25	201
45-54 years	56	12	32	156
55-64 years	57	15	27	114
65+ years	54	12	35	142
<i>Education</i>				
Low	45	10	44	138
Middle	55	10	35	538
High	67	18	16	195
Currently Studying	48	13	38	118
<i>Current Occupation</i>				
Self-Employed	63	10	28	71
Managers	66	18	17	132
Other White Collars	59	9	32	107
Manual Workers	53	11	36	232
House Person	51	10	40	205
Unemployed	65	9	26	23
Retired	56	14	30	121
Student	48	14	38	118
Rural area/Village	63	9	28	379
Small/Middle Sized Town	64	10	26	175
Large Town	45	16	39	427
Dublin	50	16	34	289
Rest of Leinster	60	11	30	254
Munster	56	12	32	282
Connaught/Ulster	57	8	35	183

Respondents' levels of education are measured by asking respondents how old they were when they stopped full-time education. 'Low' refers to those who left full-time education aged 15 years or younger are coded while 'middle' refers to those who left aged 16-19 years and 'high' refers to those who left aged 20 years or older.

Table 6: Respondents' Familiarity with EU Institutions by Demographic Grouping (%)

	Unfamiliar	Familiar	Very Familiar	No. of Cases
Total	11	51	38	1009
Male	7	46	47	497
Female	14	57	29	511
<i>Age</i>				
15-24 years	18	55	27	210
25-34 years	7	57	37	185
35-44 years	7	51	42	201
45-54 years	7	46	47	156
55-64 years	7	52	41	114
65+ years	17	46	37	142
<i>Education</i>				
Low	22	50	28	138
Middle	10	53	38	538
High	3	44	53	194
Currently Studying	16	55	29	118
<i>Current Occupation</i>				
Self-Employed	1	42	57	72
Managers	4	36	61	132
Other White Collars	8	56	36	107
Manual Workers	12	56	33	232
House Person	16	56	28	205
Unemployed	4	54	42	24
Retired	9	51	40	121
Student	16	55	29	118
Rural area/Village	10	53	38	379
Small/Middle Sized Town	7	56	37	174
Large Town	12	49	40	427
Dublin	10	49	41	290
Rest of Leinster	13	51	36	253
Munster	11	53	36	284
Connaught/Ulster	7	54	39	182

Unfamiliar: heard of less than two EU institutions; Familiar: heard of between three and seven EU institutions; Very Familiar: heard of seven or more EU institutions. Respondents' levels of education are measured by asking respondents how old they were when they stopped full-time education. 'Low' refers to those who left full-time education aged 15 years or younger are coded while 'middle' refers to those who left aged 16-19 years and 'high' refers to those who left aged 20 years or older.

Table 7: Respondents' Knowledge of EU by Demographic Grouping (%)

	Uninformed	Informed	No. of Cases
Total	81	19	1009
Male	80	21	497
Female	83	17	512
<i>Age</i>			
15-24 years	76	24	210
25-34 years	85	15	186
35-44 years	80	20	201
45-54 years	79	21	156
55-64 years	85	15	114
65+ years	86	14	142
<i>Education</i>			
Low	91	9	138
Middle	83	17	539
High	74	26	194
Currently Studying	74	26	119
<i>Current Occupation</i>			
Self-Employed	80	20	71
Managers	74	26	132
Other White Collars	81	19	107
Manual Workers	86	14	232
House Person	83	17	205
Unemployed	87	13	23
Retired	84	16	120
Student	74	26	119
Rural area/Village	84	16	379
Small/Middle Sized Town	85	15	174
Large Town	79	21	427
Dublin	81	19	290
Rest of Leinster	88	12	253
Munster	73	27	283
Connaught/Ulster	86	14	183

Weak Knowledge: Two or fewer questions correct; Strong Knowledge: Three or more questions correct. Respondents' levels of education are measured by asking respondents how old they were when they stopped full-time education. 'Low' refers to those who left full-time education aged 15 years or younger are coded while 'middle' refers to those who left aged 16-19 years and 'high' refers to those who left aged 20 years or older.

Table 8: Respondents' Trust in EU Institutions by Demographic Grouping (%)

	Trust Few	Trust Some	Trust Most	No. of Cases
Total	39	35	27	1009
Male	36	33	31	497
Female	41	37	22	511
<i>Age</i>				
15-24 years	50	34	16	211
25-34 years	42	34	24	185
35-44 years	29	36	35	201
45-54 years	35	34	31	157
55-64 years	32	35	33	115
65+ years	42	36	23	142
<i>Education</i>				
Low	55	26	19	138
Middle	38	36	26	539
High	26	35	39	194
Currently Studying	48	35	17	118
<i>Current Occupation</i>				
Self-Employed	35	35	31	72
Managers	18	38	44	131
Other White Collars	34	43	23	108
Manual Workers	48	27	25	232
House Person	42	34	24	205
Unemployed	52	26	22	23
Retired	33	43	24	120
Student	48	35	17	118
Rural area/Village	38	38	24	379
Small/Middle Sized Town	35	41	24	174
Large Town	41	29	30	427
Dublin	39	28	34	289
Rest of Leinster	42	34	24	253
Munster	39	35	26	283
Connaught/Ulster	33	47	20	182

Trust Few: Trust two or fewer EU institutions; Trust Some: trust between three and seven EU institutions; Trust Many: Trust seven or more EU institutions. Respondents' levels of education are measured by asking respondents how old they were when they stopped full-time education. 'Low' refers to those who left full-time education aged 15 years or younger are coded while 'middle' refers to those who left aged 16-19 years and 'high' refers to those who left aged 20 years or older.

Table 9: Respondents' Trust in EU Institutions by Familiarity with EU Institutions (%)

	Trust Few	Trust Some	Trust Most	No. of Cases
Unfamiliar	97	1	2	106
Familiar	41	51	8	519
Very Familiar	20	21	59	384

Table 10: Respondents' Attitudes towards Ireland's Membership of the European Union by Familiarity, Trust and Knowledge (%)

	A Good Thing	A Bad Thing	Neither Good nor Bad	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	73	6	16	5	1009
Unfamiliar	53	8	26	14	106
Familiar	74	7	15	4	519
Very Familiar	78	5	14	3	385
Trust Few	55	11	25	10	390
Trust Some	83	3	12	2	350
Trust Most	88	2	9	2	269
Uninformed	71	6	17	6	821
Informed	83	5	12	1	190



Table 11: Respondents' Perceptions of Ireland Benefiting from Membership of the European Union by Familiarity, Trust and Knowledge (%)

	Benefit	Not Benefit	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	86	7	7	1009
Unfamiliar	76	12	12	106
Familiar	85	7	8	518
Very Familiar	91	4	5	384
Trust Few	73	13	14	391
Trust Some	93	4	3	350
Trust Most	96	2	3	268
Uninformed	84	8	8	821
Informed	94	3	3	190

Table 12: Respondents' Images of the European Union by Familiarity, Trust and Knowledge (%)

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	69	19	8	4	1009
Unfamiliar	41	29	8	23	106
Familiar	70	21	6	2	518
Very Familiar	78	13	7	2	383
Trust Few	45	31	14	10	391
Trust Some	82	15	3	1	351
Trust Most	90	6	2	2	268
Uninformed	68	21	7	5	821
Informed	80	12	7	2	189

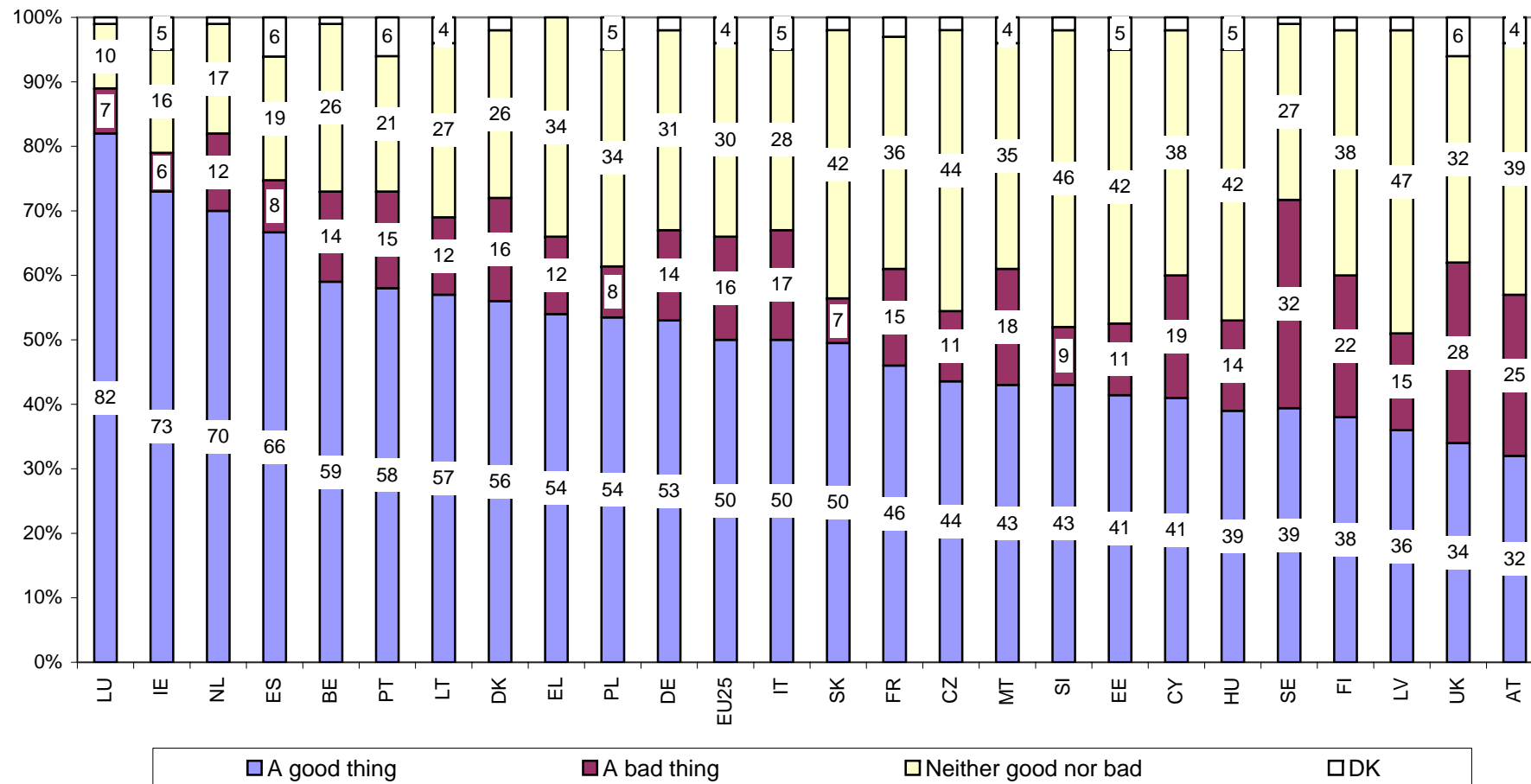
Table 13: Respondents' Attitudes to Developments Towards a European Political Union by Familiarity, Trust and Knowledge (%)

	For	Against	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	53	18	29	1009
Unfamiliar	26	15	59	106
Familiar	50	20	31	518
Very Familiar	65	16	19	385
Trust Few	33	23	44	391
Trust Some	58	19	24	349
Trust Most	77	9	14	269
Uninformed	53	16	32	821
Informed	54	23	23	189

Table 14: Respondents' Attitudes to the European Constitution by Familiarity, Trust and Knowledge (%)

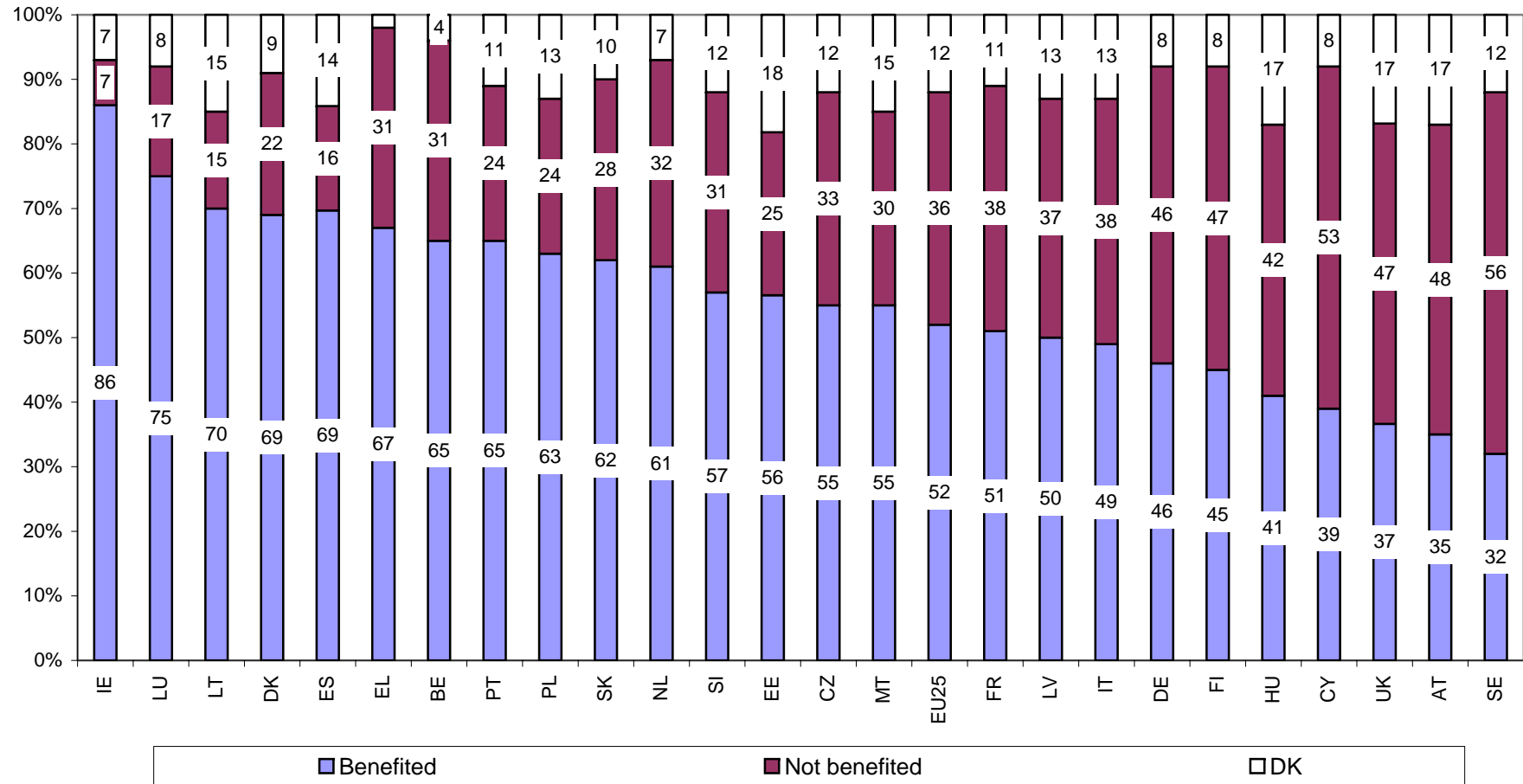
	In Favour	Opposed	Don't Know	No. of Cases
Total	56	13	33	1009
Unfamiliar	26	6	69	105
Familiar	53	11	36	519
Very Familiar	57	16	17	384
Trust Few	35	15	50	390
Trust Some	63	11	26	351
Trust Most	75	10	16	268
Uninformed	53	11	36	8-
Informed	64	19	18	189

Figure 1: Respondent's Attitudes towards Membership of the European Union by Member State (%)



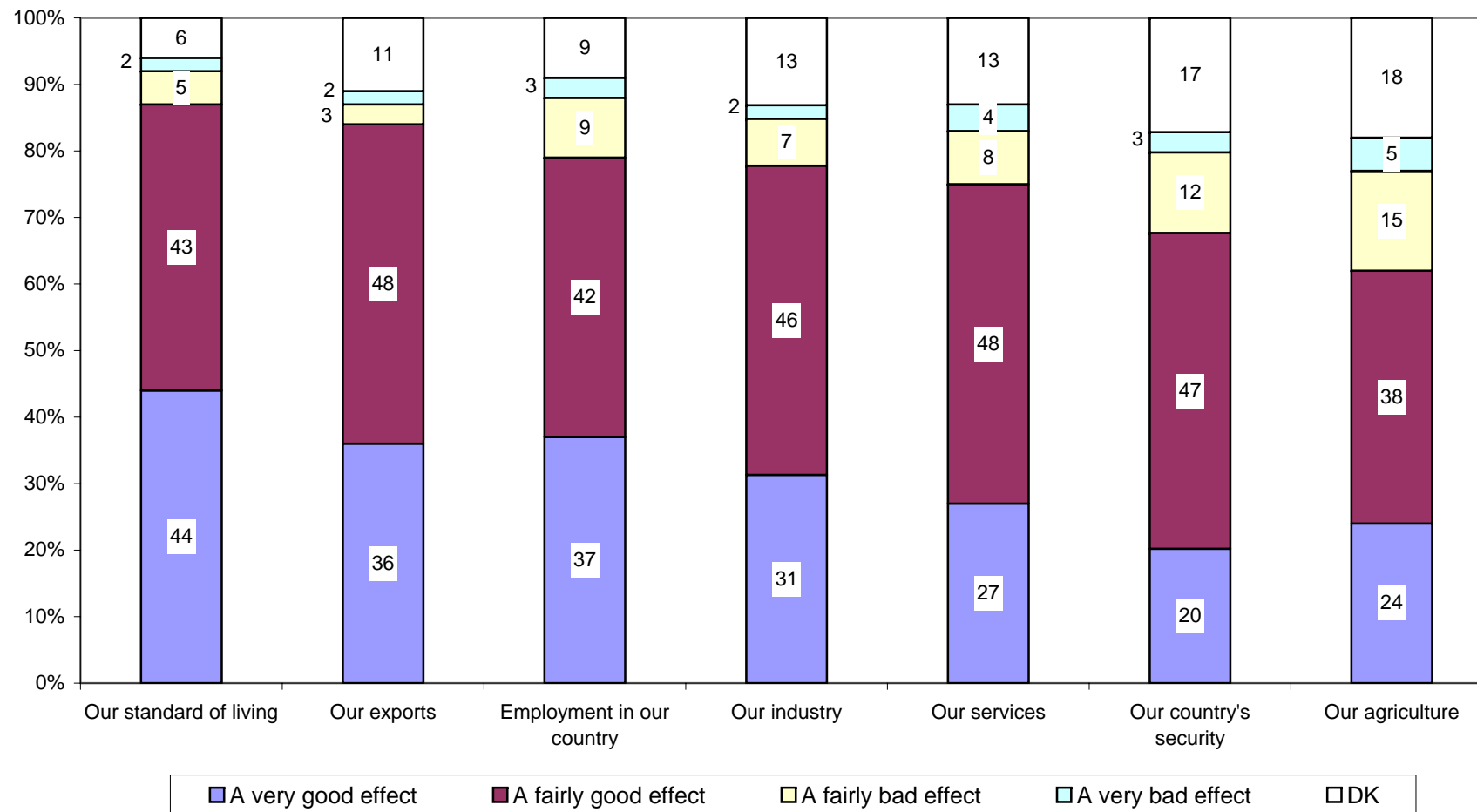
Source: QA8a, EB64.2

Figure 2: Respondents' Perceptions of Country Benefiting from Membership of the European Union by Member State (%)



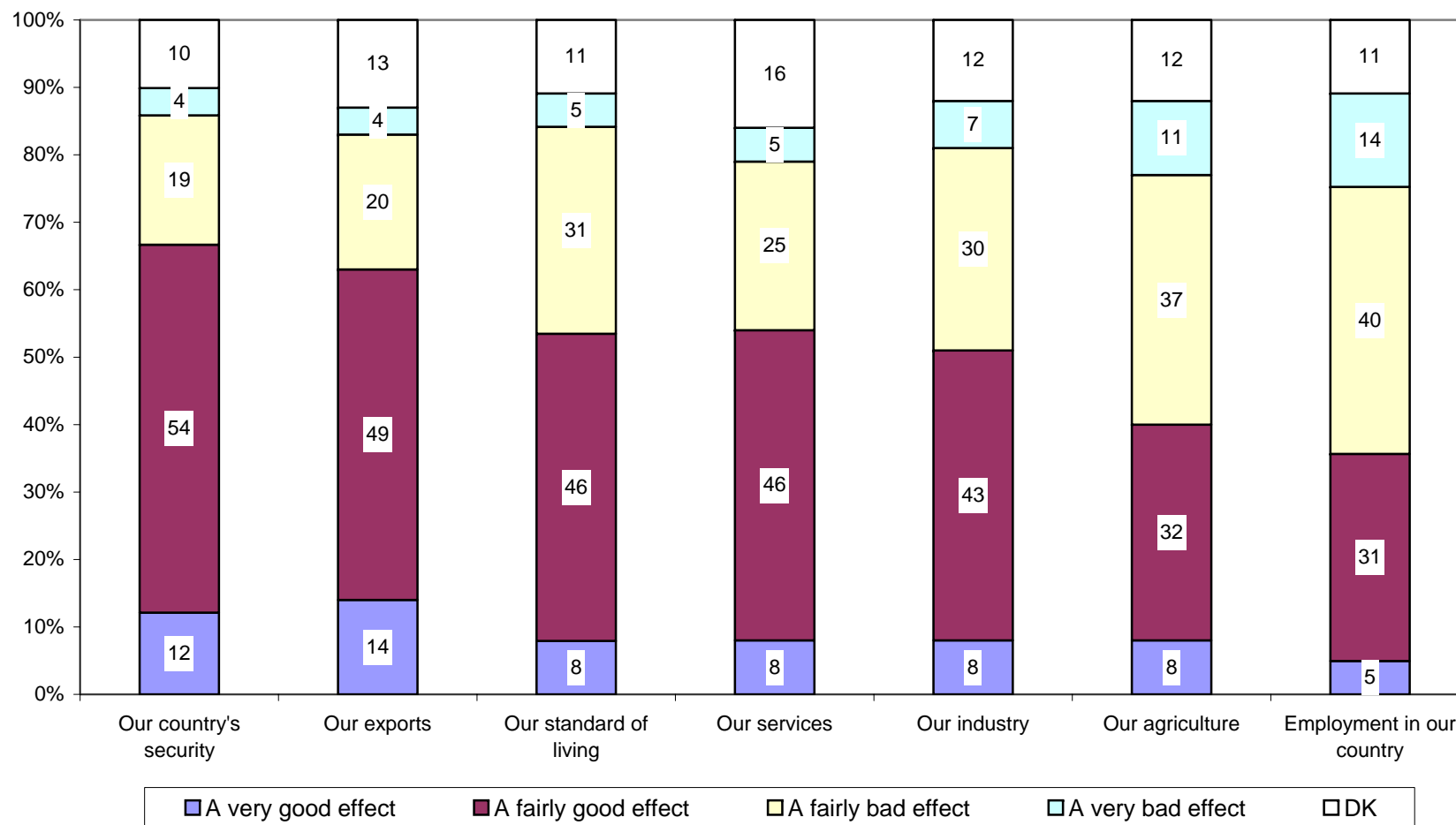
Source: QA9a, EB64.2

Figure 3: Effect of Membership of European Union on Issues (%) [Respondents in Ireland]



Source: QA10a, EB64.2

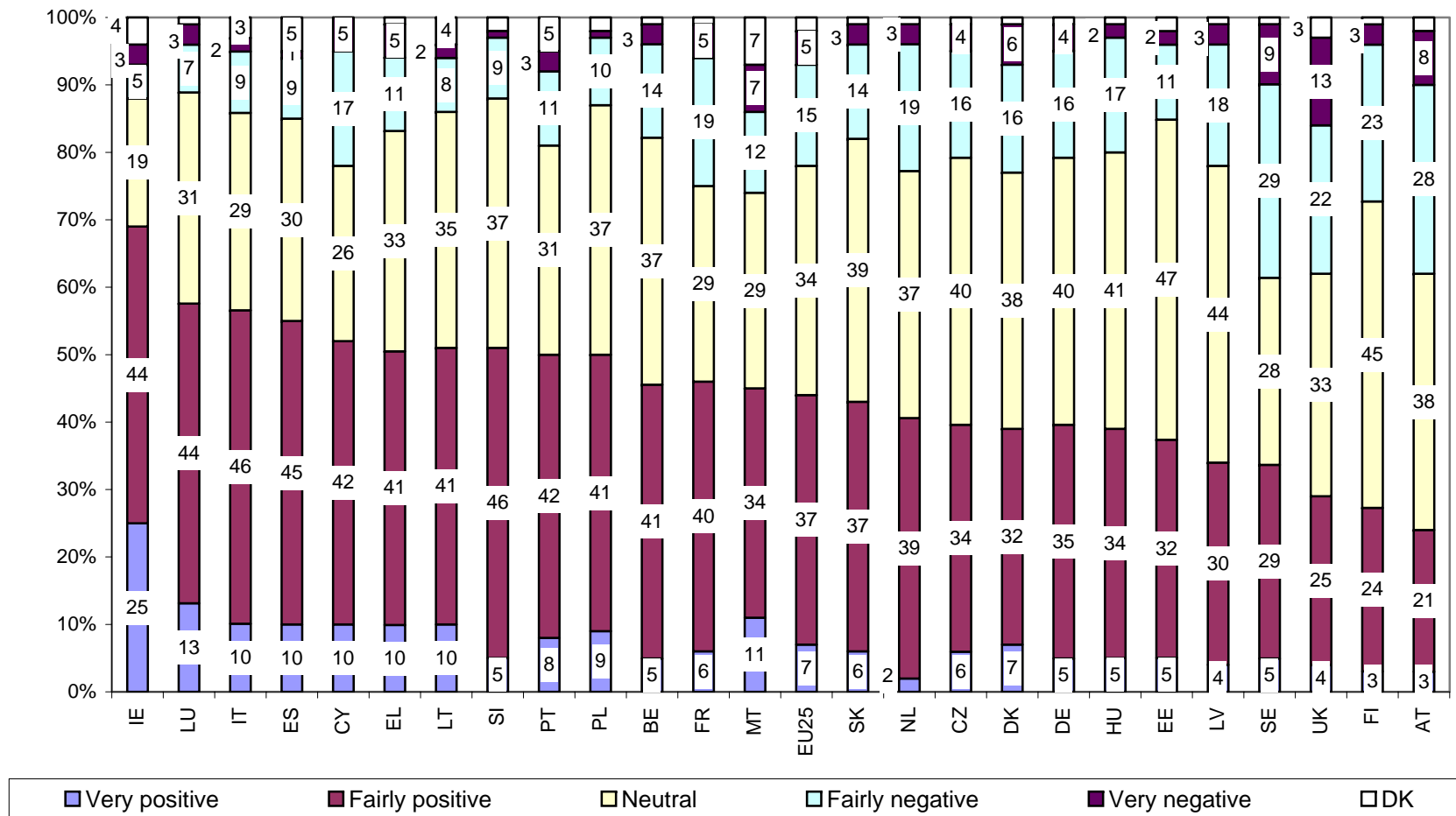
Figure 4: Effect of Membership of European Union on Issues (%) [Respondents in the 25 Member States]



Source: QA10a, EB64.2

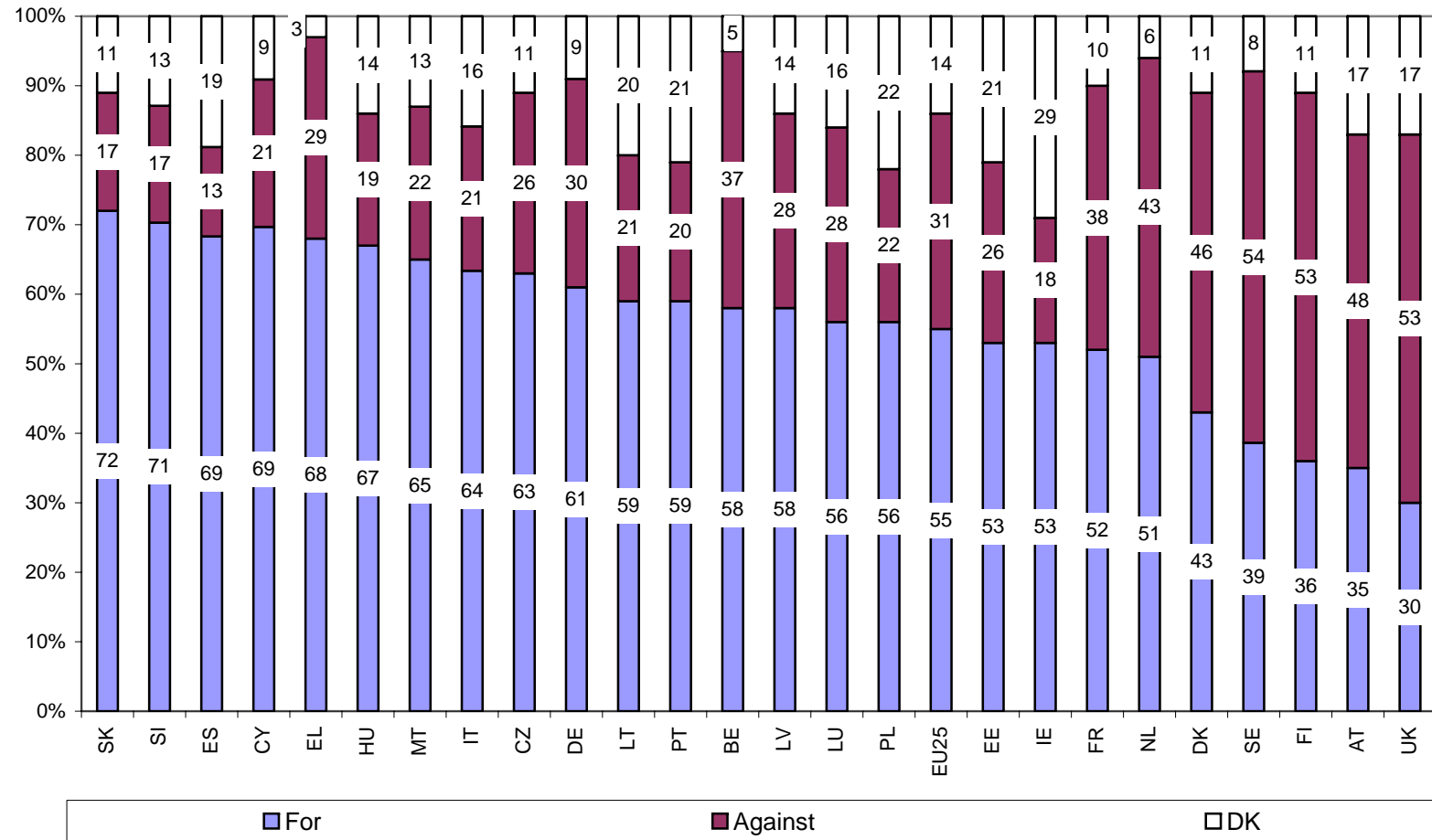


Figure 5: Respondents' Images of the European Union by Member State (%)



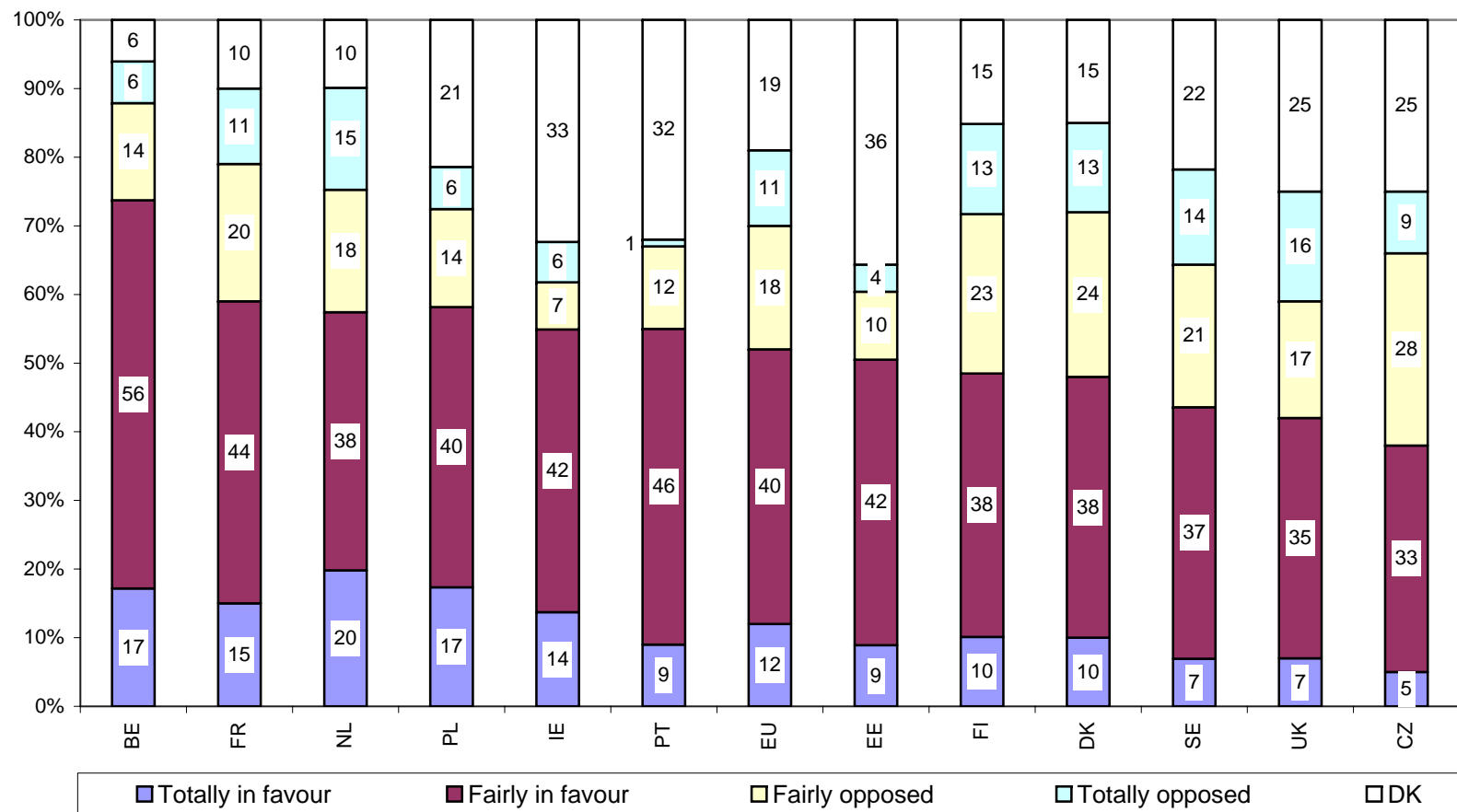
Source: QA11, EB64.2

Figure 6: Respondents' Attitudes to Political Union by Member State (%)



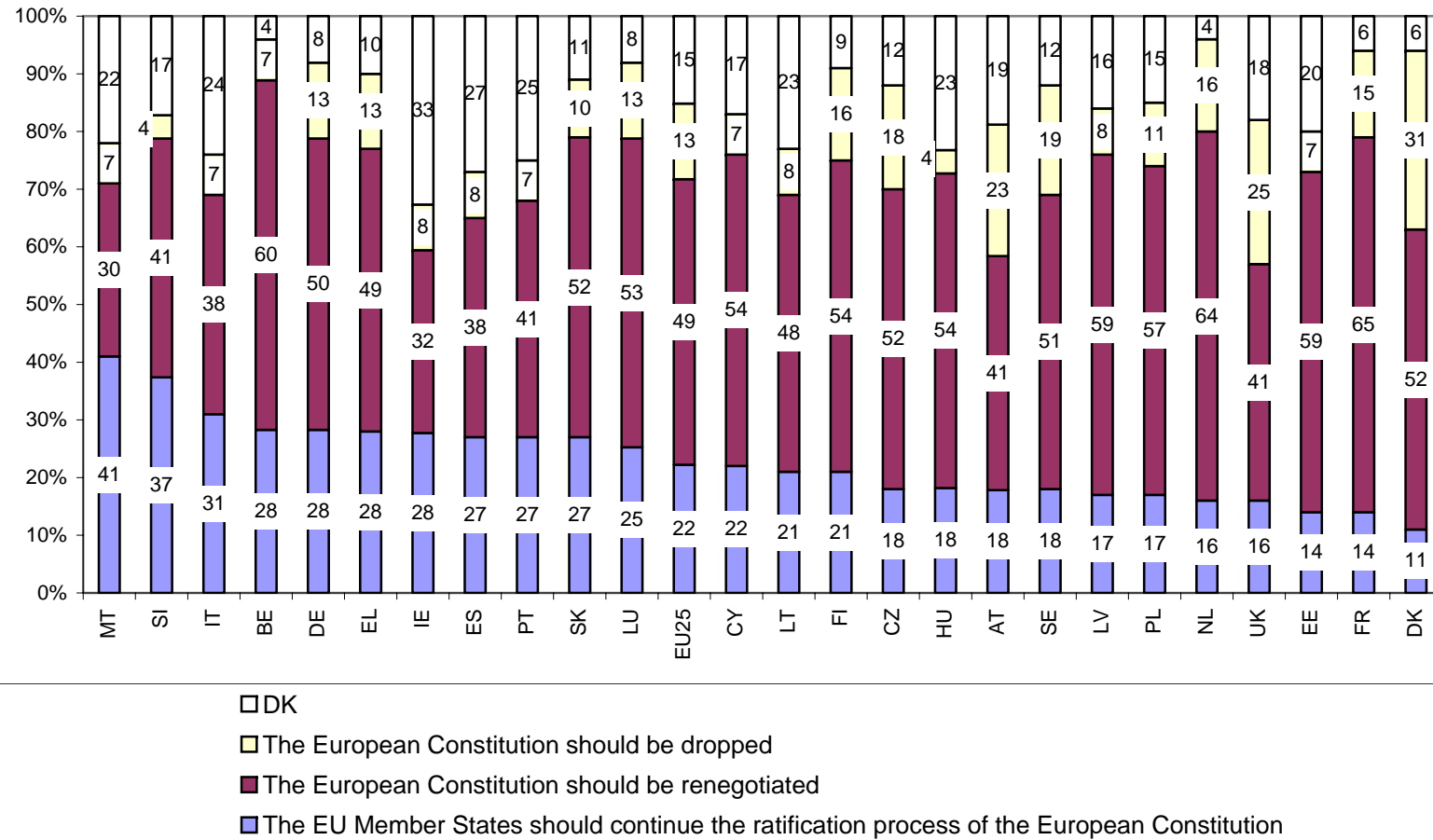
Source: QA12, EB64.2

Figure 7: Respondents' Attitudes towards the European Constitution by Member State (%)



Source: QA46, EB64.2

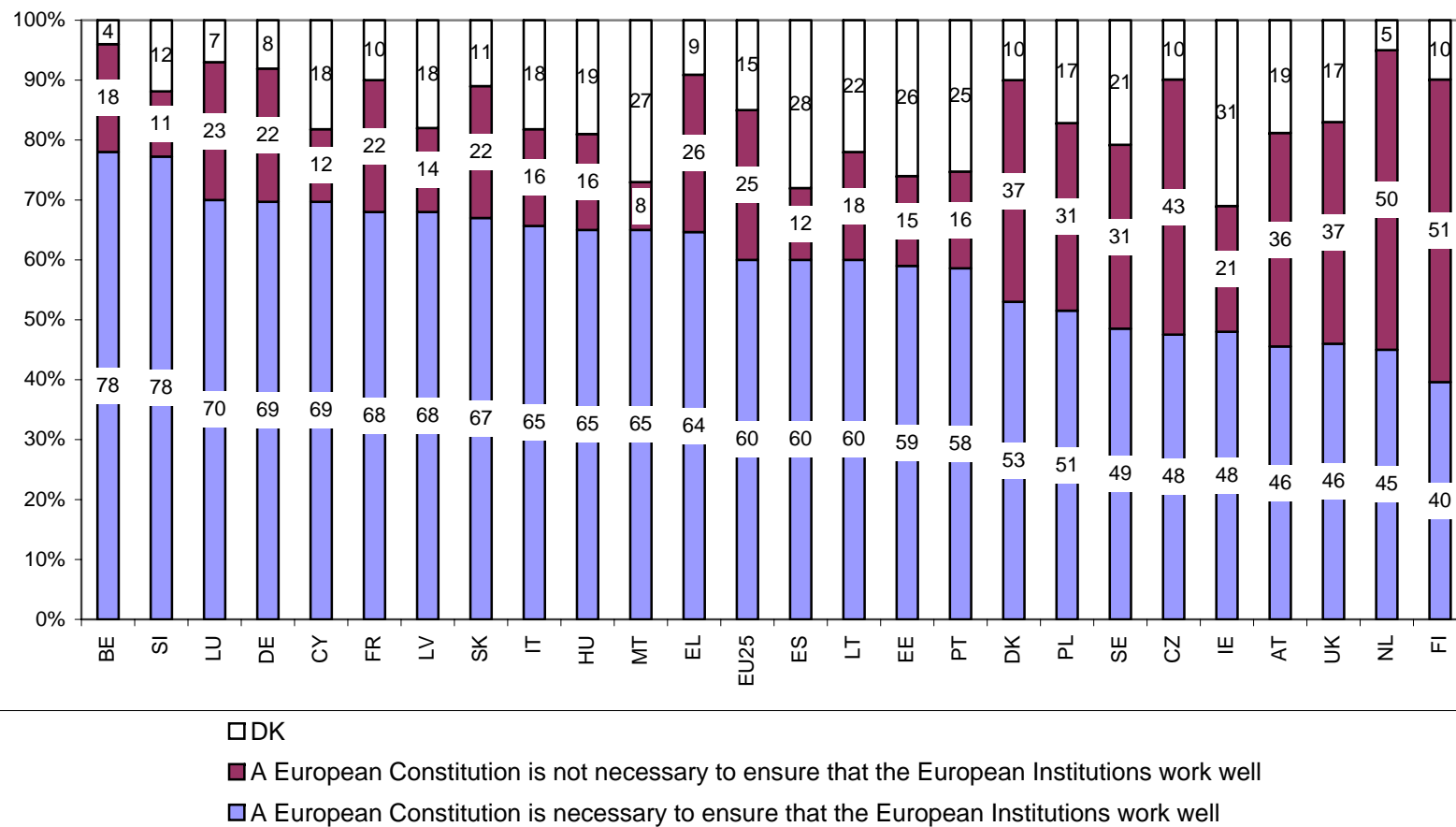
Figure 8: Respondent's Opinions of how to Proceed with the European Constitution by Member State (%)



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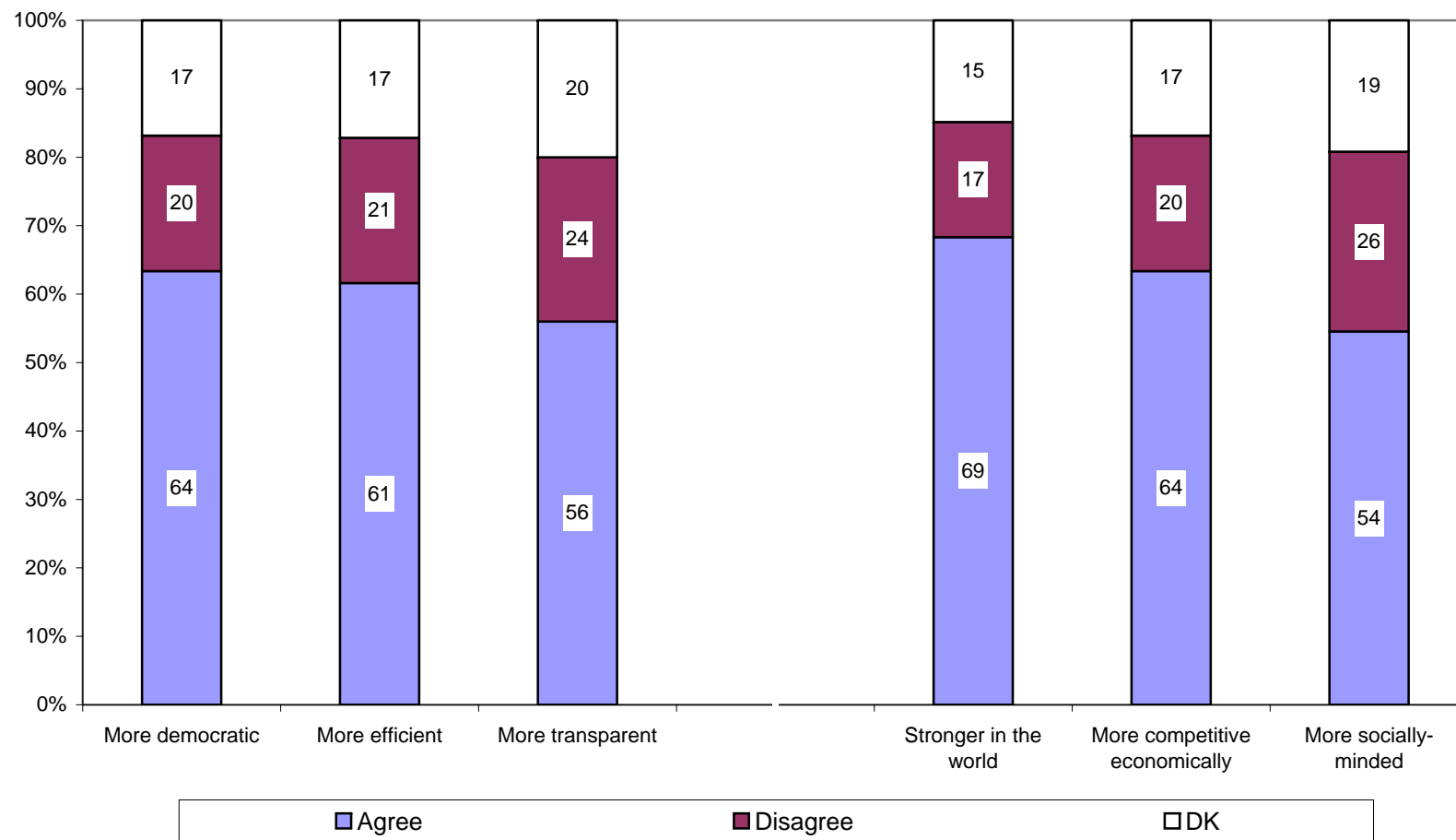
Source: QA49, EB64.2

Figure 9: Respondents' Attitudes to the Relationship between the European Constitution and European Institutions by Member State (%)



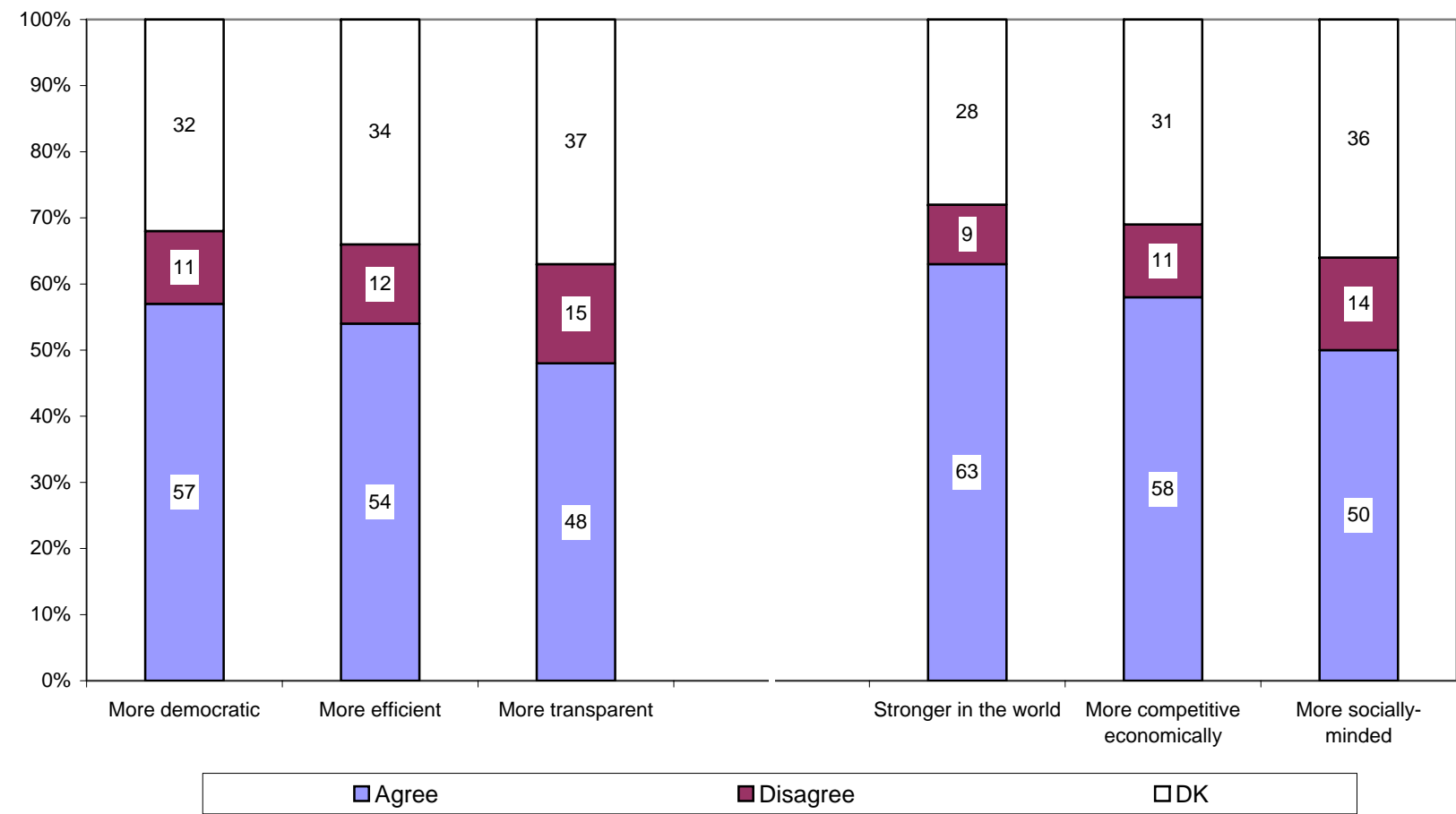
Source: QA50, EB64.2

Figure 10: Effects of the European Constitution (%) [Respondents in the 25 Member States]



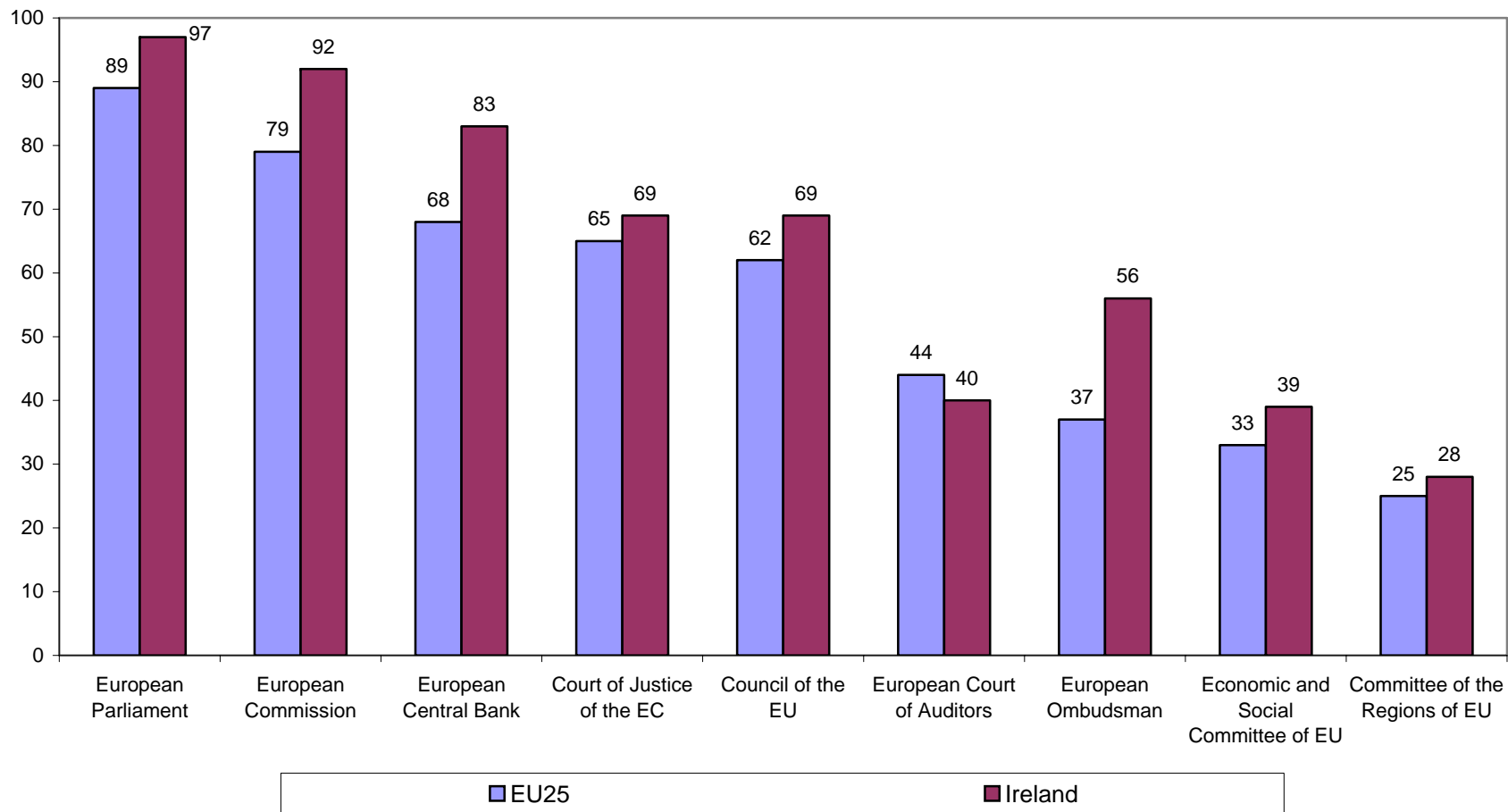
Source: QA47 and QA48, EB64.2

Figure 11: Effects of the European Constitution (%) [Respondents in Ireland]



Source: QA47 and QA48, EB64.2

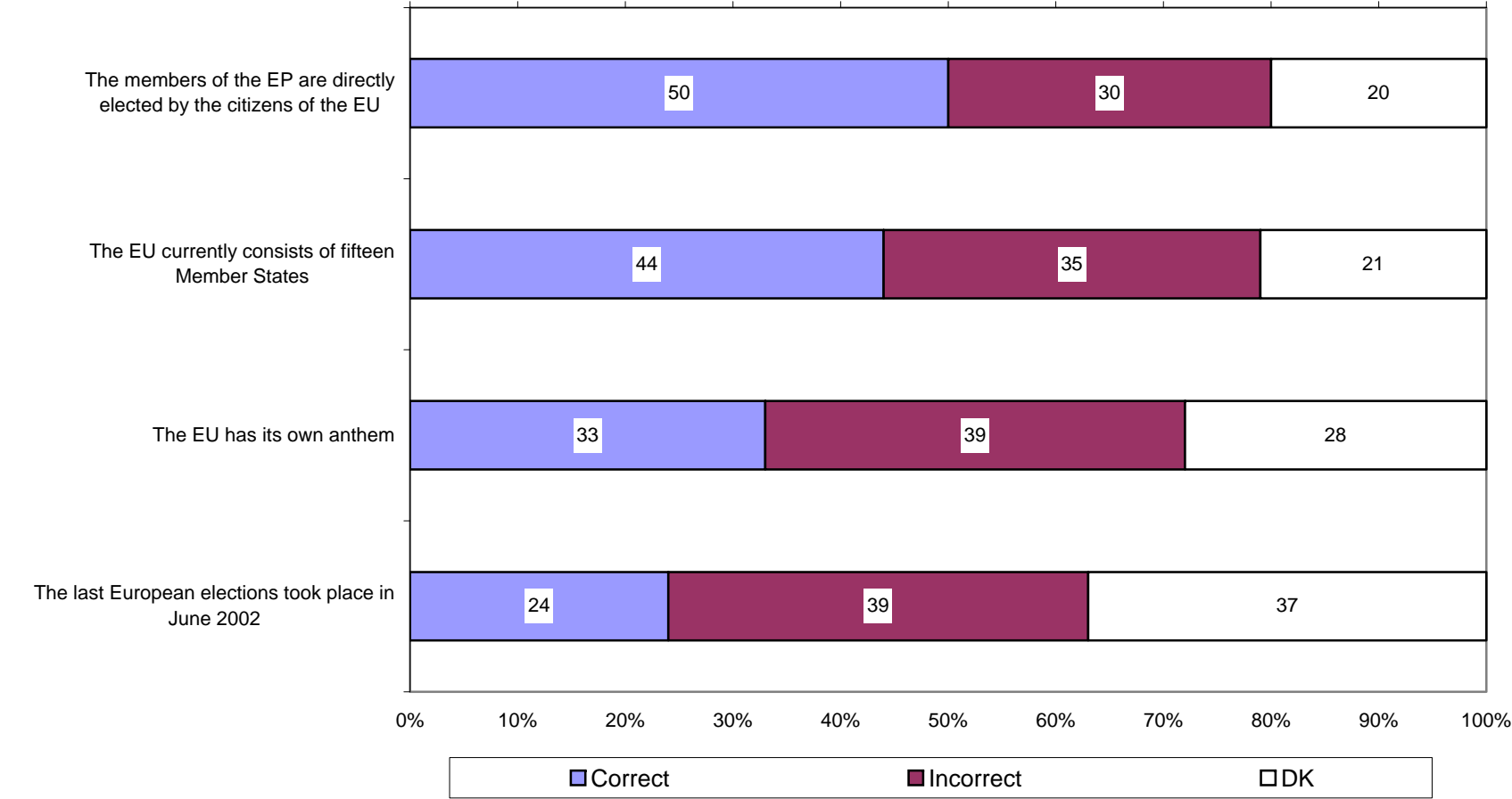
Figure 12: Percentages of European and Irish Respondents who have heard of the main European Union Institutions



Source: QA26, EB64.2

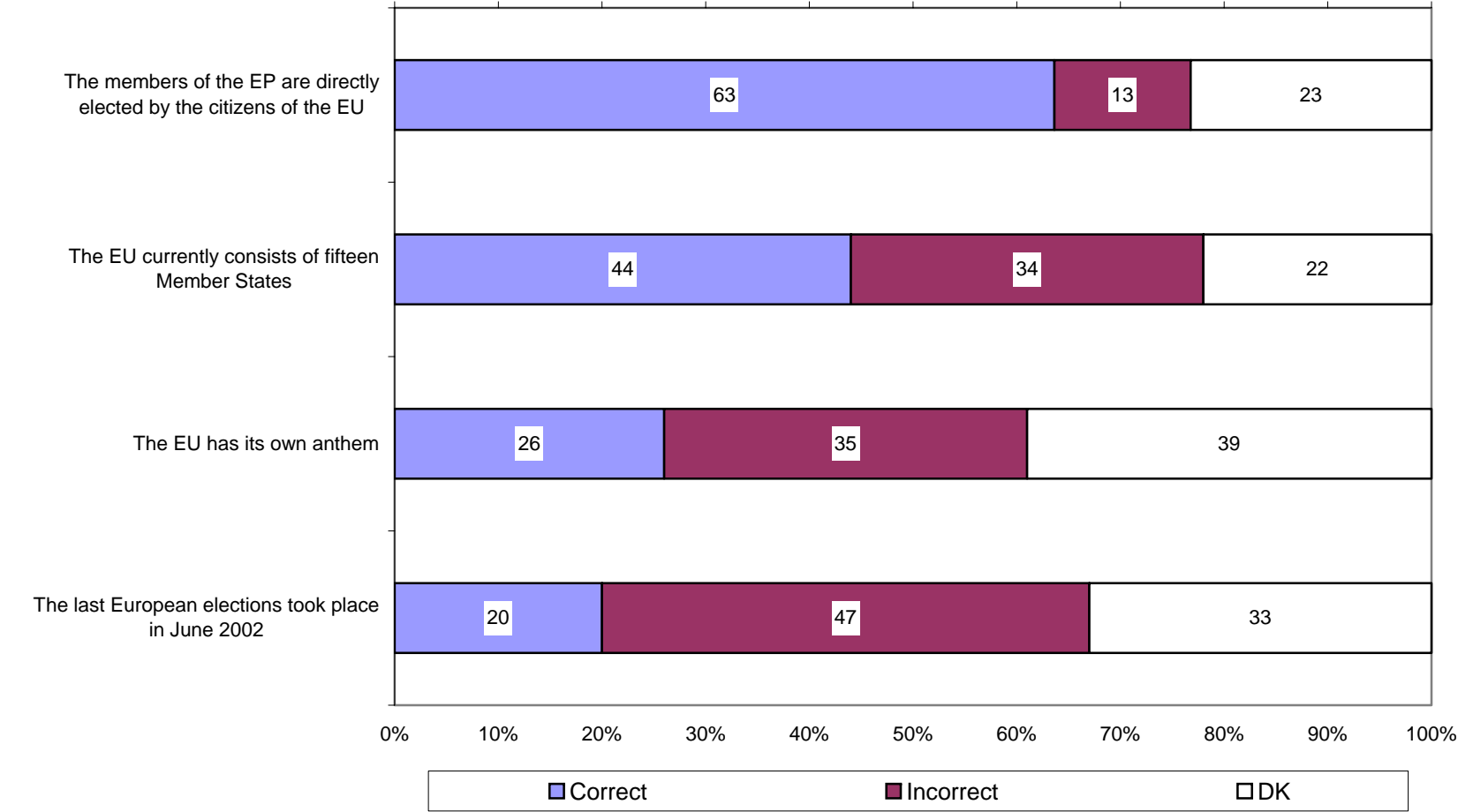


Figure 13: Distribution of Responses to Knowledge Questions by Respondents in the 25 Member States



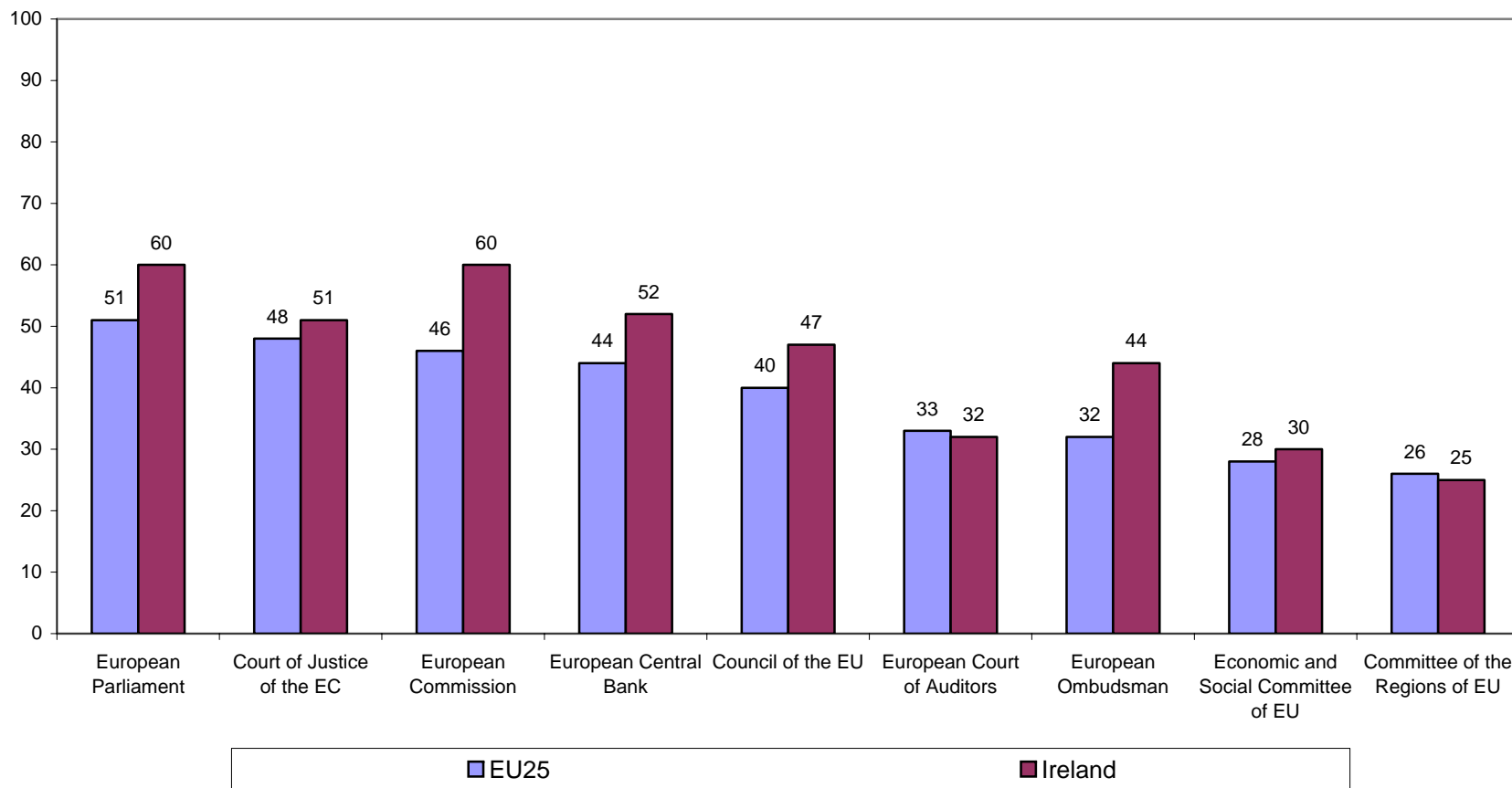
Source: QA28, EB64.2

Figure 14: Distribution of Responses to Knowledge Question by Respondents in Ireland



Source: QA28, EB64.2

Figure 15: Percentages of European and Irish Respondents who Trust main European Union Institutions



Source: QA27, EB64.2



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Q1	What is your nationality? Please tell me the country(ies) that applies(y).																																				
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Hungary	19,
Latvia	20,
Lithuania	21,
Malta	22,
Poland	23,
Slovakia	24,
Slovenia	25,
Other countries	31,
DK	32,

EB64.1 Q1 TREND MODIFIED

IF OTHER OR DK AT Q1, CLOSE INTERVIEW

ASK D15b ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS NOT DOING ANY PAID WORK CURRENTLY -

D15a What is your current occupation?

D15b Did you do any paid work in the past? What was your last occupation?

	D15a	D15b
	CURRENT	LAST
NON-ACTIVE		
Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the	1	
Student	2	
Unemployed or temporarily not working	3	
Retired or unable to work through illness	4	
SELF EMPLOYED		
Farmer	5	5
Fisherman	6	6
Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant,	7	7
Owner of a shop, craftsmen, other self-employed person	8	8
Business proprietors, owner (full or partner) of a company	9	9
EMPLOYED		
Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer,	10	10
General management, director or top management	11	11
Middle management, other management (department	12	12
Employed position, working mainly at a desk	13	13
Employed position, not at a desk but travelling (salesmen,	14	14
Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job	15	15
Supervisor	16	16
Skilled manual worker	17	17
Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	18	18
NEVER DID ANY PAID WORK		19

EB63.4 D15a D15b

QA1 When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently,

Frequently	1
Occasionally	2
Never	3
DK	4

EB63.4 QA1

QA2 When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives

READ OUT

Often	1
From time to time	2
Rarely	3
Never	4
DK	5

EB63.4 QA2

QA3 On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied

READ OUT

Very satisfied	1
Fairly satisfied	2
Not very satisfied	3
Not at all satisfied	4
DK	5

EB63.4 QA3

QA4 What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better,

	READ OUT	BETTER	WORSE	SAME	DK
1	Your life in general	1	2	3	4
2	The economic situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4
3	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4
4	The employment situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4
5	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4

EB63.4 QA4

QA5 If you compare your present situation with five years ago, would you say it has improved,

Improved	1
Stayed about the same	2
Got worse	3
DK	4

EB63.4 QA5

QA6 In the course of the next five years, do you expect your personal situation to improve, to stay

Improve	1
Stay about the same	2
Get worse	3
DK	4

EB63.4 QA6

QA7 I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For

	READ OUT	TEND TO	TEND	DK
1	The press	1	2	3
2	Radio	1	2	3
3	Television	1	2	3
4	Justice/the Irish legal system	1	2	3
5	The police	1	2	3
6	The army	1	2	3
7	Religious institutions	1	2	3
8	Trade unions	1	2	3
9	Political parties	1	2	3
10	Big companies	1	2	3
11	The Irish government	1	2	3
12	The Dail	1	2	3
13	The European Union	1	2	3
14	The United Nations	1	2	3
15	Charitable or voluntary organisations	1	2	3

EB63.4 QA7 (4-9-11-12-13-14) - EB62.0 Q10 (1-2-3-5-6-7-8-10-15)

QA8a Generally speaking, do you think that Ireland's membership of the European Union is...?

READ OUT	
A good thing	1
A bad thing	2
Neither good nor bad	3
DK	4

EB63.4 QA8a

QA9a Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Ireland has on balance benefited or

Benefited	1
Not benefited	2
DK	3

EB63.4 QA9a

QA10a People disagree about the advantages and disadvantages of Ireland belonging to the

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	A very	A fairly	A fairly	A very bad	DK
1	Our country's security	1	2	3	4	5
2	Our exports	1	2	3	4	5
3	Our standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
4	Our agriculture	1	2	3	4	5



5	Our industry	1	2	3	4	5
6	Our services	1	2	3	4	5
7	Employment in our country	1	2	3	4	5

EB19 TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QA11 In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral,

Very positive	1
Fairly positive	2
Neutral	3
Fairly negative	4
Very negative	5
DK	6

EB63.4 QA10

QA12 Are you, yourself, for or against the development towards a European political union?

For	1
Against	2
DK	3

EB63.4 QA11

QA13 What does the European Union mean to you personally?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE - ROTATE TOP TO

Peace	1,
Economic prosperity	2,
Democracy	3,
Social protection	4,
Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the European Union	5,
Cultural diversity	6,
Stronger say in the world	7,
Euro	8,
Unemployment	9,
Bureaucracy	10,
Waste of money	11,
Loss of our cultural identity	12,
More crime	13,
Not enough international border controls	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB63.4 QA12

QA14	Does the European Union give you personally the feeling of...?
------	--

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

Enthusiasm	1,
Hope	2,
Trust	3,
Indifference	4,
Anxiety	5,
Mistrust	6,
Rejecting it	7,
DK	8,

EB63.4 QA13

QA15	Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree?
------	---

	READ OUT	TEND TO	TEND TO	DK
1	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
2	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3

EB63.4 QA14a&b TREND MODIFIED

QA16	To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following?
------	---

SHOW CARD – ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Totally	Tend to	Tend to	Totally	DK
1	I feel very much involved in	1	2	3	4	5
2	I would like to be more	1	2	3	4	5
3	European institutions should	1	2	3	4	5
4	The national Government in	1	2	3	4	5
5	The local Government in	1	2	3	4	5

EB64.2 NEW

QA17a	In your opinion, what is the current speed of building Europe? Please look at these figures.
-------	--

QA17b	And which corresponds best to the speed you would like?
-------	---

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE

READ OUT	QA17a	QA17b
	CURRENT	DESIRED
Standstill	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
	5	5
	6	6
Runs as fast as possible	7	7

DK	8	8
----	---	---

EB62.0 Q19a&b TREND

QA18 Some people may have fears about the building of Europe, the European Union. Here is a list

	READ OUT	CURRENT	NOT	DK
--	----------	---------	-----	----

1	A loss of power for smaller member states	1	2	3
2	An increase in drug trafficking and international	1	2	3
3	Our language being used less and less	1	2	3
4	Our country paying more and more to the European	1	2	3
5	The loss of social benefits	1	2	3
6	The loss of national identity and culture	1	2	3
7	An economic crisis	1	2	3
8	The transfer of jobs to other member countries	1	2	3
9	More difficulties for Irish farmers	1	2	3

EB63.4 QA16

ASK ALL

QA19 About how often do you...?

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	Every day	Several times a week	Once or twice a week	Less often	Never	DK
--	----------	-----------	----------------------	----------------------	------------	-------	----

1	Watch the news on television	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	Read the news in daily papers	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	Listen to the news on the radio	1	2	3	4	5	6

EB63.4 QA17

QA20 Using this scale, how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE

KNOW NOTHING AT					KNOW A GREAT				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

DK 11

EB63.4 QA18

QA21	Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion?
------	--

SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY
--

I really need to know a lot more about the European Union	1
I would like to have some more information about the European Union	2
As far as I am concerned I am happy with what I already know	3
DK	4

EB49.0 Q8
-----------

--

QA22	On which European Union topics or policy areas would you like more information?
------	---

SHOW CARD – READ OUT – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE
--

The countries and citizens of the European Union	1,
The European currency	2,
The enlargement of the European Union to include new countries	3,
Your rights as a European citizen	4,
The way European institutions work	5,
Foreign policy/ External affairs	6,
The single European market	7,
Employment policy	8,
Agriculture and fisheries policy	9,
Co-operation and development aid policy, humanitarian aid	10,
Environmental and nuclear safety policy	11,
Science, research and development policy	12,
Regional policy, assisting less developed regions	13,
Measures for education, training and youth	14,
TV and film policy	15,
Cultural policy	16,
Consumer policy	17,
Health and social policy	18,
DK	19,

EB49.0 Q9
-----------

QA23	When you are looking for information about the European Union, its policies, its institutions,
------	--

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE
--

Attending conferences, talks, meetings	1,
Discussions with relatives, friends, colleagues	2,
Daily newspapers	3,
Other newspapers, magazines	4,
Television	5,
Radio	6,
The Internet	7,
Books, brochures, information leaflets	8,
Telephone (Info lines, Europe Direct, etc.)	9,
Never look for such information, not interested (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
DK	12,

EB63.4 QA19 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

QA24 Generally speaking, do you think that Irish... talks too much, about the right amount or too little

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Too much	Enough	Too little	DK
--	----------	----------	--------	------------	----

1	Television	1	2	3	4
2	Radio	1	2	3	4
3	Press	1	2	3	4

EB63.4 QA20a

QA25 Do you think that Irish ... presents the European Union too positively, objectively or too

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Too	Objectively	Too	DK
--	----------	-----	-------------	-----	----

1	Television	1	2	3	4
2	Radio	1	2	3	4
3	Press	1	2	3	4

EB63.4 QA20b

QA26 Have you heard of...?

	READ OUT	YES	NO	DK
--	----------	-----	----	----

1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
2	The European Commission	1	2	3
3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
4	The Court of Justice of the European Communities	1	2	3
5	The European Ombudsman	1	2	3
6	The European Central Bank	1	2	3
7	The European Court of Auditors	1	2	3
8	The Committee of the Regions of the European	1	2	3
9	The Economic and Social Committee of the	1	2	3

EB63.4 QA21 (1-2-3-4-6) - EB62.0 Q27 (5-7-8-9)

QA27 For each of the following, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

	READ OUT	TEND TO	TEND	DK
--	----------	---------	------	----

1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
2	The European Commission	1	2	3
3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
4	The Court of Justice of the European Communities	1	2	3

5	The European Ombudsman	1	2	3
6	The European Central Bank	1	2	3
7	The European Court of Auditors	1	2	3
8	The Committee of the Regions of the European	1	2	3
9	The Economic and Social Committee of the	1	2	3

EB63.4 QA23 (1-2-3-4-6) - EB62.0 Q29 (5-7-8-9)

QA28 For each of the following statements about the European Union, could you please tell me

	READ OUT	TRUE	FALSE	DK
--	----------	------	-------	----

1	The European Union currently consists of fifteen	1	2	3
2	The members of the European Parliament are	1	2	3
3	The European Union has its own anthem	1	2	3
4	The last European elections took place in June 2002	1	2	3

EB63.4 QA24

ASK ALL

QA30 What do you think are the two most important issues facing Ireland at the moment?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 2 ANSWERS

Crime	1,
Public transport	2,
Economic situation	3,
Rising prices/inflation	4,
Taxation	5,
Unemployment	6,
Terrorism	7,
Defence/Foreign affairs	8,
Housing	9,
Immigration	10,
Healthcare system	11,
The educational system	12,
Pensions	13,
Protecting the environment	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB63.4 QA26

QA31 For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the Irish

	READ OUT – ROTATE	IRISH	JOINTLY	DK
--	-------------------	-------	---------	----

1	Fighting crime	1	2	3
2	Taxation	1	2	3
3	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3
4	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3
5	Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3
6	Immigration	1	2	3

7	The education system	1	2	3
8	Pensions	1	2	3
9	Protecting the environment	1	2	3
10	Health and social welfare	1	2	3
11	Agricultural and fishing policy	1	2	3
12	Consumer protection	1	2	3
13	Scientific and technological research	1	2	3
14	Support for regions facing economic difficulties	1	2	3
15	Energy policy	1	2	3
16	Competition policy	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q35a TREND MODIFIED

QA32 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement,

	READ OUT – ROTATE	FOR	AGAINST	DK
1	A European Monetary Union with one single	1	2	3
2	One common foreign policy among the member	1	2	3
3	A common defence and security policy among	1	2	3
4	Further enlargement of the European Union to	1	2	3
5	A constitution for the European Union	1	2	3
6	The speed of building Europe being faster in one	1	2	3
7	Teaching school children about the way European	1	2	3

EB63.4 QA28

QA33a There is a lot of talk these days about what Ireland's goals should be for the next ten or fifteen

QA33b And what would be your second choice?

SHOW CARD – ONE ANSWER ONLY

READ OUT	QA33a First most	QA33b Second most
Maintaining order in the country	1	1
Giving people more say in important Government	2	2
Fighting rising prices	3	3
Protecting freedom of speech	4	4
DK	5	5

EB52.1 Q12a&b

QA34 From the following list of actions, could you tell me what should be, for you, the three actions

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 3 ANSWERS

Welcoming new member countries	1,
Getting closer to European citizens, for example by giving them more	2,
Successfully implementing the single European currency, the euro	3,
Fighting poverty and social exclusion	4,
Protecting the environment	5,
Guaranteeing the quality of food products	6,

Protecting consumers and guaranteeing the quality of other products	7,
Fighting unemployment	8,
Reforming the institutions of the European Union and the way they work	9,
Fighting organised crime and drug trafficking	10,
Asserting the political and diplomatic importance of the European Union	11,
Maintaining peace and security in Europe	12,
Guaranteeing the rights of the individual and respect for the principles of	13,
Fighting terrorism	14,
Fighting illegal immigration	15,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
None of them (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
DK	18,

EB63.4 QA29

QA35 In your opinion, should decisions concerning European defence policy be taken by national

ONE ANSWER ONLY

National governments	1
NATO	2
The European Union	3
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

EB61 Q31

QA36 With which of the following two statements do you most agree?

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

The European Union should have greater financial means given its political	1
The European Union's political objectives do not justify an increase in the	2
DK	3

EB63.4 QA30

QA37 On which of the following do you think most of the European Union budget is spent?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

Employment and social affairs	1
Agriculture	2
Scientific research	3
Regional aid	4
Foreign policy and aid to countries outside the European Union	5
Administrative and personnel costs, buildings	6
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	7
DK	8

EB63.4 QA31



QA38a In your opinion, would you say that the United States tends to play a positive role, a negative

	READ OUT	POSITIVE	NEGATIV	NEITHER	DK
--	----------	----------	---------	---------	----

1	Peace in the world	1	2	3	4
2	The fight against terrorism	1	2	3	4
3	Growth of the world economy	1	2	3	4
4	The fight against poverty in the world	1	2	3	4
5	Protection of the environment	1	2	3	4

EB63.4 QA33a

QA38b And in your opinion, does the European Union tend to play a positive role, a negative role or

	READ OUT	POSITIVE	NEGATIV	NEITHER	DK
--	----------	----------	---------	---------	----

1	Peace in the world	1	2	3	4
2	The fight against terrorism	1	2	3	4
3	The growth of the world economy	1	2	3	4
4	The fight against poverty in the world	1	2	3	4
5	The protection of the environment	1	2	3	4

EB63.4 QA33b

QA39 Do you ever think of yourself as not only Irish, but also European? Does this happen often,

ONE ANSWER ONLY

Often	1
Sometimes	2
Never	3
DK	4

EB37.0

QA40 In the near future, do you see yourself as...?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

Irish only	1
Irish and European	2
European and Irish	3
European only	4
DK	5

EB62.0 Q43a ballot A

QA41 Would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be

ONE ANSWER ONLY

Very proud	1
------------	---

Fairly proud	2
Not very proud	3
Not at all proud	4
DK	5

EB62.0 Q45

QA42 And would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be

ONE ANSWER ONLY

Very proud	1
Fairly proud	2
Not very proud	3
Not at all proud	4
DK	6

EB62.0 Q46

QA43 And do you ever think of yourself as a citizen of the world? Does this happen often,

ONE ANSWER ONLY

Often	1
Sometimes	2
Never	3
DK	4

EB64.2 NEW

QA44 For each of the following countries, would you be in favour of or against it becoming part of

ROTATE

	READ OUT	In favour	Against	DK
1	Switzerland	1	2	3
2	Norway	1	2	3
3	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	2	3
4	Croatia	1	2	3
5	The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	1	2	3
6	Serbia and Montenegro	1	2	3
7	Iceland	1	2	3
8	Albania	1	2	3
9	Bulgaria	1	2	3
10	Romania	1	2	3
11	Ukraine	1	2	3
12	Turkey	1	2	3

EB63.4 QB2

QA45 For each of the following please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to

SHOW CARD						
-----------	--	--	--	--	--	--

		Totally	Tend to	Tend to	Totally	DK
--	--	---------	---------	---------	---------	----

1	Turkey partly belongs to	1	2	3	4	5
2	Turkey partly belongs to	1	2	3	4	5
3	Turkey's accession to the	1	2	3	4	5
4	Turkey's accession to the	1	2	3	4	5
5	The cultural differences	1	2	3	4	5
6	Turkey's accession would	1	2	3	4	5
7	Turkey's joining could risk	1	2	3	4	5
8	To join the European Union	1	2	3	4	5
9	To join the European Union	1	2	3	4	5

EB63.4 QB3						
------------	--	--	--	--	--	--

QA46	According to what you know, would you say that you are in favour of or opposed to the
------	---

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY	
----------------------------	--

Totally in favour	1
Fairly in favour	2
Fairly opposed	3
Totally opposed	4
DK	5

EB63.4 QC2 (FILTER MODIFIED)	
------------------------------	--

ASK ALL	
---------	--

QA47	For each of the following please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to
------	--

ONE ANSWER PER LINE	
---------------------	--

	READ OUT	Totally	Tend to	Tend to	Totally	DK
--	----------	---------	---------	---------	---------	----

1	More democratic	1	2	3	4	5
2	More efficient	1	2	3	4	5
3	More transparent	1	2	3	4	5

EB63.4 QC8	
------------	--

QA48	For each of the following please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to
------	--

ONE ANSWER PER LINE	
---------------------	--

	READ OUT	Totally	Tend to	Tend to	Totally	DK
--	----------	---------	---------	---------	---------	----

1	Stronger in the world	1	2	3	4	5
2	More competitive	1	2	3	4	5
3	More socially-minded	1	2	3	4	5

EB63.4 QC9	
------------	--

--

QA49	13 countries have ratified the European Constitution, but France and the Netherlands voted
------	--

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY
----------------------------

The European Union Member States should continue the ratification	1
The European Constitution should be renegotiated	2
The European Constitution should be dropped	3
DK	4

EB64.2 NEW
------------

ASK ALL
---------

--

QA50	Which of the two following statements, best describes your view?
------	--

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY
----------------------------

A European Constitution is necessary to ensure that the European	1
A European Constitution is not necessary to ensure that the European	2
DK	3

EB64.2 NEW
------------

QA51	In general, would you say that the quality of life in Europe at the moment is better or less good
------	---

SHOW CARD
-----------

	READ OUT	MUC H BET TER	SOM E- WH AT BET TER	SOM E- WH AT LES S GO OD	DEFI NI- TEL Y LES S GO OD	IDE NTI- CAL( SPO NTA- NEO US)	DK
--	----------	------------------------	-------------------------------------	---	---	--	----

1	The United States	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	Japan	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	China	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	India	1	2	3	4	5	6

EB63.4 QD4 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED
------------------------------------

QA52	Would you say that the European economy is performing better, performing worse or
------	---

SHOW CARD
-----------

	READ OUT	PERFOR	PERFOR	PERFOR	DK
--	----------	--------	--------	--------	----

1	American	1	2	3	4
2	Japanese	1	2	3	4
3	Chinese	1	2	3	4
4	Indian	1	2	3	4

EB63.4 QD5a

QA53 For each of the following, please tell me whether in your opinion the European Union is

SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Ahead	Behind	At the	DK
--	----------	-------	--------	--------	----

1	Scientific research	1	2	3	4
2	Medical research	1	2	3	4
3	Protection of the environment	1	2	3	4
4	Innovation technology	1	2	3	4
5	The healthcare system	1	2	3	4
6	Education	1	2	3	4
7	Fighting social disparities	1	2	3	4
8	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3	4
9	Fighting discrimination	1	2	3	4
10	The creation of companies	1	2	3	4

EB63.4 QD5b

QA54 The single market increased competition in a number of domains such as transport,

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

Very positive	1
Fairly positive	2
Fairly negative	3
Very negative	4
Neither positive nor negative (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB62.1 QB6

QA55 There are many consequences of the globalisation of trade. When you hear the word

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

Opportunities for Irish companies in terms of new outlets	1
Foreign investment in Ireland	2
Relocation of some companies to countries where labour is cheaper	3
Increased competition for Irish companies	4
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB63.4 QD6 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

QA56 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The European Union

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB64.2 NEW

QA57 Which of the following two points of view comes closest to yours? In general companies which

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

Do not have any other choice if they want to avoid shutting down	1
Do so in order to increase their profit	2
DK	3

EB63.4 QD7

QA58 For each of the following propositions, tell me if you...?

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	TOTALLY	TEND TO	TEND TO	TOTALLY	DK
1	We need immigrants to work	1	2	3	4	5
2	The arrival of immigrants in	1	2	3	4	5

EB62.1 QB9

ASK ALL WHO CURRENTLY WORK (CODE 5 TO 18 AT D15a) -OTHERS GO TO QA60

QA59 Would you say that you are very confident, fairly confident, not very confident or not at all

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

Very confident	1
Fairly confident	2
Not very confident	3
Not at all confident	4
DK	5

EB62.1 QB15

ASK ALL

QA60 At the moment, when you think of the future of pensions, would you say that you are...?

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

Very confident	1
----------------	---

Fairly confident	2
Not very confident	3
Not at all confident	4
DK	5

EB62.1 QB17

ASK ALL WHO CURRENTLY WORK (CODE 5 TO 18 AT D15a) -OTHERS GO TO QA62

QA61 If you had to choose from the following possibilities aimed at guaranteeing the financing of the

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

Work and contribute for longer	1
Maintain the retirement age and increase your social security contributions	2
Maintain the current retirement age and accept that you will receive less	3
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	4
A combination of all three (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB62.1 QB18a

ASK ALL WHO ARE NOT CURRENTLY WORKING (CODE 1 TO 4 AT D15a): OTHERS GO

QA62 According to you, which of the following possibilities aimed at guaranteeing the financing of

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

Work and contribute for longer	1
Maintain the retirement age and increase social security contributions paid	2
Maintain the current retirement age and accept that one will receive less	3
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	4
A combination of all three (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB62.1 QB18b

ASK ALL

QA63 Which of the following statements would you prioritise to improve the performance of the

READ OUT – MAX. 3 ANSWERS

Increase the legal number of working hours	1,
Improve education and professional training	2,
Invest in research and innovation	3,
Facilitate the creation of companies	4,
Use energy more efficiently	5,
Invest in transport infrastructure (motorways, railways, etc.)	6,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	7,
DK	8,

EB63.4 QD8

QA64 Against the background of high energy prices, some are proposing to take new measures that

READ OUT – MAX. 2 ANSWERS

Provide more information on efficient use of energy	1,
Develop tax incentives to promote efficient use of energy	2,
Adopt higher efficiency standards for energy consuming equipment	3,
Control more strictly the application of existing energy efficiency standards	4,
Other (SPECIFY - SPONTANEOUS)	5,
DK	6,

EB64.2 NEW

QA65 To reduce our dependency on imported energy resources, governments have to choose from

SHOW CARD - READ OUT – MAX. 2 ANSWERS

Promote advanced research for new energy technologies (hydrogen, clean	1,
Regulate in order to reduce our dependence of oil	2,
Develop the use of nuclear energy	3,
Develop the use of solar power	4,
Develop the use of wind power	5,
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	6,
Other (SPECIFY – SPONTANEOUS)	7,
DK	8,

EB64.2 NEW

ASK TO SPLIT A

QA66a Would you be prepared to pay more for energy produced from renewable sources than for

SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

No, I am not prepared to pay more	1
Yes, I would pay up to 5% more	2
Yes, I would pay 6 to 10% more	3
Yes, I would pay 11 to 25% more	4
Yes, I would pay more than 25% more	5
DK	6

EB57.0 Q26

ASK TO SPLIT B

QA66b As you may know, we are now facing new energy challenges (like high energy prices,

SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY



As I do not intend to change my energy consumption habits, I would be	1
As I intend to reduce my energy consumption, I would not be prepared to	2
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	3
I do not intend to change my energy consumption habits and I would not be	4
I intend to reduce my energy consumption and I would be prepared to pay	5
Other (SPECIFY - SPONTANEOUS)	6
DK	7

EB64.2 NEW

ASK ALL

QA67 In order to respond to the new energy challenges that we have to face for the years to come,

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

The European level	1
The national level	2
The local level	3
DK	4

EB64.2 NEW

QA68 I am going to show you a list of products or equipment. When you decide to buy a new one,

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	A lot of	A little	No	DK
1	A light bulb	1	2	3	4
2	A refrigerator	1	2	3	4
3	A car	1	2	3	4

EB57.0 Q27 TREND MODIFIED

QA69 Let's suppose the price per litre of unleaded fuel/diesel reaches €1.50. Would you use your

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

A lot less often	1
A bit less often	2
As often	3
Not applicable (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

EB64.2 NEW

ASK ALL WHO WOULD USE CAR LESS OFTEN (CODE 1 OR 2 AT QA69): OTHERS GO

--

QA70	What would you do first to reduce the use of your car?
------	--

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY
----------------------------

Use public transport more	1
Move closer to your workplace	2
Share a car with your relatives/friends/neighbours...	3
Walk more	4
Use a bicycle	5
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	6
DK	7

EB64.2 NEW
------------

Moving onto another topic.
----------------------------

QB1	European Union agricultural policy aims to benefit consumers as well as farmers. With which
-----	---

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE
--

It ensures that the food you buy is safe to eat	1,
It ensures that the food you buy is good quality	2,
It ensures that the food you buy is healthy	3,
It ensures that the food you buy is reasonably priced	4,
It ensures that you have enough information about the geographic area your	5,
It ensures that you have enough information about how the food was	6,
It ensures that farm animals are well treated	7,
It favours consumers rather than farmers	8,
It favours farmers rather than consumers	9,
It favours farmers and consumers equally	10,
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
DK	12,

EB62.2 QB1
------------

QB2	In your opinion, which of the following should be the 3 main priorities of the European Union in
-----	--

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 3 ANSWERS
---------------------------------------

Ensure stable and adequate incomes for farmers	1,
Make European agriculture more competitive on world markets	2,
Help farmers to adapt their production to consumer's expectations	3,
Favour and improve life in the countryside	4,
Reduce development gaps between regions	5,
Encourage the diversification of agricultural products and activities	6,
Favour methods of organic production	7,
Promote the respect of the environment	8,
Protect the specificity and taste of European agricultural products	9,
Protect small or medium sized farms	10,
Ensure that agricultural products are healthy and safe	11,
Protect the welfare of farm animals	12,

None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
DK	14,

EB62.2 QB2

QB3 And do you think that the European Union's agricultural policy currently plays its role fairly well

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	FAIRLY	FAIRLY	DK
1	Ensure stable and adequate incomes for farmers	1	2	3
2	Make European agriculture more competitive on	1	2	3
3	Help farmers to adapt their production to consumer's	1	2	3
4	Favour and improve life in the countryside	1	2	3
5	Reduce development gaps between regions	1	2	3
6	Encourage the diversification of agricultural products	1	2	3
7	Favour methods of organic production	1	2	3
8	Promote the respect of environment	1	2	3
9	Protect the specific nature and taste of European	1	2	3
10	Protect small or medium sized farms	1	2	3
11	Ensure that agricultural products are healthy and	1	2	3
12	Protect the welfare of farm animals	1	2	3

EB62.2 QB3

QB4 The European Union is subsidising agricultural products less and less. However, it is granting

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

A very good thing	1
A fairly good thing	2
A fairly bad thing	3
A very bad thing	4
Neither good nor bad thing (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB62.2 QB4

DEMOGRAPHICS

ASK ALL

D1 In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on

SHOW CARD - INT.: DO NOT PROMPT - IF CONTACT HESITATES, TRY AGAIN

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

Refusal (SPONTANEOUS) 11

DK 12

EB63.4 D1

NO QUESTIONS D2 TO D6

D7 Could you give me the letter which corresponds best to your own current situation?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

X Married	1
F Remarried	2
K Unmarried currently living with partner	3
Y Unmarried having never lived with a partner	4
R Unmarried having previously lived with a partner, but now on my own	5
B Divorced	6
M Separated	7
Q Widowed	8
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	9
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	10

EB63.4 D7

D8 How old were you when you stopped full-time education?

CODE STILL STUDYING AS '00' - CODE NO FULL-TIME EDUCATION AS '98' - CODE DK

--	--

EB63.4 D8

NO QUESTION D9

D10 Gender.

Male	1
Female	2

EB63.4 D10

D11 How old are you?

--	--

EB63.4 D11

NO QUESTION D12 TO D14

NO QUESTIONS D16 TO D24

D25 Would you say you live in a...?

READ OUT

Rural area or village	1
Small or middle sized town	2
Large town	3

DK

4

EB63.4 D25

NO QUESTIONS D26 TO D39

D40a Could you tell me how many people aged 15 years or more live in your household, yourself

RECORD BELOW

--	--

EB63.4 D40a

D40b Could you tell me how many children less than 10 years old live in your household

RECORD BELOW. CODE NONE AS '00'

--	--

EB63.4 D40b

D40c Could you tell me how many children aged 10 to 14 years old live in your household?

RECORD BELOW. CODE NONE AS '00'

--	--

EB63.4 D40c

D43a Is there a fixed telephone available in the household?

D43b Do you personally own a mobile telephone?

	D43a	D43b
	Fixed	Mobile
Yes	1	1
No	2	2

EB63.4 D43a D43b

D46 AND D47 SUPPRESSED

NO QUESTION D48

DO NOT PROMPT – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

D49a Can you tell me the TV channels, if any, that you regularly watch, meaning at least five times

TV CHANNELS CODES (NATIONAL CODES)

EB64.2 NEW

DO NOT PROMPT – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

D49b Can you tell me the radio stations, if any, that you regularly listen to, meaning at least five

RADIO STATIONS CODES (NATIONAL CODES)

--

EB64.2 NEW

DO NOT PROMPT – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

D49c Can you tell me the daily newspapers, if any, that you regularly read, meaning at least three

DAILY NEWSPAPERS CODES (NATIONAL CODES)

--

EB64.2 NEW

--

D50 For which of the following purposes do you use the Internet at least once a week?

READ OUT – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

Looking for information (by using a search engine)

1,

Reading the newspaper	2,
Listening to the radio	3,
Watching TV	4,
Accessing blogs	5,
Accessing forums	6,
Accessing chat rooms	7,
Buying on line	8,
Accessing leisure sites (sports, cars, etc.)	9,
Accessing your bank on line	10,
Accessing e-Government	11,
Looking up practical information (weather forecast, timetables, etc.)	12,
I do not use the Internet/ I do not have access to the Internet	13,
I use the Internet less often than once a week (SPONTANEOUS)	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB64.2 NEW

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLE

P1 DATE OF INTERVIEW

DAY   MONTH

EB63.4 P1

P2 TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW

INT.:USE 24 HOUR CLOCK

HOUR   MINUTES

EB63.4 P2

P3 NUMBER OF MINUTES THE INTERVIEW LASTED

MINUTES

EB63.4 P3

P4 Number of persons present during the interview, including interviewer

Two (interviewer and respondent)	1
Three	2
Four	3
Five or more	4

EB63.4 P4

P5 Respondent cooperation

Excellent	1
Fair	2
Average	3
Bad	4

EB63.4 P5									
P6	Size of locality								
(LOCAL CODES)									
<table border="1"> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>									
EB63.4 P6									
P7	Region								
(LOCAL CODES)									
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EB63.4 P7									
P8	Postal code								
<table border="1"> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>									
EB63.4 P8									
P9	Sample point number								
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EB63.4 P9									
P10	Interviewer number								
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EB63.4 P10									
P11	Weighting factor								
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EB63.4 P11									



## EUROBAROMETER SPECIAL « STANDARD » TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

Between the 11<sup>st</sup> of October and the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 2005, TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium created between Taylor Nelson Sofres and EOS Gallup Europe, carried out wave 64.2 of the EUROBAROMETER, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General Press and Communication, Opinion Polls.

The EUROBAROMETER SPECIAL « STANDARD » is part of wave 64.2 and covers the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union Member States, resident in each of the Member States and aged 15 years and over. The EUROBAROMETER 64.2 has also been conducted in the two acceding countries (Bulgaria and Romania) and in the two candidate countries (Croatia and Turkey) and in the Turkish Cypriot Community. In these countries, the survey covers the national population of citizens of the respective nationalities and the population of citizens of all the European Union Member States that are residents in those countries and have a sufficient command of one of the respective national language(s) to answer the questionnaire. The basic sample design applied in all states is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each 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.

In order to do so, the sampling 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 countries surveyed according to the EUROSTAT NUTS II (or equivalent) and according to the distribution of the resident population of the respective 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 (every Nth address) were selected by standard "random route" procedures, from the initial address. In each household, the respondent was drawn, at random (following the "closest birthday rule"). All interviews were conducted face-to-face in people's homes and in the appropriate national language. As far as the data capture is concerned, CAPI (*Computer Assisted Personal Interview*) was used in those countries where this technique was available.

<b>ABREVIATIONS</b>	<b>COUNTRIES</b>	<b>INSTITUTES</b>	<b>N° INTERVIEWS</b>	<b>FIELDWORK DATES</b>		<b>POPULATION 15+</b>
BE	Belgium	TNS Dimarso	1.024	13/10/2005	06/11/2005	8.598.982
CZ	Czech Rep.	TNS Aisa	1.161	14/10/2005	05/11/2005	8.571.710
DK	Denmark	TNS Gallup DK	1.032	16/10/2005	13/11/2005	4.380.063
DE	Germany	TNS Infratest	1.534	14/10/2005	08/11/2005	64.174.295
EE	Estonia	Emor	1.000	14/10/2005	06/11/2005	887.094
EL	Greece	TNS ICAP	1.000	17/10/2005	05/11/2005	8.674.230
ES	Spain	TNS Demoscopia	1.015	15/10/2005	05/11/2005	35.882.820
FR	France	TNS Sofres	1.009	11/10/2005	07/11/2005	44.010.619
IE	Ireland	TNS MRBI	1.009	13/10/2005	13/11/2005	3.089.775
IT	Italy	TNS Abacus	1.000	19/10/2005	10/11/2005	49.208.000
CY	Rep. of Cyprus	Synovate	502	17/10/2005	06/11/2005	552.213
LV	Latvia	TNS Latvia	1.033	14/10/2005	07/11/2005	1.394.351
LT	Lithuania	TNS Gallup Lithuania	1.020	15/10/2005	04/11/2005	2.803.661
LU	Luxembourg	TNS ILReS	510	12/10/2005	05/11/2005	367.199
HU	Hungary	TNS Hungary	1.000	18/10/2005	06/11/2005	8.503.379
MT	Malta	MISCO	500	14/10/2005	05/11/2005	322.917
NL	Netherlands	TNS NIPO Österreichisches Gallup- Institute	1.041	21/10/2005	13/11/2005	13.242.328
AT	Austria		1.020	14/10/2005	03/11/2005	6.679.444
PL	Poland	TNS OBOP	1.000	17/10/2005	07/11/2005	31.610.437
PT	Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	1.003	17/10/2005	08/11/2005	8.080.915
SI	Slovenia	RM PLUS	1.034	11/10/2005	07/11/2005	1.663.869
SK	Slovakia	TNS AISA SK	1.096	17/10/2005	02/11/2005	4.316.438
FI	Finland	TNS Gallup Oy	1.028	13/10/2005	09/11/2005	4.279.286
SE	Sweden	TNS GALLUP	1.033	14/10/2005	06/11/2005	7.376.680
UK	United Kingdom	TNS UK	1.320	12/10/2005	15/11/2005	47.685.578
BG	Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	1.001	19/10/2005	31/10/2005	6.695.512
HR	Croatia	Puls	1.000	13/10/2005	06/11/2005	3.682.826
RO	Romania	TNS CSOP	1.000	13/10/2005	31/10/2005	18.145.036
TR	Turkey	TNS PIAR	1.005	14/10/2005	07/11/2005	47.583.830
CY (tcc)	Turkish Cypriot Community	KADEM	500	14/10/2005	29/10/2005	157.101
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>29.430</b>	<b>11/10/2005</b>	<b>15/11/2005</b>	<b>442.620.588</b>

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 offices. For all countries surveyed, a national weighting procedure, using marginal and intercellular weighting, was carried out based on this Universe description. In all countries, gender, age, region and size of locality were introduced in the iteration procedure. For international weighting (i.e. EU averages), TNS Opinion & Social 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.

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:

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