



EUROBAROMETER 68

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

AUTUMN 2007

NATIONAL REPORT

IRELAND

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Introduction

Ireland is one of a small group of countries where support for the country's membership of the European Union is of the order of 75 per cent or above. Ireland is also one of a small group of member states (four to be precise) that have voted down an EU treaty. With another Irish referendum (on the Lisbon Treaty) in the offing within the year, January 2008 is a good time to examine the evidence on current Irish attitudes to European integration and on other aspects of Irish public opinion that may have a bearing on the referendum process.

This is the twelfth 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 68.1* which was fielded between 24 September 2007 and 21 October 2007¹.

Irish attitudes to European integration

Basic trends in attitudes to European integration

Figure 1 illustrates how Irish attitudes toward the EU have evolved since entry into the EEC in 1973. The following discussion will consider three indicators of attitudes to European integration, namely the 'membership' indicator, the 'benefits' indicator and the 'dissolution' indicator.

The indicator with the highest positive response in Ireland is the 'benefits' indicator². As of autumn 2007, 87 per cent of Irish people thought the country had benefited from EU membership, the highest such score in the European Union. Among the original fifteen member states of the EU, only Greek people rate membership of the EU nearly as high with 80 per cent of respondents taking a positive view of the benefits of membership. In sharp contrast to these high numbers, the current EU average for perception of benefits from the EU is 58 per cent. On the other end of the scale only 7 per cent of Irish people believe membership has not been beneficial for the country compared to 32 per cent of Germans and 47 per cent of Britons.

¹ See appendix of technical specification for details.

² *Source:* EB 68.1 QA13a: 'Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?'

Given this high perception of benefits, it is not surprising (though it is not inevitable) that 74 per cent of Irish respondents regard Irish membership of the EU as a good thing³. Only Luxembourg and the Netherlands have higher levels of support for membership at 82 and 79 per cent respectively. These high levels of support for membership are all the more impressive considering that support for membership is particularly low in some states, for example in Austria (38 per cent membership good), in Latvia (37 per cent) and in Britain where only 34 per cent of people believe EU membership is a good thing.

The third indicator to be examined is a measure commonly referred to as the ‘dissolution’ indicator⁴. This measures both enthusiasm and indifference toward the EU. The question was last posed to people in *Eurobarometer 62* in autumn 2004. It showed that while an overwhelming majority of Irish people thought membership was good (see above), only a bare majority of respondents (54 per cent) would be sorry to see the EU dissolved. This was coupled with a high level of indifference⁵ (43 per cent) towards dissolution indicating that, while Irish people broadly approve of EU, enthusiasm for the Union far from universal. It is quite striking indeed that indifference/’don’t know’ responses outnumbered ‘very sorry’ responses around the time of the first Nice referendum (see bars in Fig.1). Unfortunately this question has not been asked since *Eurobarometer 62* in 2004 so this report is unable to examine this trend beyond that point. Even so, the indicator provides a timely reminder that a safe and substantial majority for EU treaty changes cannot be taken for granted.

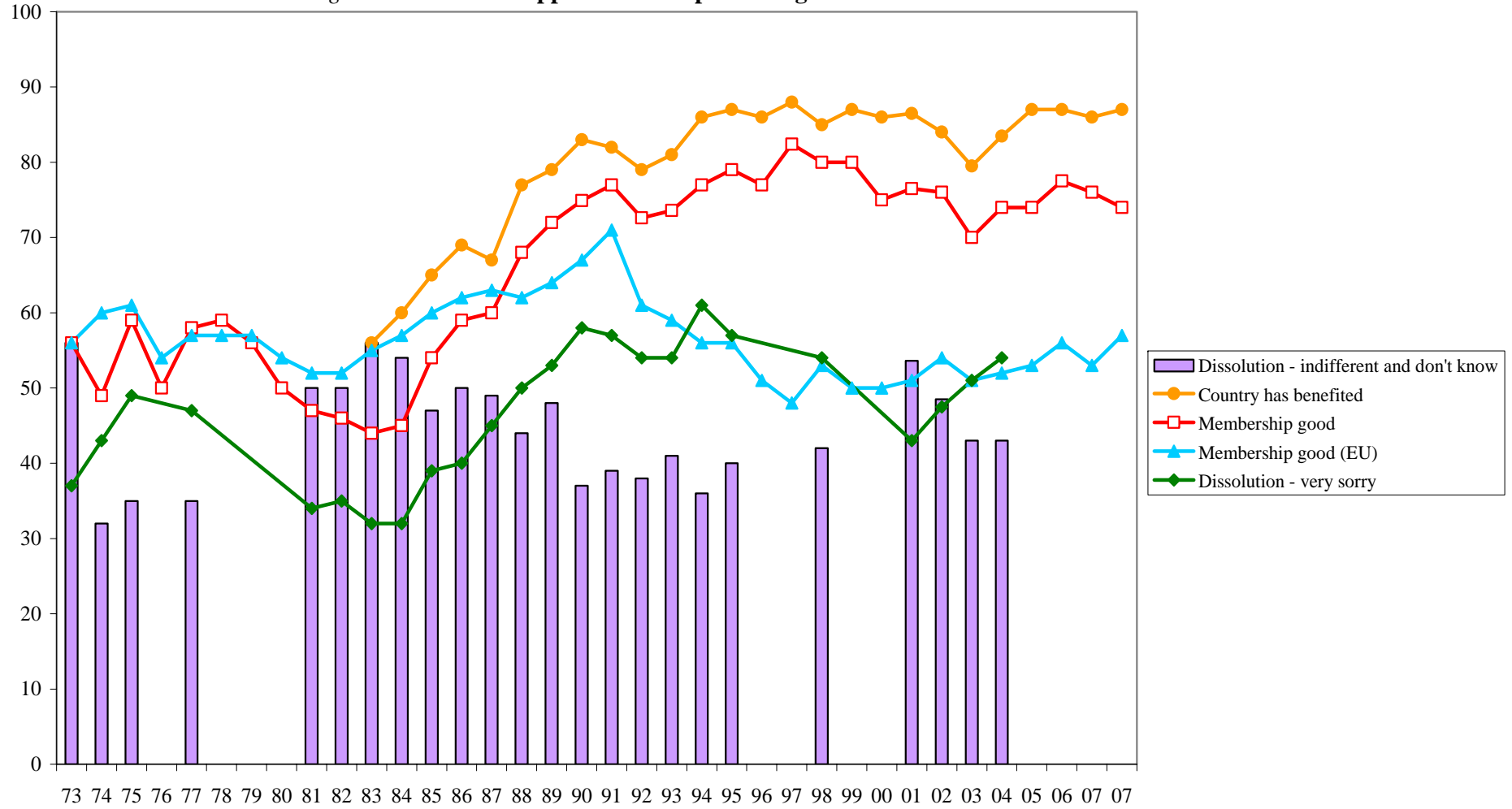
Eurobarometer data allows us to trace the development of the attitudes we have just been considering from 1973 to the present time. The data shows that the number of Irish people who thought the EU was a good thing steadily grew from 1985 onwards, surpassing the EU average in 1988 and hitting a high point of 82 per cent support in 1997. Since then there has been a slight reduction in support for EU membership but today it still stands high in comparative terms at 74 per cent.

³ *Source*: EB 68.1 QA12a: ‘Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)’s membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad?’

⁴ Dissolution question posed in 2004 (*Source*: EB 62, Q15): ‘If you were told tomorrow that the European Union had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent or very relieved?’

⁵ Indifference plus don’t know is illustrated in Figure 1 by the vertical bars rising from the base of the graph.

Figure 1 Trends in support for European Integration - Ireland and the EU 1973-2007



Source: EB 3 to EB 68.1 For details of question see text.

The Irish picture contrasts quite sharply with the trend in support for membership across the EU as a whole where there was a steady reduction in support for membership throughout the 1990s with only marginal improvements since then (see Fig.1). While 58 per cent of EU respondents as a whole consider their country's membership of the Union to be a good thing today, this contrasts with the 71 per cent of people who considered this to be the case in 1991 before the signing of the Maastricht Treaty.

As noted above, the dissolution indicator measures enthusiasm for the European Union. This has always been quite limited in the Irish case. The lowest levels of enthusiasm were exhibited in 2001 (the year that Ireland rejected the Nice Treaty). At that time 54 per cent of people said they felt indifference towards the Union, the highest level since 1983. Only 43 per cent said they would have been sorry to see the dissolution of the Union, the lowest level since 1987. However, this indicator recovered somewhat between 2002 and 2004.

In summary, widespread approval of Irish EU membership continues at a high level and Irish public opinion towards integration is much more positive in this respect than is European-wide opinion. At the same time, there are cautionary signs that need to be borne in mind, particularly with a referendum in the offing. Any further such signs will be considered as this report analyses the evidence from *Eurobarometer 68.1*.

Policy orientations and preferences

Of course, the fact that 87 per cent of people believe that Ireland has benefited from its membership of the EU or that 74 per cent think membership is a good thing does not mean that almost everyone agrees with almost everything the EU does all of the time. There are two things at stake here: attitudes to which issues the EU should decide and how good its decisions or policies have been. We will deal with the former under the heading of policy attribution and the latter under the heading of policy evaluation.

Policy attribution

The Eurobarometer regularly asks respondents whether they would prefer policy responsibility for specific issues to rest with the Irish government or whether decisions in the areas concerned should be taken jointly with the EU. In thirteen out of

nineteen policy areas, the balance of Irish opinion favoured joint decision-making with the EU (see Fig.2). Support for joint decision-making with the EU is highest in relation to fighting terrorism (76 per cent expressing the view that decisions in should be taken in conjunction with the EU), in relation to support for the regions (74 per cent) and in relation to scientific and technological research (74 per cent).

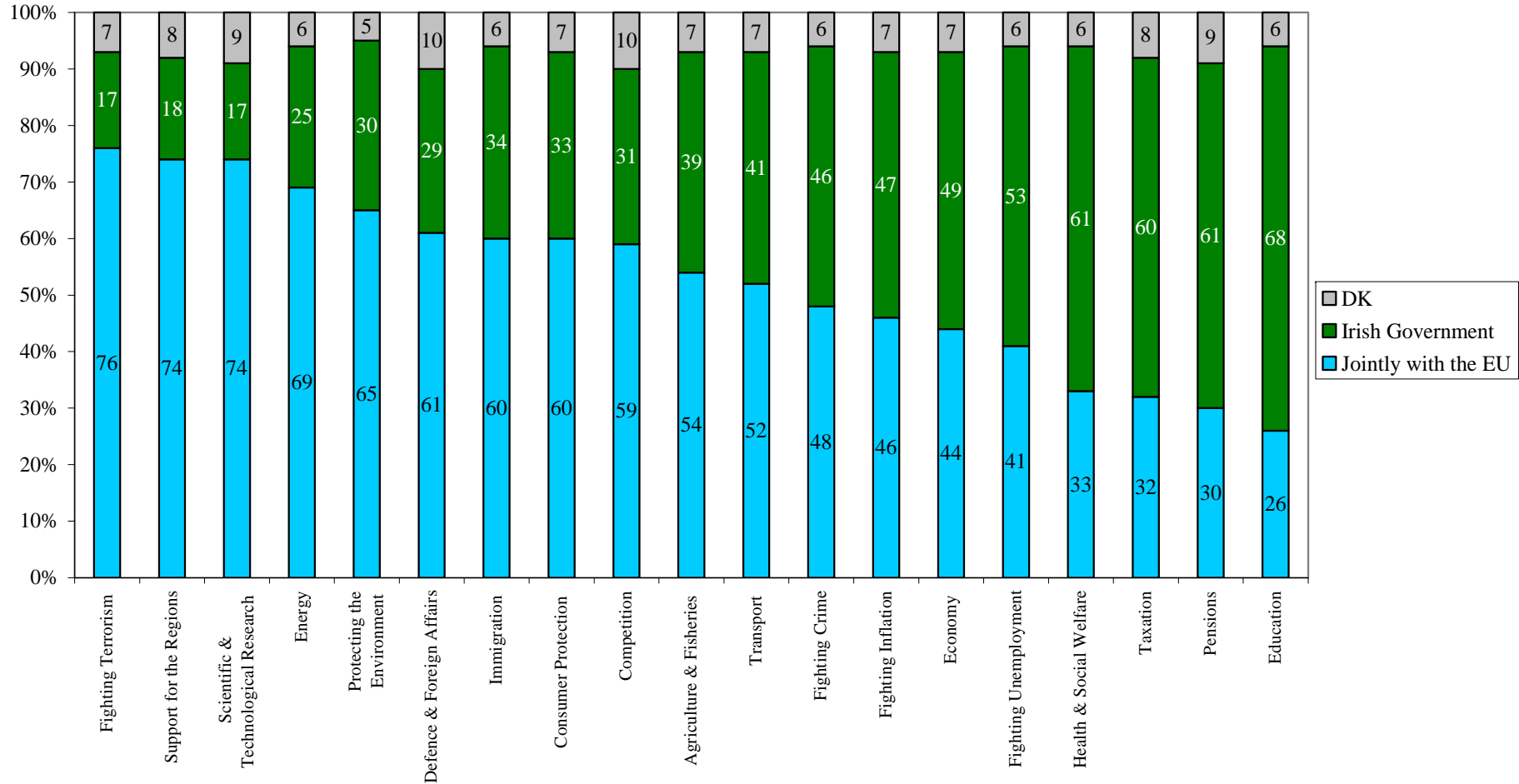
There is also substantial support among Irish people for decisions in relation to energy policy (69 per cent), environmental policy (65 per cent), defence and foreign affairs (61 per cent) and immigration policy (60 per cent) to be taken jointly with the EU. The level of support for EU decision-making in relation to defence and foreign affairs policy is noteworthy and is something that will be taken up in more detail later in this report.

In the six other policy areas considered, Irish respondents expressed a preference for policy decisions to be made by the national government. In the areas of education (68 per cent), pensions (61 per cent), health and social welfare (61 per cent) and tax (60 per cent), a majority of Irish people stated a preference for decisions in these domains to be taken by the Irish government.

On the issue of crime, Irish public opinion is evenly split on whether the EU should play a more expansive role in this policy area. This has a bearing on current debate in that since the completion of the fieldwork for *Eurobarometer 67.2*, the Irish government has decided to approach EU policing and criminal justice co-operation procedures on a case by case basis. While 46 per cent of Irish respondents believe decision-making power should rest with the Irish government, 48 per cent of people now believe decision making in this area should be jointly with the EU. Conversely, EU respondents are more inclined to view crime as a trans-national issue with 61 per cent of respondents favouring joint decision-making with the EU. One possible explanation as to why Irish responses in this area diverge from the EU average is simply that Ireland is an island and as a result crime is seen in national or all-Ireland terms as much as it is seen as a trans-national issue.

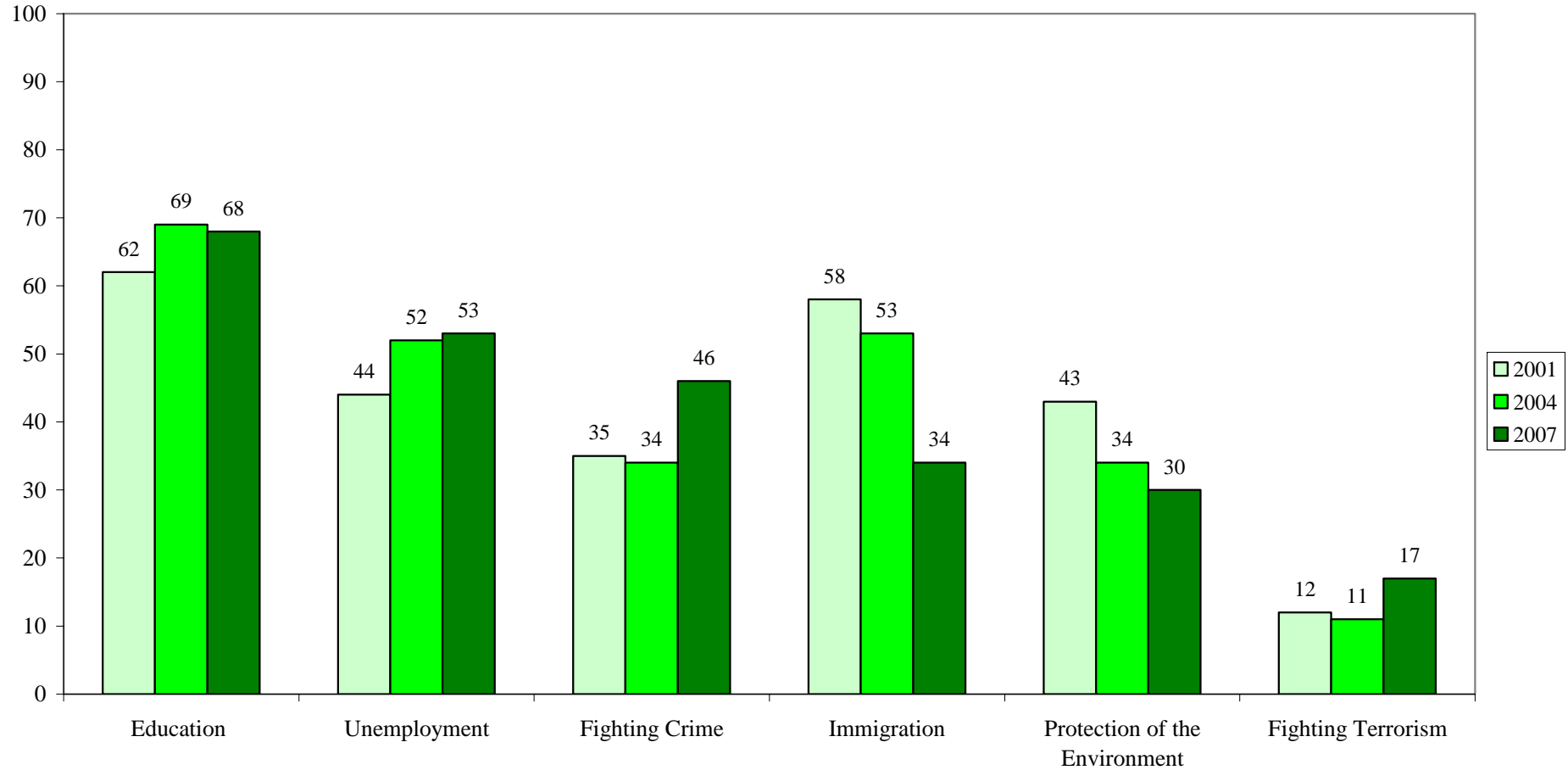
Figure 3 shows how Irish people's attitude to European involvement in decision making in certain policy areas has developed in recent years. In autumn 2007 a majority of Irish people expressed the view that decisions relating to protection of the environment and immigration should be made in conjunction with the EU.

Figure 2 Attribution of decision-making on policy issues: Ireland Autumn 2007
(in descending order of Jointly with the EU)



Source: EB 68.1, QA20a 'For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the (NATIONALITY) government or made jointly with the European Union?'

Figure 3 Attribution of decision-making to the National Government: selected issues Ireland 2001-2007
(in descending order of 2007)



Source: EB 56, 62 & 68.1

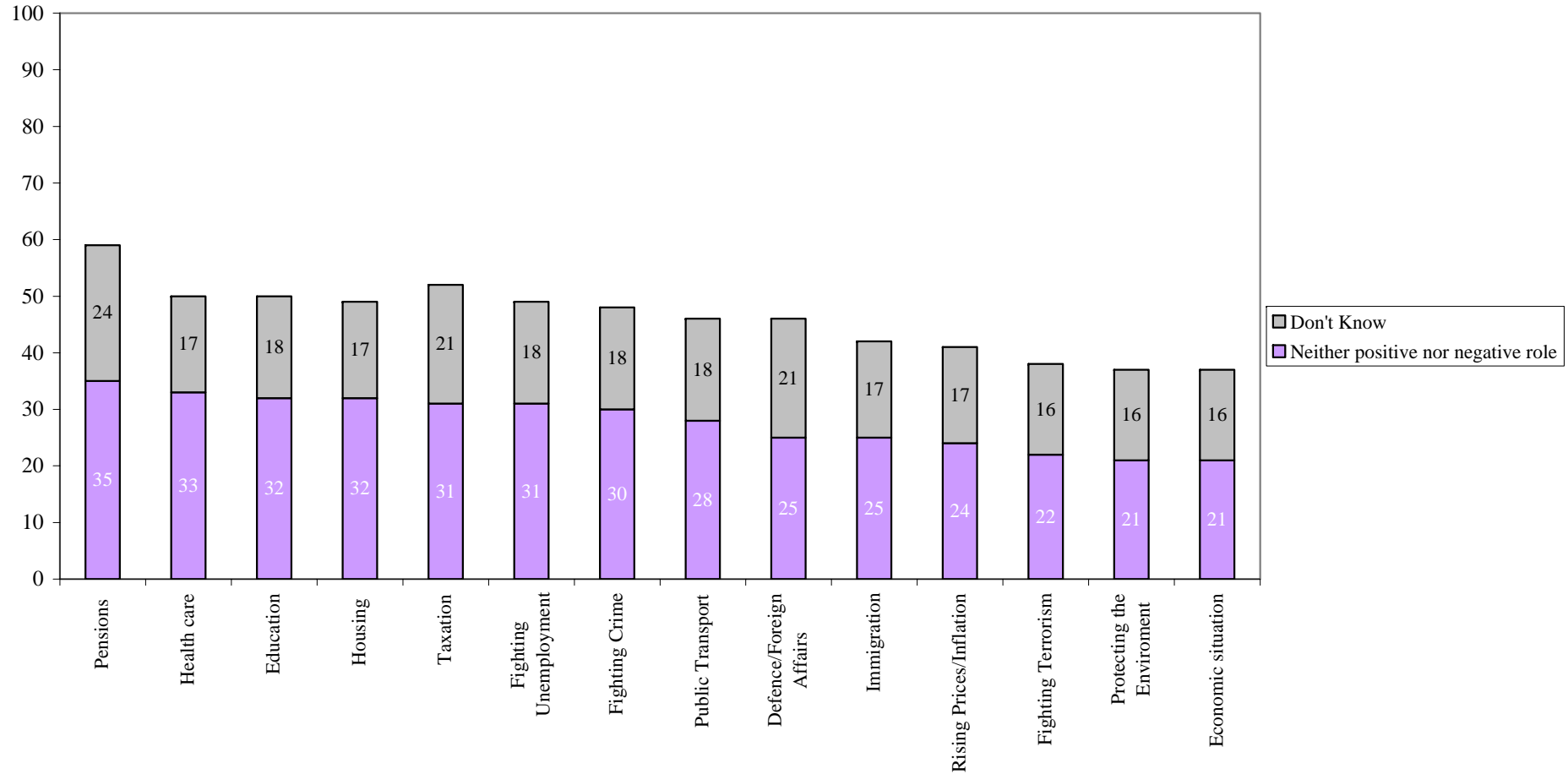
Sixty-five per cent favoured joint decision-making with the EU in relation to the environment while only 60 per cent did so in relation to immigration. This represents a substantial change on views expressed in 2001 when a majority of Irish respondents felt that policy decisions in the area of immigration should be taken by the Irish government and a substantial minority felt the Irish government should take decisions in relation to the environment. There has also been a shift in the other direction in the policy area of unemployment with more Irish people today (53 per cent) believing that the national government should take responsibility for decision-making in this area compared to the views expressed in 2001 where only 44 per cent favoured this.

Policy evaluation

A substantial number of Irish people have a neutral view or no view at all as to whether the EU plays a positive or negative role in certain policy areas (see Fig.4). Thus, 52 per cent of Irish respondents are either indifferent or do not know if the EU plays a positive role or not in tax policy, somewhat of a surprise considering the fact that mooted European initiatives on corporation profits tax have been previously greeted with considerable resistance amid substantial publicity. Irish respondents also exhibit high levels of indifference as to whether the EU plays a positive role or not in defence and foreign policy (46 per cent). There was similar levels of indifference/do not know responses from Irish people about the EU's role in fighting terrorism (38 per cent were indifferent/did not know) or in protecting the environment (37 per cent of people were indifferent/did not know). But Irish respondents are not alone as the same trend is exhibited by European respondents as a whole. Fifty-seven per cent of EU respondents were indifferent or did not know whether the EU had a positive effect or not on tax. Just over two fifths (41 per cent) of EU respondents as a whole were indifferent or did not know about the EU's role in economic policy, while 40 per cent had the same view in relation to defence and foreign affairs and 34 per cent in relation to protecting the environment.

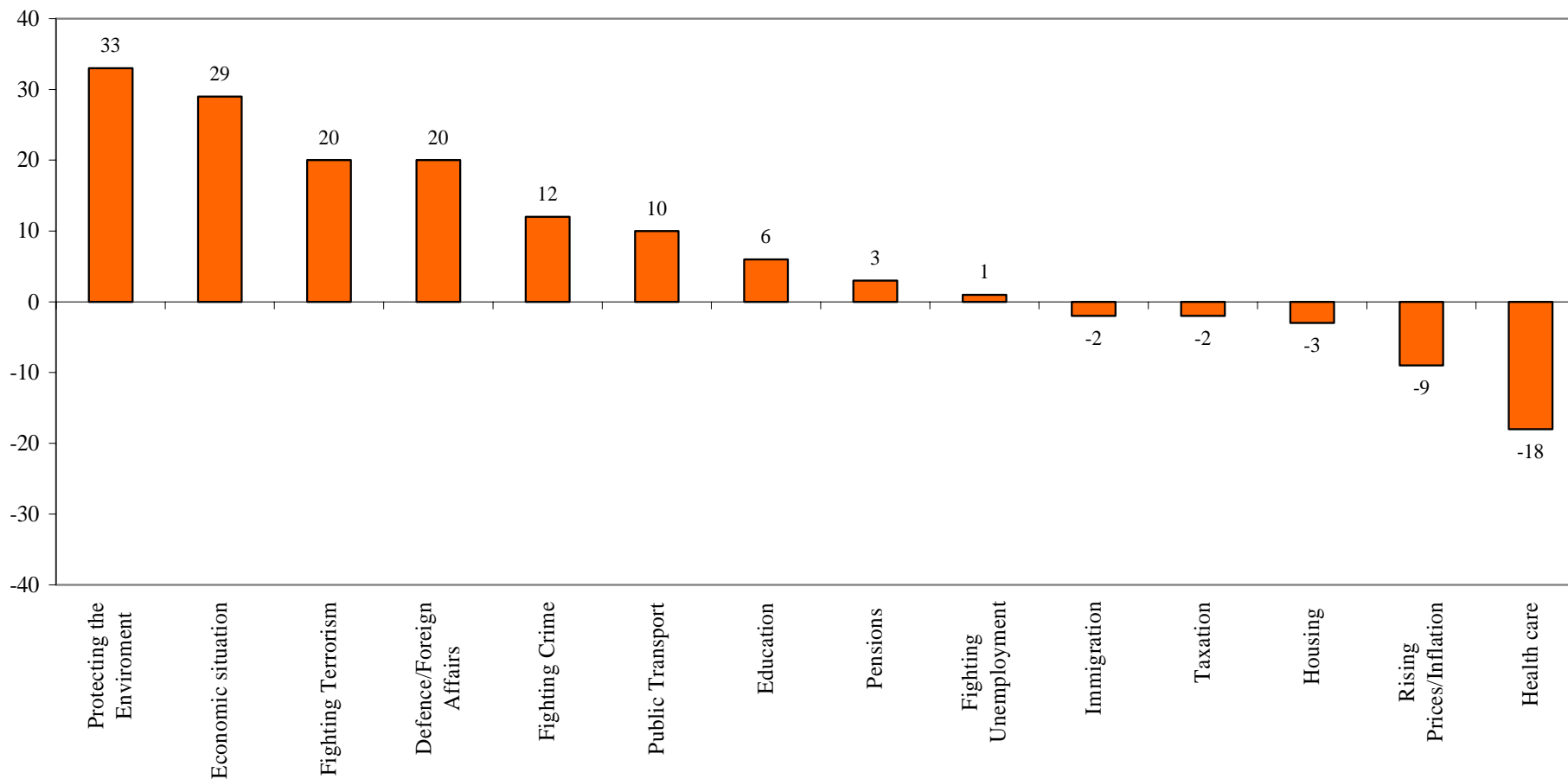
Given the levels of don't know and neutral responses just noted, evaluation of decisions/actions taken by the EU is best assessed by subtracting the proportions of negative responses from the proportion of positive responses for each policy item (see Fig.5). This shows that Irish people consider that the EU plays its most positive role in protecting the environment with a net evaluation of plus 33 points.

Figure 4 Indifference in evaluation of positive/negative role of the EU in policy: Ireland Autumn 2007
(in descending order of 'neither positive nor negative role' responses)



Source: EB 68.1, QA21 For each of the following issues in (OUR COUNTRY), do you think that the European Union plays a positive role, a negative role, a neither psotive nor negative role?

**Figure 5 Net evaluation (positive minus negative responses) of the role the EU plays in policy:
Ireland Autumn 2007**
(in descending order of positive view)



Source: EB 68.1, QA21 For each of the following issues in (OUR COUNTRY), do you think that the European Union plays a positive role, a negative role, a neither psotive nor negative role?'

They also believe that the EU plays a positive role in the economy (29 point positive assessment), fighting terrorism and in defence and foreign affairs (20 point positive assessment).

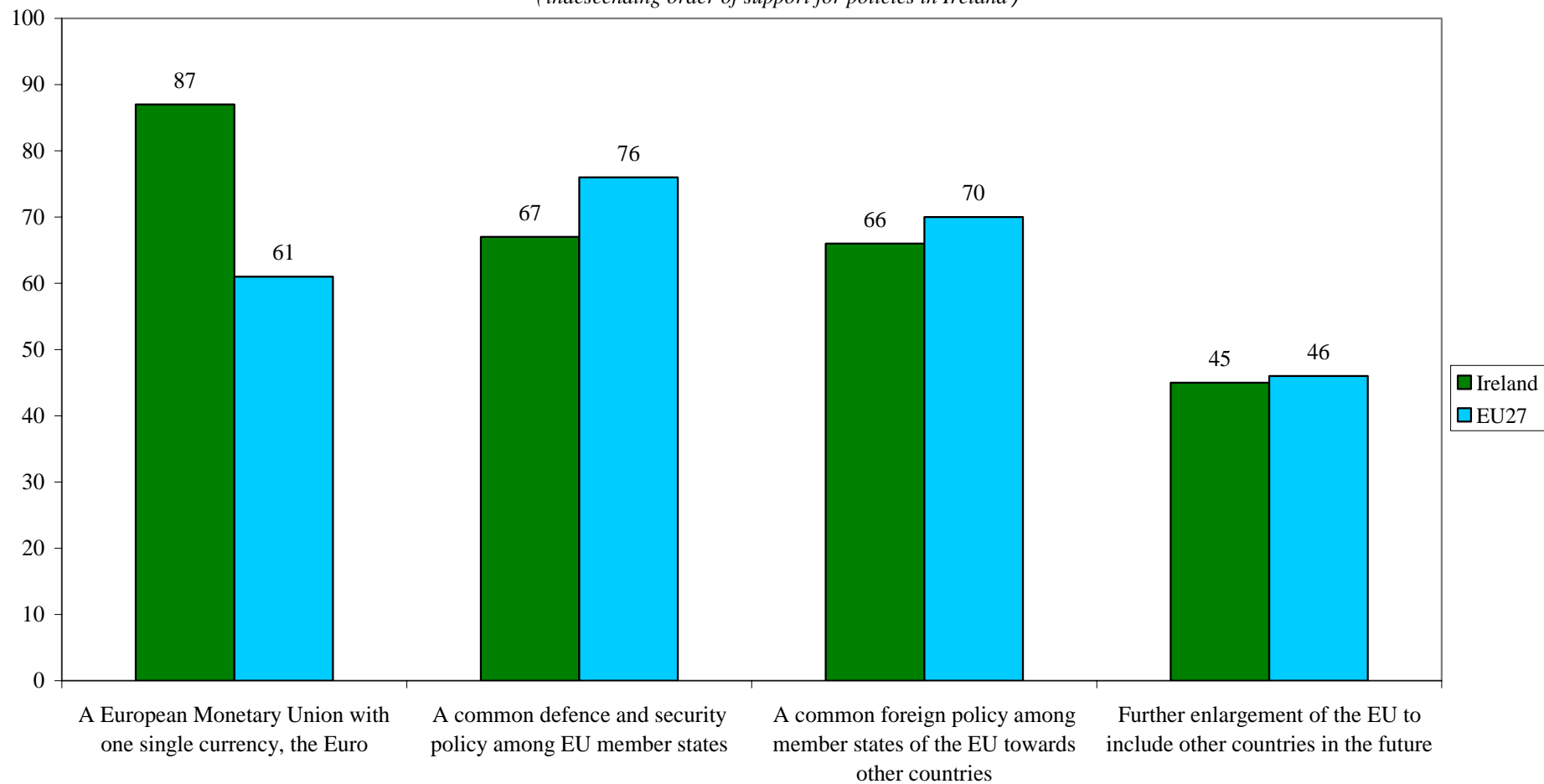
On a comparative scale Irish peoples' assessment in relation to the environment is similar to the EU average but the positive assessments are significantly below some other European states. For example, Irish peoples' positive perception of the EU's role in environment policy substantially lags behind the Benelux countries. Here Luxembourg has a 56 percentage point positive assessment, Belgium a 54 percentage point positive assessment and the Netherlands a 53 percentage point positive assessment.

Meanwhile healthcare is the policy area where Irish people think the EU has its least positive effect. Irish people have a very negative evaluation of the EU's role on health policy with a minus 18 percentage point assessment, a strong divergence with the EU average where there was a minus 2 percentage point score on the assessment scale. This is probably a reflection of the fact that Irish people tend to consider health as a national issue rather than a European one.

In addition to asking respondents to evaluate the role of the EU across the wide range of policies just considered, *Eurobarometer 68.1* also sought responses on four big issues that are central to the development of the Union, namely EMU, a common foreign policy, a common defence and security policy and enlargement. As we shall see in a moment Irish attitudes to three of these issues ranges from moderately to highly positive and on the fourth, they are identical to the European average (see Fig.6).

EMU: Six years after adoption of the single currency, Irish peoples' support for EMU is the highest in Europe with 87 per cent favouring the single currency Slovenia (which adopted the Euro in January 2007) and the Benelux countries have comparable levels of enthusiasm for the single currency. However, there is much less support for monetary union across the EU as a whole with only 61 per cent of EU respondents expressing support for it. British respondents are the most sceptical about the Euro with less than a quarter (24 per cent) in support and a substantial 67 per cent in opposition to it. However, scepticism towards the single currency is mostly confined to countries that have not adopted it.

Figure 6 Support for major European Union policies: Ireland v EU27 Autumn 2007
(indescending order of support for policies in Ireland)



Source: EB 68.1, QA22

Meanwhile, there is majority support in the thirteen countries that use the Euro as their currency with support for the currency in the Eurozone states at an average of 73 per cent.

Common Foreign and Defence & Security policy: Respondents were also asked about whether they favoured the development of a common foreign policy and a common defence and security policy among member states of the EU towards other countries. Among Irish respondents, 67 per cent favoured the development of a defence and security policy and 66 per cent favoured a common foreign policy which puts them slightly lower than average European support where 76 per cent are in favour of a common defence pact and 70 per cent favour a common EU foreign policy. Only 15 and 13 per cent of Irish respondents were against such policies. These views need to be taken into account in assessing the extent and nature of public support for Irish neutrality. This finding is compatible though with the earlier finding that Irish people favour the EU having a decision-making role in regard to foreign and defence policy.

Enlargement: Irish support for further enlargement is comparatively low. Irish enthusiasm is among the seventh lowest in the Europe. Only 45 per cent of Irish people favour further expansion of the Union. Support for further enlargement tends to be highest in new member states such as Poland and Lithuania where 76 per cent and 67 per cent of people respectively favouring further expansion. Support for enlargement is lowest in Western Europe most of all in Luxembourg and Germany (two founder members of the EEC in 1957) where only 25 per cent and 28 per cent of respondents in each respective country favour new members joining whereas two thirds are against such a course of action. At 45 per cent, Irish attitudes are practically identical to average European attitudes.

The Political Climate: Trust in political institutions & the media and policy preoccupations

Trust in political institutions & the media

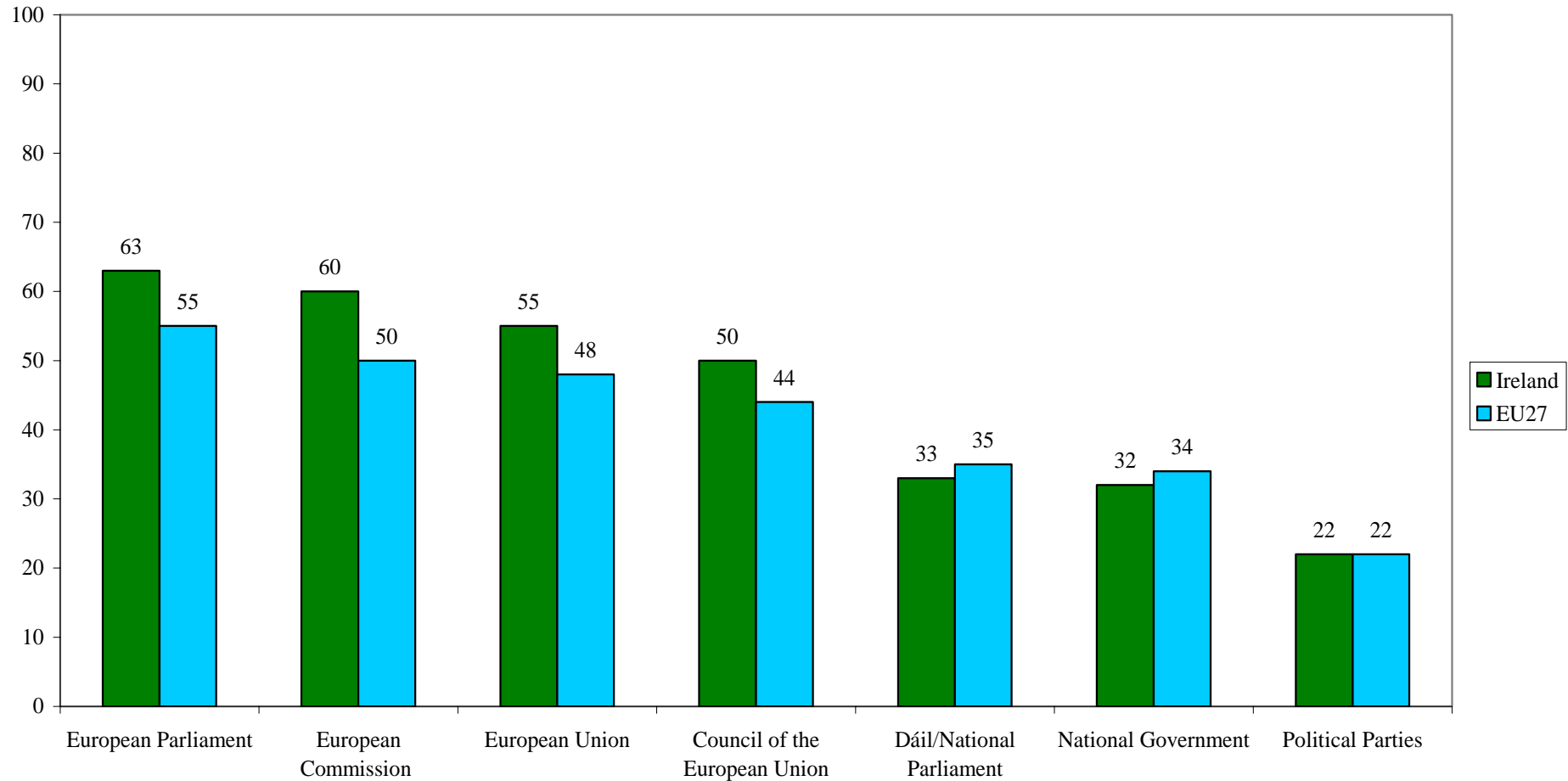
The first point to note in this regard is that trust in political institutions, both European and national, is a vital aspect of the context in which the ratification of an EU treaty takes place. This is so whether the ratification is through decision by a country's

legislative process or by direct consultation of the people via a referendum. It could be argued indeed that trust in institutions is more important in the former case as, in such cases, the decision and responsibility lies with the institution rather than with the people. It is also possible, however, that in the case of decision by referendum, the level of trust in institutions can have some influence on peoples' decisions.

Irish people show a higher level of trust in European political institutions than domestic institutions (see Fig.7). On a consistent basis the most trusted political institution among Irish people is the European Parliament with 63 per cent of respondents professing trust in this Eurobarometer. This is followed closely by the European Commission with trust in that institution currently at 60 per cent. Ironically, the EU institution that commands the lowest level of trust among Irish respondents is the Council of the European Union (the Council of Ministers), the institution that is most influential. Trust in this institution lags significantly behind the other two European institutions and currently stands at 50 per cent, marginally above the current EU average of 44 per cent. However, there has also been a consistently high level of 'don't know' responses to this question about the Council (38 per cent of Irish respondents said they did not know whether they had trust in the Council of the European Union or not in this Eurobarometer wave), a point best explained by respondents lack of familiarity with the Council of the European Union and its functions.

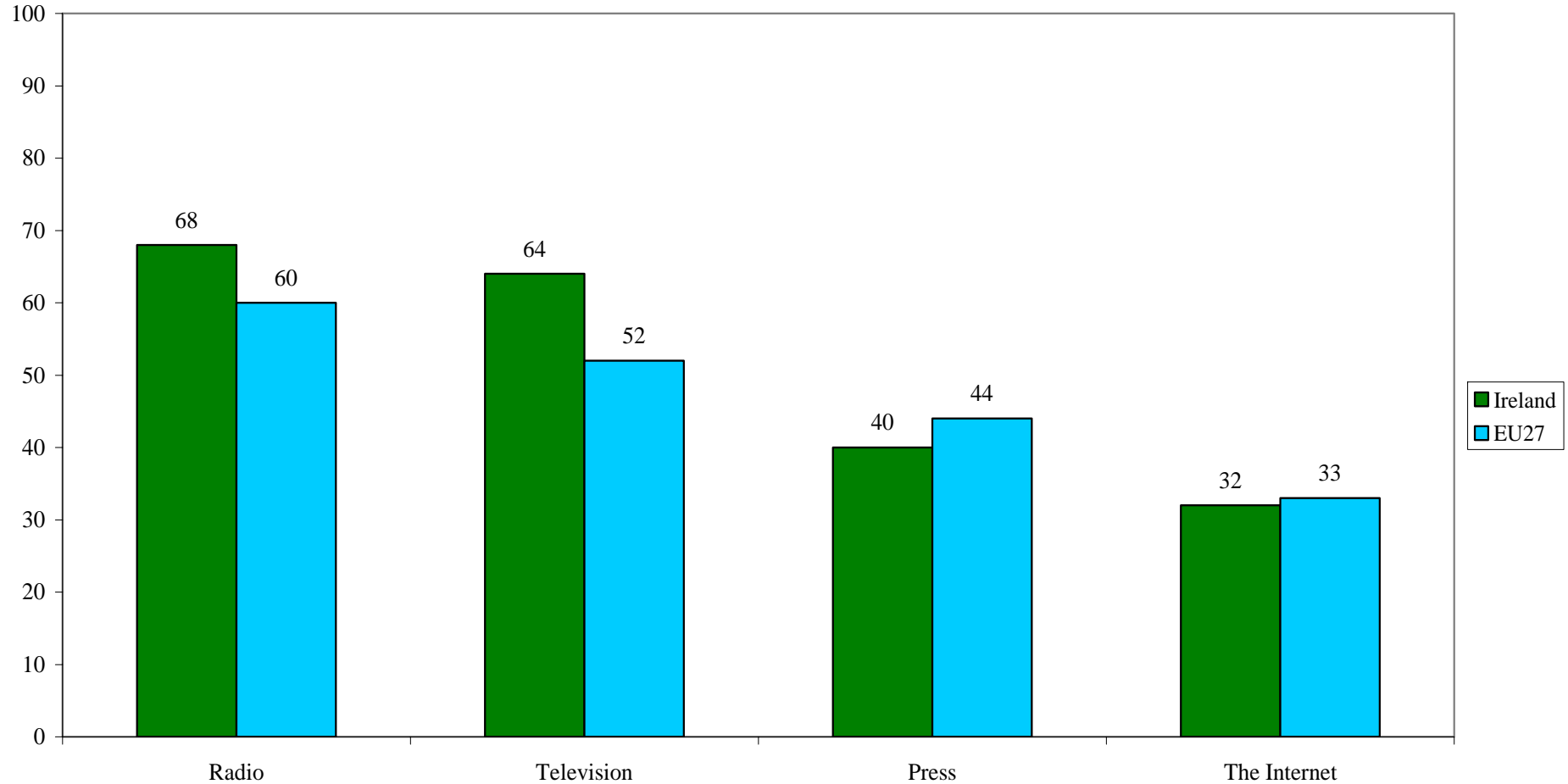
The lowest levels of trust in political institutions relate to political parties with trust in them currently at 22 per cent, a figure identical to the current European average. Before concluding that this is a mark of widespread disillusion with the political process one should note that the low level of trust in political parties is just as consistent with the idea of 'the critical citizen' watchfully eyeing the actions of those in power. Trust in the Dáil and the Government is remarkably similar with both within two to three percentage points of each other (currently, 33 per cent of people profess trust in the Dáil and 32 per cent in the government). One explanation for this notable similarity is that the Dáil and the Government are understood by respondents to mean basically the same thing. It also must be acknowledged that peoples trust in the government (and by association the Dáil) can be determined by respondents' partisanship for or against the government of

Figure 7 Trust in Political Institutions: Ireland and EU27 Autumn 2007
(in descending order of trust levels in Ireland)



Source: EB 68.1, QA8, 'For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not trust it?'

Figure 8 Trust in the Media: Ireland and EU27 Autumn 2007
(in descending order of trust levels in Ireland)



Source: EB 68.1, QA8, 'For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not trust it?'

the day. As with trust in political parties, trust in the national parliament and the government is on par with the European norm. However, this means that Irish peoples trust in the national parliament still lags behind some countries, for example Scandinavia. In Denmark, 74 per cent of Danes profess trust in the Folketingets (Danish Parliament) while 65 per cent of Finns express trust in the Eduskunta (Finnish Parliament).

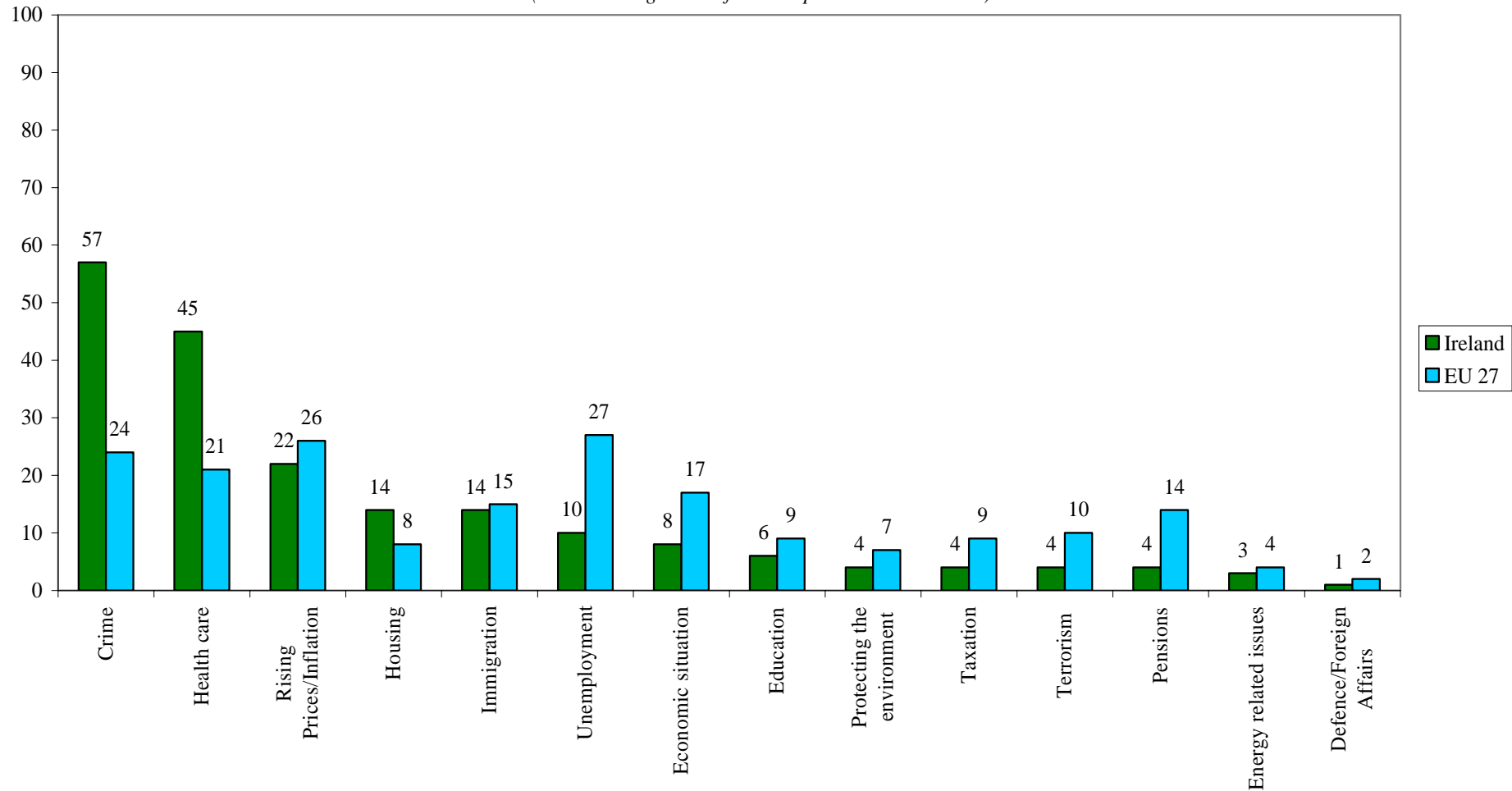
The media provide channels through which what political institutions, political organizations and individual politicians say and do is communicated to the people. The effectiveness of that communication is likely to vary according to the sector of the media involved. This is because there is a large difference in the levels of trust that Irish people invest in the print and broadcast media (see Fig.8).

For Irish people, radio and television are the most trusted sections of the media with 68 and 64 per cent of people respectively expressing trust in these outlets. Taking a comparative perspective, Irish people place more trust in these two institutions than their European counterparts with trust in radio eight points higher and trust in television twelve points higher than the EU average. Trust levels in the print media are considerably lower than in the broadcast media. However, there is no marked difference between Ireland and the EU as a whole on this point with Ireland's trust level just four points less than the European average of 44 per cent at 40 per cent.

Levels of trust in the internet still remain low among Irish people at 32 per cent but this is coupled with high levels of 'don't know' responses, a similar trend is apparent across Europe. As stated in earlier reports, this is probably a consequence of the fact that the internet is a relatively new form of media outlet and in the main a substantial segment of Irish society remains unfamiliar with or has minimal access to it. There may also be a non-political explanation to this as people may be sceptical about aspects of the internet's content.

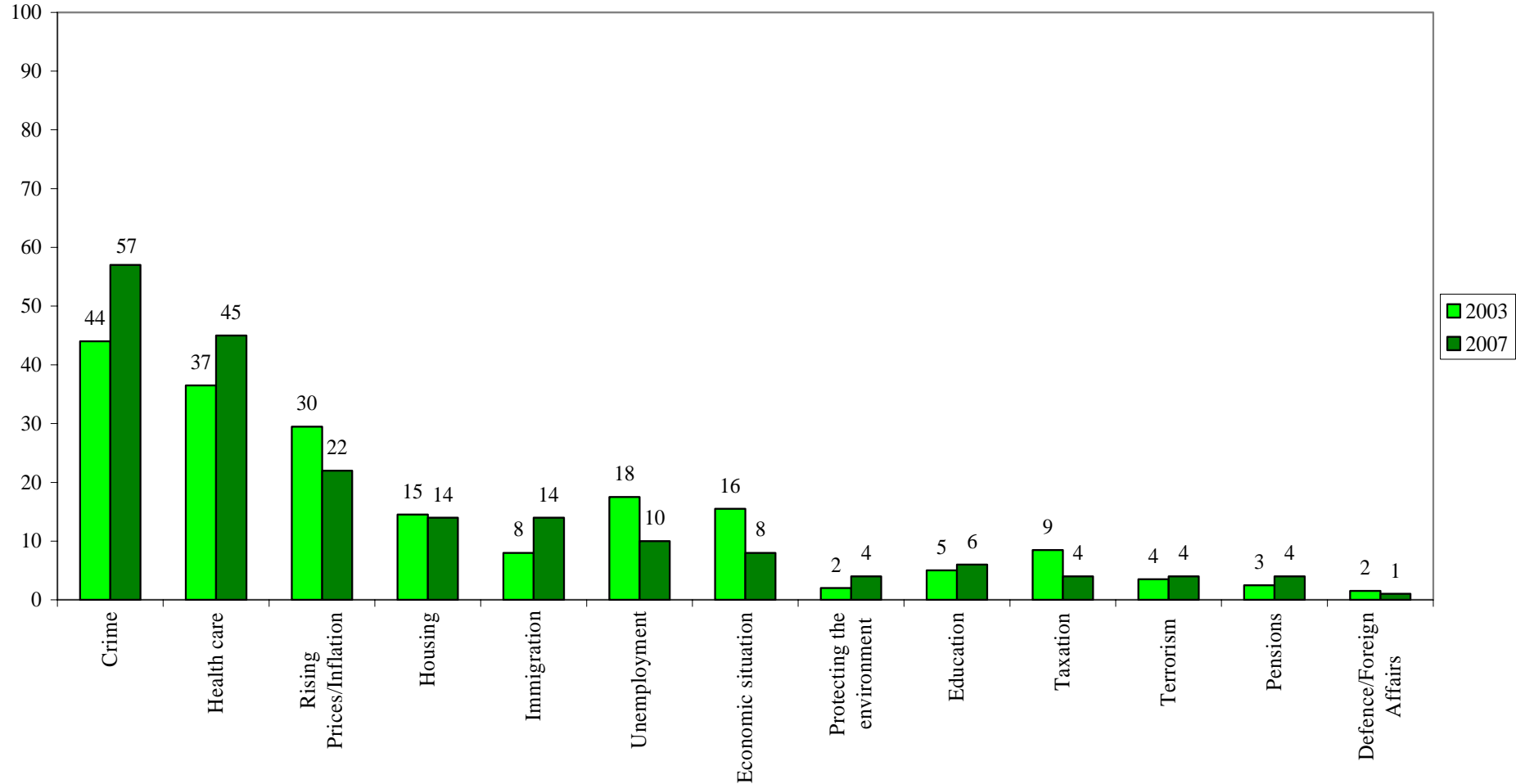
In conclusion, Irish people have high levels of trust in the broadcast media, higher than their EU counterparts. However, there is significantly less trust in the Irish print media. There is also little trust in the internet but this is probably because of the fact that many people say they do not know if they trust it or not, probably an acknowledgement of the fact that many people do not use the internet and others are suspicious of its content.

Figure 9 Most Important Issues: Ireland Autumn 2007
(in descending order of most important issue Ireland)



Source: EB 68.1, QA6a 'What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?'

Figure 10 Most Important Issues: Ireland 2003 v Autumn 2007
(in descending order of most important issue Autumn 2007)



Source: EB 59, 60.1 & 68.1, QA6a 'What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?'

Policy Preoccupations in Ireland and Europe

In addition to these institutional aspects, the political climate in which EU treaty ratification takes place includes the policy preoccupations of the public in different countries. When people are asked what the two most important issues facing the country at the moment are, Irish respondents have a very different set of policy priorities compared to the European average. As Figure 9 shows Irish people are more concerned with crime and health whilst European respondents are preoccupied with the economy.

The three most important issues for Irish people in autumn 2007 were crime (57 per cent), health (45 per cent) and quite a long way behind inflation (22 per cent). For Europeans on the other hand the most important issue is unemployment (27 per cent), followed by rising prices/inflation (26 per cent) and crime (24 per cent). The very high Irish figures for concern with crime and health represent significant increases since 2003 (see Fig.10). Over the same period concern with economic issues has tended to abate. Other issues of importance to the Irish respondents include housing (14 per cent) and immigration (14 per cent). The rate of concern with immigration has increased by six percentage points since 2003.

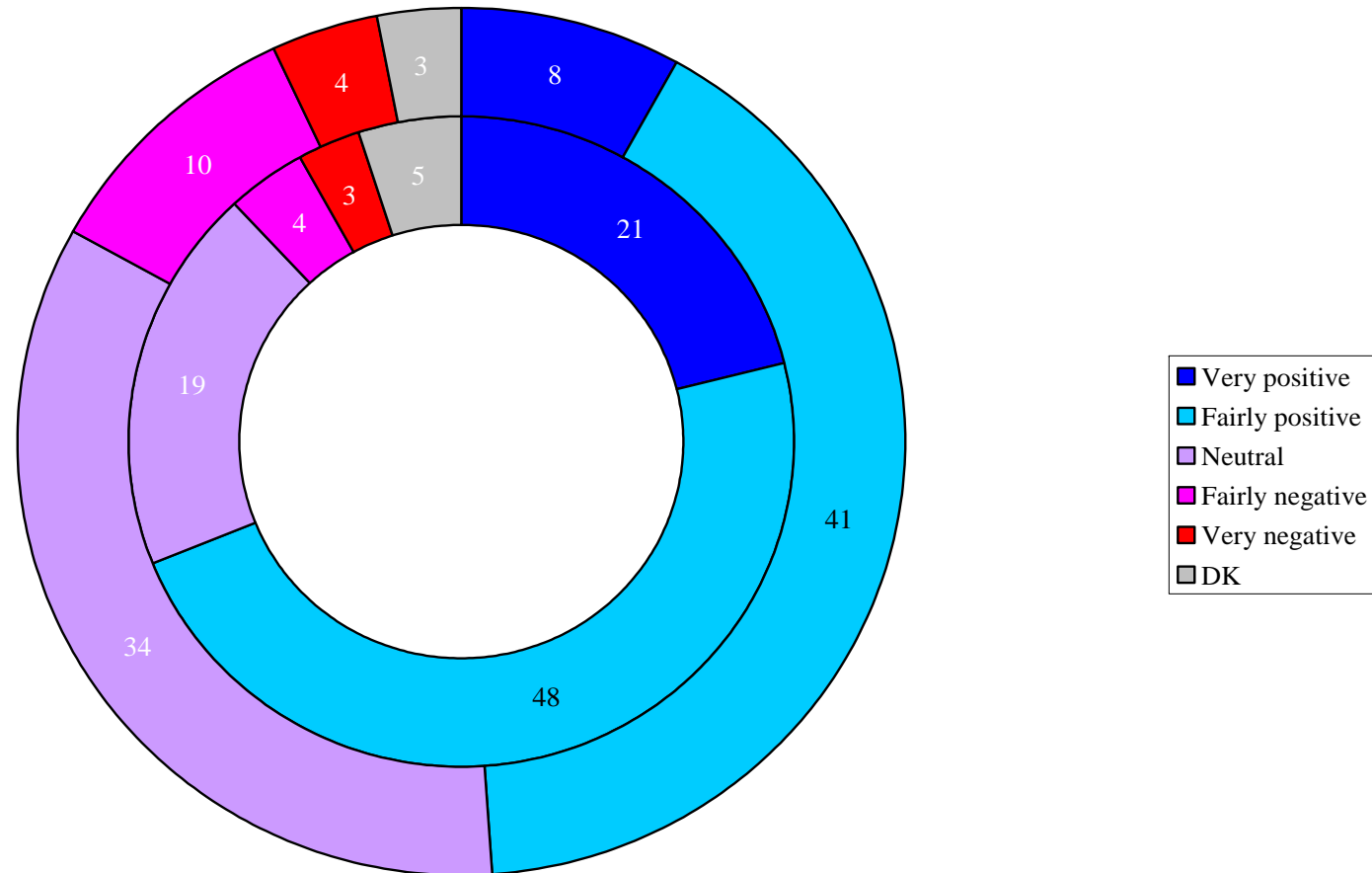
Determinants of attitudes to the EU

The attitudes to European integration described above are the product of many influences, ranging from the basic socio-demographic characteristics of the individual to his or her economic experiences and expectations, sense of identity, policy preferences etc... While a comprehensive account of these influences that would take cognisance of their interactive or multivariate aspect is beyond the scope of this report, a more limited item-by-item analysis will help to highlight at least some of the sources of people's responses to the European project.

The first step in undertaking this analysis is to select as the "dependent variable an appropriate summary indicator of attitudes to the Union". For this purpose we have taken responses to the Eurobarometer 'image of Europe' question, which runs as follows: "In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?". The overall distributions of responses to this question in Ireland and Europe are presented in Fig.11.

Figure 11 Images of the European Union: Ireland v EU27 Autumn 2007

inner pie: Ireland, outer pie: EU27



Source: EB 68.1, QA14 'In general does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?'

These responses confirm the strong contrast between Irish attitudes and average European attitudes already identified in this paper. Thus, while 69 per cent of Irish respondents have a very or fairly positive image of the Union only 49 per cent of European respondents as a whole share this positive view. However, responses to this question also lead to some qualification as to the nature and extent of support for integration suggested by, for example, the ‘membership’ indicator. The latter showed that 74 per cent of Irish people take the view that Ireland’s membership of the European Union is a good thing (see Fig.1).

But the responses to the image indicator show that the large body of support for integration evident in the membership and in various other indicators in fact comprises a relatively small body of strong support and a much larger body of more tentative or qualified support. Thus, as Figure 11 shows, the widespread positive Irish image of the Union consists of just 21 per cent of respondents who have a very positive image and 49 per cent for whom the image is only fairly positive. This confirms that, while in excess of two-thirds of Irish people are positively disposed towards the Union, the bulk of that support is not unqualified.

And so to the question of what determines or at least what correlates with variations in Irish people’s image of the European Union. We begin with the basic socio-demographic factors namely, as the traditional formulation puts it, “age, sex and status” (see Table 1).

Age

Variation in image of the EU across the generations is very limited, there being some tendency for the youngest age group (18-29) to be more favourably disposed than those in their fifties, the difference being just less than 10 percentage points. The significance of these relatively small differences in attitude could, however, be amplified in a referendum by the greater propensity of older people to turn out to vote.

Sex

As with generational differences, variation in image of Europe between the sexes is also very modest. Whereas 73 per cent of men have a very or rather positive image of the European Union, the corresponding figure for women is 66 per cent. Note however that there is no corresponding difference between men and women in the rate of occurrence of a negative image of the EU – 8 per cent of men and 7 per cent of

women show up in this negative category. So how come women are less positive but not more negative in their image of the EU? The answer lies in the neutral/don't know responses and in the slightly greater tendency for women to place themselves in one or other of these. This results in 27 per cent neutral/don't-know responses among women compared to 20 per cent among men.

Status

Socio-economic status comprises a complex set of characteristics that are not easily measured. However indicators of two aspects of socio-economic status – occupation and education – are included in the Eurobarometer surveys and provide some basis for examining the relationship between status and attitudes to European integration. The highest frequency of positive image is found among managers (88 per cent), then among the self-employed (80 per cent) and other white collar workers (76 per cent),

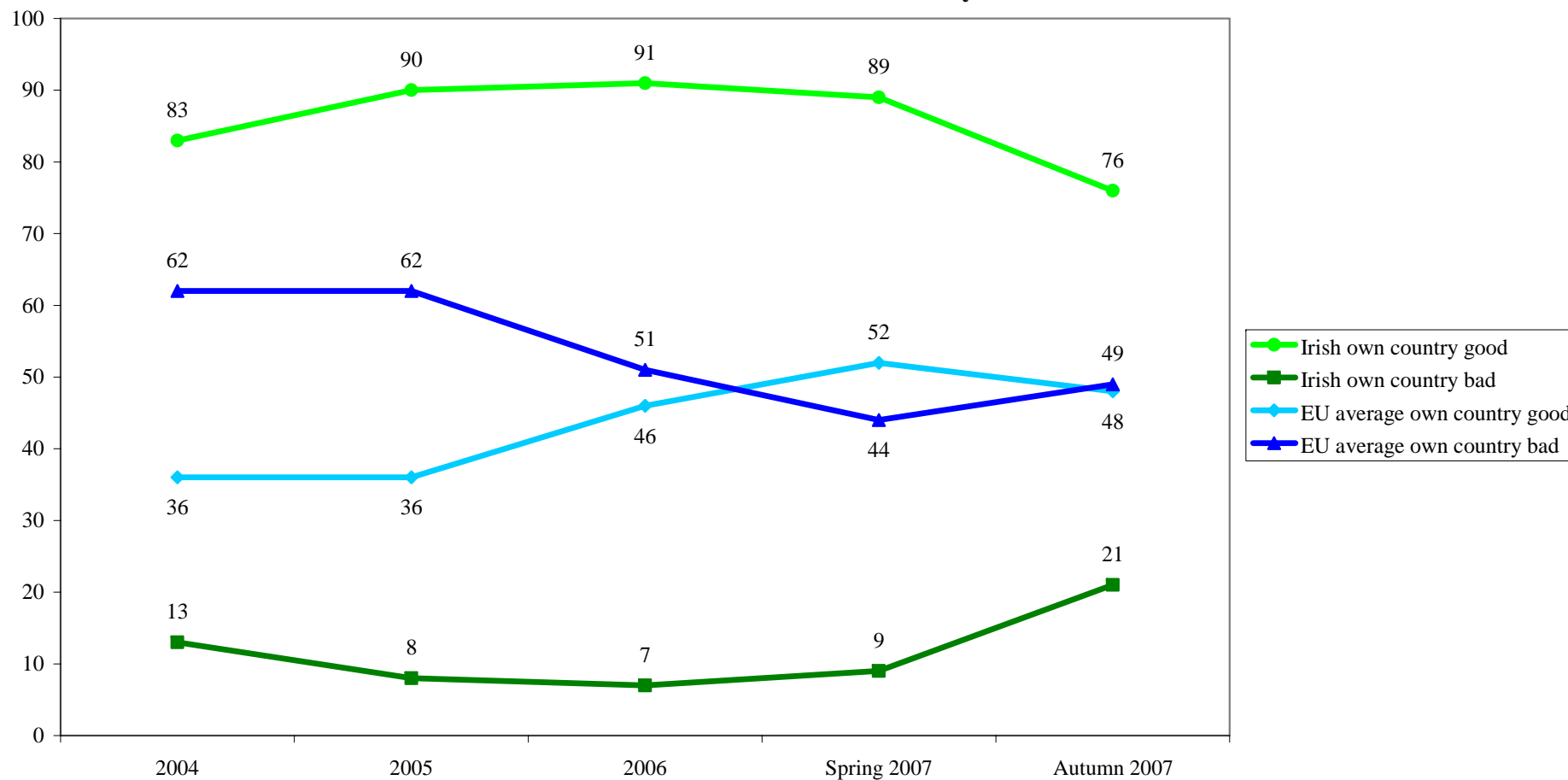
Table 1 Correlates of attitudes to the European Union: socio-demographics

		Positive image	Negative image	Neither positive nor negative	DK	Total
Age						
18-29	(%)	74	6	18	2	100
30-39	(%)	69	5	21	5	100
40-49	(%)	68	8	19	5	100
50-59	(%)	65	9	21	5	100
60-69	(%)	71	12	12	5	100
70+	(%)	65	6	21	7	100
Sex						
Male	(%)	73	8	17	2	100
Female	(%)	66	7	20	7	100
Respondent occupation						
Self-employed	(%)	80	8	10	2	100
Managers	(%)	88	1	10	1	100
Other white collars	(%)	76	6	19	0	100
Manual workers	(%)	64	8	22	6	100
Unemployed	(%)	42	13	42	3	100
Students	(%)	86	2	9	3	100
Retired/House persons	(%)	62	9	21	8	100
Education (year ended)						
Under 16	(%)	57	13	22	8	100
17-18	(%)	73	4	20	3	100
19-22	(%)	85	3	11	1	100
23+	(%)	82	5	13	0	100

dropping to 64 per cent among manual worker and 42 per cent among the unemployed. The evidence of differences in image of the EU by occupation is reinforced by the data on education. The educational data are in the form of the age at which respondents completed school. From this we can create an approximation to three educational categories – those with vocational or incomplete secondary education or less (i.e. left school at 16 or younger), those with complete secondary (left aged 17 or 18) and those with at least some third level education. Occurrence of a positive image of the European Union rises from just below 60 per cent among those with incomplete secondary education or less to 77 per cent among those who finished school at 17 or 18 and to 83 per cent among those with some third level education. When this educational evidence is combined with the data on occupational differences, it is clear that image of the EU varies significantly depending on socio-economic status. In sum, the better-off, the more middle class, and the better educated a person is the more likely he or she is to have a positive image of the EU. The status-based differences involved, while not overwhelming, are greater than those between the sexes and between the generations.

The foregoing socio-demographic factors are not subject to change in the short term. However, other socio-economic factors that are more a matter of current perceptions and experiences are more variable. One such is perception of the national economy. In Ireland, this was exceptionally high in 2005 and 2006 and up to spring 2007 (see Fig.12). However in autumn 2007, the positive evaluation of the economy dropped from 89 per cent to 76 per cent and negative evaluations rose from 9 per cent to 21 per cent. The question is: do these attitudes affect responses to the EU? The answer is that positive/negative attitudes to the economy are certainly correlated with attitudes to integration. As Table 2 shows, a positive image of the Union is found among 77 per cent of those who think the situation of the Irish economy is very good or rather good, whereas this perception falls to 47 per cent among those who think the economic situation is rather bad and to 27 per cent among the small minority who believe the economy is going down the tube (i.e.: among the 5 per cent who say that the situation of the Irish economy is very bad). In the light of this it is entirely possible that a major shift in positive/negative views of the economy would be reflected in diminished support for integration.

Figure 12 Irish & EU evaluations of current economic situation in own country: 2004-2007



Source: EB 62, 63, 66, 67.2 & 68.1: QA4_1 'How would you judge the current situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy?'

In addition to or perhaps instead of being affected by the foregoing demographic and socio-economic factors, people's perceptions of and attitudes to the European Union may well be related to more political aspects of their outlook. Here we consider three such factors – identity, ideology and knowledge of Europe.

National identity

A common assumption about national identity and support for European integration is to assume that the stronger the former, the weaker the latter, i.e. that there is a zero-sum relationship between having a strong national identity and taking a positive view of European integration. The data show that this is not the case. In fact the relationship goes in the opposite direction – the stronger the sense of attachment to Ireland, the more positive the image of Europe. And the differences are fairly substantial, positive image of the EU being found among only 49 per cent of those who feel not at all or not very attached to Ireland. However, positive image rises to 65 per cent among those fairly attached and to 74 per cent among those very attached.

European identity

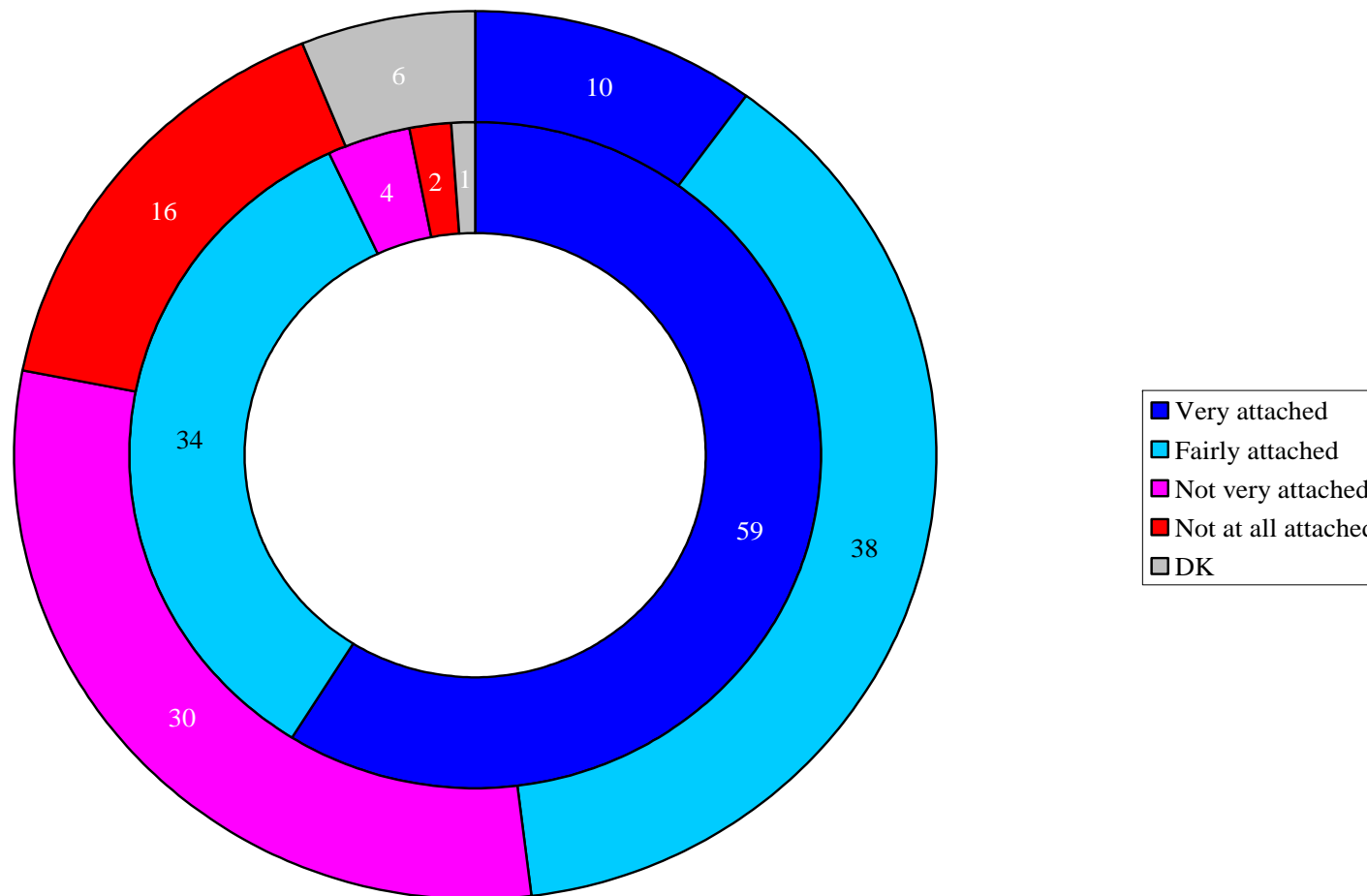
Positive/negative images of the EU depend even more on a sense of European identity. Whereas 94 per cent of those who feel very attached to Europe have a positive image of the Union this drops to 84 per cent among those who feel fairly attached, to 63 per cent among those not very attached and to 36 per cent among those who feel completely unattached to the European Union.

From the point of view of the referendum, the significance of this strong relationship lies in the fact that there are substantial numbers of Irish people on the lower end of the scale of European attachment. This is in stark contrast to the distribution of attachment to Ireland. As Figure 13 shows, 46 per cent of Irish people have little or no sense of European identity whereas only 5 per cent feel likewise about attachment to Ireland.

Knowledge

Images of the EU are also affected by people's knowledge of European affairs. *Eurobarometer 68.1* fielded three questions about people's knowledge in this area

Figure 13 Irish attitudes to identity Autumn 2007
inner pie: attachment to Ireland, outer pie: attachment to European Union



Source: EB 68.1, QA10_2 & QA10_4, 'Please tell me how attached you feel to (OUR COUNTRY) & The European Union?'

(relating to the number of member states, the number of member states in the Eurozone and the institution of the rotating presidency of the Union⁶). The decisive factor appears to be whether or not one knows anything at all or nothing at all about these three topics. Thus there are only minor differences image of the EU depending on whether one gets one, two or three questions right. The key factor is whether one gets any right at all, with positive image of the Union falling to 50 per cent among those giving no correct answers, compared to 75 per cent among those giving correct answers to one or two questions and 81 per cent positive image among those answering all three questions correctly.

Table 2 Correlates of attitudes to the European Union: economic perceptions, identity and knowledge

		Positive image	Negative image	Neither positive nor negative	DK	Total
Current situation of the national economy						
Very good	(%)	78	3	13	6	100
Rather good	(%)	76	3	17	4	100
Rather bad	(%)	47	20	28	5	100
Very bad	(%)	27	29	29	15	100
Don't Know	(%)	55	9	21	5	100
National identity (attachment to one's country)						
Very attached	(%)	74	6	17	3	100
Fairly attached	(%)	65	6	22	7	100
Not attached	(%)	49	22	22	7	100
Don't Know	(%)	40	10	40	10	100
European identity (attachment to the EU)						
Very attached	(%)	94	1	4	1	100
Fairly attached	(%)	84	1	14	1	100
Not very attached	(%)	63	10	22	5	100
Not at all attached	(%)	36	19	32	13	100
Don't Know	(%)	60	10	19	11	100
Knowledge scale						
No correct answers	(%)	50	11	27	12	100
One correct answer	(%)	76	3	17	3	100
Two correct answers	(%)	75	7	16	2	100
All correct answers	(%)	81	10	9	0	100
Subjective knowledge (I understand how the EU works)						
Tend to agree	(%)	83	4	12	1	100
Tend to disagree	(%)	62	10	22	6	100
Don't Know	(%)	63	2	25	10	100

⁶ Source: EB 68.1 QA17 – see appendix B.

The fact that the know-nothing group amounts to 28 per cent of respondents makes level of knowledge of the Union a potentially important factor in persuading people to vote ‘yes’ or ‘no’ in the forthcoming referendum. This view is reinforced when we examine people’s subjective assessment of their understanding of how the European Union works. Thus, while 83 per cent of those who feel comfortable about their knowledge of European affairs have a positive image of the EU, this drops to 61 per cent among those who do not feel that they understand how the Union works. Unlike such factors as identity or even perceptions of the economy (both of which may be difficult to change in the short term), the knowledge factor is something that can be worked on in the course of a referendum campaign. The potential impact of such efforts is increased by the fact that lack of knowledge and understanding of the EU tends to be associated not with negative images of the EU, but with adopting a neutral/don’t know stance. This increases the likelihood that an improvement in the knowledge of such people would tip them into the positive-attitude camp.

Conclusion

The evidence from *Eurobarometer 68.1* confirms the proposition that Irish public opinion is widely supportive of Ireland’s membership of the European Union. However, the evidence also shows that strong or enthusiastic support for integration is much less widespread. Furthermore, in relation to many policy issues on which public opinion attributes competence to the Union, there are very high levels of don’t know or neutral responses and/or the issues concerned are of low salience. Take environmental policy for example. A large majority believe that environmental policy issues should be decided jointly within the European Union rather than by national governments (in this case the Irish government). Moreover, the balance of Irish opinion on the role the EU plays in protecting the environment is highly positive. However, 37 per cent of people have no view on whether the EU plays a positive or negative role in protecting the environment. In any event, people’s main policy concerns are with the health system and crime and only 4 per cent of people regard environmental protection as being among the two most important issues facing Ireland at the present time. All of this implies that, while Irish attitudes to the European Union are positive, there is a substantial lack of engagement with European issues.

When it comes to a referendum on a European treaty, political leaders, activists and organizations and groups on both sides of the debate have to work that bit harder to inform people on the issues and to mobilize them to get out and vote. One must also bear in mind that the Irish debate on European issues takes place in a political climate characterised by low levels of trust in domestic political institutions, especially in political parties. Trust in the latter is just over 20 per cent whereas trust in the government and in the Dáil (the national parliament) is slightly better at 32 and 33 per cent respectively. However, before leaping to the conclusion that it would be next to impossible to pass a referendum in such circumstances one should note three points. First, these levels of trust are no different from those obtaining when the second referendum on the Nice Treaty was passed in 2002 or when the first Nice referendum was defeated in 2001. This underlines the point that referendums are not plebiscites on domestic political issues. In the political science jargon, they are not necessarily ‘second-order elections’. Secondly, lack of trust in political institutions may be a sign of critical rather than alienated citizens and a reflection of the effective working of the fundamental checks and balances in the political system. Thirdly, the levels of trust in the Irish case are identical to those found in the European member-states and so are nothing special. This last observation might, however, meet with the riposte that the average European member state is not holding a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty.

In commenting on low levels of trust in national institutions, one should note the quite high levels of trust in European institutions, which comes out at 63 per cent for the European Parliament, 60 per cent for the European Commission, 55 per cent for the Union as a whole and 50 per cent for the Council of the European Union. One should also note that each of these numbers is significantly higher than the corresponding European average. Overall one can conclude that, while low levels of trust in politics may make things a bit more uncomfortable for politicians campaigning on the door-step, there is no evidence to suggest that the outcome of the referendum will be decided by attitudes to domestic politics.

The other aspect of the climate or context in which the referendum will take place is Irish people’s attitudes to and experiences of the media. *Eurobarometer 68.1* confirms previous findings of much higher levels of trust in radio and television compared to trust in newspapers. The differences really are quite big – 68 percent

trust radio, 64 per cent TV, but only 40 per cent trust the press. Whatever the reason may be, it seems that messages coming from radio and television will, other things being equal, carry greater credibility. One can assume that this will have already been factored into the calculations and strategies of experienced election and referendum campaigners.

In designing their strategies, campaigners on both sides will also need to know the breakdown of attitudes to Europe by socio-demographic factors and, perhaps more importantly, by different perceptions of and attitudes to the European project. Taking image of the EU (positive or negative) as the indicator of attitudes to European integration, one can conclude that there is very little variation by age, though young people are slightly more positive than the middle aged. There is also a small but significant difference between the sexes, women being fractionally less positive.

Status, as measured by occupation and education, is associated with bigger contrasts in positive/negative image of the EU. The highest frequency of positive image is found among managers (88 per cent), then among the self-employed (80 per cent) and other white collar workers, dropping to 64 per cent among manual worker and 42 per cent among the unemployed.

Educational differences confirm these social status contrasts – positive image of the EU goes from just under 60 per cent among those whose full time education stopped at age 16 or less to 73 per cent among those leaving school at 17 or 18 and to over 80 per cent among those whose education continued to age 19 or more.

In terms of political attitudes, positive/negative image of the EU is associated with perceptions of the state of the Irish economy, with sense of national identity (the stronger the national identity, the more positive the image of the EU), with European identity, with having or not having at least some knowledge of the EU and, on a subjective scale, with a feeling that one understands the way the EU works.

The evidence presented in this report suggests that the challenge to the ‘yes’ camp in the forthcoming referendum on the Lisbon Treaty is that of mobilizing the underlying widespread positive attitudes to integration that are characteristic of Irish public opinion. Mobilization here means giving people a reason to want to vote in the referendum. The problem is that, while support for European integration is

widespread, it varies in strength or intensity. The approximately 65 to 75 per cent majority that takes a positive view of European integration is in fact made up of a minority of people who are strongly committed to integration and a majority who are favourably disposed but not strongly committed. Failure to mobilise this major swathe of 'soft' support had a dramatic effect on the outcome of the first Nice referendum back in 2001. The present report identifies some of the socio-demographic and attitudinal factors affecting the prospects of such mobilization that both the 'yes' and the 'no' campaigns will be paying attention to in the coming months.

Appendices

Technical specifications



STANDARD EUROBAROMETER 68 TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

Between the 22nd of September and the 3rd of November 2007, TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium created between Taylor Nelson Sofres and EOS Gallup Europe, carried out wave 68.1 of the EUROBAROMETER, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General for Communication, "Research and Political Analysis".

The "STANDARD" EUROBAROMETER 68 is part of wave 68.1 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 "STANDARD" EUROBAROMETER 68 has also been conducted in the three candidate countries (Croatia, Turkey and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) and in the Turkish Cypriot Community. In these countries, the survey covers the national population of citizens and the population of citizens of all the European Union Member States that are residents in these countries and have a sufficient command of the national languages 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.

ABBREVIATIONS	COUNTRIES	INSTITUTES	N° INTERVIEWS	FIELDWORK DATES		POPULATION 15+
BE	Belgium	TNS Dimarso	1.022	25/09/2007	21/10/2007	8.650.994
BG	Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	977	25/09/2007	10/10/2007	6.671.699
CZ	Czech Rep.	TNS Aisa	1.106	24/09/2007	15/10/2007	8.571.710
DK	Denmark	TNS Gallup DK	999	30/09/2007	03/11/2007	4.411.580
DE	Germany	TNS Infratest	1.509	24/09/2007	17/10/2007	64.361.608
EE	Estonia	Emor	1.012	27/09/2007	22/10/2007	887.094
EL	Greece	TNS ICAP	1.000	24/09/2007	17/10/2007	8.693.566
ES	Spain	TNS Demoscopia	1.000	25/09/2007	21/10/2007	37.024.972
FR	France	TNS Sofres	1.036	22/09/2007	20/10/2007	44.010.619
IE	Ireland	TNS MRBI	1.007	24/09/2007	21/10/2007	3.089.775
IT	Italy	TNS Abacus	1.045	26/09/2007	17/10/2007	48.892.559
CY	Rep. of Cyprus	Synovate	500	24/09/2007	22/10/2007	596.752
CY(tcc)	Turkish Cypriot Comm.	KADEM	500	25/09/2007	16/10/2007	157.101
LV	Latvia	TNS Latvia	1.006	25/09/2007	22/10/2007	1.418.596
LT	Lithuania	TNS Gallup Lithuania	1.016	24/09/2007	15/10/2007	2.803.661
LU	Luxembourg	TNS ILReS	502	24/09/2007	22/10/2007	374.097
HU	Hungary	TNS Hungary	1.000	27/09/2007	24/10/2007	8.503.379
MT	Malta	MISCO	500	24/09/2007	18/10/2007	321.114
NL	Netherlands	TNS NIPO	1.005	24/09/2007	22/10/2007	13.030.000
AT	Austria	Österreichisches Gallup- Institut	1.015	24/09/2007	15/10/2007	6.848.736
PL	Poland	TNS OBOP	1.000	26/09/2007	17/10/2007	31.967.880
PT	Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	1.000	24/09/2007	21/10/2007	8.080.915
RO	Romania	TNS CSOP	1.000	24/09/2007	18/10/2007	18.173.179
SI	Slovenia	RM PLUS	1.009	25/09/2007	21/10/2007	1.720.137
SK	Slovakia	TNS AISA SK	1.126	26/09/2007	11/10/2007	4.316.438
FI	Finland	TNS Gallup Oy	1.033	23/09/2007	21/10/2007	4.348.676
SE	Sweden	TNS GALLUP	1.003	28/09/2007	21/10/2007	7.486.976
UK	United Kingdom	TNS UK	1.340	24/09/2007	21/10/2007	47.685.578
HR	Croatia	Puls	1.000	25/09/2007	21/10/2007	3.722.800
TR	Turkey	TNS PIAR	1.004	24/09/2007	21/10/2007	47.583.830
MK	Former Yugoslav Rep. of Macedonia	TNS Brima	1.009	22/09/2007	03/10/2007	1.596.267
TOTAL			30.281	22/09/2007	03/11/2007	446.002.288

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:

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

Questionnaire

A your survey number
 (101-105)

EB67.3 A

B country code
 (106-107)

EB67.3 B

C our survey number
 (108-110)

EB67.3 C

D Interview number
 (111-116)

EB67.3 D

E Split ballot

A	(117)	1
B		2

EB67.3 E

ASK ITEM 28 ONLY IN TURKEY

ASK ITEM 29 ONLY IN CROATIA

ASK ITEM 30 ONLY IN TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY

ASK ITEM 31 ONLY IN FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Q1 What is your nationality? Please tell me the country(ies) that applies(y).

(MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

	(138-170)
Belgium	1,
Denmark	2,
Germany	3,
Greece	4,
Spain	5,
France	6,
Ireland	7,
Italy	8,
Luxembourg	9,
Netherlands	10,
Portugal	11,
United Kingdom (Great Britain, Northern Ireland)	12,
Austria	13,
Sweden	14,
Finland	15,
Republic of Cyprus	16,
Czech Republic	17,
Estonia	18,
Hungary	19,
Latvia	20,
Lithuania	21,

Malta	22,
Poland	23,
Slovakia	24,
Slovenia	25,
Bulgaria	26,
Romania	27,
Turkey	28,
Croatia	29,
Cyprus (Turkish Cypriot Community)	30,
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	31,
Other countries	32,
DK	33,

EB67.3 Q1

IF OTHER or DK THEN CLOSE INTERVIEW

ASK QA1 TO QA16 IN EU27 + TR + HR + CY(tcc) + FYROM

QA1 When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?

(171)

Frequently	1
Occasionally	2
Never	3
DK	4

EB67.2 QA1

QA2 When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? Does this happen...?

(READ OUT)

Often	(172)	1
From time to time		2
Rarely		3
Never		4
DK		5

EB67.2 QA2

QA3 On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?

(READ OUT)

Very satisfied	(173)	1
Fairly satisfied		2
Not very satisfied		3
Not at all satisfied		4
DK		5

EB67.2 QA3

QA4: DO NOT ASK ITEM 1 in CY(tcc) – ASK ITEM 2 ONLY in CY(tcc)

QA4 How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

(READ OUT)	Very good	Rather good	Rather bad	Very bad	DK
------------	-----------	-------------	------------	----------	----

(174)	1	The situation of the (NATIONALITY)	1	2	3	4	5
-------	---	------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---

	economy					
(175)	2 The situation of our economy	1	2	3	4	5
(176)	3 The situation of the European economy	1	2	3	4	5
(177)	4 The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(178)	5 The situation of the environment in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(179)	6 The social welfare situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5

EB67.2 QA49 (ITEM 1 AND 2) - EB66.1 QA51 (ITEMS 3 - 6)

QA5: DO NOT ASK ITEMS 2 AND 5 in CY(tcc) – ASK ITEMS 3 and 6 ONLY in CY(tcc)

QA5 What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?

	(READ OUT)	Better	Worse	Same	DK
--	------------	--------	-------	------	----

(180)	1 Your life in general	1	2	3	4
(181)	2 The economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(182)	3 The economic situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4
(183)	4 The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4

(184)	5	The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(185)	6	The employment situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4
(186)	7	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4
(187)	8	The economic situation in the EU	1	2	3	4

EB67.2 QA4

DO NOT ASK QA6a in CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QA6b

QA6a	What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?
------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(188-203)
Crime	1,
Economic situation	2,
Rising prices\ inflation	3,
Taxation	4,
Unemployment	5,
Terrorism	6,
Defence\ Foreign affairs	7,
Housing	8,
Immigration	9,
Healthcare system	10,
The educational system	11,
Pensions	12,
Protecting the environment	13,
Energy related issues	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB67.2 QA18a

ASK QA6b ONLY in CY(tcc) – OTHERS GO TO QA7

QA6b What do you think are the two most important issues facing our community at the moment?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(204-219)
Crime	1,
Economic situation	2,
Rising prices\ inflation	3,
Taxation	4,
Unemployment	5,
Terrorism	6,
Cyprus issue	7,
Housing	8,
Immigration	9,
Healthcare system	10,
The educational system	11,
Pensions	12,
Protecting the environment	13,
Energy related issues	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB67.2 QA18b

ASK ALL

QA7 At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in...?

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT)	Things are going in the right direction	Things are going in the wrong direction	Neither the one nor the other (SPONTANEOUS)	DK
--	------------	-----------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------	----

(220)	1	(OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(221)	2	The European Union	1	2	3	4

EB66.1 QA5

QA8: DO NOT ASK ITEMS 5,7,11 and 12 in CY(tcc)

QA8 I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

	(READ OUT)	Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	DK
--	------------	---------------	-------------------	----

(222)	1	The press	1	2	3
(223)	2	Radio	1	2	3
(224)	3	Television	1	2	3
(225)	4	The Internet	1	2	3
(226)	5	Justice\the (NATIONALITY) legal system	1	2	3
(227)	6	The police	1	2	3
(228)	7	The army	1	2	3
(229)	8	Religious institutions	1	2	3

(230)	9	Trades union	1	2	3
(231)	10	Political parties	1	2	3
(232)	11	The (NATIONALITY) Government	1	2	3
	12	The (NATIONALITY PARLIAMENT) (USE PROPER NAME FOR LOWER HOUSE)	1	2	3
(233)					
(234)	13	The European Union	1	2	3
(235)	14	The United Nations	1	2	3
(236)	15	Consumer associations	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA16 (ITEMS 1-4, 11-13) - EB66.3 QA18 (ITEM 10) - EB66.1 QA6 (ITEMS 5-9, 14, 15)

ASK QA9a ONLY IN EU27 – OTHERS GO TO QA9b

QA9a Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.

	(READ OUT)	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	DK
--	------------	---------------	------------------	----

(237)	1	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
(238)	2	(OUR COUNTRY)'s voice counts in the EU	1	2	3
	3	I feel very much involved in European affairs	1	2	3
(239)					
(240)	4	The interests of (OUR COUNTRY) are well taken into account in the EU	1	2	3
(241)	5	The biggest countries have the most power in the EU	1	2	3
(242)	6	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(243)	7	(OUR COUNTRY) will become more influential in the EU in the future	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA34a TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA9b ONLY in TR, HR, FYROM and CY(tcc) – DO NOT ASK ITEMS 2 and 6 in CY(tcc) – ASK ITEM 3 and 7 ONLY in CY(tcc) – OTHERS GO TO QA10

QA9b Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree?

	(READ OUT)	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	DK
(244)	1 My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
(245)	2 The interests of (OUR COUNTRY) are well taken into account in the EU	1	2	3
(246)	3 The interests of our community are well taken into account in the EU	1	2	3
(247)	4 The biggest countries have the most power in the EU	1	2	3
(248)	5 I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(249)	6 (OUR COUNTRY) will become more influential in the EU in the future	1	2	3
(250)	7 Our community will become more influential in the EU in the future	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA34b TREND MODIFIED

QA10: DO NOT ASK ITEM 2 in CY(tcc) – ASK ITEM 3 ONLY in CY(tcc)

QA10 People may feel different levels of attachment to their village, town or city, to their country or to the European Union. Please tell me how attached you feel to...

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT)	Very attached	Fairly attached	Not very attached	Not at all attached	DK
--	------------	---------------	-----------------	-------------------	---------------------	----

(251)	1	Your city\ town\ village	1	2	3	4	5
(252)	2	(OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(253)	3	Our community	1	2	3	4	5
(254)	4	European Union	1	2	3	4	5

EB67.2 QA33

DO NOT ASK QA11a and QA11b IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA12

QA11a On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in (OUR COUNTRY)?

QA11b And how about the way democracy works in the European Union?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN)

(READ OUT)	(255)	(256)
	QA11a In (OUR COUNTRY)	QA11b In the European Union
Very satisfied	1	1
Fairly satisfied	2	2
Not very satisfied	3	3
Not at all satisfied	4	4
DK	5	5

EB65.2 Q34a & b

ASK ALL

DO NOT ASK QA12a and QA13a in TR, HR, FYROM and CY(tcc) – FYROM, TR and HR GO TO QA12b – CY(tcc) GO TO QA12c

QA12a Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

(READ OUT)

(257)

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

EB67.2 QA9a

QA13a Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

(258)

Benefited	1
Not benefited	2
DK	3

EB67.2 QA10a

ASK QA12b and QA13b ONLY in FYROM, TR and HR – EU27 GO TO QA14 – CY(tcc) GO TO QA12c

QA12b Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?

(READ OUT)

	(259)
A good thing	1
A bad thing	2
Neither good nor bad	3
DK	4

EB67.2 QA9b

QA13b Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) would benefit or not from being a member of the European Union?

	(260)
Would benefit	1
Would not benefit	2
DK	3

EB67.2 QA10b

ASK QA12c and QA13c ONLY in CY(tcc) – OTHERS GO TO QA14

QA12c Generally speaking, do you think that for the Turkish Cypriot Community the full application of EU legislation would be...?

(READ OUT)

	(261)
A good thing	1
A bad thing	2
Neither good nor bad	3
DK	4

EB67.2 QA9c

QA13c Taking everything into consideration, would you say that the Turkish Cypriot Community would benefit or not from the full application of the EU legislation?

	(262)
Would benefit	1
Would not benefit	2
DK	3

EB67.2 QA10c

ASK ALL

QA14 In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

	(263)
Very positive	1
Fairly positive	2
Neutral	3
Fairly negative	4
Very negative	5
DK	6

EB67.2 QA11

QA15 Have you heard of...?

	(READ OUT)	Yes	No	DK
--	------------	-----	----	----

(264)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
--------------	---	-------------------------	---	---	---

(265)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(266)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(267)	4	The Court of Justice of the European Communities	1	2	3
(268)	5	The European Ombudsman	1	2	3
(269)	6	The European Central Bank	1	2	3
(270)	7	The European Court of Auditors	1	2	3
(271)	8	The Committee of the Regions of the European Union	1	2	3
(272)	9	The Economic and Social Committee of the European Union	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA13 (ITEMS 1-3, 6) - EB66.1 QA18 (ITEMS 4-5, 7-9)

QA16 And, for each of them, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

	(READ OUT)	Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	DK
--	------------	---------------	-------------------	----

(273)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(274)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(275)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(276)	4	The Court of Justice of the European Communities	1	2	3
(277)	5	The European Ombudsman	1	2	3
(278)	6	The European Central Bank	1	2	3
(279)	7	The European Court of Auditors	1	2	3
(280)	8	The Committee of the Regions of the European Union	1	2	3
(281)	9	The Economic and Social Committee of the European Union	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA15 (ITEMS 1-3, 6) - EB66.1 QA19 (ITEMS 4-5, 7-9)

Let's talk about another topic

ASK QB IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO QA17

ASK QA17 TO QA19 IN EU27 + TR + HR + CY(tcc) + FYROM

QA17 For each of the following statements about the European Union could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false.

	(READ OUT)	True.	False.	DK
--	------------	-------	--------	----

(404)	1	The EU currently consists of fifteen Member States	1	2	3
(405)	2	Every six months, a different Member State becomes the President of the Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(406)	3	The euro area currently consists in twelve Member States (N)	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA17 (ITEMS 1, 2)

ASK QA18a AND QA18b ONLY in PT

QA18a In the European Union, each Member State, in turn, becomes the President of the Council of the European Union for six months. Right now, it's the turn of Portugal. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television anything about Portugal's presidency? (M)

	(407)
Yes	1
No	2

DK 3

EB67.2 QA44a

QA18b Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that Portugal is President of the Council of the European Union at this time? Would you say it is...? (M)

(READ OUT)

(408)

Very important	1
Important	2
Not very important	3
Not at all important	4
DK	5

EB67.2 QA44b

ASK QA18c AND QA18d ONLY in SI

QA18c In the European Union, each Member State, in turn, becomes the President of the Council of the European Union for six months. From January the 1st 2008 it will be the turn of Slovenia. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television anything about Slovenia's presidency? (M)

(409)

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

EB67.2 QA44c

QA18d Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that Slovenia will be President of the Council of the European Union from the 1st of January 2008? Would you say it is...? (M)

(READ OUT)

(410)

Very important	1
Important	2
Not very important	3
Not at all important	4
DK	5

EB67.2 QA44d

ASK ALL IN EU27 + TR + HR + CY(tcc) + FYROM

QA19 Overall, do you think that in (OUR COUNTRY) people are well informed or not about European political affairs?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(411)

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

EB67.2 QA22a (FILTER MODIFIED)-QUESTION ASKED TO A HALF OF THE SAMPLE

QC1 Generally speaking, do you think that the (NATIONALITY) ... talk(s) too much, about the right amount or too little about the European Union?

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(412)	1	Television	1	2	3	4
(413)	2	Radio	1	2	3	4
(414)	3	Press	1	2	3	4
(415)	4	Websites (N)	1	2	3	4

EB65.2 QA21 TREND MODIFIED

QC2 Do you think that the (NATIONALITY) ... Present(s) the European Union too positively, objectively or too negatively?

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT)	Too positively	Objectively	Too negatively	DK
--	------------	----------------	-------------	----------------	----

(416)	1	Television	1	2	3	4
(417)	2	Radio	1	2	3	4
(418)	3	Press	1	2	3	4
(419)	4	Websites (N)	1	2	3	4

EB65.2 QA22 TREND MODIFIED

SPLIT BALLOT A: ASK ITEM 10 - SPLIT BALLOT B: ASK ITEMS 11 AND 12

DO NOT ASK QA20a in CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QA20b

QA20a	For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the (NATIONALITY) Government, or made jointly within the European Union?
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	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	(NATIONALITY) Government	Jointly within the EU	DK
--	---------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------	----

(420)	1	Fighting crime	1	2	3
(421)	2	Taxation	1	2	3
(422)	3	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3
(423)	4	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3
(424)	5	Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3
(425)	6	Immigration	1	2	3
(426)	7	The educational system	1	2	3
(427)	8	Pensions	1	2	3
(428)	9	Protecting the environment	1	2	3
(429)	10	(SPLIT BALLOT A) Health and social welfare (M)	1	2	3
(430)	11	(SPLIT BALLOT B) Health (N)	1	2	3
(431)	12	(SPLIT BALLOT B) Social welfare (N)	1	2	3
(432)	13	Agriculture and fishery	1	2	3
(433)	14	Consumer protection	1	2	3
(434)	15	Scientific and technological research	1	2	3
(435)	16	Support for regions facing economic difficulties	1	2	3
(436)	17	Energy	1	2	3
(437)	18	Competition	1	2	3
(438)	19	Transports	1	2	3
(439)	20	Economy	1	2	3
(440)	21	Fighting inflation (N)	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA20a TREND MODIFIED

SPLIT BALLOT A: ASK ITEM 10 - SPLIT BALLOT B: ASK ITEMS 11 AND 12

ASK QA20b ONLY in CY(tcc) – OTHERS GO TO QA21

QA20b For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the national Governments, or made jointly within the European Union?

	(READ OUT – ROTATE)	National Governments	Jointly within the European Union	DK
--	---------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	----

(441)	1	Fighting crime	1	2	3
(442)	2	Taxation	1	2	3
(443)	3	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3
(444)	4	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3
(445)	5	Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3
(446)	6	Immigration	1	2	3
(447)	7	The educational system	1	2	3
(448)	8	Pensions	1	2	3
(449)	9	Protecting the environment	1	2	3
(450)	10	(SPLIT BALLOT A) Health and social welfare (M)	1	2	3
(451)	11	(SPLIT BALLOT B) Health (N)	1	2	3
(452)	12	(SPLIT BALLOT B) Social welfare (N)	1	2	3
(453)	13	Agriculture and fishery	1	2	3
(454)	14	Consumer protection	1	2	3

(455)	15	Scientific and technological research	1	2	3
	16	Support for regions facing economic difficulties	1	2	3
(456)					
(457)	17	Energy	1	2	3
(458)	18	Competition	1	2	3
(459)	19	Transports	1	2	3
(460)	20	Economy	1	2	3
(461)	21	Fighting inflation (N)	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA20b TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QA21 And for each of the following issues in (OUR COUNTRY), do you think that the European Union plays a positive role, a negative role or neither positive nor negative role?

(READ OUT)	Positive role	Negative role	Neither positive nor negative role	DK
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(462)	1	Fighting crime	1	2	3	4
(463)	2	Public transport	1	2	3	4
(464)	3	The economic situation	1	2	3	4
(465)	4	Rising prices/ inflation	1	2	3	4
(466)	5	Taxation	1	2	3	4
(467)	6	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3	4
(468)	7	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3	4
(469)	8	Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3	4
(470)	9	Housing	1	2	3	4
(471)	10	Immigration	1	2	3	4
(472)	11	Healthcare system	1	2	3	4

(473)	12	The educational system	1	2	3	4
(474)	13	Pensions	1	2	3	4
(475)	14	Protecting the environment	1	2	3	4

EB65.2 QA29

QA22 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	For	Against	DK
--	---------------------	-----	---------	----

(476)	1	A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro	1	2	3
(477)	2	A common foreign policy among the Member States of the EU, towards other countries	1	2	3
(478)	3	A common defence and security policy among EU Member States	1	2	3
(479)	4	Further enlargement of the EU to include other countries in future years	1	2	3
(480)	5	The speed of building Europe being faster in one group of countries than in the other countries	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA27 TREND MODIFIED

QA23 The European Union already has a Common Foreign and Security Policy and a European Security and Defence Policy. There is now a debate about how much further these should be developed. Do you tend to agree or tend to disagree with each of the following statements?

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	DK
--	---------------------	---------------	------------------	----

(481)	1	EU foreign policy should be independent of United States foreign policy	1	2	3
(482)	2	The EU should have a common immigration policy towards people from outside the EU	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA39 TREND MODIFIED

QA24 Would you say that you are very optimistic, fairly optimistic, fairly pessimistic or very pessimistic about the future of the European Union ...?

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Very optimistic	(483)	1
Fairly optimistic		2
Fairly pessimistic		3
Very pessimistic		4
DK		5

EB67.2 QA37

QA25 European integration has been focusing on various issues in the last years. In your opinion, which aspects should be emphasized by the European institutions in the coming years, to strengthen the European Union in the future?

(SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

The Internal market	(484-498)	1,
Cultural policy		2,

European foreign policy	3,
European defence policy	4,
Immigration issues	5,
European education policy	6,
Environment issues	7,
Energy issues	8,
Solidarity with poorer regions	9,
Scientific research	10,
Social issues	11,
The fight against crime	12,
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	14,
DK	15,

EB67.2 QA41

DEMOGRAPHICS

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

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

(519-520)

1 Left	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Right
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Refusal (SPONTANEOUS) 11

DK 12

EB67.3 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)

	(521-522)
Married	1
Remarried	2
Unmarried, currently living with partner	3
Unmarried, having never lived with a partner	4
Unmarried, having previously lived with a partner, but now on my own	5
Divorced	6
Separated	7
Widowed	8
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	9
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	10

EB67.3 D7

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

(INT.: IF "STILL STUDYING", CODE '00' - IF "NO EDUCATION" CODE '01' - IF "REFUSAL" CODE '98' - IF "DK" CODE '99')

(523-524)

EB67.3 D8

NO QUESTION D9

D10 Gender.

	(525)
Male	1
Female	2

EB67.3 D10

D11 How old are you?

(526-527)

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EB67.3 D11

NO QUESTION D12 TO D14

ASK D15b IF "NOT DOING ANY PAID WORK CURRENTLY", CODES 1 to 4 in D15a

D15a What is your current occupation?

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

	(528-529)	(530-531)
	D15a	D15b
	CURRENT OCCUPATION	LAST OCCUPATION
NON-ACTIVE		
Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	1	1
Student	2	2
Unemployed or temporarily not working	3	3
Retired or unable to work through illness	4	4
SELF EMPLOYED		

Farmer	5	5
Fisherman	6	6
Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, etc.)	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, accountant, architect)	10	10
General management, director or top management (managing directors, director general, other director)	11	11
Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	12	12
Employed position, working mainly at a desk	13	13
Employed position, not at a desk but travelling (salesmen, driver, etc.)	14	14
Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, etc.)	15	15
Supervisor	16	16
Skilled manual worker	17	17
Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	18	18
Never did any paid work	19	19

EB67.3 D15a D15b

NO QUESTIONS D16 TO D24

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

(READ OUT)

	(532)
Rural area or village	1
Small or middle sized town	2
Large town	3
DK	4

EB67.3 D25

NO QUESTIONS D26 TO D39

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

(533-
534)

--	--

EB67.3 D40a

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

(535-
536)

--	--

EB67.3 D40b

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

(537-538)

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EB67.3 D40c

D41 You personally, were you born...?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(539)
In (OUR COUNTRY)	1
In another Member Country of the European Union	2
In Europe, but not in a Member Country of the European Union	3
In Asia, in Africa or in Latin America	4
In Northern America, in Japan or in Oceania	5
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	6

EB67.3 D41

D42 Which of these proposals corresponds to your situation?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(540)
Your mother and your father were born in (OUR COUNTRY)	1
One of your parents was born in (OUR COUNTRY) and the other was born in another Member State of the EU	2
Your mother and your father were born in another Member State of the EU	3
One of your parents was born in (OUR COUNTRY) and the other was born outside of the EU	4
Your mother and your father were born outside the EU	5
DK\ Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	6

EB67.3 D42

D43a Do you own a fixed telephone in your household?

D43b Do you own a personal mobile telephone?

	(541)	(542)
	D43a	D43b
	Fixed	Mobile
Yes	1	1
No	2	2

EB67.3 D43a D43b

NO QUESTIONS D44 TO D45

D46 Which of the following goods do you have?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

	(543-552)
Television	1,
DVD player	2,
Music CD player	3,
Computer	4,
An Internet connection at home	5,
A car	6,
An apartment\ a house which you have finished paying for	7,
An apartment\ a house which you are paying for	8,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
DK	10,

EB67.3 D46

NO QUESTIONS D47 TO D48

(DO NOT SUGGEST – RECODE – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE) - (INSERT THE LIST OF MAIN TV CHANNELS AVAILABLE IN THE COUNTRY + OTHER)

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

TV CHANNELS CODES (NATIONAL CODES)

30 2 (553,554-613)

EB65.2 D49a

(DO NOT SUGGEST – RECODE – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE) - (INSERT THE LIST OF MAIN RADIO STATIONS AVAILABLE IN THE COUNTRY + OTHER)

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

RADIO STATIONS CODES (NATIONAL CODES)

30 2 (614,615-674)

EB64.2 D49b

(DO NOT SUGGEST – RECODE – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE) - (INSERT THE LIST OF MAIN DAILY NEWSPAPERS AVAILABLE IN THE COUNTRY + OTHER)

D49c

Can you tell me the daily newspapers, if any, that you regularly read, meaning at least three times a week?

DAILY NEWSPAPERS CODES (NATIONAL CODES)

30

2

(675,676-735)

EB64.2 D49c

(DO NOT SUGGEST – RECODE – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE) - (INSERT THE LIST OF MAIN INTERNET WEBSITES AVAILABLE IN THE COUNTRY + OTHER)

D49d Can you tell me the websites, if any, that you regularly go to, meaning at least three times a week?

INTERNET WEBSITES CODES (NATIONAL CODES)

30 **2** (736,737-796)

NEW

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLE

P1 DATE OF INTERVIEW

(817-818) (819-820)
DAY MONTH

EB67.3 P1

P2 TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW

(INT.: USE 24 HOUR CLOCK)

(821-822) (823-824)
HOUR MINUTES

EB67.3 P2

P3 NUMBER OF MINUTES THE INTERVIEW LASTED

(825-827)

MINUTES

EB67.3 P3

P4 Number of persons present during the interview, including interviewer

(828)

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

EB67.3 P4

P5 Respondent cooperation

(829)

Excellent	1
Fair	2
Average	3
Bad	4

EB67.3 P5

P6 Size of locality

(LOCAL CODES)

(830-831)

EB67.3 P6

P7 Region

(LOCAL CODES)

(832-
833)

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EB67.3 P7

P8 Postal code

(834-
841)

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EB67.3 P8

P9 Sample point number

(842-
849)

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EB67.3 P9

P10 Interviewer number

(850-
857)

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EB67.3 P10

P11 Weighting factor

(858-
865)

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EB67.3 P11

ASK ONLY in LU, BE, ES, FI, EE, LV, MT, TR AND FYROM

P13 Language of interview

Language 1
Language 2
Language 3

(866)

1
2
3

EB67.3 P13