



# EUROBAROMETER 69.2

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

## SPRING 2008

NATIONAL REPORT

**IRELAND**

This survey was requested and coordinated by Directorate-General for Communication.

This report was produced for the European Commission's Delegation in Ireland

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## **Introduction: Understanding the Lisbon Referendum Outcome**

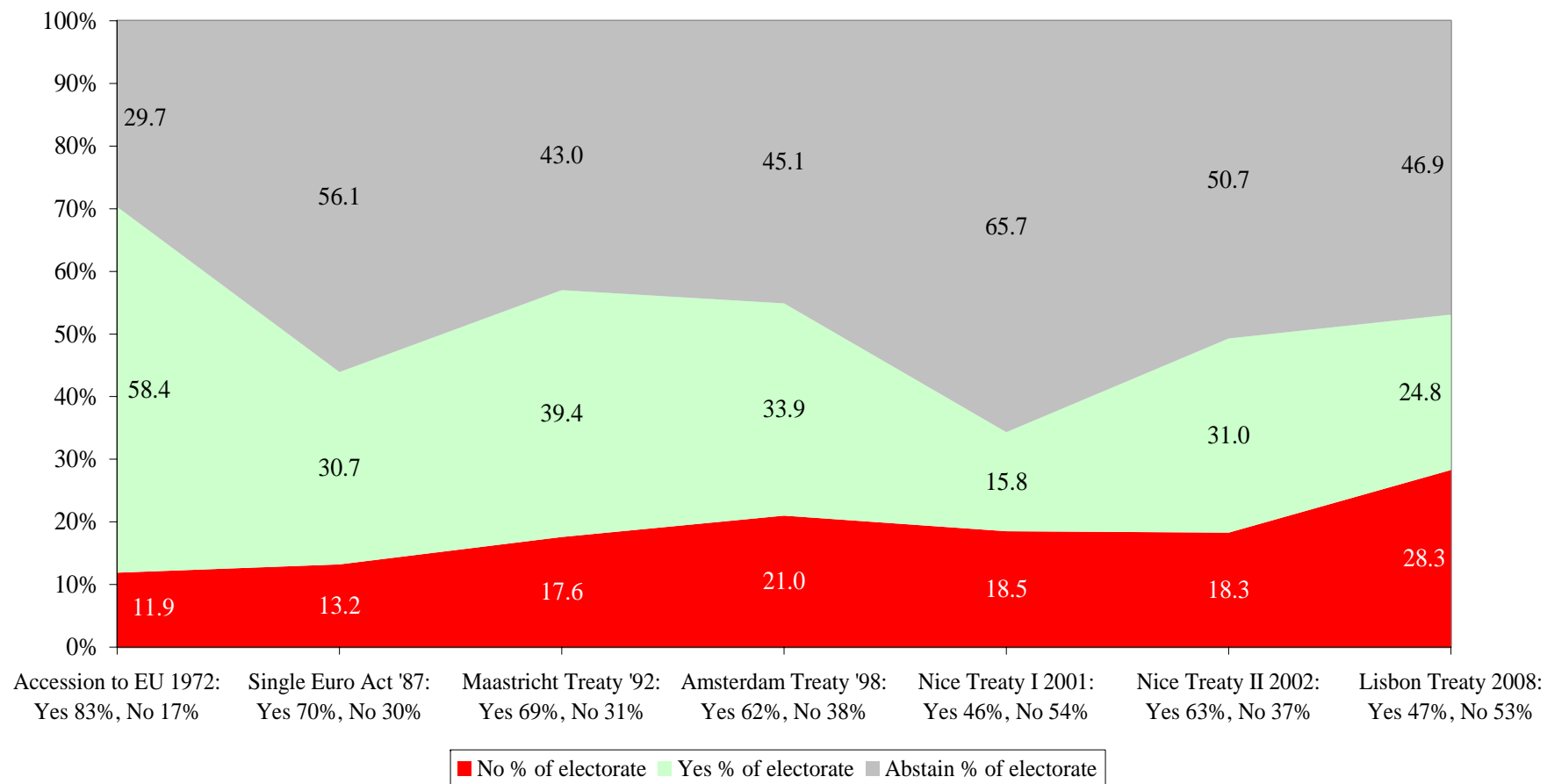
This is the thirteenth in a series of reports on Irish public opinion on European integration based on the results of the biannual *Eurobarometer* surveys, in this case *Eurobarometer 69.2*<sup>1</sup>. Given its timing, *Eurobarometer 69.2* is a very useful source of additional evidence of the overall state of Irish public opinion on European integration issues as the campaigns for the Lisbon Treaty were getting under way.

In that referendum held on Thursday 12 June 2008, the Irish electorate (or more precisely, the 53.1 per cent of the electorate that voted) rejected the Treaty of Lisbon by 53.4 per cent to 46.6 per cent. This of course was not the first time that Irish voters have refused to approve the ratification of an EU treaty and the similarities and differences between the Lisbon referendum and the first Nice referendum in June 2001 (and indeed the other European treaty referendums in Ireland that approved the ratification of various EU treaties) are quite telling. These similarities and differences are best approached by taking the ‘yes’ vote, the ‘no’ vote and the abstainers as percentages of the electorate (see Fig.1). Three features of the trends shown in Figure 1 should be noted. The first is the volatility of the ‘yes’ vote – even if we leave the 1972 accession referendum to one side, the ‘yes’ vote has ranged from 33.9 per cent (in the Amsterdam Treaty referendum in May 1998) to 15.8 per cent (in Nice I). The second and obviously related feature is the variation in the rate of abstention, which, again leaving out 1972 ranges from a low of 43.0 per cent (in the referendum on the Maastricht Treaty in June 1992) to a high of 65.7 per cent (in Nice I). The third and, in the present context, most telling feature is the substantial change in the ‘no’ vote in 2008. Having been apparently stuck at between about 18 per cent and 21 per cent across the four referendums held between 1992 and 2002, the ‘no’ vote as a percentage of the electorate rose from 18.3 per cent to 28.3 per cent in 2008. This calls for explanation. Any such explanation must take account of the attitudinal context within which Irish referendums on European issues take place. This is extensively documented in *Eurobarometer 69.2* which is the main basis

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<sup>1</sup> The fieldwork for *Eurobarometer 69.2* was conducted between Friday 28 March and Wednesday 30 April 2008.

Figure 1 Yes, No and Abstain in European Referendums in Ireland as a percentage of the electorate 1972-2008



of the analysis presented in this report. We begin by looking at the national political climate as the referendum campaigns were starting up.

## **The National Political Climate in the run-up to the referendum**

### *Trust in political institutions & the media*

Since the last *Eurobarometer* report in autumn 2007, there has been a modest increase in Irish respondents' levels of trust in national political institutions (see Table 1). As of April 2008, trust in the Dáil was up nine points, which at 42 per cent was eight points above the European average. This compares favourably with many Eastern European member states. Only 12 per cent of Bulgarians profess trust in the *Narodno Sabranie* (Bulgarian Parliament) while a similar number of Lithuanians express trust in the *Seimas* (Lithuanian Parliament). However, Irish respondents trust in parliament is significantly below the levels expressed in some western European member states. For example 76 per cent of Danes express trust in the *Folketinget* (Danish Parliament) while 66 per cent of Finns express trust in the *Eduskunta* (Finnish Parliament).

Trust in the government and in political parties, while remaining low overall also increased over the months in question. Thirty-seven per cent of Irish people expressed trust in the government while 27 per cent said they had trust in political parties, an increase of five points in both cases since *Eurobarometer 68.1*.

**Table 1 Levels of trust in National Political & Media Institutions:  
Ireland and EU 27 (%)**

(in descending order of 'Ireland: Spring 2008')

	Ireland: Autumn 2007	Ireland: Spring 2008	EU 27: Spring 2008
<b>National Political Institutions</b>			
The Dáil/National Parliament	33	42	34
The National Government	32	37	32
Political Parties	22	27	18
<b>Media Institutions</b>			
Radio	68	72	61
Television	64	68	53
The Press	40	44	44
The Internet	32	40	36

Source EB 68.1, QA8/QA16 and EB 69.2, QA12/QA18

In a comparative perspective, Irish peoples trust in government is just above the EU average of 32 per cent. Irish respondents have more trust in political parties than their European counterparts with only 18 per cent of Europeans as a whole expressing trust in them. On a country level, the differences widened: for example only 13 per cent of Britons said they trusted political parties while even fewer French citizens (10 per cent) expressed a similar view.

The rise in trust in national institutions is perhaps not surprising considering that during the fieldwork<sup>1</sup> Ireland was in the initial stages of a change of government. However, Brian Cowen's impending elevation to the post of Taoiseach did not result in an increase in the trust people place in national political institutions<sup>2</sup>.

In any referendum campaign, the role of the media is critical in communicating the issues involved to the public. Radio and television remain the two most trusted sections of the media among the Irish people with 72 per cent and 68 per cent respectively expressing trust in these sources (see Table 1). As previous reports in this series have noted, Irish people continue to trust these two media more than their European counterparts with 61 per cent of Europeans as a whole saying they trust radio while only 53 per cent expressed trust in television. The trust the Irish public places in television and radio takes on added significance in the light of the constraints that the McKenna<sup>3</sup> and Coughlan<sup>4</sup> judgements put on programme makers and campaigners.

There was also some increase in trust in the internet with 40 per cent now expressing trust in it compared to only 32 per cent last autumn. This is above the European average of 36 per cent. However, over a fifth of Irish respondents 'don't know' whether they trust the internet or not. This is probably a consequence of the fact that many individuals do not have access to it or are sceptical about its content. The print

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<sup>2</sup> Brian Cowen was elected Fianna Fáil (FF) leader elect on Wednesday 9 April 2008. Taking the date of Brian Cowen's elevation to the post of FF leader elect as the tipping point failed to bring out a difference in the levels of trust people have in national political institutions.

<sup>3</sup> The McKenna Judgement 1995 stipulated that the use of public funds by the government in a 'yes' campaign was contrary to the requirements of fair procedures and infringed equality.

<sup>4</sup> The Coughlan Judgement 1998 stipulated that in the context of a referendum campaign, the national public broadcaster (RTÉ) may not allocate free broadcast time to political parties on a proportional basis.

media remain the least trusted source with only 44 per cent of Irish people expressing confidence in it, identical to the EU average.

In sum, Irish people's trust in national political institutions is comparatively high. Trust levels in all national political institutions increased between autumn 2007 and spring 2008. On the media front, Irish people have high levels of trust in the broadcast media, higher than their EU counterparts. However, there is significantly less trust in the print media and in the internet.

### *Policy Preoccupations in Ireland and Europe*

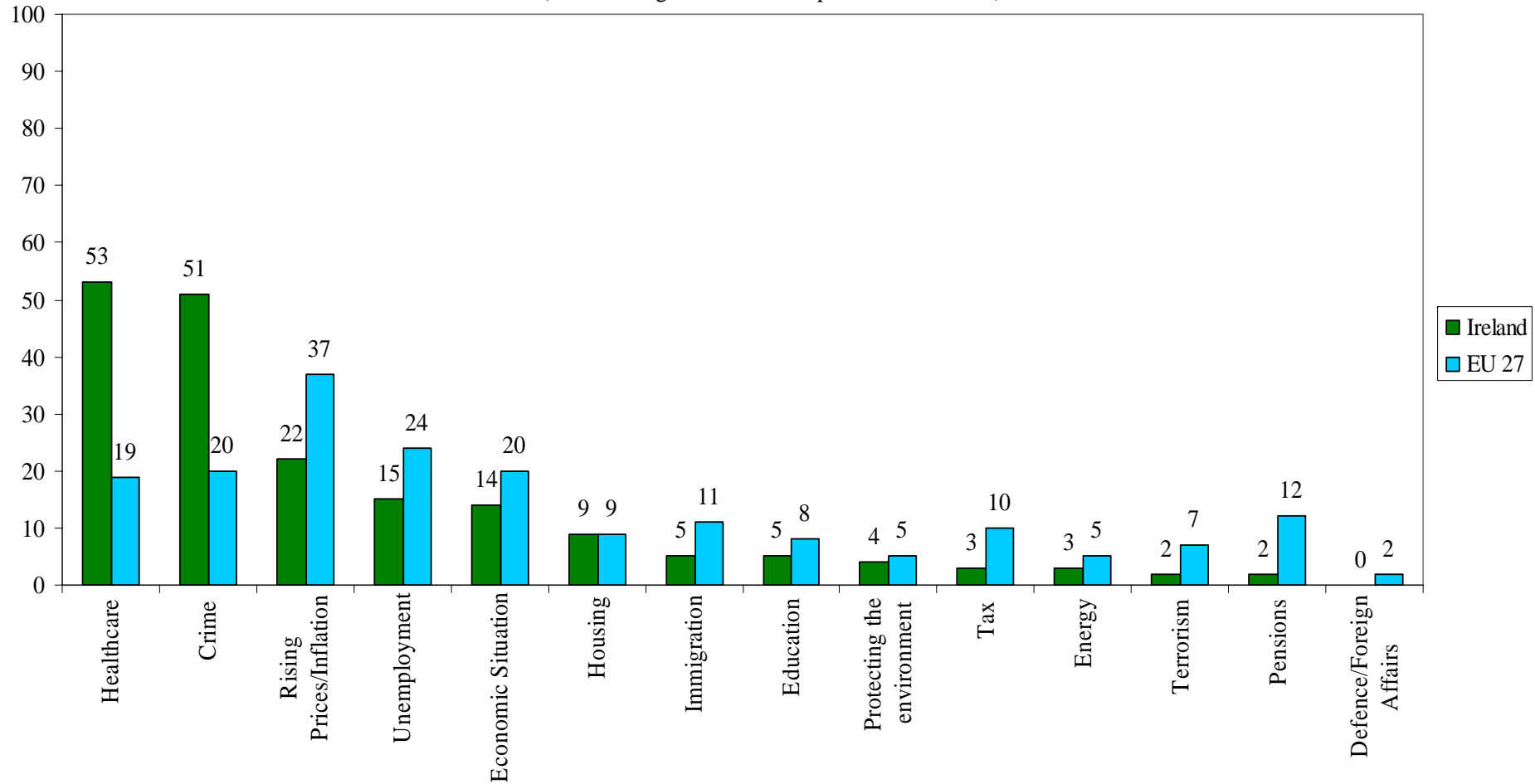
Referendums occur in particular domestic circumstances. It is therefore important to know what preoccupied Irish voters in the lead up to the referendum. As of April 2008, the main issues of concern to Irish respondents were healthcare (53 per cent) and crime (51 per cent) (see Fig.2). European respondents on the other hand were more concerned with the economy, with issues such as unemployment and rising prices/inflation being cited as the most important. While economic issues have tended not to be at the top of the agenda for Irish people in recent years, evidence from *Eurobarometer 69.2* indicates that the economy is becoming more of an important issue to Irish people again. Fifteen per cent said unemployment is the most important facing the country (up five points on autumn 2007) while 14 per cent said the economy is the most important. Only eight per cent of citizens said this was the most important issue six months ago. Other issues of importance to Irish respondents include housing (9 per cent) and immigration (5 per cent). However, concern with immigration (down nine points) and housing (down five points) has decreased since *Eurobarometer 68.1*. Clearly, identification of respondents 'most important issue facing the country' only brings out one aspect of peoples attitudes to the economy. Given the current international and national economic climate, Irish economic expectations as of spring 2008 need to be looked at in some detail.

### *The economy and expectations for the next twelve months*

To examine respondents attitudes to the current state of the Irish economy, *Eurobarometer 69.2* asked them about their expectations for the economy over the next twelve months.

**Figure 2 Most Important Issues: Ireland & EU 27 Spring 2008**

(in descending order of most important issue Ireland)



Source EB 69.2, QA6a 'What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?'

The results show, even in late spring 2008 there was a substantial deterioration in Irish expectations in regard to the future of the economy (see Fig.3).

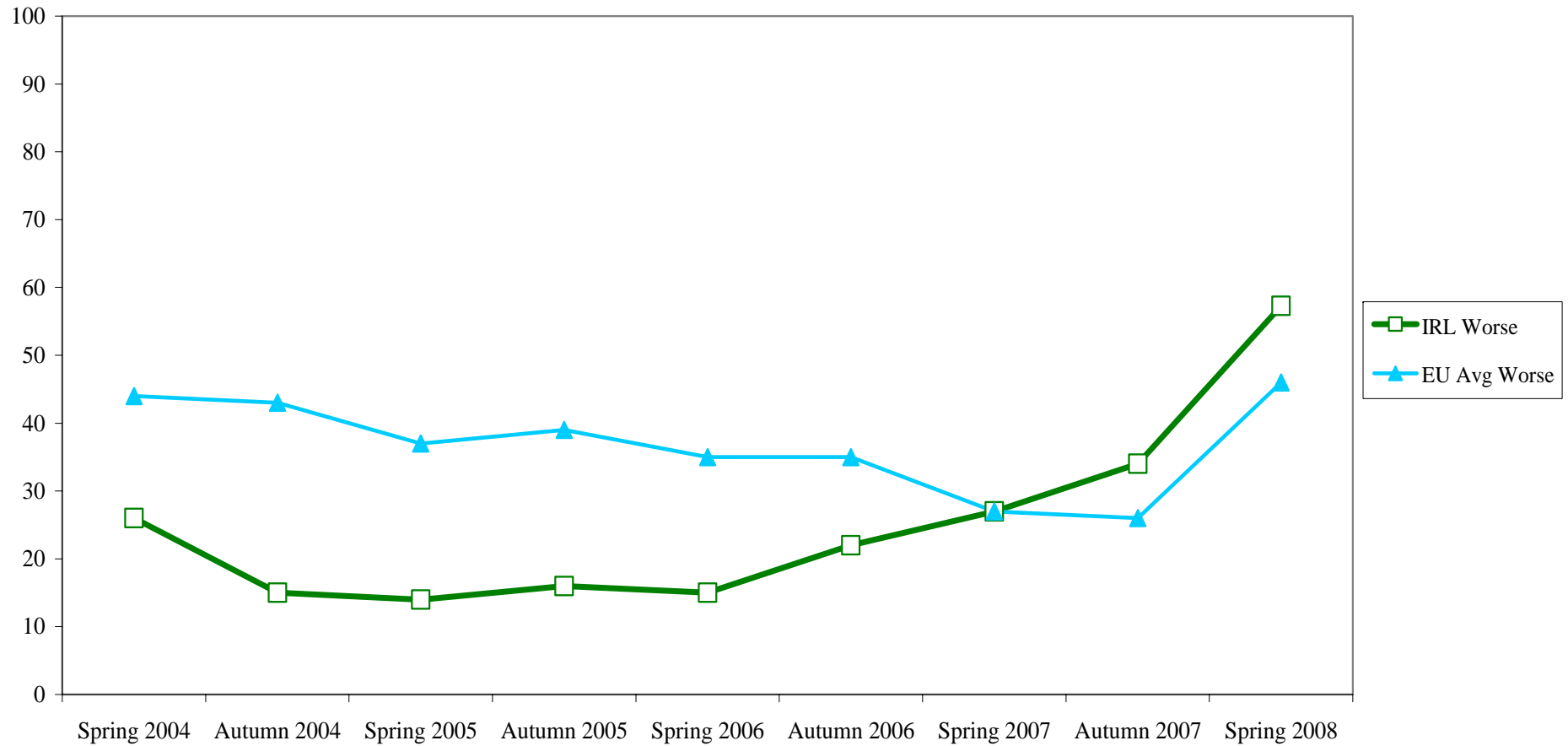
Fifty-seven per cent of Irish respondents believe the economy will get worse in the next year, a twenty-three point increase since autumn '07. As few as 9 per cent think that the economy will get better a nineteen point drop. This was below the EU average of 16 per cent and amongst the lowest scores in Europe (only Hungarians have lower expectations when it comes to the future of the economy). Figure 3 also shows that while on average Europeans also believe their own national economies will deteriorate in the coming twelve months, Irish people are more sceptical about the state of their economy by a margin of eleven points.

Figure 4 further illustrates the scale of the decline in people's expectations. Respondents were asked their views about three issues in relation to the future state of the economy: their expectations about the employment situation, their expectations about the financial situation of their own household and finally their expectations about their personal job situation. For each of these issues, we created a net assessment indicator by subtracting the proportions of people who believed the situation would get worse in the next year from the proportion who believed the situation would get better or stay the same in the next year.

This scale shows that there has been a steep decline in positive expectations about the country's future job situation. Irish people had a 38 point negative assessment of the country's future prospects the most pessimistic score in Europe. This compares with a 32 point positive evaluation last spring and a 57 point positive assessment in spring 2005. In current comparative terms, only Greece (32 point negative assessment) and Portugal (29 point negative assessment) have similar negative evaluations of their country's job prospects for the next twelve months. On the opposite end of the scale, Polish and Maltese respondents are quite confident about their countries job prospects in the coming twelve months with 65 point and 54 point positive assessments respectively. This Irish negative assessment is also substantially more pessimistic than the EU average of plus sixteen points. But Irish people are more optimistic about their own personal economic situation in the coming twelve months. There is a 69 point positive assessment when respondents are asked of their expectations in relation to their own personal job situation in the next twelve months, similar to the EU average of 71 per cent. Similarly, Irish respondents are optimistic about the financial situation

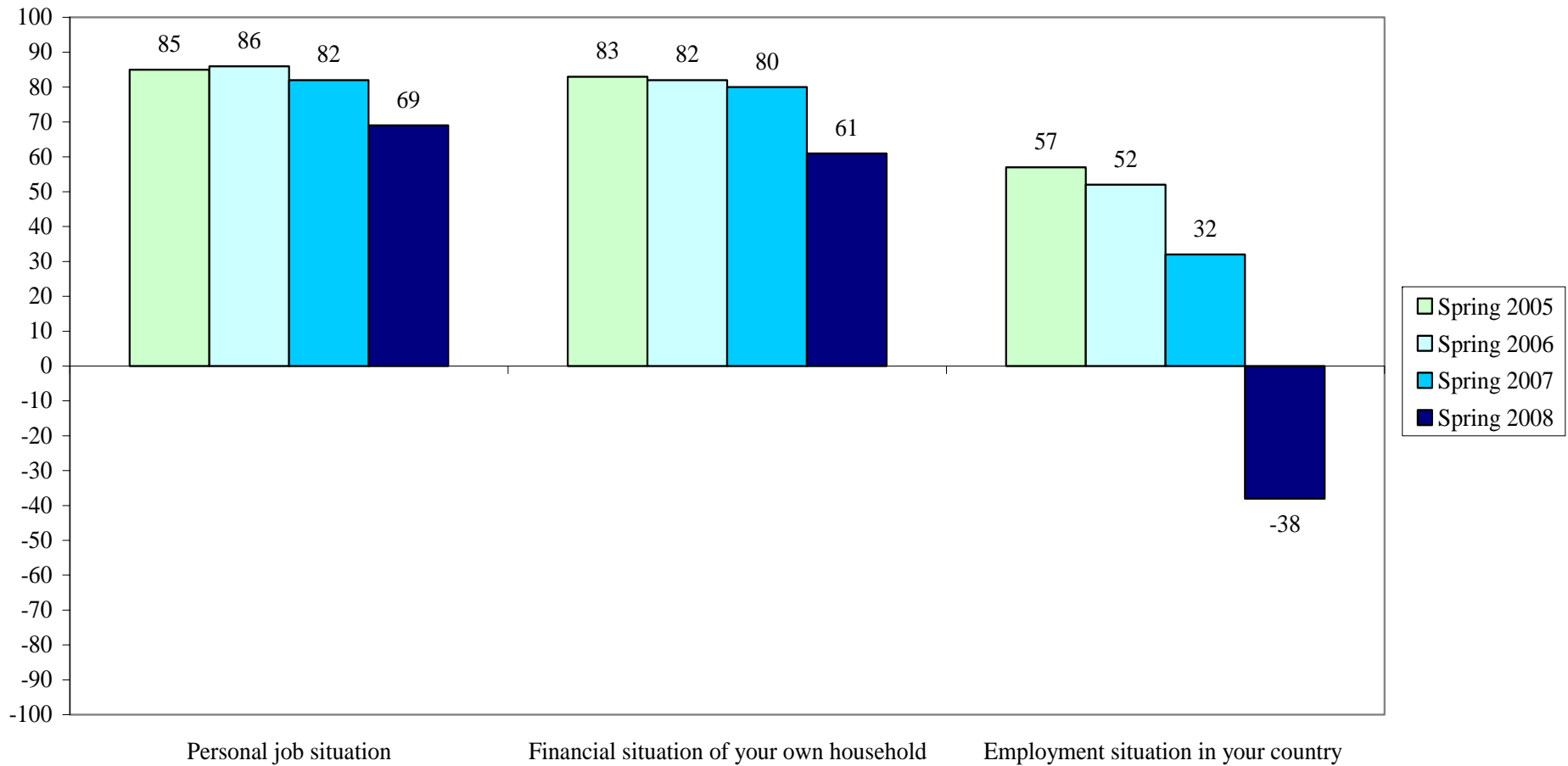


Figure 3 Irish and EU evaluations of economic situation in own country for the next twelve months 2004-2008



Source EB 61-69.2: 'What are your expectations for next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same when it comes to the economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY)?'

**Figure 4 Net Irish evaluations (will get better or remain the same in the next twelve months minus will get worse in the next twelve months) of the economy 2005-2008**  
 (in descending order of spring 2008)



Source EB 63-69.2 'What are your expectations for next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same when it comes to...?'

of their own household in the coming year with a 61 point positive assessment on our evaluation scale, significantly above the EU average of 47 point positive assessment. However, while Irish people are still confident about their own personal financial situation, these figures have dropped substantially in the past three years. Figure 4 shows that while there was a 69 point positive assessment of personal job situation in spring 2008, there was an 85 point positive assessment in spring 2005. There has even been a similar decline in positive assessment in relation to the future financial situation of respondents' household with a 22 point drop since *Eurobarometer 63.4*.

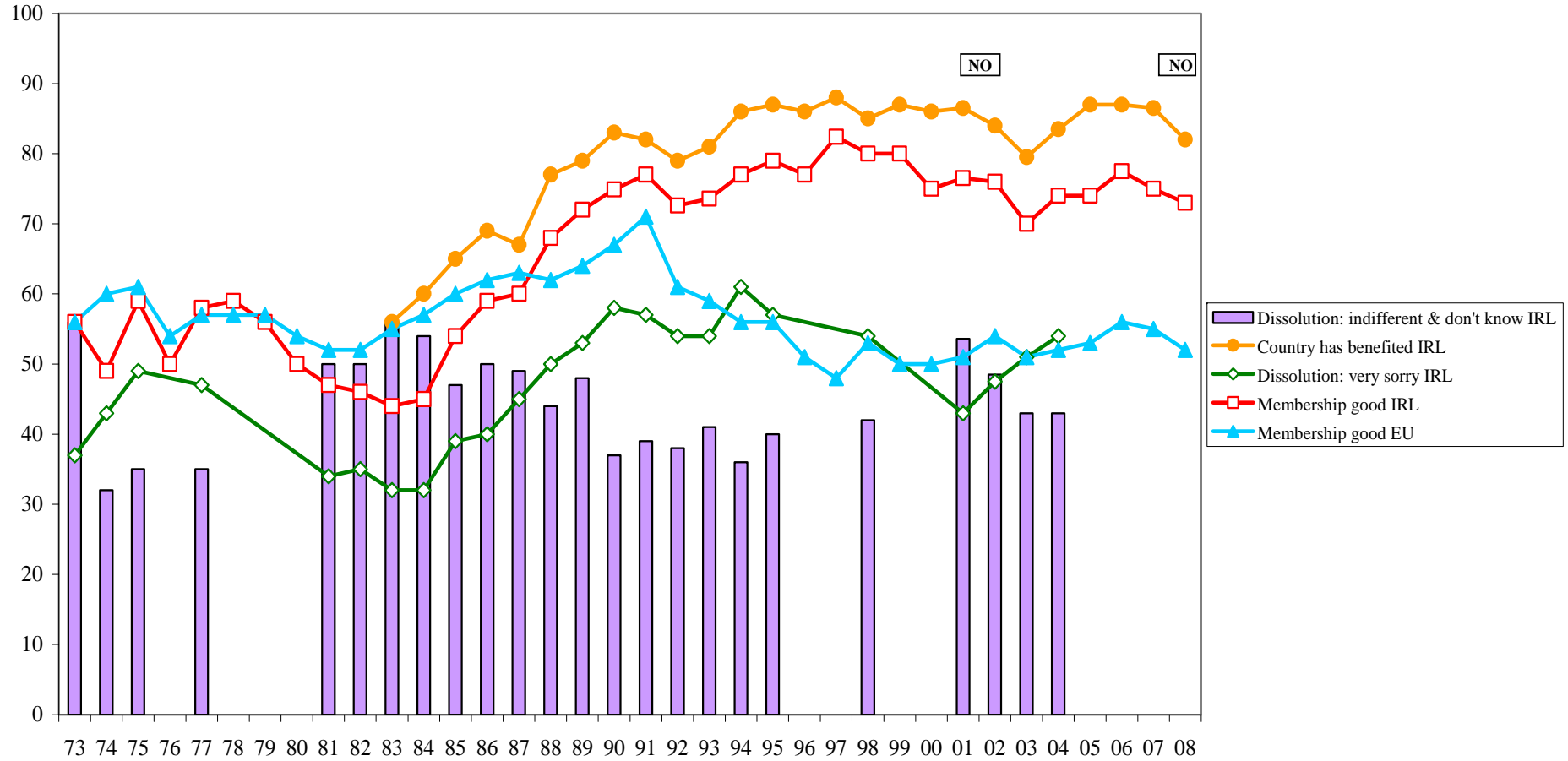
These findings clearly illustrate that confidence about the future prospects for the Irish economy among the Irish people have substantially declined from the highs experienced earlier in the decade. Confidence in the future of the economy in Ireland is now at its lowest point in some time. This growing scepticism about the future of the Irish economy is probably a reflection of international economic turbulence, a slowing down in certain sectors of the economy, particularly the construction industry, and a tightening budgetary situation. But it must be emphasised that Irish people are more optimistic about their own personal economic situations with a 69 point positive assessment of their personal job situation and a 61 point positive assessment of their own personal financial situation in the coming twelve months. How these attitudinal trends affected (or not) the choices that people made on 12 June is an issue that will need to be taken up in further research on the referendum outcome.

## **The Political Culture of European Integration**

### *Basic trends in attitudes to European integration*

At the risk of repetition, it must be emphasised that there is widespread support for European integration among Irish people. Figure 5 shows how Irish attitudes toward the EU have evolved since accession in 1973. It illustrates two important aspects of the context in which the referendum took place: firstly, there is widespread approval of Ireland's EU membership but secondly enthusiasm for the Union is more limited. As has been the case since 1983, the indicator with the highest positive response

Figure 5 Trends in support for European Integration and year of 'no' vote:  
Ireland and the EU 1973-2008



Source: EB 3 to EB 69.2 For details of questions see text.

among Irish respondents is the ‘benefits’ indicator<sup>5</sup>. As of spring 2008, 82 per cent of Irish people thought the country has benefited from EU membership, the highest such score in the EU. Only Polish, Danish and Estonian respondents rate the benefits of EU membership nearly as high as Irish people do with 77 per cent of Poles and Danes believing their country had benefited and 76 per cent of Estonians thinking likewise. This score is significantly above the EU average of 54 per cent for this indicator. On the other end of the scale, only 7 per cent of Irish respondents believe the country has not benefited. This is compared to 52 per cent of Hungarians and 50 per cent of Britons who say the same about their country’s membership of the EU.

The ‘membership’ indicator<sup>6</sup> shows that nearly three quarters of Irish respondents (73 per cent) regard EU membership as a good thing. Only people in the Netherlands rate membership of the EU as high, with 75 per cent of Dutch people taking this view. These high levels of support for membership are all the more impressive considering that the average EU level of support for membership is currently 52 per cent. Support for membership is particularly low in some member states, for example in Britain (30 per cent) and in Latvia where only 29 per cent of respondents think it is a good thing. However, as noted in previous reports and as Figure 5 illustrates, Irish enthusiasm for the EU is quite limited with just over half of respondents in 2004 (the last time the ‘dissolution’ indicator<sup>7</sup> was asked) saying they would be sorry to see the EU dissolved. In short, there is widespread soft support for integration but limited commitment to the idea.

### *Trust in European institutions*

Irish people have substantially higher levels of trust in European political institutions than in domestic institutions (see Table 2). On a consistent basis the institution most trusted by Irish people is the European Parliament with 62 per cent of respondents professing trust in it, ten points above the EU average of 50 per cent. Trust in the European Union is also high at 62 per cent, twelve points above the European

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<sup>5</sup> Source EB 69.2, QA8a: ‘Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?’

<sup>6</sup> Source EB 69.2, QA7a: ‘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?’

<sup>7</sup> 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?’

**Table 2 Levels of trust in European Institutions: Ireland and EU 27 (%)**  
(in descending order of 'Ireland: Spring 2008')

	Ireland: Autumn 2007	Ireland: Spring 2008	EU 27: Spring 2008
The European Parliament	63	62	52
The European Union	55	62	50
European Central Bank	52	58	50
European Commission	60	54	47
Council of the European Union	50	50	43

Source EB 68.1, QA8/QA16 and EB 69.2, QA12/QA18

average. Fifty-eight per cent of Irish people profess trust in the European Central Bank while trust in the European Commission stands at 54 per cent compared to the EU average of 47 per cent. Among Irish people trust is lowest in the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers, the European institution that is actually most powerful) with only 50 per cent expressing confidence in it.

In respect of trust in the EU, Ireland is among the member states at the higher end of this trust scale which ranges from a high of 71 per cent of Cypriots who say they trust the EU to a low of only 29 per cent of Britons who profess trust in the EU. There has also been a rise in trust in the EU since autumn of last year with trust in the institution up seven points. Trust in the Commission has fallen six points with trust in the European Council remaining static during the same period.

However as noted previously, there has been a consistently high level of 'don't know' responses to this set of questions. For example, a quarter of people said they did not know whether they trusted the European Parliament, a third of people didn't know whether they trusted the European Commission and 37 per cent said the same in relation the Council. This indicates that a substantial number of people are unsure about how the EU functions and was not a good starting point for a referendum debate in which institutional issues were bound to loom large.

#### *Policy attribution and evaluation*

Allocation of responsibility for policy-making in various areas is a critical aspect of European integration. *Eurobarometer 69.2* asked respondents whether they would prefer responsibility for specific policy issues to rest with the Irish government or

whether decisions in the areas concerned should be taken jointly with the EU<sup>8</sup>. As was the case in autumn 2007, support for joint decision-making with the EU among Irish people is highest in relation to fighting terrorism with 74 per cent expressing the view that these decisions should be taken in conjunction with the EU (see Table 3). It is lowest in the areas of education (73 per cent express a preference for decisions to be taken solely by the Irish government), taxation (69 per cent) and pensions (66 per cent).

Table 3 also shows there was a corresponding increase in support for the Irish government having sole policy responsibility in all policy domains. This increase in support for the Irish government having sole policy responsibility in specific domains is greatest in areas that figured prominently in the referendum campaign:

**Table 3 Attribution of responsibility for policy-making to the European/National level by issue (%)**

(Change since autumn '07 in brackets, in descending order of 'Jointly with the EU')

	Decide jointly with the EU	Irish Government Decide	DK
Fighting Terrorism	74 (-2)	23 (+6)	3 (-4)
Scientific & Technological research	73 (-1)	21 (+4)	6 (-3)
Support for the regions	72 (-2)	23 (+5)	5 (-3)
Protecting the Environment	63 (-2)	34 (+4)	3 (-2)
Energy	62 (-7)	34 (+9)	4 (-2)
Defence & Foreign Affairs	60 (-1)	35 (+6)	5 (-5)
Competition	58 (-1)	36 (+5)	6 (-4)
Consumer Protection	56 (-4)	39 (+6)	5 (-2)
Immigration	55 (-5)	42 (+8)	3 (-3)
Agriculture & Fisheries	47 (-7)	48 (+9)	5 (-2)
Fighting Inflation	48 (+2)	48 (+1)	4 (-3)
Transport	46 (-6)	50 (+9)	4 (-3)
Economy	42 (-2)	54 (+5)	4 (-3)
Fighting Crime	41 (-7)	56 (+10)	3 (-3)
Fighting Unemployment	38 (-3)	59 (+6)	3 (-3)
Pensions	29 (-1)	66 (+5)	5 (-4)
Tax	26 (-6)	69 (+9)	5 (-3)
Education	23 (-3)	73 (+5)	4 (-2)

Source EB 69.2, QA35a/QA36a.

<sup>8</sup> Source EB 69.2, QA35a/QA36a: '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?'

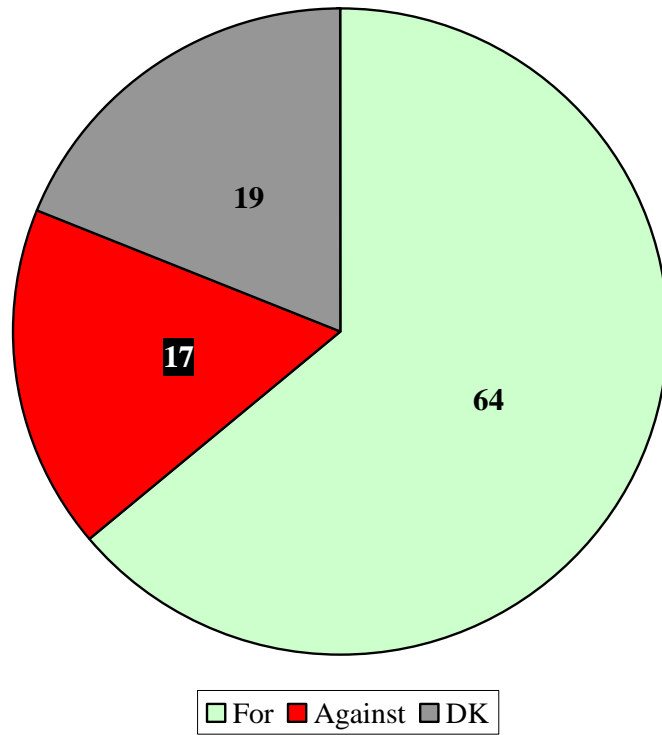
agriculture and fisheries (up nine points since autumn '07), taxation (up nine points) and immigration (up eight points). A near majority of Irish respondents (48 per cent) now express a preference for decisions relating to agriculture and fisheries to be decided solely by the Irish government with 47 per cent favouring joint decision-making with the EU, a drop of seven points since autumn '07. This particular turnaround in public opinion is probably a reflection of Irish farmers' antipathy toward the World Trade Talks and in particular toward EU Trade Commissioner Peter Mandleson's future plans for European agriculture. There has been a similar decline (seven points since autumn '07) in the numbers of Irish people stating their preference for joint decision-making in respect of energy policy. While 62 per cent still say they wish for joint decision-making to take place between the Irish government and the EU in respect of energy, 34 per cent say they wish decisions in this area to be taken by the Irish government, a nine point increase in the past six months. A similar trend exists for taxation and immigration, both of which have seen a substantial increase in the number wishing for the national government to have sole decision-making power. Over two thirds of Irish respondents (69 per cent) now say that taxation decisions should remain the sole competence of the Irish government, similar to the EU average of 68 per cent. And while only 42 per cent express a wish for decisions regarding immigration to be taken by the national government, this represents an eight point increase since *Eurobarometer 68.1*.

However, it is important to note that in light of the referendum and its focus on the issues of neutrality and militarization, 60 per cent of Irish respondents say they would be in favour of defence and foreign policy decisions to be determined jointly with the EU. In addition, almost two thirds of Irish respondents (64 per cent) say they are in favour of a common European foreign policy while three fifths of respondents are in favour of a European common defence and security policy (see Fig.6 and 7). These views need to be taken into account in analysing and assessing the attitudinal context in which the referendum took place.

In sum, while Irish people are happy to have joint decision-making with the EU in a majority of policy domains, there are certain areas in which they want the Irish government to take decisions alone, a point clearly illustrated by the extent this preference has increased in some major policy domains over the past six months. The decline in support among Irish people for joint decision-making with the EU must be seen in the context of the referendum. Firstly, farmers and fisherman voiced their

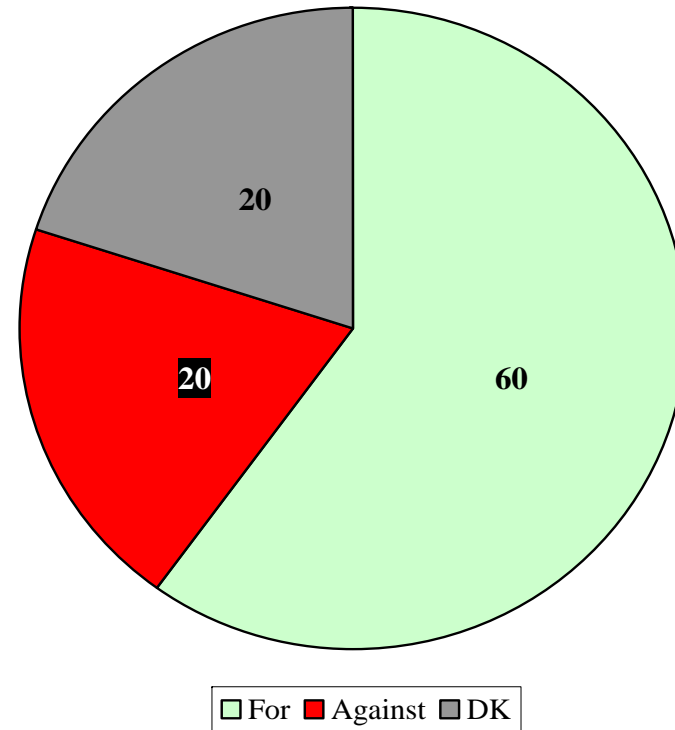


**Figure 6 Support among Irish respondents for a European common foreign policy**



Source EB 69.2, QA37\_2: 'Please tell me whether you are for or against a common foreign policy among the member states of the European Union?'

**Figure 7 Support among Irish respondents for European common defence and security policy**



Source EB 69.2, QA37\_3: 'Please tell me whether you are for or against a common defence and security policy among the member states of the European Union?'

concerns during the campaign over the future of their industries if the Treaty was ratified. In addition, opponents of the Treaty claimed that Ireland would cede significant power in many policy areas if the accord was ratified, specifically in relation to tax and immigration. As a consequence, a substantial number of Irish people became fearful that Irish influence would be lost if the Treaty were accepted by them.

### *Knowledge of the European Union*

Respondent's perception of the EU is shaped by their knowledge of European affairs. *Eurobarometer 69.2* fielded four questions to test people's knowledge in this area: the first asked about the number of states currently in the EU, the second whether Switzerland was a member of the Union, the third about the rotating presidency of the Union and finally a question about the number of Eurozone countries<sup>9</sup>. On the statement that the EU currently has fifteen member states, 48 per cent of Irish respondents answered correctly, 32 per cent answered incorrectly while 20 per cent said they didn't know. Fifty-five per cent of Irish respondents did know that Switzerland was not a member of the European Union while 60 per cent knew that every six months a different member state becomes President of the European Council. Irish levels of knowledge of the Eurozone were considerably lower with only 24 per cent correctly stating that the Eurozone does not consist of twelve states (since Slovenia joined the Eurozone in January 2007 it consists of thirteen). However, in comparative terms Irish levels of knowledge in relation to the Eurozone question was similar to the EU average of 28 per cent.

There was much discussion during the referendum campaign about people's knowledge of the issues and about their confidence in that knowledge. *Eurobarometer 69.2* allows us to look more closely at people's actual knowledge of the EU and the impact of such knowledge on attitudes. Taking these questions together, we created a knowledge scale to assess respondents overall level of knowledge of the EU<sup>10</sup>. As Denmark and Ireland are similarly sized states, both joined the EU in 1973 and both

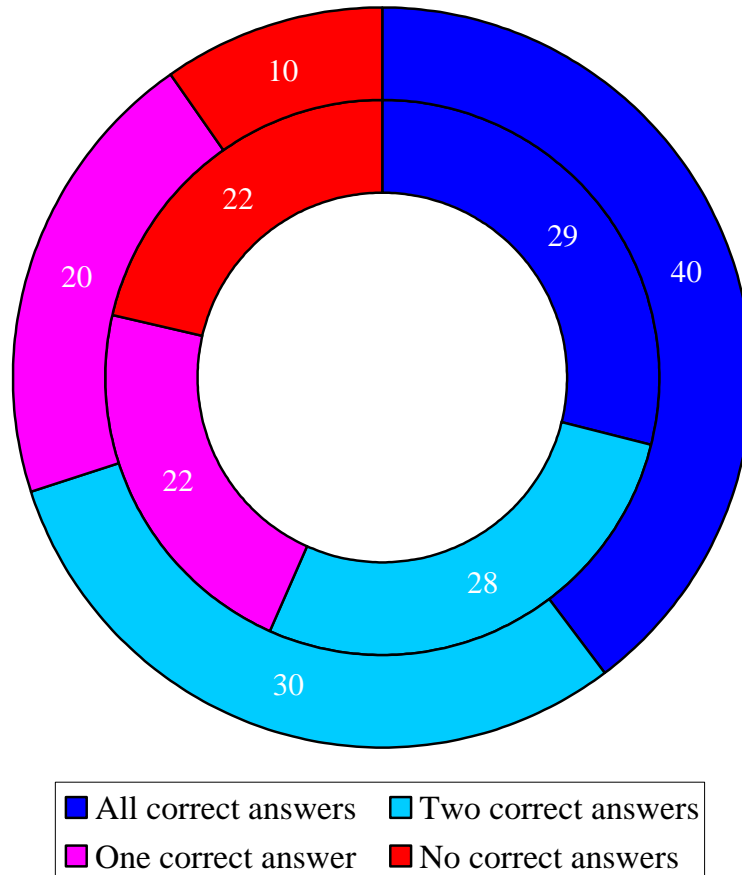
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<sup>9</sup> Source EB 69.2, QA34.

<sup>10</sup> The final question (relating to the Eurozone, QA34\_4) was excluded from the analysis being of a different order of difficulty.

**Figure 8 Levels of objective knowledge:  
Ireland and Denmark**

(inner pie: knowledge - Ireland, outer pie: knowledge - Denmark)



Source EB 69.2, QA34

hold referendums on European matters, we compare Irish levels of knowledge with Danish levels of knowledge. Figure 8 shows that Danish citizens are significantly more knowledgeable than Irish citizens when it comes to the EU. Forty per cent of Danes answered all three questions correctly compared to 29 per cent of Irish respondents while 70 per cent answered two or three correctly compared to only 57 per cent of Irish respondents. These differences extend to the lower end of the knowledge scale with more Irish respondents getting all questions incorrect (22 per cent) compared to only 10 per cent of Danes.

Table 4 shows that the more knowledge one has about the EU, the more positive one tends to be about it. Support for EU membership among Irish people grows from 58 per cent among those who failed to answer any question correctly, to 71 per cent among those who got one question correct, 77 per cent among those who answered two questions correctly and 81 per cent who answered all three correctly. A similar pattern is observed in Europe as a whole with the evaluation of EU membership growing stronger the more an individual knows about the EU.

Similarly, positive image of the EU among Irish people increases substantially the more one knows about it rising from 47 per cent among those who answered no questions correctly to 79 per cent among those who answered all correctly, a 32 point difference. Among European respondents a similar trend exists with positive image of 33 per cent among individuals who answered no question correctly rising to 56 per cent among those whose who answered all questions correctly.

On a subjective assessment of their knowledge, Irish people are evenly split on the question of whether they understand how the EU works. 43 per cent say they do have an understanding of how it works while 47 per cent say they do not, similar to the EU averages of 44 per cent who say they do understand how the EU works and 47 per cent who say they don't. The scores for Ireland though lag far behind the levels of subjective knowledge exhibited in Denmark and the Netherlands (other countries that have rejected an EU treaty by way of referendum). Currently, 61 per cent of Dutch respondents profess to have an understanding of how the EU works while 57 per cent of Danes do likewise.

Table 5 shows that people's subjective knowledge (i.e.: their self-reported

**Table 4 Irish and European attitudes to European integration by objective knowledge scale (%)**

	No correct answers	One correct answer	Two correct answers	All correct answers
Membership Good IRL	58	71	77	81
Membership Good EU 27	36	47	54	62
Positive Image IRL	47	60	71	79
Positive Image EU 27	33	43	49	56

Source EB 69.2.

**Table 5 Irish subjective knowledge rating by objective knowledge scale (%)**

	No correct answers	One correct answer	Two correct answers	All correct answers
I understand how the EU works	20	42	52	65
I don't understand how the EU works	80	58	48	35
<i>N</i>	177	198	266	260

Source EB 69.2, QA15\_9.

understanding of how the EU works and of the EU) is related but not identical to their objective level of knowledge. It shows that 80 per cent of Irish citizens who answered no questions correctly said, perhaps justifiably that they did not understand how the EU worked. This rose to 42 per cent among those who answered one question correctly and to 53 per cent amongst individuals who answered two correctly. While 65 per cent of those who answered three questions correctly said they understood how the EU worked, over a third of individuals who did likewise said they did not. It is clear that a significant portion of Irish people have little faith in their own understanding of the European Union and its decision-making powers and processes and that in a referendum context both people's knowledge and their confidence in their knowledge needs to be nurtured.

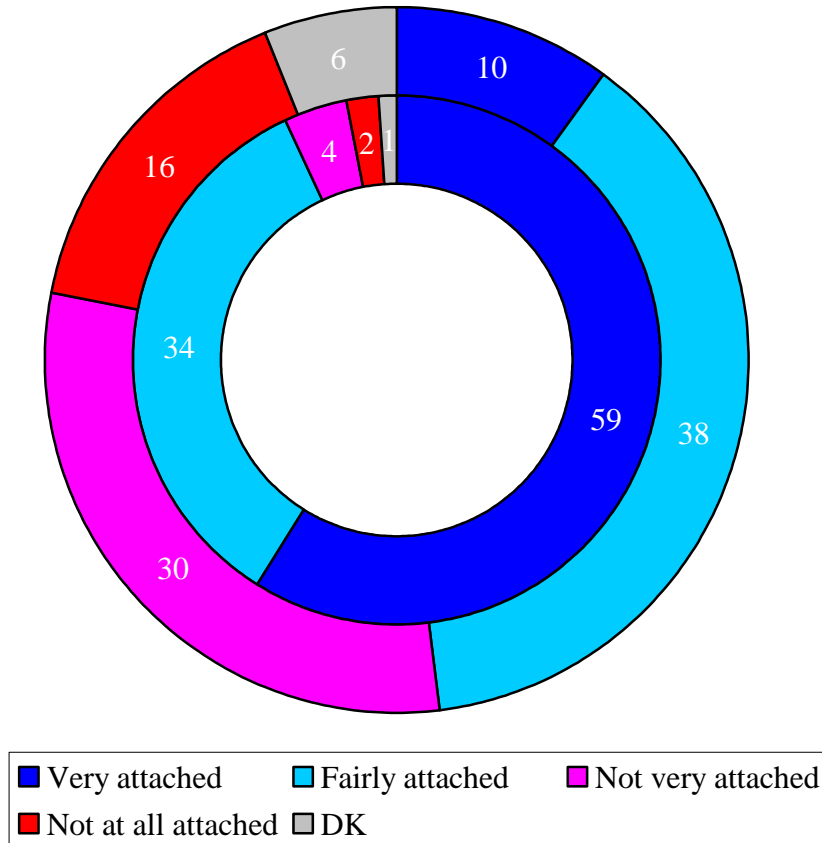
#### *Attitudes to National and European Identity*

Identity was a recurring underlying issue throughout the referendum campaign and may have had a substantial effect on people's voting behaviour (a point which will be discussed in more detail later). A number of *Eurobarometer* indicators address the issue of European and national identity. The first is a question last posed to respondents in autumn '07<sup>11</sup>. Respondents were asked how attached they felt to their country and how attached they felt to the European Union. Taking those who are 'very attached' to an identity, 59 per cent of Irish citizens said they felt 'very attached' to Ireland whereas only a mere 10 per cent felt the same about the EU (see Fig.9).

<sup>11</sup> Source EB 68.1, QA10\_2/QA10\_4: '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...'

**Figure 9 Irish attitudes to identity:  
autumn '07**

(inner pie: attachment to Ireland, outer pie: attachment to EU)



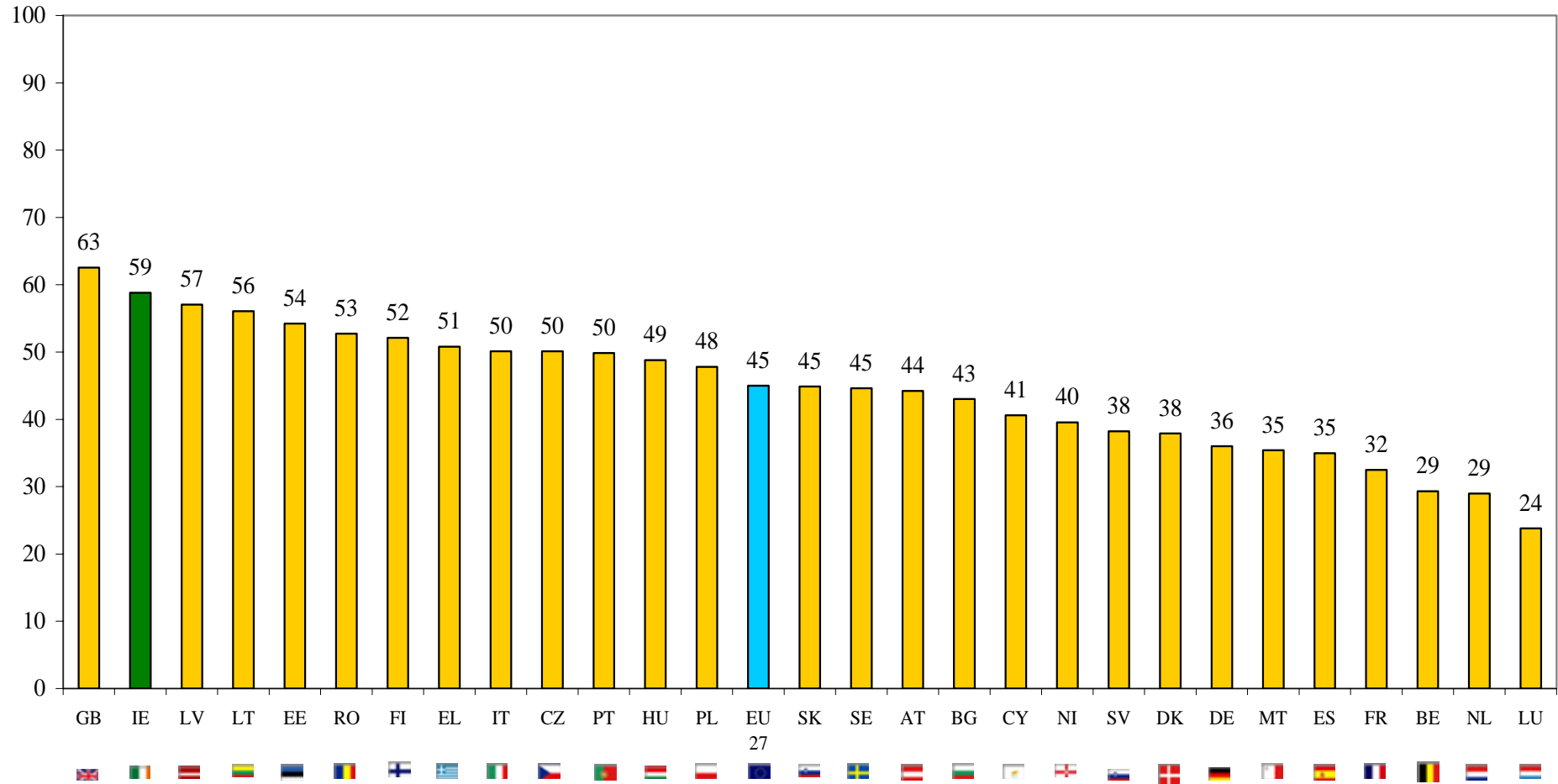
*Source* EB 68.1, QA10\_2 & QA10\_4: 'Please tell me how attached you feel to (OUR COUNTRY) & The European Union?'

Looking at the other side of the coin, 46 per cent said they had little or no sense of attachment to the EU while only 6 per cent felt this way about attachment to Ireland.

The second measure of identity looks to the future and asks: 'In the near future do you see yourself as Irish only, Irish and European, European and Irish, or European only?'<sup>12</sup> Taking 'Irish only' as the crucial indicator, Figure 10 shows Ireland (see green bar) occupying quite an extreme position on this dimension. Fifty-nine per cent of Irish people rejected the proffered degrees of European identity and opted for an exclusive Irish identity, second in frequency in this respect only to Britain (63 per cent).

<sup>12</sup> *Source* EB 67.1, QA15.

Figure 10 Irish attitudes to future identity - Irish only



Source EB 67.1, QA15 'In the near future, do you see yourself as (NATIONALITY) only, (NATIONALITY) and European, European and (NATIONALITY) or European only?'

Taken together, these two measures of identity suggest that running an integrationist referendum in a political culture in which almost two-thirds of the electorate feel themselves to belong exclusively to a certain national identity (in this case Irish) and less than half of people feel an attachment to the EU was never going to be a walkover.

## **Irish and European attitudes to Globalisation**

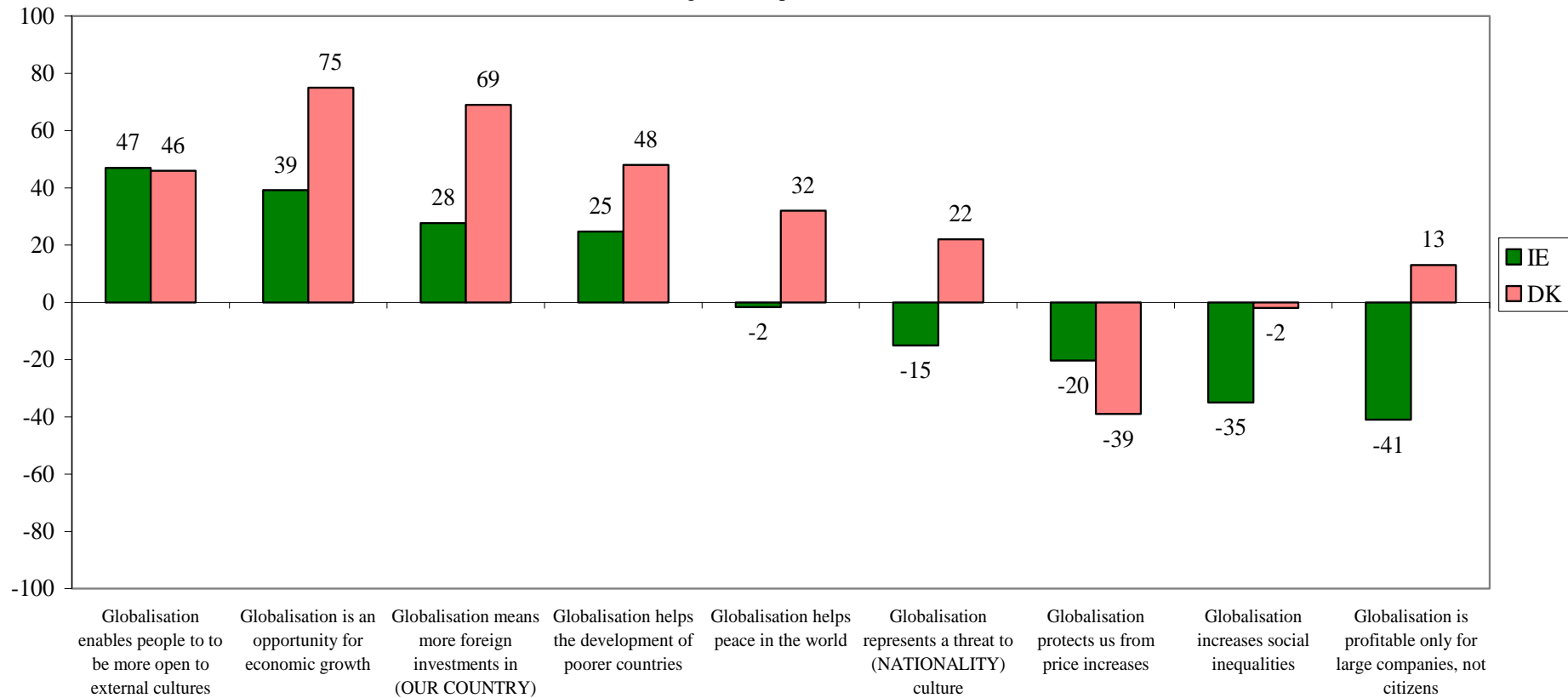
Globalisation must also be taken into account as a major aspect of the context in which the Lisbon referendum was conducted. Globalisation refers to the integration of economies and the opening of borders, the increase in trade and capital movements, the movement of people and ideas as well as spread of information, knowledge and technology.

In order to gain an insight into people's attitudes to globalisation, *Eurobarometer 69.2* respondents were presented with a set of statements covering different aspects of the phenomenon. We created an overall assessment indicator by subtracting the proportions of people who felt negative toward globalisation from the proportion of respondents who were positive about globalisation for each aspect. For reasons similar to those cited earlier, the analysis here compares Irish and Danish attitudes in this area. Figure 11 shows that Danish respondents are much more positive about the effects of globalisation than Irish respondents are. In particular, the Danes are more positive about the macro-economic effects. While there is a 75 point positive response from Danish people for the proposition that globalisation is an opportunity for economic growth there is only a 39 point positive assessment from Irish citizens. While there is a 69 point positive assessment by Danes for the idea that globalisation means more foreign investment 'in our country', Irish respondents are less convinced with a 28 point positive assessment. Danes also take a more positive view (i.e.: disagree with) the proposition that globalisation is profitable only for large companies and not citizens with a 13 point positive assessment compared to a 41 point negative assessment from Irish respondents.

Turning to the social/culture dimensions, Irish people tend to think globalisation has a negative impact on their country's culture and on social inequality with a 15 point



**Figure 11 Net Irish and Danish attitudes  
(positive statements minus negative statements) to globalisation**  
(in descending order of positive statement Ireland)



*Source* EB 69.2, QA47: 'For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you 'strongly agree', 'somewhat agree', 'somewhat disagree' or 'strongly disagree' with the following statements?'

*Note* 'Strongly agree' and 'somewhat agree' have been combined for an 'Agree' category. 'Somewhat disagree' and 'strongly disagree' have been combined for a 'Disagree' category.

negative response to the proposition that it threatens Irish culture and a 35 point negative response to the idea that it increases social inequalities. On the other hand, Danish citizens are more positive with a 22 point positive assessment on the proposition that globalisation represents a threat to their national culture and only a two point negative assessment of the idea that globalisation increases social inequality.

In sum, Irish public opinion takes a net positive view on the core economic indicators but turns net negative on aspects of globalisation that directly affect citizens whereas Danes are less negative on the individual effects and more positive about the macro-economic effects of globalisation.

Respondents were also asked to identify which one of five possible consequences first came to mind when they heard the word ‘globalisation’<sup>13</sup>. In this case, the main contrast that exists is between the original fifteen member states (EU 15 which includes Ireland) and the twelve new member states. Two fifths of respondents in the EU 15 (which includes Irish respondents) associate globalisation with relocation of some companies to countries where labour is cheaper (see Table 6) while only 27 per cent of respondents said this in the twelve new member states.

**Table 6 Irish, EU 15 and New Member States opinions about the consequences of globalisation (%)**

	Ireland	EU 15	NMS 12 <sup>14</sup>
Opportunities for (NATIONALITY) companies in terms of new outlets	15	16	17
Foreign investments in (OUR COUNTRY)	11	14	23
Relocation of some companies to countries where labour is cheaper	39	45	27
Increased competition for (NATIONALITY) countries	13	13	15
Other/DK	22	12	18
<i>N</i>	<i>1004</i>	<i>15501</i>	<i>11160</i>

Source EB 69.2, QA51 (see footnote 13).

<sup>13</sup> Source EB 69.2, QA51a: ‘There are multiple consequences of the globalisation of trade. When you hear the word ‘globalisation’, what comes first to mind?’

<sup>14</sup> ‘NMS 12’ refers to the twelve new member states of the EU that joined in 2004 and 2007.

This probably reflects the fact that new member states have benefited more from this movement and do not see it as a problem. While most Irish people see globalisation as having a positive impact on the economy in most areas in general term, citizens are more wary about the specific impact it has on the national economy.

*Eurobarometer 69.2* asked respondents their opinions about the effect of globalisation on national companies/employment prospects of the country<sup>15</sup>. Respondents were given two propositions and asked to choose the one that was closest to their opinion. Two fifths of Irish people think that globalisation represents a threat to employment and companies in Ireland, similar to the EU average of 39 per cent. On the other hand, 34 per cent believe that globalisation represents a good opportunity for Irish companies thanks to the opening up of markets. Comparing Ireland's perception of the effects globalisation will have on the national economy with other countries, there are some prominent differences. Greek and French respondents have a particularly negative view of the effects globalisation may have on the national economy with 67 per cent of Greek and 66 per cent of French respondents stating that globalisation represents a threat to employment and companies in their countries. There is also a similar negative perception toward globalisation in Cyprus, Belgium and Austria. However, a substantial majority of Danish (78 per cent), Dutch (64 per cent) and Swedish (63 per cent) respondents take the opposite view and believe that globalisation has provided an opportunity for their national companies as it has helped open up the markets.

However, one point to note among Irish respondents concerning the questions posed about globalisation is the considerable number that answered 'don't know'. For example, when respondents were given a set of statements covering different dimensions of globalisation, the percentage of Irish respondents who said they 'didn't know' ranged from 25 per cent ('globalisation is profitable only for large companies and not for citizens') to 31 per cent ('globalisation increases social inequalities'). In all cases, the levels of don't know responses among Irish citizens was larger than the

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<sup>15</sup> *Source* EB 69.2, QA48a: 'Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation: 1) globalisation represents a good opportunity for (NATIONALITY) companies thanks to the opening up of markets or 2) Globalisation represents a threat to employment in (OUR COUNTRY)'?

European average. There was also a high level of don't know response when respondents were asked to define in more detail what consequences they anticipated from globalisation with 22 per cent of Irish citizens stating this compared to only 12 per cent in the EU 15. This suggests that a number of Irish people have yet to engage with the issue of globalisation and decide on the consequences of it.

## **The Lisbon Treaty Referendum Outcome**

Bearing in mind the widespread support among Irish people for Ireland's membership of the European Union, the foregoing analysis highlights a crucial question: given these attitudes why did a majority of Irish voters reject the Lisbon Treaty? While much more research needs to be done to answer this question, some light can be thrown on the matter by consideration of the evidence of *Flash Eurobarometer 245*, a post-referendum survey conducted by Gallup for the European Commission<sup>16</sup>.

### *Reported sources of abstention in the Referendum*

Fifty-three per cent of the Irish electorate participated in the 12 June referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. However, what about those who did not vote in the referendum? *Flash Eurobarometer 245* asked respondents who abstained why they did so. Before we go on to examine the reasons why people abstained, it is important to point out that there are two different types of abstention: voluntary and circumstantial. Voluntary abstention is rooted in the attitudes and experiences of the potential voter. Typical reasons for voluntary abstention are a lack of interest in politics or a feeling of not having enough information or understanding to make a sensible choice. Circumstantial abstention is when particular circumstances prevent a voter from casting their ballot. Examples of this include absence from home on the day of the vote or family/work commitments. In terms of understanding the political behaviour underlying a particular election/referendum result and especially in terms of teasing out the political implications of a given level of participation, voluntary abstention is particularly important.

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<sup>16</sup> The fieldwork for *Flash Eurobarometer 245* was conducted between Friday 13 June and Sunday 15 June 2008. A randomly selected 2,000 adults were interviewed by telephone. The preliminary report *Flash Eurobarometer 245* is available at [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/flash/fl\\_245\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_245_en.pdf) and is the basis of the present analysis.

Of the top three reasons given for abstention in the referendum by respondents, two were voluntary reasons and the other a circumstantial reason. The most frequent explanation given for abstention by respondents was a lack of understanding of the issues involved. Fifty-two per cent of Lisbon abstainers explained their non-voting in these terms. These abstainers were voluntary abstainers. The next most prevalent reason for abstention was a circumstantial one – 45 per cent of abstainers said they were ‘too busy’ on the day of the election. The third most cited reason overlaps with and reinforces the first mentioned one – 42 per cent said they felt uninformed about the issues at stake in the referendum. These abstainers also fall into the voluntary abstainer category.

### *Reasons for voting ‘yes’ and ‘no’ in the Referendum*

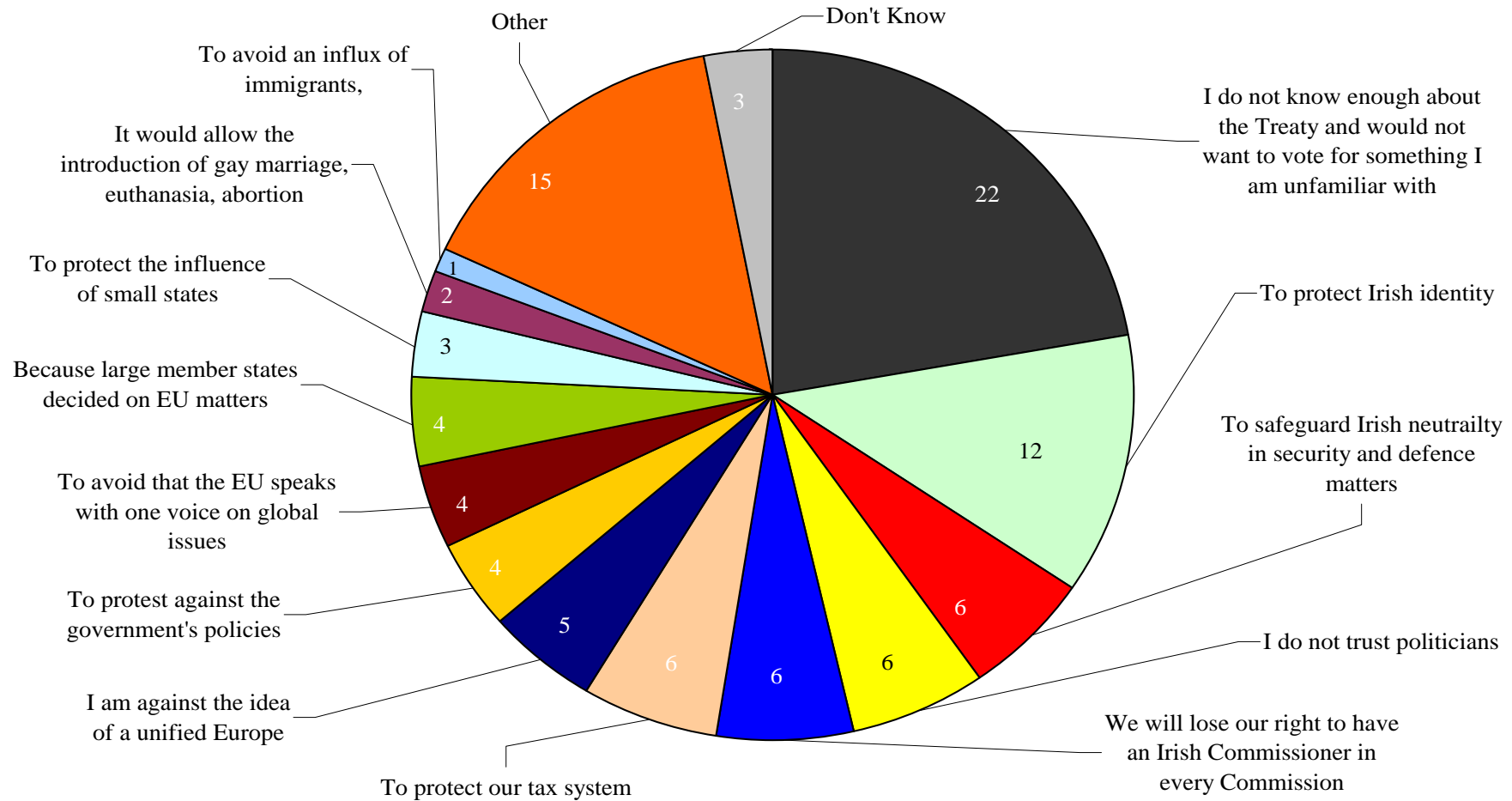
The post-referendum survey also asked those Irish respondents who did participate in the Lisbon referendum why they had chosen to vote the way they did. It is important to bear in mind that respondents were asked an open-ended question with interview coding to a pre-defined set of categories numbering fourteen plus an ‘other/miscellaneous category’. This methodology may affect the range of individual items identified as a cause of the ‘no’ vote<sup>17</sup>.

Respondents who voted ‘yes’ gave general answers as to why they did so ranging from ‘it was in the best interest of Ireland’ to that ‘it will help the Irish economy’. This was in contrast to the reasons provided by ‘no’ voters. Figure 12 shows the first reasons mentioned by Irish ‘no’ voters. The striking feature is the fragmentation underlying the reasons for voting ‘no’ (though one must bear in mind the caveat about the coding process mentioned above). The main reason stated by respondents for voting ‘no’ was they felt they did not know enough about the Treaty. Twenty-two per cent of respondents who voted no mentioned this as their first reason. Relating this finding to the campaign, while there may have been more information disseminated in the Lisbon referendum compared to the first Nice referendum, the nature of the issues involved in the Lisbon Treaty were such that they required careful and detailed explanation to the public. This may well have been the area where the ‘yes’ campaign fell short.

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<sup>17</sup> *Flash Eurobarometer 245* only accounts for the first reason mentioned by a respondent for their ‘yes’/‘no’ vote and did not report subsequent reasons mentioned.

Figure 12 **Reasons for voting 'no' in the Lisbon Treaty Referendum in Ireland 2008**



Source Flash EB 245, Q9: Please tell me what are the reasons why you voted 'NO' to the Treaty?

The second most cited reason from ‘no’ voters’ was the wish to protect Irish identity (12 per cent). There was a variety of other reasons first mentioned by ‘no’ voters (e.g. concerns about Irish neutrality, loss of a Commissioner, against the idea of a unified Europe Etc...) but these all had a lower frequency (between four and six per cent). Two other widely publicised issues that did crop up in the subjectively stated reasons for voting ‘no’ but did so with low first mention frequency were abortion and immigration. Only 2 per cent gave as a first mentioned reason for voting ‘no’ the fact that the treaty would ‘allow the introduction of gay marriage, euthanasia, abortion’ as the reason they voted ‘no’ and as few as one per cent said as their first mention that they had voted ‘no’ to avoid an influx of immigrants.

### *Correlates of the ‘no’ vote*

It is important to not only to take account of subjectively stated reasons by voters for their vote choice but it is also critical to get a picture of how the ‘no’ vote was related

**Table 7 Socio-demographic correlates of voting behaviour in the Lisbon Treaty Referendum in Ireland 2008 (%)**

	Voted Yes	Voted No	Total
<b>Respondent Occupation</b>			
Self-employed/Professionals/Managers	60	40	100
Other Employees	49	51	100
Manual workers	26	74	100
Unemployed/Not working	44	56	100
<b>Education (year ended)</b>			
Under 15	43	57	100
16-20	47	53	100
20+	57	43	100
<b>Age</b>			
18-24	35	65	100
25-39	41	59	100
40-54	48	52	100
55+	58	42	100
<b>Subjective urbanisation</b>			
Metropolitan zone	50	50	100
Other town/urban centre	47	53	100
Rural zone	47	53	100
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	51	49	100
Female	44	56	100

Source Flash EB 245, Q7: ‘How did you vote in the Referendum? Did you vote ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to the Treaty?’ (Base: those who participated in the referendum on 12 June 2008).

to people's basic demographic characteristics (see Table 7).

Occupation was closely associated with whether an individual voted 'yes' or 'no'. While a clear majority of self-employed individuals, professionals and senior managers supported the Treaty, nearly three quarters of manual workers (74 per cent) voted against it. This is in stark contrast to the lack of class difference in the party system. . This points to manual workers being the key target for the 'yes' side in any hypothetical re-run of the referendum.

Turning to the effect of age on vote choice, there was substantial variation in the behaviour of different age groups when it came to voting in the referendum. People aged 55 and above supported the Treaty by a margin of 52 per cent to 48 per cent. But support for the Treaty dwindled among younger voters with a majority in all age categories below 55 voting to reject the Treaty. The highest 'no' vote came from by 18-24 year olds who voted 65 per cent to 35 per cent against. However, there are important caveats to be noted when considering the behaviour of young people in this referendum – only 36 per cent of 18-24 year olds turned out to vote indicating that substantial majority of young voters chose to abstain and remain neutral in this referendum.

## **Conclusion**

This report uses *Eurobarometer 69.2* to examine the state of Irish public opinion on European issues in the run-in to the referendum on the Lisbon Treaty or, more precisely, in the month of April, when most of the fieldwork for the survey was carried out. It also draws on the preliminary report of *Flash Eurobarometer survey 245* conducted immediately after the referendum in order to examine some aspects of what actually happened in the referendum and how the outcome was related to overall Irish attitudes to European integration as described in the main section of the report.

*Eurobarometer 69.2* provides further confirmation of the well-known finding of widespread support for Ireland's membership of the European Union. This is manifest in attitudes to Ireland's membership of the EU, in perceptions of the benefits of membership and in levels of trust in the main European institutions that are higher than the levels that obtain in the case of most domestic political institutions.



However, data from this *Eurobarometer* and indeed previous *Eurobarometer* surveys also point to some qualifications that need to be made to this overall positive picture. Thus, while a general sense of support for European integration is widespread, committed support is much less so. There is also evidence of a recent small but significant shift towards a preference for more national decision-making and away from EU decision-making on a range of issues, especially on issues of taxation, agriculture and fisheries, immigration and energy. These trends would seem to reflect the developing campaigns and debates that were underway when the fieldwork for the survey was conducted. Having noted this shift in attribution of policy-making responsibility, it must also be noted that there is still majority support for EU decision-making on a numbers of key issues, including 60 per cent support for joint EU decision-making on ‘defence and foreign affairs’.

Further qualifications to the positive picture of Irish attitudes to Europe stem from the evidence in *Eurobarometer 69.2* that Irish knowledge of EU affairs is, at best, only average and is well behind, for example, Danish levels. Furthermore, Irish people’s sense of being ‘very attached’ to the country stands at 59 per cent. Coupled with the fact that Irish peoples sense of identity stands at 60 per cent exclusively Irish rather than a combination of Irish and European (something which places Ireland among the most nationally oriented member states in the Union on this indicator), an integration referendum was never going to be walkover.

Mixed signals also come from an examination of Irish attitudes to globalization. Thus, while Irish people are positively disposed towards certain broad macro-economic aspects of globalization, their net evaluation turns negative when it comes to the effect of globalization on Irish culture and on economic aspects that affect citizens directly, including inflation, social inequality and the proposition that globalization is profitable for large companies but not for citizens. While the European Union can be seen as a bulwark against globalization, the foregoing sentiments could also be associated with doubts and reservations about any form of international economic integration and consequently adversely affect support for European integration.

Whatever about attitudes to globalization, two points need to be noted about attitudes to domestic issues and institutions. The first relates to economic expectations and

attitudes. As of April 2008, Irish pessimism regarding the performance of the national economy jumped by just over 20 percentage points since last autumn. The shift to pessimism was more than double this when attention switched to expectations regarding the unemployment situation twelve months hence. All was not, however, doom and gloom as personal job expectations and household financial expectations, while lower than three to four years previously, were still robustly positive. That was, of course, prior to the further bad news on the economic front since the *Eurobarometer 69.2* fieldwork was conducted.

The second aspect of domestic attitudes to be noted relates to trust in the media. *Eurobarometer 69.2* shows that television and radio enjoy much higher levels of trust than newspapers do. The high levels of trust in television and radio heightens the significance of the kind of balance constraints that RTÉ operates under in its coverage of referendum campaigns.

In the light of the foregoing evidence on the context in which Irish referendums on European issues are played out, how do we reconcile the widespread support for Ireland's membership of the Union? The first point is that there are several qualifications that must be made to the proposition that Irish attitudes to the EU are positive. Secondly, against this qualified account, the referendum campaigns on the Lisbon Treaty threw up a wide range of specific issues, particularly on the 'no' side. None of these was very large. In fact the largest was lack of knowledge. However, these specific issues seem too cumulated in a way that shifted support for the 'no' side from an average of almost 20 per cent of the electorate over the four previous EU referendums to 28 per cent in the Lisbon referendum. Given the nature of the accumulation of issues and given the emphasis on much of the 'no' side that they were in favour of the EU but just against this Treaty, one can see how the widespread soft support for integration was vulnerable to a vigorous and multi-faceted 'no' campaign. *Eurobarometer 69.2* throws some light on this process and this is supplemented by the findings of the post-referendum *Flash Eurobarometer 245*. However, this is one of those cases where it really is clear that more research is needed if we are to identify the key factors that swayed an electorate that is basically favourable to the Union decisively to the 'no' side.

# Appendices

# Technical Specifications



## **'STANDARD' EUROBAROMETER 69 TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS**

Between the 25 March and the 4 May 2008, TNS Opinion & Social, a Consortium created between Taylor Nelson Sofres and TNS opinion, carried out wave 69.2 of the EUROBAROMETER, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General for Communication, "Research and Political Analysis".

The "STANDARD" EUROBAROMETER 69 is part of wave 69.2 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 "STANDARD" EUROBAROMETER 69 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.

<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>COUNTRIES</b>	<b>INSTITUTES</b>	<b>N° INTERVIEWS</b>	<b>FIELDWORK DATES</b>		<b>POPULATION 15+</b>
BE	Belgium	TNS Dimarso	1.003	01/04/2008	04/05/2008	8.786.805
BG	Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	1.000	27/03/2008	07/04/2008	6.647.375
CZ	Czech Rep.	TNS Aisa	1.014	02/04/2008	17/04/2008	8.571.710
DK	Denmark	TNS Gallup DK	1.005	02/04/2008	04/05/2008	4.432.931
DE	Germany	TNS Infratest	1.534	29/03/2008	28/04/2008	64.546.096
EE	Estonia	Emor	1.006	27/03/2008	21/04/2008	887.094
EL	Greece	TNS ICAP	1.000	28/03/2008	17/04/2008	8.691.304
ES	Spain	TNS Demoscopia	1.033	27/03/2008	26/04/2008	38.536.844
FR	France	TNS Sofres	1.040	27/03/2008	27/04/2008	46.425.653
IE	Ireland	TNS MRBI	1.004	28/03/2008	30/04/2008	3.375.399
IT	Italy	TNS Abacus	1.022	25/03/2008	26/04/2008	48.892.559
CY	Rep. of Cyprus	Synovate	504	31/03/2008	24/04/2008	638.900
CY(tcc)	Turkish Cypriot Comm.	KADEM	500	28/03/2008	30/04/2008	143.226
LV	Latvia	TNS Latvia	1.008	02/04/2008	29/04/2008	1.444.884
LT	Lithuania	TNS Gallup Lithuania	1.021	01/04/2008	22/04/2008	2.846.756
LU	Luxembourg	TNS ILReS	501	26/03/2008	29/04/2008	388.914
HU	Hungary	TNS Hungary	1.000	28/03/2008	26/04/2008	8.320.614
MT	Malta	MISCO	500	26/03/2008	16/04/2008	335.476
NL	Netherlands	TNS NIPO	1.041	01/04/2008	26/04/2008	13.017.690
		Österreichisches				
AT	Austria	Gallup-Institut	1.000	27/03/2008	20/04/2008	7.004.205
PL	Poland	TNS OBOP	1.000	30/03/2008	23/04/2008	32.155.805
PT	Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	1.001	26/03/2008	24/04/2008	8.080.915
RO	Romania	TNS CSOP	1.019	25/03/2008	23/04/2008	18.246.731
SI	Slovenia	RM PLUS	1.003	01/04/2008	27/04/2008	1.729.298
SK	Slovakia	TNS AISA SK	1.085	01/04/2008	20/04/2008	4.316.438
FI	Finland	TNS Gallup Oy	1.004	02/04/2008	04/05/2008	4.353.495
SE	Sweden	TNS GALLUP	1.007	28/03/2008	27/04/2008	7.562.263
UK	United Kingdom	TNS UK	1.306	01/04/2008	24/04/2008	50.519.877
HR	Croatia	Puls	1.000	28/03/2008	24/04/2008	3.734.300
TR	Turkey	TNS PIAR	1.003	29/03/2008	27/04/2008	47.583.830
	Former Yugoslav Rep. of					
MK	Macedonia	TNS Brima	1.006	29/03/2008	06/04/2008	1.648.012
TOTAL			30.170	25/03/2008	04/05/2008	453.865.399

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

# Questionnaire



<b>A</b>	your survey number (101-105)					
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EB69.1 A

<b>B</b>	country code (106-107)		
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EB69.1 B

<b>C</b>	our survey number (108-110)			
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EB69.1 C

<b>D</b>	Interview number (111-116)						
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EB69.1 D

<b>E</b>	Split ballot
<b>(117)</b>	
A	1
B	2

EB68.1 E

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,

EB68.1 Q1

IF OTHER or DK THEN CLOSE INTERVIEW

**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

EB68.1 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)

(172)

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

EB68.1 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)

(173)

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

EB68.1 QA3

DO NOT ASK QA4a in CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QA4b

**QA4a** 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	
(174)	1	Your life in general	1	2	3	4
(175)	2	The economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(176)	3	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4
(177)	4	The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(178)	5	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4
(179)	6	The economic situation in the EU	1	2	3	4

EB68.1 QA5

ASK QA4b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA5a

QA4b 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 the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4
(182)	3	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4
(183)	4	The employment situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4
(184)	5	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4

(185)	6	The economic situation in the EU	1	2	3	4
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NEW (BASED ON EB68.1 QA 5)

DO NOT ASK QA5a in CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA5b

**QA5a** For each of the following domains, would you say that the situation in (OUR COUNTRY) is better or less good than the average of the European countries? (M)

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	Much better	Somewhat better	Somewhat less good	Definitely less good	DK
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(186)	1	The situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy	1	2	3	4	5
(187)	2	The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(188)	3	The cost of living in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(189)	4	Energy prices in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(190)	5	The quality of life in (COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5

EB67.2 QA7a (ITEMS 1-4) - QA7C (ITEM 5) TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA5b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA6a

**QA5b** For each of the following domains, would you say that the situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community is better or less good than the average of the European Union countries?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	Much better	Somewhat better	Somewhat less good	Definitely less good	DK
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(191)	1	The situation of our economy	1	2	3	4	5
(192)	2	The employment situation in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(193)	3	The cost of living in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(194)	4	Energy prices in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(195)	5	The quality of life in our community	1	2	3	4	5

EB67.2 QA7d (ITEM 1-4) - QA7f (ITEM 5) TREND MODIFIED

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)

Crime	(196-211) 1,
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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,

EB68.1 QA6a

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)

Crime	(212-227) 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,

EB68.1 QA6b

ASK QA7a and QA8a ONLY IN EU27 – FM, TR and HR GO TO QA7b – CY(tcc) GO TO QA7c

**QA7a** Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

(READ OUT)

	<b>(228)</b>
A good thing	1
A bad thing	2
Neither good nor bad	3
DK	4

EB68.1 QA12a

**QA8a** Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

	<b>(229)</b>
Benefited	1
Not benefited	2
DK	3

EB68.1 QA13a

ASK QA7b and QA8b ONLY in FM, TR and HR – EU27 GO TO QA9a

**QA7b** Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?

(READ OUT)

	<b>(230)</b>
A good thing	1
A bad thing	2
Neither good nor bad	3
DK	4

EB68.1 QA12b

**QA8b** Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) would benefit or not from being a member of the European Union?

	<b>(231)</b>
Would benefit	1
Would not benefit	2
DK	3

EB68.1 QA13b

ASK QA7c and QA8c ONLY in CY(tcc) – OTHERS GO TO QA9a

**QA7c** Generally speaking, do you think that for the Turkish Cypriot Community the full application of EU legislation would be...?

(READ OUT)

	<b>(232)</b>
A good thing	1
A bad thing	2
Neither good nor bad	3
DK	4

EB68.1 QA12c

**QA8c** Taking everything into consideration, would you say that the Turkish Cypriot Community would benefit or not from the full application of the EU legislation?

	<b>(233)</b>
Would benefit	1
Would not benefit	2
DK	3

EB68.1 QA13c

DO NOT ASK QA9a IN CY(tcc) - ASK ONLY IF "(OUR COUNTRY) HAS BENEFITED\ WOULD BENEFIT FROM BEING A MEMBER OF THE EU" - CODE 1 in QA8a OR QA8b - CY(tcc) GO TO QA9b - OTHERS GO TO QA10a

QA9a Which of the following are the main reasons for thinking that (OUR COUNTRY) has benefited\ would benefit from being a member of the European Union?

(SHOW CARD - ROTATE - MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

	<b>(234-246)</b>
The European Union contributes\ would contribute to democracy in (OUR COUNTRY)	1,
The European Union contributes\ would contribute to maintain peace and reinforce security	2,
The European Union contributes\ would contribute to economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	3,
Some issues that are important for (NATIONALITY) people are\ would be best dealt with at the European Union level	4,
Membership of the European Union improves\ would improve the co-operation between (OUR COUNTRY) and other countries	5,
(NATIONALITY) people have\ would have an important influence in decisions made at European Union level	6,
The European Union gives\ would give (NATIONALITY) people a stronger say in the world	7,
The European Union improves\ would improve (NATIONALITY) peoples' standard of living	8,
The European Union helps\ would help (NATIONALITY) people to face the new challenges of globalisation	9,
The European Union brings\ would bring (NATIONALITY) people new work opportunities	10,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	12,
DK	13,

NEW

QA9b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY WOULD BENEFIT FROM THE FULL APPLICATION OF THE EU LEGISLATION" - CODE 1 in QA8c - OTHERS GO TO QA10a

**QA9b** Which of the following are the main reasons for thinking that our community would benefit from the full application of the European Union legislation?

(SHOW CARD - ROTATE - MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

	(247-259)
The European Union would contribute to democracy in our community	1,
The European Union would contribute to maintain peace and reinforce security	2,
The European Union would contribute to economic growth in our community	3,
Some issues that are important for our people would be best dealt with at the European Union level	4,
Membership of the European Union would improve the co-operation between our community and other countries	5,
Our people would have an important influence in decisions made at European Union level	6,
The European Union would give our people a stronger say in the world	7,
The European Union would improve our peoples' standard of living	8,
The European Union would help our people to face the new challenges of globalisation	9,
The European Union would bring our people new work opportunities	10,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	12,
DK	13,

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA10a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "(OUR COUNTRY) HAS NOT\ WOULD NOT BENEFIT FROM BEING A MEMBER OF THE EU" - CODE 2 in QA8a OU QA8b - CY(tcc) GO TO QA10b - OTHERS GO TO QA11a

QA10a Which of the following are the main reasons for thinking that (OUR COUNTRY) did not\ would not benefit from being a member of the European Union?

(SHOW CARD - ROTATE - MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

(260-272)

Membership of the European Union has a negative effect on democracy in (OUR COUNTRY)	1,
Membership of the European Union has a negative effect on maintaining peace and guaranteeing security	2,
Membership of the European Union has a negative effect on economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	3,
Issues that are important for (NATIONALITY) people are best dealt at the national level	4,
Being a Member of the European Union creates some tensions between (OUR COUNTRY) and other countries	5,
(NATIONALITY) people have very little influence in decisions made at European Union level	6,
(OUR COUNTRY)'s voice in the world is diluted by being a Member of the EU	7,
The European Union decreases (NATIONALITY) peoples' standard of living	8,
Membership of the European Union makes (OUR COUNTRY) more vulnerable to the negative effects of globalisation	9,
The European Union puts (NATIONALITY) peoples' jobs in danger	10,
You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	12,
DK	13,

NEW

ASK QA10b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY WOULD NOT BENEFIT FROM THE FULL APPLICATION OF THE EU LEGISLATION" - CODE 2 in QA8c - OTHERS GO TO QA11a

QA10b Which of the following are the main reasons for thinking that our community would not benefit from the full application of the European Union legislation?

(SHOW CARD - ROTATE - MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

(273-285)

Membership of the European Union would have a negative effect on democracy in our community	1,
Membership of the European Union would have a negative effect on maintaining peace and guaranteeing security	2,
Membership of the European Union would have a negative effect on economic growth in our community	3,
Issues that are important for our people would be best dealt at the national level	4,
Being a Member of the European Union would create some tensions between our community and other countries	5,
Our people would have very little influence in decisions made at European Union level	6,
Our community's voice in the world would be diluted by being a Member of the EU	7,
The European Union would decrease our peoples' standard of living	8,
Membership of the European Union would make our community more vulnerable to the negative effects of globalisation	9,
The European Union would put our peoples' jobs in danger	10,
You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	12,
DK	13,

NEW

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

**QA11a** 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
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<b>(286)</b>	1	(OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
<b>(287)</b>	2	The European Union	1	2	3	4

EB68.1 QA7

ASK QA11b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA12

**QA11b** 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
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<b>(288)</b>	1	Our community	1	2	3	4
<b>(289)</b>	2	The European Union	1	2	3	4



NEW

QA12: DO NOT ASK ITEMS 5,7,9 and 10 in CY(tcc)

QA12 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
(290)	1 The press	1	2	3
(291)	2 Radio	1	2	3
(292)	3 Television	1	2	3
(293)	4 The Internet	1	2	3
(294)	5 Justice\ the (NATIONALITY) legal system	1	2	3
(295)	6 The police	1	2	3
(296)	7 The army	1	2	3
(297)	8 Political parties	1	2	3
(298)	9 The (NATIONALITY) Government	1	2	3
(299)	10 The (NATIONALITY PARLIAMENT) (USE PROPER NAME FOR LOWER HOUSE )	1	2	3
(300)	11 The European Union	1	2	3
(301)	12 The United Nations	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA8

ASK ALL

**QA13** In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

**(302)**

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

EB68.1 QA14

**QA14** What does the European Union mean to you personally?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE - ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM\ BOTTOM TO TOP)

**(303-318)**

Peace	1,
Economic prosperity	2,
Democracy	3,
Social protection	4,
Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU	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 control at external frontiers	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB67.2 QA12

DO NOT ASK QA15a IN CY(tcc) - ASK ITEM 2 ONLY IN COUNTRIES THAT ARE NOT IN THE EURO AREA\ ASK ITEM 3 ONLY IN THE EURO AREA - CY(tcc) GO TO QA15b

QA15a Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.

	(READ OUT)	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	DK
(319)	1 I feel I am safer because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the EU	1	2	3
(320)	2 I feel we are more stable economically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the EU	1	2	3
(321)	3 I feel we are more stable economically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the euro area (N)	1	2	3
(322)	4 My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
(323)	5 My voice counts in (OUR COUNTRY) (N)	1	2	3
(324)	6 On European issues, my voice is listened to by my government (N)	1	2	3
(325)	7 On European issues, my voice is listened to by the Members of the European Parliament (N)	1	2	3
(326)	8 On European issues, my voice is listened to by the European Commission (N)	1	2	3
(327)	9 I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(328)	10 (OUR COUNTRY)'s voice counts in the EU	1	2	3

(329)	11	The interests of (OUR COUNTRY) are well taken into account in the EU	1	2	3
(330)	12	The European Union imposes its views on (OUR COUNTRY) (N)	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA9a (ITEMS 4, 9, 10 AND 11) - EB67.2 QA34a (ITEMS 1, 2)

ASK QA15b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA16

QA15b Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.

	(READ OUT)	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	DK	
(331)	1	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
(332)	2	My voice counts in our community (N)	1	2	3
(333)	3	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(334)	4	Our community's voice counts in the EU (N)	1	2	3
(335)	5	The European Union imposes its views on our community (N)	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA9b (ITEMS 1 & 3)

ASK ALL

QA16 Have you heard of...?

	(READ OUT)	Yes	No	DK	
(336)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(337)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3

(338)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(339)	4	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA15

QA17 And for each of the following European bodies, do you think it plays an important role or not in the life of the European Union?

(READ OUT)	Important	Not important	DK
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(340)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(341)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(342)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(343)	4	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA14

QA18 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
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(344)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(345)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(346)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(347)	4	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA16

DO NOT ASK QA19a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TRUST THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT" - CODE 1 in QA18 ITEM 1 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA19b - OTHERS GO TO QA20a

QA19a Which of the following are the main reasons for trusting the European Parliament?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(348-358)
The decisions taken by the European Parliament are taken in a democratic way	1,
The decisions taken by the European Parliament contribute to economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	2,
The European Parliament defends well the interests of all European citizens	3,
You are well informed about the activities of the European Parliament	4,
Members of the European Parliament are the best placed to decide on issues for the European Union as a whole	5,
The European Parliament represents well your view on Europe	6,
You are trusting the members of the European Parliament	7,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK QA19b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TRUST THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT" - CODE 1 in QA18 ITEM 1 - OTHERS GO TO QA20a

QA19b Which of the following are the main reasons for trusting the European Parliament?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

(359-369)

The decisions taken by the European Parliament are taken in a democratic way	1,
The decisions taken by the European Parliament contribute to economic growth in our community	2,
The European Parliament defends well the interests of all European citizens	3,
You are well informed about the activities of the European Parliament	4,
Members of the European Parliament are the best placed to decide on issues for the European Union as a whole	5,
The European Parliament represents well your view on Europe	6,
You are trusting the members of the European Parliament	7,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA20a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "DO NOT TRUST THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT" - CODE 2 in QA18 ITEM 1 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA20b - OTHERS GO TO QA21a

QA20a Which of the following are the main reasons for not trusting the European Parliament?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

(370-380)

The decisions taken by the European Parliament are not taken in a democratic way	1,
The decisions taken by the European Parliament have a negative effect on economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	2,
The European Parliament is too far away from ordinary citizens	3,

You do not have enough information about the European Parliament, it is not transparent enough	4,
Members of the European Parliament are not the best placed to decide on issues for the European Union as a whole	5,
The European Parliament does not represent your view on Europe well	6,
You are not trusting the members of the European Parliament	7,
You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally not trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK QA20b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "DO NOT TRUST THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT" - CODE 2 in QA18 ITEM 1 - OTHERS GO TO QA21a

QA20b Which of the following are the main reasons for not trusting the European Parliament?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	<b>(381-391)</b>
The decisions taken by the European Parliament are not taken in a democratic way	1,
The decisions taken by the European Parliament have a negative effect on economic growth in our community	2,
The European Parliament is too far away from ordinary citizens	3,
You do not have enough information about the European Parliament, it is not transparent enough	4,
Members of the European Parliament are not the best placed to decide on issues for the European Union as a whole	5,
The European Parliament does not represent your view on Europe well	6,
You are not trusting the members of the European Parliament	7,



You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally not trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA21a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TRUST THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION" - CODE 1 in QA18  
ITEM 2 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA21b - OTHERS GO TO QA22a

**QA21a** Which of the following are the main reasons for trusting the European Commission?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

**(392-402)**

The decisions taken by the European Commission are taken in a democratic way	1,
The European Commission contributes to economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	2,
The European Commission defends well the interests of all European citizens	3,
You are well informed about the activities of the European Commission	4,
The European Commission is the best placed to make useful proposals for the European Union as a whole	5,
You are trusting the commissioners	6,
The European Commission represents well your view on Europe	7,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK QA21b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TRUST THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION" - CODE 1 in QA18  
ITEM 2 - OTHERS GO TO QA22a

QA21b Which of the following are the main reasons for trusting the European Commission?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(403-413)
The decisions taken by the European Commission are taken in a democratic way	1,
The European Commission contributes to economic growth in our community	2,
The European Commission defends well the interests of all European citizens	3,
You are well informed about the activities of the European Commission	4,
The European Commission is the best placed to make useful proposals for the European Union as a whole	5,
You are trusting the commissioners	6,
The European Commission represents well your view on Europe	7,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA22a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "DO NOT TRUST THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION" - CODE 2 in  
QA18 ITEM 2 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA22b - OTHERS GO TO QA23a

QA22a Which of the following are the main reasons for not trusting European Commission?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	<b>(414-424)</b>
The decisions taken by the European Commission are not taken in a democratic way	1,
The European Commission has a negative effect on economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	2,
The European Commission is too far away from ordinary citizens	3,
You do not have enough information about the European Commission, it is not transparent enough	4,
The European Commission is not the best placed to make useful proposals for the European Union as a whole	5,
You are not trusting the commissioners	6,
The European Commission does not represent well your view on Europe	7,
You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally not trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK QA22b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "DO NOT TRUST THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION" - CODE 2 in QA18 ITEM 2 - OTHERS GO TO QA23a

**QA22b** Which of the following are the main reasons for not trusting European Commission?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	<b>(425-435)</b>
The decisions taken by the European Commission are not taken in a democratic way	1,
The European Commission has a negative effect on economic growth in our community	2,
The European Commission is too far away from ordinary citizens	3,
You do not have enough information about the European Commission, it is not	4,

transparent enough	
The European Commission is not the best placed to make useful proposals for the European Union as a whole	5,
You are not trusting the commissioners	6,
The European Commission does not represent well your view on Europe	7,
You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally not trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA23a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TRUST THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION" - CODE 1 in QA18 ITEM 3 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA23b - OTHERS GO TO QA24a

QA23a Which of the following are the main reasons for trusting the Council of the European Union?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	<b>(436-446)</b>
The decisions taken by the Council of the European Union are taken in a democratic way	1,
The decisions taken by the Council of the European Union contribute to economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	2,
The Council of the European Union defends well the interests of all European citizens	3,
You are well informed about the activities of the Council of the European Union	4,
The Council of the European Union represent well (OUR COUNTRY)'s interest in the European Union	5,
The Council of the European Union is the best placed to decide on important issues for the European Union as a whole	6,
You are trusting the politicians that sit in the Council of the European Union	7,

You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK QA23b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TRUST THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION" - CODE 1 in QA18 ITEM 3 - OTHERS GO TO QA24a

**QA23b** Which of the following are the main reasons for trusting the Council of the European Union?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

**(447-457)**

The decisions taken by the Council of the European Union are taken in a democratic way	1,
The decisions taken by the Council of the European Union contribute to economic growth in our community	2,
The Council of the European Union defends well the interests of all European citizens	3,
You are well informed about the activities of the Council of the European Union	4,
The Council of the European Union represent well our community's interest in the European Union	5,
The Council of the European Union is the best placed to decide on important issues for the European Union as a whole	6,
You are trusting the politicians that sit in the Council of the European Union	7,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA24a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "DO NOT TRUST THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION" - CODE 2 in QA18 ITEM 3 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA24b - OTHERS GO TO QA25a

QA24a Which of the following are the main reasons for not trusting Council of the European Union?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(458-468)
The decisions taken by the Council of the European Union are not taken in a democratic way	1,
The decisions taken by the Council of the European Union have a negative effect on economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	2,
The Council of the European Union is too far away from ordinary citizens	3,
You do not have enough information about the Council of the European Union, it is not transparent enough	4,
The Council of the European Union does not represent well the interests of (OUR COUNTRY) in the European Union	5,
The Council of the European Union is not the best placed to decide on important issues for the European Union as a whole	6,
You are not trusting the politicians that sit in the Council of the European Union	7,
You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally not trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK QA24b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "DO NOT TRUST THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION" - CODE 2 in QA18 ITEM 3 - OTHERS GO TO QA25a

QA24b Which of the following are the main reasons for not trusting Council of the European Union?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

(469-479)

The decisions taken by the Council of the European Union are not taken in a democratic way	1,
The decisions taken by the Council of the European Union have a negative effect on economic growth in our community	2,
The Council of the European Union is too far away from ordinary citizens	3,
You do not have enough information about the Council of the European Union, it is not transparent enough	4,
The Council of the European Union does not represent well the interests of our community in the European Union	5,
The Council of the European Union is not the best placed to decide on important issues for the European Union as a whole	6,
You are not trusting the politicians that sit in the Council of the European Union	7,
You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally not trusting political institutions\ politicians (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA25a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TRUST THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK" - CODE 1 in QA18 ITEM 4 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA25b - OTHERS GO TO QA26a

QA25a Which of the following are the main reasons for trusting the European Central Bank?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

(480-490)

The European Central Bank contributes to economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	1,
You are well informed about the activities of the European Central Bank	2,
The European Central Bank fights the inflation well	3,
The European Central Bank protects Europe well against financial turmoil	4,
The European Central Bank represents well the euro area countries' interest in the world	5,
The European Central Bank defends a stable currency, the euro which has positive effects on the European economy	6,
You are in favour of the euro	7,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally trusting banks\ bankers (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK QA25b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "TRUST THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK" - CODE 1 in QA18 ITEM 4 - OTHERS GO TO QA26a

QA25b Which of the following are the main reasons for trusting the European Central Bank?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

(491-501)

The European Central Bank contributes to economic growth in our community	1,
You are well informed about the activities of the European Central Bank	2,
The European Central Bank fights the inflation well	3,
The European Central Bank protects Europe well against financial turmoil	4,



The European Central Bank represents well the euro area countries' interest in the world	5,
The European Central Bank defends a stable currency, the euro which has positive effects on the European economy	6,
You are in favour of the euro	7,
You are generally in favour of the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally trusting banks\ bankers (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA26a IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "DO NOT TRUST THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK" CODE 2 in QA18 ITEM 4 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA26b - OTHERS GO TO QA27a

QA26a Which of the following are the main reasons for not trusting the European Central Bank?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

(502-512)

The European Central Bank has a negative effect on economic growth in (OUR COUNTRY)	1,
You do not have enough information about the European Central Bank, it is not transparent enough	2,
The European Central Bank is not efficient enough in its fight against the inflation	3,
The European Central Bank protects Europe badly against the financial turmoil	4,
The European Central Bank represents only the interests of the euro area countries' in the world	5,
The European Central Bank defends a stable currency, the euro, which has negative effects on the European economy	6,
You are against the euro	7,

You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally not trusting banks\ bankers (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK QA26b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - ASK IF "DO NOT TRUST THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK" CODE 2 in QA18 ITEM 4 - OTHERS GO TO QA27a

**QA26b** Which of the following are the main reasons for not trusting the European Central Bank?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

(513-523)

The European Central Bank has a negative effect on economic growth in our community	1,
You do not have enough information about the European Central Bank, it is not transparent enough	2,
The European Central Bank is not efficient enough in its fight against the inflation	3,
The European Central Bank protects Europe badly against the financial turmoil	4,
The European Central Bank represents only the interests of the euro area countries' in the world	5,
The European Central Bank defends a stable currency, the euro, which has negative effects on the European economy	6,
You are against the euro	7,
You are generally against the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
You are generally not trusting banks\ bankers (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

NEW

ASK ALL

**QA27** Thinking about your purchase power, that is to say the things that your household can afford in your daily life, if you compare your present situation with five years ago, would you say it has improved, stayed about the same, or got worse?

(SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	<b>(524)</b>
Improved	1
Stayed about the same	2
Got worse	3
DK	4

NEW

**QA28** Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: You have difficulties paying all your bills at the end of the month. (M)

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	<b>(525)</b>
Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB65.1 QA3 TREND MODIFIED

QA29 Generally speaking, do you think that the life of those who are children today will be easier, more difficult or neither easier nor more difficult than the life of those from your own generation?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(526)

Easier	1
More difficult	2
Neither easier nor more difficult	3
DK	4

EB66.3 QA17

Let's move to another topic

DO NOT ASK QA30a IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA30b

QA30a According to you, how transparent is (NATIONALITY) public administration today? Would you say that (NATIONALITY) public administration is very transparent, transparent, not very transparent or not transparent at all?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

(527)

Very transparent	1
Transparent	2

Not very transparent	3
Not transparent at all	4
DK	5

NEW

ASK QA30b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA31a

**QA30b** According to you, how transparent is our community's public administration today? Would you say that our community's public administration is very transparent, transparent, not very transparent or not transparent at all?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

	<b>(528)</b>
Very transparent	1
Transparent	2
Not very transparent	3
Not transparent at all	4
DK	5

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA31a IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA31b

**QA31a** Would you say that it is very important, important, not very important or not important at all for you that (NATIONALITY) public administration functions in a transparent way?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

(529)

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

NEW

ASK QA31b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA32

**QA31b** Would you say that it is very important, important, not very important or not important at all for you that our community's public administration functions in a transparent way?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

(530)

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

NEW

ASK ALL

**QA32** According to you, how transparent are the institutions of the European Union today? Would you say that they are very transparent, transparent, not very transparent or not transparent at all?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

	(531)
Very transparent	1
Transparent	2
Not very transparent	3
Not transparent at all	4
DK	5

NEW

**QA33** Would you say that it is very important, important, not very important or not important at all for you that the institutions of the European Union function in a transparent way?.

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

	(532)
Very important	1
Important	2
Not very important	3
Not important at all	4
DK	5

NEW

**QA34** 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
(533)	1 The EU currently consists of fifteen Member States	1	2	3
(534)	2 Switzerland is a member of the European Union (N)	1	2	3
(535)	3 Every six months, a different Member State becomes the President of the Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(536)	4 The euro area currently consists of twelve Member States	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA17 TREND MODIFIED

DO NOT ASK QA35a IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA35b

QA35a 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?

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	(NATIONALITY) Government	Jointly within the EU	DK
(537)	1 Fighting crime	1	2	3
(538)	2 Taxation	1	2	3
(539)	3 Fighting unemployment	1	2	3
(540)	4 Fighting terrorism	1	2	3
(541)	5 Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3
(542)	6 Immigration	1	2	3
(543)	7 The educational system	1	2	3



(544)	8	Pensions	1	2	3
(545)	9	Protecting the environment	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA20a

ASK QA35b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA36a

**QA35b** 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
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(546)	1	Fighting crime	1	2	3
(547)	2	Taxation	1	2	3
(548)	3	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3
(549)	4	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3
(550)	5	Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3
(551)	6	Immigration	1	2	3
(552)	7	The educational system	1	2	3
(553)	8	Pensions	1	2	3
(554)	9	Protecting the environment	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA20b TREND MODIFIED

DO NOT ASK QA36a IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA36b

**QA36a** 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?

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	(NATIONALITY) Government	Jointly within the EU	DK
(555)	1 Health (M)	1	2	3
(556)	2 Social welfare (M)	1	2	3
(557)	3 Agriculture and fishery	1	2	3
(558)	4 Consumer protection	1	2	3
(559)	5 Scientific and technological research	1	2	3
(560)	6 Support for regions facing economic difficulties	1	2	3
(561)	7 Energy	1	2	3
(562)	8 Competition	1	2	3
(563)	9 Transports	1	2	3
(564)	10 Economy	1	2	3
(565)	11 Fighting inflation	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA20a TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA36b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA37

**QA36b** 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
(566)	1 Health (M)	1	2	3
(567)	2 Social welfare (M)	1	2	3

(568)	3	Agriculture and fishery	1	2	3
(569)	4	Consumer protection	1	2	3
(570)	5	Scientific and technological research	1	2	3
(571)	6	Support for regions facing economic difficulties	1	2	3
(572)	7	Energy	1	2	3
(573)	8	Competition	1	2	3
(574)	9	Transports	1	2	3
(575)	10	Economy	1	2	3
(576)	11	Fighting inflation	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA20b TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QA37 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
(577)	1 A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro	1	2	3
(578)	2 A common foreign policy among the Member States of the EU, towards other countries	1	2	3
(579)	3 A common defence and security policy among EU Member States	1	2	3
(580)	4 Further enlargement of the EU to include other countries in future years	1	2	3

EB68.1 QA22

**QA38** 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)

(581)

Very optimistic	1
Fairly optimistic	2
Fairly pessimistic	3
Very pessimistic	4
DK	5

EB68.1 QA24

**QA39** 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)

(582-596)

The Internal market	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,

EB68.1 QA25

ASK QA40 ONLY IN THE EU27 - OTHERS GO TO QA41

**QA40** 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 Slovenia. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television or seen on Internet anything about Slovenian's presidency? (M)

**(597)**

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

EB68.1 QA18a TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA41 ONLY IN SI - OTHERS GO TO QA42

**QA41** Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that Slovenia is President of the Council of the European Union at this time? Would you say it is...? (M)

(READ OUT)

(598)

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

EB68.1 QA18b TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA42 ONLY IN THE EU27 - OTHERS GO TO QA43

**QA42** In the European Union, each Member State, in turn, becomes the President of the Council of the European Union for six months. From July the 1st 2008 it will be the turn of France. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television or seen on the Internet anything about France's presidency? (M)

(599)

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

EB68.1 QA18c TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA43 ONLY IN FR - OTHERS GO TO QA44

**QA43** Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that France will be President of the Council of the European Union from the 1st of July? Would you say it is...? (M)

(READ OUT)

	(600)
Very important	1
Important	2
Not very important	3
Not at all important	4
DK	5

EB68.1 QA18d TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QA44 For each of the following countries and territories, would you be in favour or against it becoming part of the European Union in the future?

(ROTATE)

	(READ OUT)	In favour	Against	DK
(601)	1 Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	2	3
(602)	2 Serbia	1	2	3
(603)	3 Montenegro	1	2	3
(604)	4 Kosovo (N)	1	2	3
(605)	5 Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	1	2	3
(606)	6 Croatia	1	2	3
(607)	7 Albania	1	2	3
(608)	8 Turkey	1	2	3
(609)	9 Ukraine	1	2	3
(610)	10 Switzerland	1	2	3
(611)	11 Norway	1	2	3
(612)	12 Iceland	1	2	3

EB66.1 QA33

QA45 Once Turkey complies with all the conditions set by the European Union, would you be strongly in favour, fairly in favour, fairly opposed or strongly opposed to the accession of Turkey to the European Union? (M)

	<b>(613)</b>
Strongly in favour	1
Fairly in favour	2
Fairly opposed	3
Strongly opposed	4
DK	5

EB65.2 QD16 TREND MODIFIED

QA46 Would you agree or disagree with the following statement: If the countries and territories of the Western Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Croatia and Albania) join the European Union, this will help to stabilize that part of Europe.

	<b>(614)</b>
Strongly agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Strongly disagree	4
DK	5



NEW

DO NOT ASK QA47a IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA47b

QA47a For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT-ROTATE)	Strongly agree	Some-what agree	Some-what disagree	Strongly disagree	DK
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(615)	1	Globalisation is an opportunity for economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
(616)	2	Globalisation increases social inequalities	1	2	3	4	5
(617)	3	The European Union and the USA have the same interests when dealing with globalisation	1	2	3	4	5
(618)	4	Globalisation protects us from price increases	1	2	3	4	5
(619)	5	Globalisation helps peace in the world	1	2	3	4	5
(620)	6	Globalisation represents a threat to (NATIONALITY) culture	1	2	3	4	5
(621)	7	Globalisation is profitable only for large companies,	1	2	3	4	5

	not for citizens					
(622)	8 Globalisation means more foreign investments in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(623)	9 Globalisation helps the development of poorer countries	1	2	3	4	5
(624)	10 Globalisation makes common rules at world level necessary ("worldwide governance")	1	2	3	4	5
(625)	11 Globalisation enables people to be more open to external cultures	1	2	3	4	5

NEW

ASK QA47b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA48a

QA47b For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT-ROTATE)	Strongly agree	Some-what agree	Some-what disagree	Strongly disagree	DK
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(626)	1 Globalisation is an opportunity for economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
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(627)	2	Globalisation increases social inequalities	1	2	3	4	5
(628)	3	The European Union and the USA have the same interests when dealing with globalisation	1	2	3	4	5
(629)	4	Globalisation protects us from price increases	1	2	3	4	5
(630)	5	Globalisation helps peace in the world	1	2	3	4	5
(631)	6	Globalisation represents a threat to our culture	1	2	3	4	5
(632)	7	Globalisation is profitable only for large companies, not for citizens	1	2	3	4	5
(633)	8	Globalisation means more foreign investments in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(634)	9	Globalisation helps the development of poorer countries	1	2	3	4	5
(635)	10	Globalisation makes common rules at world level necessary ("worldwide governance")	1	2	3	4	5
(636)	11	Globalisation enables people to be more open to external cultures	1	2	3	4	5

NEW

DO NOT ASK QA48a IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA48b

**QA48a** Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(637)

Globalisation represents a good opportunity for (NATIONALITY) companies thanks to the opening-up of markets	1
Globalisation represents a threat to employment and companies in (OUR COUNTRY)	2
DK	3

EB66.1 QA43

ASK QA48b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA49a

**QA48b** Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(638)

Globalisation represents a good opportunity for our community's companies thanks to the opening-up of markets	1
Globalisation represents a threat to employment and companies in our community	2
DK	3

NEW (BASED ON EB66.1 QA43)

ASK QA49a TO SPLIT A - OTHERS GO TO QA49b

**QA49a** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The European Union helps to protect us from the negative effects of globalisation.

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	<b>(639)</b>
Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB67.2 QA30a

ASK QA49b TO SPLIT B - OTHERS GO TO QA50

**QA49b** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The European Union enables European citizens to better benefit from the positive effects of globalisation.

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	<b>(640)</b>
Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB67.2 QA30b

ASK ALL

QA50 Would you say that the European economy is performing better, performing worse or performing as well as the ... economy?

(SHOW CARD)

	(READ OUT)	Performing better	Performing worse	Performing as well as	DK
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(641)	1	American	1	2	3	4
(642)	2	Japanese	1	2	3	4
(643)	3	Chinese	1	2	3	4
(644)	4	Indian	1	2	3	4
(645)	5	Russian (N)	1	2	3	4
(646)	6	Brazilian (N)	1	2	3	4

EB65.2 QC4 TREND MODIFIED

DO NOT ASK QA51a in CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA51b

QA51a There are multiple consequences of the globalisation of trade. When you hear the word "globalisation", what comes first to mind?

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Opportunities for (NATIONALITY) companies in terms of new outlets	(647)	1
Foreign investments in (OUR COUNTRY)		2

Relocation of some companies to countries where labour is cheaper	3
Increased competition for (NATIONALITY) companies	4
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB67.2 QA29a

ASK QA51b ONLY in CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA52

**QA51b** There are multiple consequences of the globalisation of trade. When you hear the word "globalisation", what comes first to mind?

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	<b>(648)</b>
Opportunities for the companies of our community in terms of new outlets	1
Foreign investments in the Turkish Cypriot Community	2
Relocation of some companies to countries where labour is cheaper	3
Increased competition for companies of our community	4
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB67.2 QA29b

ASK ALL

**QA52** Which of the following two points of view comes closest to yours? In general companies which relocate...

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(649)

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

EB64.2 QA57

ASK QB ONLY TO EU27 - OTHERS GO TO QC

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)

(1087-1088)

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

EB69.1 D1

ASK D2 ONLY TO EU27 - OTHERS GO TO D7



**D2** To which of the following political parties do you feel the closest to or the least furthest from?

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(1089-1090)
Party 1	1
Party 2	2
Party 3	3
Party 4	4
Party 5	5
Party 6	6
Party 7	7
Party 8	8
Party 9	9
Party 10	10
Party 11	11
Party 12	12
Party 13	13
Party 14	14
Party 15	15
None (SPONTANEOUS)	16
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	17
DK	18

NEW

NO QUESTIONS D3 TO D6

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

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(1091-1092)

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

EB69.1 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')

**(1093-1094)**

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EB69.1 D8

NO QUESTION D9

**D10** Gender.

**(1095)**

Male	1
Female	2

EB69.1 D10

**D11** How old are you?

(1096-1097)

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EB69.1 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?

	(1098-1099)	(1100-1101)
	D15a	D15b
	CURRENT OCCUPATION	LAST OCCUPATION
<b>NON-ACTIVE</b>		
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
<b>SELF EMPLOYED</b>		
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
<b>EMPLOYED</b>		

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

EB69.1 D15a D15b

NO QUESTIONS D16 TO D24

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

(READ OUT)

	<b>(1102)</b>
Rural area or village	1
Small or middle sized town	2
Large town	3
DK	4

EB69.1 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)

**(1103-1104)**

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EB69.1 D40a

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

**(1105-1106)**

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EB69.1 D40b

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

**(1107-1108)**

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EB69.1 D40c

**D41** You personally, were you born...?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

In (OUR COUNTRY)

**(1109)**

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

EB69.1 D41

D42 Which of these proposals corresponds to your situation?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	<b>(1110)</b>
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
One of your parents was born in another Member State of the EU and the other was born outside the EU (N)	6
DK\ Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	7

EB69.1 D42

D43a Do you own a fixed telephone in your household?

D43b Do you own a personal mobile telephone?

	<b>(1111)</b>	<b>(1112)</b>
	D43a	D43b
	Fixed	Mobile
Yes	1	1

No	2	2
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EB69.1 D43a D43b

**D46** Which of the following goods do you have?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

	<b>(1113-1122)</b>
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,

EB69.1 D46

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLE

**P1** DATE OF INTERVIEW

<b>(1143-1144)</b>		<b>(1145-1146)</b>	
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> DAY	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> MONTH

EB69.1 P1

**P2** TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW

(INT.: USE 24 HOUR CLOCK)

<b>(1147-1148)</b>		<b>(1149-1150)</b>	
	HOUR		MINUTES

EB69.1 P2

**P3** NUMBER OF MINUTES THE INTERVIEW LASTED

**(1151-1153)**

	MINUTES
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EB69.1 P3

**P4** Number of persons present during the interview, including interviewer

**(1154)**

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

EB69.1 P4

**P5** Respondent cooperation

**(1155)**

Excellent	1
Fair	2
Average	3
Bad	4

EB69.1 P5

**P6** Size of locality



(LOCAL CODES)
(1156-1157)
<input type="text"/>

EB69.1 P6
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<b>P7</b>	Region
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(LOCAL CODES)
(1158-1159)
<input type="text"/>

EB69.1 P7
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<b>P8</b>	Postal code
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(1160-1167)
<input type="text"/>

EB69.1 P8
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<b>P9</b>	Sample point number
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(1168-1175)
<input type="text"/>

EB69.1 P9
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<b>P10</b>	Interviewer number
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(1176-1183)
<input type="text"/>

EB69.1 P10

**P11** Weighting factor

(1184-1191)

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EB69.1 P11

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

**P13** Language of interview

(1192)

Language 1	1
Language 2	2
Language 3	3

EB69.1 P13